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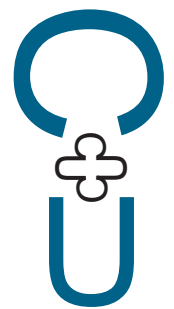
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unitis*  
4 (2015)







# Jan Dismas Zelenka's Life and Music Reconsidered (Zelenka Conference Prague 2015)

Edited by  
JIŘÍ K. KROUPA

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At a time when digitization projects of the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (D-DL; SLUB) have made important music collections of the Dresden court available online,<sup>1</sup> it is fitting to reconsider a major contributor to the sacred music once held in the Catholic court church of Dresden: Jan Dismas Zelenka. Whilst acknowledging the firm foundations laid by many musicologists, editors, and performers whose publications, editions, and interpretations have appeared over the past fifty years and more, it now is possible to fill certain gaps in our knowledge of Zelenka's life, compositions, and the musical context in which he worked. In chronological order we report additional biographical, contextual, and selected source information.

### 1709-1719

It now is well established that Zelenka's long-time patron and composition teacher in Bohemia was Johann Hubert Hartig and not, as previously supposed, the younger brother Joseph Ludwig Hartig.<sup>2</sup> In Zelenka's petition addressed in 1712 to August II, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, 'Baron von Hartig' was the exact title given

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<sup>1</sup> See:

<https://hofmusik.slub-dresden.de/en/themes/court-church-and-royal-private-music-collection/>

<https://hofmusik.slub-dresden.de/en/themes/schrank-ii/>

<https://hofmusik.slub-dresden.de/en/themes/opera-archive/>

<https://hofmusik.slub-dresden.de/en/search-possibilities/>

<sup>2</sup> On the Hartig family see KAPSA, Václav and MADL, Claire: 'Weiss, the Hartigs and the Prague Academy Music Academy: Research into the "profound silence" left by a "pope of music"', *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 33 (2000), pp. 47-85, and KAPSA, Václav, PERUTKOVÁ, Jana and SPÁČILOVÁ, Jana: 'Some remarks on the relationship of Bohemian aristocracy to Italian music at the time of Pergolesi', in: BACCIAGALUPPI, Claudio – OTTENBERG, Hans-Günter – ZOPELLI, Luca (eds.): *Giovanni Battista Pergolesi e la musica napoletana in Europa centrale* [= Studi pergolesiani – Pergolesi Studies, 8], Bern: Peter Lang, 2012, pp. 313-341. See also VEVERKA, Karel: 'Hudební mecenát hraběte Jana Huberta Hartiga u pražských křižovníků s červenou hvězdou ve světle řádového listinného archivu', *Hudební věda* 51 (2014), pp. 161-170.

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## Reflections and recent findings on the life and music of Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679-1745)

At a time when digitization projects of the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden have made important music collections of the Dresden court available online, it is timely to reconsider a major contributor to the music once held in the Catholic court church of Dresden: Jan Dismas Zelenka. Examination of Jesuit documentation from the era of Saxon Electors Friedrich August I (August II as King of Poland) and Friedrich August II (August III as King of Poland) together with the rich sources of the Sächsisches Staatsarchiv – Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden (D-Dla) provides new information about the life and surroundings of Zelenka at the court of Dresden. This leads to a re-evaluation of certain opinions sustained in the Zelenka literature. Building upon research undertaken since the mid-twentieth century, and including more recent studies, in chronological order this paper reappraises and expands upon aspects of Zelenka's life, his patrons, compositions, and the musical context in which he worked.

**Key words:** Jan Dismas Zelenka; Baroque Music; Prague; Vienna; Dresden; August II; August III; Maria Josepha

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by Zelenka to his former instructor.<sup>3</sup> On more than one occasion the *Diarium collegii Societatis Jesu ad sanctum Clementem Vetero-Pragae* (*Diarium Vetero-Pragae*) specifically mentions the musical involvement on the important Jesuit feast days of St Ignatius Loyola (31 July) and St Francis Xavier (3 December) of a member of the noble Hartig family: the Illustrious and Excellent Dominus de Hartig. For the feast of St Francis Xavier in 1709 it was reported that on 28 November Count de Hartig rehearsed an Italian Mass for four choirs.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps this was Orazio Benevoli's *Missa In diluvio aquarum multarum*. Zelenka, who once held a score of this work (now water damaged), wrote this note at the conclusion of the title page: 'à Zelenka Music: de l S: M: Le Roy de Pologne l Electeur de Saxe. 1719'.<sup>5</sup> The Prague performance of this setting, which involved 130 musicians, was noted on the feast day itself,<sup>6</sup> while in 1712 the count offered a new (unidentified) musical composition for the feast that lasted for two hours.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, for the feast of St Ignatius Loyola in 1710 'Ill. D. ab Hartig' offered another new (also unidentified) musical composition.<sup>8</sup>

It is known that in 1709 Zelenka lived in the house of Johann Hubert Hartig, who must have promoted the compositions of his protégé through organising commissions for him to compose music to be played at the holy sepulchre in St Salvatore, the principal church of the Jesuit Clementinum college in Prague's Old Town. This patronage resulted in three sepulchro oratorios: *Immisit Dominus pestilentium* (ZWV 58, 1709), commissioned by the Clementinum College, *Attendite et videte* (ZWV 59, 1712) and *Deus Dux fortissime* (ZWV 60, 1716), both commissioned by Count Hubert Hartig.<sup>9</sup> Some years later, on 9 February 1723, the final day of Shrovetide, an unidentified, newly-composed work of Zelenka was presented in the church of St Salvatore,<sup>10</sup> and it was given in his presence.<sup>11</sup> It long has been known that the Prague copy of Zelenka's late setting *Litaniae Lauretanae Salus infirmorum* (ZWV 152), a work intended to be performed upon the recovery of Queen Maria Josepha following her illness in 1744, was originally dedicated to the 'Eccell. DD S:R:j: Comiti Joanni Huberto de Hartig S:C: Regiae etc. Majes: Conciliario privato, nec non Regio Boëmiae Locumtenenti'.<sup>12</sup> The Prague copy of this

<sup>3</sup> 'So habe doch, sowohl, der in der Music hochberühmte und überall bekannte Hr. Baron von Hartig zu Prage.' Zelenka's original petition is kept in Vienna, A-Wn, Sign 15773. It is reproduced by HORN, Wolfgang – KOHLHASE, Thomas – in association with LANDMANN, Ortrun – REICH, Wolfgang (eds.): *Zelenka-Dokumentation: Quellen und Materialien* (ZD hereafter), 2 vols., Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1989, v. 1, Dok. 2, p. 103, and STOCKIGT, Janice B.: *Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679-1745): A Bohemian Musician at the Court of Dresden*, Oxford: OUP, 2000, p. 307. Recently, a calligraphic copy of the petition in the hand of a professional scribe has turned up in the music department of the French National Library (F-Pn), as part of the former collection of the French composer and musicologist Charles Malherbe (1853-1911), who donated this copy to the French Conservatory. It then was transferred to the French National Library. It is not clear how Malherbe acquired the petition copy of four pages. F-Pn, Mus. L.a. Zelenka, Johann Dismas-1.

<sup>4</sup> *Diarium Vetero-Pragae*, 28. 11. 1709; fol. 170<sup>v</sup>: '[...] Illu.<sup>mus</sup> et Excele.<sup>mus</sup> Dom. de Hartig Locumtenens probavit in Templo nostro Missam Italicam cum 4. choris producendam in festo S. Fran: Xaverii.' (The Illustrious and Excellent Dom[inus] de Hartig, Lieutenant, rehearsed in our temple [church] the Italian Mass with four choirs which is to be performed during the Feast of St Francis Xavier). Královská kánonie premonstrátů na Strahově, *Diarium collegii Societatis Jesu ad sanctum Clementem Vetero-Pragae 1699-1714*, fol. 170<sup>v</sup>. See: [http://v2.manuscriptorium.com/apps/main/en/index.php?request=request\\_document&docId=rec1312982900\\_6](http://v2.manuscriptorium.com/apps/main/en/index.php?request=request_document&docId=rec1312982900_6).

<sup>5</sup> D-Dl, Mus. 1705-D-1.

<sup>6</sup> *Diarium Vetero-Pragae*, 3. 12. 1709, fol. 170<sup>v</sup>: 'Sacru[m] cantatu[m] [...] produxit Ill<sup>mus</sup> OO. ab Hartig Supremus Locumtenens. erant 4. chori, et in bis Musici 130.'

<sup>7</sup> *Diarium Vetero-Pragae*, 3. 12. 1712, fol. 218<sup>v</sup>: 'Festum S. Xaverii [...] Ill. D Hartig compositionem novam musicam obtulit duravit ultra duas horas.'

<sup>8</sup> *Diarium Vetero-Pragae*, 31. 7. 1710, fol. 180<sup>v</sup>: '[...] Ill. D ab Hartig, qui Musicam heri, et hodie in Templo fecit.'

<sup>9</sup> The autograph title pages of each work are transcribed in ZD (≪ note 3), v. 1, Doks. 1a. 3, 5, pp. 102-106.

<sup>10</sup> Perhaps this was Zelenka's earliest version of *Missa Sancti Spiritus* (ZWV 4, 'Kyrie' and 'Gloria' only), dated '1723' at the conclusion of the 'Gloria'.

<sup>11</sup> *Diarium collegii Societatis Jesu ad sanctum Clementem Vetero-Pragae 1714-1726*, fol. 144<sup>r</sup>. See: [http://v2.manuscriptorium.com/apps/main/en/index.php?request=request\\_document&docId=rec1312982900\\_7](http://v2.manuscriptorium.com/apps/main/en/index.php?request=request_document&docId=rec1312982900_7).

<sup>12</sup> VOJTĚŠKOVÁ, Jana: 'Die Zelenka-Überlieferung in der Tschechoslowakei', in: KOHLHASE, Thomas (ed.) *Zelenka-Studien I: Referate der Internationalen Fachkonferenz J. D. Zelenka, (Marburg, J.-G.-Herder-Institut, 16.-20. November 1991)* (ZS I hereafter) [= Musik des Ostens, 14], Kassel and Basel: Bärenreiter, 1993, p. 87.

work is dated '1741', the year of the count's death.<sup>13</sup> Zelenka's dedication confirms that 'Joanni Huberto de Hartig' once had been Zelenka's principal support and patron.

Important connections between the Clementinum college and the Dresden court also have been revealed in passages of the *Diarium Vetro-Pragae*. During the first week of July 1711 August II and his son, Saxon Crown Prince Friedrich August, came to the college for a brief visit. A series of entries reveal that the 14-year-old prince arrived on 1 July,<sup>14</sup> while his father, August II, reached the Clementinum college on 4 July.<sup>15</sup> During these days a Catholic court (*Aula Catholica*) was assembled for the prince. On 7 July a Jesuit from the Province of Austria who was to become the prince's future theologian also came to the college.<sup>16</sup> Members of the Dresden Lutheran court who had accompanied the king and prince for this visit were sent back on this same day. Following a meeting lasting three hours on 8 July, August II and his son left for Dresden, while the *Aula Catholica* travelled there via a different route.<sup>17</sup>

Was Zelenka's move to Dresden part of this arrangement? Might it have arisen from the connection between the Dresden court and the Clementinum College? Or was Zelenka's relocation organized through his patron, Count Hartig?<sup>18</sup> Records are unclear about the year of Zelenka's arrival in Dresden. On 18 November 1733 he claimed in a petition that it 'will be known to Your Majesty that it is now twenty-four years that I have had the honour of serving Your Most High Royal House.'<sup>19</sup> This implies that 1710 was the year of his arrival in Dresden. His name, however, is not among the musicians who travelled to Leipzig in January 1710 for the visit of the King of Prussia with the Crown Prince.<sup>20</sup> The earliest known reference to Zelenka in Dresden court records is an undated salary document that almost certainly was compiled in or about March 1711.<sup>21</sup> This date is suggested in the brief autobiography written in either late 1717 or early 1718 by the Dresden court bassoonist Jean Cadet, who claimed to have entered the court orchestra in March 1711.<sup>22</sup> Cadet's name is not found in this salary list, which shows

<sup>13</sup> CS-Pnm, MCH XXXV D 66.

<sup>14</sup> *Diarium Vetro-Pragae*, 1. 7. 1709, fol. 193v: 'Venit Praga[m] Princeps Electoralis Saxoniae.'

<sup>15</sup> *Diarium Vetro-Pragae*, 4. 7. 1709, fol. 193v: 'Tota die in armis expectabat Guarnison Rege Polonia [...] Rex venit vesperi.' (The garrison, fully armed, waited all day for the King of Poland [...] The king arrived in the evening).

<sup>16</sup> *Diarium Vetro-Pragae*, 7. 7. 1709, fol. 193v: 'Et hodie [...] P. Antonii Kugler ex Austriaca Prov[icinci] á, futurus Theologus Principis Electoralis Saxoniae, cui his diebus formata est Aula Catholica. Haeretica vero remissa Dresdam.' (Father Antonio Kugler [Kogler; Kögler] from the Province of Austria called in on us. He is the future theologian to the Electoral Prince of Saxony, for whom a court has been formed in these days. The heretical [Lutheran] court has been sent to Dresden.) Father Anton[ius] Kögler SJ, (d. 1721, Dresden) became the confessor and companion to the Saxon crown prince. See DUHR, Bernhard: *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge im 18. Jahrhundert*, München and Regensburg: Manz, 1928, v. 4, p. 496. Monthly payments were made to 'Pater Kogler' between October 1717 and March 1719 when the prince was living in Vienna. Sächsisches Staatsarchiv – Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden (D-Dla hereafter), 10026 Geheimes Kabinett (Geh. Kab. hereafter), Loc. 763/8, *Des Königlichen Prinzen Herrn Friedrich August, Hobeit, Hofkassenrechnungen, 1719, 1722, 1725, 1734*, fol. 42<sup>a-b</sup> (NB: this archive replaces <sup>r-v</sup> with <sup>a-b</sup>).

<sup>17</sup> On his conversion from Lutheranism to Catholicism by Saxon Crown Prince Friedrich August, see HORN, Wolfgang: *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik 1720-1745: Studien zu ihren Voraussetzungen und ihrem Repertoire*, Kassel and Stuttgart: Bärenreiter, 1987, pp. 21-23.

<sup>18</sup> See ZD (↵ note 3), v. 1, 'Vor 1710/1711', p. 91.

<sup>19</sup> Zelenka's petition of 18. 11. 1733, is kept in D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 383/1, *Varia, das Theater, die italienische Oper, die musikalische Kapelle und die Musik betreffend, 1680-1784*, fol. 54<sup>b</sup>: 'Eu: Königl: Majestät wird vorhin schon allergnädigst bekannt seyn, daß ich die Gnade gehabt, bereits in die 24. Jahr for Dero allerhöchstes Königl: Hauß.' Reproduced in full in ZD (↵ note 3), v. 1, p. 94, and STOCKIGT, *Jan Dismas Zelenka* (↵ note 3), pp. 318-319.

<sup>20</sup> D-Dla, 10006 Oberhofmarschallamt (OHMA hereafter), F, Nr. 16, *Ankunft fremder Herrschaften, 1710-1711*, fol. 17/2<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 910/1, *Das kurfürstliche Orchester und dessen Unterhaltung, ingleichen das Große Opernhaus und andere zum Departement des Direktors des Pläsiers gehörige Angelegenheiten 1711-1768*, fol. 7<sup>a-b</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> Cadet wrote: 'Jean Cadet natif d'ayelle en picardie Ellevés a paris Entré au Service de sa majesté au mois de mars de L'ané 1711 agé de 48 ans.' D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, K 2, Nr. 5, *Hofbuch 1717-1720, 'Specification Derer Königl Pohl und Churfl: SächBl. Hoff und Cammer Musici, wie alt einjeder, wo er her ist, u: wie lang bey Hoffe alß'*, fol. 93<sup>a</sup>. On these brief autobiographies, see KÖPP, Kai: 'Ein Musikerverzeichnis aus dem Jahr 1718 als Referenzquelle für die Dresdner Kapellgeschichte', in: LANDMANN, Ortrun – OTTENBERG,



Zelenka receiving 300 Thaler. A salary list dated 'Monat Junio 1712 bis 1716', however, states that 'Thismas Selencka Violonist' who had been in service for two years (2. Jahr) received a salary of 350 Thaler.<sup>23</sup> A list of 1726-1729 states that 1711 was the year of Zelenka's entry into court service,<sup>24</sup> and this same information is repeated in a salary list of 1730-1733.<sup>25</sup>

In October 1711 Zelenka travelled to Torgau together with members of the Dresden *Hofkapelle* who were required to provide the music for the wedding festivities held to celebrate the marriage between the son of Peter the Great, Crown Prince Alexius Petrovitz, and the god-daughter of Saxon Electress Christiane Eberhardine, Charlotta of Braunschweig Wolfenbüttel – a princess who had been raised and educated at the Dresden court. The festivities were held at Schloss Hartenfels where Christiane Eberhardine, the estranged wife of August II, then was in residence. Zelenka's name is seen ranked about half way through *Hofkapelle* lists which show that he and most of his colleagues were given a daily allowance of 16 Groschen (> Illustration 1).<sup>26</sup> His name also appears on at least two instrumental bass parts that emerged from the Schrank II project.<sup>27</sup> From the performance materials for excerpts from André Campra's *L'Europe galante*, an unfigured part titled 'Basse' bears the name 'M.<sup>r</sup> Selencka',<sup>28</sup> while 'Mons: Selencka' is written on a figured *basso continuo* part of a concerto by Telemann.<sup>29</sup> According to listings in Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM), and information given in the Schrank II project, these sets of Dresden parts are from c1710-1711.

The musician Zelenka is usually listed as a player of a string bass instrument of a type yet to be determined, but probably of the 8-foot or 12-foot variety. In c1711 and again c1717 he was known as a player of the *Contra Basse*,<sup>30</sup> while between 1728 and 1732 Zelenka was listed as a player of the *Contra Basso* in the *Königl. Poln. und Churfürstl. Sächsischer Hoff-und Staats-Calender*.<sup>31</sup> The Venetian contrabass player and copyist Gerolamo

Hans-Günter (eds.): *Johann Georg Pisendel – Studien zu Leben und Werk* [= Dresdner Beiträge zur Musikforschung, 3], Hildesheim: Olms, 2010, pp. 353-382.

<sup>23</sup> D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, K 2, Nr. 4, *Hofbuch 1680, 1690, 1694, 1712, 1716*, 'Specification aller Königl. Pohl: und Churfürstl. Sächß: Hof-Bedienten. wie selbige sich im Monat Junio 1712 bis 1716 befunden', fols. 259<sup>b</sup>-260<sup>a</sup>. Also ZD (< note 3), v. 1, pp. 91-92.

<sup>24</sup> 'Dismas Zelenska [...] Nach Hoffe gekom[m]en: 1711.' D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, K 2, Nr. 7, *Hofbuch 1726-1729*, 'Königl: Pohlische und Churfürst. Sächs. Hoff-Bediente 1726. bis 1729.' Unfoliated. Zelenka's age is given incorrectly as '41.'

<sup>25</sup> 'Dismas Zelenska [...] Nach Hoffe gekom[m]en: 1711.' D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, K 2, Nr. 8, *Hofbuch 1730-1733*, 'Königl: Pohlische und Churfürst. Sächs. Hoff-Bediente von 1730. bis 1733.' Unfoliated. Zelenka's year of birth is incorrectly shown as '1685.'

<sup>26</sup> D-Dla, 10036 Finanzarchiv, Loc. 34180, Rep. 5, Sect 11, Nr. 1, *Verzeichnis der Auslösungen beim Hof-Etat mit Beilagen, 1724*, undated [1711], unfoliated. On the verso of this document a payment of 8 Groschen is listed to 'des Capellmeisters dieners, Kästner.' This is almost certainly the first reference in Dresden records of Georg Friedrich Kästner, who joined the *Hofkapelle* in 1715 and later became contrabass player (see below) and instrument inspector. Two earlier lists documenting the same event but without Kästner's name are seen in: D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, B, Nr. 19, *Beilager des Kronprinzen Alexander Petrowicz, Sohn des Zaren Peter I. von Russland mit Prinzessin Charlotte Christiana Sophia von Wolfenbüttel in Torgau am 25. Oktober 1711*, fol. 84<sup>a</sup>, and fol. 107<sup>b</sup>. Here, next to the name of the violinist Carlo Fiorelli (who is not listed in the earlier cited document) the following has been added: 'ist noch ankommen', an indication that either he was too ill to attend, or else he had died. Fiorelli's place in the Dresden *Hofkapelle* was filled in January 1712 by Johann Georg Pisendel, whose entry in the salary list dated 'Monat Junio 1712 bis 1716' specifically states that he had been in service for '1/2. Jahr.'; D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, K 2 Nr. 4, fols. 259<sup>b</sup>-260<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> *Schranck No: II: das erhaltene Instrumentalmusikrepertoire der Dresdner Hofkapelle aus den ersten beiden Dritteln des 18. Jahrhunderts (Schrank II project hereafter)*, (eds.) POPPE, Gerhard – BEMMANN, Katrin – ECKHARDT, Wolfgang – REINELT, Sylvie – VOSS, Steffen [= Forum Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik, 2], Beeskow: Ortus Musikverlag, 2012.

<sup>28</sup> *L'Europe galante* (Excerpts) by André Campra. D-Dl, Mus. 2124-F-2, p. 55. See: <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/df/7165/1/>.

<sup>29</sup> Concerto for two solo violins by Georg Philipp Telemann. D-Dl, Mus. 2392-O-56, p. 32. See: <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/df/3394/1/>.

<sup>30</sup> D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 910/1, fol. 7<sup>a</sup>; D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab. 383/4, *Die Bande französischer Komödianten und Orchester, 1703-1720*, fol. 182<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> *Königl. Polnischer und Churfürstl. Sächsischer Hof- und Staats-Calender (HStCal hereafter)*, published in Leipzig almost annually from 1728 until 1757, resuming in 1765 following the Peace of Hubertusburg that marked the end of the Seven Years War. Laurence Dreyfus, who considered the problem of



Rem. 2 Tra. 1772. n. 1397. Leg. zu W. 1770.

**VL**

ang-Specificirt, Musici, welche zu Gedächtnis  
 Mayst. von Königl. Erlaß nach Torgau  
 beordert worden bekommen nach Junfalt  
 des Tractaments, so Ihnen die Königl. Kammer  
 1770. in Leipzig anbestelt worden, Tag  
 als von 16.<sup>ten</sup> Octbr. 1771. da sie von Vorpöden abgerückt.

Der Capellmeister Desjardins	1	8	ylb	—
Der Concertmeister Pouloumier	1	8	ylb	—
De Rossi	1	—	—	—
Organist Fyvel	1	—	—	—
Balthard Bentley	1	—	—	—
Le Gros	1	—	—	—
Adam Rybitzky	—	—	—	16.
Hand	—	—	—	16.
Lotti	—	—	—	16.
Duce	—	—	—	16.
Cadet	—	—	—	16.
Kristen	—	—	—	16.
Quaans	—	—	—	16.
Anton Rybitzky	—	—	—	16.
Janine Grünig	—	—	—	16.
Selenocka	—	—	—	16.
Grünig	—	—	—	16.
J. Bapt. Henjion	—	—	—	16.
Charle Henjion	—	—	—	16.

Illustration 1:  
 'Selencka' and Hofkapelle  
 musicians who travelled  
 to Torgau, October 1711.  
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 Sächsisches Staatsarchiv –  
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 den. D-Dla, 10036 Finanz-  
 archiv, Loc. 34180, Rep. 5,  
 Sect. 11, Nr. 1, unfoliated.

Personelli (or Personè, nicknamed 'Momolo'), who arrived in Dresden in 1717 due to Antonio Lotti's insistence,<sup>32</sup> played one of two larger string bass instruments ordered for Dresden from

the identity of the violone, cites Tharald Borgir who stated that in 17<sup>th</sup>-century Italy the term 'Violone' could mean any one of three things: a bass viol; a generic term to indicate the lowest string bass; or an instrument slightly larger than the violoncello. In 1698 Georg Muffat equated a German Violone with an Italian Contrabasso. DREYFUS, Laurence: *Bach's Continuo Group: Players and Practices in His Vocal Works* (Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 1987, pp. 136-139.

<sup>32</sup> 'Comme un homme qui joue du grand violon, et qui a la pratique pour accompagner les voix, et donne le mouvement, à tout L'Orguestre, est absolument necessaire, Monseig', Le Prince à l'instance du Maître Lotti a engagé un habil homme Girolamo Personelli [...]. D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 383/2, Die

Venice in 1719.<sup>33</sup> Zelenka might also have played the tiorba, as suggested by the remark ‘Pro Directore’ in his hand on the cover for the printed tiorba part of Giovanni Battista Bassani’s *Compieta*, op. 25 (1701).<sup>34</sup> (As a violone player, however, Zelenka could have directed a performance from this figured bass part by playing a chordal bass on the violone.) It now is known that Zelenka had a tenor voice, as it will be seen (below).

Questions arise concerning Zelenka’s activities during the second decade of the eighteenth century. His name is not among the group of nine musicians who accompanied *Kapellmeister* Johann Christoph Schmidt to Moritzburg in March 1714 for the celebrations surrounding the wedding of the king’s natural son, Count Moritz of Saxony.<sup>35</sup> In June 1714 Zelenka’s salary was increased to 400 Thaler.<sup>36</sup> Thus, within a very short period of time Zelenka rose to the level between the lowermost tier of the Dresden *Hofkapelle* and its uppermost eschelons, the rank of musical importance to which he ascended in the early 1730s. Although court documents indicate that Zelenka was to be sent to Venice in 1716,<sup>37</sup> evidence has not been found to confirm that he was in the entourage of the crown prince who, from 9 February 1716 until 24 July 1717, was based in Venice.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, Zelenka’s name is not given with the two Dresden court musicians, oboist Johann Christian Richter and violinist Johann Georg Pisendel, both of whom entered quarantine on 29 March before travelling to Venice on 25 April. It was reported that after arrival at the police block at the frontier post at Ossenego a group of four people, including two musicians from Dresden, were sent in two litters to the Verona quarantine hospital (*Lazzaretto*). The two Dresden musicians left about a month later on 25 April: ‘Pisendel and the oboe player Richter were bound for Venice where, as it is known, they will meet Vivaldi.’<sup>39</sup> At the time of Zelenka’s departure for Vienna in 1716 two of his Mass settings already had been performed in Dresden: *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* (ZWV 1) in 1711 and 1712, and *Missa Judica me* (ZWV 2) in 1714. He must have been considered a talented prospect since the decision to send the Bohemian to the Imperial capital has parallels with other cases where the Dresden court

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*Engagements einiger zum Theater gehöriger Personen, 1699ff*, ‘Specification des pensionne accordées par Monsieur Le Prince Royal aux Musiciens et autres gens actuellement engages pour L’Opera [...], fol. 53<sup>b</sup>. SHELLEY HOGAN, ‘The Bass Ripieno Section of the Dresden *Hofkapelle*’ (University of Melbourne, PhD dissertation, in progress).

<sup>33</sup> Personelli died in July 1728. His place as a *Contra Bassiste* was taken by Kästner. This is known from Kästner’s two petitions from 12 April 1733 and 30 March 1734. D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 383/1, fols. 108<sup>a</sup>-109<sup>a</sup>, fol. 163<sup>a-b</sup>. A Dresden court document dated 8 June 1719 details Personelli’s travel to Venice with the sum of 451 Thaler, plus personal travel costs, in order to procure Venetian string instruments. D-Dla 10026 Geh. Kab., 907/3, *Die Operisten, Musiker, Sänger und andere zur Oper gehörige Personen, 1717-1720*, fols. 117<sup>a</sup>-118<sup>b</sup>; 122<sup>a-b</sup>. An adjacently filed document (fol. 124<sup>a</sup>) signed ‘Alessandro Fedeli’ and dated 16 May 1719 (‘16. Maggio 1719.’) Venice, lists the instruments of this transaction. They include two ‘Violette’ and two ‘Violoni’ along with cases, strings and bows (*loc. cit.*, fol. 124<sup>a</sup>). Information generously supplied by Shelley Hogan, with further advice kindly supplied by Michael Talbot.

<sup>34</sup> D-Dl, Mus. 2114-E-2.

<sup>35</sup> D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, F. Nr. 19, *Journal von der Ankunft des Königs August II. von Polen in Dresden am 23. Dezember 1713 bis zu seiner Abreise am 13. Juli 1714, 1713-1714*, ‘Beylager des Hr. Obristen Moriz Grafens von Sachßen, mit Fräulein, Johann Victorien Tugendreich von Löwen, so den 12. Mart 1714. in Moritzburg gehalten worden 1714’, fol. 156<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>36</sup> SCHULZ, Norbert: ‘Johann Dismas Zelenka’, diss., ts., Berlin: 1944, p. 11. Schulz refers to a now missing ‘Rescript d.d. 20. Jun. 1714.’, showing that at that date Zelenka’s salary was raised to 400 Thaler. – We are very grateful to Markus Bautsch for advising us that until 1943, Norbert Schulz, Zelenka’s first modern biographer, was chaplain of the Catholic parish of Mater Dolorosa, Berlin Lankwitz. Following appointments at Gollnow in Western Pomerania (November 1943), at Ostprignitz-Ruppin and Rheinsberg (June 1944), he returned to Berlin where he served as chaplain of the parish of Holy Cross in Berlin-Wilmersdorf (July 1947). Norbert Schulz died in Berlin on 15 September 1949 following a traffic accident.

<sup>37</sup> Zelenka’s inclusion in a Dresden court-ordered trip to Venice in 1716 with Pisendel, Christian Pezold, and Richter was budgeted for in two court documents: D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 383/2, dated 12. 11. 1715, fol. 40<sup>a-b</sup>; and D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., 383/4, dated 26. 11. 1715, fol. 143<sup>a-b</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> BLICHMANN, Dianna: ‘Der Venedig-Aufenthalt Pisendels (1716-1717): Erlebnisse im Gefolge des sächsischen Kurprinzen Friedrich August als Auslöser eines Kulturtransfers von Venedig nach Dresden’ in *Johann Georg Pisendel – Studien zu Leben und Werk* (≠ note 22), pp. 551-559, pp. 1-56.

<sup>39</sup> From RIGOLI, Paolo: ‘Il virtuoso in gabbia: Musicisti in quarantena al lazaretto di Verona (1655-1740)’, in: PASSADORE & ROSSI (eds.): *Musica, scienza e idee nella Serenissima durante il Seicento*, Fondazione Levi, 1996, p. 146. We gratefully acknowledge Samantha Owens who brought this information to our attention. Michael TALBOT elaborated upon this report in: ‘Miscellany’, *Studi Vivaldiani* 14 (2014), pp. 60-61.



sent promising composers or musicians for further study abroad. For example, in 1693 the Saxon Elector Johann Georg IV sent Johann Christoph Schmidt for a three year study trip to Italy. Schmidt, who had studied with the Dresden *Kapellmeister* Christoph Bernhard, became Dresden *Kapellmeister* in 1697 and Zelenka's teacher in Dresden, according to Zelenka's own testimony.<sup>40</sup> (In 1746 it was suggested that August III should find the means to send Johann Georg Schürer, one of Zelenka's *Kapellknaben* students, for further studies in Italy for two or three years because of the promise he displayed.<sup>41</sup> In 1748 Schürer was appointed Church Composer to the Dresden court and thus held the same position as his former teacher).

From Zelenka's Offertorium score of *Currite ad aras* (ZWV 166) it is known that in mid-1716 he was in Vienna (dated 'à Vienna. li 13 Juni: 1716.')

<sup>42</sup> The reason for his presence there at that time, and not Venice, perhaps is explained by the dynastic ambitions of August II who, as early as May 1705 had written a memorandum titled: 'Project ins fahl das Haus Estreich absterben sohltes' (Project in the event of the House of Austria dying out) in which he outlined how he, August II, or his son the Saxon crown prince, might succeed to the Imperial crown.<sup>43</sup> In June 1716 the Papal Legate to Saxony, Father Giovanni Battista Salerni SJ, before whom Saxon Prince Friedrich August renounced his Lutheran faith and converted to Catholicism at Bologna in 1712, also was in Vienna. Father Salerni wrote to the Roman Curia expressing the view that if an alliance between the Habsburgs and House of Wettin could be arranged, Catholicism would enter Saxony without protest or fuss.<sup>44</sup> On 8 September 1716, August II wrote to Emperor Charles VI stating his interest in having his son marry one of the emperor's two nieces: Archduchess Maria Josepha (born 1699 – the official Habsburg heir until the birth of Maria Theresa on 13 May 1717), or Archduchess Maria Amalia (born 1701).<sup>45</sup> The king also emphasized that such an alliance would strengthen Catholicism in Saxony.<sup>46</sup>

Five months after the birth of Maria Theresa the Saxon crown prince travelled from Venice to Vienna where he arrived on 6 October 1717, remaining there until 4 March 1719. In August 1718, the Saxon Minister Count Pietro Roberto Taparelli Lagnasc (Lagnasco), who then was stationed in Vienna, suggested to August II that the finest musicians of the *Hofkapelle* should be sent to the Imperial capital in preparation for a great celebration scheduled to be held by Friedrich August following the birth to the pregnant Empress Elisabeth of what was hoped to be a male heir to the Imperial crown.<sup>47</sup> Thus, in late August 1718, an elite ensemble of eleven Dresden musicians was ordered to Vienna.<sup>48</sup> The musicians were: concertmaster Jean Baptiste Volumier, Pantaleon Hebenstreit (the pantaleon virtuoso and violinist), lutenist Silvius Leopold Weiss, *premier* violinist Pisendel, violoncellist Agostino Rossi, *premier* oboist Richter, flautist Pierre Gabriel Buffardin, second violinist Carl Joseph Rhein, second oboist Johann Martin Bloch-

<sup>40</sup> See Zelenka's petition of 1712, originally kept with *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* (ZWV 1). A-Wn, Sign. 15773. Reproduced by STOCKIGT, *Jan Dismas Zelenka* (↵ note 3), pp. 307-308.

<sup>41</sup> 'La Music est d'un certain nommé Schürer, jeune homme qui promet beaucoup, sur tout si le Roi lui fournit les moyens de passer deux ou 3. ans en Italie.' D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 2643/5, *Des Geheimen Rats Freiherr von Gersdorf Abschickung an den kurbayerischen Hof und dessen daselbst geführte Negotiation, 1746* (Vol. 5), letter of Count Wackerbarth-Salmour to Count Gersdorf, Dresden 11 November 1746, unfoliated. It is not clear whether or not Schürer ever went to Italy.

<sup>42</sup> D-Dl, Mus. 2358-E-40.

<sup>43</sup> MIKOSCH, Elisabeth: 'Court Dress and Ceremony in the Age of the Baroque: The Royal/Imperial Wedding of 1719 in Dresden. A Study', Dissertation, New York University, 1999, p. 74.

<sup>44</sup> 'entrando in Sassonia una Principessa di Casa di Austria, v'entrarebbe nell'istesso tempo con lei la religione ed ogni bene senza disturbo, senza strepito e con la maggior naturalezza del mondo.' Cited by HORN, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik* (↵ note 17) p. 27.

<sup>45</sup> Already in 1710, August II had written to Emperor Joseph I, stating his wish that his son, the Saxon crown prince, should marry either of the two archduchesses: D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 3380/1, *Papiere des Grafen von Wackerbarth, die Vermählung des Kronprinzen mit einer kaiserlichen Prinzessin und Verhandlungen darüber zu Wien betreffend, 1710-1718*, draft, unfoliated.

<sup>46</sup> MIKOSCH, 'Court Dress and Ceremony' (↵ note 43), p. 75.

<sup>47</sup> 'Comme toute la Musique de VM. luy sera inutile a cause de son voyage en Pologne Elle pourroit aussi (si Elle le juge approuve) Nous envoyer quelques uns de ses meilleurs Musiciens pour accompagner ce festin et le divertissement d'un beau concert;' D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 661/6, *Négociations du Comte de Lagnasc à Vienne avec le Père Salerne pour le Mariage du Prince Royal avec l'ainée des Archiduchesses, Josephines, da les Sollicitations à la Cour de Rome pour l'élévation du Révérend Père Salerne au Cardinalat et Affaire entre la Pologne et les Tartares et Réflexions et rapports sur les conjonctures du temps, 1717-1718*, fol. 321<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 383/4, fol. 222<sup>a-b</sup>.

witz, viola ('Violetta') player Johann Georg Lehneiß, and bassonist Johann Gottfried Böhme. It is likely that Zelenka joined his colleagues as the string bass player. For this ensemble of musicians, plus the two newly employed horn players to the court of the crown prince – Tobias Buz (Butz) and Johann Joseph Goetzel (Götzel) – it seems certain that Zelenka composed his *Capriccio in A* (ZWV 185), dated 'à Vien: 20 Ottobre/1718.'

Buz and Goetzel are almost certainly the two unnamed horn players who first are mentioned among the *Hoffstaat* of Crown Prince Friedrich August in a list drafted in or about July 1718.<sup>49</sup> They probably were recruited by the prince on his arrival in Vienna, or shortly thereafter and, as it has been pointed out, they must be the horn players Zelenka had in mind when he composed his three other works titled *Capriccio* (ZWV 182-184).<sup>50</sup> Perhaps Buz and Goetzel had been in the service of the Saxon Ambassador to Vienna, Cabinet Minister, *Generalfeldmarschall* and Governor of Dresden, Count August Christoph Wackerbarth, prior to entering employment with Friedrich August. Based on payments in the account books of the crown prince from this period it has been suggested that Zelenka wrote three of his four *Capriccio* compositions for the chamber ensemble of the music-loving count.<sup>51</sup> In 1719 Wackerbarth's *Musique* comprised at least five musicians: keyboard player Johann Gottfried Stiebner (Stübner),<sup>52</sup> oboists Johann Christoph Reinhard (Reinhardt) and Johann Wilhelm Hugo, bassonist Johann B. Lincke and the Italian cellist Arcangelo Califano,<sup>53</sup> who probably became a composition student of Zelenka in Dresden at a later time.

Wackerbarth's musicians and Zelenka might also have performed with Francesco Maria Veracini during his performances for Friedrich August in Vienna. It is well known that the Italian violinist had been hired by the Saxon crown prince during his stay in Venice, and he later travelled to the Imperial capital where he rejoined the entourage of the prince. Veracini's name is mentioned in letters written from Vienna to Dresden. For example, he is recorded performing at the residence of Friedrich August on 27 June 1718 for the Saxon crown prince and his guest, the Bavarian Electoral Prince Charles Albert: '[...] there was a fine concert where Veracini distinguished himself, and apparently enjoyed himself greatly.'<sup>54</sup> Here, some of the violin sonatas Veracini dedicated to Friedrich August probably were heard, and possibly some of his six overture suites from this period, for example the sixth overture with its busy passage work for the solo oboists which would have been well suited to the two players of Count Wackerbarth, Reinhard and Hugo.<sup>55</sup> The fact that Veracini and Zelenka were supplying the crown prince with their compositions at the same time in Vienna casts a new light on the instrumental works of Zelenka and his connection with the Italian: it has been observed that 'striking similarities of musical spirit and humour exist between Zelenka's capriccios and Veracini's ouverture suites.'<sup>56</sup>

<sup>49</sup> 'Lista bey S. König. Hoheit Hoffstaat Cavalier und bedienten in Wien, [...] Zwey Waldhornisten.' D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 758/7, *Ihrer Hoheit des Königlichen Prinzen Herrn Friedrich August Aufenthalt in Wien und endlich erfolgte glückliche Retour in Dresden, 1717-1722*, fol. 136<sup>a</sup>. See also SEIFERT, Herbert: 'Zelenka in Wien', in: GATTERMAN, Günter – REICH, Wolfgang (eds.): *Zelenka-Studien II. Referate und Materialien der 2. Internationalen Fachkonferenz Jan Dismas Zelenka (Dresden und Prag 1995)* (ZS II hereafter) [= Deutsche Musik im Osten, 12], Sankt Augustin: Academia, 1997, p. 187, note 30.

<sup>50</sup> KÖPP, Kai: *Johann Georg Pisendel (1687-1755) und die Anfänge der neuzeitlichen Orchesterleitung*, Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2005, pp. 119-120.

<sup>51</sup> STOCKIGT, *Jan Dismas Zelenka* (↵ note 3), p. 50.

<sup>52</sup> D-Dla, 11254 Gouvernement Dresden, Loc. 14500/4, *Organistenstelle ad der Dresdner Garnisonkirche, 1720, 1728, 1734, 1746-1776, 1795, 1803-1807*, petition of Stiebner asking to be re-instated in Wackerbarth's 'Cammer Musique', Dresden, 11 July 1720, fol. 2<sup>a-b</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> D-Dla, 11254 Gouvernement Dresden, Loc. 14502/10, *Anordnung des Gouvernements wegen der Festlichkeiten beim Einzug der Prinzessin Maria Josepha in Pirna und Dresden, 1718-1719*, 'Hierüber noch S. Excell. des Herrn Gouverneurs eigne Domestiquen: 'musicus Reinhard | Linke | Hucho | Califano', fol. 185<sup>b</sup>. In 1731 the Saxon crown prince recommended to his father August II that the three last named musicians, who were then still in the service of Count Wackerbarth, would join the *Hofkapelle*. They were hired on 28 November 1731. D-Dla, 10026, Geh. Kab., Loc. 383/5, *Die Bande französischer Komödianten und Orchester, 1721-1733*, fols. 223<sup>a</sup>-224<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>54</sup> '[...] il y eut un beau concert où Veracini s'est distingué, et qui a paru se fort amuser.' D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 661/6, Lagnasc to August II, Vienna, 29 June 1718, fol. 276<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> Between 1733 and 1736 Zelenka wrote many beautiful arias for the chalumeau, the second instrument Hugo played in Dresden.

<sup>56</sup> STOCKIGT, *Jan Dismas Zelenka* (↵ note 3), p. 51.

Interestingly, Zelenka's petitions of 1733 claimed that he had received no remuneration for his music, nor for the considerable expenses incurred during his time in Vienna as had his colleagues, who are known to have remained in the city until January 1719 (see below). Zelenka's meaning is not clear: perhaps he was not compensated for his compositions (especially the works titled *Capriccio*).<sup>57</sup> Was he referring to payments made from the private purse of the prince to the eleven musicians in September?<sup>58</sup> Various similar payments were made to unnamed musicians from July onwards, and rent was paid for Veracini.<sup>59</sup> However, it should also be noted that Zelenka was being slightly economical with the truth in his petitions, for he did indeed receive a 50 Thaler payment 'zu seiner beßeren subsistenz in Wien' from the court coffers in Dresden on 29 March 1718, > Illustration 2.<sup>60</sup>

Zelenka was absent from Dresden when brief autobiographies were prepared by members of the Dresden *Hofkapelle* either late in 1717 or early 1718.<sup>61</sup> When the position of Saxon Elector Friedrich August I as King of Poland was finally confirmed in 1717 and a union between an Austrian Archduchess and the Saxon Crown Prince seemed possible, an assessment of the entire household of August II was undertaken to determine whether the grandeur of the proposed celebrations could be managed.<sup>62</sup> Thus, the planned festivities had a dual purpose: not only were they designed to celebrate the expected marriage of Friedrich August, but the restoration of Elector Friedrich August I as King of Poland was also to be marked.<sup>63</sup> These brief accounts which give information about place of birth, age, and year of entry into royal service by thirty-nine members of the *Hofkapelle* are but one aspect of the organization and regularization of the entire personnel of the Dresden court at that time.

On 28 April 1719 Emperor Charles VI announced that his elder niece, Maria Josepha, would marry the Saxon crown prince, who already had returned to Dresden. Therefore, Zelenka's presence in Vienna at a crucial period in a Habsburg alliance planned by August II suggests that he had a role in the long-term plan of the ambitious King of Poland and Elector of Saxony: in anticipation of the arrival in Dresden of a Habsburg bride sacred music composed according to Viennese traditions would be an essential element in the service of the Catholic court church. Thus, during the time spent in Vienna Zelenka not only composed: he also studied, collected and copied examples of music for the Catholic court church of Dresden to use on his return.<sup>64</sup>

On 4 January 1719 August II ordered his musicians in Vienna to return to Dresden, adding that they must arrive before the end of that month.<sup>65</sup> Zelenka, who is known to have been in Vienna on 10 February,<sup>66</sup> probably remained in the Imperial city until the departure

<sup>57</sup> A RISM search demonstrates that almost half of these musicians sent to Vienna at this time also composed.

<sup>58</sup> The daily allowances for the Dresden musicians were only budgeted for 14 days, after which period they would have been reliant on their regular salaries from Dresden in addition to gratifications from the prince. KÖPP, *Johann Georg Pisendel (1687-1755)* (< note 50), pp. 119-120. See also SEIFERT, 'Zelenka in Wien' (< note 49), pp. 184-185.

<sup>59</sup> The Vienna accounts of the prince are seen in: D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 763/8, fols. 41<sup>a</sup>-42<sup>b</sup>, 44<sup>b</sup>-51<sup>b</sup>. The '93 Kf.' payment of 'Quartier-gelder' for 'dem Violist Verracini' is seen at fol. 51<sup>b</sup>. SEIFERT, 'Zelenka in Wien' (< note 49), p. 185, points out that in October 1718 a payment of 40 Thaler was made to an Italian musician named Gerolamo. This must be Gerolamo Personelli who first arrived in Dresden in 1717. See above and note 32.

<sup>60</sup> D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 907/3, fol. 49<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, K 2, Nr. 5, fols. 90<sup>a</sup>-93<sup>a</sup>. See also KÖPP, 'Ein Musikerverzeichnis aus dem Jahr 1718' (< note 22), pp. 353-382.

<sup>62</sup> Observed by MIKOSCH, 'Court Ceremony and Dress' (< note 43), p. 78.

<sup>63</sup> The first period of the reign of August II as King of Poland extended from 1697 to 1706; the second from 1709 until his death in 1733.

<sup>64</sup> Three of the four volumes of works are dated between 1717 and 1718. Liber I of *Collectaneorum Musicorum libri quatuor* (D-Dl, Mus. 1-B-98) is dated 'Viennae Austriae 1718'; Liber II is dated 'à Vienna 1718'; Liber III is dated 'Viennae Austriae. 1717'; Liber IV is dated 'Viennae Austriae 1718' and 'à Vienna 1719 10 Febru.' ZD (< note 3), v. 1, pp. 71-86.

<sup>65</sup> 'P.S. Au reste, je souhaite que les Musiciens appartenant à mon orchestre et qui sont présentement à Vienna, se rendent à Dresden; pour y être à la fin de ce mois à Dresden.' D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 2091/71, *Briefwechsel König August II. von Polen, 1708-1732*, letter from August II to Count Anton Lützelburg, Warsaw, 4 January 1719, fol. 30<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> Zelenka's manuscript copy of Luigi Battiferri's *12 Ricercari* op. 3 is dated 'à Vienna 1719 10 Febru.', D-Dl, Mus. 1-B-98, p. 395.



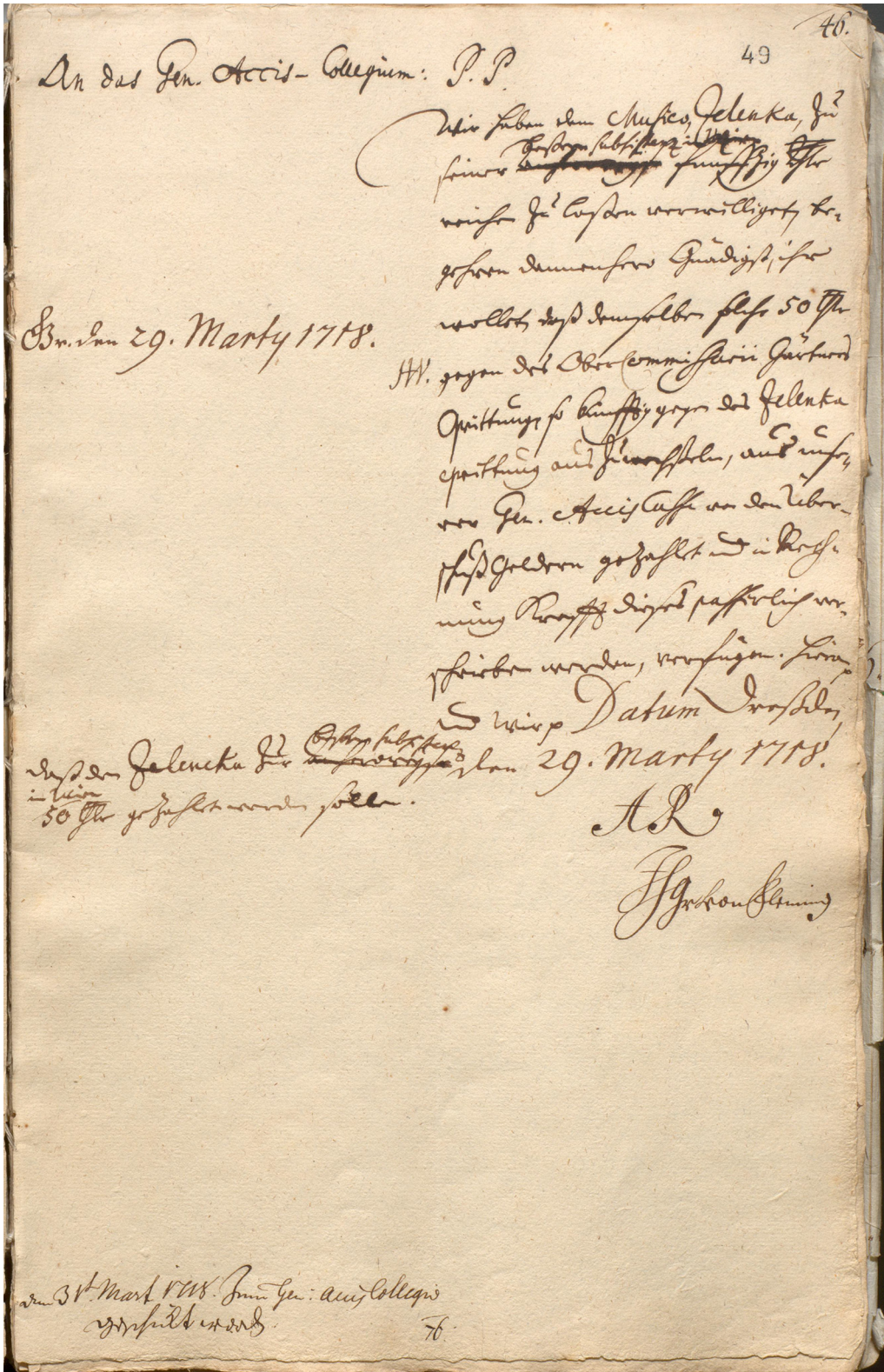


Illustration 2:  
 50 Thaler payment to  
 'Zelenka' in Vienna,  
 29 March 1718.  
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 den, D-Dla, 10026 Geh.  
 Kab., Loc. 907/3, fol. 49<sup>a</sup>.

of the crown prince, who left Vienna on 4 March. This accords with Zelenka's petitions from 1733 and 1736, where he stated that he had served Friedrich August for eighteen months in Vienna – almost the exact duration of the prince's sojourn there. Zelenka must have returned to Dresden in March, or at least by late April when regular rehearsals began for the wedding celebrations to be held there during the month of September following the arrival of Friedrich August and Maria Josepha in the city.<sup>67</sup> The first record of Zelenka's presence in Saxony, how-

<sup>67</sup> D-Dl, Mscr. Dresd. Q 229, Chur Fürstf.: Sächß: Hof- und andere Nachrichten, zum Behuf einer Fortsetzung der Sächß: Annalen und Dresdner Chronik [...], 1718-1737 (some years missing), numerous entries describe rehearsals from April to August, 1719.

ever, comes from October 1719 when he was among Dresden musicians sent to perform at the celebrations continuing at Moritzburg. 'Der *Contre Basse Zelencka*' is ranked third among the eighteen musicians sent there, a sign of his rising status within the *Hofkapelle*.<sup>68</sup> Together with *Kapellmeister* Schmidt, *Cammer Organist* Christian Pezold, the cellist Rossi, violinists Pisendel, Rhein and Simon le Gros, and flautist Buffardin, he was accommodated at house No. 59, 'bey Heinrich Bischoff'.<sup>69</sup>

When the theorbo player Francesco Arigoni (Arrigoni) passed away in Dresden two months later his annual salary of 400 Thaler was projected to be shared between the musicians in the *Hofkapelle* who were next in line for a rise. Of the amount about to be distributed it was suggested that as one of the three principal accompanists alongside Pezold and archlute player Gottfried Bentley, Zelenka would receive a salary increase of 100 Thaler. This suggestion came from *Kapellmeister* Schmidt who wished to increase the wages of these three musicians so that their salaries would resemble those of the principal accompanists of earlier times.<sup>70</sup> Although nothing came of his suggestion, Schmidt's proposals are nevertheless of interest because they confirm the important role Zelenka played in both the royal orchestra and as a *Cammer-Musicus* – the title seen in the non-autograph dedication accompanying *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* (D-Dl, 2358-D-8), and also the dedication copy kept in the French National Library.

### 1720-1729

The most informative source of this, the most productive era of Zelenka's life, is arguably the journal kept by a succession of Jesuit superiors at the Dresden court: the *Diarium Missionis Societatis Jesu Dresdae* (*Diarium Dresdae* hereafter).<sup>71</sup> Two salary lists included in the *Hofbuch* provide information on Zelenka's wages: In c1721 the '*Violonist Dismas Zelenska*' was listed with an annual salary of 400 Thaler,<sup>72</sup> and again in c1725. In the salary list of 1721 his place of birth is given as 'Lanweriz [!] Bohm', and although Zelenka's age is incorrectly given here as '41', the year of his entry into the *Hofkapelle* again is shown as '1711'.<sup>73</sup> As reported above, the salary list for 1726-1729 repeats the information about his age and place of birth.<sup>74</sup>

From 1723 until 1732 Zelenka was named annually as a member of the *Capelle* in the records of Catholics attached to the Dresden court who were eligible to be interred in the Catholic cemetery, a burial place established at Friedrichstadt in 1723. These lists present a type of census in which every member of the household of each Catholic in Dresden court service

<sup>68</sup> D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, I, Nr. 26, *Friedrich August II. Jagd- und andere Reisen in- und außerhalb Landes, 1718-1719*, 'Fourier Zettel nach Moritzburgk im Oct: 1719', 'Von der Capelle', fol. 294<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> *Loc. cit.*, 'Die Einlogirung in Moritzburg, 1719 betr.', 'Von der Capelle', fol. 302<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> 'Francesco Arigoni Tiorbist bey der Königl: Pohln: und Churfürstl: Sächßisch: Capelle ist den 27 Dec: 1719 mit Todte abgangen: Weiln nun albereit Weise, und Bently verhanden, welche dieses Instrument tractiren, und dahero unvonnöthen, diese Stelle wieder zu ersezen; alß könten durch diese besoldung diejenigen Musici, welche vor andern nunmehr zu consideriren ad interim biß fernerer Allernädigsten Verfügung einiger maßen zu frieden gestellet werden, als: Der Cammer Organist Pezold mit 50 r. hätte in allen 500 r. -, Johann Dismas Zelencka Contre Bass 100 r. - 500 r. -, Gottfried Bentley Arcilutist 80 r. - - 480 r. -. Dem vorigen Zeit die ersten accompagnateurs jährl. 600. r. besoldung gehabt und darinnen einander gleich tractiret worden.' D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 907/3, undated [circa January 1720], fol. 167<sup>a</sup>. The document is in the hand of one of Schmidt's assistants.

<sup>71</sup> *Diarium Dresdae (1710-1738)*. 2 vols [vol. 1] *Jhs Diarium seu Protocolium Missionis Societatis Jesu, À Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Poloniarum Rege, et Sacr: Rom: Imperij Electore FRIDERICO AUGUSTO, Dresdae, in urbe sua Electorali institutae. Scribi coeptum anno salutis humanae 1710, die 16 Januarij, quò Missioni huic, Autoritate Admodùm Reverendi Patris Nostri Generalis, per Rđum Patrem Provincialelem Prov:ae Bohemiae, constitutus est Superior P. Georgius Klein*. [vol. 2] *Continuatio Diarij seu Protocolli a... FRIDERICO AUGUSTO Dresdae in urbe sua Electorali institutae Societatis JESU Missionis. Ab Anno 1721. usque ad Annum 1738 [...]*. Microfilm of the *Diarium* is held at the Domstift und Bischöfliches Ordinariat, Bibliothek und Archiv, Bautzen, Germany. Excerpts published by REICH, Wolfgang: 'Exzerpte aus dem Diarium Missionis S.J. Dresdae' in: *ZS II* (← note 49), pp. 315-375. Also *Diarium Dresdae (1739-1742)*. POPPE, Gerhard: 'Ein weiterer Faszikel aus dem Diarium Missionis Societatis Jesu Dresdae wiederaufgefunden', in: WOLLNY, Peter (ed.): *Die Oberlausitz – eine Grenzregion der mitteldeutschen Barockmusik* [= Jahrbuch: Ständige Konferenz Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik 2006], Beeskow: Ortus, 2007, pp. 193-204.

<sup>72</sup> D-Dla 10006 OHMA, K 2, Nr. 6, *Hofbuch 1721-1725*, 'Königl: Pohlnisches und Churfürstl. Sächßisches Hoff-buch von 1721. usq. 1725', 'Capell Musici', fols. 3<sup>b</sup>-4<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>73</sup> D-Dla 10006 OHMA, K 2, Nr. 6, 'Capell Musici', fols. 76<sup>b</sup>-77<sup>a</sup>. Information given in note 24, above.

<sup>74</sup> D-Dla 10006 OHMA, K 2, Nr. 7, 'Capell Musici', unfoliated.



is itemised. Throughout these years Zelenka is recorded as being as an unmarried person who lived alone.<sup>75</sup>

Zelenka's musical contributions to the coronation in Prague of Charles VI as King of Bohemia, *Sub olea pacis: Melodrama de Sancto Wenceslao* (ZWV 175) composed for the Jesuits from the Clementinum College,<sup>76</sup> and four instrumental works bearing the inscription 'à Praga 1723' (ZWV 186-189), are well documented.<sup>77</sup> In December 1722 Zelenka visited that city, and on 9 February 1723 (possibly at the instigation of Johann Hubert Hartig) he produced solemn music for the Feast of St Apollonia in the church of St Salvatore.<sup>78</sup> Not one of the instrumental works composed for Prague in 1723 (nor any earlier composition written during his time in Vienna) bears the dedication formula ending in 'P J R.' (Augustissimo Principi in reverentia), the letters indicating that a work was commissioned by the Dresden court.<sup>79</sup> Apart from Johann Hubert Hartig, potential patrons who might have commissioned instrumental music from Zelenka at this time include Count Wenzel Morzin,<sup>80</sup> and Count Francis Joseph Černin.<sup>81</sup> The musicians of Count Morzin's orchestra are of great interest because among this ensemble were virtuoso performers of violin, oboe, bassoon – instruments required by Zelenka for three of the four instrumental works he composed in 1723: *Concerto à 8 Concer[tanti]* (ZWV 186), *Ouverture à 7 concerta[nti]* (ZWV 188), and *Simphonie à 8 Concer[tanti]* (ZWV 189). In the *Simphonie à 8 Concer[tanti]* the wonderfully lyrical 'Aria da Capriccio' includes a solo violoncello. Among Count Morzin's musicians in 1724 were three violinists, a violoncellist and violone player, an oboist, and three bassoonists.<sup>82</sup> Composer Antonín Reichenauer was the keyboard player of the ensemble. Nevertheless, Václav Kapsa found no payments to Zelenka in the accounts of Count Morzin from this period.

Not only do the years 1723 to 1730 represent a time of huge compositional activity for Zelenka, they also were significant for his career as a composer at the Dresden court. While it is true that many of Zelenka's outpourings of this era could be regarded as *Gebrauchsmusik*, this does not necessarily mean that the quality is inferior. During the 1720s his personal library of music by other composers grew to include more than twenty Mass settings and at least fifty compositions for Vespers (some single listings are of two, even three psalm settings). Most of these works then were revised for the performance conditions of the Dresden Catholic court church and the musicians of the *Hofkapelle*. The question arises: when did Zelenka begin to receive commissions from the Dresden court to compose sacred music? If the letters 'P in R', or

<sup>75</sup> These registers are found in D-Dla, 10025 Geheimes Konsilium, Loc. 4636, *Der für Ihre Hoheit, die königlichen Prinzessin Maria Josepha Hofstaat konzedierte Begräbnisplatz zu Dresden, Verzeichnisse der Beamten katholischer Konfession, ingleichen was wegen des Huldigungseides bei der römisch-katholischen Geistlichkeit vorgegangen, 1719-1734*, fols. 227<sup>a</sup>-489<sup>a</sup>. The lists are published by ÁGÚSTSSON, Jóhannes and STOCKIGT, Janice B.: 'Records of Catholic musicians, actors, and dancers at the court of August II, 1723-1732: The establishment of the Catholic cemetery in Dresden', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicles* (RMARC) 45 (2014), pp. 26-75.

<sup>76</sup> See ZD (↵ note 3), v. 1, Dok. 17, p. 114. Also STOCKIGT, Janice B. and VOJTĚŠKOVÁ, Jana: 'Zpráva o návštěvě císaře Karla VI. s chotí v Klementinu v roce 1723 při provedení hry *Sub olea pacis* s hudbou Jana Dismase Zelenky', *Hudební věda* 29/4 (1992), pp. 351-359.

<sup>77</sup> See ZD (↵ note 3), v. 1, Doks. 18 to 21. STOCKIGT, Janice B.: 'On the Dresden sources of Zelenka's instrumental music' presented at the conference *Das Instrumentalrepertoire der Dresdner Hofkapelle in den ersten beiden Dritteln des 18. Jahrhunderts – Überlieferung und Notisten*, Dresden, June 23-25, 2010. Forthcoming on-line publication through Quocosa.

<sup>78</sup> STOCKIGT, *Jan Dismas Zelenka* (↵ note 3), p. 123.

<sup>79</sup> The most common formula used by Zelenka is 'A M D G V M O O S S H A A P J R'. Wolfgang Reich suggests the final letters (AA P J R or P i R) signify 'Augustissimum Poloniarum in Regem', while Wolfgang Horn prefers 'Augustissimo Principi in reverentia' (To the most august Prince [or ruler] with veneration, profound respect). ZD (↵ note 3), v. 1, p. 157.

<sup>80</sup> See KAPSA, Václav: *Hudebníci hraběte Morzina: Příspěvek k dějinám šlechtických kapel v Čechách v době baroka*, Prague: Kabinet hudební historie – Etnologický ústav AV ČR, 2010, and KAPSA, Václav: 'Account books, names and music: Count Wenzel von Morzin's *Virtuosissima Orchestra*', *Early Music* 40/4 (2012), pp. 605-620.

<sup>81</sup> For more on the chamber ensembles of Count Morzin and Count Černin see KAPSA, Václav: 'Hofmusici a lokajové. K postavení hudebníka na šlechtickém dvoře v Čechách první poloviny 18. století', *Theatrum historiae* 9 (2011), pp. 241-255. New information on the two groups and their role in the 1723 celebrations is provided in ÁGÚSTSSON, Jóhannes: "La Perfetta Cognitione": Francis Stephen of Lorraine, Patron of Vivaldi', *Studi vivaldiani* 15 (2015), pp. 121-122.

<sup>82</sup> KAPSA, *Hudebníci hraběte Morzina* (↵ note 80), Table 8, p. 83.



'P J R' (occasionally 'PP in R') seen at the conclusion of Zelenka's most frequently used dedication formula – 'A M D G B V M O O S S H P in R' – signify Zelenka's commissioning patron (or patrons), then the point at which he received commissions to compose for the court becomes clear. Until September 1725, soon after his return from the court-sponsored pilgrimage of Dresden Catholics to Graupen,<sup>83</sup> Zelenka's dedications did not include those final letters 'P in R' (or 'P J R', or similar). One exception occurs: To the dedication of the 1724 *Salve Regina* of 1724 the letters 'B V M' and 'AA P J R' were added in a different ink. This suggests that the work was re-performed after Zelenka was formally commissioned to compose for the court.

Between mid- to late-1725 Zelenka began a remarkable venture: the composition of Vespers psalms for the whole year. Over the following three years he set thirty-three Vespers works in three cycles for Dresden's Catholic court church which was (and remains) dedicated to the Most Holy Trinity. The unavoidable conclusion is that Zelenka had deliberately embarked upon a very well-planned project. This grandiose plan would serve every Vespers sequence of the church year, as the title given to the collection entered into the *Inventarium* reveals: 'Psalmi Vespertini totius anni.' The psalms are composed as both solemn and ordinary settings, and they reflect the musicians available to Zelenka throughout these years: either members of the Dresden *Hofkapelle* or the music ensemble of the Catholic court church, the *Kapellknaben*.<sup>84</sup> When these psalms are viewed according to the ZWV numbering system Zelenka's plan is obscured. It is visible only in his personal music catalogue, the *Inventarium*,<sup>85</sup> but even there, the order of composition is not apparent because Zelenka began the listings with those psalms composed in 1726, and then added the first-composed works, all of which (apart from ZWV 66) are dated 1725. The listing of each cycle begins with a setting of *Dixit Dominus*.<sup>86</sup> The cycle then develops so that one or more Vespers sequence is served. Zelenka also composed a fourth cycle of psalms. They are listed in the *Inventarium* as *Psalmi varii* 'J: D: Z: Separatim Scripti' (separate from the thirty-three *Psalmi Vespertini totius anni*). Of the original eight settings from Cycle 4, six only are found in Dresden today (although for *Laetatus sum*, ZWV 90, which now is missing in Dresden, a set of nine parts is held in the collection of Prague's Metropolitan Cathedral.<sup>87</sup>)

Where was all this compositional activity of the mid-to late 1720s heading? In 1725 Zelenka had heavy musical responsibilities for the octave of the Feast of St Francis Xavier. The *Diarium Dresdae* reported that the Mass and Litanies sung on the day of the feast (3. 12. 1725) were produced by Zelenka,<sup>88</sup> and on the Sunday within the octave (9. 12. 1725), Zelenka 'made' the music in the morning and for Vespers.<sup>89</sup> Soon after, on 1 January 1726, Feast of the Circumcision of Our Lord (also the titular feast day of the Society of Jesus, and a gala day at the Dresden court), the *Diarium Dresdae* reported that Zelenka was responsible for the Sung Mass in the morning and for Vespers at 3 pm.<sup>90</sup> On 17 January Zelenka began to keep his *Inventarium*.

From early in 1724 Zelenka began to develop a reputation for directing requiem and memorial masses offered in Dresden's Catholic court church, a service he frequently was called upon to carry out, as reported in *Diarium Dresdae*.<sup>91</sup> In 1729 the Congregation of the Good Death,

<sup>83</sup> On this pilgrimage, see ZD (↵ note 3), v. 1, Dok. 28, pp. 123-124. Zelenka's first dated work bearing the full dedication is *Confitebor tibi Domine* (ZWV 72), dated 25 September 1725.

<sup>84</sup> The question of the performers of Zelenka's psalm settings is discussed by STOCKIGT in 'Indications of the Original Performances of Zelenka's Vespers Psalms,' published as 'Hinweise auf die Originalaufführungen von Zelenkas Vesperpsalmen,' in: ZS II (↵ note 49), pp. 101-143.

<sup>85</sup> *Inventarium rerum Musicarum Variorum Aethorum Ecclesiae Servientium*. D-Dl, Bibl. Arch. III Hb, Vol. 787 d. Facsimile published in ZD (↵ note 3), v. 2, pp. 169-218. See: <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/df/112990/1/>.

<sup>86</sup> The first composed work whose dedication reads 'A M D G V M O O S S Semper' (*Dixit Dominus*, ZWV 66) has a cover note in Zelenka's hand which reads: 'Hymn I Decora Lux Aeternitatis.' This is the Vespers hymn for the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul (29 June), which suggests the date of at least one, if not the first performance of this setting. We are grateful to Michael Driscoll for reminding us of Zelenka's note.

<sup>87</sup> CZ-Pak, 1400.

<sup>88</sup> *Diarium Dresdae*, 3. 12. 1725: 'Cantatum cum assistentia [...] Musicam produxit D. Zelenka [...]'

<sup>89</sup> *Diarium Dresdae*, 9. 12. 1725: 'Musicam fecit mane et in Vesperis Dominus Zelenka.'

<sup>90</sup> *Diarium Dresdae*, 1. 1. 1726: 'Cantatum cum assistentia. [...] Musicam produxit D. Zelenka. Hora 3. Vesperas cum assistentia quas D. Zelenka produxit.'

<sup>91</sup> Occasions during these years begin with *Diarium Dresdae* entries on 19. 2. 1724 (Requiem for Filippo Molteni). Reports continue with and entry on 3. 3. 1724 (Requiem for Zelenka's father); 28. 3. 1724 (Requiem Mass on the anniversary of the death of the horn player, Franz Sam); 2. 11. 1724 (In

titled *Agonizantis Christi*, finally was established in the royal chapel. This congregation, which had been promised in drafts of the foundation documents of the church in 1708,<sup>92</sup> came into being in 1729 after the death on Passion Sunday 1728 of the 8-year-old Saxon heir, Prince Joseph, and the near-death of the infant Saxon Princess Maria Margaretha. Passion Sunday became the titular feast day of the congregation, on which day an album naming the members of the society and the Papal Bull of Indulgence was presented. It is reported that many Catholics participated in the devotions and sermons after Vespers on the first Sunday of the month,<sup>93</sup> and it is probable that Zelenka was among these.

After the death in July 1728 of the contrabass player and copyist Personelli, the Dresden court *Kapellmeister*, Johann David Heinichen, recommended that Personelli's annual salary of 800 Thaler should be used, as was customary, to supplement (*zulage*) the wages of members of the *Hofkapelle* who merited an increase, > Illustration 3.<sup>94</sup> However, Heinichen's recommendations were not implemented and Personelli's salary reverted back into the *Hofkasse*, as were the salaries of other departed or deceased members of the *Hofkapelle* during this period. In this way, the Dresden court was able to save a considerable amount instead of using the funds to reward hard working musicians and reinforce the orchestra, as required.<sup>95</sup> Heinichen's recommendation that Zelenka should receive an increase of 200 Thaler – a rise of 50 % – clearly suggests that he valued the contribution of his colleague who had taken control of the music in the church during Heinichen's frequent absences due to illness. Note also that Heinichen proposed a 100 Thaler *zulage* for Buz as the '3ten Kirchen Compositeur' – a title which at that time did not officially exist.

The classification of Zelenka's instrumental composition dated 18 May 1729, a work until now known in the Zelenka literature as a *Capriccio* (ZWW 190), should be *Sinfonia*, the title given in the catalogue of the music collection of the Dresden Catholic court church assembled in 1765 under the direction of Schürer.<sup>96</sup> This work was almost certainly composed for the birthday celebrations held in 1729 for August II, who already had left Dresden for Warsaw on 24 April. Although this birthday was usually observed on 12 May, the list of gala days to be celebrated in Dresden – 'Galla-Tage, So in Dreßden *celebriret* werden' published in the *HStCal* for 1729' – shows that the celebration was re-scheduled to 21 May: 'Mense Maij. Den 21. Maj. Ihrer Majestät des Königes in Pohlen und Churfürstens zu Sachsen, Herrn Friedrichs August Geburths-Tag in *Galla*' – that is three days after Zelenka dated the score of this work: '18 Maji 1729'.<sup>97</sup> At exactly this time the crown prince and princess were based at Moritzburg with their courts.<sup>98</sup> It is likely that Zelenka was given this commission during the final illness of Heinichen who died on 16 July 1729.

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Comm. Omnium Fidelium Defunctorum); 26. 2. 1725 (Requiem for Carl Radziwill); 28. 2. 1725 (Requiem for Constantin Radziwill); 23. 11. 1725 (Exequies for the Cardinal of Saxony, cousin of August II); 4. 5. 1726 (Sung Solemn Requiem the father of Joanne [Schanoni] of Dresden); 10. 3. 1729 (Requiem for Countess Fuckerin).

<sup>92</sup> 'La devotion de la bonne et heureuse mort se fera le Vendredy ou Dimanche à la maniere accoutumée ailleurs et celle du Rosaire le Samedy apres le disné'. Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), Bohemiae (Boh.), *Dresda: Reglements du Roy pour l'Eglise et Chapelle Royale, ouverte aux Catholiques*, 205/1, Item 11.

<sup>93</sup> SAFT, Paul Franz: *Der Neuaufbau der Katholischen Kirche in Sachsen im 18. Jahrhundert* [= Studien zur katholischen Bistums- und Klostergeschichte, 2], Leipzig: St. Benno-Verlag, 1961, pp. 46-47.

<sup>94</sup> 'Der verstorbene *Copiste* und *Violoniste Momolo* hat jährlich 800 rthl. gehabt welche der *Capellmeister* folgendes einzutheilen *projectiret* | An den *Organist Uhlisch*, so kunfftlich dem *Violon* spielen soll 200 | Dem *Violonist Kästner* zulage 40 | An dem *Copisten Kremier*, weil deßen einer statt des verstorbenen nöthig 200 | Zulage an der *Capellmeisters Copisten* 60 | An den *Compositeur Zelencka* zulage 200 | An Ihro Königl. Hoheit *Wald-hornisten Puz* als 3ten *Kirchen Compositeur* zulage 100. | Summa 800 r[eichst]h[aler]. D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 354/3, *Chatullensachen*, undated, fol. 451<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>95</sup> This is further discussed in ÁGÚSTSSON, Jóhannes: 'The Secular Vocal Collection of Jan Dismas Zelenka: A Reconstruction', *Studi vivaldiani* 13 (2013), pp. 16-17, 22-23.

<sup>96</sup> 'Catalogo (Thematico) [*sic!*] della Musica di Chiesa (catholica [*sic!*] in Dresda) composta Da diversi Autori – secondo l'Alfabetto 1765' (Catalogo 1765' hereafter). Compiled under the direction of 'Joannes Georg Schürer', 3 vols. D-B Mus. ms. theor. Kat. 186.

<sup>97</sup> STOCKIGT: 'On the Dresden sources of Zelenka's instrumental music' (↪ note 77).

<sup>98</sup> 'Diese ganzen Monath [May] durch haben Ihro Königl. Hoheit der Chron- und Chur Prinz nebst dessen Durchl. Frau Gemahlin Königl. Hoheit in den Jagd- und Lust-Schloß Moritzburg [...] Dero *Diver-tissement* gefunden.' D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, G, Nr. 29, *Auszug aus dem Journal sowie Karneval in Dresden*,



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Der ansehnliche Copiste im Violonist  
 Hornolo hat jählich 500 Th. gefacht  
 auch in Capellmeisters Zelenka  
 ein guttlich projectirt

Au des organist Ulrich, zu Dingelitz 200.  
 im Violon spiel, alle — " 200.  
 im Violonist Rätum Zülagen — " 40.  
 au des Copisten Kreyler, voril  
 des in <sup>1000</sup> ~~1000~~ <sup>1000</sup> ~~1000~~ 200.  
 Zülagen au des Capellmeisters  
 Copisten — — — — — 60.  
 Au des Compositeur Zelenka  
 Zülagen — — — — — 200.  
 Au des Organist Joseph Wald  
 Hornisten zu alts St. Ring  
 Compositeur Zülagen — — — — — 100

Suma 800 Th.

Illustration 3:  
 Heinichen's recommenda-  
 tion of 200 Thaler salary  
 increase for 'Compositeur  
 Zelenka', 1728.  
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 Sächsisches Staatsarchiv –  
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 den. D-Dla. 10026 Geh.  
 Kab., Loc. 354/3, fol. 451<sup>a</sup>.

During the year 1724 and until the death of Heinichen Zelenka's name frequently appears in the *Diarium Dresdae*, especially during those years when the music-loving Father Hartmann SJ was the Dresden Superior (22. 6. 1721 – 12. 8. 1727). In January 1726 an entry in the 'Dresden Diarium' made by Father Hartmann noted that the customary wonderful singing and the music heard in Dresden's Catholic court church had persuaded a Lutheran woman to convert to the Catholic religion.<sup>99</sup> Unfortunately, the reporting by his successor, Father Nonhardt SJ (22. 8. 1727 – 14. 10. 1733), was less detailed about the music of this royal chapel – although in 1730 he did note the proselytizing role it played.<sup>100</sup> During the years between about 1723 and 1729 (and beyond) it is notable that both Johann Sebastian Bach in Leipzig and Zelenka in Dresden had simultaneously, and in their own way, embarked upon a program to provide a complete repertoire to serve the church year of their respective confessions. For Zelenka, this was a time to which Wolfgang Horn refers as 'Repertoirebildung'.<sup>101</sup>

1729, fols. 18<sup>b</sup>-20<sup>b</sup>. The visit of the court to Moritzburg is also reported in the Dresden journal *Kern Dreßdnischer Merckwürdigkeiten 1729*, p. 19.

<sup>99</sup> *Diarium Dresdae*, 22. 1. 1726: 'Quod en facta Catholica est, [...] et admirabilis cantus, et musica quae in Catholica Capella fieri solet, et certo mihi persuado, [...] This conversion was first reported in letters written to the court of Weissenfels: [Dresden] Sontags den 13. Jan: 1726. [...] Hiernechst wird vor glaubwürdig erschlet, daß als vor einigen zeit eine Weibes Person die Römisch-Catholischen Religion angenommen, und derselben Wohltäter hernach gefragt, warum sie solches gethan? Hätte sie zur Antwort gegeben: Die schöne Music in der Catholischen Kirche habe sie darzu bewogen, und wann der Hr. Wohltäter sie solte hören, wurde er ebenfalls Catholisch.' D-Dla, 10119 Sekundogeniturfürstentum Sachsen-Weissenfels, Loc. 11980, Nr. 9938, *Wiener und Dresdener Diarien, 1707-1736*, unfoliated.

<sup>100</sup> STOCKIGT, Janice B.: "This Rare and Precious Music": Preliminary Findings on the Catalogue of the Music Collection of the Dresden Catholic Court Church (1765), *Musicology Australia* 27 (2006), pp. 1-18.

<sup>101</sup> HORN, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik* (↪ note 17), p. 92.

**1729-1733: The *Interregnum***

During this era Zelenka faced the greatest challenges of his career at the Dresden court. These years also challenge our understanding of his position as a composer and musician within the shifting organisation of the court's music ensembles. Between Heinichen's death on 16 July 1729 and the arrival of his successor Johann Adolph Hasse on 3 February 1734, Zelenka was entrusted with several new assignments in his official post as *Compositeur* – a position which at that time effectively made him the acting *Kapellmeister*. This change resulted in an increased workload leaving him with less time for composition. From this period onwards, and up to his final compositions of the 1740s, fewer new works came from Zelenka's pen than in the 1720s.<sup>102</sup> His new duties came about at a time when the Saxon Crown Prince Friedrich August took full control of the affairs of the *Hofkapelle*.<sup>103</sup> The prince initiated changes in personnel and musical direction. A group of young Italian singers arrived for service in 1730 and new members were added to the royal orchestra in 1731. In that year, Hasse was hired as *Kapellmeister* and the musical focus in Dresden again turned to the Italian opera. Meanwhile, during this period of change Zelenka made an important contribution. His responsibilities at this time included the supply of new compositions for important events at court; the music education of, and direction of the *Kapellknaben* ensemble; musical studies with an ensemble of newly employed young Italian singers; assembling a collection of secular vocal music for use at chamber concerts at court; and custodianship of the royal musical library.

At some stage during the *Interregnum* Zelenka was appointed curator of the royal music library – a position he seems to have held until his death. Maintaining the royal catalogues was considered a privileged task which traditionally was assigned to the *Kapellmeister*, as evidenced in employment contracts of the late seventeenth century.<sup>104</sup> A catalogue fragment of Maria Josepha's music collection dating from c1743 is the only existing royal inventory whose compilation was supervised by Zelenka. Evidence demonstrating the existence of a now missing inventory he assembled listing librettos of works performed at the Dresden court has been published.<sup>105</sup>

Although between 1723 and 1730 Zelenka composed one or more Masses each year, it has been shown that during the *Interregnum* he composed Solemn Masses for the churching ceremonies (German: *Kirchgang*; Latin: *ingressus*) held for Maria Josepha following the birth of each male heir. Moreover, for the Xavier octave in December 1729 when special devotions were held, Zelenka composed *Missa Divi Xaverii* (ZWV 12).<sup>106</sup> In 1730 *Missa Gratias agimus tibi* (ZWV 13) was written for the churching ceremony held on 7 October after the birth of Saxon Prince Franz Xaver on 25 August. In 1731 Zelenka composed his second *Te Deum* setting (ZWV 146), which almost certainly was heard on 5 November, the day following the birth of Saxon Princess Maria Josepha.<sup>107</sup> He also composed *Missa Purificationis BVM* (ZWV 16) in 1733 for the churching on 23 August following the birth on 13 July of Saxon Prince Carl Christian, while

<sup>102</sup> The dated compositions during the *Interregnum* are: five in 1729, four in 1730, two in 1731, one in 1732 (two with the undated *Missa Sancta Josephi* [ZWV 14], see below) and five in 1733. HORN, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik* (↵ note 17), pp. 88-92. Note that Horn used the term *Interregnum* for the period 1729-1734.

<sup>103</sup> ÁGÚSTSSON: 'The Secular Vocal Collection of Jan Dismas Zelenka' (↵ note 95), p. 15.

<sup>104</sup> [...] darneben wird er die *Musicalische Bibliothec*, darüber ein *Inventarium* ihm auß zuhändigen, treulich in acht nehmen, und davon nichts von abhanden kommen laßen [...] D-Dla, 10036 Finanzarchiv, Loc. 33346, Rep. 52, Gen. Nr. 1961, *Bestellungen verschiedener Hofdiener, Amtsleute, Schösser, Rittmeister und Kriegstbestallter, 1680-1681*, 'Bestallung vor den Capellmeister *Christophorum Bernhardi*', fol. 578<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>105</sup> ÁGÚSTSSON: 'The Secular Vocal Collection of Jan Dismas Zelenka' (↵ note 95), pp. 33-34.

<sup>106</sup> On the music for these events see STOCKIGT, Janice B.: "'After Six Weeks': Music for the Churching Ceremonies of Maria Josepha, Electoral Princess of Saxony and Queen of Poland", in: STOESSEL, Jason (ed.): *Identity and Locality in Early European Music, 1028-1740*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2009, pp. 191-209.

<sup>107</sup> 'Montags den 5. dito [November] wurde das *Te Deum laudamus*, wegen dieses erfreulichen Geburt in der Catholischen *Capelle* auch unter Trompeten- und Paucken-Schall gesungen.' D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, A, Nr. 19, *Geburt, Taufe und Einsegnung des Prinzen (Franz) Xaver (25. August 1730 – 21. Juni 1806), Sohn von Kurfürst Friedrich August II. und Geburt, Taufe und Einsegnung der Prinzessin (Maria) Josepha (4. November 1731 – 13. März 1767), 1730-1731*, f. 26a. The annual letter reported that immediately after the birth of this princess a Solemn *Te Deum* was sung in the church in the presence of the electoral prince. ARSI, Boh. 148, *Annuae Literae Regiae Missionis Dresdensis pro anno 1731*, p. 22. (Note that the Jesuit annual letters are paginated). For the churching of Maria Josepha on 15 December Zelenka must have supplied the 'vortrefflichen Musique' (excellent music), as described in the court report, but it is not known which work of his was heard on that occasion. D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, A, Nr. 19, f. 34a.



*Missa Sancta Josephi* (ZWV 14) was undoubtedly written in 1732 for the Feast of St Joseph on 19 March, nameday of Maria Josepha.<sup>108</sup>

With Zelenka providing the music for nearly all of the most important occasions during this period, his compositions began to receive praise in the official court reports and private correspondence, but without his name being mentioned. In addition to descriptions of the excellent music heard at the above listed churchings, letters written from Dresden also refer to the beautiful music performed during service in the Catholic court church. For example, the secretary of the Italian department of the Dresden court noted in his letter to the Saxon ambassador in Rome that the magnificent celebrations held in the presence of the king and the princely couple during Pentecost in May 1731 had been accompanied by 'excellent music' and that everyone had left the court church much edified.<sup>109</sup> From the *Diarium Dresdae* it is known that Zelenka provided the music for these three days.<sup>110</sup> For the Feast of the Holy Trinity which fell on 20 May that year, he composed the motet *Gaude laetare* ZWV 168 (dated 'Dresd[ae] | 17 Maii 1731'). The intended singer must have been the former horn player Goetzel who had been hired as a tenor in the *Hofkapelle* to replace Matteo Luchini who was dismissed at the end of March 1731.<sup>111</sup>

Zelenka also held responsibilities for the musical direction of the *Kapellknaben* in the Catholic court church. From the year 1727, when the decision was taken to expand this ensemble,<sup>112</sup> until 1732 (at least), the number of choristers doubled – as seen in the lists of those eligible to be buried in Dresden's Catholic cemetery. Eight boys and young men plus their organist (Augustin Uhlig) and schoolmaster (Ignatius Hoffmann, also a violinist),<sup>113</sup> rose to sixteen *Juvenes* together with Uhlig.<sup>114</sup> Following the departure from Dresden on 21 February 1729 of their director, Father Frantze SJ,<sup>115</sup> Zelenka appears to have assumed musical responsibility for this group. The preparation of parts for three works from this era suggest the involvement of certain members of the *Kapellknaben* ensemble. Antonio Caldara's *Missa Quid mihi et tibi*,<sup>116</sup> and settings of the Litanies of Loreto (*Litaniae Lauretanae*) by František Ludvík Poppe and by Reichenauer<sup>117</sup> are accompanied by sets of parts prepared under Zelenka's direction by copyists identified by Wolfgang Horn as ZS 0, ZS 1, and ZS 2,<sup>118</sup> together with a *Kapellknabe* named

<sup>108</sup> This remark accompanies Zelenka's entry of this work in his *Inventarium*: 'facta occasione onomasticae dies S: M: Principesse ac Domine nostrae.' This confirms that Zelenka composed *Missa Sancti Josephi* for the name-day of Saxon Crown Princess Maria Josepha. Although both the birth- and name-day of Maria Josepha was given in the *Galla-Tage* lists of the *HStCal* as being celebrated on 8 December (Feast of the Conception BVM), the name-day of the crown princess (from 1733, queen and electress) also came to be celebrated on the feast of St Joseph (19 March) – information first published in the *HStCal*, 1741, but first recorded in the annual letter to Rome for 1738: ARSI, Boh. 157, *Annuae Litterae Missionis Dresdensis ad annum 1738*, p. 44.

<sup>109</sup> 'Tutta la Ser.<sup>ma</sup> Padronanza gode, lode à Dio, perfetta salute. Hierì assistè à tutte le funz.<sup>ni</sup> sagre celebratesi con gran magnificenza, ed eccellente Musica in questa Capella Reale con edificazione universale.' D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 747/13, *Briefe des Buzzi und des Abbé Accoramboni aus Warschau und Dresden an den Puchet zu Rom, 1731*, Buzzi to Puchet, Dresden, 14 May 1731, unfoliated.

<sup>110</sup> *Diarium Dresdae*, 15. 5. 1731: '[Feria III. post Pentecost] Musicam omnibus tribus diebus produxit D. Zelenka praeter hodiernas vespervas, quas juvenes nostri cecinerunt.'

<sup>111</sup> ÅGÜSTSSON: 'The Secular Vocal Collection of Jan Dismas Zelenka' (↵ note 95), pp. 19-20.

<sup>112</sup> ARSI, Boh. 143, *Annuae Litterae Missionis Dresdensis ad annum 1727*, p. 19.

<sup>113</sup> Ignatius Hoffmann had been the schoolmaster to the *Kapellknaben* and violinist of the royal chapel since at least 16. 1. 1710 (*Diarium Dresdae*) until at least 24. 1. 1730 when he was last listed as being eligible for burial in the Dresden Catholic cemetery. By 1. 5. 1731, when the next list was prepared, his name had disappeared. Confirmation of his death in 1739 is seen in: D-Dla, 10684 Stadtgericht Dresden, Nr. 1566, *Ignatius Hoffmann Verlaßenschafft, 1739*.

<sup>114</sup> ÅGÜSTSSON and STOCKIGT: 'Records of Catholic musicians, actors, and dancers at the court of Augustus II' (↵ note 75), pp. 26-75.

<sup>115</sup> Father Frantze arrived in Dresden as director of the *Kapellknaben* ensemble on 6. 5. 1728 (*Diarium Dresdae*: 'Venit circa quintam Sextus Sacerdos ex Boemia qui deinceps chorum reget et inferiores Scholas docebit.') Following a decision from the head of the Province of Bohemia, Father Frantze departed on 21. 2. 1729 (*Diarium Dresdae*: 'Discessit post mensam P. Frantze in [...] Gitzinium.').

<sup>116</sup> D-Dl Mus. 2170-D-14. In Zelenka's *Inventarium* this mass of Caldara is listed as number 37 after Zelenka's masses of 1729 and 1730: *Missa S. Xaverii* (ZWV 12), and *Missa Gratias agimus tibi* (ZWV 13) – numbers 35 and 36.

<sup>117</sup> D-Dl, Mus. 3610-D-1a; D-Dl, Mus. 2494-D-3. Neither work is listed in Zelenka's *Inventarium*.

<sup>118</sup> On Zelenka's copyists see HORN, Wolfgang: 'Die wichtigsten Schreiber im Umkreis Jan Dismas

Ignatius Joseph Kalousek (or Kalausek),<sup>119</sup> and a copyist who signed himself ‘Johannes Thame.’ Since the decision of 1727 also proposed to increase Marian devotions with the singing of litanies on Saturdays and ferial days preceding Marian feasts,<sup>120</sup> Zelenka acquired a group of brief musical settings of the *Litaniae Lauretanae*. Five settings of this litany, mainly by Bohemian composers, entered the repertoire of the church at this time. Each item came into Zelenka’s collection but these were not entered into his *Inventarium*. Composers represented are ‘Czerwenka’ (the work is missing from the Music Department of SLUB), Anton Gerbich (Görbig), *Capellae magister* at the Metropolitan Cathedral Prague, 1734-1737;<sup>121</sup> Johann Grunberger, a Cistercian whose music is listed in music inventories of the Cistercian monastery at Osek, North Bohemia;<sup>122</sup> Beda Muck, a Benedictine;<sup>123</sup> and Anton Schütze, a school rector from Gabel in Bohemia.<sup>124</sup> The scribe of some copies (who probably was a *Kapellknabe*) gave a phonetic spelling of name of the composer: ‘Korbischi’ (Görbig or Gerbich); ‘Krusberger’ (Grunberger); ‘Muk’ (Muck).

In addition to court church music duties and musical tasks with the *Kapellknaben*, Zelenka also played an important role in the continuing studies of a group of young Italian singers who arrived for service in April 1730. In 1724 August II had set in motion a long-term plan which involved their training with some of the best vocal teachers in Italy. This well-thought out plan was funded by the Saxon treasury and was to bear great fruits. Four of the six singers – the alto castrato Domenico Annibali, the soprano castratos Ventura Rocchetti and Giovanni Bindi, and the soprano Maria Rosa Negri, all of whom had taken lessons with Nicola Porpora in Venice – went on to have long and distinguished careers in Dresden.<sup>125</sup> However, upon their arrival in Saxony these young singers were not all fully trained and they were at different stages in their development. While his colleagues in the *Hofkapelle* continued their training by giving daily vocal and keyboard lessons, Zelenka provided the theoretical part of their education. This would have involved studies of counterpoint, theory and composition.<sup>126</sup> Later, Zelenka would write some of his most beautiful arias both sacred and secular for the three castratos.

In the first week of February 1730 the young singers were called from Italy to Dresden and the first phase of their training came to an end. In the same week Hasse was offered the position of ‘Primo Maestro di Capella’. The fact that this important development took place at the same time shows that it was always the intention of the Dresden court to employ a well established opera composer in Heinichen’s place to work with the young Italians. On 7 July 1731 Hasse and his famous wife, the mezzo-soprano Faustina Bordoni, arrived in Dresden. The following day they travelled to Moritzburg where they performed for Crown Prince Friedrich August and his pregnant wife Maria Josepha, who were enjoying their summer residency (*Hoflager*) in the castle. August II was there also, having travelled to Moritzburg the night before.<sup>127</sup> According to the local newspaper he was very satisfied with the perform-

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Zelenkas. Überlegungen zur Methode ihrer Bestimmung und Entwurf einer Gruppierung der Quellen’, in: *ZS I* (↵ note 12), pp. 141-210.

<sup>119</sup> Ignatius Kalousek (1729, 1730) and Joseph Kalousek (or Kalouseck, written also Kalouseick [!]: 1730-1732) were each listed as a *Capell Musicant* of the Catholic court church. Each was eligible for burial in the Catholic court cemetery of Dresden. See ÁGÚSTSSON and STOCKIGT: ‘Records of Catholic musicians, actors, and dancers at the court of Augustus II’ (↵ note 75), pp. 26-75.

<sup>120</sup> ‘Sub initia Anni scolastici aucta juventute musicâ Marianum cultum ampliaturi Sabbata cuncta, idem feriae festa Mariana praecedentes habebunt, Litaniis [...]’: ARSI, Boh. 143, *Annuae Litterae Missionis Dresdensis ad annum 1727*, p. 19.

<sup>121</sup> D-Dl, Mus. 2873-D-1.

<sup>122</sup> D-Dl, Mus. 4022-E-1.

<sup>123</sup> D-Dl, Mus. 3612-E-1.

<sup>124</sup> D-Dl, Mus. 2874-D-1.

<sup>125</sup> By 1740 the two other singers, the sopranos Maria Santina Cattanea and Anna Negri, sister of Maria Rosa, were no longer a part of the *Hofkapelle*: Cattanea was dismissed in 1738 and Anna joined a convent in Italy in 1740.

<sup>126</sup> A comprehensive overview of the plan to bring the young Italian singers to Dresden and the ensuing training program is provided in ÁGÚSTSSON: ‘The Secular Vocal Collection of Jan Dismas Zelenka’ (↵ note 95), pp. 3-52.

<sup>127</sup> ‘den 7. [July]. [...] Abends begaben sich Ihre Königl. Maj.† mit dem Herrn Cämmerer von Brühl nacher Moritzburg.’ The king travelled back to Dresden after the concert: ‘den 8. [July]. Sind Ihre Königl. Maj.† abends von der Moritzburg wieder alhier zurück kommen.’ D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, G, Nr. 32, *Auszug aus dem Journal sowie Karneval in Dresden, 1732*, fol. 29<sup>a-b</sup>.

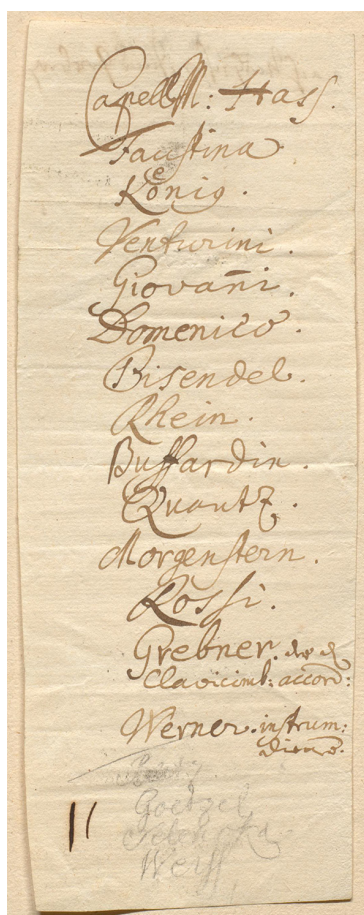


Illustration 4:  
Hasse, Faustina, 'Selencka'  
and musicians who  
travelled to Moritzburg,  
8 July 1731.

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Sächsisches Staatsarchiv –  
Hauptstaatsarchiv  
Dresden, D-Dla, 10006  
OHMA, T 1, Nr. 11H,  
unfoliated.

Table 1:  
Musicians who travelled  
to Moritzburg,  
8 July 1731

ance.<sup>128</sup> A previously unknown document, presented here for the first time (► Illustration 4),<sup>129</sup> shows that the Hasses travelled to Moritzburg with an elite group of virtuosos from the *Hofkapelle*. The list of musicians and their assistants is in the hand of Pisendel (whose spelling of names has been retained), except for a later

Named as	Identification	Position and/or Instrument
Capell M: Hass	Johann Adolph Hasse	Kapellmeister, Cembalo
Faustina	Faustina Bordoni Hasse	Mezzo-soprano
König	Johann Ulrich König	Hofrat, Zeremonienmeister, Poet, Secretary
Venturini	Ventura Rocchetti	Soprano
Giovanni	Giovanni Bindi	Soprano
Domenico	Domenico Annibali	Alto
Pisendel	Johann Georg Pisendel	Concertmaster, Violin
Rhein	Carl Joseph Rhein	Violin
Buffardin	Pierre Gabriel Buffardin	Flute
Quantz	Johann Joachim Quantz	Flute
Morgenstern	Johann Gottlieb Morgenstern	Viola
Rossi	Agostino de Rossi	Cello
Butz	Tobias Buz	Horn (Composer)
Goetzel	Johann Joseph Goetzel	Horn, Tenor
Selencka	Jan Dismas Zelenka	Compositeur, Contrabass
Weiss	Silvius Leopold Weiss	Lute
Grebner der d. Clavicimb: accord:	Johann Heinrich Gräbner	Tuner
Werner Instrum: diener	Johann Gottlob Werner	Instrument servant

addition in pencil of four musicians: the horn players Buz and Goetzel, plus continuo players, 'Selencka' and the lutenist Silvius Leopold Weiss (which suggests the inclusion of instrumental music).

On 20 July, two days after Friedrich August and Maria Josepha formally ended their stay in Moritzburg, the Bavarian ambassador to Saxony reported that the king had officially declared Hasse to be the new *Kapellmeister*.<sup>130</sup> On 15 August the *Diarium Dresdae* reported that the 'novus capellae magister' Hasse had produced the music for the Sung Mass while Zelenka supplied the music for Vespers. Following the successful performances of Hasse's opera *Cleofide* in September and his return to Italy on 8 October, the new arrangements for the *Hofkapelle* were put in place. Eleven new musicians were hired for the orchestra, including Uhlig and three musicians of Count Wackerbarth: Hugo, Lincke and Califano. Pisendel was officially appointed as concertmaster on 1 October – a position which not only held great musical responsibilities, but one also involving administrative tasks, thus leaving little time for composition. At the same time Zelenka seems to have begun supplying the secular vocal music performed at the regular chamber concerts held at the Dresden court. This responsibility fell to him because of the absence of his colleague and *Compositeur de la musique Italienne*, Giovanni Alberto Ristori (1692-1753), who had been sent to Moscow at the beginning of the year.<sup>131</sup> Over a relatively

<sup>128</sup> MENNICKE, Carl: *Hasse und die Brüder Graun als Symphoniker*, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1906, p. 376.

<sup>129</sup> D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, T 1, Nr. 11H, *Reise nach Moritzburg, 1724 und 1731*, 'Reyße Nacher Moritzburg, Ihro Hoh: dem Königl. Printzen auch Printzeßin Königl. Hoh. den 31:<sup>ten</sup> May. 1731', unfoliated. The presence of Johann Ulrich König in Moritzburg could suggest that he had a hand in securing the services of his protégé Hasse for Dresden. On König's advice Hasse was hired in 1718 as tenor for the Hamburg opera. When Hasse was employed at the Braunschweig opera in 1721, it again was on the recommendation of his 'Protektor', König. MENNICKE, Carl: *Hasse und die Brüder Graun als Symphoniker* (◀ note 128), pp. 356-357.

<sup>130</sup> ÁGÚSTSSON: 'The Secular Vocal Collection of Jan Dismas Zelenka' (◀ note 95), p. 21.

<sup>131</sup> FÜRSTENAU, Moritz: *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe der Kurfürsten von Sachsen und Könige von Polen Friedrich August I. (August II.) und Friedrich August II. (August III.)*, Dresden: Verlagsbuchhandlung von Rudolf Kuntze, 1862, p. 169.



short period, or until Ristori returned to Dresden in mid-1733, Zelenka assembled a small but impressive repertory of contemporary arias, duets, and cantatas by composers such as Hasse, Porpora, Antonio Vivaldi, Georg Frideric Handel, Giacomo Giacomelli, Giovanni Battista Pescetti (among others) for use in the chamber and for study with the young singers.<sup>132</sup> It is possible that the salary rise of 150 Thaler as recommended by the crown prince for Zelenka in November,<sup>133</sup> and later agreed to by August II to take effect on 1 February 1732, was authorized to allow him to purchase this collection of music.<sup>134</sup>

It was the late Dr Wolfgang Reich who first brought attention to the fact that Zelenka had owned numerous copies of Italian opera arias, some of which reportedly have been missing since 1945.<sup>135</sup> This important observation, based on Dr Reich's comprehensive knowledge of the history and holdings of the Sächsische Landesbibliothek, recently inspired a systematic search in the Music Department of SLUB which revealed the remnants of Zelenka's previously unknown collection of secular vocal music. Today, this collection is found scattered around the many aria and cantata volumes dating from the eighteenth century. All these manuscripts are numbered sequentially by Zelenka, suggesting that in the 1730s he prepared a special inventory which today is missing. Based on the numerical system he used (it is identical with the one used by Zelenka in his *Inventarium*) a partial reconstruction of Zelenka's secular vocal collection has been published.<sup>136</sup>

The archival sources are especially rich when it comes to documentation of Zelenka's activities in 1733, the momentous year following the death of August II on 1 February in Warsaw. Yet his name does not appear in the *Diarium Dresdae* during that year. 'Zelenska' was among the musicians to apply for 'Trauer-geld' for the apparel worn by members of the *Hofkapelle* during the subsequent period of mourning.<sup>137</sup> Of the some forty members in the orchestra applying to receive these items Zelenka is listed as the fifth highest paid musician. The *HStCal* for 1735 and the Jesuit *Diarium Dresdae*, the *Historia*,<sup>138</sup> and the annual letter to Rome from 1733,<sup>139</sup> contain detailed descriptions of the exequies held for the late king in Dresden held between April 15 and April 18. For these, it is well known that Zelenka composed the Requiem Mass (Z WV 46) and the Invitatory, Lessons, and the Responsories (Z WV 47). A rare hand-coloured etching of the interior of the royal chapel at this time shows a group of musicians in the gallery behind the catafalque (➤ Illustration 5a). If the player standing slightly to the right in the middle of the balcony is a representation of Zelenka (➤ Illustration 5b, detail), composer of the music performed throughout these days, then he was ideally positioned to direct the musicians.

Immediately following these services the new Saxon Elector Friedrich August II began a series of tours of homage (*Huldigung*). After visits to Leipzig, Wittenberg, and Torgau, he travelled to Bautzen where he arrived on 19 May. Among the events planned for Bautzen was a performance of a *Te Deum* to be given by musicians of the Dresden *Hofkapelle* at the Catholic end of the city's interdenominational St Petri Dom. The elector took a personal role in the organisation of this event. Documentation surrounding this visit reveals that Zelenka and Pisendel travelled to Bautzen on 11 May to inspect the performance conditions. There they remained for three days before returning to Dresden so as to be present in Dresden's Catholic court church on the Feast of the Ascension of Our Lord (14 May). In the letter of introduction written by the Dresden Superior, Father Nonhardt, to Johann Josef Ignaz Freyschlag von Schmidenthal, Dean of the collegiate convent of St Petri in Bautzen, Zelenka is referred to and introduced as the elector's 'Generosus ac Virtuusus D[omi]nus Capelle Magister' (Well-born and virtuoso Kapellmeister), the title he formally sought in a petition later that year. On 20 May, the day of the homage ceremonies in Bautzen, Zelenka directed the music and sang a ripieno tenor part in what was almost certainly his own *Te Deum* setting of 1731 (Z WV 146).<sup>140</sup>

<sup>132</sup> ÁGÚSTSSON: 'The Secular Vocal Collection of Jan Dismas Zelenka' (↵ note 95), pp. 3-52.

<sup>133</sup> D-Dla, 10026, Geh. Kab., Loc. 383/5, fol. 224<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>134</sup> *Loc. cit.*, fols. 223<sup>a</sup>-228<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>135</sup> STOCKIGT, *Jan Dismas Zelenka* (↵ note 3), p. 207, note 52.

<sup>136</sup> ÁGÚSTSSON: 'The Secular Vocal Collection of Jan Dismas Zelenka' (↵ note 95), pp. 3-52.

<sup>137</sup> D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, C, Nr. 27, *Tod und Landestrauer wegen des Kurfürsten Friedrich August von Sachsen, verstorben am 1. Februar 1733 in Warschau, 1733*, [No.] 16. *Die Musici von Orchestre*, fols. 179<sup>b</sup>-181<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>138</sup> D-BAUd, Alet. E Gruppe VIII No. 86, loc. 3718<sup>d</sup>. *Historia Missionis Societatis Jesu Dresdae in Saxonia ab Anno Salutis 1709<sup>vo</sup>*.

<sup>139</sup> ARSI, Boh. 150, *Annuae Literae Missionis Dresdensis ad Annum 1733*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>140</sup> STOCKIGT, Janice B. and ÁGÚSTSSON, Jóhannes: 'The visit of members of the Dresden *Hofkapelle* to Bautzen: May 1733', forthcoming.



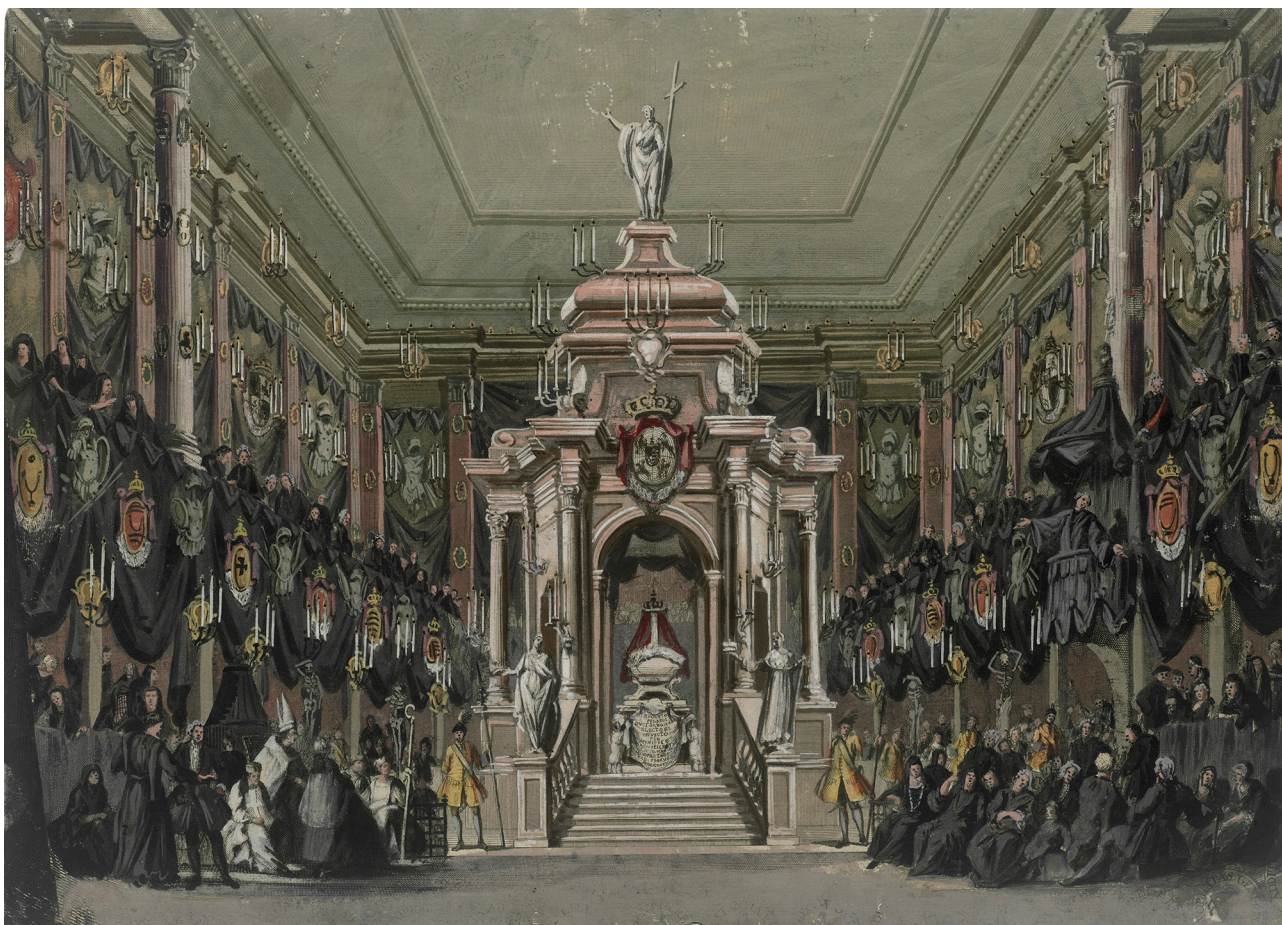


Illustration 5:  
 a) Funeral service in the Catholic court church for August II, April 1733.  
 b) Detail: Zelenka might be the person seen on the far right. Christian Philipp Lindemann – Johann Baptist Grone: *Die Aufbahrung des Sarges von August I. (August II. von Polen), Kurfürst von Sachsen*, Inv. Nr. A 2015-84. © Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden. Photo: Herbert Boswank.



Two days after Maria Josepha gave birth to Prince Carl on 13 July, a *Te Deum* with trumpets and timpani was heard in the Catholic court church. The music, almost certainly the work heard in Bautzen, was described as 'excellent' in the diary of the event.<sup>141</sup> Five days after this birth the officers of the Court Marshal began making the necessary plans for the churching. During the customary question and answer session it was asked if the *Te Deum* should be performed again during the ceremony, the reply to which was that this decision was left to 'His Royal Highness'.<sup>142</sup> The documentation does not reveal when the new elector decided whether to order a repeat of the *Te Deum* or to request a new composition. A closer look at his itinerary during this period shows that from 20 July to 3 August he made frequent short trips outside of Dresden. A hesitancy in decision making on the elector's behalf could explain why Zelenka (who according to his testimony was ill at that time) only had ten days to compose his *Missa Purificationis* – the last of his Solemn Mass settings to include a trumpet and timpani choir. Indeed, the documentation shows that the planning for the churching was surprisingly poor, with many important decisions taken only two days before the event.

This uncertainty might also be the reason why Zelenka unexpectedly ended up giving instructions to the royal

<sup>141</sup> 'den 15. July in der Catholischen Schloß Capelle, Mittags  $\frac{3}{4}$  auf 12. Uhr, das *Te Deum laudamus* bey einer vortrefflichen Musique, auch unter Trompeten und Paucken Schall abgesungen.' D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, A, Nr. 20, *Geburt, Taufe und Einsegnung des Prinzen Carl (13. Juli 1733 – 16. Juni 1796), Sohn von Kurfürst Friedrich August II., 1733*, [Vol. A], fol. 4<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>142</sup> '[Question No.] 25.) Ob das *Te Deum laudamus* wiederum gesungen werden soll? [Reply] Beruhet auff Ihre König: Hoheit Resolution.' *Loc. cit.*, [Vol. B] fol. 9<sup>a</sup>.



trumpeters and timpanist for the performance of the fanfares which were played during the churching ceremony on 23 August.<sup>143</sup> Immediately following this event a hearing was held at the office of the Court Marshal concerning a complaint made by the *Oberhoftrumpeter* Christian Becke against the trumpeter Gottfried Lorenz. According to the court documents, Lorenz was accused of not having played when Becke gave his signal.<sup>144</sup>

At the beginning of his testimony Lorenz vehemently protested the accusations against him. He presented an account of the incident which did not reflect well on Becke, stating that before the churching the *Oberhoftrumpeter* had failed to communicate to his colleagues instructions about when to commence playing the fanfares, and in which order. Instead, Becke kept the instructions in his pocket and when he gave a signal the other trumpeters had no idea what to do.<sup>145</sup> This prompted ‘Mr. Zelenka, who directed the music’ to take firm control of the situation by summoning Lorenz from his position and telling him in which order the fanfares should be played.<sup>146</sup> Here, it is important to note that Zelenka informed Lorenz that this was how it had been decided (‘es seÿ also *reguliret*’), which suggests that Zelenka’s instructions came from a higher authority. With Zelenka now conveying the signals to the trumpeters the ceremony seems to have gone ahead without further incident. Afterwards, however, Becke was furious with his fellow trumpeters for having followed Zelenka’s instructions.<sup>147</sup> According to Lorenz’s testimony, a furious Becke was later seen holding the written orders he had shortly before concealed from his colleagues.<sup>148</sup>

Comparison between Lorenz’s description of the event and the instructions for the trumpeters, which are found in the planning documentation of the Court Marshal, reveal a difference in plan and execution.<sup>149</sup> Remarkably, the instructions are dated 22 August, only one day before the ceremony.<sup>150</sup> They are consistent with the stock directives found in many of the churching files during the 1720s and the early 1730s, which state that five fanfares should be heard: four before the Mass and one final *Aufzug* after the music had ended. However, court diaries of many of these events show that the number of fanfares played varied from five to seven.<sup>151</sup> In the case of the churching in 1733 six fanfares were played – five before the Mass, as Lorenz

<sup>143</sup> This event was reported in detail in the *HStCal* for 1735. See also STOCKIGT: “After Six Weeks” (↵ note 106), pp. 191-209.

<sup>144</sup> ‘*Registratura* Dreßden am 25.<sup>ten</sup> August 1733.’ D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, A, Nr. 20, [Vol. A], fols. 45<sup>a</sup>-46<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>145</sup> [...] nicht wissen können was damit gemeÿnet wäre [...].’ *Loc. cit.*, f. 45b.

<sup>146</sup> ‘Denn es hätte der *Componiste* *Monsieur Zelencka* der die *Musique dirigiret* ihn *Deponenten* [Lorenz] zu rück aus seinem Stande gezogen und gesagt, es seÿ also *reguliret*, daß wenn er würde ein Zeichen geben, so solte erst[ich], die *Intrade* gemachet, und wenn er das andere Zeichen gäbe solte ein *Auff Zug* oder *Sonnate* geblasen werden, bis er das Zeichen zum aufhören geben würde. Dann wann er zum dritten mahle wincken würde, solte wiederumb *Intrade* gemachet werden, bis die Hohe Herrschafft zum Tauff Steine gelanget wäre. Das Vierte Zeichen von Tauff Steine bis zum Altari wieder *Intrade* und Fünffstens wenn die Hohe Herrschafft vom Altari weg gehe wiederumb *Intrade* bis zum Zeichen des Auffhörens geblasen werden, diesen allen nun wäre genaue nach gebebet worden.’ *Loc. cit.*, fols. 45<sup>b</sup>-46<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>147</sup> ‘Es möchte dieses aber dem Herrn Ober *Trompeter* verdroßen haben, daß er und seine *Cammerraden* diesen des *Componisten* Zeichen gefolget hätten [...].’ *Loc. cit.*, fol. 46<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>148</sup> [...] als die *Intraden* vorbeÿ gewesen gesehen, daß der Herr Ober *Trompeter* mit einen Zettel in der hand habende zornig vorbeÿ gefahren [...].’ *Loc. cit.*, fol. 46<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>149</sup> For example, the planning for the churching states that the trumpets and timpani should be heard for the fourth time when Maria Josepha and Friedrich August moved from the altar to the oratory: ‘4). Wann die Hohe Herrschafften von der Altar hin auf in das *Oratorium* gehen, und der durchl. Junge Prinz wiederumb as der Kirchen getragen wird, zum vierdten mahlen [...].’ *Loc. cit.*, fol. 44<sup>a</sup>. Lorenz’s account, however, shows that when Maria Josepha moved from the baptismal font to the altar the fanfares were heard for the *fourth* time, and for the *fifth* time when she and her husband moved from the altar to the oratory. *Loc. cit.*, fol. 46<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>150</sup> ‘Beÿ Ihro Königl: Hoheit der Chur-Fürstin Kirchgang den 23. Aug. 1733. haben die Churfürstl. Hoff-Trompeter und Paucker folgendes zu *observiren*.’ Dreßden, den 22. Aug. 1733, *loc. cit.*, fol. 44<sup>a</sup><sup>b</sup>.

<sup>151</sup> For example, for the churching of Prince Friedrich Christian on 18 October 1722, seven fanfares were played: D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, A, Nr. 17, *Geburt, Taufe und Einsegnung des Prinzen Friedrich Christian* (5. September 1722 – 17. Dezember 1763), *Sohn von Kurfürst Friedrich August II. und Geburt, Taufe und Einsegnung der Prinzessin (Maria) Amalia* (24. November 1724 – 27. September 1760), *Tochter von Kurfürst Friedrich August II., 1722 [1724-1725]*, fols. 20<sup>a</sup>-24<sup>a</sup>. Planning for the churching of Princess Maria Amalia on 6 January 1725 shows that five fanfares were supposed to be played: *loc. cit.*, fol. 41<sup>a</sup><sup>b</sup>. However, the journal of the event clearly states that six fanfares were heard during the ceremony. *Loc. cit.*, fols. 49<sup>a</sup>-53<sup>b</sup>.

described, and the customary *Aufzug* afterwards when the electoral couple left the oratory for their chambers in the palace.<sup>152</sup>

The number of fanfares played in 1733 matches the anonymous listing of 6 *Marcie per la Cavalleria* in the music catalogue of the Elector Friedrich August III (King of Saxony from 1807 as Friedrich August I.)<sup>153</sup> In his study of the music in the Catholic court church Otto Schmid confirms that fanfares such as those attributed to Zelenka were always played during High Mass or the Te Deum in former times. Moreover, Schmid added that he had found the music in Zelenka's collection.<sup>154</sup> Indeed, the journal of the churching ceremony recorded that the fanfares heard were newly composed by Zelenka: 'Auch waren zwey Chöre von Trompeten und Paucken *formiret*, und eine ganz neue *componirte Musique* von den Hr. *Zelenka* aufgeführt.'<sup>155</sup> After examining the evidence presented here it is proposed that the 6 *Marcie per la Cavalleria* (ZWV 212, now listed as 'Sechs Trompeterfanfaren bzw. Reitermärsche' among the 'Lost, Doubtful, and Falsely Attributed Works' in the Zelenka literature)<sup>156</sup> should be moved into the canon of authentic works by the composer, under the title most likely found on a now lost cover.

Several questions remain: why did Becke jeopardize the playing of the fanfares during the churching ceremony? Why did he not discuss the directions with Zelenka before the event? Is it possible that he was resentful or envious of Zelenka having been asked to compose the fanfares for this occasion – a task Becke might have considered to be his? And was Becke dismissed because of his actions? Only one year later his position had become vacant. In a petition presented to the court on 18 December 1734 Christian Haase (one of the trumpeters who played for the churching ceremony in August 1733) applied for the vacant *Oberhoftrumpeter* position.<sup>157</sup> He formally replaced Becke on 14 June 1735,<sup>158</sup> and according to his sworn employment oath, one of his obligations was to compose and invent new sonatas, 'Auffzuge', and other pieces, or to obtain such works from others – exactly for occasions like the churching.<sup>159</sup> No report exists of Becke's side in the hearing, which was dropped after Lorenz gave his damning testimony about the actions of his superior.

Following the election of Friedrich August as King of Poland on 5 October 1733, a stream of petitions with requests for unpaid salaries and promotions was sent from servants in every department of the court to the new ruler. These are found all over the archival sources from this period. Zelenka's petitions from 24 October and 18 November for the position of *Kapellmeister* are among many from the musicians of the *Hofkapelle*. It was only natural for the composer to wish to renew his loyalties to the newly elected king with an appeal for a formal title, while at the same time asking for remuneration of his considerable expenses – a reasonable request which the court would later agree.

Much has been read into the response to Zelenka's second petition that he should be patient: 'Soll sich gedulden.' This remark has been interpreted as a dismissive reply to Zelenka's request for the position of *Kapellmeister* and the back payment of monies owing to him. These

<sup>152</sup> The 1735 *HStCal* edition, which reproduces the Court Marshal report of the churching, states that five fanfares were heard and describes the ceremony according to the planning. However, the detailed statement of Lorenz, given under oath only two days after the event, is clearly more reliable: 'Dieses alles sey die pure wahrheit, so er auff verlangen eydlich erhärtten könte.' D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, A, Nr. 20, [Vol. A] fol. 46<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>153</sup> D-Dl, Bibl. Arch. III Hb, Vol. 787 i. *CATALOGO della Musica, e de'Libretti de S. M. Augusto III. la quale si trova nella Biblioteca Musicale*, p. 34.

<sup>154</sup> 'Jetzt werden die Intraden während des Hochamts und beim Tedeum von 2 Hoftrumpetern und 2 Trompetern der Kapelle geblasen. Früher blies man noch am Schlusse des Tedeums und noch früher auch noch der Hochämter 8- bis 16 taktige Fanfarenmärsche, wie solche, Zelenka zugeschriebene und als (6) *Marcie per la Cavalleria* bezeichnete, der Verfasser unter dieses Meisters Noten fand.' SCHMID, Otto: *Die Kirchenmusik in der Katholischen (Hof-) Kirche zu Dresden. Ihre Geschichte und ihre Kunst- und Kultur-geschichtliche Bedeutung* [= Musik im alten Dresden – Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte Dresdens, 29], Dresden: Verlag des Vereins für Geschichte Dresdens, 1921, pp. 5-6.

<sup>155</sup> D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, A, Nr. 20, [Vol. A], fol. 25<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>156</sup> ZD (↪ note 3), v. 2, p. 310. The marches are listed in RISM as anonymous works, with cross reference to Zelenka. The hand of the scribe is the copyist named by Wolfgang Horn as 'ZS 2', while Zelenka has added 'Tromba 1', 'Tromba 2' etc., on the matching staves in the score.

<sup>157</sup> D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 895/3, *Ober- und Hoftrumpeter, auch Felätrompeter, 1698-1759*, fol. 17<sup>a-b</sup>.

<sup>158</sup> *Loc. cit.*, fol. 15<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>159</sup> D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, K 5, Nr. 5, *Pflichtnotule von Hofämtern und Livreebedienten, 1733-1738*, undated, fols. 181<sup>a</sup>-183<sup>b</sup>.

same words, however, appear on several petitions presented in 1733.<sup>160</sup> Without doubt, this response was given due to the dire financial situation in Saxony at that time. By 1734 the coffers were empty. Although the sum of 670,000 Thaler was available on 5 February 1733, it is estimated that the Dresden court spent a staggering 8 million Thaler to buy the loyalty of the Polish magnates and to secure the Polish crown for the Saxon elector.<sup>161</sup> Thus, the response to so many petitions – ‘Soll sich gedulden’ – must be considered within the economic context of early 1734.

Likewise, the impression often has been given that Zelenka was in direct competition with Hasse for the *Kapellmeister* position.<sup>162</sup> Even the usually-reliable Moritz Fürstenau was mistaken when he claimed that this position was unoccupied when Zelenka sent in his petitions late in 1733.<sup>163</sup> He clearly overlooked a draft contract held in the Saxon State Archives in Dresden, which confirms that Hasse had been reaffirmed as *Kapellmeister* almost immediately after August II passed away.<sup>164</sup> Fürstenau’s unfortunate oversight resulted in the widespread misunderstanding that Zelenka came second in a contest against Hasse for the *Kapellmeister* position, and this interpretation has affected all considerations concerning this period of Zelenka’s life. However, the sources are clear as to this point and the evidence of Hasse’s continued employment by the Dresden court is seen in the libretto to his *Siroe*, which premiered in Bologna on 2 May 1733. Here, the composer is named ‘Maestro di Cappella di S. A. R. l’Elettore di Sassonia’.

It must have been apparent to Zelenka when he submitted his petitions that his colleague Hasse was, and would remain, the senior *Kapellmeister*. Zelenka must have thought that the position of a second *Kapellmeister* would become available given the fact that in the 1720s three composers held this title at the same time: Schmidt, Heinichen and the Frenchman Louis André. Instead, the official position of ‘Kirchen-Compositeur’ was created which was the equivalent of a *Vice-Kapellmeister* position. Already after Hasse’s appointment in 1731 Zelenka was referred to as *Kapellmeister* by the Jesuits, but only when Hasse was absent from Dresden. This is demonstrated in an entry into the *Diarium Dresdae* dated 4 November 1734 where Zelenka is named ‘Kapellmeister’ following the departure of Hasse for Venice.<sup>165</sup> Earlier that year, however, on 30 January 1734 when a memorial service for August II was being planned just days before Hasse’s arrival in Dresden, the *Diarium Dresdae* named Zelenka ‘Vice-Capellmeister’.<sup>166</sup> It has been observed that the working relationship between the two composers from 1731 onwards presents a classic instance of a *Kapellmeister* and *Vice-Kapellmeister* collaboration.<sup>167</sup> Zelenka’s responsibilities during the absence of Hasse included the supply of compositions for the most important events in the Catholic court church, either from his own pen, or from his personal collection – a precedent already set in the instructions for Nicolaus Adam Strungk when appointed *Vice-Kapellmeister* of the Dresden court in 1692:

<sup>160</sup> Phrases such as ‘should be patient’ and ‘to be set aside because funds already disposed of’ appear with tiresome regularity below similar appeals in the Dresden records of this era. Noted by PETZOLDT, Richard: ‘Economic Conditions of the 18th-Century Musician’, in: SALMEN, Walter – KAUFMAN, Herbert – REISNER, Barbara (eds.): *The Social Status of the Professional Musician from the Middle Ages to the 19th Century*, New York: Pendragon, 1983, p. 168.

<sup>161</sup> An overview of the financial situation in Saxony and the cost of securing the Polish crown is given in: BOROVICZENY, Aladár von: *Graf von Brühl*, Zürich – Leipzig – Wien: Amalthea-Verlag, 1930, pp. 116, 132.

<sup>162</sup> See, for example, REICH, Wolfgang: ‘Ein ungeliebter Komponist? Zu Jan Dismas Zelenkas Stellung in Dresden’, in: IDEM, *Zwei Zelenka Studien* [= Studien und Materialien zur Musikgeschichte Dresdens, 7], Dresden: Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Hochschule für Musik ‘Carl Maria von Weber’, 1987, p. 11.

<sup>163</sup> FÜRSTENAU: *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe der Kurfürsten von Sachsen und Könige von Polen* (↪ note 131), p. 75.

<sup>164</sup> ÁGÚSTSSON, Jóhannes: ‘The Secular Vocal Collection of Jan Dismas Zelenka’ (↪ note 95), p. 30.

<sup>165</sup> *Diarium Dresdae*, 4. 11. 1734: ‘In prandio nostro RR.DD. Assistentes cum Domino Zelenka Capellae Magistro.’ (At our lunch there were the reverend assistants with the Kapellmeister, Domino Zelenka.)

<sup>166</sup> *Diarium Dresdae*, 30. 1. 1734: ‘Insinuaturo Domino Zelenka Vice-Capellae Magistro de futuro Requiem 1. Februarii pro Serenissimo Rege Augusto II’. (Notice was given to the Vice-Kapellmeister Zelenka about the requiem on February 1st for King August II.) A further example of the Jesuits using these terms when referring to Zelenka is seen in the documentation of Augustin Uhlig’s marriage on 14 January 1737, where Zelenka acted as witness alongside Pisendel at a time Hasse was away from Dresden: ‘D. Joan: Dismas Zelenka Königl. Capell-Meister.’ D-BAUD, *Matrikula Matrimoniorum, 1709-1777*, fol. 26<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>167</sup> ÁGÚSTSSON: ‘The Secular Vocal Collection of Jan Dismas Zelenka’ (↪ note 95), pp. 21-22.



Nebst dem soll Er, Unser *Vice-Capell*-Meister, schuldig seyn, Sowohl in der Kirchen und bey wehrenden Gottesdienste, als bey der Taffel mit seinen eigenen und andern *Compositionen* die *Music* zu bestellen und zu dirigiren[...].<sup>168</sup>

In addition, our *Vice-Capell*-Master is obliged to supply and direct the *Music* of his own compositions and that of others, in the church and during service, as well as at the *Taffel*.

On the same day Zelenka delivered the first petition, he also dedicated a set of eight Italian arias to the new king and queen: *Alcune Arie* (ZWV 176). While it is generally believed that these were meant to accompany his petition, it should be noted that Zelenka makes no mention of them in his appeal. Recently, another hypothesis has been introduced to explain Zelenka's composition of these arias:<sup>169</sup> they were destined to be 'graduation' pieces for the young singers he had been teaching.<sup>170</sup>

On 21 December 1733 the *Compositeur* 'Dismas Zelenka', thirteen singers, and twenty-three instrumentalists of the Dresden *Hofkapelle*, together with copyists, an instrument tuner, and a servant, set out to attend the coronation in Cracow of the Saxon Elector and Electress as King and Queen of Poland.<sup>171</sup> Their travel arrangements are fully documented with two lists of seating arrangements in the carriages showing that Zelenka travelled with the tenor Goetzel, and the bassists Johann David Bahn and Ritzschel.<sup>172</sup> Following their arrival in Bautzen, however, the musicians were ordered to return to Dresden because the offer of the Polish magnates for their musicians to perform at the coronation ceremony was accepted by the Dresden court.<sup>173</sup> Nevertheless, before returning to Dresden, members of the *Hofkapelle* performed instrumental and vocal *Tafel Musique* for Maria Josepha on 27 December, and on the following day they again were heard when she and members of her court entered the St Petri Dom.<sup>174</sup> On 30 December the *Diarium Dresdae* noted that the *Capella Regia* had been ordered to return from Bautzen.<sup>175</sup>

Given the money spent and the planning that went into their departure for Poland, the decision of August III to send his musicians back to Dresden is surprising. The newly-elected king must have been under great pressure from the Polish nobility who had secured his contro-

<sup>168</sup> D-Dla, 10036 Finanzarchiv, Loc. 33346, Rep. 52, Gen. Nr. 1968, *Bestellungen von Hofdienern, Amtsleuten, Schössern, Rittmeistern und Kriegsangestellten, 1691-1692*, 'Bestellung Vor den *Vice-Capell* Meister und Cammer-Organisten, Nicolaum Adam Struncken,' fol. 508<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>169</sup> Until now, the consensus among scholars has been that Zelenka presented the eight arias to the court to demonstrate that he was able to write music in the Italian opera style. STOCKIGT, *Jan Dismas Zelenka* (↵ note 3), p. 203.

<sup>170</sup> Proposed by ÁGÚSTSSON: 'The Secular Vocal Collection of Jan Dismas Zelenka' (↵ note 95), pp. 31-32. The author suggests that the five soprano arias were written, one each, for Venturini, Bindi, Cattanea, Maria Rosa Negri and her sister Anna, while the two alto arias might have been composed for the senior singer of the group Annibali, who at that time had already performed in opera houses in Italy and Vienna. That leaves the sole bass aria and it is suggested that it was composed for Zelenka's young student and fellow Bohemian, the *Kapellknabe* Ritzschel. On 20 October, four days before Zelenka dedicated his arias, Ritzschel's petition for a position as a bass singer in the *Hofkapelle* was presented at court. Three weeks later, on 12 November, he was formally accepted into the *Hofkapelle*. D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 907/4, *Die italienischen Sänger und Sängerinnen, das Orchester, die Tänzer und Tänzerinnen, auch andere zur Oper gehörige Personen, 1733-1739, 1801-1802*, fols. 5<sup>a</sup>-7<sup>a</sup>. The Negri sisters received a small rise to their salaries from 1 November: *loc. cit.*, fol. 108<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>171</sup> D-Dla, OHMA 10006, D, Nr. 16 C, *Krönungsreise des Kurfürsten Friedrich August II, 1733-1734*, 'Capelle so mit Post nacher Cracau von Dresden in December abgegangen.' 'NB: Ist in Bauzen contramandiret worden', fols. 247<sup>a</sup>-249<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>172</sup> *Loc. cit.*, 'Fortkommen. Vor die *Capell*-Music von Dreßden nach Cracau Mense Decem̄br: 1733', fols. 257<sup>a</sup>-259<sup>a</sup>. A court scribe drew up a third list placing Zelenka in a carriage with the lutenist Weiss, *souffleur* Antonio Maria Cattaneo (brother of the soprano Maria Santina and the violinist Francesco Maria, both members of the Dresden *Hofkapelle*), and *Cammer Organist* Ristori, but this plan was abandoned.

<sup>173</sup> *Kern Dreßdnischer Merckwürdigkeiten*, No. I. Dieses 1734sten Jahres. Mensis Januarii. Erste Abtheilung, p. 3: 'Nachdem die Königl. Virtuosen, so nach Cracau mit gehen sollen, in Budißin Ordre erhalten, zurück zu kehren, so sind dieselben am 30. Dec. wieder allhier ankommen, die Haupt=Ursache soll seyn, daß sich verschiedene Pohl. Magnaten offediret, ihre Hof-Musicos zu Dienst Ihro Königl. Majest. bey der Crönung nach Cracau kommen zu lassen.'

<sup>174</sup> D-Dla, OHMA 10006, D, Nr. 16 C, fol. 265<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>175</sup> *Diarium Dresdae*, 30. 12. 1733, where it is noted that an organist on loan from Graupen had been sent back because of the unexpected return of the royal musicians: '[...] quia musici Capellae Regiae Budissina iussi sunt redire adeoque illo opus amplius non habuimus [...]']

versial election in the second round of voting. Zelenka, however, was deprived of what would have been one of his finest moments: to provide the music for the coronation of his king. On the other hand, the fact that Zelenka had travelled to Poland in the role of a *Compositeur* and with his works in his luggage demonstrates the position he held late in 1733 and the high opinion August III had of his music. For the ceremony in Tarnowitz on 6 January 1734, where the Saxon elector swore and signed the *Pacta Conventa* oath to become king, Zelenka's *Te Deum* of 1731 would have been required, while for funeral ceremonies for the late August II held in Cracow on 15 January 1734 it would have been expected that the music he had composed for the Dresden exequies in April 1733 would again be performed. For the coronation ceremony on 17 January in Cracow, his *Te Deum* would have been heard once more.<sup>176</sup>

### 1734-1739

During the following year Zelenka's activities as a music director in the Catholic court church continued, but the burdens of the previous years must have eased considerably following Hasse's return to Dresden on 3 February. On 27 March August III and Maria Josepha returned from Poland. In the next few months they made frequent journeys outside Dresden before travelling once more to their kingdom at the beginning of November where they were to remain for almost two years. During the days leading up to Holy Week in 1734 it is proposed that Zelenka composed the motets *Barbara dira effera* (ZWV 164) and *Sollicitus fossor* (ZWV 209, almost certainly an original composition by Zelenka, but currently entered in the Worklists under 'Lost, Doubtful or Falsely Attributed Works') to be inserted into Leonardo Leo's oratorio *Sant' Elena al Calvario* which was performed in the St Salvatore church of Prague's Clementinum College.<sup>177</sup> The watermark on the paper used for each score also is seen in Zelenka's secular motet of one movement: *Qui nihil sortis* (ZWV 211).

Reports appearing in the *Diarium Dresdae* of Zelenka directing the music in the Catholic court church for the remainder of 1734 include his oratorio of 1730, *Il serpente del bronzo* (ZWV 61) on Good Friday (see below), an 'elegant' memorial Requiem on 17 April for Maria Josepha's father, Joseph I,<sup>178</sup> and a Solemn Mass sung for the Feast of St Caecilia, on which occasion Zelenka requested the high altar to be adorned with eighteen candles.<sup>179</sup> Perhaps this was his thanksgiving for receiving the title of 'Kirchen-Compositeur' which formally had been conferred upon him by September 1734.<sup>180</sup>

Whether or not the following persons in Dresden named Zelenka (or similar) were relatives of Jan Dismas remains to be proven: On 12 May 1735 the Dresden concertmaster Pisendel stood as a godfather to Eleonore Catharina Kuklinsky, daughter of Lucas Kuklinsky and Anna Barbara Zelenka, whose father Wenceslaus Zelenka (or Zelenki) was a citizen of Prague.<sup>181</sup> Earlier, in 1732 Anna Barbara Zelenka had been a witness to the marriage between Antonius Ferdinandus Weyrauh Sillessiensis and Maria Catherina Hermanin Boëma Pravensis [I],<sup>182</sup> while in 1738 Anna Hedwigis Zelenska was a witness to the marriage of Stanislaus Wyschymiski and Ludovica Koschinska.<sup>183</sup> A cousin (*Vetter*) of Zelenka also appears in records, and is referred to below.

Two important works came from Zelenka's pen in 1735: on 30 January his newly composed *Litaniae Omnium Sanctorum* (ZWV 153) was performed in the Catholic court church,<sup>184</sup> and on Good Friday the oratorio *Gesù al Calvario* (ZWV 62) was heard. The diary of the 15-year-old Saxon Crown Prince Friedrich Christian provides new information on the performance of the

<sup>176</sup> Information on the coronation ceremonies in Poland is given in: D-Dla, OHMA 10006, D, Nr. 16 E, *Krönungsreise des Kurfürsten Friedrich August II., 1734*, and in the *HStCal* edition of 1735.

<sup>177</sup> FREEMANOVA, Michaela and STOCKIGT, Janice B.: 'Jan Dismas Zelenka and a Prague performance of *Sant' Elena al Calvario* by Leonardo Leo (1734): An hypothesis', *Hudební věda* 51/1-2 (2014), pp. 149-160.

<sup>178</sup> *Diarium Dresdae*, 17. 4. 1734: 'Hora 11. Requiem solenne anniversarium pro Imperatore Josepho. Rex interfuit toti cantato sacro, musicam elegantem produxit D. Zelenka.'

<sup>179</sup> *Diarium Dresdae*, 22. 11. 1734: 'Festum musicorum. Hora 11. Cantatum solennissimum cum assistentia, pro qua supplicavit D. Zelenka per literas 18 candelae ornatum magis altare.'

<sup>180</sup> We are grateful to Dr Ruth Tatlow, who advises that in 1734 the theoretician Joannes ab Unterberg considered the number 18 [3 x 6] to be perfect. Joannes ab Unterberg: *Omne Trinum Perfectum. Sive Triplex Tractatus de Numeris [...]*, Augsburg: Klugheimer, 1734, pp. 65-66.

<sup>181</sup> KÖPP, *Johann Georg Pisendel (1687-1755)* (↵ note 50), p. 173, and Dok. 49, p. 450.

<sup>182</sup> ZD (↵ note 3), v. 1, p. 94.

<sup>183</sup> D-BAUd, *Matrikula Matrimoniorum*, fol. 29<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>184</sup> 'Diarium Dresdae' 30. 1. 1735: 'Hora 11 dictae sunt duae missae coram exposito Venerabili, sub quibus in choro cantantur Litaniae de OO.SS. quas novas composuit D. Zelenka.'

two oratorios heard during Good Friday and Holy Saturday in 1735.<sup>185</sup> The prince wrote that on Good Friday he listened to *Gesù al Calvario*, whereas on Holy Saturday Zelenka's *Il Serpente del bronzo* was performed – which, according to the prince, was a repeat of the same work heard during the previous year:

Le. 8.<sup>e</sup> Avril [1735].

J'allai à 9. heures du matin au sermon et je restai à l'Eglise jusqu'à la fin de toute la devotion. A mon retour je trouvai beaucoup de monde dans mon antichambre. J'assistai à 4. heures aux Tenebres à 6. heures et  $\frac{1}{4}$  j'allai saluer le saint sepulchre et j'y restai pendant une heure. Il y eut à 8. heures un Oratoire fort beau de la Composition de Selenca intitulé *Giesu al Calvario*[.] Je mi trouvai avec mes Chers Freres, et Soeurs, et M.<sup>e</sup> la P<sup>ss</sup>e de Weissenfels. L'Oratoire dura au de là de deux heures.<sup>186</sup>

Translation:

8 April [Good Friday 1735]

At 9 o'clock in the morning I went to the sermon, and I remained at the church until the very end of the service. On my return I found many people in my antechamber. At 4 o'clock I was present for the Tenebrae service, and at a quarter past 6 I went to pay my respects to the Holy Sepulchre, remaining there for an hour. At 8 o'clock there was a very beautiful oratorio composed by Zelenka with the title of *Giesu al Calvario*[.] I attended it with my dear brothers and sisters, together with Madam the Princess of Weissenfels. The oratorio lasted over two hours.

Pour Sa Majesté Le Roy. Suite du Journal.

Le 9.<sup>e</sup> Avril [1735].

Presque Toute la journée du Samedi Saint fût employée au Service Divin[.] Je me trouvais à l'Eglise depuis les dix heures jusqu'à douze. J'y retournai à deux heures l'après dîné et j'assistai à un Oratoire de la composition de Selenca intitulé *Il serpente del bronzo* qu'il avoit déjà produit l'année passé. Cet Oratoire ne dura que cinq quarts d'heure. Je jouai apres cela un peu au billard pour degourdir mes pieds. Vers les 8. heures du soir Je retournai pour la quatrieme fois à l'Eglise on y celebra la Resurrection du Saviour avec toutes les formalités accoutumées.<sup>187</sup>

Translation:

For His Majesty the King. Continuation of the journal

9 April [Holy Saturday 1735]

Almost all of Holy Saturday was given over to Divine Service. I was at the church from ten o'clock until twelve. I returned there at two in the afternoon and heard an oratorio by Zelenka entitled *Il serpente di bronzo* which he had already produced the previous year. This oratorio lasted only an hour and a quarter. After that I played billiards a little in order to loosen up my legs. Towards 8 o'clock in the evening I returned for the fourth time to the church for the celebration of the Resurrection of the Saviour with the usual formalities.

These two diary entries of Friedrich Christian clarify a misconception found in the literature on *Gesù al Calvario*, where it is claimed that the work was composed and performed in two parts.<sup>188</sup> This presumption is based on the entry in the diary of the Jesuits, which states that on Holy Saturday the oratorio of Zelenka was heard again (which we now know is a reference to the previous year's performance of *Il serpente di bronzo*), and an *Avertimento* which accompanies both the set of parts and the presentation copy of *Gesù al Calvario*. Here, Zelenka advises that the oratorio should be heard over two days because it is too long to be performed in one

<sup>185</sup> Entries with musical references from the diaries and account books of Friedrich Christian will be published by ÁGÚSTSSON, Jóhannes: 'The Saxon Crown Prince Friedrich Christian: The Dresden Diaries and Account Books', in: *Sammeln – Musizieren – Forschen. Zur Dresdner höfischen Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts. International Kolloquium, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, 21. bis 23. Januar, 2016*, forthcoming.

<sup>186</sup> D-Dla, 12527 Fürstennachlass Friedrich Christian, Kurfürst von Sachsen, Nr. 261, *Journaux 1732-1738*, fol. 151<sup>a-b</sup>. This entry and the next, each in draft form and including corrections and deletions in two additional hands, have been edited for clarity.

<sup>187</sup> D-Dla, 12527 Fürstennachlass Friedrich Christian, Kurfürst von Sachsen, Nr. 261, fol. 152<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>188</sup> See, for example, HORN, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik* (↵ note 17), p. 93.

day.<sup>189</sup> This, however, was not how he devised his composition. Following the performance on Good Friday Zelenka might have considered the work to be too long – a performance which, according to the prince, lasted for two hours.

Another important aspect of Friedrich Christian's entry is seen in his description of *Gesù al Calvario*, which he considered to be 'very beautiful.' Since the journal entries of the prince at that time formed the basis of the letters he sent to his parents in Poland, August III and Maria Josepha would have learned of the impression left on their son by Zelenka's work only days after the performance. When Zelenka's oratorio *I penitenti al Sepolcro del Redentore* (ZWV 63) was performed on Good Friday in 1736 the prince again described the music as 'very beautiful'.<sup>190</sup>

In or about 1735 Zelenka also re-organised many psalms of his own composition (excluding those from the thirty-three *Psalmi Vespertini totius anni*) and those from his collection, including a few additional works unlisted in the *Inventarium* that must have come to him after about 1730 when he ceased entering newly acquired settings of Vespers psalms and Masses.<sup>191</sup> Titled *Psalmi varii*, this collection comprises those psalms required only for a *Vesperae de Confessore*, which also are those used for Sunday Vespers: ps. 109 (Dixit Dominus); ps. 110 (Confitebor tibi Domine); ps. 111 (Beatus vir); 'ps. 112 (Laudate pueri); ps. 148 (Laudate Domini[m] omnes gentes); and the canticle Magnificat.<sup>192</sup> With few exceptions, the vocal requirements are 'à 4' (SATB, but occasionally 'à 5', or solo vocal combinations) with a mainly standardised instrumental accompaniment of violins 1 and 2, oboes 1 and 2, viola, and organ (without *basso continuo*). This collection of Vespers compositions in the 'mediocre' (or the 'ordinary' style) suggests that by the mid-1730s the direction of Sunday Vespers had become a principal responsibility for Zelenka.<sup>193</sup>

During 1736 an improvement in the finances of the Dresden court becomes apparent following a long period of decline. From this year onwards a systematic effort was made to raise the salaries of the members of the *Hofkapelle*. This culminated in the summer of 1738 when twenty-one musicians and two copyists received a rise – especially those who had families.<sup>194</sup> Whether Zelenka had any family members living with him at that time is not known, but on 29 February 1736 he finally received his long-awaited salary increase and remuneration for expenses incurred in Vienna and for the copying of music – remunerations he had requested in 1733 and 1736. The salary rise (*zulage*) of 250 Thaler backdated to 1 January 1736, took his annual income from 550 to 800 Thaler.<sup>195</sup>

<sup>189</sup> 'Avertimento. Oratorio presente perche sarebbe troppo lungo per un giorno solo, servirà per dui giorni, cioè per Venerdì, e per Sabbato Santó. Venerdì Santo Si finisce col Coro di Giudei. Sabbato Santo, si ripiglia L'Introduzione, col reitativo: O Figlie di Sionne e col Coro delle Virgini: Misera Madre, dopo il quale Siegue Coro di Giudei con tutto il resto sino al fine.' D-Dl, Mus. 2358-D-1b, note in the hand of Zelenka, p. 2

<sup>190</sup> 'J'allai à 9. heures à l'Eglise et j'y assistai à toute le service Divin. A quatre heures je fus aux Tenebres et à 8 heures à l'Oratoire que Palavicini à composé et qui fus mis en musique par Selenca. Il etoit intitulé I Penitenti al Sepolcro del Redentore. Cett' Oratoire etoit fort beau et il a duré une heure et demy. d'autant plus l'on le Poete a fait cet oratoire fort cour mais le maitr de chapelle y a fair.' D-Dla, 12527 Fürstennachlass Friedrich Christian, Kurfürst von Sachsen, Nr. 261, entry 30 March 1736, fol. 302<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>191</sup> Zelenka's acquisitions of Masses and Vespers works are discussed in a paper by Janice B. STOCKIGT, 'Transmission of sacred music between Bohemia and Dresden as seen in the collection of Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679-1745)' in: *Sammeln – Musizieren – Forschen. Zur Dresdner höfischen Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts. International Kolloquium, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, 21. bis 23. Januar, 2016*, forthcoming.

<sup>192</sup> *Psalmi varii*, MS, D-Dl, Bibl. Arch. III H 790f. The numbers given by Zelenka ('N<sup>ro</sup> 19<sup>no</sup>', etc.) suggest that this inventory comes from a greater catalogue, now missing.

<sup>193</sup> After the three classifications of ecclesiastical musical styles in use in Imperial Viennese churches: 'in contrapunto' (a cappella, used for Lent, Pre-Lent, Advent, and particular offices); 'mediocre' music (ordinary [gewöhnliche] liturgical music composed in the 'stilus mixtus' of moderate length and modest musical resources for Sunday services and feasts of intermediate rank; 'solenne' music (music for high feast days, of greater length and richer orchestration – including trumpets and timpani). See RIEDEL, Friedrich W.: *Kirchenmusik am Hofe Karls VI. (1711-1740)*, Munich and Salzburg: Katzbichler, 1977, p. 68.

<sup>194</sup> LANDMANN, Ortrun: 'Hassiana im Sächsischen Hauptstaatsarchiv zu Dresden: Annotierte Dokumentation einer Auswahl von Schriftstücken', *Hasse-Studien* 7 (2012), pp. 16-18.

<sup>195</sup> D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 907/4, fol. 52<sup>a-b</sup>.



While it is known that in April 1728 Zelenka lived in Dresden-Neustadt,<sup>196</sup> by 1736 'Solency – Capellmeister' had moved across the Elbe River to a house in Moritzstrasse.<sup>197</sup> On 7 August of that year, August III and Maria Josepha returned to Dresden after spending almost two years in Poland. Upon arrival they were greeted by spectacular illuminations which continued over three nights. These were witnessed by the royal couple who drove through the city viewing the sights and receiving homage. Zelenka was one of the many citizens of Dresden who welcomed the king and queen with a decoration. He honoured them by adorning his bay window with a symbolic painting of the Saxon *Genius* paying tribute to the king and queen. This picture, probably painted by the composer himself, contained a chronogram of the type he so often used which gave the year 1736. Below his bay window two portraits of August III and Maria Josepha were positioned under a canopy. A description of Zelenka's decoration was given in a commemorative publication, where his contribution was listed among the exceptional displays seen in the city:

No. 262. In des Hrn. Hof=Rath Fuhrmanns Hause auf der Moritz-Straße, war in der andern *Etage* bey dem Königl. *Compositeur*, Hrn. Joh. Dismas Zelencka, besonders im Ercker angebracht: Es *praesentirte* sich die Sonne und der Mond am Himmel. Rechter Hand stund der *Genius Saxoniae* im Chur=*Habit*, auf einem erhabenen Orte, unter einem Palm=Baume, welcher den in Pohlen hergebrachten Frieden vorstellte. Mit der rechten Hand hielt er das Chur=Sächß. Wappen, mit der Lincken aber zeigte er gen Himmel auf die stehende Sonne und Mond, die Worte: *Ex Libr. Josuae Cap. X. v. 13.* sprechende:

**Steterunt Sol & Luna.**

Lincker Hand weiter herunter sahe man auf einer Landschaft eine kostbare offene *Chaise* mit 6. Pferden bespannet, worinnen Beyde Königl. Königl. Maj. Maj. und zwar der König als Sieger, mit dem Lorbeer=Crantz becrönet, saßen, und durch eine weiter vorne aufgerichtete Ehren=Pforte einfuhren. Nicht weit von dieser Ehren=Pforte zeigte sich die Sächsische Unterthänigkeit und Treue, mit einem Knie auf der Erden kniende, und überreichte von weiten einen Zaum, als ein *Symbolum* des Gehorsams, folgende *Chronographische* Worte gegen beyde Königl. Maj. Maj. demüthigst sprechende:

ReX sta! sta Regina! abfVIstIs; & hostes DebeLLastIs  
faVore: State! & faVentis VInCite aMore

Die Bedeutung und *Application* wird jedwedem Nachsinnenden zu errathen nicht schwer fallen. Unter dem Ercker=Fenster selbst aber waren beyder Königl. Königl. Maj. Maj. *Portraits* unter einem *Baldachine* ausgestellt.<sup>198</sup>

Translation:

On the second floor of the house of Privy Counsellor Fuhrmann in Moritzstrasse, the following was especially displayed in the bay window of the Royal *Compositeur*, Herr Jan Dismas Zelenka: The sun and the moon were shown in the sky. To the right the *Genius Saxoniae* dressed in the electoral attire stood in an elevated location under a palm tree representing the peace that had been achieved in Poland. In his right hand he held the Saxon Electoral Coat of Arms and with his left hand he pointed up towards the sun and the moon, where the words from the Book of Joshua, Ch. X, v. 13, were written:

**Steterunt Sol & Luna.**

[The sun and the moon stood still.]

To the left, set in a landscape a sumptuous (*kostbare*) six-horse open coach in which sat both royal Majesties, the king crowned as victor with a wreath of laurel, entering through an arch of honor [...] Not far from the arch representations of Saxon Subservience and

<sup>196</sup> The year 1728 is given in a chronogram with Zelenka's *Canon* (ZVW 179). ZD (↵ note 3), v. 1, pp. 83-84.

<sup>197</sup> *Das jetztlebende Königliche DRESDEN in Meißen, Vorstellende den im Jahre MDCCXXXVIII. befindlichen und darinnen sich würcklich wohnhafft aufhaltenden Resp. Königl. und Churfl. Hof-, Regierungs-, Militär-, Hauß-, Kirchen- und Privat-Etaat.* Dresden: 1738, p. 87.

<sup>198</sup> *Das Frolockende Dreßden, Oder Beschreibung Derer prächtigen Illuminationen, Welche, als Ihro Königl. Maj. in Pohlen und Churfl. Durchl. zu Sachsen Fridericus Augustus, nebst Dero Aller-Durchlauchtigsten Gemahlin Majestät, zu höchsterwünschter Freude des Chur-Fürstenthums Sachsen in Dero Residenz Dresden Nach hergestellter Ruhe in Pohlen, höchstglücklich zurücke angelanget. Den 7. 8. und 9. Aug. 1736, drey Abende hintereinander praesentiret. Und der Posterität zum Andencken im Druck mitgetheilet worden.* Dresden: Krause, 1736. See: <http://digitale.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/urn:urn:nbn:de:qbv:3:1-154575>.

Fidelity were seen on bended knee handing over a bridle symbolising obedience, whilst saying or directing the following chronogram towards Their Royal Majesties:

ReX sta! sta Regina! abfVlsta! & hostes DebeLLastIs

faVore: State! & faVentes VInCite aMore<sup>199</sup>

[King, stay! Stay Queen! You were absent and overcame your enemies with kindness (favore). Remain, and win over (ie. defeat) your well-wishers with love].

With some thought, the meaning and application will not be too difficult to comprehend. Below the bay window itself was exhibited the two royal portraits under a baldachin.

Zelenka's final secular work is a serenata whose title now is known to be *Il Diamante* (ZWV 176) following the discovery of a printed libretto in the Saxon State Archives, Dresden.<sup>200</sup> The music, which was heard at a noble wedding in Dresden on 28 February 1737, was commissioned by Maria Josepha in mid-December 1736, and it almost certainly was presented as a surprise for the bride and groom and the guests. The full royal orchestra and the Italian singers performed the serenata with Hasse directing the music from the keyboard. It is the first of only two known instances where Hasse directed a secular work by another composer during his tenure in Dresden, and further confirms the close working relationship between the two men.<sup>201</sup> The final recitative and aria of 'Veneré' was almost certainly sung by Faustina.

During the mid-1730s Zelenka appears to have developed strong ties with trusted servants of the Dresden court who were close to Maria Josepha. One example from 1 August 1738 demonstrates that both 'D. Joan. Lucas Zelenka Musicus' and Franciscus Lauch, a *Cammerdiener* of the queen, were witnesses to the christening of the son of the *Stubenheitzer*, Christiano Tommaso, who at that time was responsible for heating the rooms of Saxon Princess Maria Christina.<sup>202</sup> The child was given the same names Zelenka also had received at christening: Ignatius Lucas.

The recent recovery of over four more years of the *Diarium Dresdae* with entries from 1739 to 1742 provides additional details of Zelenka's work in the Catholic court church.<sup>203</sup> We learn that in the absence of most of the royal and electoral family Zelenka produced the oratorio on Good Friday (which stirred pious pity<sup>204</sup>), and again on Holy Saturday 1739. On that same day the court diary recorded that it had snowed all week and the cold was severe.<sup>205</sup> Such weather reports are regularly seen in Dresden journals during this hard winter. As late as mid-May the court physicians asked whether they should prescribe free medicine to the seven *Kapellknaben* to ensure their wellbeing.<sup>206</sup> The king became so ill he could not leave his room for a week,<sup>207</sup> while the Saxon Prime Minister Count Heinrich Brühl was indisposed for most of May and June.

Zelenka also suffered at this time, and during his illness he made a pledge to compose a Mass upon recovery. He fulfilled this vow by composing the *Missa votiva* (ZWV 18). This must be the new mass by Zelenka reported in the *Diarium Dresdae* as being heard in the Catholic court church on 2 July – feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin: 'Sacrum novum produxit D. Zelenka.' The sixth movement of *Missa votiva*, which could be considered the core of this

<sup>199</sup> X I V I I D L L I V V V I C I M: 10 + 1 + 5 + 1 + 1 + 500 + 50 + 50 + 1 + 5 + 5 + 5 + 1 + 100 + 1 + 1000 = 1736.

<sup>200</sup> ÁGÚSTSSON, Jóhannes: 'Zelenka's Serenata ZWV 177: a new source discovered', *Hudební věda* 46/1-2 (2009), pp. 207-210.

<sup>201</sup> Hasse directed the intermezzo *La Serva padrona* by Giovanni Battista Pergolesi on 8 February 1740, see MENNICKE, Carl: *Hasse und die Brüder Graun als Symphoniker* (≪ note 128), p. 388.

<sup>202</sup> D-BAUd, Taufbuch. Christian Tommaso (also Tomaso; Thomaso; Thommaso) also heated the rooms of Saxon princesses Maria Margaretha (*HStCal* 1735), Maria Amalia (*HStCal* 1736-1738), and Maria Anna (from 1739 until her departure for Munich in 1747). Tommaso followed Maria Anna to Munich and remained there in her service. REICH, Wolfgang: 'Zelenka ante portas', *Ars Musica Jahrbuch* (1994), pp. 28-42, at p. 31.

<sup>203</sup> Published by POPPE, 'Ein weiterer Faszikel aus dem *Diarium Missionis Societatis Jesu Dresdae* wieder aufgefunden' (≪ note 71), pp. 193-204.

<sup>204</sup> [...] Oratorium musicum sacris Veneris et Sabbati diebus ad piam compassionem resonaret.' ARSL Boh. 158, *Annuae Literae Regiae Missionis Societatis IESU Dresdensis ad annum 1739*, p. 39.

<sup>205</sup> D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, O 1, Nr. 7, *Dresdner Hoftagebücher* (Serie A), 1739, entry 28 March, unfoliated.

<sup>206</sup> D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, T 1, Nr. 11C, *Königliche Hofapothekenfreiheit, 1730* [1739], letter from 'Königl. Hoff Apothecke', Dresden, 14 May 1739, fol. 111<sup>a-b</sup>.

<sup>207</sup> *Wienerisches Diarium*, Anno 1739. (Num. 40.) 20. Majus, 'Dresden 9. May', pp. 416-417. The next issues of this newspaper reported on the illness of the king and Count Brühl.

work, is centred around the text 'Gratias agimus tibi' (We give Thee thanks). Zelenka's gratitude upon recovery from this bout of ill health is expressed in a series of choral repetitions of the text 'Gratias agimus tibi' set against a pulsating orchestral accompaniment which interrupt the remaining text of the movement: 'Domine Deus [...] Filius Patris.' The structural model for this movement seems to be a Mass setting by Domenico Sarro (1679-1744) which Zelenka listed into his *Inventarium* early in the 1730s and reworked for a performance in Dresden, naming it *Missa Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini*.<sup>208</sup> *Missa votiva* is Zelenka's final *Inventarium* listing, and it is among the last of Zelenka's autograph scores whose dedication formulae end with 'P J R'.

Zelenka's last-known work to bear these initials is *Missa ultimarum sexta et forte omnium ultima: Missa Omnium Sanctorum* (ZWV 21) whose dedication and date appear at the conclusion of the Gloria: 'A M D G B M V OO SS H AA P J R: 1741 3 Februarii'. The tenor aria 'Christe eleison' of this Mass was almost certainly composed for the Italian opera singer Filippo Giorgi, who was employed with his wife Catarina (soprano) in Dresden between 1740 and 1741. After Giorgi returned to Italy Zelenka might have written the alto aria *Christe eleison* (ZWV 29) as a replacement, as indeed has been suggested.<sup>209</sup>

Late in October 1739 the 'Composit[eur]. Zelenca' travelled to Wernsdorf with five singers and fourteen instrumentalists to perform the Mass for the churching ceremony of Maria Josepha held on the high feast day of All Saints – 1 November – in the chapel of Hubertusburg, the court's hunting palace.<sup>210</sup> The identity of the work was played for the occasion can only be guessed.<sup>211</sup> The singers sent to Hubertusburg were the soprano Venturini, altos Annibali and 'Nicolini' (Nicolo Pozzi), tenor Goetzel, and the bass Bahn. While the Italians were accommodated in the palace, Goetzel, Bahn and the fourteen instrumentalists, in addition to the concertmaster Pisendel (who had been in Hubertusburg during the month of October), lodged at the nearby village of Mutzschen. No accommodation details are given for Zelenka who, according to his position and rank, also should have stayed at the hunting palace Hubertusburg.<sup>212</sup>

The archival documentation of this churching ceremony shows that Zelenka and Pisendel corresponded during the days leading up to the event, with the former probably informing the latter of which musicians were available in Dresden. For example, the soprano castrato Bindi, whose presence would have been required, had been expected to return from Italy in time for the churching but was delayed, arriving in Dresden two days after the event.<sup>213</sup> (The absence of a second solo soprano would have had a bearing on the work[s] that could be performed in association with Maria Josepha's churching ceremony). Meanwhile, Pisendel wrote to Zelenka requesting that a *positiv* should be brought to the palace one day before the musicians arrived.<sup>214</sup>

<sup>208</sup> D-Dl Mus. 2356-D-1 [olim Mus. 2358-D-42]. Zelenka acquired the 'Kyrie' and 'Gloria' of this Mass between 1730 and 1732. He shortened the 'Gloria' and 'stretched' the setting by adding a 'Credo' setting. HORN, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik* (↵ note 17), pp. 177-179. On this Mass, see also, STOCKIGT, Janice: 'Missa votiva (ZWV 18) 1739 by Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679-1745)', *Context* 34 (2009), pp. 43-48.

<sup>209</sup> ZD (↵ note 3), v. 1, Dok. 73a, p. 150.

<sup>210</sup> This churching followed the birth of Prince Clemens Wenceslaus August Hubert Franz Xaver at Hubertusburg 28 September 1739. The journey of Zelenka and the *Hofkapelle* was first reported by LANDMANN, Ortrun: 'Musikpflege in der Herbstresidenz Hubertusburg', in: *Schloß Hubertusburg. Werte einer sächsischen Residenz* [= Saxonia. Schriftenreihe des Vereins für sächsische Landesgeschichte e. V., 3], Dresden, 1997, p. 60.

<sup>211</sup> The *HStCal* edition of 1741 reported that the royal orchestra was heard during the High Service (Hoch-Amt): 'Um 11. Uhr erhoben sich beyderseits Königl. Majestäten wieder in die Capelle, da denn von dem Herrn Nuntio ein Hoch-Amt gehalten ward, wobey nicht allein das Königl. *Orchestre* aufwartete, sondern auch bey der *Elevation Sanctissimi*, dem *Pater noster*, und der *Benediction* iedesmahl 25. Canon-Schüsse aus denen vor dem Schloß nach Reckwitz zu aufgeführten Stücken geschahen.' The music possibly performed on this occasion is suggested by STOCKIGT, Janice B.: "After Six Weeks", p. 196, and pp. 205-206.

<sup>212</sup> The instrumentalists sent to Hubertusburg on 30 October were: violinists Carl Matthias Lehneis, Joseph Titterle, and Johann Georg Fickler; viola players Morgenstern and Johann Adam; the cellist Rossi; contrabassist Kästner; oboists Richter and Hugo; flautists Buffardin and Quantz; bassoonist Carl Morasch, and Uhlig who played the *positiv*. D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, I, Nr. 66b, *König Friedrich August III. und dessen Gemahlin Herbstreise und Hoflager in Hubertusburg, August-Dezember 1739*, fol. 139<sup>a</sup>. Zelenka travelled to Hubertusburg in a wagon with Goetzel, Rossi and Richter. *Loc. cit.*, fol. 142<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>213</sup> 'Den 3.<sup>tem</sup> [November]. Diesen Tag ist das Königl. *Orchestre* auf 4. Gutschen und 1. Rüstwagen, voraus die *Instrumenta*, von Hubertusburg wieder anher gekommen. Auch came der *Königl. Capell-Musicus M. Bindi* mit seiner Schwester von *Venedig* wieder anher.' D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, O 1, Nr. 7, unfoliated.

<sup>214</sup> 'Auch giebt der Stall 2. gelbe *Caltechen*, davon 1. mit dem *Organisten* Gräbner und dem *Pos[i]tive*,

## 1740-1745

The discovery by Szymon Paczkowski of a panegyric in honour of the Dresden *Hofkapelle* written by Johann Gottlob Kittel ('Micrander') strengthens further our current knowledge of the esteem in which Zelenka was held as both a composer and as a person.<sup>215</sup> Of the twenty-three *Hofkapelle* members chosen for special praise by Kittel, Zelenka is listed third, immediately after the tributes to *Kapellmeister* Hasse and Faustina. This is in accordance with the hierarchy of the *Hofkapelle* at that time.<sup>216</sup> Of Zelenka, Kittel wrote:

ZELENCa ward hierauff von *Phoebus* auch erblicket,  
 Der dessen billig Lob, wie folget, ausgedrucket:  
 Du hochgepriesener, vollkommner VIRTUOS,  
 Dein selbst erworbner Ruhm ist Welt-bekannt und groß;  
 Du kanst zu GÖttes Ehr, die Seelen zu ergötzen,  
 Auf das beweglichste die Kirchen=Stücken setzen,  
 Die also rührend sind, daß die andächtge Brust  
 Den Vorschmack schon empfindt von jener Himmels-Lust;  
 Dahero wird Dein Lob nach Deinen Nahmen \* grünen,  
 Sowohl auf Erden hier, als in den Sternen=Bühnen.  
 [\* Zelenca heißt auf Teutsch grün.]

Translation:

ZELENCa was then also spotted by *Phoebus*  
 Who expressed his praise justly as follows:  
 You most highly regarded, perfect VIRTUOSO  
 Your fame, all of your own making, is world renowned and great;  
 To delight the soul in God's honour  
 You are able to write church music in the most stimulating manner,  
 which is so touching that the rapt breast  
 receives a foretaste of those heavenly pleasures;  
 That is why your praise will \* green according to your name  
 both here on earth as on the celestial stage.  
 [Footnote: \* Zelenca means green in German.]

Note that Zelenka is pronounced to be a 'Virtuoso', a descriptor given to no other musician except for the lutenist Weiss. Zelenka also is mentioned in a passage concerned with his colleague, the church composer and former horn player, Tobias Buz:<sup>217</sup>

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weswegen Mr. Pisendel an Mr. *Zelencka* geschrieben, donnerstags abegehen muß [...]: D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, I, Nr. 66c, *König Friedrich August III. und dessen Gemahlin Herbstreise und Hoflager in Hubertusburg, August-Dezember 1739*, letter of secretary Müldener to secretary Reichenbach, Hubertusburg, 27 October 1739, fol. 285<sup>b</sup>. Another letter was sent to Zelenka the next day, almost certainly by Pisendel: '9. Beyliegende brief an dem Hr. *Compositor Zelencka* bitte also bald dem *Instrumentdienern* zu fernerer bestellung zu stellen zu laßen.' Müldener to Reichenbach, Hubertusburg, 28 October 1739, *loc. cit.*, fol. 289<sup>a</sup>. Letters sent to Pisendel, almost certainly the replies of Zelenka, are registered in the *Hof-Post-Charta* which lists letters sent between Dresden and Hubertusburg: D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, I, Nr. 66d, *König Friedrich August III. und dessen Gemahlin Herbstreise und Hoflager in Hubertusburg, August – Dezember 1739*, Dresden 28 October 1739, fol. 103<sup>a</sup>, and 29 October 1739, fol. 106<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>215</sup> KITTEL, Johann Gottlob: *Denen Bey Ihro Königl. Majest. in Pohlen und Churfürstl. Durchl. zu Sachsen, Welt-gepriesenen Hof-Capelle Befindlichen VIRTUOSEN* [...], Dresden: Krause, 1740. Facsimile published as *Lob-Gedicht auf die sächsische Hofkapelle. Faksimile des Drucks von 1740*, fols. 1<sup>v</sup>-4<sup>r</sup>, with Epilogue by Gerhard Poppe, Ortus: Beeskow, 2008, pp. 11-16. Kittel was a highly respected poet and chronicler of historical and contemporary events in Saxony. He was well liked by members of the Dresden court, who purchased copies of his publications and paid him gratuities for the numerous poems he dedicated to the royal and electoral family in Dresden. Kittel is known in the literature on Johann Sebastian Bach for the poem in which he likened the organist to Orpheus whose playing on the lyre drew the animals of the forest to the sound of his instrument – a reference to Bach's organ recital in the Sophienkirche in Dresden on 14 September 1731 which was attended by all the musicians of the *Hofkapelle* which must have included Zelenka.

<sup>216</sup> From 1739 until his death Zelenka is listed next to Hasse in registers of *Hofkapelle* members published in the *HStCal*.

<sup>217</sup> Tobias Buz died aged 68 on 14 January 1760. Within days, his 40-year-old wife Maria Anna also passed away. This was a year of turmoil when the court was absent from Dresden, which had become the battle ground between Prussia and Austria during the Seven Years War. This must be the reason that the



Nun wend ich mich zu Dir, mein aufgeweckter *BUTZ*,  
 Du schaffst beym *Gottes*=Dienst nicht minder vielen Nutz,  
 Denn als *Compositeur* von denen Kirchen=Stücken  
 Bist Du in diese Zunfft auch billig einzurücken;  
 Ja die *profunde* Kunst und seltne Wissenschaftt  
 Von dem *Zelenca* hat an Dir also gehafft,  
 Daß Du auch dermahleinst, wie schon die Proben zeigen,  
 Biß auf den Gipffel wirst als wie Dein Meister steigen.

Translation:

Now, I turn to you, my bright *BUTZ*.  
 You, no less useful in the divine service  
 as a *Compositeur* of church music,  
 for fairness' sake you also must be counted among this company.  
 Indeed, the *profunde* art and rare knowledge of *Zelenca*  
 has been so well absorbed by you  
 that one day you will, as examples already show,  
 climb to the heights of your master.

Buz now may be identified as yet another of Zelenka's several composition students. Others, whose mainly small-scale sacred works are listed in Zelenka's *Inventarium* (some as anonymous items), almost certainly include the *Hofkapelle* cellist Giovanni Felice Maria ('Felicetti') Picenetti,<sup>218</sup> and possibly the Prague-based composer Jan František Novák (Ignoti; Novari; Noack).<sup>219</sup> Surviving scores of music attributed to these composers show many signs of Zelenka's hand. Based on Zelenka's abbreviation 'G. K.' written on the cover to his copy of three *Miserere* settings, both the SLUB card catalogue and RISM have ascribed these works to Cajetan Kolberer. These settings, however, are so heavily reworked by Zelenka that this is an unlikely attribution.<sup>220</sup> The composer was almost certainly one of his students – perhaps the horn player and cellist of the Dresden *Hofkapelle*, Johann [Giovanni?] Georg Knechtel. Held in Schwerin today is a large collection of dances titled 'Menuets & Polonaisen à la Redoute Anno 1756' (D-SWL, Mus. 4739). The watermark seen on paper used for the three parts books (violins 1 and 2, and cello) is also seen on paper used for many sources kept in SLUB. Parts for two horns (or for two trumpets) accompany some dances. According to names given in the collection, these dances were composed by 'Knechtel' and 'Röllig', attributed by RISM to Johann Georg Röllig – who is known to have been a student of Zelenka. (But perhaps this 'Röllig' was the younger brother of Johann Georg; Johann Christian Roellig *jun.*)<sup>221</sup>

*Nachlass* of Buz was not acquired by the Dresden court. One pre-1733 Mass setting by Buz remains: D-Dl, Mus. 2834-D-1. Titled *Messe Delicta Iuventutis meae ne memineras* (Remember not the sins of my youth), it is dedicated to Saxon Electoral Prince Friedrich August. The title might be apt, since on 3. 4. 1727 the *Diarium Dresdae* reported that although Buz had not been contributing music to the royal chapel, a prompt from the electoral prince saw him resume composition. ('A longo tempore Dominus Putz nihil fecit in capella nescio qua de causa. Nunc Seren. Principe annuente iterum resumit labores musicos in compositione.') Note that the composer spells his name Buz in the autographic dedication to the mass; likewise, in an letter written to Count Alexander Joseph Sulkowski on 15 December 1734, he signed his name as Buz: D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 900/8, *Oberkämmererkassensachen, 1735-1737*, fol. 2<sup>a</sup>-b.

<sup>218</sup> D-Dl, Mus. 3161-E-1, *Salve Regina*, with title page in Zelenka's hand, and dedication formula with date: 'A M D G B M V K OO SS H AA P J R 1738 Mense Majo.' Perhaps this work is the 'N. N.' (anonymous) listing in Zelenka's *Inventarium*, 49/14 (without tonality): 'Salve Canto Solo. Violin 2, Oboe 2, Violen Orga.'

<sup>219</sup> Jan František Novák (1706-1771) was a Bohemian composer who became the choral director of the Metropolitan Cathedral of Prague (St Vitus) between 1737 and 1758. The cover title in Zelenka's hand to a Magnificat setting (D-Dl, Mus. 3613-E-1) reads: N<sup>ro</sup> 1<sup>mo</sup> [right] | Magnificat | à 4 | C: A: T: B: | Violini 2 | Viola | e | Basso Continuo | Novari [replacing the deleted 'Ignoti']. At the conclusion of the score Zelenka wrote 'A M D G V M OO SS H AA<sup>qu</sup> PP R.'

<sup>220</sup> HORN, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik* (↵ note 17), p. 139, finds it astonishing for Zelenka to have put so much effort into such mediocre composition. The extent of his revision almost equals a new composition.

<sup>221</sup> On the identification of musicians named 'Röllig' or 'Roellig' see SPRINGTHORPE, Nigel: 'Who was Röllig? – Röllig and the Sing-Akademie collection', in: MUSKETA, Konstanze — REUL, Barbara (eds.): *Fasch-Studien 10: Musik an der Zerbster Residenz*, Beeskow: Ortus, 2008, pp. 117-140. Advice on the watermarks was kindly provided by Claudia Lubkoll.

On 20 October 1740 Emperor Charles VI, uncle of Maria Josepha, died. While the annual letter to Rome gave an account of the mausoleum for the exequies in the Dresden Catholic court church designed by the Italian architect Gaetano Chiaveri (1689-1770), music is not mentioned.<sup>222</sup> The *Diarium Dresdae*, however, reported that Zelenka stepped in during Hasse's illness to direct the Requiem Mass held on 20 December 1740.<sup>223</sup> On the following day the Danish ambassador to the Dresden court wrote of the great beauty of the music heard on this occasion,<sup>224</sup> while another report specifically noted the beautiful music performed by the royal musicians.<sup>225</sup> On 28 April 1741 Zelenka produced the music for the exequies held for Father Anton Steyerer SJ, Maria Josepha's confessor,<sup>226</sup> while on 26 September, at the command of the queen, Zelenka was responsible for the music heard at the exequies held for her aunt, the Archduchess Maria Elisabeth, Governor of the Austrian Netherlands.<sup>227</sup> Following the death in Vienna of the Dowager Empress Wilhelmine Amalia, Maria Josepha's mother, Zelenka directed the music in Dresden for the Vigils held on 3 June 1742, while Hasse provided the music over the following two days.<sup>228</sup>

After the entry into his *Inventarium* of *Missa Purificationis* (ZWV 16) as listing number 44, Zelenka ceased giving detailed information about the vocal and instrumental requirements of his own Masses, as well as those details for almost each Mass of his collection which followed, noting in a hurried manner only a number, the occasional tonality, and name of the composer. This suggests that the somewhat untidy *Inventarium* had become a draft document only, having been replaced by a new inventory. Several works in Zelenka's collection bear numbers on the covers that do not match any listing in his *Inventarium*, while clearly referring to another, now lost catalogue. As noted above, the last of Zelenka's own Mass entries into the *Inventarium* is *Missa Votiva* of 1739. Is it possible that he had come to an agreement in the early 1740s to sell the manuscript parts of his sacred music collection to the court for an annual payment of 100 Thaler until his death?<sup>229</sup> Such an arrangement, often used by the Dresden court to distribute payments over a longer period, was a type of life annuity (*Leibrente*), an example of which is found in an arrangement whereby Carl Heinrich von Heineken, one time secretary to Saxon Prime Minister Count Heinrich von Brühl and director of the Dresden court's collection of engravings (the *Kupferstich-Kabinett*) sold his large private collection of valuable etchings and

<sup>222</sup> ARSI, Boh. 160, *Annuae Literae Regiae Missionis Dresdensis ad annum 1740*, pp. 37-38.

<sup>223</sup> *Diarium Dresdae*, 20. 12. 1740: 'Exequiae solennes pro Augustissimo Imperatore Carolo VI [...] Musicam produxit D. Zelenka ob infirmitatem Domini Hasse [...].'

<sup>224</sup> 'à Dresde ce 21. Dec. 1740. Hier, on celebra dans la Chapelle du Chateau les obseques de l'Empereur Charles VI. avec beaucoup de solemnité. Le Nonce du Pape y officia pontificalement, et la musique qu'on entedit pendant ce service étoit des plus belles.' Rigsarkivet [The Danish State Archive], Tyske Kancelli, Udenrigske Afdeling: Polen: Gesandtskabsrelationer (1645-1770) 71-36: *Adolf Friedrich von Harling 1739-1741*, Dresden, 21 December 1740, unfoliated.

<sup>225</sup> 'à Dresde le 24. Xbr. 1740. Le 20. on celebra à la Chapelle de la Cour les obseques de l'Empereur Charles VI. de glorieuse memoire, un Catafalque superbe ayant été élevé pour cet effet, et la Chapelle étant tendué de noir, étoit magnifiquement illuminé. Le Nonce Apostolique officia pontificalement la Messe de Requiem pendant que la Musiqué du Roy fit un beau concert funebre. S.M.<sup>te</sup> de même que la famille Royale assisterent à ce service avec Cour très nombreuse.' D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 389/11, *Minutes des Feuilletts de toutes les années 1737-1742 concernant ce qui s'est passé à la cour à Varsovie, Dresde et Houbertsbourg etc., 1737-1742*, fol. 342<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>226</sup> *Diarium Dresdae*, 28. 4. 1741: 'Exequiae pro pie defuncto R. P. Steyerer. P. Superior cantavit Requiem cum assistentia. Musicam fecit D. Zelenka.'

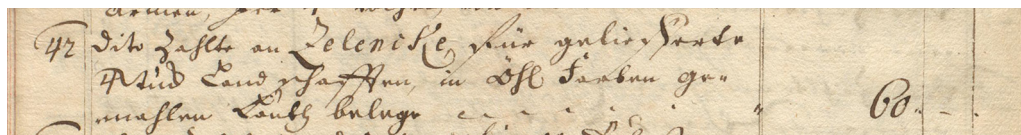
<sup>227</sup> *Diarium Dresdae*, 26. 9. 1741: 'Exequiae pro Seren. Domina D. Maria Elisabetha Gubernatrice Belgii jussu Seren. ae Reginae nostrae. [...] Hora 11. Requiem cantavit cum assistentia. Musicam produxit D. Zelenka [...].'

<sup>228</sup> *Diarium Dresdae*, 3. 6. 1742: 'Hora 4 Nullae Vesperae, sed celebratae Vigiliae cum decantato Officium defunctorum. Musicis data directio pro hac et futuris functionibus [...] Invitatorium et Lectiones primi Nocturni musica figurali produxit D. Zelenka.' The French version of the court journal praised the music of the two composers: 'La magnificence de ces decorations avec le bon goût et la belle ordonnance de cette pompe funebre, ont été admirées de tout le monde; et la musique de la Composition des S<sup>es</sup>. Hasse et Selenga a été très bien executée à cette occasion.' D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 389/11, fol. 429<sup>a</sup>. A similar report appeared in the Dresden newspaper: 'Die Music war von der Composition derer Herren Haße und Selenga bey solcher Gelegenheit sehr wohl ausgeführt.' *Kern Dreßdnischer Merckwürdigkeiten*, Des 1742sten Jahres. *Mensis Junii*, p. 43.

<sup>229</sup> On 11 December 1741 Zelenka was awarded a 100 Thaler salary rise which took effect on 1 January 1742. D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 901/3, *Hofkassensachen, 1740-1745* [1746], fol. 178<sup>a+b</sup>.

Illustration 6:  
60 Thaler payment from  
Queen Maria Josepha to  
'Zelencke' for four land-  
scapes in oil, October 1741.

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den. D-Dla, 10026 Geh.  
Kab., Loc. 364/23, fol. 21<sup>b</sup>.



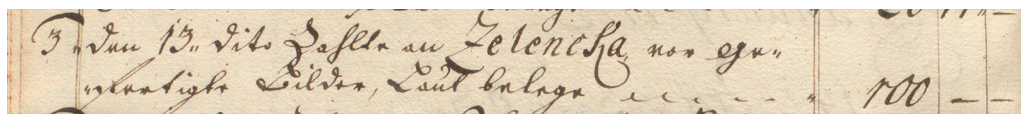
manuscripts to the royal library in the 1770's towards such an annuity.<sup>230</sup> By 1743 Zelenka's collection of secular music had been sold to Maria Josepha.<sup>231</sup> Perhaps by this time he had begun to retire from his daily musical duties in the royal chapel, devoting himself to teaching instead. For example, it is known that between 1740 and 1745 the composer and music theorist Joseph Riepel (1709-1782) took daily lessons from Zelenka.<sup>232</sup>

In 1741 and 1742 Maria Josepha purchased several paintings from Zelenka. Her account book for 1741 contains an entry showing that in October that year the amount of 60 Thaler was paid to the composer for four landscapes in oil, ➤ Illustration 6.<sup>233</sup> Only four months

later, on 13 February 1742, an additional payment of 100 Thaler was made to Zelenka from the queen's private purse for an unknown number of paintings, ➤ Illustration 7.<sup>234</sup> The term

Illustration 7:  
100 Thaler payment from  
Queen Maria Josepha  
to 'Zelencka' for an un-  
known number of paint-  
ings, 13 February 1742.

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Kab., Loc. 364/24, fol. 6<sup>b</sup>.



used here, 'gefertigte Bilder' (completed paintings), is sometimes seen in the account books of the queen for payments made out to court painters Louis Silvestre and his daughter Marie-Maximilienne. This suggests that Maria Josepha was indeed paying Zelenka for works he himself had painted. When the queen died in 1757 her testament stated that some of the religious paintings in her possession were to be divided between the members of her family, but the remainder, possibly including those of Zelenka, were left to Prince Clemens – except for those

<sup>230</sup> '[...] dessen [Heinecken's] Sammlungen noch zu seinen Lebzeiten (1778) der Kurfürstlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden gegen eine Jahresrente gesichert wurden [...]' JACOBS, Emil: 'Zur Kenntnis Maugérards', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 27 (1910), p. 160. In 1767 the Dresden court church composer Schürer sold the manuscript parts of his sacred compositions (978 sheets) to the Saxon court. When this sale was being discussed on 12 May 1767 the court considered buying also the scores of Schürer's compositions and weighed the options of either paying him one large sum for the 510 scores, or giving him an annual rise for life: '[...] und ob solches entweder auf ein zugleich ein Vorschlag zu bringendes, ein für allemahl zu bezahlendes Geld-Quantum, oder auf eine gewisse unvorschriftlich vorzuschlagende, ihm auf seine Lebens-Zeit zu versichernde Gehalts-Vermehrung, zu seyn seyn dürfte?' D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 910/1, fol. 207<sup>b</sup>. The same document reveals that the scores of Zelenka's compositions were bought after his death (*loc. cit.*, fol. 208<sup>a</sup>), but makes no mention of the parts in his collection which are thought to have been his private property. 'In 1767 Schürer sold the manuscript parts of his church compositions (978 sheets) to the Saxon court and in 1772, when Friedrich August was elector, he sold them the scores as well (522, dated 1742 to 1770) for 900 thalers. Schürer himself had compiled an index of these works, giving the opening bars and date of composition of each (*Cursus annuus*, MS, 1765, D-Bs6). He retired in 1780 and sold a further 68 scores of sacred works written between 1767 and 1772 for 200 thalers in 1782, again with a detailed catalogue.' Hartwig, Dieter: 'Schürer, Johann Georg', in: *Grove On Line*. Accessed 5. 5. 2016.

<sup>231</sup> ÁGÜSTSSON: 'The Secular Vocal Collection of Jan Dismas Zelenka' (↵ note 95), pp. 33-34.

<sup>232</sup> POPPE, Gerhard: 'Die Schüler des Jan Dismas Zelenka', in: EBERL, Katherin – RUF, Wolfgang (eds.): *Musikkonzepte – Konzepte der Musikwissenschaft: Bericht über den Internationalen Kongress der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung Halle (Saale) 1998*, Kassel: Bärenreiter, pp. 291-292.

<sup>233</sup> 'dito [October] Zahlte an Zelencke, für gelieferte 4 Stück Land schafften, in Öhl Farben gemahlen Lauth belege l 60 [Thaler].' D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 364/23, *Rechnung über Einnahme und Ausgabe, Ihrer Majestät der Königin in Polen und Kurfürstin zu Sachsen, auch Erzherzogin zu Österreich etc. [Maria Josepha], empfangene und ausgezahlte Gelder, 1741* (Vol. 23), fol. 21<sup>b</sup>. For more on Maria Josepha's expenditures on music see ÁGÜSTSSON, Jóhannes: 'The Saxon Electress and Polish Queen Maria Josepha: Musical Entries in the Dresden Account Books, 1719-1757', forthcoming.

<sup>234</sup> 'den 13. dito [February] Zahlte an Zelencka, vor gefertigte Bilder, Laut belege l 100 [Thaler].' D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 364/24, *Rechnung über Einnahme und Ausgabe, Ihrer Majestät der Königin in Polen und Kurfürstin zu Sachsen, auch geborener Erzherzogin zu Österreich etc. [Maria Josepha], empfangene und ausgezahlte Gelder, 1742* (Vol. 24), fol. 6<sup>b</sup>.



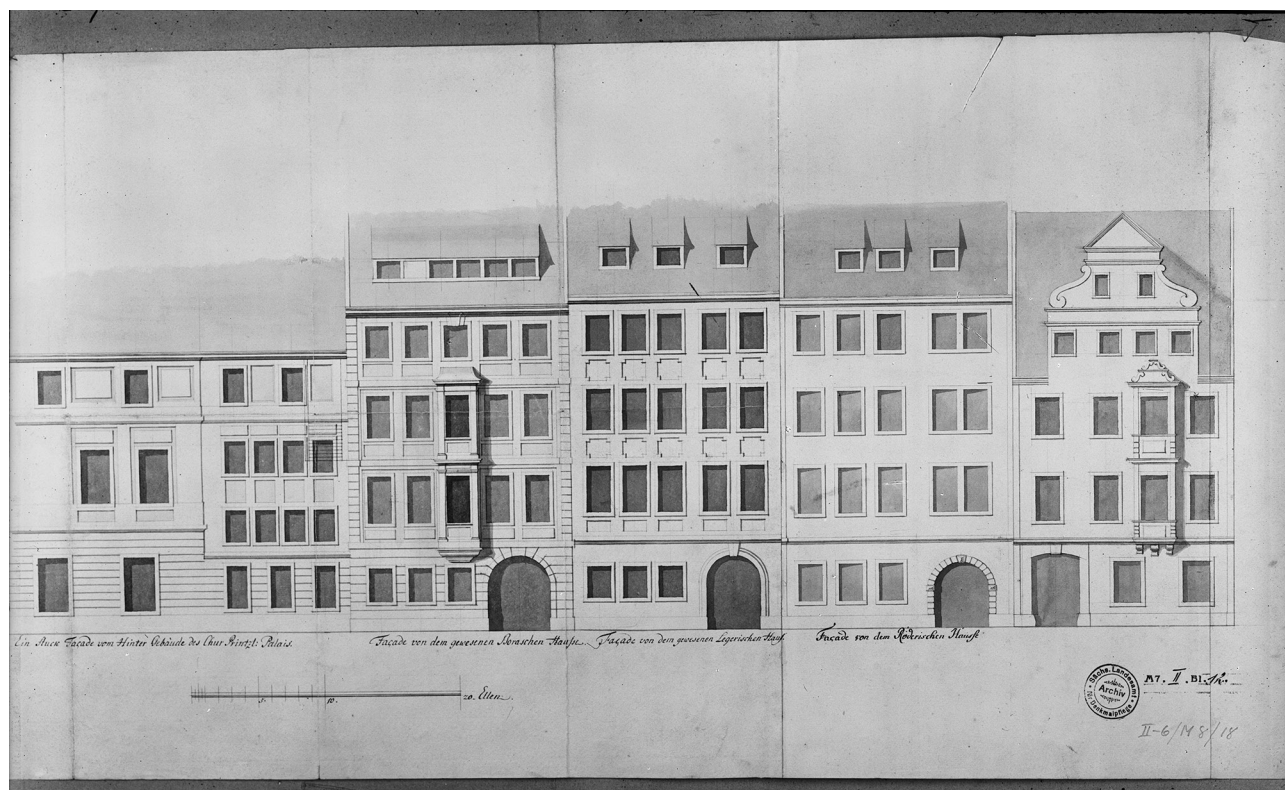


Illustration 8:  
Flade's house in  
Kleine Brüdergasse  
where Zelenka died  
is seen on the far right.

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Denkmalpflege Sachsen  
(Plansammlung) / D-Dl,  
Deutsche Fotothek, M 7 II,  
Blatt 12 – Taschenberg-  
palais.

her 'beloved K[ing]' wished to keep.<sup>235</sup> The testament shows that Maria Josepha bequeathed her entire library to Prince Albert (born 1738), but her private music collection was to be passed to her husband.<sup>236</sup> Maria Josepha's collection included the presentation copy of Zelenka's *Alcune Arie* and a now missing copy of the *Litaniae Omnium Sanctorum* from 1735, each listed in the catalogue of the queen supervised by Zelenka in 1743. Both Zelenka's final composition *Litaniae Lauretanae Consolatrix afflictorum* (ZWV 151, 10 April 1744),<sup>237</sup> and its sister setting *Litaniae Lauretanae Salus infirmorum* (1741/1744) were dedicated to Maria Josepha around the time of her illness and recovery.

By 1744 Zelenka had moved from Moritzstrasse to a house in Ramschegasse,<sup>238</sup> then to the house in Kleine Brüdergasse of a *Täschner* named Johann Heinrich Flade, ➤ Illustration 8. It was here during the evening of the 22-23 December 1745 that Zelenka died. Earlier that month the Prussians defeated the Saxon army, and on 18 December Frederick II of Prussia occupied Dresden. The next morning he attended a thanksgiving service in the Kreuzkirche where a *Te Deum* was sung to celebrate the Prussian victory. As was customary during festive *Te Deum* settings in Dresden the firing of cannons from the fortification walls was regulated by the Court

<sup>235</sup> 'Meinem Sohn Clemens alle Meine Bilder, sowohl aus meiner Schlaff-Cammer, dem großen Zimmer, dem Zimmer, wo wir Abends speisen, als die vom Audience-Zimmer ausgenommen die anderst benennt, oder die so Mein Liebster K[önig]. behalten wolte.' D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 360/3, *Das Ableben Ihrer Majestät der Königin Maria Josepha, 1757*, fol. 134<sup>a-b</sup>.

<sup>236</sup> 'Meinem Sohn Albert Meine Bibliothek, mit allem was darinnen, ausgenommen den großen versiegelten Coffre, und die Musicalien, welche Meinem K[önig]. bleiben.' *Loc. cit.*, fol. 134<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>237</sup> The dedication copy of the *Litaniae Lauretanae Consolatrix afflictorum* is held by the Music Library of the G. Verdi Conservatory in Milan, I-Mc, M. S. MS. 250-2, where it almost certainly arrived with the musical *Nachlass* of Hasse. The calligraphic title page and dedication text of the litany is in the same hand as the 1743 catalogue of Maria Josepha. This copyist also prepared an additional set of parts for the 'Sanctus' of Zelenka's *Requiem* of 1733, D-Dl, 2358-D-81,10, pp. 1-3, 5-41, 91; and a set of parts for Domenico Natale Sarro's *Missa à 4*, D-Dl, Mus. 2356-D-4, pp. 5-63, seen listed as number 67 in Zelenka's *Inventarium* according to RISM. The identity of this copyist and assistant to Zelenka in the late 1730s and early 1740s is not yet clear.

<sup>238</sup> 'Zelenka, Joh. Diesm. Cammer-Compositeur, Ramschegasse in Schmidts Hause.' *Das Jetztlebende Königliche Dresden* [...], Dresden [c1744], Röring, p. 137. This Schmiedt was a secretary and Ober-Steuer-Archivarius. The house was destroyed in the bombing of Dresden in 1945, but has recently been rebuilt and restored to its former glory. It stands at Rampische Straße Nr. 31.

Marshal, but on this occasion the Prussians deliberately loaded every heavy artillery to its maximum. As a result, the reportedly terrifying noise from the explosions blew out windows in homes near the opera house,<sup>239</sup> and possibly the windows in Zelenka's apartment next street. Four days later, on 23 December, there was one short entry in the court diary: 'Ist der Königl. Kirchen-Compositeur Zelencka verstorben.'<sup>240</sup> It is notable that the death of the composer was the only news to report on this day, given the dreadful situation in Dresden and the fact that the preceding entries had described the Prussian occupation in great detail.

August III and Maria Josepha, who had escaped to Prague on 1 December, learned of Zelenka's demise almost immediately. News of his death was given in an especially grim letter from Prague dated 25 December 1745 from the king's confessor, Father Ludwig Ligeritz SJ, to the Governor of the Saxon Electoral Prince Friedrich Christian, Count Joseph Anton Gabaleon Wackerbarth-Salmour, who then was in Nürnberg with Saxon princes Friedrich Christian, Xaver and Carl:

Votre Excellence

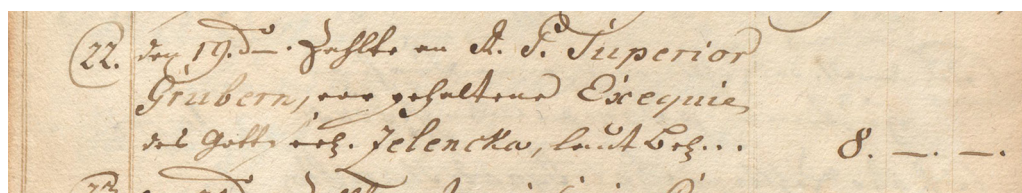
Le lettre de dresde nous mandent, que le Vieu Selencka est mort, que le General Renard ne se tirera pas d'affaire, que Römer, et Dominique de Stain sont en vie, que le champ de Batuille près de dresde est encor plein des Corps Morts. etc etc pardonné, Monseigneur, si je raconte des choses suranneés à V.E.<sup>241</sup>

Translation:

Your Excellency

The letter from Dresden informs us that old Zelencka is dead, that General Renard is finished, that Römer and Dominique de Stain are alive and that the battlefield near Dresden is still full of corpses. Sire, forgive me if I'm telling Your Excellency things that you already know.

Within one month exequies were held for Zelenka in Dresden's royal Catholic chapel. The cost of these was met by Maria Josepha, as an entry in her account book of 19 January 1746 reveals, ➤ Illustration 9.<sup>242</sup> This sum would have paid for at least one mass, candles, sacristans,



and acolytes.<sup>243</sup> Whether Zelenka's colleagues in the *Hofkapelle* performed funeral music for the deceased is not known, but it seems likely given that the *Diarium Dresdae* records many such instances where the royal musicians honoured their members who had passed away.

<sup>239</sup> RICHTER, Dr. Otto: 'Ereignisse in Dresden vor und nach der Schlacht bei Kesseldorf. Nach einem gleichseitigen Tagebuch.' *Dresdner Geschichtsblätter* 8, Nr. 2 (1899), p. 160.

<sup>240</sup> D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, O 1, Nr. 13, *Dresdner Hoftagebücher* (Serie A), 1745, unfoliated.

<sup>241</sup> D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 3426/6, *Différentes expéditions faites pendant le voyage de Leurs Altesses Royales depuis le 2. décembre 1745 jusqu'au 5. janvier 1746, 1745-1746*, letter of Father Ligeritz to Wackerbarth, Prague, 25 December 1745, unfoliated. Zelenka's death was also reported in a letter written by court secretary Müldener to his Saxon colleague in Prague: '7. Der Compositeur Zelencka ist vor wenig Tagen verstorben.' D-Dla, OHMA I, Nr. 107, *Reisen außerhalb Sachsens, 1745*, Müldener to Hoff Expeditior Hessen, Dresden, 25 December 1745, fol. 142<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>242</sup> 'den 19. d<sup>o</sup> [January] Zahlte an R. P. Superior Grubern, vor gehaltene Exequien des gottseel. Zelencka, laut bel. 8 [Thaler].' D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 364/28, *Rechnung über Einnahme und Ausgabe, Ihrer Majestät der Königin in Polen und Kurfürstin zu Sachsen, auch geborener Erzherzogin zu Österreich etc. [Maria Josepha], empfangene und ausgezahlte Gelder, 1746* (Vol. 28), fol. 5<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>243</sup> On 18 January 1744, a receipt signed by the Dresden Jesuit Superior Father Michael Grüber recorded that the sum of 8 Thaler and 16 Groschen paid for 'Meßen, Kertzen, Sacristanen und Ministranten.' D-Dla, 10026, Geh. Kab., Loc. 478/4, *Die Verlassenschaft [Nachlass] der in Ihrer Majestät der Königin Diensten gestandenen Kammerjungfer Regina Eberhardt, 1743-1744*, fol. 10<sup>a</sup>.



ARTICULI

Sub C 128

Debit Specificatio

Sein der Könige. Poln. und Sächsisch. sächs. Ober-Sammerh. Cassa in Dresden  
ultimo Decembre. 1740. ab.

1030. fl. 1. gr. 10. sz. ab:

1232. fl.	vor Gold gestickt	} laut
235. 20. 7.	vor Pruten Tharun	
149. 8.		
18. 2. 3.	vor Sächsischen Thun	

370. „ — „ — „ <sup>uts:</sup> Anweisung, im Commercia. Rath Seybold zu Befehl, im Creditoren, sub unv. verbunnen Sackel Minister Zelenckew

5120. „ — „ — „ In unv. mitteltem Thierard, vor gro. Linifnoten Wigen,

344. „ C. „ Anlytub Frucht Lofu, und Speere vor sub Italien, gutkommen Kunst mit Choccolade, und waflungun

329. „ 7. 3. Seyß und Frölschen, ab:

135. fl.	14 gr.	6 sz.	} laut Anweisung vor
111. „	17. „	3. „	
61. „	16. „	6. „	
10. „	7. „	6. „	

1560. „ f. „ — „ <sup>uts:</sup> zu Erfüllung 370. fl. — „ sub Kosten

Abus 9359. fl. 15 gr. 1 sz. <sup>vord</sup>



### Afterlife

At the time of his death Zelenka was in debt. To his still unidentified creditors the Dresden court paid the sum of 370 Thaler, ➤ Illustration 10.<sup>244</sup> An item from Maria Josepha's *Kammerbuch* (an account recording charitable payments for which no receipts were required) reveals that on 16 June 1751 an unnamed cousin of Zelenka was given the sum of 22 Thaler.<sup>245</sup> By February 1746 an additional 100 Thaler that from 1 January 1742 had been paid to Zelenka annually was to go to his successor, the church composer Father Johann Michael Breunich SJ, whose music Zelenka had collected for use in the Catholic court church years before the prelate formally came into the service of the Dresden court as chaplain of Maria Josepha in 1743.<sup>246</sup> Following Zelenka's death Father Breunich almost immediately stepped into Zelenka's position.<sup>247</sup> The remainder of Zelenka's salary of 800 Thaler was divided equally between Father Breunich and the 'Compositeur' Ristori.<sup>248</sup>

<sup>244</sup> '370. [Thaler] zu Bezahlung, derer *Creditorum*, des verstorbenen Capell Meister *Zelencken*.' D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 901/4, *Hofkassensachen, 1746-1753*, 'Schuld Specificatio, Bey der König: Pöhl: und Churfürst. Sächß: Ober Cämmerey-Cassa in Dreßden *ultimo Decembr: 1746* Alß: [...].', fol. 128<sup>a</sup>. A possible creditor of Zelenka is the court librarian and royal chaplain Father Johann Joseph Götze SJ, who was no doubt a friend of Zelenka as well as a working colleague. The two men first met in Vienna in 1717 when Father Götze became a part of the *Hoffstaat* of the electoral prince. Later he became Zelenka's neighbour in Kleine Brüdergasse. In 1738 Father Götze loaned Ristori 2000 Thaler and in turn had a collateral on the composer's wages: if Ristori did not make the annual payments the money would be withdrawn from his salary. The loan was to be paid back in instalments in ten years at 5 % interest. This arrangement came with a personal guarantee from August III to Father Götze and the same agreement could well have been in place for a loan made to Zelenka. In this way, the payment made out to Zelenka's *Creditorum* is perhaps partly explained. See ÁGÜSTSSON, Jóhannes: 'Giovanni Alberto Ristori at the Court of Naples 1738-1740', in: BACCIAGALUPPI, Claudio – OTTENBERG, Hans-Gunter – ZOPPELLI, Luca (eds.): *Studi pergolesiani – Pergolesi studies* 8, Bern: Peter Lang, 2012, pp. 80-81.

<sup>245</sup> 'in die Kammer gegeben, vor einen Vetter von den Seel. *Zelenka* 8. #: 22 [Thaler].' D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 365/6, *Kammerbuch über diejenigen Gelder, über welche Ihre Majestät die Königin in Polen und Kurfürstin zu Sachsen [Maria Josepha] allergnädigst disponiert hat, geführt von Ihrer Majestät der Königin Kammerzahlmeister François Ponte, 1. Juli 1749 – 22. Oktober 1757*, fol. 19<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>246</sup> Father Breunich was the composer of an unidentified mass which was performed three times in Dresden and was much admired by August III, partly due to its brevity. *Diarium Dresdae*, 15. 1. 1741: 'Cantatum [...ter] expositum produxit e voluntate Ser.issimi Regis [August III] R. D. Michael Breunich Sacerdos Ecclesiasticus Moguntinus, quod ob [concinna]tem et brevitem mire placuit.' (The sung mass, which has been performed three times, was produced at the King's request by Michael Breunich, priest of the church of Mainz. The Mass pleased greatly because of its elegance and brevity.) On the other hand, a letter written by Maria Josepha to her daughter-in-law Crown Princess Maria Antonia hints at Breunich's tendency of performing long works: '[...] et sans doute que le R. P. Breunich nous regalera d'une longue musique que Je crains fort que ma Siesta courra gran risque de me manquer tout à fair.' D-Dla, 12528 Fürstennachlass Maria Antonia, Kurfürstin von Sachsen, Nr. 17, *Briefe an die Kurprinzessin Maria Antonia von der Gemahlin Friedrich Augusts II (Augusts III) Maria Josepha, 1744-1756*, Maria Josepha to Maria Antonia, [Warsaw] 21 November 1754, fol. 170<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>247</sup> 'Wurdiger, Hoch und Wohlgebohrne, auch Veßer, Rätthe, liebe getreue. Wir haben diejenigen 100. Rhtl., welche der vor einiger Zeit verstorbene, Johann *Dismas Zelenka*, aus Unserer Hof-Casse genoßen, dem an seine statt zum Kirchen-Compositeur bestellten *Capellan* von Unserer herzlich geliebtester Gemahlin Majt. Hoffstadt, Johann Michael Breunichen, als eine zulage zu seinem bisherigen gehalt in Gnaden zugetheilet, und begehren diesemnach hiermit gnädigst, ihr wollet bey besagter Hof-Casse behörige Verordnung thun, daß aus selbiger, abgedachte Ein Hundert Thaler, von der Zeit an, da solche zur *Vacanz* gekommen, dem Kirchen-Compositeur *P. Breunich*, alljährlich gegen Quittung, entrichtet, auch krafft dieses also in Rechnungs-Ausgabe *passiren* verschrieben werden.' D-Dla, 10036 Finanzarchiv, *Spezialreskripte, 1746*, Nr. 1, order signed by August III, dated Dresden 4 February 1746, unfoliated.

<sup>248</sup> 'An das *General-Accis-Collegium*, daß von des verstorbenen, *Zelencka* bey der *General-Accis-Cassa* zurück gestallenen Besoldung, an 800. Thlr., dem an seine statt zum Kirchen-Compositeur bestallten, *P. Breunich*, 400. Thlr., und dem *Compositeur*, *Ristori*, die übrigen 400. Thlr. als jährliche Zulage, allegnädigst zugetheilet worden.' D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 907/5, *Die italienischen Sänger und Sängerinnen, das Orchester, die Tänzer und Tänzerinnen, auch andere zur Oper gehörige Personen, 1740-1784*, order signed by August III, dated Dresden 4 February 1746, fol. 168<sup>a-b</sup>. From the *HStCal* edition of 1747 onwards Breunich and Ristori were listed as church composers alongside Buz and Johann Sebastian Bach. By 1750 Ristori had been appointed *Vice-Kapellmeister* – a position he served until his death in February 1753. Father Breunich passed away in 1755.

Illustration 10:  
370 Thaler payment  
from the Saxon Ober-  
Cämmerey-Cassa to the  
creditors of the deceased  
'Capell Meister *Zelencken*',  
December 1746.

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Sächsisches Staatsarchiv  
– Hauptstaatsarchiv Dres-  
den. D-Dla, 10026 Geh.  
Kab., Loc. 901/4, fol. 128<sup>a</sup>.



Soprano. Hymnus.

Gloria in excelsis deo in coelis qui in pace  
 laudant populi per orbem in gloria dei in firmamento  
 caeli et terra et elementa et omnia quae continentur  
 in visibilibus et in invisibilibus. Filii dei in gloria  
 sed et in terra in virtute dei super  
 cui soli a conspectu totius mundi machi  
 nari gubernat tri-mys tri-mys tri-mys  
 amen amen.

Mus. 1271-E-1,2a





Apart from the recovery of several items once held by the Berlin Singakademie composed and collected by Zelenka,<sup>249</sup> a rich collection of Zelenka sources was identified in the final section of the 'Catalogo 1765': *Musica senza nome dell'Autore*. Numerous remnants of Zelenka's musical estate are present here, including sets of parts that between the time of acquisition of his music by the court and preparation of the 'Catalogo 1765' must have become separated from scores they were meant to accompany – items whose title pages were missing, or scores drawn up from sets of parts that had been borrowed or exchanged with Bohemian colleagues. Certain masses listed here, known to be from Zelenka's collection, are of particular interest since these might be the raw materials upon which Zelenka then worked in order to draw these works into the musical style required in the Catholic court church of Dresden.<sup>250</sup>

To works of Zelenka already known, performance materials and fragments recently have been uncovered in SLUB under the name of the Italian male soprano 'Ventura' (Rocchetti).<sup>251</sup> This cover holds parts for the hymn *Veni Creator* (ZWV 120). Both a score and set of parts for the hymn *Iste Confessore* (ZWV 236), once presumed to be lost, is included (➤ Illustration 11),<sup>252</sup> as well as other hymn fragments. An autograph page written between late in 1725 and early 1729 is a figured *basso seguente* fragment using soprano, alto, tenor, and bass clefs throughout. It is proposed that this is Zelenka's reduction to at least four voices of part of the Credo from Palestrina's six-part setting *Missa Papae Marcelli* for CATTBB (GA XI, 128 ff), or else this page is from a rehearsal score.

A fascinating history of the transmission of Zelenka's music in the nineteenth century has been prepared by Frederic Kiernan and published elsewhere in this volume, and a revised version of the article 'Zelenka, Jan (Lukáš Ignatius) Dismas' is in preparation for Grove Music Online.<sup>253</sup>

### Conclusion

In 1747 Lorenz Mizler made his well known comments about the beauty of Zelenka's compositions for the church and how they were well known to all true lovers of music. He also supplied another important detail whose significance has until now gone largely unnoticed. Writing from Dresden shortly after Zelenka died, Mizler, who was familiar with many of the musicians in the city, revealed that Zelenka was 'greatly mourned' in the Saxon capital.<sup>254</sup> His observation raises the following questions: who were those who mourned Zelenka and why? Was it because of his personality, or was it for the '*profunde Kunst und seltne Wissenschaft*' he brought to the music of the Dresden court?

The rich new archival information introduced in this present article lends support to the opinions expressed by Mizler and Kittel, and suggests that the image sometimes given in the

<sup>249</sup> Masses from Zelenka's collection include a mass by Antonio Lotti (known in Zelenka's reworking as *Missa sapientiae*; D-B, SA 398); *Missa* (F) by Domenico Sarro (D-B, SA 398); *Missa* (D minor) by Domenico Sarro (D-B, SA 452). Works by Zelenka (many from Harrer's collection) are the *Magnificat* ZWV 107 (D-B, SA 686); *Kyrie/ Christel/ Kyrie* ZWV 28 (D-B, SA 685); 'Kyrie e Gloria' from *Missa Divi Xaverii* ZWV 12 (D-B, SA 688); *Missa Divi Xaverii* ZWV 12 (three parts, D-B, SA 689); *Missa Paschalis* ZWV 7 (without 'Benedictus', D-B, SA 690); *Missa Sancti Spiritus* ZWV 4 (D-B, SA 691); excerpts from *Missa Sancti Spiritus* ZWV 4 (D-B, SA 692).

<sup>250</sup> See STOCKIGT, Janice B.: '*Musica Senza Nome dell'Autore*: Anonymous Works Listed in the Music Catalogue of the Dresden *Hofkirche*, 1765.', *Studi vivaldiani* 7 (2007), pp. 3-51.

<sup>251</sup> D-DL, Mus. 1271-E-1. The cover to the set of parts bears Ventura's name in Zelenka's hand. This cover once contained a vocal part intended for this singer.

<sup>252</sup> Zelenka's *Iste Confessor* received its first performance in modern times at the Zelenka Festival Prague 2015, with Adam Viktora and Ensemble Inégál performing an edition specially prepared by Frederic Kiernan whose setting is published as an Appendix to STOCKIGT, Janice B.: 'Discoveries and Recoveries of Vivaldi and Zelenka sources in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden', in: BORIS, Alessandro – CAMERON, Jasmin Melissa (eds.): *Fulgeat sol frontis decorae: Studi in onore di Michael Talbot* [= Fondazione Giorgio Cini. Istituto Antonio Vivaldi], Venice: Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 2016, pp. 223-234, at pp. 231-233.

<sup>253</sup> To be submitted November 2016 by Janice B. STOCKIGT (Life: Music), Shelley HOGAN (Bibliography), Andrew FRAMPTON and Frederic KIERNAN (Work List).

<sup>254</sup> 'Dresden. Her wird der vortreffliche Kirchencomponist, Johann Dismas Zelenka, sehr bedauert, als welcher den 22 Dec. 1745 gestorben ist, da die Preußen etliche Tage zuvor, nämlich den 18 Dec. Dresden besetzt u. eingenommen hatten. Seine prächtigen Tutti, schöne Fugen, u. überhaupt die besondere Geschicklichkeit im Kirchenstyl sind allen wahren Kennern der Musik genugsam bekannt.' MIZLER, Lorenz: *Musikalische Bibliothek*, 1746-52 (Vol. 3), Leipzig, 1752, p. 602.

#### Illustration 11:

#### *Iste Confessor* (ZWV 236), soprano part in the hand of Zelenka.

© D-DL, Mus.1271-E-1.2a, unpaginated.



literature of Zelenka as something of the underdog at the Dresden court is not entirely correct. On the contrary, he is revealed as a composer whose music was admired and praised in official documents and private correspondence. He also is shown to be a man who commanded 'the greatest respect' from his colleagues and contemporaries, as reported by Moritz Fürstenau.<sup>255</sup>

Finally, it is the wish of the authors that this study will encourage further research into Zelenka's life and music, and especially Czech sources that might bring to light information about the still mysterious first thirty-years of his life in Bohemia.

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<sup>255</sup> FÜRSTENAU: *'Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe der Kurfürsten von Sachsen und Könige von Polen'* (↵ note 131), p. 76.

The astonishing development of Zelenka's style can best be shown by a prudent and illuminating choice of musical examples. In order to maintain the original character of this text, which was originally conceived for oral delivery, I cited only a minimum of secondary literature. I felt free to do so after some decades of studying the music of Zelenka and some of his contemporaries. So the following text is rather an introduction to the style of Zelenka's arias than a description of the present state of research. I dedicate these lines both to the memory of Wolfgang Reich and the flourishing activities of Adam Viktora and the Ensemble Inégal.<sup>1</sup>

Jan Dismas Zelenka was always an 'adult' composer – his earliest surviving work, the sepulchrum-sacrum-cantata *Immisit Dominus pestilentiam* (ZWV 58), is dated 1709 when he was 30 years old. At this age he surely knew how to compose. This is especially true for pieces with strong technical boundaries like fugues. But even in the realm of 'free composition' he might have studied consciously or unconsciously the music surrounding him without giving in to each and every new fashion. And this is all the more true for the time during and after his (probably intermittent) studies with Johann Joseph Fux in Vienna in the years from 1716 to 1719. So I think it will be appropriate not to look for vague 'influences' or 'reflections' of opera in Zelenka's music but to put the question from another angle asking: What could opera music offer to Zelenka when he composed arias? Which offers did he choose to accept? And which kinds or even items of opera were relevant for him? It goes without saying that the basic outlines of an aria – the Da-capo-form and the use of ritornellos – need not be taken into consideration here.

For the sake of clarity I will choose examples of only two operas which Zelenka did know – of course Zelenka knew many other operas or at least some arias extracted from them, as Jóhannes Ágústsson has recently shown on a broad scale.<sup>2</sup> The first opera is *Ascanio*,<sup>3</sup> composed

<sup>1</sup> I want to thank Chris Dagleish for reviewing the text with great patience and care. Of course, the author alone is responsible for any faults which still might have survived.

<sup>2</sup> ÁGÜSTSSON, Jóhannes: 'The Secular Vocal Collection of Jan Dismas Zelenka: A Reconstruction', *Studi Vivaldiani* 13 (2013), pp. 3-51; the two arias from Lotti's *Ascanio* cited below are listed on p. 44 as part of 'Packet I, folder No. VII' – the Dresden repertory of arias ready for separate performance independent from the operas to which they once belonged was vast.

<sup>3</sup> The title of the libretto by the author Antonio Maria Abbate Luchini [today often given as 'Lucchini'] reads: 'Gl'odj delusi dal sangue', which means 'The feelings of hatred destroyed by the recognition of blood relationship'. This monster of a title was abridged to *Ascanio*, according to a main figure of the plot, already in some archival files of the Dresden court, where the seemingly French (but senseless) form 'Ascanie' occurs more often (the French translation in the original libretto gives 'Ascanio' as 'Ascanius'). Even more important is the title page of a cembalo score from around 1740/50, obviously made by a musician of Dresden who knew his craft: *Ascanio Overo Gl'odi Delusi da lSangue [sic!]*; cf. D-DL, Mus. 2159-F-6, p. 1]. An edition of this opera prepared by the present author which includes the Intermezzi by Francesco Gasparini and Giovanni

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## Opera, arias and Zelenka: Remarks on a special relationship

The examination of arias as works in their own right can reveal much of a composer's musical identity. Such is the case with the arias in the works of Jan Dismas Zelenka, especially those written after 1730. Although meant for oratorios and masses, they show all of the stylistic traits so characteristic of the musical style of Hasse's operas, but missing altogether in the operas of Lotti, which were written before 1720 (yet Heinichen commented on some to them in his treatise). Some of Zelenka's arias belong to a 'minuetto-type' that can be analyzed in terms put forward many years later by the Regensburg theorist Joseph Riepel who had some conversations with Zelenka in the early 1740's.

**Key words:** Zelenka, Jan Dismas; Lotti, Alessandro; Hasse, Johann Adolf; Heinichen, Johann David; Riepel, Joseph; *Ascanio*; Minuetto; Dresden

**Number of characters / words:** 49 848 / 8 362

**Number of examples:** 11

**Number of tables:** 2

**Secondary language(s):** German, Italian

by Antonio Lotti and performed in Dresden in 1718 and 1719, and the other opera is – of course – Johann Adolf Hasse's *Cleofide*, performed in Dresden in September 1731.<sup>4</sup> This restriction might seem simplistic, but it is a truism that when it comes to analysis a writer never is an objective mirror of past realities but rather a construction worker of narratives that draw on dates, facts and arguments. And so any construction is justified if it can highlight some aspects in the music of a composer which are not obvious at first sight. In the history of Italian opera Lotti and Hasse stand at different sides of the border which was erected mainly by Neapolitan composers in the mid-1720s like Leonardo Vinci, a little later the young Pergolesi, Nicola Antonio Porpora, and last but not least by Johann Adolf Hasse.<sup>5</sup>

What the virtuoso singers in an opera really made of a score often is a matter of conjecture, nevertheless the score itself was the basis for and starting point for every sort of embellishments added by the singers. And the scores of Lotti and Hasse show remarkable differences, not so much in the general formal layout of an aria – the da-capo-scheme prevails on either side –, but in the rhythmical differentiation of the music, the refinement of orchestration and the use of instruments or in the length of the parts constituting an aria. Lotti's harmony tends to be rather simple, and in building his melodies he often used somewhat straightforward motifs. In particular there is no remarkable mixture of different rhythms; all this results in most cases in a clear accentuation of the underlying meter, whereas Hasse often uses subtle and highly differentiated rhythms with the effect that his scores look much more elaborated than the scores of Lotti. Another important trait with Lotti is the lack of a real dialogue between the instruments and the singer in most arias.

*Ascanio* was the second of Lotti's three operas performed in Dresden between 1717 and 1719. The plot of Abbate Luchini's libretto is so complicated, that I will not even try to explain it. > Example 1 shows the beginning of the aria 'Frema pur l'onda in tempesta'.<sup>6</sup> This example is typical in many ways. The ritornello is rather clear-cut and shows no other compositional ambitions than to evoke an impression of rapid motion by using basic musical means. It functions as a frame displaying the connotations of the rough and stormy text:

Frema pur l'onda in tempesta | ch'esser già non può molesta | allo scoglio fermo in mar. ||  
S'alzi, sì, gonfia, sdegnata, | che al suo vortice spezzata | è costretta a ritornar. [Da capo].<sup>7</sup>

When Silvia begins to sing, the instruments restrict themselves to sporadic interjections, but when the great melismas occur the instruments do not disturb them at all. So the image of an average Lotti-aria is characterized by an abundance of rests – this is completely contrary to Hasse's *Cleofide* where at least the strings are almost always playing, embedding the vocal part in a smooth, but by no means dominating instrumental sonority.

Zelenka owned (or 'administered') two arias from *Ascanio*: 'Frema pur' (act III, sc. 4) and 'Vile e debole il cuor' (act II, sc. 15), both sung by Silva (soprano). The latter is an example for an aria 'con strumenti', written in 12/8-time which Lotti loved, but which plays no role in

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Bononcini is forthcoming in: *Denkmäler Mitteldeutscher Barockmusik*, series II, vol. 7 [Leipzig: Verlag Friedrich Hofmeister]. The digitized version of the only surviving copy of the work is found on the well-known site of SLUB Dresden under its shelf number Mus. 2159-F-5. I assume that the reader knows how to find the digital copies of the Dresden sources on the internet; it is sufficient to type the shelf mark and the letters slub into the window of a search engine.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the opulent 'First printed edition': *Johann Adolf Hasse, Cleofide. Opera seria. Fassung der Uraufführung Dresden 1731*, hrsg. von Zenon MOJZYSZ, Stuttgart: Carus, 2008 [= Johann Adolf Hasse, Werke, hrsg. von der Hasse-Gesellschaft Bergedorf, Abt. I: Opern, Band 1]. This edition could function as a model for similar editions; but since scores of operas tend to be very thick and many of the original scores are legible enough to make the preparation of performance material possible even for non-specialists, it is not probable that we will ever have a Complete Edition of Hasse's operas, let alone the operas of other composers. Scholarly editions of carefully selected operas may rather serve as 'ideal lighthouses' which show the difference between the practically useful sheets of music and the well-informed presentation and evaluation of historical sources.

<sup>5</sup> This was shown already forty years ago in the magisterial study by STROHM, Reinhard: *Italienische Opernarien des frühen Settecento (1720-1730)*, Köln 1976 [= *Analecta Musicologica*, vol. 16/1-2]. This book opened the present writer's eyes to the wealth which opera music has to offer.

<sup>6</sup> The examples, though some of them might appear rather long, are essential for a text of this kind.

<sup>7</sup> 'May the water rage in storms | it cannot do harm to the rock | standing firmly in the sea. || May it rise and appear swollen and outraged, | it is still forced to return | into its abyss, torn by vortexes.' The score does not name the instruments; according to the general practice at Dresden it is probable that the oboes should double the violins, but only during the ritornellos.



Example 1: A. Lotti: *Ascanio*, 'Frema pur l'on-da in tempesta', atto 3, sc. 4.

Example 1:  
A. Lotti: *Ascanio*, 'Frema pur l'on-da in tempesta', atto 3, sc. 4.  
Vl 1 plays the upper, vl 2 the lower note of each third. Oboes may double the violins and the ritornellos.

the works of Zelenka. Given the generally scarce use of instruments when the singer sings, an aria of this relentlessly accompanied type surely had a special effect. Both copies<sup>8</sup> show only a

<sup>8</sup> See D-Dl, Mus. 1-F-82,15-13 ('Frema') and Mus. 1-F-82,15-12 ('Vile'). According to the digitization of the SLUB 'Frema pur' was written by Johann George Kremmler, whose life span, given as 'c1697-1759' (according to Ortrun Landmann), makes it seem improbable that this copy could have been made at the time of the performances of *Ascanio* in 1718 and 1719; I can hardly imagine that Kremmler's hand should be found in sources of such an early date. The scribe of 'Vile et debole il cor' is not known; SLUB and RISM classify him as 'no. 7', but only in regard to the huge convolute Mus. 1-F-82,15 (1-16) in which ten different hands can be distinguished; only three of them can be identified (Schlettner, Kremmler, Lindner).

numbering by Zelenka, the scores themselves remained untouched. Probably these scores were copied from the only surviving complete score of the opera, written by the well-known copyist Girolamo Personelli. Since the scores are practically identical, there is no further evidence to corroborate this hypothesis. We can be sure, that almost one score, namely Lotti's autograph, has been lost. Lotti might have taken it with him when leaving Dresden in 1719, and it is unlikely that Zelenka and the copyists of his sources did ever see it. Perhaps the performance material which was surely taken from Zelenka's scores would show some entries of dynamics or articulation, but the parts seem to have been destroyed.

This kind of reception of operas is remarkable: while the drama unfolds mainly in the recitatives, the real interest of music lovers at court and elsewhere was obviously restricted to the arias alone. These arias seem to have formed an important part of chamber concerts even many years after the last performance of the opera. For many operas there are even arrangements for Cembalo and voice which surely served the purpose to make the music, that is to say, the arias (and the Sinfonia), available almost everywhere.

One should generally be reluctant to draw conclusions from the fact that Zelenka possessed or knew this or that piece of music. In the realm of church music there are not many works bought and used by Zelenka which could be related to his style, even if he sometimes heavily reworked them. The mass which comes closest to Zelenka's own masses is not a work by Fux, Caldara, Sarri or another well-known foreign master, but a mass by Zelenka's pupil Johann Gottlob Harrer (1703-1755), and in this case it should be clear that Zelenka and not Harrer was the source of inspiration.

In my opinion Lotti's operas had not much to offer to Zelenka. The design as well as the constituents of a Lotti-Aria, suitable for a drama with a huge amount of 'numbers', was too simple for music without dramatical surroundings. But one must admit that the vocal passages of Lotti's arias were often well-invented and fluent, especially in the A-sections. And it is by no means easy to produce the wealth of nice and memorable melodies needed to make an opera attractive. Thus, when an author like Johann David Heinichen (1683-1729) underlines the importance of primarily melodic invention as opposed to contrapuntal craftsmanship, Lotti's operas could earn the highest esteem. A professional composer like Heinichen, during Lotti's stay at Dresden his close colleague, used to study the compositional techniques of an opera score meticulously, which shows, that musical *inventio* is not simply related to melody, even if melody is the moment most easily grasped especially by musical amateurs, as many of the opera viewers were.

In the lengthy 'Vorrede' of his well-known book *Der General-Bass in der Composition* (Dresden, 1728) Heinichen discusses on p. 11-15 three anonymous examples, identified here for the first time (as far as I know). He calls the composer a 'sonst fundamentalen Autore' (an otherwise fundamental author), a 'renomirten Mann' (a renowned man) and an 'exercirten Meister' (a well-trained master), and he counts him among 'die berühmtesten ausländischen Componisten' (the most famous foreign composers). This author is none other than Antonio Lotti, and Heinichen's three examples are taken from *Ascanio*. The first example is from the aria 'Dagl'Elisi ove riposi' (act II, sc. 5; mm. 69-77), the second one is from the aria 'Frema pur' (mm. 28-32), and the third one is from the aria 'Vile e debole il cuor' (mm. 7-9/1 and 16-17). These examples serve to illustrate legitimate cases of free voice leading and free treatment of dissonances in modern opera music. Otherwise, I cannot explain the popularity of 'Frema pur' and 'Vile e debole' in the Dresden reception of *Ascanio*. But since Heinichen mentions also a third instance ('Dagl'Elisi'), he may have had a complete score of the opera at hand (perhaps the one copied by Personelli) and not only single copies like Mus. 1-F-82,15-12 and -13. He explicitly says, that Lotti's 'Originalia man allen fallß produciren könte' (p. 11; 'the original sources could be shown on request').

When Zelenka composed arias, his compositional ambitions were obviously higher and of another kind. Being able to invent nice melodies is a musical gift in its own right, but composition understood as art is more than inventing melodies. In an aria, 'art' can be displayed in the construction of ritornellos and in the interweaving of instruments with the singing part. The Latin proverb of unknown provenience: 'Poeta nascitur, orator fit', aptly applies to Zelenka's music as well as to any music of the baroque era in which a poet who did not know how to convince the readers or listeners by being a highly trained 'orator' according to the rhetorical rules of his day would not have been deemed an artist. But if a poet – or a composer, for that matter – did not have ideas which were worthy of being dwelt upon, the art of rhetoric at best was able to produce a sandcastle or a cover without contents.

➤ Example 2 is taken from the aria for bass and instruments at the beginning of the sepulchrum-cantata *Deus Dux* (Z WV 60). Zelenka wrote this piece on behalf of Baron Johann

Example 2:  
 J. D. Zelenka: *Deus Dux*,  
 (ZWV 60; *Musica  
 ad sepulcrum sacrum*)

VI I  
 VI II  
 allegro  
 (VI II)  
 Va  
 Bc

5

9

15  
 VI I, II unisoni  
 (divisi)

20  
 De-us Dux, De-us Dux for-tis - si-me,



24 (divisi)

Bc

28 VII, II unisoni

De-us Dux, De-us Dux for-tis-si-me, no-stros ex-

32 VII, II unisoni

er-ci-tus ro-bo-ra vir-tu-ti-bus, ro-bo-ra,

36

ro-bo-ra vir-tu-ti-bus.

Hubert von Hartig in Prague<sup>9</sup> in the winter or early spring of 1716 when he was in Vienna for the first time.<sup>10</sup> Despite the bad physical condition of Zelenka's autograph, the music can

<sup>9</sup> Cf. KAPSA, Václav: 'Die Musik in der St. Nikolauskirche auf der Prager Kleinseite in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts', in: *Musicologica Brunensia* 49 (2014; available online), pp. 189-209, esp. p. 195.

<sup>10</sup> The autograph, badly damaged even after its restoration (see the digitized version of D-Dl, Mus. 2358-D-76), mentions the place 'Vienna' and the year '1716'. Since the title page speaks of the 'Sepulcrum Sacrum' it is clear that the work was to be performed during Holy Week; Good Friday fell on April 10, 1716, so this is a reliable *terminus ante quem*. Besides, it is not known on which date precisely Zelenka arrived at Vienna.

be reconstructed almost completely,<sup>11</sup> due to its strong contrapuntal structure in which the motifs and their modifications have their fixed places. The beginning of the ritornello of this aria is a regular double-fugue with four entries of the soggetto: dux 1 in the first violin (m. 1), comes 1 in the viola (m. 3), dux 2 in the second violin (m. 5) and finally comes 2 in the basso continuo (m. 7). A series of sixteenth-notes followed by punctuations serves as counter-subject (mm. 3, 5, 7), and the anapaestic motif first encountered in vl I, m. 4, later serves as the nucleus for the freer passage after the end of the exposition, which leads to the entry of the vocal bass in m. 22 which presents again the dux of the fugue – of course you would not expect the words 'Deus Dux' to be sung with the comes. This aria is a so-called 'Devisenarie', in which the head motif is sung, followed by a short instrumental passage, after which the head motif is sung again, this time with its continuation. The ritornello shows at least two characteristics which can be found in Zelenka's music of all periods: firstly the almost brutal chordal caesuras (see mm. 14-15), secondly the rapid transition from major to minor as in 18-19 and elsewhere. Although these markers can also be found with other composers it seems reasonable to assume that the personal style of a composer is characterized by an individual combination of such markers.

As particular as this invention might seem, it is only one extreme of a general practice encountered in Zelenka arias between 1709 and the mid-1720s; there often is a strong tendency towards polyphonic writing at least in some parts of an aria. And there is a certain lack of the 'long and freely flowing lines' which characterize opera music of the 'second stage' (Hasse and others).

A very nice example is the Latin aria 'Huc palmas deferte' from the Melodrama *Sub olea pacis* which I have partly transcribed from the admirable edition by Vratislav Bělský (➤ Example 3).<sup>12</sup> Although not a fugue, the references to contrapuntal writing at the beginning are clear since the oboes form a typical pair of soggetto and countersoggetto which could be seen as a parallel to the fugue-exposition in *Deus Dux*. What follows is a wild concerto-like entry of the orchestra, but also this is parallel to *Deus Dux* where the exposition is followed by a freer passage. And in the course of the aria the seemingly concerto-like motifs are interwoven with the other voices to form a dense polyphonic structure as seen in the example starting with measure 31.

Of course not every aria in Zelenka's earlier compositions has such a strong contrapuntal structure. However, the 'younger' Zelenka seemed to be more at ease when he could build demanding structures in which his fondness of working with short, yet characteristic motifs could unfold in many different, but preferably contrapuntal ways. Generally speaking, the more homophone arias in the earlier works, consisting of some melody accompanied by a bass, could not yet rely on the expanded structures of the arias encountered in Hasse's *Cleofide* (and of course in other operas of the same stylistic level).

Approaching the second stylistic level one can start from the seemingly rather modest form of 'Minuetto' (or 'Menuett') which in fact is no more and no less than a paradigm for a new musical style. There is a 'Minuetto' in 3/8-time as third part of the 'Sinfonia' of Hasse's *Cleofide*,<sup>13</sup> and there is a 'Menuett' of the same type as third part of the Sinfonia of Zelenka's *Serenata Il Diamante* (ZWV 177), both shown in a somewhat reduced form in ➤ Example 4. This is the only 'Menuett' by Zelenka in 3/8-time which I could find – all of his other menuets are in 3/4-meter. Probably he imported this type of 3/8-minuetto from Italian opera (which does not mean that it was really 'invented' there – suffice it to say, that it was often used as the third part of the 'Sinfonia').<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the transcription made by the present author on behalf of *Das Erbe deutscher Musik* around 1990. See: [http://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil\\_Fak\\_I/Musikwissenschaft/EDM/KOMPONIS-TEN.pdf](http://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_I/Musikwissenschaft/EDM/KOMPONIS-TEN.pdf).

<sup>12</sup> Jan Dismas Zelenka, *Sub Olea Pacis et Palma Virtutis. Melodrama de Sancto Wenceslao* (1723 [ZWV 175]), ed. by Vratislav BĚLSKÝ, Prague, 1987 [= *Musica Antiqua Bohemica*, Seria II, vol. 12].

<sup>13</sup> Hasse's 'Minuetto' is followed by two 'Presto'-passages (functioning similar to trios), the complete form is Minuetto – Presto I – Minuetto – Presto II – Minuetto. Zelenka's 'Menuett' is followed by a short trio, the complete form is 'Menuett – (Trio) – Menuett'. Besides it might be useful to differentiate between the 3/8-meter as such, which is one of the lesser used movements, and its use in pieces of the minuetto-type which exhibit an additional set of markers.

<sup>14</sup> Searching for the origins of a certain musical 'form' can be painstaking. I did not find a 3/8-minuetto in any of Bach's *Suiten*, which shows that it was by no means a universal type at that time. However, there are bipartite 3/8-movements of a rather similar type which already form the final part of the 'Sinfonia' in some of Lotti's operas, e. g. in *Foca superbo* (D- DL, Mus. 2159-F-1), *Alessandro severo* (Mus.

**Allegro**

Ob, VI I  
Ob, VI II  
Ob II  
Va  
Bc

8

14

Majestas (Basso):

mm. 20-30  
vi-----de

Huc pal-mas de-fer-te, co--ro--nas af-fer

31

Ob I, (II)

VII, II unisoni, sempre pp

huc pal-mas de-fer-te, co--ro--nas, pal-

38

Ob I, II, VII, II

*f* Va

- - - mas, co--ro--nas, pal-

Example 3:  
J. D. Zelenka: *Melodrama  
de sancto Wenceslao*  
(ZWV 175): 'Huc palmas  
deferte' (Majestas, Nr. 7)



Example 4a:  
J. A. Hasse: *Cleofide*  
'Sinfonia', part 3 /  
'Minuetto'  
(original designation)

VI (Fl, Ob), Cor, Va, Bc

[seguono Presto I, Min. d. c., Presto II, Min. d. c.]

Example 4b:  
J. D. Zelenka: *Serenata*  
*Il Diamante* (ZWV  
177): 'Sinfonia', part  
3 / 'Menuett' (original  
designation; the form is  
in keeping with principles  
later described by Riepel)

VI (Fl, Ob), Cor, Va, Bc

HC D=I:I PAC A=V

"Monte" [seguono Trio e Menuett da capo]

(a): HC => G=IV:I; (b): HC => A=V:I PAC D=I

In Zelenka's later arias ritornellos similar to minuettos of the 3/8-type are often to be found. Of course there are other types of modern arias which cannot be discussed here. As little and innocent a minuett might appear, it was very important for the development of a new musical style and a new kind of theoretical reflection. The minuett plays a central role in the first compositional textbooks which not only teach the basic rules of counterpoint but the building of large-scale forms. The pioneer of this new thinking and writing was Joseph Riepel (1709-1782). He was born in Austria, but spent most of his musical life at the court of the dynasty of 'Thurn und Taxis' in Regensburg. His first in a series of books, which for the first time taught composition in a 'synthetical' or 'inductive' way, appeared in 1752.<sup>15</sup> Riepel knew Zelenka personally: he was in Dresden in the early 1740s and wrote that he discussed

2159-F-2), *Giove in Argo* (Mus. 2159-F-3) and *Ascanio* (Mus. 2159-F-5), though they are never designated as 'Minuett' and though they have a second part which is much longer than the first one – the numbers for *Giove in Argo* are  $2 \times 8 + 56$ . As one would expect, the older movements have a much simpler rhythm than the later minuettos. A 3/8-finale ('Allegro') of a *Sinfonia* can already be found in Giovanni Bononcini's *Il trionfo di Camilla*, printed in 1696 (see the Garland-series *Italian Opera*, edited by Howard MAYER BROWN, vol. 17, fols. 3<sup>r</sup>-4<sup>r</sup>) which surely is not the earliest example. The conclusion of this rhapsody would be made by the rather straightforward 3/4-'Menuette' (sic!), which forms the third part of the 'Ouverture' (in fact the first part is a French ouverture) in Johann Joseph Fux, *Orfeo ed Euridice*, performed 1715 (*Italian Opera*, vol. 19).

<sup>15</sup> The general title of the series is *Anfangsgründe zur musicalischen Setzkunst* (Principles of the art of musical composition); the whole series obviously should consist of ten 'chapters' ('Capitel'), of which only seven appeared in print, the others survived in manuscript form. The first 'Capitel' was called *De Rhythmpoeia, Oder von der Tactordnung* (Regensburg and Vienna, 1752). There are numerous digitized versions of Riepel's texts to be found on the internet or on DVD; a scholarly printed edition of all of Riepel's texts (the manuscripts of course in modern transcription), including Indexes and accompanying texts is: EMMERIG, Thomas (ed.), *Joseph Riepel. Sämtliche Schriften zur Musiktheorie*, 2 vols., Vienna etc., 1996 (Wiener Musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge, vols. 20/I and 20/II). This edition contains also Riepel's printed book *Harmonisches Syllbenmaaß* (Regensburg, 1776) which does not belong to the series of 'chapters'. Emmerig completed the text according to a hand-written 'third part'.

**Menuett I** (resembling Zelenka, "Il Diamante", ZWV 177, cf. Ex. 4b)

HC C=I:I PAC G=V

"Monte" IV "upward" V  
(a): => HC F=IV:I; (b): => HC G=V:I PAC C=I

**Menuett II**

HC C=I:I PAC G=V

"Ponte" I "even" I  
stationary harmony C=I:V-I-V-I; HC C=I:I PAC C=I

**Menuett III** (resembling Zelenka, Missa Eucharistica, ZWV 15, "Christe eleison")

HC C=I:I PAC G=V

"Fonte" II "downward" I  
(a): => HC d=II:I; (b): => HC C=I:I PAC C=I

Example 5:  
Some Riepelian  
dispositions of minuetts  
(constructed by an  
anonymous discantista)

with Zelenka some 'dubious principles of composition'.<sup>16</sup> Besides, Riepel was a great admirer of Hasse whom he called a 'great master like Frescobaldi in his days'.<sup>17</sup>

The terms 'Fonte', 'Monte' and 'Ponte' which designate a type of sequence (or stationary harmony) with a defined formal function in a minuetto were coined by Riepel; ➤ Example 5

<sup>16</sup> In the 'Fourth chapter' (*Erläuterung der betrüglichen Tonordnung, nämlich das versprochene vierte Capitel*, Augsburg, 1765) Riepel writes about the simplicity of a normal canon-soggetto and continues: 'Wie mir der sel. Herr Zelenka selbst eingestunde. Mit welchem ausbündigen Meister ich damals in Dresden täglichen Umgang genossen' (*loc. cit.*, p. 101; 'This conceded the late Mr. Zelenka himself. With this extraordinary master I associated daily back then in Dresden'). Probably also the 'wackere Tonkünstler' in the following passage refers to Zelenka, where the 'Praeceptor' (who is Riepel's alter ego) says: 'wie froh war ich nicht vor ungefähr 14 Jahren, da mir ein wackerer Tonkünstler (ja wohl recht eines aufrichtig- und harmonischen Gemüts) nur in etlichen Stunden ein- und anderen zweifelhaften Grundsatz erläuterte' (*Grundregeln zur Tonordnung insgemein. Zweites Capitel: Von der Tonordnung*, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1755, p. 90; 'how glad I was about 14 years ago, when a brave composer - indeed a man with an honest and harmonious soul - took the time of some hours to declare to me one ore another dubious principle'). The honour of having cited these sentences decades before the advent of computers and the internet belongs to TWITTENHOFF, Wilhelm: *Die musiktheoretischen Schriften Joseph Riepels (1709-1782) als Beispiel einer anschaulichen Musiklehre*, Halle - Berlin 1935, pp. 22-24.

<sup>17</sup> Frescobaldi 'war nämlich damals ein so erhabner Meister als heut zu Tage ein Hasse'. RIEPEL,

**Allegretto**

Violino I,II (con Flauti ed Oboi)  
(+ 2 Corni in F, not shown here)

Va

Bc

HC F=I:V

VI I (Fl I, Ob I)

VI II (Fl II, Ob II)

Va

VI (etc.) unis.

"Dominant-Plateau"

PAC F=I

17

Timagene (Alto)

Quan- to mai fe - li - ci sie - te

Appendix, corroboration of  $\implies$  PAC F=I

Example 6:  
J. A. Hasse: *Cleofide*:  
'Quanto mai felici sietè'.  
(atto III, sc. 7)

illustrates these procedures in very simple pieces; 'HC' means 'Half Cadence', 'PAC' stands for 'Perfect Authentic Cadence'. It suffices to say, that sequences of this kind are often encountered in Zelenka's arias of the 'minuetto'-type and in the modern type in general, so his music lends itself easily to a historically informed analysis on the basis of Riepel's terms. And that means that Zelenka's music can be estimated both from a 'baroque' and a 'pre-classical' point of view.<sup>18</sup>

Arias of the minuetto-type can also be found in Hasse's *Cleofide*; Timagene's aria 'Quanto mai felici sietè' (► Example 6) is a case in point, which needs no comment except for the abundance of appoggiaturas and the lombardic rhythms so typical also for Zelenka's later style. The entry of the voice is accompanied *colla parte* (here in the higher octave) by the in-

*Erläuterung der betrüghchen Tonordnung*, see note 16, p. 1; Frescobaldi 'was back then in fact so illustrious a master as Hasse in present times').

<sup>18</sup> There is a kind of modernist way to describe the well-known 'Satzmodelle' especially in pre-classical music with names derived from theorists who (casually) have described this or that model (e. g. 'Prinner', 'Fenaroli' and so on). In my opinion this way of description (if used carelessly) could misrepresent the music by giving it an anachronistic and kaleidoscopic appearance. Even if it is more painstaking I would prefer to use terms based on musical entities or techniques (as 'upward-leading 5-6-progression') or such metaphors which are based on qualities inherent or closely related to the music: Riepel's 'Monte', 'Fonte' and 'Ponte' refer to the direction of the harmonic movement and therefore seem appropriate for unbiased musical analysis. Concretions of different orders in the framework of a musical system formed the 'musical notions' in the mind of a composer; I do not see the need to substitute these meaningful musical categories with a series of names no composer of the time had ever heard of - at least not in the combinations used today. By the same token I do not use the term 'galant style' to designate Zelenka's or Hasse's music. The term with its subtle erotic connotations suggests that everything is just a game and not to be taken seriously. No author of the 18th century has used this term in the broad stylistic sense which authors of the 20th and 21st centuries seem to take for granted (see my article 'Galant, Galanterie, Galanter Stil', in: *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie* (2005), available online: <https://www.vifamusik.de/startseite/>). In the case of opera music stylistic generalizations are especially unsatisfying. In the perspective of an extended notion of 'style' an individual composer could easily appear as a mere 'function' in a general framework. Questions like these need to be addressed not only from a methodical, but from a meta-methodical or methodological point of view.



**Tempo giusto**  
Ob. VI

Bc

T. 12

Mittelkadenz/PAC E=V

13

"Fonte-Sequenz": "Dom." nach h=II      2. Glied: "Dom." nach A=I

19

23

Trugschlüsse =>

31

T. 34

Chri - ste e - lei - son

Schlusskadenz/PAC A=I

Example 7:  
A 'Minuetto', derived  
from J. D. Zelenka: *Missa  
Eucharistica* (ZWV 15),  
'Christe eleison'

struments, a technique, rarely if ever used in an average Lotti-aria. When we confront this aria with a Minuetto based on a ritornello by Zelenka with only a few simplifications (as shown in > Example 7) we do not need much of an analysis to recognize the similarity which results from the obvious affiliation to a more or less fixed type. The model of this minuetto is the ritornello of the aria 'Christe eleison' from the *Missa Eucharistica* (ZWV 15; 1733). This ritornello is special since it has an almost perfect middle-cadence on the fifth degree (see m. 15) – like a true minuetto. > Example 8 shows the same piece with all its appoggiaturas in a short score written before the dawning of the computer era.<sup>19</sup>

One could consider the minuetto-type-arias as a sound basis and a starting point for demonstrating that Zelenka's music can be aptly described in terms of the so-called 'punctuation form' developed by Joseph Riepel and later systemized by Heinrich Christoph Koch.<sup>20</sup> The

<sup>19</sup> There is a very similar 'Christe eleison' in the *Missa Sanctissimae Trinitatis* (ZWV 17; 1736), which is easily available in a printed edition (*Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, vol. 103, ed. by Thomas KOHLHASE, Wiesbaden et al., 1987).

<sup>20</sup> Koch's *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition*, 3 vols., 1782, 1787 and 1793, are easily available online and on DVD. A very good, if sometimes a bit dogmatic introduction to 'punctuation form' as an object and tool for analysis is BUDDAY, Wolfgang: *Grundlagen musikalischer Formen der Wiener Klassik. An Hand der zeitgenössischen Theorie von Joseph Riepel und Heinrich Christoph Koch dargestellt an Menuetten und Sonatensätzen (1750–1790)*, Kassel et al., 1983. Note that all the notions related to 'punctuation

Christe eleison (134T)

Obv

Bc

p

f

ten.

ten.

ten.

ten.

due volte, 2da volta

piano

1ma volta

2da volta

S solo: Christe eleison, Christe, Christe,

2xe!

## Example 8:

J. D. Zelenka: *Missa Eucharistica* (ZWV 15): 'Christe eleison' (15-2)

segmentation of the music according to tonal and harmonic categories reflects the composer's decisions and allows the precise description of a given musical idiom. Beginning with the simple 8-plus-8-structures, systematic analysis could show all kinds of manipulations, extensions, cadential schemata and so on.

Also larger forms such as the 'group concerto' (this term is not well established, but useful) can be analyzed in the same way, although the form of such a concerto is at times rather unpredictable. It is well known that the formula 'per l'orchestra di Dresda' was used to indicate the unique status of the Dresden orchestra and its players thus allowing for the composition of 'Concerti con molti strumenti' in the way Vivaldi and others did. The extensive use of the instrumental forces of the Dresden court orchestra is of course not an invention of the 1730s, and it is not restricted to Dresden alone – suffice it to say that Bach composed his *Brandenburg Concertos* around 1720 for a prince and his orchestra at Berlin.

One thing is an independent concerto, another thing is a concerto-like ritornello as a formal function within an aria. Perhaps very few opera houses of the time would have had an orchestra able to play the ritornello of the aria 'È ver che all'amo intorno' (➤ Example 9) from the second act of Hasse's *Cleofide*, contrasting strings (including the oboes) and flutes with great effect and at great length on a very simple harmonic basis which makes extensive use of pedal points. This is only supportable when the rhythmic surface is very animated. The resulting music is highly exquisite, and the instrumentalists must play with virtuosity and passion. Any routine playing would destroy the magic of the music. In Hasse's and Zelenka's day charming music was by no means banned from the church, so this kind of ritornello is not restricted to opera. The 'Laudamus te' from Zelenka's *Missa Sancti Josephi* (ZWV 14; ➤ Example 10), a mass probably written in 1732 and thus next to Hasse's *Cleofide*, uses the same scoring and the same 'ground colour' not encountered in Zelenka's earlier music.<sup>21</sup> The similarities are obvious, nevertheless every lover of both composers would be able to tell Zelenka from Hasse.

form' stay close to the music itself; the notions 'Comma', 'Absatz' or 'Periode', taken from the discipline of grammar, refer to the length of a passage and the intensity of its cadence and therefore to musical categories. And since music and language have much in common there is no danger of misrepresentation. The minuets in Example 5 resemble the dispositions described by BUDDAY on pp. 84-86 (Nr. I: cf. ex. 35 b on p. 86; Nr. II: cf. ex. 35 a/2 on top of p. 86; Nr. III: cf. ex. 35 a/1 on p. 85).

<sup>21</sup> You will not find the 'Laudamus te' from the *Missa Sancti Josephi* in the list given at the end of this article (the number would be 14-4), since it is not a 'normal' aria but rather a 'successive duettodialogue' in which initially Soprano and Alto and then Tenore and Basso are singing. For systematical (and somewhat arbitrary) reasons which need not be discussed here I put pieces like this in a separate group although of course they have ritornellos (which by the way is also true for the numerous choruses in concerto style). The ritornello of 14-4 would be an example for 'E 5 upper voices' of a new variety: fl I, fl II, ob I=vl I, ob II=vl II, va. Obviously, the different functions of the parts and instruments would

The musical score is divided into four systems, each with a treble and bass staff. The first system (measures 1-4) is marked 'Più tosto allegro' and includes labels for VI, Va, Fl, VI, Fl I, VII, VI, Va, Fl II, VI II, and Va. The second system (measures 5-8) includes labels for Fl I, II, p, p tr, f, and p VI I, II. The third system (measures 9-11) includes labels for Fl I, Fl II, VI I, and VI II (senza Bc e Va). The fourth system (measures 12-15) includes labels for Fl I (senza Fl II) and a note '(The ritornello ends only in m. 29!)'. The score features various musical notations including trills, dynamics (p, f), and articulation marks.

## Example 9:

J. A. Hasse: *Cleofide*:

È ver che all'amo intorno'  
(atto II. sc. 11: beginning  
of the rit.)

Finally, the combination of horns, flutes, oboes, fagotti, strings and bass in the ritornello of an aria is the 'non plus ultra' in regard to instrumental diversity in the baroque, leaving out trumpets and timpani since they are not purely musical instruments but used also and mainly for purposes of representation. In the aria 'Così per la foresta' from the *Serenata Il Diamante* (ZWV 177), dated 1737, Zelenka reaches the climax (➤ Example 11). He composes a 'concerto con molti strumenti', and he even weaves in the soprano as an obbligato voice of the concerto. I have found nothing similar in Hasses *Cleofide*;<sup>22</sup> especially the famous aria 'Cervo al bosco' is a 'horn concert', not a 'group concert'.

One can hardly imagine a more splendid aria. If 'Così per la foresta' were an independent piece and not (so to speak) 'hidden' in a rarely performed 'Serenata', it surely would be regarded as an outstanding example of masterly vocal-instrumental music in the exquisite style of late baroque group concerto writing. But what can be seen here in a certain sense holds

need further discussion (e. g. the higher strings often form a 'bassetto', that is a bass line in the higher register), but already Zelenka's (and Hasse's) highly imaginative choices of instruments can be regarded as compositional ideas in their own right.

<sup>22</sup> In the arias 'S'appresti omai la vittima' (Nr. 13 in the edition of MOJZYSZ) and 'Quanto mai felicitate' (Nr. 61) the horns are incorporated into the orchestra in an almost modern, pre-classical way. – The ritornello of 'Così per la foresta' again is not included in the list below, this time for repertory reasons: it is not part of a mass.





Example 10:  
 J. D. Zelenka: *Serenata  
 Il Diamante (ZWV 177):  
 aria 'Cosi per la foresta'  
 (No. 9)*

The musical score is arranged in two systems. The first system includes:

- Corno I,II in F:** Features a complex rhythmic pattern of sixteenth notes.
- Flauto I,II:** Rests.
- Oboe I,II a 2:** Enters with a melodic line, marked *ten.* (tenuto), *tr.* (trill), and *ff* (fortissimo).
- Violino I & II:** Play a similar melodic line to the oboes, also marked *ten.* and *ff*.
- Viola:** Plays a rhythmic accompaniment of sixteenth notes, marked *ff*.
- Molto vivace e sempre staccato Amore (Soprano) [entering in m. 35!]:** The vocal part is indicated by a rest.
- Basso continuo:** Provides a steady bass line of eighth notes.

The second system includes:

- Corno I,II in F:** Continues with the rhythmic pattern, marked *p* (piano).
- Flauto I,II:** Rests.
- Oboe I,II a 2:** Continues with the melodic line, marked *p*.
- Violino I & II:** Continues with the melodic line, marked *p*.
- Viola:** Continues with the rhythmic accompaniment, marked *p*.
- Basso continuo:** Continues with the steady bass line, marked *pp* (pianissimo).

8 Cor

Fl

Ob

*pp* *f* *p* *f*

*pp* *f* *p* *f*

*pp* *f* *p* *f*

*f* Tutti [Bassi]

11

Fl I, II unisoni

Ob I, II unisoni

mm. 14-44 vi ----- de

mm. 14-44 vi ----- de

Detailed description: This page contains a musical score for measures 8 through 11. The score is arranged in a system with five staves. The top staff is for Cor (Cornet), the second for Flute (Fl), the third for Oboe (Ob), and the bottom two for strings. The flute and oboe parts include dynamic markings such as *pp*, *f*, and *p*. The string parts are marked with *pp*, *f*, and *p*. A section of the string part is marked *f* Tutti [Bassi]. The score concludes at measure 11 with the instruction 'mm. 14-44 vi ----- de'.



45 (Corni tacent) Fl

Ob

VII ten.

VII *f p f p f*

Va

(or.) sen - te, sen - te il le - on ta - lor.

(Cembalo)

48 Solo

Solo Solo Solo

Tutti [Bassi] a 2

Fagotti

Tutti [Bassi] *f*

true for all of Zelenka's arias which by no means are a primitive genre (which it can be with other composers). I just want to add two tables which I made many years ago when I studied Zelenka's masses in greater detail. The first table lists 64 arias with ritornellos (including 'arie a 2' and 'a 3') in all of Zelenka's masses.<sup>23</sup>

The following list pairs the names of the masses with the numbers used in the Table 1 (which are in accordance with the ZWV) in order to make the reading easier. The dates of composition do not exclude later reworkings:

- 1 *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* (1712 and later);
- 2 *Missa Judica me* (only Gloria; 1714);
- 3 *Missa Corporis Domini* (c1719);
- 4 *Missa Sancti Spiritus* (1723);
- [5 *Missa Spei*, completely lost];
- 6 *Missa Fidei* (only Kyrie, Gloria; 1725);
- 7 *Missa Paschalis* (1726);
- 8 *Missa Nativitatis* (1726);
- [9 *Missa Corporis Dominici*, c1726; not included];
- 10 *Missa Caritatis* (ca. 1727);
- 11 *Missa Circumcisionis* (end of 1728);
- 12 *Missa Sancti* (or *Divi*) *Xaverii* (1729);
- 13 *Missa Gratias agimus tibi* (1730);
- 14 *Missa Sancti Josephi* (ca. 1732);
- 15 *Missa Eucharistica* (only Kyrie, Gloria; 1733);
- 16 *Missa Purificationis* (1733);
- 17 *Missa Sanctissimae Trinitatis* (1736);
- 18 *Missa votiva* (1739);
- 19 *Missa Dei Patris* (1740);
- 20 *Missa Dei Filii* (only Kyrie, Gloria; c1740);
- 21 *Missa Omnium Sanctorum* (1741).

N. B.:

Table 1: Instrumental upper parts in the arias of Zelenka's masses

The number before the hyphen refers to the ZWV, the number thereafter to the position of the movement within the mass; the asterisk (\*) refers to later reworkings of ZWV 1 and 2. The equals sign designates instruments playing in unison. 'a 2' and 'a 3' designate arias with two or three vocal parts.

A. No upper part ('continuo-aria'): no example		
B. 1 upper part: 8 examples, 6 varieties		
1	ob	6-5
2	ob or vl	11-11
3	chalumeau	15-5
4	vl	1-17, 7-16
5	vl=va	19-18
6	uncertain	12-2, 12-10
C. 2 upper parts: 38 examples, 16 varieties		
7	cor I, cor II	10-10
8	fl I, fl II	8-3, 8-13, 12-8 (all examples are 'a 3')
9	fl, ob	13-13

<sup>23</sup> Except for the *Missa Corporis Dominici* (ZWV 9; not to be confused with the *Missa Corporis Domini*, ZWV 3), the autograph of which is lost. The existing copies show different versions which cannot be discussed here in detail; the only existing score representing the complete text of the mass – D-B Am. B. 362 – was obviously heavily reworked by the scribe and composer Johann Gottlob Harrer. This pupil of Zelenka possessed a considerable amount of Zelenka's works, but obviously he often could not use them in their original form. In Harrer's version of ZWV 9 there are four arias which may or may not reflect Zelenka's original settings ('Qui tollis ... suscipe': Ob solo, 2 Vl, Va; 'Quoniam' and 'Benedictus': [ATB soli] 2 Ob= 2Vl, Va; 'Agnus Dei [II]': 2 Vl, Va).

10	ob I, ob II	6-8, 8-9 (both examples are 'a 2')
11	ob, chalumeau	17-17 ('a 2')
12	ob, vl	3-8, 6-2
13	vl I, vl II	2-4, 7-2, 13-10, 19-11 ('a 3')
14	vl, ob da caccia (?)	12-15
15	vl, va	2-6, 4-16, 18-13, 18-17, 21-7
16	va, fag	1-*23
17	va da gamba, vc	1-7
18	A trb, T trb	2-*14
19	fl=vl, va (occasionally fl, vl)	14-10
20	ob=vl, va	4-12, 11-5 ('a 2'), 12-6, 15-2, 18-9, 19-2, 19-6, 19-8 ('a 3'), 19-16, 20-8, 21-2
21	ob I=vl I, ob II=vl II	10-5
22	fl=ob=vl, va	14-7, 17-2
<b>D. 3 upper parts: 16 examples, 7 varieties</b>		
23	tr I, tr II, ob, vl, va (in varying combinations)	8-5 ('a 2')
24	ob, vl I, vl II	11-3, 16-15
25	vl I, vl II, va	1-13, 7-5, 7-7 ('a 3'), 16-9 ('a 2')
26	vl, va, vc	1-10
27	fl, ob=vl, va	17-15
28	fl=vl I, ob=vl II, va	13-5
29	ob I=vl I, ob II=vl II, va	2-2, 2-8, 18-2, 18-7, 20-2, 21-5
<b>E. 4 upper parts: 1 example</b>		
30	fl, vl I, vl II, va	12-17
<b>F. 5 upper parts: 1 example</b>		
31	ob I, ob II, vl I, vl II, va	1-4

It can be clearly seen that Zelenka strived for many different combinations of instruments playing the ritornello. In 64 arias there are no less than 31 different combinations of instruments. This is the work of a really great composer, not of a craftsman who wanted to get rid of his tasks using a restricted set of stereotypes.

The Table 2, based on 60 items, shows how the length of an aria increased in the course of time. In the approximately eleven masses written up to 1730 27 of 33 arias, that is 82 per cent, are n o t l o n g e r than 110 measures, whereas in the eight masses written after 1731 22 of 27 arias, that is 81 per cent, are in fact l o n g e r than 110 measures. The longest arias with 283 and 292 measures are found in the *Missa Dei Filii* (ZWV 20), written around 1740. The numbers refer to simple measures: 4/4 is counted as  $2 \times 2/4$ ; 6/4, 6/8, 9/8, 12/8 are rarely or never used in Zelenka's masses. Especially in his later arias Zelenka seems to prefer simple time signatures such as 2/4, 3/8 or 3/4. Common time (4/4) prevails only in choruses both in polyphonic and in concerto style. The table assumes the turning point between the rather short *Missa Gratias agimus tibi* (ZWV 13; 1730) and the very extensive *Missa Sancti Josephi* (ZWV 14, probably written in 1732).

	50-80	81-110	111-140	141-170	>170
In ZWV 1-13 (1712-1730)	17	10	5	1	0
In ZWV 14-21 (1731/2-1741)	2	3	6	9	7
<b>Total</b>	19	13	11	10	7

Table 2:  
The length of the arias  
in Zelenka's masses



As different as the presented examples both old and new may be, they all are very demanding compositions – from the view of the composer as well as the performer. When the old contrapuntal rules or the customs of polyphony no longer suffice to maintain the flow of the music, the construction of ‘modern music’ has to be understood and described in another way best explained by Riepel and Koch.

Zelenka never wrote trivial music. But it seems obvious that there was a turning point in his writing which can be connected – for simplicity’s sake – with the arrival of Hasse and his music around 1730. In one way Zelenka always remained the same, in another way he changed. I want to insert here a translated paraphrase of an older text which tries to evaluate the significance which Johann Joseph Fux’s personal teachings might have had for Zelenka which surely cannot be restricted to the transmission of the simple and basic rules of counterpoint. Rather one should recognize that Fux did not teach a special ‘style’ of composition, let alone the style of Palestrina. His rules of *compositio regularis*, that is ‘strict counterpoint’, were meant to convince a pupil – and even more an already adult pupil –, that the observance of some basic laws of composition, reflecting God’s well-ordered creation of the world, was the necessary and indispensable prerequisite of any good composition. On this sound basis the pupil was entitled and encouraged to choose his own models.<sup>24</sup>

So in choosing music in the style of Hasse’s operas as a model Zelenka nevertheless remained the serious composer that he had always been. And his choice had a very important reason, since the music encountered in the operas of Hasse and others was full of highly differentiated rhythms and carefully planned combinations of smaller phrases, which formed greater unities that were attractive despite an often simple and slow-moving harmonic basis. In other words, this style of music allowed the composer to conquer the musical space without relying on the structure of polyphony by using a simple but plausible harmonic basis and an utterly refined rhythmic surface.

The concept of an ‘adult’ composer which was introduced at the beginning of this paper implies that Zelenka could deliberately choose from a wealth of possibilities the music surrounding him had to offer. Lotti’s average arias were certainly too simple and uniform to inspire him; the model ‘pretty melody, clear-cut harmony and simple ritornello-framework’ did not meet his demands. It was only in the later stage of opera at Dresden, connected with the name of Hasse and the years after 1730, that the offers made by operatic arias of a new kind were attractive. The harmony was still clear-cut, but the melodies and phrases were highly elaborated and the composing of the ritornello in a non-polyphonic way became a compositional task of the first order. And the slow-moving harmonic rhythm allowed for the invention and performance of ‘melodie lunghe’ which Verdi a century later highlighted in the music of Bellini.

Once again Joseph Riepel, an adherent of the music made in Dresden, speaks in favor of the aria as a demanding art form when he criticizes the decline of aria-composing in the second half of the eighteenth century. Comparing the style of *opera seria*, represented by the names of Hasse, Graun, Vinci or Pergolesi, with the style of the French *opéra comique* or the German *Singspiel*, Riepel notes the difference between an elaborated aria and a crude song which every peasant could sing after hearing it once. In regard to Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s deliberately simplistic ‘Intermède’, which Riepel calls an ‘Opera comique’, he writes: ‘*Le Devin du village*; ein Geschmier für unsre Bauren [sic!] hier noch viel zu abgeschmack[t]’ (*The Village Soothsayer*; rubbish, even for our peasants here much too stale). And: ‘Der elende Tropf soll kommen, nur von vielen unsrer Chor-Knaben so Harmonie als Gesang zu lernen’ (‘The poor devil should come to us [in Germany], here he could learn from many of our choir boys harmony as well as melody [or singing]’).<sup>25</sup> And how much more was there to be learnt from great masters like Zelenka and Hasse!

<sup>24</sup> Here is the original passage: ‘Was im Laufe der Geschichte mit der Musik geschieht, das entzieht sich für Fux genaueren Festlegungen [...]. Entscheidend ist für ihn, dass die Musik - in welcher stilistischen und geschichtlich-konkreten Gewandung auch immer - den Kern ihrer Regularität bewahrt. So gesehen läge die Bedeutung des Fuxschen Unterrichts gerade auch im Falle eines längst erwachsenen Schülers wie Jan Dismas Zelenka nicht in der Verpflichtung auf ein bestimmtes Stilideal. Der Schüler hatte das Recht, sich an selbstgewählten Mustern zu orientieren.’ See HORN, Wolfgang: ‘Nachahmung und Originalität - Zelenkas Studien bei Fux und die Bedeutung der “Imitatio”’, in: EDLER, Arnfried - RIEDEL, Friedrich W. (eds.): *Johann Joseph Fux und seine Zeit. Kultur, Kunst und Musik im Spätbarock*. Laaber, 1996 [= Publikationen der Hochschule für Musik und Theater Hannover, Band 7], pp. 137-169, here p. 162.

<sup>25</sup> The quotations are taken from RIEPEL, Joseph: *Fünftes Capitel. Unentbehrliche Anmerkungen vom Contrapunct*, Regensburg, 1768, p. 74. Riepel’s bias for *opera seria* must not be overlooked although

The task of composing good and demanding arias occurred not only in opera but in every genre where arias were needed: in oratorios, in masses and also in other liturgical works such as litanies. By adopting ways of composing that originated in opera Zelenka continued his career as a highly admirable aria composer shifting to a new idiom that was most suitable for homophone writing. When he composed his long arias for his later masses he did not want to make the church an opera house; he simply wanted to do what he had always done: to bring the best music possible before the altar of God or – if he had the opportunity – also to a wedding party as in the astonishing *Serenata Il Diamante*. And the spirit which enlivens all these pieces is not restricted to arias, operas or other genres which for logical reasons have their limitations – rather it is the spirit in the core of a great variety of music composed by leading composers between approximately 1725 and 1750. This does not mean that we should coin new terms for a new epoch or a certain style under which the single pieces could be subsumed; it is rather an encouragement to be curious about musical pieces without classifying them beforehand. Much music produced in Dresden will make it worthwhile to postpone standardization until the individual beauties have been recognized to their full extent.

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his principles of composition are mostly and aptly used for the description of pre-classical and classical instrumental music. But of course there is a connection.

Given the extent of current research into Jan Dismas Zelenka and the boom in performances of his work, it is hard to believe that there remains anything further to discover about him, about his work and its revival. However, even now, new information can be unearthed.

The first Czechs to recognise, in the nineteenth century, Zelenka's worth as a composer, are considered to be the important historian František Palacký and the composer Bedřich Smetana. Palacký, inspired by Friedrich Rochlitz's notes on Zelenka, which he published in the second volume of his *Für Freunde der Tonkunst* (1825), urged Prague's Verein der Kunstfreunde für Kirchenmusik in Böhmen (founded in 1826 and of which he was himself a member), to support Zelenka's recognition and renaissance in the Bohemian Lands<sup>1</sup>. In April 1863 Smetana visited Dresden. This may partly have been to fulfill the stated aims of the Umělecká beseda (Artists' Club), founded in 1862, namely 'starým českým skladbám a slovanským vůbec budiž zvláštní pozornost věnována' [special attention should be paid to early Czech works, and Slavonic compositions in general]. On 19 April 1863 he noted: 'v Draždanech stran kompozic Zelinkových [!]. Navštívil jsem krajana Suchánka, bývaliho [!] dvorního hudebníka, Žije v pensi.' [In Dresden, in connection with Zelenka's [!] compositions. Visited my compatriot Suchánek, former court musician, today a pensioner]. Smetana's trip may have been instigated by the Dresden performance of Zelenka's Suite in F major on March 9<sup>th</sup>, 1863, initiated by the curator of the Royal Music Collection, the flute player Moritz Fürstenau. The same composition got performed in Prague's New Town Theatre on June 30<sup>th</sup>, 1863. It was conducted by Eduard Tauwitz, later Director of one of the most important Prague Music Societies – the Žofínská akademie (Sophien-Akademie).<sup>2</sup>

For a long time, Zelenka's works were the sole property of the Saxon court, and therefore beyond the reach of the outside world. There were clearly some exceptions, however. Wilhelm Friedemann Bach copied Zelenka's *Magnificat* for his father, Bedřich Smetana's Dresden visit might have helped the Prague performance of the orchestral suite mentioned above – while Ferdinand Mende, Music Director and teacher at the Royal seminary in Dresden, as well as an honorary member of Prague's Verein der Kunstfreunde für Kirchenmusik in Böhmen, had, at the suggestion of the King of Saxony, copied works by Jan Dismas Zelenka, performed in the Dresden court church, for the use of Prague's Organists College in 1832. The Organists College was founded in 1830 to promote the development of sacred music in Bohemia. In 1889 it merged with the Prague Conservatoire and its papers and music became part of the Conservatoire archives. It seems that this is how the Conservatoire came to possess the Zelenka scores that are kept today in the school's

<sup>1</sup> See PALACKÝ, František, 'Jan Dismas Zelenka, český hudební skladatel' [Jan Dismas Zelenka, a Czech Composer], in: *Františka Palackého spisy drobné*, III, Praha, 1902, pp. 234-236.

<sup>2</sup> See Bedřich Smetana's diaries, April 1863. Prague, National Museum – Bedřich Smetana Museum.

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## Prague 1734: Jan Dismas Zelenka and Leonardo Leo

The first Czechs to recognise, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Jan Dismas Zelenka's worth as a composer, are considered to be the important historian František Palacký and the composer Bedřich Smetana. Zelenka's works were, indeed, performed in the Bohemian Lands already during his lifetime. One of the most intriguing documents here is the insertion of his [?] motets *Sollicitus fossor* and *Barbara dira effera* into Parts I and II of Leonardo Leo's oratorio *Sant' Elena al Calvario*, performed by Prague's Jesuits in 1734.

**Key words:** Zelenka, Jan Dismas; Palacký, František; Smetana, Bedřich; Jesuits; oratorio; Leo, Leonardo  
**Number of characters / words:** 16 332 / 2 487



archives.<sup>3</sup> It is also quite possible that these scores, when still in the possession of the Organists College, might have inspired Bedřich Smetana to look for other works by Zelenka in Dresden. This idea, however, remains a matter of further research.

Let us now go back to Zelenka's time, and to the Easter oratorios and sepulcros performed in the Bohemian Lands of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, and particularly in Prague. Some of these works were written by Bohemian composers (Joseph Anton Sehling, Anton Mauritius Taubner, Franz Wenceslas Habermann, Gunther Jacob, as well as Jan Dismas Zelenka, whose *I penitenti al Sepolcro del Redentore* were performed in the Kreuzherren's church in 1738). Others were by German and Austrian authors, such as Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel, Johann Georg Lösel, Johann Michael Breunich, Joseph Umstatt and, perhaps, Johann David Heinichen. Most of them were by Italian composers; they came to the Bohemian lands either via Vienna, or directly from Italy. (Permanent links with Italy were maintained not only by the high representatives of the Catholic church or members of Bohemian nobility, but also by the members of religious Orders, who were in contact with the Italian monasteries and the Papal court in Rome up to the time of Joseph II's church reform in the 1780s). With specific regard to Prague, in the first decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century performances of Italian oratorios were organized by the Kreuzherren with the Red Star and the Jesuits. The works produced were by Carlo Francesco Cesarini, Nicola Porpora, Antonio Caldara, Antonio Lotti, Giuseppe Porsile, Diogenio Bigaglia, Leonardo Leo, Costantino Roberto (Roberti, Ruberti), Francesco Feo, Giuseppe Gonelli, Niccolò Jommelli, and, perhaps, Baldassare Galuppi. Many of these productions are known only from the Kreuzherren diaries; librettos and scores are rare. Most of the surviving Prague librettos are found in today's National Library, formerly the seat of a prominent Jesuit educational institute. The scores are dispersed all over Europe – the Czech Republic mainly holds scores of oratorios performed in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, especially works by Johann Adolf Hasse.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> For the Organists College and Ferdinand Mende, see Prague Conservatoire Archives, shelf-mark 7449 (*Ad Missam pro defunctis Offertorium, Sanctus et Agnus*), 7450 (*Missa de Requiem*), 7451 (*Litaniae Omnium Sanctorum*), 7452 (*Missa paschalis* and *Missa sonis musicis expressa*); *Sechster Jahresbericht des durch Allerhöchste Entschliebung Sr. Majestät vom 10. August 1826 bestätigten Vereins der Kunstfreunde für Kirchenmusik* (1832), Prague Conservatoire Archives, Organists College papers, box 5. Cf. FREEMANOVA, Michaela: 'In the Shadow of the Conservatoire: The Prague Organists College (1830-1889/1890)', *Hudební věda* 48/4 (2011), pp. 369-392

<sup>4</sup> For Prague oratorio performances see especially DLABACZ, Gottfried Johann: *Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexikon* (Prague, 1815); MELIŠ, Emanuel Antonín: 'O pěstování oratorní hudby v Čechách v XVIII. století' [Oratorio Performances in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century Bohemia], *Dalibor* 6 (1863), no. 1, pp. 1-2; no. 2, pp. 9-10; KAMPER, Otakar: *Hudební Praha v XVIII. věku* [Music in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century Prague] (Prague, 1935); LAUSCHMANN, Josef Jiří: *Pražské oratorium XVIII. století* [Prague's 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Oratorio Performances], Diss., Prague, 1938; KNEIDL, Pravoslav: 'Libreta italské opery v Praze v 18. století' [18<sup>th</sup> Century Prague Italian Opera Librettos], *Strahovská knihovna* 1 (1966), pp. 97-130; 2 (1967), pp. 115-188; 3 (1968), pp. 190-201; 4 (1969), pp. 186-215; PORT, Jan: 'Hudební divadlo řádových škol a náboženských bratrstev' [The Music Theatre of the Monastic Schools and Church Brotherhoods], in: *Dějiny českého divadla*, I (Prague, 1968), pp. 167-193; BUŽGA, Jaroslav: 'Einige Quellen zur Geschichte des Osteroratorium in Prag und Brno', in: *De musica disputationes Pragenses*, I (Prague, 1972), pp. 151-171; Pošťolka, Milan: 'Libreta strahovské hudební sbírky' [The Librettos in the Strahov Music Collection], *Miscellanea musicologica* 25-26 (1976), pp. 83-149; BERKOVEC, Jiří: *Musicalia v pražském periodickém tisku 18. století* [Music News in 18<sup>th</sup> Century Prague Periodicals] (Prague, 1986); FREEMANOVA, Michaela: 'Pietro Metastasio's Oratorio Librettos in the Czech Lands – A Document on the Changes of Taste in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries', *Händel-Jahrbuch* 1999, pp. 270-275; EADEM: 'The Librettos of the Italian oratorios in the Bohemian Lands in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century', *Händel-Jahrbuch* 2000, pp. 231-246; EADEM: 'Oratorium (and Opera) of the German Composers as Performed in the Czech Lands in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries', in: *Deutschsprachiges Theater in Prag* (Prague, 2001), pp. 195-204; EADEM: 'Italské oratorium v Čechách na sklonku 17. a v 18. století' [Italian Oratorio in Bohemia in the Late 17<sup>th</sup> and in the 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries], in: *Barokní Praha – Barokní Čechie 1620-1740. Sborník příspěvků z vědecké konference o fenoménu baroka v Čechách, Praha, 24.-27. září 2001* (Prague, 2004), pp. 87-93; EADEM: 'Oratorium w Czechach, na Morawach i w Morawskiej części Śląska w XVII-XXIX wieku' [Oratorio in Bohemia, Moravia and Moravian Silesia in the 17<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> Centuries], in: *Wokalistyka i pedagogika wokalna*, IV (Wrocław, 2005), pp. 219-228; EADEM: 'Oratorios Performed in the Jesuit Colleges in the Bohemian Lands', in: *Bohemia Jesuitica 1556-2006*, II (Prague, 2010), pp. 1011-1018; EADEM: 'Johann Adolf Hasse's Oratorios in Bohemian Lands', in: *Musiker-Migration und Musik-Transfer zwischen Böhmen und Sachsen im 18. Jahrhundert* (Dresden, 2012), pp. 28-38, online: <http://www.qucosa.de/fileadmin/data/qucosa/documents/8800/Kolloquium.pdf>; EADEM: 'Three Points of a Triangle: Italian, Latin and German Oratorios and Sepulcros in the Early 18<sup>th</sup> Century Central Europe', *Musicologica Brunensia* 49/1 (2014), pp. 175-187; SPÁČILOVÁ, Jana: 'Sant' Elena al Calvario: Leo, Miča, Caldara, nebo Conti? Příspěvek

The Kreuzherren and the Jesuits produced Italian oratorios not only in the original, but also in German and Latin translations; in later decades the same was also true of the Augustinians. The purpose of these translations may have been not only the wish to appeal to a broader public by translating the Italian text into German (in the well-educated high-society circles Italian was, at that time, commonly understood), but also to reinforce the message of the works. The Jesuit translators, rather than presenting a common Biblical scene directly or in the form of an allegory, preferred to underline the relationship between the sin, its punishment, and God's mercy. To serve the needs of pastoral work, the original librettos were turned into morality plays. The Jesuits produced translations of works by Carlo Francesco Cesarini, Antonio Caldara, Nicola Porpora, Costantino Roberto, Diogenio Bigaglia, and also Leonardo Leo. None of the translations is straightforward. An especially striking example of this treatment of the text is Diogenio Bigaglia's *Passione d'Abele innocente*, produced in the original in the Prague Kreuzherren Monastery Church in 1729, and translated into German for the use of the Silesian Jesuit Colleges in Brieg (Brzeg), where it was performed in 1739, and Klodzko/Glatz, in 1742. The two Silesian libretti are not fully identical. Their titles, *Unschuldiges Opfer Deß Vom ewigen Vatter Zum Heyl des Menschlichen Geschlechts aufgeopferten Heylands* (Brzeg) and *Unschuldiges Opfer Deß Am Kreuz sterbenden Heylands* (Klodzko) suggest the *Passione d'Abele* as their possible model. In their character, the original and the translations differ considerably; in terms of their subject-matter and literary treatment, they are still strongly related.<sup>5</sup>

The libretto of Leonardo Leo's *Sant' Elena al Calvario*, performed in Prague by the Jesuits in 1734, presents an example of different, though again rather subtle translation work. The oratorio deals with Saint Helena's visit to the Holy Land, and her discovery of the True Cross. While Pietro Metastasio's Italian text of 1731 treated this subject with literary elegance, the 1734 Latin translation lacks the original's poetic clarity – a characteristic feature of Prague Latin and German oratorio translations in general. For the 1734 performance of Leo's oratorio, two additional *da capo* arias were inserted into Parts I and II – *Sollicitus fossor* and *Barbara dira effera*. Each of them is sung by Eudossa ('romana' in Metastasio's libretto, Eudoxia in the Latin translation). The second aria, *Barbara dira effera*, stressing the criminal nature of the Jewish nation, gives the whole work a xenophobic aspect, foreign to Metastasio's text. Both these insertions appear to be peculiar only to the Prague performance of Leo's composition – they are not found in any of the surviving copies of the score of this oratorio held today in Berlin, Brussels, Dresden, Hamburg and Naples. With minor deviations of spelling, the text of Eudossa's aria inserted in Part I for this 1734 performance of *Sant' Elena* in Prague (see below) corresponds with the text of a motet attributed to Jan Dismas Zelenka titled *Sollicitus fossor* (ZWV 209). The text of Eudossa's additional aria in Part II of the oratorio also corresponds with a composition by Zelenka – the *da capo* aria of his motet *Barbara dira effera* (ZWV 164). Both texts are related to Saint Helen's invention of the Holy Cross.

These insertions pose a number of unanswered questions. Both motets, currently among the holdings of the Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden, are generally associated only with Jan Dismas Zelenka; no other setting of these texts by any other composer is currently known. In the Dresden version, *Barbara dira effera* is extended by a recitative *Vicit leo* followed by *Affluvia*, which are missing from the Prague version; the second and third movement may have been added later for a performance in the Dresden Court Church. Although the arias may have been composed in 1734 or even earlier, there is no Prague source available to support this idea. There is no doubt that *Barbara dira effera* is Jan Dismas Zelenka's work. The score of *Sollicitus fossor*, however, is certainly written in Zelenka's hand, but it was neither entered into the composer's personal inventory, nor is it listed among Zelenka's works in the music catalogues of the Catholic court church of Dresden from 1765 and around 1783-1784. It is found only at the conclusion of both catalogues in the section titled 'Musica senza nome dell'Autore', among the 'Motetti'. Until now, this motet has been categorized in the Zelenka literature among the lost, doubtful, and falsely attributed works; its compositional style, however, leaves little doubt that this is again Jan Dismas Zelenka's composition. No performance materials are shown to accompany the listed score in either catalogue, an indication that *Sollicitus fossor* was probably never heard in Dresden's Catholic court church. The lack of Zelenka's usual dedication suggests that this aria was not written for, or as a commission from the Dresden court. The *Annuae Literae Collegii Societatis JESU Pragae ad Sanctum Clementem pro anno 1734*, surviving

k historii oratoria v českých zemích v 18. století [Sant' Elena Al Calvario: Leo, Míča, Caldara or Conti? To the History of Oratorio in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century Bohemian Lands], *Opus musicum* 41/3 (2009), pp. 25-29.

<sup>5</sup> For Diogenio Bigaglia's *Passione d'Abele* and its German variants see especially FREEMANOVA, 'Three Points of a Triangle' (see note 4).

in the Jesuit archives in Rome, do not contain any information on the music performed in the Clementinum, apart from the productions in which the Jesuit College students took part. The suggestion that Zelenka composed the arias *Sollicitus fossor* and *Barbara dira effera* to be inserted into Leonardo Leo's *Sant' Elena al Calvario* for a performance given at the Clementinum college of Prague in 1734 is therefore supported only by the circumstantial evidence of almost parallel texts. Further research is required here too. If proven, it would be shown that Zelenka's contributions of original music to the Clementinum college of Prague continued into the 1730s.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> For the detailed description of the Prague version of Leonardo Leo's *Sant' Elena* oratorio cf. especially FREEMANOVA, Michaela – STOCKIGT, Janice B.: 'Jan Dismas Zelenka and a Prague Performance of Sant' Elena al Calvario by Leonardo Leo (1734): An hypothesis', *Hudební věda* 51/1-2 (2014), pp. 149-160.



## 1. Project 'The collections of musical scores from the Dresden Court Church and the Royal Private Music Collection dating to the period of the Union of Saxony and Poland. Development, digitalization and internet presentation'

The project is supported by the German Research Foundation (DFG) and started in 2013. Its purpose is to create a complete development and digitalization of approximately 1500 music scores and parts. The inventories dating from circa 1700 to 1780 based on historical inventories and catalogues.<sup>1</sup>

Like the project title shows the collection can be divided in two main parts: in the first part are scores of the Royal Private Music Collection. It includes collections of Friedrich August II., his wife Maria Josepha and his daughter-in-law Maria Antonia Walpurgis. It mainly contains secular and sacred vocal works with a small number of instrumental works. The second part of the project's collection are scores from the Dresden Catholic Court Church, among them autographic scores of Jan Dismas Zelenka and Johann David Heinichen.

An important section of the project is the determination of the paper and their watermarks, on which the musical scores are written. At the end of the project in 2016 we will present the results of the extensive research on RISM online and the watermarks catalogue on the project website.<sup>2</sup> The website also contains the already existing watermarks catalogue of the Schrank-II (Cabinet-II) project.<sup>3</sup> In the following the first results of the watermarks determination will be presented.

## 2. Paper and watermarks in Zelenka's autograph scores

Almost all autograph scores of Zelenka are located in the Saxon State and University Library Dresden<sup>4</sup>. For the most part it is Zelenka's church music. I examined all in all 105 shelf numbers<sup>5</sup> of his works from 1712 to 1744. This includes only works of Zelenka, which are related to the Royal Court Music Collection. Furthermore I was able to identify 244 different watermarks in the paper

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogo della Musica di Chiesa 1765; Catalogo della Musica di Chiesa* (ca. 1780); *Zelenka: Inventarium rerum Musicarum Variorum Authorum Ecclesia Servientium* (1726-1739); *Catalogo De libri Numerati* (ca. 1747, Maria Antonia Collection); *Catalogo Dei Libri di Musica con i numeri negri* (mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, Maria Antonia Collection); *Catalogo della Musica, e de' Libretti di S. A. R. Maria Antonia* (ca. 1781-1787); *Catalogo della Musica, e de' Libretti di S. A. Augusto III.* (ca. 1781-1787); Catalogue fragment from Maria Josepha Collection.

<sup>2</sup> See website: <http://hofmusik.slub-dresden.de/en/> (30. 11. 2015).

<sup>3</sup> Website of *Schrank-II*: <http://hofmusik.slub-dresden.de/en/themes/schrank-ii/> (30. 11. 2015).

<sup>4</sup> Later it will be written abbreviated: SLUB.

<sup>5</sup> Full list: D-Dl Mus.2358-D-1a; 2; 3b-d; 5; 6,1; 6,3; 6,4; 7a; 9; 10,1-3; 11; 14; 15,1; 15,2; 16; 17; 18,1; 18,2; 20; 21; 23; 26; 27; 30; 32; 32a; 32b; 33,1; 33,2; 34,2; 34a; 35; 37; 43; 46; 47; 48; 49,1; 51; 52; 54; 55; 59; 61,1-23; 64; 65; 66; 67; 68; 70; 71; 73; 76; 77; 500; 504; Mus.2358-E-1; 3; 8; 9; 21; 22; 24; 26; 28; 29; 30; 33; 34; 35; 36; 38; 39; 39a; 40; 42; Mus.2358-G-1; Bibl. Arch. III Hb 787d.

CLAUDIA LUBKOLL

(Dresden)

## Watermarks in Zelenka's autograph scores in the Saxon State and University Library Dresden (SLUB)

Zelenka used many different types of papers for his compositions with a large number of various watermarks. Some of them can help to create a better view on his working process, to date and localise the paper he used, exemplarily represented by the examination of some of his autograph scores and his inventory. Furthermore there will be an overview of Zelenka's mostly used paper, as well as his used Bohemian paper.

**Key words:** Jan Dismas Zelenka; Baroque music; Dresden; paper; watermarks; Bohemia; Saxony  
**Number of characters / words:** 22 491 / 3 788  
**Number of images:** 29  
**Number of tables:** 3

Zelenka used. This examination will renounce paper without watermarks. The largest part consists of Saxonian paper with 55 %; because his main working place was in Dresden. But there is also paper from Silesia, Italy, the Netherlands and a great part of Bohemia, which makes approximately nine percent of the paper, used by Zelenka.

### 3.1 Watermarks on the papers from Bohemia

There are three different Bohemian watermarks in Zelenka's music scores.

The first one is the so-called 'Baroque ornament' (► Fig. 1), which Wisso Weiß and Yoshitake Kobayashi also examined in some of Johann Sebastian Bach's scores<sup>6</sup>. They found out that this watermark comes from Chomutov and it was made by Johann Franz Ossendorf II, who was active from 1721 to 1740.<sup>7</sup> Zelenka used this paper only between 1725 and 1729, mostly in the paper of the fly-leaves and music scores of his *Psalms* (D-Dl Mus.2358-D-61,1-23).

The second Bohemian watermark I found is the 'crowned letter B' (► Fig. 2) in Zelenka's *Te Deum* D-Dl Mus.2358-D-48 (ZVW 146). Johann Franz Ossendorf I. made it in Benešov nad Ploučnicí. He was active from 1695 to 1741<sup>8</sup>. This watermark appears frequently in the Royal Court Music Collection between 1731 and 1738 in many variations.

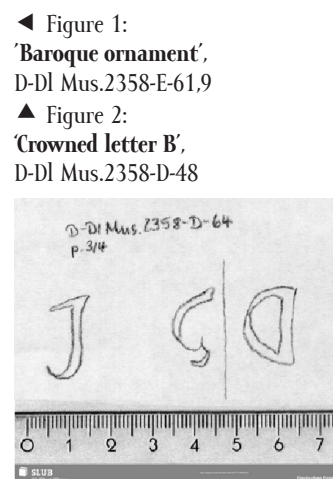
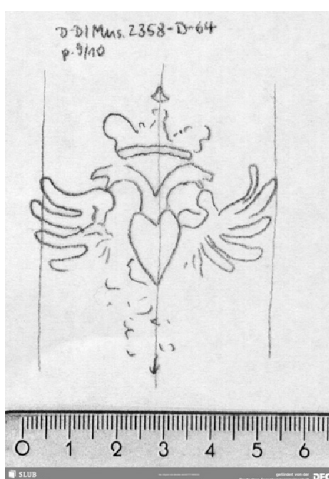
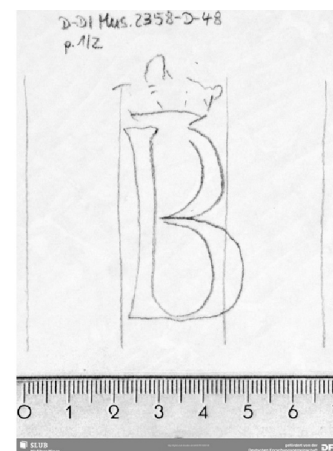
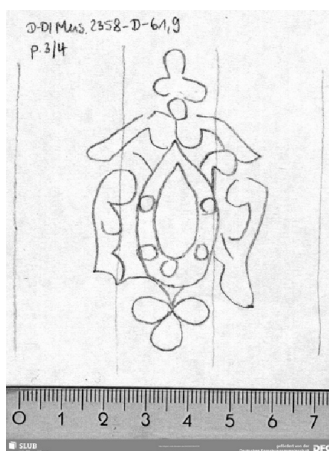
The third Bohemian watermark appears only in Zelenka's *Dixit Dominus* D-Dl Mus.2358-D-64 (ZVW 67), which dated circa 1728<sup>9</sup>. On the paper there is a 'crowned double-eagle with heart-shaped breast' (► Fig. 3), and its countermark 'letters JGD' (► Fig. 4). Weiß and Kobayashi found out that this paper could be made in Bohemia.<sup>10</sup> Finally it appears in the Royal Court Music Collection around the year 1730.

### 3.2 Results of the watermark examination

Zelenka most frequently used five papers for his autographic scores; all of them were manufactured in Saxony. Until now I was able to determine four of these five watermarks to the place of origin and its paper maker.

#### 3.2.1. 'Crowned coat of arms of electoral Saxony in cartouche, beneath Dresden | J G Schuchart' (► Fig. 5)

The paper mill is situated in Dresden, Germany. From 1717 to 1739 Johann Gottlob Schuchart worked there.<sup>11</sup> There are no countermarks of the 'Schuchart' watermark. It appears in the Royal Court Music Collection between 1725 and 1740.



◀ Figure 1:  
'Baroque ornament',  
D-Dl Mus.2358-E-61,9  
▲ Figure 2:  
'Crowned letter B',  
D-Dl Mus.2358-D-48



◀ ▲ Figures 3 and 4:  
'Double-eagle with  
heart-shaped breast',  
countermark 'letters JGD',  
D-Dl Mus.2358-D-64

Figure 5:  
'Crowned coat of arms  
of electoral Saxony in  
cartouche, beneath Dresden  
| J G Schuchart',  
D-Dl Mus.2358-E-3

<sup>6</sup> WEISS, Wisso – KOBAYASHI, Yoshitake: *Katalog der Wasserzeichen in Bachs Originalhandschriften*, Kassel and Leipzig, 1985.

<sup>7</sup> EINEDER, Georg: *The ancient paper-mills of the former Austro-Hungarian empire and their watermarks* [= *Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae Historiam Illustrantia*, VIII], Hilversum, 1960, p. 121.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114.

<sup>9</sup> HORN, Wolfgang – KOHLHASE, Thomas – LANDMANN, Ortrun – REICH, Wolfgang: *Zelenka-Dokumentation. Quellen und Materialien*, vol. 2, Wiesbaden, 1989, p. 294.

<sup>10</sup> WEISS – KOBAYASHI, *Katalog der Wasserzeichen in Bachs Originalhandschriften* (see note 6), p. 57.

<sup>11</sup> SCHLIEDER, Wolfgang (ed.): *Besitzer und Papiermacher auf Papiermühlen in Sachsen und angrenzenden Gebieten*, Marburg/Lahn, 1993, p. 22.

Schuchart created quite a few variations of this watermark, but I worked out some clear differences between the watermarks made in 1720s and 1730s.

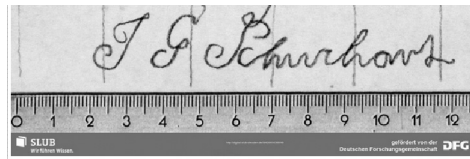


Figure 6:  
Example 1720s,  
D-Dl Mus.2358-E-39a



Figure 7:  
Example 1730s,  
D-Dl Mus.3158-E-7

The writing of 'J G Schuchart' within the watermark gives us the best indicator to distinguish these two working time periods. First of all in the 1720s the scripture looks very even, swinging, slightly tilted to the right and decent (➤ Fig. 6).

But in the 1730s it got irregular, letters were replaced, changed their direction and went straight and the scripture seems more orderless (➤ Fig. 7). My suggestion is that the sieves and their watermarks were only repaired after some years by Schuchart and were not created completely new. It fits to the matter of fact that the mill was entirely financial ruined in 1739.<sup>12</sup>

This paper appears in the Royal Court Music Collection between 1725 and 1740. Zelenka used the 'Schuchart' paper only from 1725 to 1733, but the largest number of Zelenka's works is written on this paper in the 1720s.

Table 1:  
Appearances of  
'Schuchart' paper in  
Zelenka's autograph  
manuscripts

Frequency/ Time	1724	1725	1726	1727	1728	1729	1730	1731	1732	1733	...	1739
only Schuchart-paper	-	6	-	5	5	-	-	1	1	-	-	
Schuchart-paper mixed with others	-	5	1	-	1	1	-	2	-	1	-	1

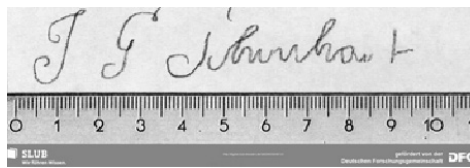
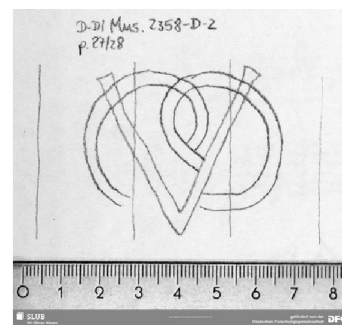
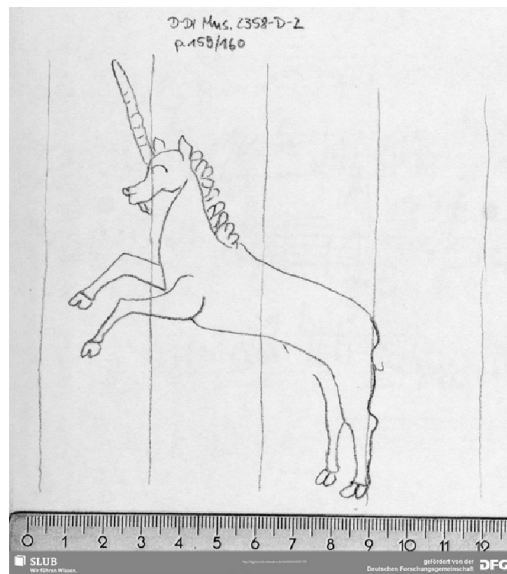


Figure 8:  
'J G Schuchart',  
D-Dl Mus.2358-D-33,2

But it is noticeable that the 'Schuchart' paper appears surprisingly in one of Zelenka's masses in 1739! The *Credo* of his *Missa votiva* consists only of this paper made in Dresden. After examining the watermarks I found out that the paper must be preserved by Zelenka for almost ten years, because the scripture 'J G Schuchart' shows all signs of being made in late 1720s: even, swinging and decent (➤ Fig. 8).

### 3.2.2. 'Springing unicorn' / countermark: 'letters CVC' (➤ Figs. 9-10)

From 1700 to 1736 the paper maker Christian Vodel worked in the paper mill in Niederlungwitz in Saxony.<sup>13</sup> This paper appears in the Royal Court Music Collection between 1719 and 1728. But Zelenka only used the 'unicorn' paper for his autograph manuscripts between 1722 and 1725.



Figures 9 and 10:  
'Springing unicorn',  
countermark 'letters CVC',  
D-Dl Mus.2358-D-2

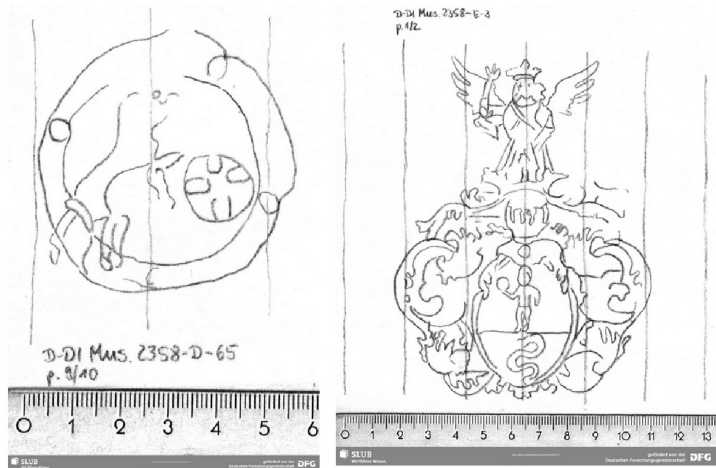
<sup>12</sup> SCHLIEDER, *Besitzer und Papiermacher auf Papiermühlen in Sachsen*, p. 22.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.



3.2.3. 'Double circle with tetrapod' (➤ Fig. 11)

This watermark is the highly unknown of the five most frequently used papers by Zelenka. My suggestion is that the paper might originate from Saxony or Bohemia. In the Royal Court Music Collection it shows up from 1723 to 1740. Zelenka only used the 'tetrapod' paper between 1725 and 1729.



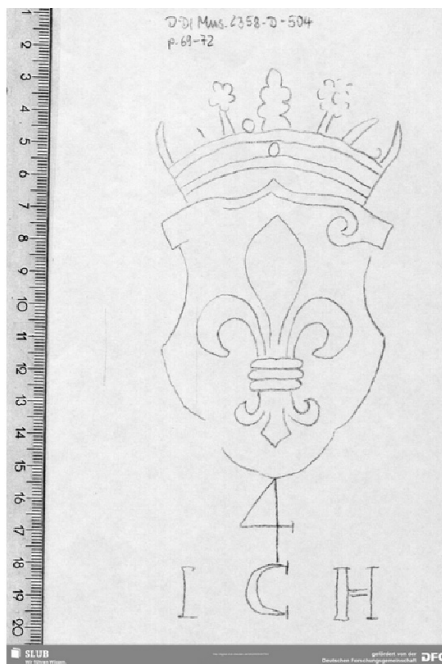
3.2.4. 'Crowned coat of arms of Kiesewetter' (➤ Fig. 12)

Hans Christian Kiesewetter made this paper between 1695 and 1751 in Dittersbach in Saxony.<sup>14</sup> It has an enormous size with more than 120 mm height and it is created very complexly and artistically. This paper appears in the Royal Court Music Collection between 1720 and 1740. Again Zelenka used this paper only between 1725 and 1729.

3.2.5. 'Lily within crowned shield, below letters ICH' / countermark: 'letters KB' (➤ Figs. 13-14)

The paper maker Johann Christian Hertel was active between 1714 and 1748 in Kirchberg near Zwickau in Saxony.<sup>15</sup> In the Royal Court Music Collection this paper shows up in a larger time period from 1719 to 1750. Zelenka used this paper between 1730 and 1737, but mostly in 1733, when he took it for five of his compositions. But there is again a differing exploitation outside Zelenka's typical use of the 'lily' paper: we can find it in two autograph manuscripts in 1725. Both were later or additionally integrated in the manuscripts.

The single sheet of the basso part of Zelenka's *Sanctus* ZWV 35 (D-Dl Mus.2358-D-32b) is written on the 'lily' paper, which means he additionally integrated it in his composition. The *Miserere* ZWV 56 (D-Dl Mus.2358-D-504) consists of two versions. The first version dates to 1722 and the second version to 1725. Zelenka wrote the second version on the 'lily' paper, which means he inserted it later.



◀ Figure 11: 'Double circle with tetrapod', D-Dl Mus.2358-D-65

▲ Figure 12: 'Crowned coat of arms of Kiesewetter', D-Dl Mus.2358-E-3

Figures 13 and 14: 'Lily within crowned shield, below letters ICH', countermark 'letters KB', D-Dl Mus.2358-D-504

Frequency / Time		1725	1730	1733	1734	1735	1736	1737	
'Lily on shield' + 'ICH'; 'KB'	...								...
only	-	-	1	5	-	1	1	1	-
mixed	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 2: Appearances of 'Lily' paper in Zelenka's autograph manuscripts

To explain the circumstances I can propose three theories:

- (1) Zelenka used one or more large piles of different papers at the same time, especially in his maximum producing stage between 1725 and 1729. Here is the first appearance of three of his mostly used paper (all listed above): 'Schuchart', 'Double circle' and 'Kiesewetter'. Two of them are completely consumed in 1729 ('Double circle' and 'Kiesewetter').
- (2) Sometimes some sheets of the largest piles of paper remained for later use. Zelenka used them to draw first ideas or to finish a manuscript after completely consuming a large pile of paper before. One example is the *Miserere* ZWV 56 (D-Dl Mus.2358-D-504) that I mentioned above.
- (3) Zelenka brought paper from his travels (very similar to the second theory) and he also used it to draw first ideas or to finish a manuscript after completely consuming a large pile of paper.

<sup>14</sup> SCHLIEDER, *Besitzer und Papiermacher auf Papiermühlen in Sachsen*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.



Watermarks in Zelenka's autograph scores in the Saxon State and University Library Dresden (SLUB)

That means there is a possibility to mark Zelenka's different producing stages with studying watermarks on the paper he used.

Frequency/time	1722	1723	1724	1725	1726	1727	1728	1729	1730	1731	1732	1733	1734	1735	1736	1737	1738	1739
Schuchart																		
only				6		5	5			1	1							
mixed				5	1		1	1		2		1						1
Lily on shield + "ICH"; "KB"																		
only									1			5		1	1	1		
mixed				2														
Unicorn; "CVC"																		
only			2															
mixed	3			1														
Double circle																		
only				3		1	4	1										
mixed				3		1												
Kiesewetter																		
only				2	2			1										
mixed				1	2	2												

Table 3:  
Appearances of the paper  
mostly used by Zelenka

### 3.3. Selected manuscripts and their watermarks

#### 3.3.1. *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* Mus.2358-D-7a (ZVW 1b)

Zelenka's autograph mass originates from circa 1710 to 1728<sup>16</sup>. There are four stages of development discovered by Gerhard Anselm in 1981.<sup>17</sup> The first stage is the early version of the *Missa*. Finally I identified four different papers. The main paper is from the same time as the earliest one.

##### 3.3.1.1. Paper one

The title page<sup>18</sup> (with dedication and date 1712) has the watermark 'Double circle with tetrapod' (➤ Fig. 15). Like mentioned above, Zelenka only used this paper between 1725 and 1729. My suggestion is that Zelenka wrote and inserted the paper in the second half of 1720s. The date 1712 seems not to indicate the year of using the paper. Perhaps Zelenka revised an earlier concept of the title page or simply copied it again.

The 'tetrapod' paper shows up again at the end of this autograph, from *Et unam Sanctam*, till the end<sup>19</sup>. That indicates the date of origin between 1725 and 1729, too.

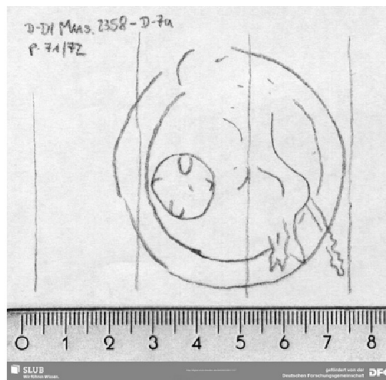


Figure 15:  
'Double circle  
with tetrapod',  
D-Dl Mus.2358-D-7a

##### 3.3.1.2. Paper two

On page five/six (*Kyrie I*, beginning of *Christe*) appears the watermark of the 'springing unicorn' (➤ Fig. 16) I mentioned above. In the Royal Court Music Collection there are almost identical watermarks, solely dating between 1722 and 1723.

Zelenka used paper with other variants of this watermark between 1722 and 1725.

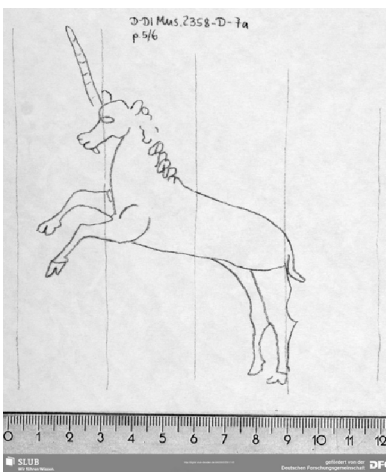


Figure 16:  
'Springing unicorn',  
D-Dl Mus.2358-D-7a

##### 3.3.1.3. Paper three

The eldest paper of this autograph appears on a part of *Kyrie*, the complete *Gloria*, and most of the *Credo*.<sup>20</sup> These parts are very likely the early version of the composition.

The watermark of this paper is a 'crowned shield with horn beneath letters PL' (➤ Fig. 17). My suggestion is that the paper originates from Niederlöbnitz near Dresden. Paul Lenk could be the paper maker. He was active between circa 1706 and 1708. Lenk died in August 1708 and his heirs ran the mill till 1729.<sup>21</sup> It is unknown if the heirs furthermore used the sieves of Paul Lenk. I think it is more likely that they used the sieves until they worn out and afterwards build new and different ones.

Paper was mostly consumed two to four years after producing, which enables the possibility that the paper of Zelenka's *Missa* was made during Lenk's lifetime. If we take the four years after Lenk's death, we are getting a time frame from 1708 to 1712, which shows us very likely the time when Zelenka used the paper for his *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae*.

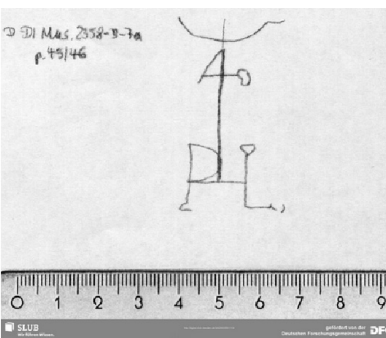


Figure 17:  
'Crowned shield with  
horn beneath letters PL',  
D-Dl Mus.2358-D-7a

There is an interesting issue about the two last mentioned papers: Zelenka put the accolades across the pages six and seven (➤ Fig. 18), which means he set newer paper before the older

<sup>16</sup> RISM catalogue entry of Zelenka's *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae*, see: <https://opac.rism.info/metaopac/search?View=rism&id=212006519> (30. 11. 2015).

<sup>17</sup> GERHARD, Anselm: *Jan Dismas Zelenka – Missa Sanctae Caeciliae / kritischer Bericht und Kommentar*, Berlin, 1981, p. 27.

<sup>18</sup> D-Dl Mus.2358-D-7a, pp. 3-4.

<sup>19</sup> D-Dl Mus.2358-D-7a, pp. 61-80.

<sup>20</sup> D-Dl Mus.2358-D-7a, pp. 7-30 and 39-60.

<sup>21</sup> SCHLIEDER, *Besitzer und Papiermacher auf Papiermühlen in Sachsen*, p. 41-42.



Figure 18:  
D-Dl Mus.2358-D-7a, pp. 6 and 7 one. It does not make any sense if we look at the writing process. The only possibility is that Zelenka wrote the beginning of the mass again at the end of 1720s and put it before the older version of his *Missa*.

#### 3.3.1.4. Paper four

The recent paper of the manuscript appears on the pages 31 to 38, where Zelenka wrote the *Cum Sancto Spiritu*. It is the above mentioned 'Schuchart' paper made in Dresden (► Fig. 19). This watermark is a twin of some other 'Schuchart' watermarks of the Royal Court Music Collection; they are all dating from 1727 to 1728. That means this paper dates approximately from this time.

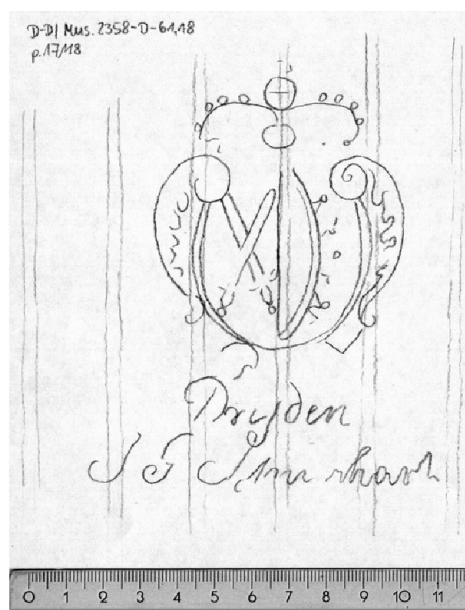


Figure 19:  
'Crowned coat of arms of electoral Saxony in cartouche, beneath Dresden | J G Schuchart', dated circa 1728, D-Dl Mus.2358-D-61,18

Summarizing the results a chronological order in the paper Zelenka used for his *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* is possible: The eldest paper (watermark: 'crowned shield with horn, beneath letters PL') was made around 1710 (1708-1712). The biggest part of the *Missa* is written on this paper: some parts of *Kyrie*, the complete *Gloria* and most of the *Credo*. The beginning of the *Missa* dates possibly from 1722 to 1723 (watermark: 'unicorn'). Another big part originates from the second half of 1720s, more precisely the title page and *Et unam Sanctam* and following. The recent paper is to be found at the end of the mass (*Cum Sancto Spiritu* till the end). These pages date from 1727 to 1728 (watermark: 'crowned coat of arms of Saxony, beneath Dresden | J G Schuchart').



### 3.3.2. *Miserere d minor* Mus.2358-D-504 (ZWV 56)

The autograph parts of this *Miserere* include two versions. The first version originates from March 1722, and the second version is from 1725.<sup>22</sup>

Zelenka used only one sort of paper for the older version. The watermarks are 'crossed keys' with the countermark 'monogram CVC' (➤ Figs. 20-22). Both watermarks came from Christian Vodel, the above mentioned paper maker, who was active in Niederlungwitz in Saxony. In combination both watermarks only appear in the Royal Court Music Collection between 1721 and 1723. The date of the first version corresponds with the dating of the paper.

The second version consists of two different sorts of papers.

At first we can find the watermarks 'shield with bend sinister' (➤ Fig. 23) and countermark 'letters IV' on the pages 39-44. This paper was created in Egmond an der Hoef in the Netherlands. Maybe the paper maker was Lubertus van Gerrevink, who was active between 1694 and 1731 or longer.<sup>23</sup>

In the Royal Court Music Collection are many manuscripts from the Netherlands, so it is not unlikely that Zelenka used this type of paper, as well.

The second sort of paper in the second version of Zelenka's *Miserere* consists of the above mentioned paper from Kirchberg in Saxony. The watermark is the 'crowned shield with lily, letters ICH' and the countermark 'letters KB' (➤ Figs. 24-25), which appears in the Royal Court Music Collection between 1719 and 1750.

Again that means there is a possibility to mark Zelenka's different producing stages with studying watermarks on the paper he used.

### 3.4. Zelenka's *Inventarium*

Between 1726 and 1739 Zelenka created the *Inventarium rerum Musicarum Variorum Authorum Ecclesiae Servientium* of his own works and works of other composers.<sup>24</sup> Because it is a continuing progress, the *Inventarium* consists of many different sorts of papers. I was able to distinguish seven different types, at all.

The small fragments of papers, which were pasted into the pages six, eight, nine and twenty-three consisting of light and thin paper without watermarks. They will not be integrated in my investigations.

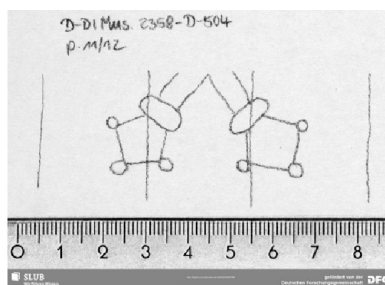
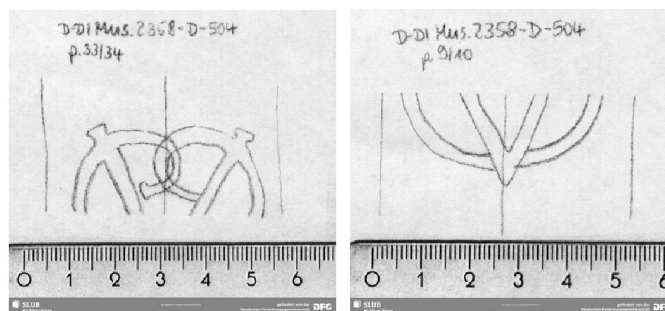


Figure 20:  
'Crossed keys',  
D-Dl Mus.2358-D-504



Figures 21 and 22:  
Countermark  
'monogram CVC',  
D-Dl Mus.2358-D-504

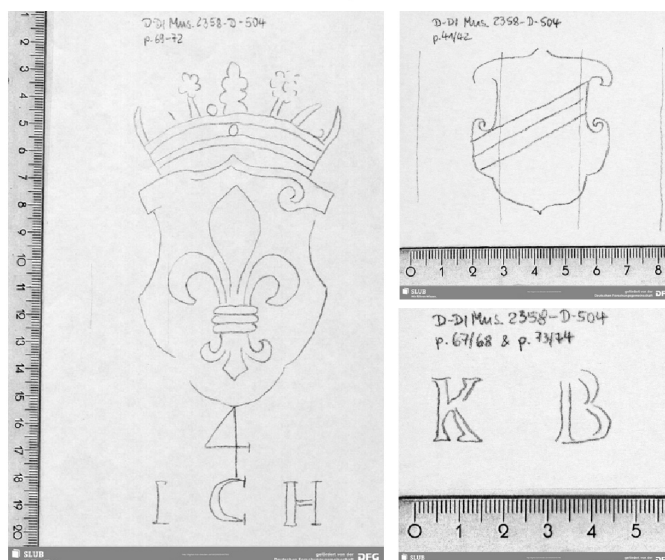


Figure 23:  
'Shield with bend  
sinisters',  
D-Dl Mus. 2358-D-504

Figures 24 and 25:  
'Crowned shield with  
lily, letters ICH', counter-  
mark 'letters KB',  
D-Dl Mus.2358-D-504

<sup>22</sup> RISM catalogue entry of Zelenka's *Miserere*, <https://opac.rism.info/metaopac/search?View=rism&id=212006631> (30. 11. 2015).

<sup>23</sup> HEAWOOD, Edward: *Watermarks. Mainly of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries* [= *Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae Historiam Illustrantia*, I], Hilversum, 1969, p. iii.

<sup>24</sup> HORN, Wolfgang – KOHLHASE, Thomas – LANDMANN, Ortrun – REICH, Wolfgang: *Zelenka-Dokumentation. Quellen und Materialien*, vol. 1, Wiesbaden, 1989, p. 12.

### 3.4.1. Paper one

The main title page on pages one/two consists of two pasted blue cover papers. There are no watermarks to be found, because the paper layer is too thick.

### 3.4.2. Paper two

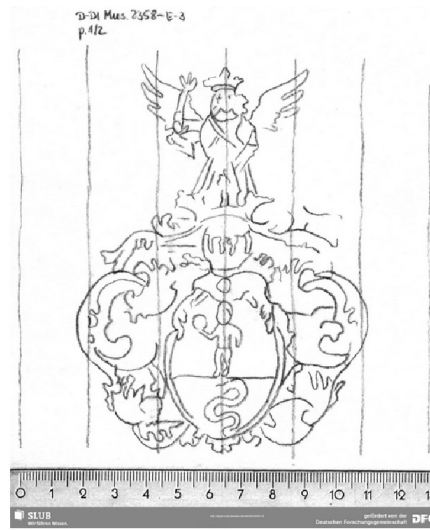


Figure 26:  
'Crowned coat of arms  
of Kiesewetter',  
D-Dl Mus.2358-E-3

The above mentioned paper with the watermark 'crowned coat of arms of Kiesewetter' (► Fig. 26) accounts for the largest number of paper in Zelenka's *Inventarium*.<sup>25</sup>

This watermark is badly recognizable, because it was couched twice (double-paper). That is why I was not able to compare this watermark with other watermarks of the Royal Court Music Collection.

But if we take the time frame when Zelenka used this type of paper, we may conclude that this was the eldest paper of the *Inventarium*, originating between 1725 and 1729.

### 3.4.3. Paper three

On the pages eleven/ twelve we are dealing with only one sheet of paper without any watermark. Zelenka used it to write down the masses. This paper

is different from the paper before and after; it looks lighter and clearer.

It is interesting that the compositions written on this page dating from the late 1730s, for example a mass of Baliani D-Dl Mus.2243-D-1 (1736c-1739), Zelenka's *Missa votiva* (1739) or a mass of Georg Reutter D-Dl Mus.2979-D-3 (1739c). That means Zelenka sewed this page in last, at a time when the *Inventarium* was almost finished. To sum up: these compositions could not be listed before the end of 1730s.

### 3.4.4. Paper four

The following two sheets on the pages 19-22 are blue cover papers without watermarks.

### 3.4.5. Paper five

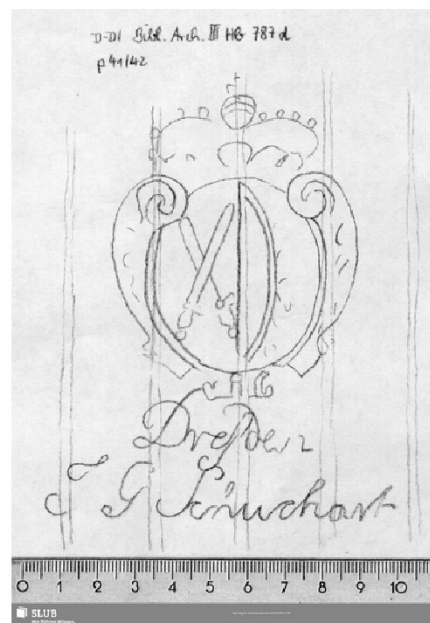


Figure 27:  
'Crowned coat of arms  
of electoral Saxony  
in cartouche, beneath  
Dresden J G Schuchart',  
D-Dl Bibl. Arch.  
III Hb 787d

The pages 37-42 consisting of the already known paper from Dresden (paper maker: Schuchart), this time as double-paper. This watermark (► Fig. 27) is very likely a twin of some other 'Schuchart' watermarks of the Royal Court Music Collection, they are dating from circa 1728.

Corresponding to the watermark there are compositions written, which all are dating between circa 1727 and 1729. The following examples written by Zelenka are *Psalms*: ZWV 70 (D-Dl Mus.2358-D-61,16; circa 1727), ZWV 91 (Mus.2358-D-61,18; circa 1728), ZWV 101 (Mus.2358-D-61,23; circa 1728), ZWV 67 (Mus.2358-D-64; circa 1728), and finally ZWV 73 (Mus.2358-D-65, 1728) and ZWV 95 (Mus.2358-D-68, 1728). There are also two *Psalms* dating from 1729 ZWV 71 (Mus.2358-D-66) and ZWV 81 (Mus.2358-D-67), but they were written with another ink, that means they appeared later in Zelenka's *Inventarium*.

Finally we can assume that Zelenka sewed in and wrote these pages circa 1727 to 1728, at the same time as he composed these *Psalms*.

<sup>25</sup> It concerns the following pages: 3-10 (title page, most of the masses), 13-18 (individual parts of masses, offertories), 23-26 (more offertories, cantatas, arias, hymns, some psalms), 55-56 (lamentations) and 59-66 (litanies and motets).

### 3.4.6. Paper six

On the following pages (43-54) I found a watermark with 'double-eagle and heart-shaped breast' (➤ Fig. 28). I can only assume that this paper may come from Bohemia. But again there is the possibility to take the written compositions for the dating of the paper. The following examples are Zelenka's *antiphons*, on page 48: ZWV 135 (D-Dl Mus.2358-E-8; 1730) and ZWV 139 (Mus.2358-E-10; 1724), on page 48: ZWV 130 (Mus.2358-E-18; 1729) and ZWV 134 (Mus.2358-E-19; 1728a). All compositions were written with the same ink. That means they could be very likely written at the same time.

Based on the dated compositions and the used ink I can assume that this paper was sewed in and written 1730 at the earliest.



Figure 28:  
'Double-eagle with  
heart-shaped breast',  
D-Dl Bibl. Arch. III Hb 787d

### 3.4.7. Paper seven

Again Zelenka used only one sheet of paper (pages 57/58). The watermark comes very likely from Silesia. It is the 'letter W in a crowned shield' (➤ Fig. 29), which probably means *Wratislavia*. In the Royal Court Music Collection I found other manuscripts with this watermark, they are all dated between circa 1728 and 1730. It is possible that this sheet was written and included at the same time.

Without integrating the blue paper I made a possible chronology of the development of Zelenka's *Inventarium*:

The 'crowned coat of arms of Kiesewetter' is the main and the eldest paper of the *Inventarium*. It can be dated between 1725 and 1729.

Paper five dates from 1727 to 1728. It comes from Dresden and is made by Schuchart.

The Silesian paper with 'letter W in crowned shield' could be originating from circa 1728 to 1730.

Paper six with the watermark 'double-eagle' dates 1730 at the earliest.

The most recent paper (paper three without watermarks) dates very likely at the end of 1730s.

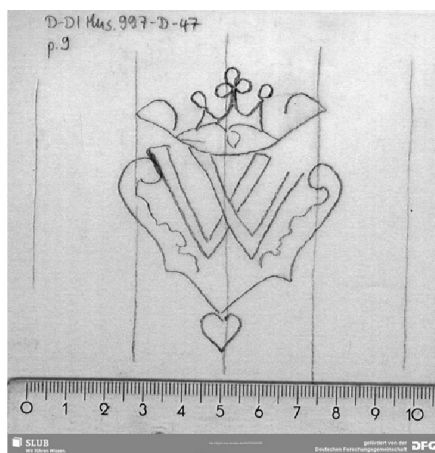


Figure 29:  
'Letter W in a crowned  
shield', D-Dl Mus.997-D-47

## 4. Conclusion

Thanks to a large number of dated and localized manuscripts of the Royal Court Music Collection, we have been able to achieve great results in furthering the research of watermarks. Detailed and extensive conclusions about the origins of music manuscripts can be made through an interaction of scientific documentation, identification of writers and watermarks.



In 1830, František Palacký, a leading Czech historian, published a rather lengthy treatise titled *Jan Dismas Zelenka, Composer in the Jahrbücher des böhmischen Museums* (vol. I, no. 1, p. 119).<sup>1</sup> It was based on Friedrich Rochlitz's study *Für Freunde der Tonkunst*, printed in Leipzig in 1825. In it, Palacký took note of the wealth of comments 'of exceeding importance and interest for the history of our patriotic arts...', and he did not hesitate to quote a significant portion of the passage about Zelenka. Palacký's treatise was highly influential throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Of course, the Czech patriots were wrong when they wrote that Zelenka's compositions were unavailable in this country. In reality, a considerable number of Zelenka's works were concealed in copies in Czech music archives throughout the nineteenth century.

Already during his lifetime, Jan Dismas Zelenka was well known to and appreciated by Prague musicians. Unfortunately, we have no information about the music of the Jesuits connected with the beginnings of Zelenka's career as a composer. All the more valuable, then, are the copies preserved among the music of the choirmasters of the Metropolitan Cathedral of St Vitus and the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star.

Kryštof Gayer, the choirmaster at St Vitus's Cathedral, owned five copies of works by Zelenka.<sup>2</sup> The oldest was a copy of the parts for the *Credo* from Zelenka's oldest known Mass, the *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* ZWV 1. The Prague copy (now kept in the music archives of the Knights of the Cross)<sup>3</sup> contains a revised version, but not the version of the score later dedicated to Frederick Augustus I, and it is very likely that the Prague parts were copied directly from the Dresden parts made for a performance there before January of 1712. Of the early works, Gayer also owned the offertorium *Eja triumphos pangite* ZWV 233, which is today the only known source of the work and, at the same time, the oldest dated copy (1715) of a composition by Zelenka in the Czech Republic.<sup>4</sup>

A copy of the parts of yet another of Jan Dismas Zelenka's early works, *Gloria della Messa Judica me* ZWV 2, composed in 1714, has been preserved at the Metropolitan Cathedral of St Vitus. Again in this case, an original version is involved, and not the final one (which was also preceded by an intermediate stage), so it may be assumed that the copy was made soon after the work had been composed. The Capuchins at the nearby Loreta also owned the same version of the work. I believe, how-

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in *Františka Palackého spisy drobné* [The Minor Writings of František Palacký], part III, Praha: Bursík & Kohout, 1903, pp. 234-236.

<sup>2</sup> The collection has been reconstructed by Vladimír Koronthály. Cf. KORONTHÁLY, Vladimír: *Hudební sbírka Kryštofa Gayera* [The Music Collection of Kryštof Gayer], Praha: Charles University, thesis, 1977.

<sup>3</sup> Music Archives of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, shelf mark XXXV D 77.

<sup>4</sup> Now likewise kept in the Music Archives of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, shelf mark XXXV D 61, to which Gayer's collection has been transferred.

JANA VOJTĚŠKOVÁ  
(Prague)

## The works of Jan Dismas Zelenka in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Prague

This study deals with the Prague copies of works by Jan Dismas Zelenka from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It references the large number of copies kept by the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star and by the Metropolitan Cathedral of St Vitus. Attention is also devoted to an unknown work performed in 1723 at the Jesuit Church of the Savior in Prague's Old Town. There is also discussion of copies of Zelenka's works from the nineteenth century, the autograph manuscripts of which have not been preserved (e.g. the psalm Praise God in His Sanctuary). The study also draws attention to a new acquisition at the National Museum – Czech Museum of Music: a Zelenka manuscript from the collection of Richard Morawetz.

**Key words:** Jan Dismas Zelenka; Baroque Music; Dresden; Prague; Metropolitan Cathedral of St Vitus; Knights of the Cross with the Red Star; mass; 19<sup>th</sup>-century music in Prague; The National Museum – Czech Museum of Music  
**Number of characters / words:** 20 638 / 3 468  
**Number of images:** 2  
**Secondary language(s):** Latin, German, French

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ever, that this source, discovered by Robert Hugo among anonymous musical materials, is a later copy from ca. 1750.<sup>5</sup>

An important milestone for the recognition of Zelenka's music came in Prague in 1723. We are relatively well informed about the performance of the melodrama *Sub olea pacis et palma virtutis*. We have less information about Zelenka's composition performed at the beginning of the year – on Shrove Tuesday, 9 February 1723 – at the Jesuit Church of the Savior in the Old Town. Concerning this, the journal *Pražské poštovské noviny* published the following fairly lengthy report:

Last Tuesday, during the last days of Carnival, when an ordinary worship service was being held by the reverend fathers of the Society of Jesus at the Church of the Savior in Prague's Royal Old Town, during High Mass, excellent new music by Jan Zelenka, a native Bohemian, court musician to His Royal Highness, the King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, was performed by forces comprised of about seventy musicians, and it lent the ceremony great splendor and pomp. During this music, ad Graduale, Mr. Danyel Pořícký – the cantor at the Týn Church – let himself be heard singing tenor in a pretty Italian Cantata.<sup>6</sup>

The Zelenka literature has not yet dealt with identifying the work in question. One possibility is that it was the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* from the Mass ZWV 4, but it may, of course, have been some work that is not known to us. I wish to thank Andrew Frampton, who has studied this Mass in detail, for allowing me to consult with him, with the outcome that this hypothesis is quite probable. Heretofore it had been assumed that this Mass, titled *Missa Sancti Spiritus*, had been premiered in Dresden for the Feast of Pentecost on 16 May 1723. Andrew Frampton has, however, confirmed that the title of the Mass was added when the work was revised. It was not listed under this title in the catalogues from either 1765 or 1784.<sup>7</sup> There are, then, two possibilities. The first is that in Prague on Shrove Tuesday, 9 Feb. 1723, there was a performance of the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* ZWV 4, and Heinichen's Mass was sung in Dresden on 16 May. This version would involve the assumption made until now that for the main celebration of Pentecost, Zelenka's work was performed, and not Heinichen's, as would have been the usual procedure. A second possibility would be that the Mass ZWV 4 was in fact premiered in Dresden at Pentecost, and the work that had been performed in Prague on Shrove Tuesday is now lost.

In the *Diarium collegii Societatis Jesu ad sanctum Clementem Vetero-Pragae* for the years 1714-1726, the following inscription is found on fol. 144<sup>r</sup> (➤ Fig. 1):<sup>8</sup>

Solemnitas devotionii et ordo idem ut heri, nisi quod frequentissimi fuerint communicantes ob festum S[anctae] Apolloniae, et Musicam Solenissimam produ[ens?] fuerit per [?] d[ominum] Selenka Illus[trissimus] d[ominus] Baro Hartig.

The ceremony of devotion and the order [liturgy] were the same as yesterday, except that there were far more communicants because of the Feast of St Apollonia; the most illustrious Lord Baron Hartig arranged for the ceremonial music by the master Zelenka.

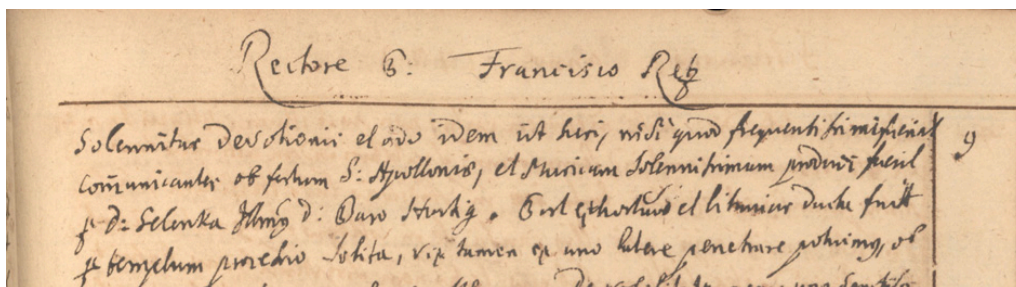


Fig. 1:  
*Diarium collegii Societatis Jesu ad sanctum Clementem Vetero-Pragae* 1714-1726, fol. 144<sup>r</sup>  
(© Royal Canonry of Premonstratensians at Strahov, Prague, shelf mark DC III 19)

<sup>5</sup> National Archives, Lobkovic Family Archives, collection no. 2612, LP-RA-Loreta, box 259.

<sup>6</sup> *Pražské poštovské noviny* [Prague Postal News], 13 Feb. 1723. Quoted from BERKOVEC, Jiří: *Musicalia v pražském periodickém tisku 18. století* [Musicalia in Prague's Periodic Press of the Eighteenth Century]. Praha: State Library of the Czech Socialist Republic, 1989, p. 43.

<sup>7</sup> The dating of this catalogue is only approximate.

<sup>8</sup> Quoted from *Diarium collegii Societatis Jesu ad sanctum Clementem Vetero-Pragae* 1714-1726, shelf mark DC III 19; Royal Canonry of Premonstratensians at Strahov, Praha; fol. 144<sup>r</sup>. See: [http://v2.manuscriptorium.com/apps/main/en/index.php?request=request\\_document&docId=rec1312982900\\_7](http://v2.manuscriptorium.com/apps/main/en/index.php?request=request_document&docId=rec1312982900_7) [accessed on 2015-09-30]. I wish to thank Janice Stockigt for drawing this to my attention.

In my opinion, it was also in 1723 that the dedicatory score of the *Responsoria pro Hebdomada Sancta* ZWV 55,<sup>9</sup> dedicated to Jan Hubert Hartig, also found its way to Prague. In Dresden, it was copied by Philipp Troyer, the main copyist of Zelenka's works. In view of the fact that in the dedication, Hartig is still given the title of baron (he gained the title of count two years later), I believe that the score was copied for Hartig and was dedicated to him on the occasion of Zelenka's stay in Prague in the autumn of 1723 or soon thereafter.

Also dated to the year 1723 is a copy of the parts for Zachariáš's canticle *Benedictus dominus* ZWV 206,<sup>10</sup> which probably came from the collection of the late Baroque composer Šimon Brixl, a contemporary of Zelenka who was serving as the choirmaster at the Church of St Martin in the Wall. That copy is today the only known period source of the work.

Zelenka's father died in 1724 in Louňovice. For the Requiem Mass, Zelenka composed the psalm *De profundis* ZWV 50, and Kryštof Gayer copied the parts himself.<sup>11</sup> His copy contains the original version of the Psalm, and it was probably made soon after the work was composed. Near the end of Gayer's life (he died in 1734), he may also have obtained copies of two new works by Zelenka: the *Requiem in D Major* ZWV 46<sup>12</sup> and the *Musik zum Totenoffizium* ZWV 47,<sup>13</sup> composed in 1733 for worship services held in memory of Elector Frederick Augustus I (it is not, however, entirely clear that these copies were part of Gayer's collection.)

From Prague's Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, we have documentation of interest in Zelenka's music from the late 1730s. Thanks to Count Hartig, Zelenka's oratorio *I penitenti al sepolcro del Redentore* (a libretto was also issued in print) was performed there in 1738.<sup>14</sup> The Knights of the Cross also obtained copies of the parts of the *Missa Sanctissimae Trinitatis* ZWV 17<sup>15</sup> and the *Missa votiva* ZWV 18.<sup>16</sup> The copies of both Masses are very close to the Dresden autograph manuscript. One set of parts of *Missa Sanctissimae Trinitatis* was actually made by a Dresden copyist, in all probability Johann Georg Kremmler I.<sup>17</sup> Additionally, some of the parts there do not correspond to customary performance practice in Dresden.

Shortly before his death, Jan Hubert Hartig obtained the dedicatory score of the *Litaniae Lauretanae* ZWV 152<sup>18</sup> in 1741 (as had previously been the case with the score of the *Responsoria*, the Dresden copyist Philipp Troyer also wrote out the score of the *Litaniae*), the copy of the *Magnificat* ZWV 108<sup>19</sup> kept by the Knights of the Cross is dated 1742, and the copy of the *Missa Corporis dominici* ZWV 9 is dated 1750 (i.e. after Zelenka's death).<sup>20</sup>

The music inventory of the Knights of the Cross from the years 1737-1738<sup>21</sup> also lists other works by Zelenka, but they cannot always be identified unambiguously based on the records in the inventory. At the least, we do not know the four *Salve Regina* and the *Cantata Desiste in cauta mens*, as well as possibly another *Credo* and *De profundis*.

The Metropolitan Cathedral of St Vitus has preserved not only the aforementioned copy of the *Gloria della Messa Judica me* ZWV 2, but also the Mass *Gratias agimus tibi* ZWV 13 and

<sup>9</sup> Music Archives of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, shelf mark XXXV D 81.

<sup>10</sup> Music Archives of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, shelf mark XXXV D 79. Issued in print: ZELEŇKA, Jan Dismas: *Benedictus Dominus*. Stuttgart: Carus Verlag 40.459, score.

<sup>11</sup> Music Archives of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, shelf mark XXXV D 78.

<sup>12</sup> Music Archives of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, shelf mark XXXV D 74-5.

<sup>13</sup> Music Archives of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, shelf mark XXXV D 73.

<sup>14</sup> Printed edition: *Nella Stamperia appresso Giovane Norberto Fitzky in Bergstein / 1738*. Now preserved in the library of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, shelf mark XXVII J 19 vol. IX adl. num. 8.

<sup>15</sup> Completed in 1736. Music Archives of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, shelf mark XXXV D132.

<sup>16</sup> Completed in 1739. Music Archives of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, shelf mark XXXV D 80.

<sup>17</sup> Compared with the manuscripts listed by LANDMANN, Ortrun: *Über das Musikerbe der Sächsischen Staatskapelle. Drei Studien zur Geschichte der Dresdner Hofkapelle und Hofoper anhand ihrer Quellenüberlieferung in der SLUB Dresden*, Dresden: Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, 2010, p. 154, Abb. I.2, I.4, I.9-11, III.64-70. See: <http://www.qucosa.de/fileadmin/data/qucosa/documents/3851/Drei%20Studien-2.Ausgabe.pdf> [accessed on 2016-06-01].

<sup>18</sup> Music Archives of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, shelf mark XXXV D 66.

<sup>19</sup> Music Archives of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, shelf mark XXXV D 63.

<sup>20</sup> Music Archives of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, shelf mark XXXV D 131.

<sup>21</sup> The original inventory has not been preserved. A transcript was made in a thesis by FUKAČ, Jiří: *Křivoňnický hudební inventář* [Music Inventory of the Knights of the Cross], I-II, Brno 1959.



several Psalms composed between 1725 and 1730: Görbig's<sup>22</sup> copy of *Laetatus sum* ZWV 90<sup>23</sup> and Sehling's<sup>24</sup> copies of the parts for *Confitebor tibi* ZWV 73, *Dixit Dominus* ZWV 67, and *Lauda Jerusalem* ZWV 102. In addition, Zelenka's *Missa Dei Patris* ZWV 19 is held in the Archives of the Metropolitan Chapter under the name *Ristori*.<sup>25</sup> According to Podlaha's 1926 catalogue,<sup>26</sup> the archives also contained two more Masses and the Psalm *De profundis* by Zelenka.

Quite uniquely, one Mass has also been preserved from the Jesuit Church of St Nicholas in Prague's Lesser Town, the *Missa Nativitatis Domini* ZWV 8, a copy of which is dated to 1736-1737. Based on the cuts they contain, the parts were probably copied from other parts rather than the score, but we do not know where the source for the copies came from. From the same collection, there is also an anonymous copy of the parts for the *Litany of Loreto* ZWV 152, made from Hartig's specimen.<sup>27</sup> Among the other Prague copies, we have parts belonging to the Strahov church choir for the *Requiem in C Minor* ZWV 45, dated to 1763, originally owned by the Premonstratensian Vincent Jawurek. The autograph manuscript score of this Requiem is unknown.

As can be seen, copies of Zelenka's works were widely distributed in Prague in the eighteenth century. Of his more than twenty Masses, copies have been found there of at least nine, including both early works and such masterpieces as the *Missa Sanctissimae Trinitatis*, the *Missa votiva*, and the *Missa Dei Patris*. Count von Hartig owned the score of the *Responsoria pro Hebdomada Sancta* and the *Litany of Loreto*, and copies have been preserved of Psalms and the *Magnificat* as well as the *Requiem in D Major*, the *Requiem in C Minor*, and funeral music for the Elector of Saxony. From the existing copies of Zelenka's works, one cannot usually determine whether they were played, and if so, when. We do, however, know that Zelenka's *Missa Sanctissimae Trinitatis* and *Missa votiva* were still being performed by the Knights of the Cross in the 1780s, and the *Litany of Loreto* was performed in 1763 and 1783.<sup>28</sup> Another indication of a strong Zelenka tradition is that fact that his works were also widely disseminated to church choirs outside of Prague, as is documented by entries in inventories in Osek and by copies at the church in Mělník and at the Piarist monastery in Podolíneč.

In the early nineteenth century, however, Zelenka's works fell into obscurity. At the instigation of Palacký, the Prague Society of the Friends of the Arts for Church Music (*Verein der Kunstfreunde für Kirchenmusik*), founded in 1826, obtained modern copies of the *Requiem in D Major* ZWV 46, the *Litaniae Omnium Sanctorum* ZWV 153, and an older copy of the Masses ZWV 7 and 13 from Dresden from a teacher and organist there named Ferdinand Mende. During the same period (i.e. ca. 1830-1844), Václav Jan Tomášek (1774-1850), the well known Prague composer, pianist, and teacher, also obtained copies of Zelenka's *Requiem in D Major* and of the *Litaniae* ZWV 153. The choirmaster Gerlak Strniště found parts at the church in Strahov for the aforementioned *Requiem in C Minor* ZWV 45, from which he reconstructed a score.

A new wave of interest in Zelenka's music arrived in the 1860s. Fürstenau's book *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe zu Dresden*<sup>29</sup> was published, and the interest in Zelenka further increased after the Dresden performance of the *Suite in F Major* ZWV 188 in March of 1863. Articles about Zelenka appeared in the Prague journals *Bohemia* (14 Jan.), *Slavoj* (15 Jan.) and *Politik* (27 March). At one of the first meetings of the *Umělecká beseda* (Arts Forum), the decision was made that the members would attempt to obtain Zelenka's works from Dresden. Bedřich Smetana was to have brought the compositions back from there. Smetana's role is probably exaggerated in the Czech musicology literature. While Smetana noted in his diary that he had been in Dresden to look for Zelenka's compositions and had visited his

<sup>22</sup> Antonín Görbig was the *Kapellmeister* at St Vitus's Cathedral from 1734 to 1737, immediately after Kryštof Gayer.

<sup>23</sup> This is now the only known source of this work.

<sup>24</sup> Josef Antonín Sehling (1710-1756) served as a violinist at St Vitus's Cathedral (from 1739) and frequently stood in for the ailing choirmaster Jan František Novák.

<sup>25</sup> I wish to thank Janice Stockigt for brining this to my attention.

<sup>26</sup> PODLAHA, Antonín: *Catalogus collectionis operum artis musicae quae in Bibliotheca Capituli Metropolitanii Pragensis asservantur*, Pragae: S. F. Metropolitanii Capituli Pragensis, 1926. XXXXI, 85 pp. [= Editiones Archivii et Bibliothecae s. f. Metropolitanii Capituli Pragensis, XIX].

<sup>27</sup> Václav Kapsa has drawn attention to this source. Cf. KAPSA, Václav: 'Die Musik in der St. Nikolauskirche auf der Prager Kleinseite in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts', *Musicologica Brunensia* 49/1 (2014), pp. 189-209.

<sup>28</sup> From a comment written on Hartig's dedicatory copy.

<sup>29</sup> Published in Dresden in 1861-1862.

compatriot Suchánek, a retired court musician who had promised help, there is no further mention of Zelenka in his diaries. When Zelenka's *Suite in F Major* ZWV 188 (the same work played in March in Dresden) was played at an academy of music and drama held at the New Town Theatre on 30 June 1863, Eduard Tauwitz conducted according to the journal *Bohemia*.

The works performed were highly esteemed both by the critic for Prague's German-language journal *Politik* and by the public:

The Suite for Orchestra by Jan Dismas Zelenka has convinced us that the composer's contemporaries have not overestimated his importance in the least by placing him alongside Händel and Bach; the music's greatness of spirit manifests itself not only through Zelenka's contrapuntal facility and artistry, but also through the originality of his melodic and rhythmic invention as well as his remarkable mastery and employment of instrumental means. The Composition begins with an energetic fugal 'Ouverture' in F Major, followed by an 'Aria' in A-Minor, then 'Menuetto' 1 and 2 in F Major, a 'Siciliano' in B Flat, and finally a 'Furia' [recte Folia – JV] in F-Major. All of the movements were quite well played by the augmented theatre orchestra, and they also gave pleasure.<sup>30</sup>

At about the same time, another score was obtained from Dresden – a five-hundred page copy of the *Responsoria* and *Lamentations*.<sup>31</sup> We do not know who copied the score, but we do know that it contains instructions for the performers by the director of the Prague organ school František Skuherský.<sup>32</sup> This copy, made from a copy by the Dresden church choirmaster Christian Wilhelm Fischer, also contains the later addition of *col parte* instrumental parts based on the Dresden parts that were still then in existence; this instrumentation had been written into the Dresden score by Moritz Fürstenau. The Prague copy of the score was used for the performance on 21 May 1865 at St Nicholas's Church in Prague.<sup>33</sup>

Ferdinand Tadra, a historian, singer, and member of the Prague vocal association Hlahol, obtained more copies based on Dresden autograph manuscripts in 1877 and 1878. From Dresden, he borrowed the *Requiem in D Minor* ZWV 48, the psalm *Chvalte Boha sílného* (Praise God in His Sanctuary) ZWV 165, the oratorio *Gesù al Calvario* ZWV 62, and the *Ouvertura* ZWV 188.<sup>34</sup> Coincidentally, the autograph manuscripts of the first two of these works (the *Requiem in D Minor* and the Psalm *Chvalte Boha sílného*) are now lost.

During the nineteenth century, the Zelenka tradition was preserved with reverence, but his works did not receive deeper recognition. Zelenka's name was remembered more as a historical concept than as a living phenomenon. A new addition to the Zelenka collection acquired by the Czech Museum of Music in 2008 is one small example of this.<sup>35</sup>

An interesting item has been preserved in the collection of Richard Morawetz (1881-1965). Morawetz's reputation as a collector is based mainly on his 1908 purchase of the bulk of the Bohemalia from one of the most valuable private collections of former Austria-Hungary, the collection of Friedrich Donebauer, for which the Museum of the Kingdom of Bohemia lacked sufficient funds at the time. Morawetz then expanded the collection further. Among other items,

<sup>30</sup> *Politik* 2 (1863), no. 179 (1 July), p. 1, evening edition: 'Die Suite für Orchester von Joh. Dismas Zelenka überzeugte uns, dass die Zeitgenossen den Componisten dadurch dass sie ihn an die Seite Händel's und Bach's setzten keineswegs überschätzt haben; es waltet darin ein Grosser Geist, der nicht allein durch kontrapunktische Gewandtheit und Kunst, sondern auch durch Originalität der Erfindung in Melodie und Rhythmus wie auch in einer merkwürdigen Beherrschung und Anwendung der instrumentalen Mittel sich manifestiert. Die Composition beginnt mit einer schwungvollen fugierten „Ouverture“ in F dur, hierauf folgt eine Aria in A-moll, dann „Menuetto“ 1. und 2. in F dur, hierauf „Siciliano“ in B, endlich „Furia“ [recte Folia – JV] in F-dur. Sämmtliche Sätze wurden von dem verstärkten Theaterorchester recht gut aufgeführt und gefielen auch.'

<sup>31</sup> Today at the National Library of the Czech Republic, shelf mark 59 R 63.

<sup>32</sup> This information has been taken from Emilián TROLDA, who made the following comment in his card catalogue (NM-ČMH): 'Die Lamentationen für Charwoche besaß 1910 in tadelloser Partitur mit Bemerkungen von Skuherský's Hand Landesgerichtsrat JUDr Alois Hnilička in Prag.' [In 1910, the regional court justice Dr. Alois Hnilička in Prague possessed the Lamentations for Holy Week in an impeccable score with comments in Skuherský's hand].

<sup>33</sup> Cf. TADRA, Ferdinand: 'Jan Dismas Zelenka, český hudební skladatel' [Jan Dismas Zelenka, the Czech Composer], *Hudební a divadelní věstník* [Music and Theatre Bulletin] 1877, no. 23, pp. 177-180, 187-189.

<sup>34</sup> Now kept in the Hlahol archives in Prague, shelf mark 1847, 1848, 1849, and 254.

<sup>35</sup> National Museum, Czech Museum of Music, shelf mark G 13 728.

he also obtained a neatly trimmed page<sup>36</sup> with signatures and inscriptions of three musicians, with Jan Dismas Zelenka as the first to have signed it. Unfortunately, we do not know where Morawetz obtained this document. All that is certain is that he acquired it through his own activities as a collector, because Zelenka's name does not appear in Donebauer's own catalogues.

The document bears the signatures of three persons, the first two being members of the royal ensemble in Dresden. The inscription reads:

À Zelenka Musicien de la Chapelle de  
S. Majeste Le Roy de Pologne, Electeur  
de Saxe.

a Dresd: 1726 7 Janv[er]

A Binder, Musicien de la Chapelle de S.  
Majesté Le Roy de Pol: Elect. de Saxe.

1762

5 Thlr[er].

A Ernst Ludwig Gerber, Secretair de la  
Cour de Prince regnant de Schwarzbourg  
Sondershoufe

1794.

Zelenka made an inscription shortly before beginning to compile his Dresden music inventory.<sup>37</sup> After Zelenka, the next to sign

was the Dresden pantaleonist and organist Christlieb Siegmund Binder (1723-1789), the son of an oboist. He received his musical education as a *Kapellknabe* with Pantaleon Hebenstreit, from whom he learned to play the pantaleon beginning in 1742.<sup>38</sup> In 1751 he was accepted into the services of the court as a musician (pantaleonist), and at the same time, he played the harpsichord. He later became an organist. The last signature is of Ernst Ludwig Gerber (1764-1819), a German composer and the author of the well known *Historisch- Biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler*.<sup>39</sup>

The inscription implies that the signatories had received something. This is also indicated by the sum of five tolar probably written in Gerber's hand. One is tempted to assume that a piece of music was involved. Nonetheless, the wide time intervals between the inscriptions dated 1726,<sup>40</sup> 1762, and 1794 raise a number of questions. What did these three musicians have in common? If it were a piece of music, why was the new owner not listed after Zelenka's death in 1745, and why does the next signature not appear until 1765? Binder must have known Zelenka from his childhood because he was a permanent resident of Dresden, so he may even have been acquainted with him personally. And he certainly would have known Zelenka's liturgical music, whether as a performer or a listener. Another question is the path by which the specimen found its way to Gerber. By that time, he had issued his two-volume lexicon, which contained an entry about Zelenka. Incidentally, his signature happens to be dated 1794, when he became the secretary to the Prince of Schwarzburg-Sonderhausen. A number of these questions probably can no longer be answered. One can only regret that the document bearing the signatures has not been preserved in a more complete form. On the other hand, we are indebted to Richard Morawetz for having preserved at least this inscription, which is now the only item in the holdings of the Czech Museum of Music that is in Zelenka's own hand.

(Translated by Mark Newkirk)

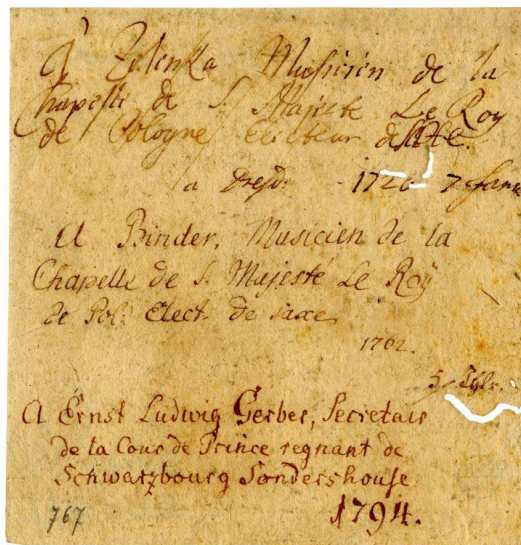


Fig. 2:  
Zelenka's autograph  
dated Dresden,  
7 January 1726  
(© National Museum,  
Czech Museum of Music,  
Prague, shelf mark  
G 13 728)

<sup>36</sup> The paper bears no watermark and is rather thin. There appear to be remnants of glue on it, and it was seemingly attached as a label. It definitely does not come from an envelope for sheet music.

<sup>37</sup> On the title page, it is dated 26 Jan. 1726. Cf. HORN, Wolfgang – KOHLHASE, Thomas – LANDMANN, Ortrun – REICH, Wolfgang: *Zelenka-Dokumentation. Quellen und Materialien*, vols. 1-2, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1989.

<sup>38</sup> An instrument similar to a dulcimer.

<sup>39</sup> It came out in two volumes in 1790 and 1792 and in four more volumes in 1812, 1812, 1813, and 1814.

<sup>40</sup> Unfortunately, the paper is damaged right where the last numeral appears, so its reading is not quite clear.



When Swiss ensemble Camerata Bern first released recordings of Jan Dismas Zelenka's trio and quadro sonatas in 1973, several reviewers conveyed a sense of startled admiration for the Bohemian composer's engaging and complex musical style. Edward Greenfield wrote for *The Guardian*, 'The message comes over very plainly indeed that this is music to set against that of Bach himself with no apology whatever.'<sup>1</sup> Many also conveyed a sense of surprise that they had not already heard of Zelenka, but comparatively little had been written about him at this point.

Zelenka took up employment in Dresden in either 1710 or 1711, as a violone player in the orchestra of the royal court. He spent much of his career in service there, first as instrumentalist, and later primarily as a composer of Catholic sacred music. He never married, had no children, and died in Dresden in 1745. Most Zelenka scholarship has understandably focused on various aspects of his life and work in Dresden, and much less has been written about the posthumous fate of Zelenka's music. There has been general agreement that Zelenka's music was, for the most part, forgotten until his twentieth-century revival.<sup>2</sup> This article will present evidence of some fascinating new sources that can shed further light on the nature and extent of the transmission of Zelenka's sacred music after he died, and will point toward some of the possible implications of these sources for our understanding of Zelenka reception in the nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

It is already established that certain protagonists played a key role in disseminating Zelenka's music, including Gottlob Harrer (1703-1755), a one-time student of Zelenka who succeeded Bach in Leipzig in 1750. After Harrer died, his extensive collection was sold by his widow Christiana Elizabeth, probably to the Leipzig pub-

<sup>1</sup> GREENFIELD, Edward: 'Ives League', *The Guardian*, 8 October 1974, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Important studies dealing with aspects of the reception of Zelenka's music include STOCKIGT, Janice B.: *Jan Dismas Zelenka: A Bohemian Musician at the Court of Dresden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), esp. Ch. 9, and 'The Life and Afterlife of Jan Dismas Zelenka', *Musicology Australia* 19 (1996), pp. 48-48; OTTENBERG, Hans-Günter: 'Eine Zelenka-Aufführung des Jahres 1864: Alte Musik in den Sinfoniekonzerten der Königlichen Musikalischen Kapelle in Dresden', in: OTTENBERG, Hans-Günter - STEINDORF, Eberhard (eds.) *Der Klang der Sächsischen Staatskapelle Dresden: Kontinuität und Wandelbarkeit eines Phänomens. Bericht über das Symposium vom 26. bis 27. Oktober 1998 im Rahmen des 450 jährigen Jubiläums der Sächsischen Staatskapelle Dresden: veranstaltet von der Technischen Universität Dresden, der Sächsischen Staatsoper Dresden und der Sächsischen Akademie der Künste* (Hildesheim; New York: Olms, 2001), pp. 183-197; and VOJTĚŠKOVÁ, Jana: 'Die Zelenka-Überlieferung in der Tschechoslowakei', in: KOHLHASE, Thomas (ed.): *Zelenka-Studien I: Referate der Internationalen Fachkonferenz Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679-1745)*, Marburg, J.-G.-Herder-Institut, 16.-20. November 1991 (Kassel and New York: Bärenreiter, 1993), pp. 85-99.

<sup>3</sup> Library sigla are given as per RISM, and an appendix provides additional information on sources not discussed in the article.

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## Zelenka reception in the nineteenth century: Some new sources

This article presents evidence of new sources relating to the transmission and reception of the music of Bohemian composer Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679-1745) in the nineteenth century, which are located in Poland, Russia, Boston and elsewhere. The author speculates about the role of Italian theologian and composer Fortunato Santini (1778-1861) in promulgating Zelenka's music, and shows that this music was more widely disseminated than previously thought.

**Key words:** Jan Dismas Zelenka; Baroque Music; Dresden; Prague; reception; transmission

**Number of characters / words:** 16 716 / 2 625

**Number of tables:** 1

Most of the new source material discussed in this article was uncovered during the author's Endeavour Research Fellowship based at Martin Luther University, Halle - Wittenberg, Feb - July 2015. I am indebted to Wolfgang Hirschmann and Janice B. Stockigt for their kind assistance in making this research possible.

lishing house of Breitkopf. The firm experienced financial difficulties in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and many works were sold off.<sup>4</sup> At this time, about 250 works from Breitkopf's holdings came to be listed in the music catalogue of Prussian Minister Carl Otto Friedrich von Voss-Buch (1755-1823), which is now held in Berlin,<sup>5</sup> and this includes works by Zelenka.

Also, in the mid-eighteenth century, Zelenka's one-time student Johann Georg Pisendel (1687-1755) copied the full set of Zelenka's *Responsoria pro hebdomada sancta* (ZWV 55), for Georg Philipp Telemann (1681-1767), who intended to publish them but never did. Pisendel attempted to disguise the fact that the entire work had been copied at one time by requesting that Telemann publish the responses in sections, and make slight alterations to the score, which implies that circulation of these works was somewhat restricted. In 1810, Telemann's grandson then sold this copy to Georg Pölchau (1773-1836), a collector of music manuscripts and librarian to the Berlin Singakademie. Pölchau's vast collection now makes up a significant portion of the music manuscripts now held at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.<sup>6</sup>

Several new sources have emerged, however, which shed further light on these, and other, aspects of Zelenka reception in the nineteenth century. Shortly after Pölchau died in August 1836, the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* reported on a performance by the Dessau Singakademie of a Zelenka motet, 'Quomodo justus moritur', which refers to his setting of the Response 'Ecce quomodo moritur justus'.<sup>7</sup> The excerpt reads:

The Sing-Akademie arranged, on 23 August, a dignified celebration in memory of their esteemed colleague Georg Pölchau. After a chorale by Fasch, and a Requiem by Hellwig, the director Rungenhagen described in a brief address the credit of the deceased Pölchau to music in general, and in particular to the Sing-Akademie, which Pölchau had served as librarian from [Carl Friedrich] Zelter's death until his own illness developed. Pölchau also played an essential part in the organisation of Zelter's musical estate, which was purchased from the Sing-Akademie. After the commemoration speech, a motet by Zelenka was sung, 'Quomodo justus moritur', in remembrance of the donor, which had been presented as a gift from Pölchau and the Sing-Akademie. Mozart's Requiem, from 'Hostias et preces' until the end, concluded the grave, exhilarating celebration.<sup>8</sup>

In December 1844, the Dreyssig Singakademie, an esteemed choir founded by the Dresden court organist Anton Dreyssig (1774-1815) in 1807, performed one of Zelenka's 'Qui tollis' settings. Although the programme does not reveal which one,<sup>9</sup> I argue that this must have been from the *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* (ZWV 1), since the stamp of the Dreyssig Singakademie appears on a score copy of the 'Qui tollis' from this mass, which is held in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (SLUB).<sup>10</sup> Only one other known music manuscript of a Zelenka work has yet been associated with Anton Dreyssig or his Singakademie, and that is a copy of Zelenka's well-known Miserere setting (ZWV 57) held in Berlin.<sup>11</sup>

A manuscript set of parts for a Zelenka *Salve Regina* setting (ZWV 141) is also held in the Wrocław University Library in Poland, which is yet to be acknowledged in the Zelenka literature.<sup>12</sup> The set of thirty-six parts comprises seventeen for canto, fifteen for alto, and four parts for bass; there are no parts for tenor, indicating that the set is incomplete. The work is a parody on 'Recercar dopo il Credo' from Girolamo Frescobaldi's (1583-1643) third organ mass, *Messa della Madonna*, and is attributed to Zelenka, although he never claimed authorship of

<sup>4</sup> STOCKIGT, *Zelenka* (↵ note 2), pp. 267-269.

<sup>5</sup> Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung (D-B) Mus. MS theor. Kat. 26.

<sup>6</sup> STOCKIGT, *Zelenka* (↵ note 2), p. 265.

<sup>7</sup> I would like to thank Jóhannes Ágústsson for drawing my attention to this source.

<sup>8</sup> *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 38 (1836), pp. 674-675, author's translation.

<sup>9</sup> The programme is held at Stadtarchiv Dresden, Kapsel 150, *Dreyssische Singakademie Material 1820-1928 in zeitlicher Ordnung*; see also OSCHMANN, Susanne: 'Die Rezeption des geistlichen Werkes von Johann Sebastian Bach in Dresden im Jahrhundert der "Wiederentdeckung"', in: HERRMANN, Matthias (ed.): *Die Dresdner Kirchenmusik im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1998), p. 52.

<sup>10</sup> SLUB (D-DI), Mus. 2358-D-503.

<sup>11</sup> D-B Mus. MS Eler 1 M (31-48).

<sup>12</sup> PL-WRu, 22522 III N (formerly held at Akc 665 Muz.).

the work.<sup>13</sup> The set of parts is held with a copy of a published edition of the same work,<sup>14</sup> from which the parts were obviously extracted. It is unclear whether this work was ever performed in Wrocław (then called Breslau), but a *Salve Regina* setting by Zelenka is listed in the holdings of the Breslau Singakademie, which was established by Johann Theodor Mosewius (1788-1858) in 1825. This institution modelled its activities very much on those of the Berlin Singakademie, and, as in Berlin, they often performed sacred works in a concert setting. In 1850, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the Breslau Singakademie, Mosewius published a Festschrift that lists the dates of concerts and works performed.<sup>15</sup> In Appendix C of this publication, titled 'Catalogue of the singing materials used for practice by the Sing-Akademie from 17 May 1825 to 1850' (*Verzeichniss des zu den Uebungen der Sing-Akademie benutzten Singstoffes vom 17. Mai 1825 bis dahin 1850*) we find Zelenka's *Salve Regina*, which suggests that the work was performed not in concert, but rather in an educational context, as study or practice material.

One of the most intriguing new sources relating to Zelenka transmission in the nineteenth century is to be found in the Boston Public Library: a collection of twenty-eight manuscript and printed volumes prepared by German librarian and teacher Siegfried Wilhelm Dehn (1799-1858), bearing the title 'Practical music works by outstanding composers of the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries, selected and compiled by S.W. Dehn' (*Practische Musik-Werke hervorragender Componisten des XVI.-XVIII. Jahrhunderts ausgewählt und zusammengestellt von S. W. Dehn*).<sup>16</sup> This collection includes six manuscript copies of works by Zelenka, which are not mentioned in the published Zelenka literature, but which are, interestingly, listed in a card catalogue of the SLUB in the handwriting of the late Dr. Wolfgang Reich. I have not yet been able to view this source in person, and at the time of writing only fragments of the source have been digitised, so many questions are yet to be answered. However, some information concerning the provenance and contents of the collection is available.<sup>17</sup>

Dehn prepared the collection in approximately 1858 for the American musicologist Alexander Wheelock Thayer (1817-1897), who spent time in Germany between 1849 and the mid-late 1850s preparing his seminal biography of Beethoven. Shortly thereafter, the collection of over 150 works, representing seventy-three composers, moved to the Boston Public Library.<sup>18</sup> Four works by Zelenka are held in volume nineteen: two settings of the Marian antiphon *Sub tuum praesidium* (ZWV 157), and two movements from the *Responsoria pro hebdomada sancta* (ZWV 55), 'Ecce quomodo moritur justus' and 'In monte Oliveti'. The *Sub tuum praesidium* settings confirm that these copies originated in Berlin; Zelenka set this text ten times, and the manuscript score was eventually acquired by Pölchau, entering the Royal Library in Berlin as part of Pölchau's collection in 1841, after Dehn had taken over its custodianship. The only other known source for these works is a set of twenty-eight parts, missing from Dresden.

Volume twenty-eight also contains two mass settings by Zelenka: the *Missa Circumcisionis* (ZWV 11) and the *Missa Nativitatis Domini* (ZWV 8). Only one known copy of the *Missa Circumcisionis* is held in Berlin,<sup>19</sup> which was notated by a scribe associated with the Breitkopf firm around the 1760s, before entering the collection of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714-1788),

<sup>13</sup> A second set of parts to this work—also incomplete—is held at the University of Warsaw Library (PL-Wu), RM 5901. This source was formerly owned by the Akademisches Institut für Kirchenmusik, Breslau, and dates from the early nineteenth century.

<sup>14</sup> NAUE, Friedrich (ed.): *Kirchenmusik verschiedener Zeiten und Völker* (Leipzig: Friedrich Hofmeister, 1832).

<sup>15</sup> MOSEWIUS, Johann Theodor: *Die Breslauer Sing-Akademie in den ersten fünf und zwanzig Jahren ihres Bestehens* (Breslau [Wrocław]: O. B. Schuhmann, 1850).

<sup>16</sup> Boston Public Library (US-Bp), 4051.14.

<sup>17</sup> I am indebted to Charlotte A. Kolczynski and the kind staff at the Boston Public Library for their assistance investigating this source.

<sup>18</sup> Grant W. Cook III has claimed that Thayer acted as a buyer of books and music collections for the Boston Public Library, perhaps explaining the reason for this purchase. Interestingly, his travelling companion on his second trip (departed summer 1856) was organist John Knowles Paine (1839-1906), who travelled with Thayer on the insistence of his Dresden-trained teacher Hermann Kotzschmar (1829-1909). See COOK III, Grant W.: 'A. W. Thayer, Dwight's „Diarist," and Foreign Correspondent: Beethoven's Biographer as Choral Critic', *The Choral Scholar: The Online Journal of the National Collegiate Choral Organization* 2 (2010), pp. 2-6.

<sup>19</sup> D-B Mus. MS 23540.



and then the collection of Georg Pölchau in 1799.<sup>20</sup> However, two known sources for the *Missa Nativitatis Domini* are held in Berlin, one of which can be traced back to the collection of Princess Anna Amalia of Prussia (1723-1787),<sup>21</sup> younger sister of Frederick II, and the other, like the Berlin copy of the *Missa Circumcisionis*, entered Pölchau's collection in 1799 from the estate of C. P. E. Bach.<sup>22</sup> This copy, however, replaces Zelenka's original scoring for two trumpets with a pair of horns, and this difference may prove useful when future attempts are made to determine which of the two Berlin sources served as the source for the Boston copy. It is clear that this collection will have implications for the reception histories of not only Zelenka, but a vast number of composers, as their music migrated to the American 'new world' of the mid-nineteenth century.

It is no surprise that Dehn would have included Zelenka in his collection of 'outstanding' composers from days gone by. Dehn was editor of the Zeitschrift *Caecilia* between 1842 and 1848, and was a great advocate of Zelenka's music, having published an admiring biographical study of the composer, along with an edition of the above-mentioned 'Ecce quomodo moritur justus' setting, in that journal during his final year as editor there. Dehn's article describes Zelenka as a 'valued' composer, who, 'must have been an excellent artist.' He writes that Zelenka's music 'drew universal attention,' and that, at the time of his death, 'he held the reputation of a noble and virtuous artist'.<sup>23</sup> This is one of an increasing number of sources that contradict the idea, popular in early Zelenka scholarship, that Zelenka's later years were isolated and lonely, and that his achievements were not recognised by his contemporaries.

Reference to two further manuscript copies of movements from Zelenka's *Responsoria pro hebdomada sancta* (ZWV 55, nos. 2 and 14) has also recently appeared on RISM, held at the Taneyev Research Music Library of the Moscow Conservatory.<sup>24</sup> I have not yet been able to verify these sources, but the incipits given on RISM do match Zelenka's scores. In 1998, Dr. Karl Geck wrote that many manuscript sources were presumed to have been relocated from Dresden to Russia following the Second World War, contrary to international law.<sup>25</sup> However, these two sources seem to have made their way to Russia via a different route. RISM states that they are held in a collection formerly owned by Alexandr Skarjatin, a Russian diplomat based in Rome, and were copied by the Italian theologian and composer Fortunato Santini (1778-1861), who was also based in Rome at the German College, and whose own enormous collection of over five thousand manuscripts and other printed items is now held in Münster.<sup>26</sup>

Regardless of whether these manuscripts turn out to be verified Zelenka copies, this connection to Fortunato Santini seems to hold important clues about the nature of the transmission and reception of Zelenka's sacred music in the nineteenth century. A recent exhibition at the Diocesan Museum in Münster provided a fascinating overview of Santini's social and professional network across Europe, several members of which possessed copies of Zelenka's music.<sup>27</sup> This network included: Sir Frederick Ouseley (1825-1889), who took copies of works by Zelenka to St Michael's College in Tenbury in the United Kingdom;<sup>28</sup> Eduard Grell (1800-1886), who from 1817 was associated with the Berlin Singakademie, becoming its principal conductor in 1853, and who was the one-time owner of a copy of Zelenka's *Missa Circumcisionis* (ZWV 11) now held in Paris;<sup>29</sup> Raphael Georg Kiesewetter (1773-1850), arguably one of the pioneers of musicology, who was heavily involved with the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien and with Viennese

<sup>20</sup> STOCKIGT, *Zelenka* (↵ note 2), p. 271.

<sup>21</sup> D-B Am.B 360 (II).

<sup>22</sup> D-B Mus. MS 23539; this copy is completed with the Sanctus and Agnus Dei from Zelenka's *Missa Charitatis* (ZWV 10).

<sup>23</sup> DEHN, Siegfried Wilhelm: 'Ueber Johann Dismas Zelenka', *Caecilia* 27 (1848), pp. 101-105, author's translation.

<sup>24</sup> Held together at RUS-Mk, XI-428.

<sup>25</sup> GECK, Karl Wilhelm: 'Die SLUB als Archiv für die Musik der Dresdner Hofkapelle', *SLUB-Kurier* 12 (1998), pp. 12-14.

<sup>26</sup> The same two settings are also found in Santini's collection at the Diözesanbibliothek in Münster (D-MÜp), formerly D-MÜs, SANT Hs. 1217.

<sup>27</sup> SCHMITZ, Peter – AMMENDOLA, Andrea (eds.): *Sammeln, Komponieren, Bearbeiten: der römische Abbatte Fortunato Santini im Spiegel seines Schaffens* (Münster: Agenda, 2011), pp. 52-53.

<sup>28</sup> On the Zelenka sources in the Tenbury collection (now housed at the Bodleian Library, Oxford) see FRAMPTON, Andrew: 'A Copyist of Bach and Zelenka: Identifying the Scribes of GB-Ob, MS Tenbury 749', *Understanding Bach* 11 (2016), pp. 131-139.

<sup>29</sup> Bibliothèque nationale de France (F-Pn), D-13.347.

concert life, and who owned copies of three of Zelenka's *Responsoria pro hebdomada sancta* (ZWV 55);<sup>30</sup> Carl von Winterfeld (1784-1852), a founder of the Bach-Gesellschaft and promoter of the ideals of the Cecilian movement, whose hand is found on an incomplete score copy of a Zelenka *Salve Regina* setting (ZWV 127) held in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin;<sup>31</sup> Aloys Fuchs (1799-1853), an Austrian musicologist closely associated with Kiesewetter and Pölchau, who owned a score copy from the late-eighteenth century of Zelenka's *Requiem* (ZWV 45);<sup>32</sup> Gustav Wilhelm Teschner (1800-1883), a German singer and music editor who was appointed Royal Prussian Professor in 1873, and whose collection once contained a copy of a 'Qui tollis' setting by Zelenka (from *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae*, ZWV 1) dating from 1851;<sup>33</sup> Rungenhagen, who, as mentioned above, directed the Berlin Singakademie in a performance of a Zelenka motet in 1836, and whose hand appears on a copy of Zelenka's *Missa Sancti Spiritus* (ZWV 4) held in the Singakademie zu Berlin Notenarchiv;<sup>34</sup> and finally, Skarjatin, who it seems owned copies of two movements from Zelenka's *Responsoria pro hebdomada sancta* (ZWV 55, nos. 2 and 14) now held in Moscow.<sup>35</sup>

All of these men are named among Santini's professional and social network in Europe, and all of them played some role in the transmission of Zelenka's music across Europe in the nineteenth century, but the influence of Santini on the reception of Zelenka's music remains unexplored. It seems clear that Santini's network is more than simply a checklist of Europe's cultural elite, and that an investigation into the values, artistic ideals and ideologies of this group of men could yield a much greater appreciation of the nature of Zelenka reception in the nineteenth century.

<sup>30</sup> A score copy of no. 2 (A-Wn, SA. 67 H. 48 Mus) and no. 24 (A-Wn, SA. 67 H. 49 Mus), as well as the already-mentioned copies of nos. 2 and 14 now held at Münster, (D-MÜp, formerly D-MÜs, SANT Hs. 1217).

<sup>31</sup> D-B, Mus. Winterfeld 103a (formerly M 1911.627).

<sup>32</sup> This source is held at the Stift Göttweig (Niederösterreich). See RIEDEL, Friedrich W.: 'Zelenkas Kompositionen zum Toten-Offizium', in: REICH, Wolfgang – GATTERMANN, Günter (eds.): *Zelenka-Studien II : Referate und Materialien der 2. Internationalen Fachkonferenz Jan Dismas Zelenka, Dresden und Prag 1995* (Sankt Augustin: Academia Verlag, 1997), pp. 153-159. Riedel suggests that Fuchs may have acquired this copy from the court organist Johann Hugo Vofšek (p. 157).

<sup>33</sup> D-B, MS Teschner 249, fos. 57-66.

<sup>34</sup> D-Bsa, SA 692.

<sup>35</sup> RUS-Mk, XI-428.

## APPENDIX:

## A table of additional notes on new Zelenka sources

	Source location	Source description	Comments on provenance
1.	The Glinka Museum of Musical Culture (RUS-Mcm), Ф.73 No. 388	Credo from <i>Missa Purificationis BVM</i> (ZWV 16) arr. piano and choir. 1820-1869?	From collection of Prince Vladimir Odoevskij (1803-1869)
2.	The Royal Library, Copenhagen (DK-Kk), MALæs-B304, Jens Peter Larsens samling, U300, mu 1306.2700	Credo from <i>Missa Purificationis BVM</i> (ZWV 16) arr. piano and choir. 1800-1900?	From collection of Jens Peter Larsen (1902-1988); likely to be connected with no. 1
3.	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (A-Wn), HK.1979 Mus	Score copy of <i>Missa dei Patris</i> (ZWV 19)	Stamps: 'v. Raymond', 'N. Clix' A copy of A-Wgm, Q 634?
4.	SLUB (D-DI), Mus.2358-D-505	Score copy of <i>Missa 'Gratias agimus tibi'</i> (ZWV 13)	Wilhelm Aletter (1867-1934); Prague Conservatoire (CZ-Pk), 7452
5.	SLUB (D-DI), Mus.2358-D-506	Score copy of <i>Missa Paschalis</i> (ZWV 7)	Wilhelm Aletter (1867-1934); Prague Conservatoire (CZ-Pk), 7452



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