Six *Ave regina coelorum* Settings (1737) by Jan Dismas Zelenka (*ZWV* 128): Context and Critical Edition

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Abstract

Bohemian composer Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679-1745) is now regarded as one of the Baroque period's leading musical figures, yet five of his six settings of the Marian antiphon Ave regina coelorum (ZWV 128), composed in 1737, remain unedited and unpublished. Furthermore, very little is known about the context in which these works were composed, or the people who would have performed them. This thesis addresses these issues by providing a context to, and critical edition of, Zelenka's Ave regina coelorum settings (ZWV 128). Part I gives background information on the composer and the court of Dresden where he worked, and discusses the influence of Viennese liturgico-musical practices in that city. This is followed by an examination and description of the style of each work, and, using the Viennese model, allocation to the categories A Cappella, Ordinary or Solemn. This categorisation strongly suggests that the court Kapellknaben would have performed these works, and a study of this ensemble then follows, based on primary source reports, along with a proposed list of members in 1737 and 1738. Part I thus shows that an understanding of the context of these works has significant implications for our understanding of their style, and presents new information about the lives and activities of the people who were almost certainly responsible for the performance of these antiphons. Part II of the thesis presents a critical edition of the six settings, which, with one exception, is the first edition of these works. A catalogue of the known repertoire of Marian antiphons associated with the Dresden Catholic court church during the period ca. 1708-65 is given in the appendix, along with information on the former and current locations of performance materials, and facsimile copies of ZWV 128.

This is to certify that

(i)) the thesis comprises only my original work towards the degree of Mas		
	Music (Musicology),		
(ii)	due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used,		
(iii)	the thesis is fewer than 26,000 words, exclusive of words in tables, maps,		
	bibliographies and appendices.		
Signature:			
Name in Fu	ıll:		
Date:			

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List of Abbreviations

Bibliographic

Catalogo (1765) "Catalogo (Thematico) [sic] della Musica di Chiesa (catholica [sic] in

Dresda) composta Da diversi Autori - secondo l'Alfabetto 1765."

Compiled under the supervision of Joannes Georg Schürer, 3 vols.

MS. D-B Mus. ms. Theor. Kat. 186

Catalogo (ca. 1780+) "Catalogo della Musica di Chiesa, composta da diversi Autori

secondo l'alfabetto. Armaro III²⁰, principiando dalla littera S sino al

Z con l'aggiunta degli'Autori senza Nome," 3 vols. Vols. 1 and 2

missing. MS. *D-Dl* Sign. Bibl. Arch. III H 788, 3; repr. in part in *ZD*

Diarium (1710–1738). 2 vols

[vol. 1] Jhs Diarium seu Protocollum 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, quô Missioni huic, Authoritate Admodùm

Reverendi Patris Nostri Generalis, per R^{dum} Patrem Provincialem

Prov: ae Bohemiae, constitutus est Superior P. Georgius Klein

[vol. 2] "Continuatio Diarij seu Protocolli a... FREDERICO

AUGUSTO Dresdae in urbe sua Electorali institutae Societatis JESU

Missionis. Ab Anno 1721. usque ad Annum 1738, inclusive." The

Diarium is held at the Domstift und Bischöfliches Ordinariat,

Bibliothek und Archiv, Bautzen, Germany. Excerpts published by

Wolfgang Reich, "Exzerpte aus dem Diarium Missionis S.J.

Dresdae," in ZS II, 315-75

Hkm	Wolfgang Horn, Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik, 1720–1745:
	Studien zu ihren Voraussetzungen und ihrem Repertoire (Kassel
	and New York: Barenreiter, 1987)
HStCal	Königl. Polnischer und Churfürstl. Sächsischer Hof- und Staats-
	Calender (from 1728, except 1730 and 1734). D-Dl, Hist. Sax. J
	179 (all except the 1728 edition, which is kept with the set held at D -
	Dla)
Inventarium	Jan Dismas Zelenka, "Inventarium rerum Musicarum Ecclesiae
	servientium." MS. <i>D-Dl</i> BiblArch. III H b 787d. Repr. in <i>ZD II</i> ,
	169-218
ZD [vols. I and II]	Zelenka-Dokumentation: Quellen und Materialen, edited by
	Wolfgang Horn, Ortrun Landmann, Wolfgang Reich and Thomas
	Kohlhase. 2 vols. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel 1989
ZS I	Zelenka-Studien I: Referate der Internationalen Fachkonferenz Jan
	Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745), Marburg, JGHerder-Institut, 16.–
	20. November 1991. Edited by Thomas Kohlhase. Musik des Ostens
	14. Kassel and New York: Bärenreiter, 1993
ZS II	Zelenka-Studien II: Referate und Materialien der 2.
	Internationalen Fachkonferenz Jan Dismas Zelenka, Dresden und
	Prag 1995. Edited by Wolfgang Reich and Günter Gatterman.
	Deutsche Musik im Osten 12. Sankt Augustin: Academia Verlag,
	1997
ZWV	Wolfgang Reich, Jan Dismas Zelenka: Thematisch-systematisches
	Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke (ZWV). 2 vols. Studien und
	Materialen zur Musikgeschichte Dresdens 6. Dresden, 1985; repr.
	in ZD

Libraries

CZ-Pak Prague, Archív Pražského Hradu: Knihovna metropolitní kapituly,

hudební sbírka (Archive of the Prague castle, Metropolitan Chapter)

D-B Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz

D-Dla Dresden, Sächsische Hauptstaatsarchiv

D-Dl Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek

Dresden. Zelenka's manuscripts are kept under the signature Mus.

2358

Instruments/Instrumentation/Voices

A. alto

B. bass

b.c. basso continuo

bn. bassoon

ch. chorus

fl. flute

ob. oboe

org. organ

S. soprano

T. tenor

tb. theorbo

va. viola

vc. violoncello

vle. violone

vn. violin

Introduction

A poem by Johann Gottlob Kittel (pseudonym Micrander), published in 1740 and recently discovered by Szymon Paczkowski, includes a passage that describes the Dresden-based Bohemian composer Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745) as a "vollkommner Virtuos" (perfect virtuoso) who, delighting the soul in God's honour, was able to write sacred music "in the most stimulating manner, so touching that the reverent breast receives a foretaste of those heavenly pleasures." It seems at best unfortunate, if not extraordinary, then, that the music of this wonderful composer, who is now described as one of the "leading figures in [early eighteenth-century] German musical life," has mostly lain dormant until the latter half of the twentieth century, with many of Zelenka's works still unheard by contemporary audiences.

Zelenka was one of a contingent of Bohemian musicians working at the electoral Saxon and royal Polish court of Dresden during the first half of the eighteenth century. This court produced artistic and musical excellence equal to the best then offered in Europe, and the repertoire of sacred music accumulated and performed there during Zelenka's career represents one of its crowning cultural achievements. Among this repertoire were Zelenka's own six settings of the Marian antiphon *Ave regina coelorum* (*ZWV* 128), about which very little is currently known. One edition of the fourth setting exists, but all the other settings remain unedited, and a detailed study of the complete set is lacking.

¹ "Du kanst zu GOttes Ehr, die Seelen zu ergötzen, Auf das beweglichste die Kirchen-Stücken setzen, Die also rührend sind, daß die andächtge Brust Den Vor[ge]schmack schon empfind[e]t von jener Himmels-Lust." Johann Gottlob Kittel, *Denen Bey Ihro Königl. Majest. in Pohlen und Churfürstl. Durchl. zu Sachsen, Welt-gepriesenen Hof-Capelle Befindlichen Virtuosen... folgendes Lob-Gedichte Im Monath Junio 1740* (Dresden, 1740; facs. repr. with epilogue by Gerhard Poppe published at Beeskow: Ortus, 2008). Unpaginated.

² Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 408.

³ Jan Dismas Zelenka, *Ave Regina coelorum g-Moll*, ed. Thomas Kohlhase (Stuttgart: Carus-Verlag, 1983).

The manuscript scores to *ZWV* 128, although recently restored, are at certain points quite difficult to read, having suffered water damage during the Second World War (along with many other of Zelenka's manuscripts). Some passages of musical text have been completely lost, and others are almost entirely obscured by discolouration of the paper (for a more detailed description of the sources, see part II, "Critical Report"). A recent conference paper on Zelenka's Marian antiphons refrained from discussing these settings in detail, citing poor legibility, which highlights the need for a critical edition of these works. I hope to address some of these problems in this thesis, by presenting the first detailed study of the complete set of Zelenka's *Ave regina coelorum* settings (*ZWV* 128) and the context in which they were composed and were probably performed, along with a critical edition of each work.

Due to the budding state of Zelenka scholarship, literature on this composer cannot easily be arranged into conceptual categories without overlap: most publications deal with multiple aspects of the composer's life and work. Principal references are Janice B.

Stockigt's landmark monograph Jan Dismas Zelenka: A Bohemian Musician at the Court of Dresden, which provides the most comprehensive study available on Zelenka's life and work (published after her doctoral dissertation on Zelenka's Vesper psalms), and Zelenka-Dokumentation: Quellen und Materiellen (ZD, see "List of Abbreviations"), an indispensable two-volume publication of edited sources with annotations, and facsimile reproductions of important primary sources. Wolfgang Horn's Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik, 1720–1745: Studien zu ihren Voraussetzungen und ihrem Repertoire (Hkm, see "List of Abbreviations") presents a detailed study of the music of Dresden's Catholic court church during the period 1720–45, and situates Zelenka's work within that

⁴ Roberto Scoccimarro, "Jan Dismas Zelenka's settings of the Marian Antiphons" (paper presented at the Fifteenth Biennial International Conference on Baroque Music, University of Southampton, 11th–15th July 2012).

⁵ Janice B. Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka: A Bohemian Musician at the Court of Dresden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

⁶ Janice B. Stockigt, "The Vespers Psalms of Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745) in the Liturgy and Life of the Dresden Catholic Court Church" (PhD diss., University of Melbourne, 1994).

context. All of the above-mentioned publications draw on the work of nineteenth-century historian Moritz Fürstenau to some degree, whose work retains some importance on account of Fürstenau's access to sources missing from Dresden since, or lost during, the Second World War. The proceedings of two conferences on Zelenka, in Marburg (1991) and Dresden and Prague (1995), referred to in this thesis as *ZS I* and *II* respectively (see "List of Abbreviations"), contain various studies that remain integral to the body of Zelenka literature, and those of particular relevance to this study will be discussed below.

ZS II contains excerpts from the Jesuit *Diarium*, a daily logbook kept by the Jesuit Superior who managed the Dresden Catholic court church.⁸ This important document had been lost since the Second World War, and a portion covering the years 1710–38 was found in 1985 behind the organ gallery of the church;⁹ it was then rather anonymously filed away in the church's archives under "Church Chronicles". Wolfgang Reich published excerpts from the *Diarium* after rediscovering it in 1994. This document, which provides invaluable reports on the daily workings of Dresden's Catholic court church, mentions musical performances (including performances of Marian antiphons) on many occasions, and sheds light on the artistic taste, professional relationships and chronology of events of the

⁷ Moritz Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe zu Dresden*, vol. 2 (Dresden: Rudolf Kunze, 1862), also available online at http://d-nb.info/740362755; older historical studies that make reference to the Dresden court also include Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, The Netherlands, and United Provinces*, vol. 2, (London, 1775; facs. repr. New York: Broude Brothers, 1969); and Paul Franz Saft, *Der Neuaufbau der katholischen Kirche in Sachsen im 18. Jahrhundert*, Studien zur katholischen Bistums- und Klostergeschichte 2 (Lepizig: St. Benno, 1961).

⁸ The *Diarium* is held at the Domstift und Bischöfliches Ordinariat, Bibliothek und Archiv, Bautzen, Germany (*D*-BAUd), with extracts published by Wolfgang Reich, "Exzerpte aus dem Diarium Missionis S.J. Dresdae," in *ZS II*, 315–75. *See also* Wolfgang Reich, "Das Diarium Missionis Societatis Jesu Dresdae als Quelle für die kirchenmusikalische Praxis," in *ZS II*, 43–57. I am indebted to David Fairservice and Janice B. Stockigt for generously providing English translations of these reports.

⁹ Gerhard Poppe, "Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik von 1717 bis 1725: über das Verhältnis von Repertoirebetrieb, Besetzung und musikalischer Faktur in einer Situation des Neuaufbaus," in *Mitteldeutschland im musikalischen Glanz seiner Residenzen. Sachsen, Böhmen und Schlesien als Musiklandschaften im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert,* ed. Peter Wollny, Jahrbuch Mitteldeutsche Barokmusik 6 (Beeskow: Ortus Verlag, 2004), 302.

Catholic court of Dresden during the years 1710–38. About ten years later a portion covering the years 1739–42 was discovered.¹⁰

On the cultural-historical development of the Dresden court, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly's *Court Culture in Dresden* is a principal reference. ¹¹ Elisabeth Mikosch's 1999 dissertation on courtly dress in Dresden paints an overall picture of life there during Zelenka's career, ¹² and Stockigt has contributed a study focussing on the complex liturgical apparatus operating at the Dresden court in the early eighteenth-century. ¹³ The chapters relating to Dresden and Warsaw (the court's Polish seat) in the compendium *Music at German Courts, 1715–1760: Changing Artistic Priorities* (edited by Samantha Owens, Barbara M. Reul and Stockigt) take a sharper look at musical life at the court and its foremost musical institution, the *Hofkapelle*, ¹⁴ and a dictionary of musicians of the *Hofkapelle* is forthcoming. ¹⁵ Stockigt has also provided the most comprehensive study to date of the court church's musical ensemble, the *Kapellknaben*, ¹⁶ and has discussed various performance contexts for each ensemble. ¹⁷

In addition to the above-mentioned contribution by Wolfgang Horn (Hkm), important studies focusing in particular on Catholic sacred music in Dresden have

¹⁰ See Gerhard Poppe, "Ein weiterer Faszikel aus dem Diarium Missionis Societatis Jesu Dresdae wiederaufgefunden," in *Die Oberlausitz – eine Grenzregion der mitteldeutschen Barockmusik*, ed. Peter Wollny, Jahrbuch Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik 8 (Beeskow: Ortus Verlag, 2006), 193–204.

¹¹ Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

¹² Elisabeth Mikosch, "Court Dress and Ceremony in the Age of the Baroque: The Royal/Imperial Wedding of 1719 in Dresden: A Case Study" (PhD diss., New York University, 1999).

¹³ Janice B. Stockigt, "The Royal Polish and Electoral Saxon Court and State Calendars, 1728–50," in *Bach Studies from Dublin: Selected Papers Presented at the Ninth Biennial Conference on Baroque Music, Held at Trinity College Dublin from 12th to 16th July 2000*, ed. Anne Leahy and Yo Tomita, Irish Musical Studies 8 (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), 49–64.

¹⁴ Janice B. Stockigt, "The Court of Saxony-Dresden," in *Music at German Courts*, 1715–1760: Changing Artistic Priorities, ed. Samantha Owens et al. (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), 17–49; Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, "The Saxon Court of the Kingdom of Poland," in *Music at German Courts*, 1715–1760: Changing Artistic Priorities, ed. Samantha Owens, Barbara M. Reul and Janice B. Stockigt (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), 51–77.

¹⁵ Shelley Hogan and Janice B Stockigt, "A Dictionary of Instrumentalists employed in 'Die Königliche *Capell*- und Cammer *Musique*' of August the Strong, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony: 1709–1733," forthcoming.

¹⁶ Janice B. Stockigt, "The 'Kapellknaben' of the Catholic Court Church in Dresden, 1722–1733," *Studies in Music* 23 (1989): 13–24.

 $^{^{\}rm 17}$ Janice B. Stockigt, "Hinweise auf die Originalaufführungen von Zelenkas Vesperpsalmen," in ZS II, 101–43.

examined Italian music in the court church's collection, ¹⁸ those by anonymous composers, ¹⁹ as well as the oratorios for Holy Week. ²⁰ Margaret Williams' dissertation on Dresden *Kapellmeister* Johann David Heinichen (1683–1729) has also expanded current understandings of Catholic sacred music in Dresden, and in particular music for the office of Vespers. ²¹

Kai Köpp's monograph on Dresden concertmaster Johann Georg Pisendel (1687–1755) has contributed to current understandings of performance practice in Dresden, ²² while Thomas Kohlhase has focussed in particular on the performance practices of the Dresden court orchestra's basso continuo section. ²³ Timothy A. Burris' 1997 dissertation provides a study of the role of lute and theorbo in performances of vocal music at the Dresden court, ²⁴ and Stockigt has examined the manner in which the Dresden copyists extracted oboe parts from Zelenka's scores, providing useful recommendations to modern editors. ²⁵

Michael Talbot has presented a study of the Venetian aspects of Zelenka's compositional style, ²⁶ as well as the style and context of Zelenka's last known secular

¹⁸ Claudio Bacciagaluppi and Janice B. Stockigt, "Italian Manuscripts of Sacred Music in Dresden: The Neapolitan Collection of 1738–1740," *Fonti Musicali Italiane* 15 (2010): 141–79.

¹⁹ Janice B. Stockigt, "Musica Senza Nome dell'Authore [sic]: Anonymous Works Listed in the Music Catalogue of the Dresden Hofkirche, 1765," Studii vivaldiani 7 (2007): 3–51.

²⁰ Gerhard Poppe, "Neue Ermittlungen zum italienischen Karwochenoratorium in Dresden," in *Beiträge zur Kirchenmusik in Sachsen* (Chemnitz: Schröder, 1998).

²¹ Margaret Williams, "The Vespers Music of J.D. Heinichen (1683–1729)" (PhD diss., University of Bristol, 2007).

²² Kai Köpp, *Johann Georg Pisendel (1687–1755) und die Anfänge der neuzeitlichen Orchesterleitung* (Tutzing: Schneider, 2005).

²³ Thomas Kohlhase, "Anmerkungen zur Generalbaßpraxis der Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik der 1720er bis 1740er Jahre", in *ZS I*, 233–40; *see also* Laurie H. Ongley, "The Reconstruction of an 18th-Century *Basso* Group," *Early Music* 28 (1999): 269–81.

²⁴ Timothy A. Burris, "Lute and Theorbo in Vocal Music in 18th-Century Dresden: A Performance Practice Study" (PhD diss., Duke University, 1997).

²⁵ Stockigt's examination of possible interpretations (and implications) of Zelenka's use of vertical strokes on the stave, and her study of the relationship between oboe and violin parts, are particularly useful. *See* Janice B. Stockigt, "The Role of Copyists when Preparing Orchestral Oboe Parts from Scores of Jan Dismas Zelenka," *Double Reed* 25 (2002), 31; on Zelenka's copyists, *see* Wolfgang Horn, "Die wichtigsten Schreiber im Umkreis Jan Dismas Zelenkas: Überlegungen zur Methode ihrer Bestimmung und Entwurf einer Gruppierung der Quellen," in *ZS I*, 141–210.

 $^{^{26}}$ Michael Talbot, "Venezianische Elemente im Stil Jan Dismas Zelenkas," in ZS I, 311–22.

composition, the serenata "Il Diamante" (*ZWV* 177),²⁷ whose libretto, revealing the title, was later discovered by Jóhannes Ágústsson.²⁸ Ágústsson's limited number of publications hardly represents his great contribution to contemporary research on Zelenka and the Dresden court. In his excellent recent paper at the Fifteenth Biennial Conference on Baroque Music, which is to be published as an article, Ágústsson proposed a reconstruction of Zelenka's secular vocal music collection based upon the composer's numbering system, revealing an hitherto completely unexplored aspect of Zelenka's activity as a musician of the Dresden court after the death of *Kapellmeister* Heinichen.²⁹

Patricia Corbin's dissertation on Zelenka's *Missa Dei Filli* (ZWV 20) has enriched current understandings of Zelenka's late period, which features mainly sacred compositions.³⁰ Other important studies on aspects of Zelenka's sacred music have focussed on the oratorios³¹ and Neapolitan influences in Zelenka's mass settings.³²

Very little has been written about Zelenka's Marian antiphon settings, ³³ and almost nothing on the *Ave regina coelorum* settings (*ZWV* 128) of 1737. ³⁴ Thomas Kohlhase's edition of the fourth setting includes a short description of each piece (in German) in the foreword, which gives information on scoring and key, and a brief statement about the general style of each piece. ³⁵ While the edition is of excellent quality, many aspects of the composer's notational practice have been suppressed: editorial markings are generally

²⁷ Michael Talbot, "Zelenka's Serenata ZWV 277 [sic]," in ZS II, 217-241.

 $^{^{28}}$ Jóhannes Ágústsson, "Zelenka's Serenata ZWV 177: A New Source Discovered," $\it Hudebn\'i\ v\'eda$ 46 (2009): 207–10.

²⁹ Jóhannes Ágústsson, "The Secular Vocal Music Collection of Jan Dismas Zelenka: A Reconstruction?" (paper presented at the Fifteenth Biennial International Conference on Baroque Music, University of Southampton, 11th–15th July 2012), to be expanded for publication in *Studii vivaldiani* (2013).

³⁰ Patricia Corbin, "A Contextual Analysis of the Missa Dei Filli by Jan Dismas Zelenka" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1998).

³¹ Susanne Oschmann, *Jan Dismas Zelenka: Seine geistlichen italienischen Oratorien* (Mainz: Schott, 1986).

³² Roberto Scoccimarro, "The Question of 'Mixed Form' in Mass Settings by Jan Dismas Zelenka and 'Neapolitan' Composers of the Early Eighteenth Century," *Pergolesi Studies* 8 (2012): 371–405. ³³ Scoccimarro, "Marian Antiphons."

³⁴ Excerpts of the present thesis have been published as "Zelenka's *Ave regina coelorum* Settings (ZWV 128) of 1737: A Case Study in the Transmission of Viennese Liturgico-musical Practices to Dresden," *Context: A Journal of Music Research* 37 (2012): 55–76.

³⁵ Zelenka, Ave Regina coelorum g-Moll, 3.

indistinguishable from those of the composer, and there are no critical notes discussing exceptional or questionable cases. This can be considered appropriate for a critical edition of a single, brief work, as the clear page layout, and the realisation of the figured bass (by Paul Horn), encourage use as a performing score. However, a critical edition of the complete set might also include a more in-depth discussion of the composer's notational practice as represented in the manuscript source. This thesis, in two parts, attempts to build upon, and contribute to, the existing body of literature on Zelenka by providing a study of the context of his *Ave regina coelorum* settings (*ZWV* 128) in part I, and a critical edition of these works in part II.

Part I of this thesis comprises four chapters. In chapter one, I present an overview of Zelenka's life and the context of his employment at the Dresden court. I outline how the return of Catholicism to Saxony allowed strong bonds to be formed between Dresden and Vienna, particularly through the marriage of Saxon Electoral Prince Friedrich August II (1696–1763, later August III as King of Poland) and Austrian Archduchess Maria Josepha (1699–1757) in 1719. Maria Josepha was to have a powerful impact on court culture in Dresden, and her musical expectations greatly influenced the style and standard of sacred music performed in Dresden's Catholic court chapel.

Chapter two provides a picture of the musical-historical context in which Zelenka's *Ave regina coelorum* settings (*ZWV* 128) were composed, based on reports in primary source documents. I discuss the types of occasion on which these settings might have been performed, present a calendar of dates significant to the Dresden court that fell within the liturgical season during which the *Ave regina coelorum* was required, and describe some of the relevant historical events taking place at about the time Zelenka composed these works.

The musical-historical context of these settings was also defined in part by Viennese liturgico-musical practices, especially after the arrival of Maria Josepha in 1719. The organisation of music in Dresden came to represent partially the organisation of music in Vienna, which included the liturgico-musical categories A Cappella, Ordinary and

Solemn. 36 As in Vienna, these categories operated in Dresden, albeit less strictly, to ensure that appropriate music was selected for the different ranks of liturgical occasion. Zelenka's *Ave regina coelorum* compositions (ZWV128) can thus be understood in terms of these Viennese categories.

Chapter three presents the first detailed examination and description of Zelenka's *Ave regina coelorum* settings (*ZWV* 128). I examine the variety of styles present in the set, highlight significant compositional influences and noteworthy features, and provide musical examples. This study forms the basis of my categorisation of these works as A Cappella, Ordinary or Solemn. I argue that the works can be categorised as A Cappella and Ordinary according to the Viennese model, which means that the *Kapellknaben* ensemble of Dresden's Catholic court church is likely to have performed them.

Little is known about the nature of the *Kapellknaben* ensemble in 1737, when Zelenka composed his *Ave regina coelorum* settings (*ZWV* 128). This group of boys, trained in singing and instrumental playing, was responsible for much of the musical workload in the Dresden Catholic court church's early years. In chapter four, I provide an overview of the establishment of this ensemble and its development in the years leading up to 1737, before presenting new information about the nature and activities of this ensemble in 1737 and 1738, based on primary-source reports. I also propose a list of names of its members in 1737 and 1738, who, I argue, are likely to have been the musicians responsible for performing these works. This chapter concludes part I of the thesis.

I present a critical edition of Zelenka's *Ave regina coelorum* settings (*ZWV* 128) as part II of this thesis, with notes on performance and a critical report. Two appendices accompany the thesis: Appendix A provides a catalogue of the repertoire of Marian Antiphons associated with the Catholic court church of Dresden during the period ca. 1708–

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³⁶ These terms will be defined and discussed in chapter two, but it is worth noting here that in this thesis the term A Cappella differs from the modern usage, to mean unaccompanied vocal music only. *See* Friedrich W. Riedel, *Kirchenmusik am Hofe Karls VI.* (1711–1740) (Munich and Salzburg: Katzbichler, 1977), pt. II, 146–72.

1765, with information on the former and current locations of performance materials, and Appendix B provides facsimile copies of the manuscript scores of Zelenka's *Ave regina coelorum* settings (*ZWV* 128).

Part I: A Study of the Context of ZWV 128

Chapter 1: Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745) at the Catholic Court of Dresden

The Composer

Jan Lukáš [Dismas] Zelenka was baptised as Catholic on 16 October 1679 in Louňovice, Bohemia. Little is known about his seven younger siblings, although his youngest brother, Jan Kilian (1694–post 1740), was known as "Musiker", "Organist", and for some time as the substitute for his father, Jiří [Georg, Jiřík], the long-serving *kantor* and organist in that village.³⁷ Jiří was probably Zelenka's first teacher, and it is likely that Zelenka's early music education resembled the seemingly chaotic yet thorough type given by Charles Burney in well-known descriptions.³⁸

Zelenka moved to Prague prior to 1704, and the title page of his 1709 composition $Immisit \, Dominus \, pestilentiam \, (ZWV \, 58)$ reveals that he was living in the house of the Bohemian nobleman Jan [Johann] Hubert Hartig (1671–1741). ³⁹ It is likely that Zelenka received an education at the Clementinum College in Prague (which now houses the National Library of the Czech Republic), given his associations to Hartig, who commissioned his three sepulchre cantatas for performance there $(ZWV \, 58, \, 59, \, 60)$. ⁴⁰

Zelenka arrived in Dresden in either 1710 or 1711, to take up employment as a violone player in the Dresden *Hofkapelle*. ⁴¹ Between 1716 and 1719 he spent at least

³⁷ ZD I. 91.

³⁸ Burney writes of his visit to a school at Czaslau, "I went into the school, which was full of little children of both sexes, from six to ten or eleven years old, who were reading, writing, playing on violins, hautbois, bassoons, and other instruments. The organist had in a small room of his house four clavichords, with little boys practising on them all: his son of nine years old, was a very good performer." Burney, *Present State of Music*, 4–5.

³⁹ Jan Hubert's younger brother, Ludwig Joseph Hartig (1675–1735), was the richer and more influential of the two, but extensive documentation proves that it was Jan Hubert with whom Zelenka maintained contact throughout his life. *See* Václav Kapsa and Claire Madl, "Weiss, the Hartigs and the Prague Music Academy: Research into the 'Profound Silence' Left by a 'Pope of Music'," *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 33 (2000): 67–70.

 $^{^{40}}$ ZD I, 91.

⁴¹ ZD I. 91.

eighteen months in Vienna, in the service of the Saxon Electoral Prince and studying under Johann Joseph Fux (1660–1741), who, as Imperial *Kapellmeister*, held the most important musical position in Europe at that time. It is also possible that Zelenka travelled to Venice in 1716 to accompany the Saxon Electoral Prince on part of his Grand Tour, but no known evidence exists to confirm whether Zelenka ever made this journey. ⁴² He settled again in Dresden in 1719, after having amassed a four-volume collection of musical works in Vienna, titled *Collectaneorum Musicorum Libri Quatuor*, by composers including Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (ca. 1525–94), Girolamo Frescobaldi (1583–1643), Alessandro Poglietti (d. 1683), Luigi Battiferri (d. 1682 or later), Johann Jacob Froberger (1616–67), Angelo Ragazzi (ca. 1680–1750) and Giuseppe Antonio Bernabei (ca. 1649–1732). ⁴³ Aside from this, it seems Zelenka rarely left Dresden.

Zelenka spent most of the 1720s composing new sacred music for the Catholic court church of Dresden, whose performance had to be absolutely error-free. ⁴⁴ His output included a number of works for Holy Week, in two cycles (six *Lamentationes pro hebdomada sancta, ZWV* 53, and twenty-seven *Responsoria pro hebdomada sancta, ZWV* 55) and ten Mass settings composed between 1723 and 1730 (*ZWV* 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, almost half his total output of that genre). Zelenka revised several earlier compositions and reworked mass settings by other composers during the same period. He composed most of his music for Vespers during the second half of the 1720s, and categorised his psalm settings into two groups: thirty-three "Psalmi Vespertini totius anni" and eight "Psalmi varii... Separatim Scripti." ⁴⁵ Many other sacred works date from this period, including Requiems, litanies and Marian antiphons. ⁴⁶ Zelenka composed the Requiem (*ZWV* 46), Invitatory, three lessons and nine Responsories (*ZWV* 48) for the exequies of King August II in 1733. During the 1720s, alongside *Kapellmeister* Heinichen,

⁴² Stockigt, Zelenka, 39.

⁴³ See "Die Libri Quatuor" in ZD I, 71-86.

⁴⁴ Stockigt, "Vespers Psalms," esp. "Conclusion", Part II, 438-43.

⁴⁵ See Stockigt, "Vespers Psalms," esp. appendices to Part II.

⁴⁶ See Appendix A, "Worklist," in Stockigt, Zelenka, 286-306.

Giovanni Alberto Ristori (1692–1753) and the little-known Tobias Butz (d. 1760, Zelenka's student of composition and erstwhile horn-player to the electoral prince), Zelenka established the musical traditions and repertoire of this newly-founded church in Dresden.

In the years leading up to Heinichen's death from tuberculosis in 1729 Zelenka surely hoped to succeed as *Kapellmeister*, and perhaps in anticipation began keeping an *Inventarium*—a catalogue of his own works and those by other composers in his collection. The inside-cover page gives "factum ['done'] inchoatum ['begun']" on 17 January 1726, suggesting that this date initially represented the completion of the documentation of his collection, which was then subsequently continued as the opportunity for promotion appeared. Such a catalogue would have supported an application for the post of Kapellmeister. Furthermore, a table on the last page of the document, in Zelenka's hand, lists the yearly wages of some of his colleagues including "Volum [Jean-Baptiste Volumier, 1670-1728] 1200 / Schmit [Johann Christoph Schmidt, 1664-1728] 1200 / Heinich: [Heinichen] 1500."47 Volumier and Schmidt died in 1728, which perhaps indicates that Zelenka was calculating the sum of money expected from the distribution of their salaries—a usual procedure following the death of a Dresden court musician. 48 Indeed, the court may have sought Zelenka's advice on how the salaries should be distributed, given that he was the most senior composer after Heinichen. 49 Three petitions (one draft, the others dated 24 October and 18 November 1733) imply that he had suffered financial difficulties at that time.50

⁴⁷ ZD II. 218.

⁴⁸ See, for example, the distribution of the salaries of the viola player "Lehneis" and theorbo player "Arigoni" in December 1719, after their deaths (*D-Dla* 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 907/3 *Die Operisten, Musicos, Sänger und andere zur Opera gehörige Personen betr: ao 1717, 18, 19, [17]20.*, f. 165 r/v.

⁴⁹ The court sought such advice from Heinichen following the death of "Contra-Bass" player "Momolo." *See* Janice B. Stockigt, "Jan Dismas Zelenka: Recent Research" (paper presented at the Fifteenth Biennial International Conference on Baroque Music, University of Southampton, 11th–15th July 2012), to be expanded for publication with Jóhannes Ágústsson.

⁵⁰ Stockigt, *Zelenka*, 203–4; original text repr. at 317–18.

From the time of Heinichen's death in 1729 until early 1734, when Johann Adolf Hasse (1699–1783) officially took up his post as the new *Kapellmeister*, ⁵¹ Zelenka seems to have functioned in that role. Wolfgang Horn has named this period the "Interregnum." ⁵² Zelenka's compositional achievements during the 1720s were significant, and he continued to receive the respectable salary of a middle- to above-average ranking instrumentalist, although he describes himself as "Compositore di S: M: Re di Polonia" in a legal document sent to Prague in 1729. ⁵³ The Royal Polish and Electoral Saxon Court and State Calendar (hereafter *HStCal*, published in Leipzig annually from 1728 until 1757, after the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, except 1730 and 1734), ⁵⁴ lists Zelenka as "Contrebasse & Compositeur" in 1731 and 1732, and in 1733 as "Compositeur". ⁵⁵ A decision to increase his salary was taken in November 1731, and this came into effect on 1 February 1732, raising it to 550 thaler. ⁵⁶ Zelenka was officially listed in the *HStCal* under the esteemed title of "Kirchen-Compositeur" (church composer) from 1735 onward, and from the first day of the following year he received a salary of 800 thaler. ⁵⁷

In 1735 Zelenka reworked several of his "Psalmi varii...", and his oratorio (described as a "Componimento sacro") *Gesù al Calvario* (*ZWV* 62) was also performed by the Italian vocal virtuosi Ventura Rochetti ("Venturini"), Giovanni Bindi, Antonio Campioli ("Campioli"), Nicolo Pozzi ("Nicolini") and Domenico Annibali. ⁵⁸ Other notable works for Holy Week include: the oratorio *I penitenti al Sepolchro del Redentore* (*ZWV* 63, 1736), to text by Stefano Benedetto Pallavicini (1672–1742), which was also performed in 1738 at the church of St Francis Serafin, the Order of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star

⁵¹ Stockigt, "The Court of Saxony-Dresden," 29-30.

⁵² *Hkm*, 88.

⁵³ Daniel E. Freeman, *The Opera Theater of Count Franz Anton von Sporck in Prague*, Studies in Czech Music 2 (New York: Pendragon Press, 1992), 97n46.

Königl. Polnischer und Churfürstl. Sächsischer Hof- und Staats-Calender. D-Dl, Hist. Sax. J 179
 (all except the 1728 edition, which is kept with the set held at D-Dla).
 ZD I. 94.

 $^{^{56}}$ This information was discovered by Jóhannes Ágústsson, and presented in Stockigt, "Recent Research."

⁵⁷ Fürstenau. Zur Geschichte. 76.

⁵⁸ Fürstenau, Zur Geschichte, 41; see also Poppe, "Neue Ermittlungen," 67–78.

(Křižovníci), in Prague through the mediation of Jan Hubert Hartig;⁵⁹ the beautiful oratorio *Il Serpente del bronzo* ("Cantata Sacra", *ZWV* 61, 1730), also set to text by Pallavicini; and a *Miserere* in C minor (*ZWV* 57, 1738), which includes a parody on "Altro Ricercar" of the *Messa delli Apostoli* from Girolamo Frescobaldi's *Fiori musicali*. ⁶⁰ In February 1737 Zelenka produced his final known secular work, the serenata "Il Diamante" (*ZWV* 177), to text probably again by Pallavicini, which was performed at the celebrations for the politically important marriage between Polish Prince Georg Ignaz Lubomirski and Baroness Johanna von Stein, sister-in-law of the powerful Privy Councillor Count Alexander Joseph Sulkowsky. ⁶¹

Zelenka's six *Ave regina coelorum* settings (*ZWV* 128) of 1737 belong to his late period. His *Missa votiva* (*ZWV* 18) of 1739 is his longest mass setting, and its dedication indicates that it was written in fulfilment of a vow, upon recovery from an (apparently serious) illness. ⁶² It is also the last work listed in his *Inventarium*: his late litanies (*ZWV* 151, 152) and *Missae ultimae* (*ZWV* 19, 20, 21) are not mentioned there. These great works include some of his most outstanding compositional moments. The late masses demonstrate a sophisticated blending of fugal and ritornello forms in a manner reminiscent of his Neapolitan contemporaries Domenico Sarro (1679–1744), Leonardo Leo (1694–1744) and Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (1710–36). ⁶³ They also include *Szenen*, chiastic and other rhetorical or descriptive figures including the *passus duriusculus* ("harsh passage", a chromatically altered descending or ascending musical line often covering the interval of a fourth), ⁶⁴ references to Gregorian chant including quotes and cantus firmus techniques, Italianate arias often with "ad libitum" vocal cadenzas, and rich contrapuntal landscapes whose topography is carefully embedded with, and enlivened by, consistently surprising

⁵⁹ Stockigt, Zelenka, 6.

⁶⁰ On the oratorios *see* "Works for Holy Week" in Stockigt, *Zelenka*, 292–94; *and* 236–50; *see also* Oschmann, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*; on the Miserere, see *ZD I*, 145–46.

⁶¹ Ágústsson, "Zelenka's Serenata," 207-10.

⁶² ZD I, 147.

⁶³ See Scoccimarro, "'Mixed' Form," passim.

 $^{^{64}}$ Dietrich Bartel, *Musica Poetica: Musical-Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 357–58.

rhythmic-melodic figuration. ⁶⁵ The deployment of lively polonaise (and possibly also Bohemian folk) rhythms especially in ostinato bass figures, chains of suspensions, virtuosic woodwind writing, and asymmetrical groupings of bars and phrase structure are also considered among the characteristics of Zelenka's highly original compositional style. His final compositions, all sacred works, have been described as "moving testimonies to his spirit, beliefs, and values." ⁶⁶

Wolfgang Horn has characterised Zelenka's late years as a "gradual resignation [from musical life at the court]"67 but Thomas Kohlhase has questioned whether this is a sentimental fiction, ⁶⁸ and increasing evidence suggests that Zelenka was a highly regarded composer in his late years. The already-mentioned poem by Kittel praises only Hasse and his wife Faustina Bordoni (1697-1781), one of the most celebrated musical couples of the eighteenth century, before Zelenka. Even though performance materials seem to have existed for only one movement of his Missae ultimae, 69 Zelenka continued to compose and direct music performances at the court. On 20 December 1740, Zelenka directed the Requiem for the exequies held in Dresden after the death of Emperor Charles VI, and on multiple occasions in 1741 and 1742 Maria Josepha ordered Zelenka to produce music for exequies and Vigils, including those held for her aunt Maria Elisabeth (Governor of Belgium), her mother Dowager Empress Wilhelmina Amalia, and her Confessor. In November 1739 Zelenka also directed the mass performed at the churching ceremony of Maria Josepha in Hubertusburg. ⁷⁰ Furthermore, dedications accompanying Zelenka's late litanies (ZWV 151, 152) suggest a personal association with Maria Josepha, and the possibility that she had assisted him in times of need. After Zelenka's death, it seems she

⁶⁵ On the late masses see Corbin, "Missa Dei Filli"; Hkm 148-50; Stockigt, Zelenka, esp. ch. 8.

⁶⁶ Stockigt, Zelenka, 262.

^{67 &}quot;Zelenkas allmählicher Rückzug: 1735–1745," Hkm, 93–94.

⁶⁸ Thomas Kohlhase, "Gedanken zu Zelenkas Spätwerk," in ZS II, 292.

⁶⁹ Stockigt, Zelenka, 224-25.

⁷⁰ Stockigt, "Recent Research."

organised the acquisition by the court of his compositions and musical estate, as she did those of several other Dresden composers.⁷¹

Disputes over the legitimacy of the ascendancy of Maria Theresa, Maria Josepha's cousin in Vienna, resulted in a series of wars led by Prussia against Bohemia, Silesia and Moravia beginning in 1740 and extending to Dresden's all-but-complete destruction in the Seven Years' War (1756-63).⁷² The last few years of Zelenka's life in Dresden are framed by that city's diminishing prosperity, and his last few days by the chaos of Friedrich of Prussia's (sometimes called "The Great") occupation of Dresden. During the night of 22-23 December 1745, Zelenka died of "Wassersucht" (dropsy or edema); he was buried on Christmas Eve in the Catholic cemetery in Friedrichstadt, close to the Old Town in Dresden. The King and Queen, then in Prague, were immediately informed of Zelenka's demise, and Maria Josepha later paid for the exeguies that were held in his honour.⁷³ He was unmarried, and had no children. After his death, the court honoured Zelenka's debts to the amount of 370 Thaler, 74 and his salary was distributed between Ristori and Fr Johann Michael Breunich SJ (d. after 1756), a Jesuit composer who eventually succeeded him. ⁷⁵ Johann Joachim Quantz (1697-1773), Gottlob Harrer (1703-55), Johann Georg Röllig (1710-90), Johann Georg Schürer (1720-86) and Joseph Riepel (1709-82) are numbered among his composition students. Zelenka was named among ten composers admired by Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750) in his later years, ⁷⁶ and the idea that Zelenka's late life was isolated and lonely seems to be slowly changing: as one nineteenth-century commentator

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⁷¹ Stockigt, Zelenka, 226-28.

⁷² See George J. Buelow, ed. "Dresden in the Age of Absolutism," in *The Late Baroque Era: From the 1680s to 1740*. Man and Music 4 (London: Macmillan, 1993), 216–29.

 $^{^{73}}$ This information was discovered by Jóhannes Ágústsson, and presented in Stockigt, "Recent Research."

⁷⁴ This information was discovered by Jóhannes Ágústsson, and presented in Stockigt, "Recent Research."

⁷⁵ Jóhannes Ágústsson, "Giovanni Alberto Ristori at the Court of Naples, 1738–1740," *Pergolesi Studies* 8 (2012): 95.

⁷⁶ Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel eds., rev. Christoph Wolff, *The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998), 400.

puts it, Zelenka's music "drew universal attention," and at the time of his death he held the reputation of a "noble and virtuous artist." ⁷⁷

Catholicism in Saxony after 1697

Significant changes occurred during Zelenka's early life within Saxony, the stronghold of the Protestant Reformation, which defined the context in which his Ave regina coelorum settings, and indeed most of his output of sacred music, were composed and performed. In 1697, the Elector of Saxony Friedrich August I had also become the King of Poland (titled August II, sometimes known as "August the Strong"). In order to achieve this, Friedrich August first needed to convert to Catholicism, thereby fulfilling the requirement for candidature. Even though Friedrich August refrained from imposing the canon Cuius regnum eius religio (whose realm, his religion), which had been established at the Peace of Westphalia (1648), the Lutheran population was shocked by this conversion. ⁷⁸ The Great Northern War (1700-1721) ensued, during which the new king was forced to relinquish the throne as a condition of the Treaty of Altränstadt (1706). Financial difficulties caused by the war also resulted in the dismissal of all of the instrumentalists of the Hofkapelle in 1707, although most were soon reassembled for royal service. 79 In 1708, under pressure from Pope Clement XI, a new public Catholic royal chapel was established within the palace theatre Am Taschenberg, 80 and on Maundy Thursday of that year its inaugural service took place. 81 In 1709, Friedrich August regained the Polish throne. 82 A new era of music composition and practice began in Saxony, in which Catholic sacred music especially

⁷⁷ "er... die allgemeine Aufmerkamkeit auf sich zog," and "Zelenka... hinterliess den Ruf eines edlen und braven Künstlers," both from S. W. Dehn, "Ueber Johann Dismas Zelenka," *Caecilia: eine Zeitschrift für die musikalische Welt* 27 (1848): 102 and 103 respectively.

⁷⁸ Watanabe-O'Kelly, Dresden, 196.

⁷⁹ Fürstenau, Zur Geschichte, 33.

⁸⁰ Watanabe-O'Kelly, Dresden, 200.

⁸¹ Fürstenau, Zur Geschichte, 34.

⁸² Norman Davies, *Europe: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 653; Mikosch gives 1716 as the year of his official reinstatement as King of Poland. *See* Mikosch, "Court Dress and Ceremony," 78.

flourished. This artistic and musical blossoming extended until the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in 1756, during which Dresden was all but destroyed.

The Arrival of Maria Josepha in 1719

The re-establishment of Catholicism in Saxony allowed strong political relationships to be forged that greatly impacted the musical life of Dresden's Catholic court. On 20 August 1719 Austrian Archduchess Maria Josepha and Saxon Electoral Prince Friedrich August II (who had also converted to Catholicism in 1712)⁸³ were married in Vienna, linking Dresden to the Habsburgs and their Imperial capital. ⁸⁴ Elaborate and spectacular celebrations marking the occasion were staged in Dresden throughout September and October 1719, following the return of the Electoral Prince with his Habsburg consort. ⁸⁵

Maria Josepha's Catholic upbringing was strongly influenced by *pietas austriaca*, or Austrian Piety, a uniquely Habsburgian style of religious expression centred upon three principal features: Eucharistic devotion, adoration of the Virgin Mary as Queen of Heaven and veneration of the cross. ⁸⁶ Notwithstanding persistent sensitivities resulting from the conversion of Saxon Elector Friedrich August I, the marriage treaty between Maria Josepha and the Saxon Electoral Prince ensured free public practice of her faith, with the exception of public processions. ⁸⁷

Maria Josepha had a special fondness for Italian music, which she had studied under Giuseppe Porsile (1680–1750) in Vienna. She influenced court culture in Dresden in an unprecedented way, becoming the great patroness of music in Dresden's Catholic court chapel, and bringing liturgical and musical expectations to that city that utterly overwhelmed the Dresden Jesuits. It seems she maintained a close personal association

84 Mikosch, "Court Dress and Ceremony," 74.

⁸³ Stockigt, Zelenka, 25.

⁸⁵ Stockigt, Zelenka, 55-58.

⁸⁶ Riedel, Kirchenmusik, 26-29.

⁸⁷ Stockigt, Zelenka, 59.

⁸⁸ Wolff. *Bach.* 365.

with Zelenka, especially in his later years. Viennese court culture, and particularly the expectations of this Austrian Archduchess, thus played a significant role in shaping the musical-historical context in which Zelenka's *Ave regina coelorum* settings (*ZWV* 128) were composed, and in the next chapter I examine this context in more detail.

Chapter 2: The Musical-Historical Context of Zelenka's *Ave regina*coelorum settings (ZWV 128)

In the early eighteenth century, the electoral Saxon and royal Polish court of Dresden was, according to Christoph Wolff, characterised by a "vibrant, rich, abundant musical life", and the same scholar observes that when Johann Sebastian Bach first arrived there in 1717, he encountered "a European cultural centre on a scale far beyond anything he had known before." Dresden was indeed a city where extraordinary sums of money were spent in the name of artistic and musical excellence. Zelenka's *Ave regina coelorum* settings (*ZWV* 128) of 1737 formed part of the Dresden Catholic court church's exceptional collection of sacred music, but the context in which they were composed is not sufficiently understood. This chapter examines reports of music performances on various feast days from the *Diarium* and the *HStCal* to provide a picture of the musical-historical context in which Zelenka's *Ave regina coelorum* settings (*ZWV* 128) were composed, and in which they would have been performed. Days significant to the Dresden Jesuits, often listed in the *Diarium* but unlisted in the *HStCal*, are also examined for reports of music performances. However, in order to properly understand this context, it is first necessary to understand the place of the *Ave regina coelorum* in the Catholic liturgy.

The Ave regina coelorum in the Catholic Liturgy

The *Ave regina coelorum* is one of four main Marian antiphons—a group of short devotional chants in the Gregorian repertory, sung in veneration of the Virgin Mary. Each is reserved for

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⁸⁹ Wolff, *Bach*, 183.

⁹⁰ On this collection, see Janice B. Stockigt, "'This Rare and Precious Music': Preliminary Findings on the Catalogue of the Music Collection of the Dresden Catholic Court Church (1765)," *Musicology Australia* 27 (2004): 1–18.

a particular season of the liturgical year. 91 The four main Marian antiphons, in order of season, are: Alma redemptoris mater, sung from first Vespers of Advent until second Vespers of Purification (2 February); Ave regina coelorum, sung from Compline of Purification (2 February) until Compline of Wednesday in Holy Week (the antiphon was omitted during the last three days of Holy Week); Regina coeli, sung from Compline of Easter Day until None of the Saturday after Pentecost; and Salve regina, sung from first Vespers of Trinity Sunday to None of the Saturday before Advent. Minor variations appear to exist, but the dates provided here can be accepted as standard, and the general grouping of "Marian antiphons" henceforth refers to the four main texts only. 92 Tridentine reforms of the sixteenth century permitted the singing of such antiphons at the conclusion of whichever service of the Daily Office was the final one performed by the choir. 93 In Dresden, this usually meant Vespers. The Diarium reports Compline only during Lent, which suggests that the Ave regina coelorum was the only Marian antiphon performed at the conclusion of that office. Of the numerous antiphon texts devoted to the Virgin Mary, and aside from the four Marian antiphons mentioned above, only Sub tuum praesidium appears to have been regularly performed in Dresden, following the litany during a small devotion after Vespers when Compline was not held. Sub tuum praesidium thus served a separate liturgical function. 94 Table 1 lists the Marian antiphon texts with English translations.

⁹¹ Information on the Marian antiphon texts and their respective seasons comes from John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1991); *see also* David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

92 Michel Huglo and Joan Halmo state that the *Alma redemptoris mater* is sung until 1 February. *See* Michel Huglo and Joan Halmo, "Antiphon," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezp.lib.unimelb.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/01023; the *Diarium* reports one digression from the usual succession of Marian antiphons on 2 February 1729, when the *Alma redemptoris* was sung in place of the *Ave regina* at the conclusion of Vespers ("Vesperae hora quarta. NB ad finem cantatum est in choro Alma Redemptoris non Ave Regina." Reich, "Diarium," 352). That this digression warranted mention in the *Diarium* suggests that it was usual practice for the *Ave regina coelorum* to make its annual debut at the conclusion of second Vespers of this feast, rather than at the conclusion of Compline; Kohlhase states that the *Ave regina coelorum* is sung until Holy Thursday. *See* "Foreword" to Zelenka, *Ave Regina coelorum g-Moll*, 3.

⁹³ Michael Talbot, *The Sacred Vocal Music of Antonio Vivaldi* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1995), 72.

⁹⁴ See ZD I, 119; see also the Diarium entry of 4 March 1727 in Reich, "Diarium," 348.

Table 1: The Marian Antiphon Texts95

Alma redemptoris mater

Alma redemptoris mater, quae pervia coeli porta manes, et stella maris, succurre cadenti, surgere qui curat populo; tu quae genuisti, natura mirante, tuum sanctum genitorem: virgo prius ac posterius, Gabrielis ab ore sumens illud ave, peccatorum miserere.

Kind mother of the redeemer, thou who art the open door of heaven and star of the sea, help thy fallen people, striving to rise again; thou who gavest birth to thine own sacred creator while Nature marvelled; thou who yet was virgin before and afterwards, receiving that 'Hail' from the lips of Gabriel, have mercy on sinners.

Ave regina coelorum

Ave regina coelorum, ave domina angelorum: salve radix, salve porta, ex qua mundo lux est orta: gaude virgo gloriosa, super omnes speciosa: vale, o valde decora, et pro nobis Christum exora. Hail, O queen of heaven, hail, O lady of the angels: hail O root, hail O gateway, out of whom came forth the light of the world: rejoice, O glorious virgin, precious above all others: farewell, O truly fair, and plead for us to Christ.

Regina coeli

Regina coeli laetare, alleluia: quia quem meruisti portare, alleluia: resurrexit, sicut dixit, alleluia: ora pro nobis Deum, alleluia. Queen of heaven rejoice, alleluia: he whom thou wast worthy to bear, alleluia: is risen, as he said, alleluia: pray for us to God, alleluia.

Salve regina

Salve regina, mater misericordiae: vita, dulcedo, et spes nostra, salve. Ad te clamamus, exules, filii Hevae. Ad te suspiramus, gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle.

Eia ergo, advocata nostra, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte. Et Jesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui, nobis post hoc exsilium ostende.

O Clemens: O pia:
O dulcis virgo Maria.

Hail O queen, mother of mercy: our life, sweetness, and hope, hail. To thee do we cry, exiles, children of Eve. To thee do we sigh, mourning and weeping in this vale of tears.

Therefore, O thou our advocate, turn thy merciful eyes towards us. And, after this our exile, show to us the blessed fruit of thy womb, Jesus.

O merciful, O kind,
O sweet virgin Mary.

⁹⁵ Texts and translations have been taken from Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 274–75; Harper's spelling, punctuation and use of capital letters has been retained, except for the capitalization of "Deum" and the spelling of "caeli" and "caelorum"; Zelenka's spelling has been retained here, in the tradition of church (rather than classical) Latin. This spelling has also been retained in Kohlhase's edition of the Zelenka's fourth *Ave regina coelorum (ZWV* 128) setting. *See* Zelenka, *Ave Regina coelorum g-Moll*, passim. I thank David Fairservice for his advice on this matter.

The Musical-Historical Context of ZWV 128

Using a small cross (†), the *HStCal* indicates the days where attendance in the Catholic court church of Dresden was rewarded with an indulgence. ⁹⁶ All major feast days—Christmas, New Year's Day (Feast of the Circumcision, and the titular feast-day of the Jesuits), Epiphany, Easter, Pentecost and Corpus Christi—were thus marked. ⁹⁷ The conferring of indulgences fundamentally contradicted Martin Luther's understanding of true religion, and the reintroduction of this practice by Dresden's Catholic court church into the predominantly Lutheran region of Saxony must have done little to quell religious tension. ⁹⁸ Days of great significance to the court—so called "red-letter" days—are marked in the publication using red ink (including Sundays, high feasts of the church, days of certain saints and the Ember days; sometimes with the added designation "in Galla", usually for royal and electoral birth and name-days). ⁹⁹

Until 1717, the calendar of saints honoured by the Dresden Jesuits was that used by the Archdiocese of Prague. However, a *Diarium* entry on 24 June 1717 states that this was no longer permitted, and that they now were to follow the calendar of the Diocese of Meissen (which closely aligned with the Lutheran "Verbesserte" calendar). ¹⁰⁰ Although they were permitted to say the Offices of Saints who enjoyed special veneration in that Diocese, a separate group of saints customarily honoured in Bohemia (including saints of the Catholic Reformation) was honoured by the Bohemian Jesuits in Dresden, and were not listed in the

⁹⁶ The provision of plenary indulgences was first authorised in a letter to the Dresden Jesuits from the General of the Society, Fr. Michael Tamburini SJ, dated 14 August 1717. *See* Stockigt, "Court and State Calendars," 51.

⁹⁷ See, for example, the inaugural 1728 edition. See also Stockigt, Zelenka, 79.

⁹⁸ Richard Marius, "The Controversy over Indulgences," in *Martin Luther: The Christian Between God and Death* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), esp. 136; relics of the saints were also displayed in Dresden's Catholic court church on important occasions, which was also a practice strongly opposed by Luther (*see* fn. 105).

⁹⁹ The gala days of the court numbered fifteen in the inaugural *HStCal* of 1728. By 1738 this had risen to twenty-three; On the "red-letter" days, see Bonnie Blackburn and Leofranc Holford-Strevens, *The Oxford Companion to the Year: An Exploration of Calendar Customs and Time-Reckoning* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 584.

^{100 &}quot;Cum Patres hujus missionis agnoscerint sibi non esse licitum recitare Officium divinum juxta calendarium Archedioecesanum Pragense, salubriter invexerunt calendarium Dioecesis Misniensis, quod jam sequ[u]ntur." Reich, "Diarium," 329.

HStCal. ¹⁰¹ Thus, these calendars provide only a partial view of the complex liturgical apparatus operating at this (still relatively new) Catholic court church. ¹⁰² Table 5 lists all the high feast days and days of plenary indulgence that fell within the season corresponding to the *Ave regina coelorum* (2 February to Wednesday in Holy Week), as listed the *HStCal* editions of 1737 and 1738. Dates of travel of the court are also listed.

Table 2: Principal Feast Days and Days of Plenary Indulgence (marked †) of the Catholic Court Church of Dresden falling between 2 February and Wednesday of Holy Week, as Published in the *HStCal* Editions of 1737 and 1738¹⁰³

	1738	
	February	
Purification of the B.V.M	2 (Sun.)†	Septuagesimae Purification of the B.V.M
4 th Sunday after Epiphany		
	9 (Sun.)	Sexagesimae
5 th Sunday after Epiphany		
	16 (Sun.)	Quinquagesimae
Septuagesimae		
	18 (Tue.)	Shrove Tuesday
	19 (Wed.)	Ash Wednesday
	4 th Sunday after Epiphany 5 th Sunday after Epiphany	Purification of the B.V.M 2 (Sun.)† 4th Sunday after Epiphany 9 (Sun.) 5th Sunday after Epiphany 16 (Sun.) Septuagesimae 18 (Tue.)

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¹⁰¹ Stockigt, "Court and State Calendars," 52.

¹⁰² For an overview of the liturgical calendar of Dresden's Catholic court church in the years 1708–1738, *see* Siegfried Seifert, "Das *Diarium Missionis Jesu Dresdae ab anno 1710* als Quelle für Festordnung und Liturgie an der Dresdner katholischen Hofkirche," *and* "Anhang 1: Calendarium Romanum-Saxonicum. Liturgischer Kalender für die Katholische Kirche in Sachsen in den Jahren 1708–1738," both in *ZS II*, 29–41 and 305–314 respectively.

¹⁰³ "Red-letter" days are indicated using *italics*; roman is used to indicate second-class feasts (only where they are marked in the source with †). *See also* Appendix 1, "Calendarium Romanum–Saxonicum Liturgischer Kalender für die Katholische Kirche in Sachsen in den Jahren 1708–1738," in *ZS II*, 305–314; dates of travel of the court have been taken from Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, "Die Reisen und Aufenthalte des Königs August III," in *Unter einer Krone: Kunst und Kultur der sächsisch-polnischen Union [Austellung vom 23. November 1997 bis 8. März 1998 im <i>Dresdner Schloß] / Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden*, ed. Werner Schmidt and Dirk Syndram (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1997), 58–59.

22 (Fri.)	Chair of St Peter at Antioch	22 (Sat.)	Chair of St Peter at Antioch
		23 (Sun.)	Quadragesimae [First Sunday of Lent]
24 (Sun.)†	Sexagesimae St Matthias	24 (Mon.)†	St Matthias
		26 (Wed.)	Quatember
March		March	
		2 (Sun.)	Reminiscere Sunday
3 (Sun.)	Quinquagesimae		
5 (Tue.)	Friedrich [Name day of Friedrich August II, and Electoral Prince Friedrich Christian] Shrove Tuesday	5 (Wed.)	Friedrich [Name day of Friedrich August II, and Electoral Prince Friedrich Christian]
6 (Wed.)	Ash Wednesday		
		9 (Sun.)	Oculi Sunday
10 (Sun.)	Quadragesimae [First Sunday of Lent]		
		[11, Tue.]	[Court daytrip to Pillnitz]
13 (Wed.)	Quatember		
		16 (Sun.)	Laetare Sunday
17 (Sun.)	Reminiscere Sunday		
19 (Tue.)†	StJoseph	[19, Wed.]	[St Joseph]
		23 (Sun.)	Passion Sunday
24 (Sun.)	Oculi Sunday		
25 (Mon.)	Annunciation of the B.V.M	25 (Tue.)	Annunciation of the B.V.M
[26, Tue.]	[Court departs Dresden for nearby Okrilla]		
[27, Wed.]	[Court departs Okrilla for Dresden]		
		[28, Fri.]	[Court departs Dresden for Okrilla]

		[29, Sat.]	[Court departs Okrilla for Dresden]
		30 (Sun.)	Palm Sunday [Court departs Dresden for Okrilla]
31 (Sun.)	Laetare Sunday [Court departs Dresden for Okrilla]	[31, Mon.]	[Court departs Okrilla for Dresden]
April		April	
[3, Wed.]	[Court departs nearby Hoyerswerda for Dresden]		
		[6, Sun]	[Easter]
7 (Sun.)	Passion Sunday		
[11, Thu.]	[Court departs Dresden for Okrilla]		
[12, Fri.]	[Court departs Okrilla for Dresden]		
14 (Sun.)	Palm Sunday [Court departs Dresden for nearby Elsterwerda]		
[17, Wed.]	[Court departs Elsterwerda for Dresden]		
[21, Sun.]	[Easter]		

The only Marian antiphon mentioned in the *Diarium* entries of 1737 is the *Alma Redemptoris mater*, performed on the final day of the year. ¹⁰⁴ Given that Lent in 1737 did not begin until 6 March (Ash Wednesday), Vesper services falling on those "red-letter" days between 2 February and 5 March would have been performed with great festivity. One such day, marked with a cross (†) in 1737 and 1738, occurred on the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary (2 February). Feasts of this status usually called for performances of music by the royal trumpeters and timpanists, the royal instrumentalists and the royal

¹⁰⁴ Reich, "Diarium," 374.

singers. Attendance in both years was rewarded with plenary indulgences. The above table demonstrates that royal family members were probably present in Dresden for this feast in both 1737 and 1738 (the annual letter of 1738 reports that the Queen provided "holy relics... for feasts of the Mother of God..."), ¹⁰⁵ and their attendance in the royal chapel would have required music of utmost festivity.

One example of a feast not listed in the *HStCal* is the feast of St Frances of Paola (2 April). The *Diarium* reveals that in 1737 this feast held particular significance to "the wonderful and saintly old man Father Ristori" (almost certainly Giovanni's father, Tommaso). He adorned an image of St Frances of Paola and displayed it at the altar of the Blessed Virgin, and the Queen displayed relics of that saint to be piously kissed. Another "unusual, extraordinary act of devotion, in which some poor people would take communion at the same altar and pass on a lighted candle from one to the other" was requested (the report does not reveal by whom), although the Queen did not authorise this. ¹⁰⁶ A report from 29 August states that Ristori again performed "his" devotion for the Electoral Prince, displaying the image of St Frances of Paola and the "usual candles", but that he had great difficulty getting a priest to say Mass because "they all flee from ceremonies which are here considered exotic." ¹⁰⁷ This report reveals that the Dresden aristocracy took part in honouring certain "unofficial" saints, even if the court priests were resistant to

No reports of music have been found for the feast of St Matthias (24 February) in either 1737 or 1738, although plenary indulgences were offered in both years. On the first

¹⁰⁵ Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Fondo Vecchia Compagnia (ARSI); Provinciae Bohemiae (Boh) 157, 44, *quoted in* Stockigt, "Vespers Psalms," 155.

¹⁰⁶ "D. Ristori Senex mirabilis Sanctus petivit exponi imaginem hodierni S. Franc' de Paula ad aram BV. quam et ornavit et exposuit. Alia autem, non consueta, et extraordinaria Devotio, ut nempe certi pauperes ibidem communicent porrecta sibi invicem candela ardente, ille negata e. Serma Regina misit Reliquias Sancti pro pio osculo," *quoted in* Ágústsson, "Giovanni Alberto Ristori." 64.

¹⁰⁷ "D. Ristori rursum continuavit suam devotionem pro Seren. Principe Electoralis cum exposita imagine S. Francisci de Paula, et consuetis candelis. Vix ullum potuit habere sacerdotem pro dicenda Missa, omnes enim refugiunt ceremonias in hac exoticas." Reich, "Diarium," 373.

¹⁰⁸ For another example, *see* the entry dated 29 August 1737 in Reich, "Diarium," 373.

Sunday of Lent in 1738, which fell the day before the feast of St Matthias, the *Diarium* reports that first Vespers was performed at three o'clock followed by "the singing of two virtuosi with theorbo". Oerhard Poppe has argued that this comment certainly refers to one of Ristori's *Divoti Afetti...*, a set of duets that were usually performed on Sunday afternoons following Vespers, and on Fridays, during Lent. It seems plausible to suggest that the work performed was "Amor ah! Amor meus," which is the only duet of this set to include concerted theorbo, Ill although Poppe argues that the mention of theorbo here probably indicates that the basso continuo comprised theorbo only, and thus refrains from suggesting a work to which the comment may refer.

In 1737, Shrove Tuesday fell on the name day of the king (5 March). No reports of the music for this celebration in 1737 are provided in the *Diarium*: most comments are dedicated to the passing of prefect Johannes Jungwirth (d. 1737). The *HStCal* of 1739 reports that on the king's name day in the previous year, the court was "in Galla", with the royal family lunching publicly at a table of thirty-three, "to which Foreign Ministers and highest nobles were invited... toasts [were given] to trumpets and timpani." The report of the evening's celebrations is a bit more ambiguous. It reads, "In the evening there were *Apartemens* [sic] in the Parade Rooms, followed by a concert during the supper of Their Majesties in the Queen's *Apartemens* [sic]." 112

¹⁰⁹ "Hora 3 Vesperae, dein concio quadragesimalis... Sequitur cantus 2 virtuosorum cum theorba." Reich, "Diarium," 374.

¹¹⁰ The full title of this set of duets is *Divoti Afetti alla Passione di Nostro Signore, per uso della* Reale Capella di Dresda nel Giorni de' Venerdi e Domeniche della Quadragesima. See the "Vorwort" by Gerhard Poppe in Giovanni Alberto Ristori, Divoti Affetti alla Passione di Nostro Signore: Zehn Duette zur Passion, ed. Bernhard Schrammek (Beeskow: Ortus, 2004). ¹¹¹ D-Dlb Mus. 2455-E-55; see Curt Rudolf Mengelberg, Giovanni Alberto Ristori: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte italienischer Kunstherrschaft in Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1916), 149; the lutenist in this performance is likely to have been Silvius Leopold Weiss, Hoflautenist at Dresden from 1718 to 1750. See Burris, "Lute and Theorbo," 16. 112 "Um 5. als an dem Nahmens-Fest Ihro Majestät des Königs und des Königlichen und Chur-Prinzen Königlicher Hoheit, war der Hof in Galla, und Ihro Majestäten speiseten zu Mittage öffentlich mit der Königlichen Familie an einer Tafel von 33. Couverts, woran die fremden Ministeri, und ein Theil der vornehmsten Herrschafften, gezogen wurden. Über dieses waren 2 Marshalls-Tafeln, von 60. Couverts zusammen, und die Gesundheiten wurden unter Trompetenund Pauken-Schall, auch Lösung der Canonen, getrunken. Abends waren Apartemens in den Parade-Zimmern, und hierauf war Concert bey dem Souper Ihro Majistäten in den Apartemens der Königin." HStCal 1739, 18v. col 2-19r, col 1. "Apartemens" refers to a French style of courtly

Uncertainty surrounding the rank and status of the feast of St Joseph (19 March), and whether or not it should be included in the calendar of celebrations, is evident in the early years of the Catholic court chapel. 113 This feast is marked in the *HStCal* as "Josephus" and should not be confused with the anniversary of the death of Maria Josepha's father, Emperor Joseph I, which was another important date in the royal Calendar and which was usually celebrated around 17 April depending on when Easter Sunday fell. Even though it was officially a second-class feast, the feast of St Joseph appears to have become a second name day for Maria Josepha (whose birth and name-day fell on the feast of the Immaculate Conception, 8 December), and on this occasion in 1730 the royal musicians performed music with trumpets and timpani. 114 In the early 1730s Zelenka composed his Missa Sancti Josephi (ZWV 14) for the occasion. 115 Plenary indulgences were offered in 1737, but not in 1738; why this change occurred is not clear from the reports. Significantly however, on this date in 1738 the wedding contract of Maria Josepha's daughter, the Royal Princess Maria Amalia (1724-60) and Charles of Bourbon, King of the Two Sicilies, was signed amid great festivities reported in the *HStCal* edition of 1739. ¹¹⁶ The young princess, then only thirteen years old, was married by proxy on 9 May 1738, with her brother Saxon Electoral Prince Friedrich Christian (1722–63) acting on behalf of Charles. 117

Sadly, no document has been found that confirms the date of the first performance of Zelenka's six Ave regina coelorum (ZWV 128) settings. The court calendars, annual letters and Jesuit Diarium do, however, enrich current understandings of the historical context in which these works were composed, and the types of celebration in which they would have been performed.

entertainment, which usually included music and gambling. See Bärbel Pelker, "The Palatine Court in Mannheim," in Music at German Courts, 1715-1760: Changing Artistic Priorities, ed. Samantha Owens et al. (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), 143n52.

¹¹³ See, for example, the entry dated 19 March 1715 in Reich, "Diarium," 327.

¹¹⁴ Stockigt, *Zelenka*, 89.

¹¹⁵ The work is undated, although Horn suggests ca. 1731. ZD II, 287.

¹¹⁶ HStCal 1739, 19r, col 1.

¹¹⁷ Ágústsson, "Giovanni Alberto Ristori," 54-55.

The Organisation of Music at the Catholic Court Church of Dresden

As already noted, Zelenka's *Ave regina coelorum* settings (*ZWV*128) were composed at a time when the influence of Viennese court culture in Dresden was prominent. In order to understand the musical-historical context that framed the composition of these works, it is important to understand the way the organisation of music at the Catholic court church of Dresden represented that in Vienna. This will allow for a greater appreciation of the style of Zelenka's *Ave regina coelorum* settings (to be discussed in chapter three), and will provide clues to the ensemble likely to have been responsible for their performance (to be discussed in chapter four).

Throughout the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, sacred music at the Viennese court was organised into categories to ensure that liturgical occasions were celebrated with music of commensurate pomp and splendour, or conversely, of an appropriately modest nature. Kilian Reinhardt (c. 1653–1729), the musical administrator and later *Konzertmeister* there, documented this process in his 1727 *Rubriche generali*. ¹¹⁸ Using this document as a basis for further study, Friedrich W. Riedel discusses the three main categories of music at the Viennese court under the headings 'A Cappella-Musik', 'Ordinari Musik' and 'Solenne Musik' (hereafter A Cappella, Ordinary and Solemn), ¹¹⁹ referring also to the influential treatise of Imperial *Kapellmeister* Fux, *Gradus ad Parnassum*. ¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ The full title of this document is *Rubriche generali per le funzioni ecclesiastiche musicali di tutto l'anno, con un appendice in fine dell'essenziale ad uso, e servizio dell'Augustissima Imperiale Capella* (Vienna, 1727); James Isbell Armstrong, Jr., provides a useful summary of its contents in "Litaniae Lauretanae: Sacred Music at the Viennese Imperial Court, ca. 1700–1783" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1993), 200–06.

¹¹⁹ Information in this section on Viennese A Cappella, Ordinary and Solemn music comes from Riedel, *Kirchenmusik*, pt. II, esp. 146–72; Reinhardt uses the terms 'in contrapunto', 'Mediocre' or 'Ordinarie', and 'Solenne'.

¹²⁰ Unless otherwise stated, the source used for this text is Johann Joseph Fux and Susan Wollenberg, "'Gradus ad Parnassum' (1725): Concluding Chapters," *Music Analysis* 11 (1992): 209–43.

The Viennese Categories of A Cappella, Ordinary and Solemn

The Viennese A Cappella style in the early eighteenth century, according to Fux, fell into two subcategories: the voices sang either without the accompaniment of other instruments, or with it. The unaccompanied, stricter, style was indebted to Palestrina; it used longer note values, modal harmony to encourage "ease and naturalness of the singing" without the aid of instruments, and sometimes used *cantus firmus*. Fux claimed that this style was still prevalent in cathedrals and at the Viennese Imperial churches during Lent. ¹²¹ The accompanied style of A Cappella music used shorter note values, included a small continuo group of organ and string bass, and may also have included instrumental parts doubling the voices. ¹²²

Ordinary music, according to Friedrich W. Riedel's study, occupied the vast middle ground between the simpler A Cappella settings and the more elaborate Solemn settings discussed below. Ordinary music, which while unremarkable was the product of careful consideration, was used in services of moderate length, and employed standard instrumentation: four-part choir and soloists, two obbligato violins (occasionally also viola), four ripieno instruments doubling the voices (cornetto, alto and tenor trombones and bassoon), and a basso group of violoncello, violone, organ, and occasionally also theorbo. Other characteristics of Ordinary music at the Viennese court, based on Riedel's definition, are:

- 1. the alternation of "tutti" and "solo" sections;
- 2. the use of obbligato instruments, while refraining from virtuosic detail;
- relative shortness, perhaps achieved through the use of polytextuality and the avoidance of textual repetitions;

¹²¹ Wollenberg incorrectly translates "tempore quadragesimali" (Johann Joseph Fux, *Gradus ad Parnassum* [Vienna, 1725; facs. repr. New York: Broude Brothers, 1966], 243) as "for forty years," rather than "Lent". Fux and Wollenberg, "'Gradus ad Parnassum,'" 218.

¹²² Fux and Wollenberg, "'Gradus ad Parnassum,' " 218.

- 4. contrasting sections; of metre, tempo, text setting (tutti, arioso, recitativo, fugato, etcetera):
- 5. frequent division of the soloists into two groups; the three upper voices with continuo in one, and bass with violins and continuo in the other; and
- 6. an exceedingly animated bass line, promoting flexible harmonic movement.

Viennese Solemn music was characterised by great length (usually in multiple movements), rich compositional technique, and usually also the addition of trumpets, timpani and sometimes horns. Indeed, it was in Vienna (in 1621) that the first known collection of church music with trumpets was published. 123 However, on the classification of litany settings in the Viennese system, James Isbell Armstrong Jr. writes, "the presence of trumpets and timpani in a given setting was unnecessary in classifying that setting as solemn," and that a work could be "classified as solemn by virtue of the large ensemble for which it is scored." 124 Therefore, Solemn music was often, but not exclusively, indicated by the presence of trumpets and timpani, and a richly orchestrated work of great length, but lacking these instruments, could still be considered Solemn. Such settings were appropriate for high feasts and very special celebrations.

While Horn made reference to these categories in his seminal study of sacred music at the Dresden court, ¹²⁵ Stockigt has shown more explicitly that, as was the case with many centres influenced by Viennese court culture during the early eighteenth century, the tiers A Cappella, Ordinary and Solemn can be observed in the repertoire of sacred music

¹²³ Messa, Magnificat et Jubilate Deo a 7 chori conc. con le trombe (1621), by Giovanni Valentini (ca. 1582-1649). See Riedel, Kirchenmusik, 173; Valentini has been described as "a highly adventurous, even avant-guarde composer." His Secondo libro di madrigali (1616) was the first published collection of madrigals to combine voices and instruments. See Hellmut Federhofer and Steven Saunders, "Valentini, Giovanni (i)," Grove Music Online, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezp.lib.unimelb.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/289

¹²⁴ Armstrong Jr., "Litaniae Lauretanae," 101n22.

¹²⁵ See "Das a-cappella-Repertoire," in Hkm, 95-109. Horn uses the term "mediocre" rather than "Ordinari" (157, 161-62).

accumulated by the Catholic court church of Dresden. ¹²⁶ After the arrival of Maria Josepha in Dresden in 1719, it can be no surprise that the *Diarium* reports, "Father Steyerer [Maria Josepha's Confessor]... wants everything in the church to be done in the Viennese style." ¹²⁷ Other reports state that church services were performed in a Solemn manner, and the terms *choraliter* and *figuraliter* are sometimes used in place of A Cappella, although the difference between these terms is unclear. ¹²⁸ Given its commonplace and functional nature, it is also not surprising that performances of Ordinary music are rarely mentioned in the *Diarium*.

These categories appear to have functioned with greater flexibility in Dresden than in Vienna. Only one known Marian antiphon associated with the Catholic court church of Dresden includes scoring for trumpets and timpani: an anonymous *Alma redemptoris mater* setting (see Appendix A). This suggests that the rousing sonoritiy of these instruments was not usually the desired way to conclude a Vesper service in Dresden, and that, on very important occasions, solemnity was achieved in other ways. One Jesuit source states that a Vesper service concluded with "sweet music" (*suavi musicâ*), which suggests a more devotional and reflective tone was preferred over that created by trumpets and timpani.

Zelenka's *Salve regina* setting in A minor (*ZWV* 135—see Table 3) is an example of a work that can be categorised as Solemn even though it does not require trumpets and timpani. The work is scored for soprano solo, flutes, oboes, two violins, viola and basso continuo, and is set in five movements, requiring nearly twenty minutes to perform. ¹³¹ Its great length, division into multiple movements and its virtuosic vocal writing mean that this

¹²⁶ Stockigt, Zelenka, 66-67; see also Stockigt, "Hinweise," passim.

¹²⁷ "Origo autem verum harum videtur Pater Steyerer esse, qui omnia in ecclesia vult ordinata secundum stylum Viennensem. [Marginalie:] Mutatio organi, NB jam quarta vice," dated 24 March 1722. *See* Reich, "Diarium," 335; from this report it is also known that the pitch of the organ was modified for a fourth time, to *Cammerton*, to emulate the Viennese style.

¹²⁸ See, for example, the entries dated 27 August 1719 and 4 December 1721, in Reich, "Diarium," 331 and 335 respectively; see also fn. 137.

¹²⁹ On the precision of the Viennese system, Riedel writes "[Die] Gottesdienstordnung des Hofes war einer genauen Rangstufung ["an exact/precise tier-structure"] unterworfen, die sich auf alle liturgischen Formen erstreckte und über die allgemein gültigen kirchlichen Rubriken hinaus das Zeremoniell, die Dauer und die musikalische Gestaltung bestimmte." Riedel, *Kirchenmusik*, 61–62. *See also* Stockigt, *Zelenka*, 66.

¹³⁰ ARSI Boh 147, 18-19, quoted in Stockigt, "Vespers Psalms," 113.

¹³¹ This work is held at *D-Dl*. Mus. 2358-E-8.

setting should be considered Solemn, and was certainly intended for performance on very important occasions.

The *Ave regina coelorum* (*ZWV* 128) settings present a selection of styles from which the appropriate work could be chosen, depending on the significance of the celebration. As in Vienna, the categories A Cappella, Ordinary and Solemn operated in Dresden, albeit less strictly, to ensure that this selection could be made properly. In the next chapter, I examine and describe the style of Zelenka's *Ave regina coelorum* settings (*ZWV* 128) and categorise the works using the Viennese model. This will, in turn, provide clues about the ensemble likely to have been responsible for their performance.

Chapter 3: The ZWV 128 Settings as A Cappella and Ordinary Music

Describing Zelenka's Ordinary Marian antiphon settings, Stockigt has written, "[they] contain many exquisite passages in which ostinato patterns are used, cantus-firmus techniques are employed, and beautiful, unexpected harmonic progressions accumulate. These brief, radiant settings abound with distinctive harmonies..." This chapter examines and describes the style of Zelenka's *Ave regina coelorum* settings (*ZWV* 128), in order to propose a categorisation of either A Cappella, Ordinary or Solemn for each work. Based on this categorisation, I then suggest the ensemble likely to have been responsible for the first performance of these works.

The *Ave regina coelorum* settings (*ZWV* 128), dated 1737, appear to have been Zelenka's final Marian antiphon compositions, and the only extant settings of that text by him. Table 3 lists all Zelenka's known Marian antiphons. ¹³³ All the works in *ZWV* 128 are relatively short, and each is confined to a single movement. A set of thirty-one parts once accompanied the manuscript scores (see "Critical Report"). It is likely that these parts were relocated to Russia following the Second World War, and their existence strongly suggests that at least some of these works were performed during Zelenka's lifetime. ¹³⁴ Table 4 provides details of the scoring, metre, key and length (in bars) of each of the *Ave regina coelorum* settings (*ZWV* 128).

¹³² Stockigt, Zelenka, 175-76.

¹³³ This table is based upon information contained in Stockigt, *Zelenka*, Appendix A "Worklist," 286–306.

¹³⁴ See Karl Wilhelm Geck, "Die SLUB als Archiv für die Musik der Dresdner Hofkapelle," SLUB-Kurier 12 (1998): 12–14.

Table 3: Zelenka's Marian Antiphons

Date	Title	Key	ZWV
ca. 1725-1726	Alma redemptoris mater	A minor	124
ca. 1727-1728	Alma redemptoris mater	F	123
ca. 1728	Alma redemptoris mater	D minor	127
ca. 1729	Alma redemptoris mater	A minor	125
1730	Alma redemptoris mater	D	126
1737	Ave regina coelorum (six settings)	A minor, D minor, C, G minor, G, A minor	128
[missing?]	Ave regina [coelorum]	?	232
ca. 1726-1727	Regina coeli	F	134
post-1728	Regina coeli (three settings)	C, A minor, C	129
1729	Regina coeli	A	130
ca. 1731	Regina coeli	D	133
missing	Regina coeli	A	131
missing	Regina coeli	С	132
ca. 1719	Salve regina [adapted as ZWV135]	A minor	$204^{\rm a}$
1724	Salve regina	D minor	139
ca. 1725–1726	Salve regina	G minor	140
ca. 1727	Salve regina	A minor	136
1730	Salve regina	A minor	135
?	Salve regina	A minor	137
missing	Salve regina (two settings)	C, D	138
?	Salve regina	G minor	141
missing	Salve regina [set of parts]	F	205

^a This piece remains classified among Zelenka's lost, doubtful or falsely attributed works.

Table 4: The ZWV 128 Settings

No.	Scoring	Metre	Key	Length (Bars)
1	SAT soli, SATB chorus, b.c.	¢ ; 3 2	A minor	33
2	A solo, SATB chorus, [2 ob.?], vn., va., b.c.	c	D minor	23
3	SATB chorus, b.c.	c	С	16
4	SATB chorus, b.c.	3 4	G minor	61
5	[SATB soli?], SATB chorus, 2 ob., 2 vn., va., b.c.	c ; 3; c 4	G	37
6	STB soli, SATB chorus, [2 ob.?], 2 vn., va., b.c.	c	A minor	80

Example 1 presents the opening bars of the first *Ave regina coelorum* setting in Zelenka's set. ¹³⁵ The time signature, long note values, sense of harmonic stasis (recalling Renaissance modality) and gently imitative counterpoint of the outer voices are all references to the "Palestrina style" (or *stile antico*) that characterises Viennese A Cappella music of this period. Although the score indicates no instrumental doubling of the voices, Horn has argued that this practice was standard. ¹³⁶ The basso continuo doubles the vocal bass almost entirely, which leaves open the possibility that the part could be removed if desired. Here, the absence of instrumentation markings is pertinent: perhaps the composer wished to leave open the possibility that instrumental doubling, as well as the continuo section, be abandoned altogether for an occasion when instrumental accompaniment was deemed inappropriate. It will be recalled that Fux claimed the unaccompanied A Cappella style was still prevalent in Viennese Imperial churches during Lent, and the removal of the

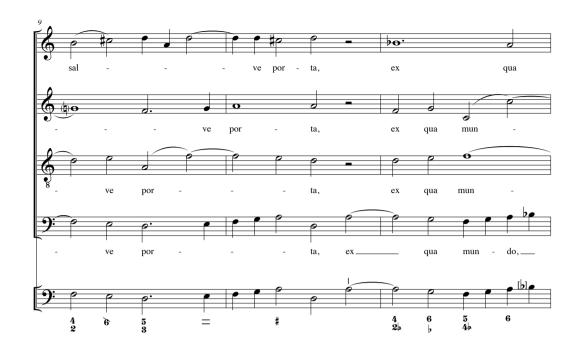
 $^{^{135}}$ For ease of reference, musical examples of ZWV 128 are taken from the accompanying edition in part II of this thesis. Refer to this section for editorial methods and critical report.

 $^{^{136}}$ "Bei den Aufführungen von Werken der Vokalpolyphonie im Dresdner Hofgottesdienst wurden die Singstimmen von Instrumenten unterstützt." *Hkm*, 109; *see also* 110.

continuo section would align this setting with the Viennese style. Thus, this work can safely be classified as an A Cappella setting.

Example 1: Ave regina coelorum no. 1 1737 (ZWV 128), bars 1-11





A comment in the *Diarium*, made by the Jesuit Superior Fr Hartmann on the Eve of Corpus Christi in 1726, sheds some light on local taste concerning the use of instruments in A Cappella music. It reads, "The Litanies brought from Vienna were performed *choraliter* without organ or other instruments. Others might like it—I certainly don't." ¹³⁷ The comment also suggests that the unaccompanied A Cappella style may have been a feature of increasing popularity in Dresden at this time. While Zelenka's *Ave regina coelorum* (*ZWV* 128) settings were composed eleven years later, the first setting may have been adapted to suit both tastes.

Example 2 presents the opening bars of the second setting. Most of the characteristics of Viennese Ordinary music are present in this work, with a few peculiarities. The score itself requires no obbligato instruments: an autograph violin part accompanies the score, and the continuo line bears the added inscription "VViolini [sic] e Viola," which seems to have been added at a later date (see part II, "Editorial Methods"). This implies that the piece, in its original form, alternated "tutti" and "solo" sections without obbligato instrumental accompaniment, which was unusual for Viennese Ordinary music, and more

¹³⁷ "...fuerunt Litaniae choraliter sine organo, sine aliis instrumentis procuratae Vienna; si aliis placent, mihi certe non arrident," dated 19 June 1726. *See* Reich, "Diarium," 346.

closely represents the *stile concertato* ("concerted style") of early seventeenth-century Italian and German sacred music. The existence of the additional violin part strongly suggests that the work was performed, and that oboes probably would have been added to the ensemble (see part II, "Notes on Performance"). Based on the violin writing in this setting, Viennese warnings on the avoidance of virtuosic detail in the obbligato instrumental parts of Ordinary compositions were not strictly observed in Dresden. Instead, the violin elaborately embellishes the continuo line during "tutti" sections and doubles it at the upper octave during "solo" sections.

Example 2: Ave regina coelorum no. 21737 (ZWV128), bars 1-4





The fifth setting can also be understood as an Ordinary work. While only thirty-seven bars in length, it comprises two passages of polytextual double-fugal writing in "Vivace" common time, separated by an "Allegro" passage in triple metre (a representative portion is given as Example 3). Throughout this section, brilliantly concerted violin arpeggios alternate with homorhythmic-homophonic vocal passages. These arpeggios occur in discrete units that carefully preserve their sonority, inner structure and technical playability, a distinctly Vivaldian characteristic which, to use Michael Talbot's words, prioritises the "vertical" musical aspect over the "horizontal" one. This characteristic is not usually associated with the music of Vivaldi's well-known Venetian contemporaries Antonio Caldara (ca. 1671–1736, Fux's *Vizekapellmeister* in Vienna) and Tomaso Albinoni (1671–1751). ¹³⁸

¹³⁸ Talbot, "Venezianische Elemente," 312-13.

Example 3: Ave regina coelorum no. 5 1737 (ZWV 128), bars 10-18





Furthermore, given that Fux and Caldara were the foremost exponents of the Habsburgian *Reichstil*, it is unlikely that Zelenka would have encountered this Vivaldian compositional technique during the period he spent in Vienna between 1716 and 1719. This influence does lend weight to the already-mentioned hypothesis that Zelenka indeed travelled to Venice.

Zelenka's sensitivity to this "vertical" aspect is compounded by his innovative methods of, and apparent preoccupation with, generating asymmetry in phrasing and figuration. Zelenka treats the repeated violin arpeggios to a simple change in direction, dividing the unit into two unequal parts (marked "1" and "2" in Example 3). Throughout this section, the asymmetry in the violin part adds an agogic element that emphasises the metre and the concertante interplay. This interplay between violins and chorus is enhanced by the instrumental doubling: in the opening bars of this setting, Zelenka gives the instruction "NB: Tutto l'Oboi col Soprano" (all oboes with soprano) which, unlike the first four settings, reinforces the upper-most part. The rhyhmic propulsion only relents when symmetry in the phrasing returns (bar 17). This setting shows that Zelenka utilised Vivaldian compositional techniques to expand the structure of his Ordinary settings, which were then seasoned with his own striking rhythmic style.

The third and fourth settings do not fall quite so easily into any of the Viennese categories. On the one hand, they may be classified as Ordinary because the bass lines in both works are given a great degree of textural prominence, but on the other hand, neither employs concertante principles, nor contains contrasting sections, nor requires obbligato instruments, which would render them A Cappella by Viennese standards. It is also noteworthy that all of Zelenka's Vesper psalms, most of which are Ordinary settings, require vocal soloists, except *Lauda Jerusalem*, *ZWV* 102. Thus, the exclusion of soloists from the

¹³⁹ See Harry M. White, "De Stylo Ecclesiastico: Sacred Music at the Imperial Court Chapel in Vienna ca. 1700–1730 and the Influence of Northern Italy," in *Barocco Padano. II: Atti del X Convegno internazionale sulla musica sacra nei secoli XVII-XVIII*, ed. Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi and Maurizio Padoan, Contributi musicologici del Centro Ricerche dell'AMIS-Como 14 (Como: AMIS, 2002), 265.

third and fourth settings would also suggest an A Cappella categorisation. The lively bass lines are, no doubt, a product of the composer's function as a violone player, but also demonstrate a Venetian (perhaps specifically Vivaldian) textural innovation: the bass lines can be said to represent an instrumental "foreground", supported by a contrasting chant-like choral "background". This is especially true of the fourth setting, where the vocal parts behave almost as an harmonic realisation of the prominent *basso ostinato* (see Example 4). Along with the other usual A Cappella characteristics mentioned above, this gives the work a grandiose, pseudo-*stile antico* conservatism, but the driving rhythmic ostinato commands a focus that renders the probable categorisation Ordinary.

Example 4: Ave regina coelorum no. 4 1737 (ZWV 128), bars 1-9



¹⁴⁰ Talbot, "Venezianische Elemente," 313.



In the third setting, instrumentation markings are again lacking, and a lively *basso seguente* hints at the Venetian "foreground"/"background" texture described above (see Example 5). However, the bass line does not achieve the same textural prominence as in the fourth setting, and, like the first setting, could feasibly be abandoned if necessary. The alternation of homophonic and imitative-polyphonic textures without instrumental accompaniment at the designated "Andante assai" tempo, with a concluding half cadence, also recall the "Palestrina style" of the first setting. These characteristics would make it appropriate for occasions during Lent when unaccompanied A Cappella music was required. This charming work of only sixteen bars appears to be an example of Zelenka's compositional pragmatism, and should be understood as an A Cappella work with a particularly prominent bass line.

Example 5: Ave regina coelorum no. 3 1737 (ZWV 128), bars 1-11





The sixth and final setting is a vibrant, virtuosic work requiring ample technical ability, and can probably be categorised as an Ordinary setting, although certain features suggest it could have been suitable for very important occasions. In this piece, Zelenka adopts Vivaldian methods of thematic development to achieve a work of great quality and harmonic richness. This setting is the only one to include an instrumental ritornello, whose wide and dramatic staccato leaps convey the energy and power often associated with Venetian instrumental music from this period. Two sections in ritornello form frame a central ricercare passage for solo voices (soprano, tenor and bass with basso continuo). As Talbot points out, while one generally avoids claiming that Vivaldi alone devised the ritornello form, nobody ventures to propose an alternative or additional name. Thus, the use of this form probably further demonstrates the influence of that composer. ¹⁴¹ Unmistakably Vivaldian, however, is Zelenka's manipulation of tiny rhythmic or melodic cells, too brief and basic to qualify as motifs, in order to generate thematic development. ¹⁴² Two examples are presented in Example 6 (marked "A" and "C"). The first is a simple descending leap of a fifth, and the second is a short descending melodic line marked by the dactylic rhythm that

¹⁴¹ Talbot, "Venezianische Elemente," 313.

¹⁴² Janice B. Stockigt and Michael Talbot, "Two More Vivaldi Finds in Dresden," *Eighteenth Century Music* 3 (2006): 50.

characterises the polonaise (one accented note followed by two unaccented notes, in this case a quaver followed by two semi-quavers). 143

Example 6: Ave regina coelorum no. 61737 (ZWV 128), bars 1-4

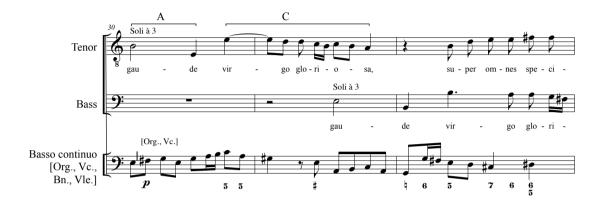


The elementary nature of these cells allows them to be separated and rejoined in a vast number of permutations. Example 7 presents the rejoining of those two cells, with "A" having undergone slight rhythmic alteration, and "C" deprived of its escape tones, to form a

 $^{^{143}}$ See Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, "Tradition and Popular Elements in Polish Music of the Baroque Era," Musical Quarterly 56 (1970): 99–115.

ricercare subject whose exposition makes up the middle section of this work. ¹⁴⁴ This formation reproduces the introductory octave leap in the basso continuo (bar 1), also used to herald the first appearance of cell "C" (bar 3).

Example 7: Ave regina coelorum no. 6, ricercare subject, bars 30-32



That such a ricercare passage would appear as the centrepiece of the most elaborate of the six works demonstrates Zelenka's ongoing pursuit of the esoteric contrapuntal ideal, and attests to the significant place of that style within Dresden's Lenten musical tradition at that time. The simplified rhythms and loosely structured exposition, in which restatements of the subject appear along a downward spiralling circle of fifths, demonstrate the influence of a conservative Viennese style that Zelenka had become very familiar with during the period he spent there between 1716 and 1719. The already-mentioned *Collectaneorum Musicorum Libri Quatuor*, which Zelenka compiled in Vienna, included seven ricercari by Alessandro Poglietti, fourteen by Luigi Battiferri, one by Johann Jacob Froberger, and many others. The archaic mannerisms of this passage juxtaposed with the energetic Venetian style of the ritornello constitute a powerful synthesis of contrasting musical styles.

More fundamental to the character of the ritornello, however, is a motif that first appears in the opening ritornello and is marked "B" in Example 6. Parallels can be drawn between this motif and a parochial *Ave regina coelorum* melody contained in the "Cantus Invitatoriorum", an undated plainchant manuscript whose provenance is unknown, but

¹⁴⁴ Resting staves in Example 7 have been omitted.

¹⁴⁵ See ZD I, "Die Libri Quatuor", 71-86.

which is still held in Dres den and was almost certainly used in the Catholic court church during the eighteenth century (the opening phrase of this melody is given as Example 8). 146

Unlike the *Ave regina coelorum* melodies in the *Liber usualis* and the *Antiphonale Monasticum*, 147 this melody begins with an ascending rather than descending profile, and with a repeated first note, which resembles well-known Franciscan versions of the melody. Motif "B" uses the same repeated opening note and ascending melodic line, and employs them as Vivaldian cells, concluding with the aforementioned octave leap. This motif is used to define all homophonic tutti entries in the final setting (Example 9 presents one such entry, with the notes of the motif marked under horizontal brackets using asterisks [*]). Although the connection between Zelenka and the "Cantus Invitatoriorum" cannot yet be proven, the shared material does suggest an avenue for further research.

Example 8: "Cantus Invitatoriorum," Ave regina coelorum

Zelenka does not mention oboes on the score, but as with the second setting, it is highly likely that they would have functioned as ripieno instruments (see part II, "Notes on Performance"). The distinct timbre of these instruments, combined with terraced dynamics and the alternation of tutti and solo groups, would have added a dramatic *chiaroscuro* effect to this work.

 $^{^{146}}$ This is an unedited transcription of the manuscript score, held at D-Dl, Mus. 1-E-736. Hyphens have been added.

¹⁴⁷ See Benedictines of Solesmes, eds., *The Liber Usualis: With Introduction and Rubrics in English* (Tournai, Belgium and New York: Desclée, 1962), 274 and 278; a searchable version is available from http://ddmal.music.mcgill.ca/liber/; and *Antiphonale Monasticum: Liber antiphonarius pro diurnis horis*, vol. 1 (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, 2005), 474–75. I thank Melanie Plesch from the University of Melbourne and Claudio Morla from the Universidad Católica Argentina for their advice on this matter.

Example 9: Ave regina coelorum no. 61737 (ZWV128), bars 14-16



The *passus duriusculus*, which was one of Zelenka's favoured musical-rhetorical devices and, it has been suggested, something of a "personal leitmotif", ¹⁴⁸ also appears simultaneously in the soprano and bass on the word *exora*, or "plead" (indicated by horizontal brackets in Example 10). The chromatic twisting of the outer parts created by this device, in restrained rhythms and tempo, achieves a highly expressive choral climax and adds a dark intensity to the message of the text.

148 Stockigt, Zelenka, 23.

Example 10: Passus duriusculus in no. 6, bars 73-75



This setting demonstrates Zelenka's adoption of Vivaldian methods of thematic expansion in ritornello form, and also the flexibility inherent in the form itself, easily incorporating passages of fugal counterpoint. The amalgamation of ritornello and ricercare (or fugue) through shared thematic material is a process common to many of Zelenka's late mass settings. This has been linked to the influence of contemporary Neapolitan sacred music, especially that of Leonardo Leo. Venetians, including Albinoni and Vivaldi,

employed this technique more commonly in their instrumental music. ¹⁴⁹ Although the different sections of this setting remain formally distinct, the path to amalgamation is laid out using Vivaldian methods. Moreover, while the contrasting middle section of the fifth setting maintains relative thematic and structural autonomy, consistent with Viennese Ordinary standards, the prospect of formal amalgamation in the sixth setting, created by the shared thematic material of the ritornello and ricercare passage, indicates that a Solemn reworking might incorporate a blending of those forms. This setting therefore should be categorised as an Ordinary work, but the virtuosic string writing, rich contrapuntal passages and expressive rhetorical gestures indicate that it easily could have been adapted for performance on very important occasions. My proposed categorisations for each setting are represented in Table 5.

Table 5: Proposed Categorisation of the ZWV 128 Settings

Setting Number	Categorisation	
1	A Cappella	
2	Ordinary	
3	A Cappella	
4	Ordinary	
5	Ordinary	
6	Ordinary	

These settings confirm that, even after the arrival of Maria Josepha in 1719 and her influential brand of religious practice, the Viennese categories of A Cappella, Ordinary and Solemn operated with some flexibility in Dresden, but they also reveal that certain conservative Viennese ideals were preserved. All the settings demonstrate pragmatic features that would allow them to be adapted significantly to suit varied performance contexts, suggesting that the appropriate selection of a musical work in Dresden relied as much on the work's adaptability as it did its inherent musical properties.

¹⁴⁹ Scoccimarro, "'Mixed' Form," 377.

Stockigt has argued that, in Dresden, "there can be little doubt that settings composed in the Solemn manner were intended for members of the Hofkapelle—the royal musicians [including castrati]—while the a cappella and simple Ordinary settings were intended for the musicians of Dresden's Catholic court church, the Kapellknaben," noting carefully that this arrangement was not completely inflexible, and that the ensembles did sometimes perform together. 150 She argues that this model can be used as a guide when attempting to determine who Zelenka intended to perform his works at the time of composition, but that the composer's intentions at that time represent only one stage in that work's musical life, which was invariably subjected to dynamic and constantly changing performance conditions. Based on the surviving sets of parts to Zelenka's Vesper psalms, Stockigt has also argued that certain Ordinary psalm settings boasting a full ripieno section (violoncello, violone, bassoon, organ and probably also theorbo) seem likely to have been intended for performance by the Hofkapelle. However, reports from the early 1730s exist of oboists and bassoonists auditioning or being accepted into the Kapellknaben ensemble (see chapter four), indicating that this ensemble also could have participated in the performance of Ordinary works requiring these instruments. ¹⁵¹ Therefore, based on my proposed categorisation of Zelenka's Ave regina coelorum settings (ZWV 128), I claim that he intended these pieces to be performed by the *Kapellknaben* at the time of their composition, although the final setting (number six), due to its form, length and rich compositional technique, may have been intended for the *Hofkapelle*, perhaps with the participation of the Kapellknaben. In the next chapter, I present a study of the nature of the Kapellk naben at the time Zelenka composed his Ave regina coelorum settings (ZWV 128), and propose a list of names of its members.

¹⁵⁰ "Es ist kaum zu bezweifeln, daß solenn komponierte Vertonungen den Mitgliedern der Hofkapelle—den königlichen Musikern—bestimmt waren, während *a cappella* und einfache gewöhnliche Vertonungen für die Musiker der Dresdner katholischen Hofkirche, die "Kapellknaben", gedacht waren." Stockigt, "Hinweise," 121; *see also* Stockigt, *Zelenka*, 75. ¹⁵¹ Stockigt, "Vespers Psalms," 364.

Chapter 4: The Kapellknaben

The categorisation of Zelenka's *Ave regina coelorum* settings (*ZWV* 128) as either A Cappella or Ordinary means that musicians from the *Kapellknaben* ensemble were likely to have been responsible for their performance (see chapter three). Little is known about this ensemble compared to the court's more prestigious group of royal musicians, the *Hofkapelle*, in spite of the fact that this group bore most of the musical responsibility in the court chapel's early years. Furthermore, there has been no detailed study of this ensemble since the rediscovery of the *Diarium*. ¹⁵² This chapter provides an overview of the establishment of this ensemble and its development in the period leading up to 1737 (the year that Zelenka composed his *Ave regina coelorum* settings [*ZWV* 128]), before presenting new information from the *Diarium* and the Court and State Calendars (*HStCal*) about the nature and activities of the ensemble in 1737 and 1738, including a proposed list of members in those years. Although these settings were composed in 1737, no known primary source exists to confirm the date of first performance; for this reason I have included the year 1738 in the study.

The Establishment and Development of the Kapellknaben

The *Kapellknaben* ensemble was established in 1710 when the Catholic court chapel came to be administered by the Jesuit Province of Bohemia. Recruited from Bohemia because of the lack of Saxon Catholic children, the young male musicians were trained primarily as vocalists, but were also occasionally required to perform on instruments, rendering the

¹⁵² For studies of this ensemble undertaken prior to the rediscovery of the *Diarium* in 1994 see *Hkm* 37–40; *and* Stockigt, "The 'Kapellknaben'," 13–24; *see also* Stockigt, *Zelenka*, passim. ¹⁵³ Stockigt, *Zelenka*, 28.

¹⁵⁴ *Hkm*, 38. The *Kapellknaben* were first recruited by Fr. Elias Broggio on a trip to Bohemia in 1709.

English translation of "choirboys" somewhat insufficient. 155 This group, who were cared for by the Jesuit priests, initially comprised six choristers, four instrumentalists and an organist, under the directorship of Johannes Jungwirth. From 1710 to 1715 the choristers numbered two or three descants, one or two altos, and one or two tenors, 156 and Jungwirth sang bass in the choir at least until late 1722 (the priests occasionally also sang in the choir, perhaps filling tenor or bass parts below the range of the young boys). ¹⁵⁷ Ignatius [Ignaz] Hoffmann was the primarius fidicen ("primary violinist") to the ensemble at least as early as 1714. 158 This ensemble would have been sufficient for performances of four-part figural music with instrumental doubling of the vocal parts, and other simply orchestrated works, and was responsible for most of the musical requirements of the Catholic chapel in its early stages. 159

The Historia of the Saxon Mission, hereafter HMS, one of the three tiers of record keeping maintained by the Dresden Jesuits (the others being the Diarium and annual letters sent from Dresden to Rome), describes the complex activities of this ensemble in its early years, revealing that it functioned in a manner similar to a conservatory. The young musicians lived with, and were educated by, the Dresden Jesuits, and their music performances in the public chapel generated admiration amongst the Protestants, serving an important proselytising function:

"Versantur in iisdem nobiscum aedibus a Cive acatholico, exemplô sanè Dresdae rarissimô ad mentem nostram, Annô hôc constructis, noveni Musices periti juvenes, qui tam in pietate, quam humaniorum literarum studijs probè instituuntur, modulisque suis divina in Ecclesia nostra reddunt solenniora, ad orthodoxorum consolationem,

"In the aforementioned dwelling [the Jesuit house, built just this year by a non-catholic townsman and which in our opinion constitutes a most rare example in Dresden, nine skilled young musicians live together with us, rightly being instructed in religious studies and the humanities, and bring solemnity to religious services in our church through their musical performances, toward the edification of the

¹⁵⁵ Owens and Reul, "German Hofkapellen," 1-14; esp. 7.

¹⁵⁶ Stockigt, "The 'Kapellknaben'," 14.

¹⁵⁷ Stockigt, *Zelenka*, 30.

¹⁵⁸ Hkm, 38. Hoffmann also taught the trivium. See Stockigt, Zelenka, 70n29.

¹⁵⁹ See Zdenka Pilková, "Bömische Musiker am Dresdner Hof zur Zeit Zelenkas" in ZS I, 55-64.

Hetrodoxorum aestimationem, palàm fatentium, sacra Catholica suis longè magnificentiora esse."¹⁶⁰

orthodox and exciting admiration in the heterodox, who openly admit that our Catholic liturgy is far more magnificent than theirs."

Few primary sources are available to shed light on the workings of this ensemble in its early years. What is certain, however, is that the *Kapellknaben* contributed significantly to the growing acceptance of Catholic worship in Dresden.

In the years leading up to 1737, the ensemble was affected by several changes. In 1728, Fr Johannes Frantze replaced Jungwirth, who had directed the group from its establishment. Frantze "did an excellent job" before departing in 1730. ¹⁶¹ Both of these men must have worked closely with Zelenka in the late 1720s. After *Kapellmeister* Heinichen's death in 1729, Zelenka became heavily involved with the music of the *Kapellknaben*, even before his official appointment as church composer (documented in the *HStCal* of 1735, which would have been prepared in late 1734); members of the ensemble acted as copyists for Zelenka, and it has been suggested that he also directed performances from a string bass instrument during this period. ¹⁶²

Prior to 1726, the number of singers and instrumentalists in this group had remained at about ten. ¹⁶³ In 1727, the Jesuits undertook a concentrated effort to expand Marian devotions, introducing new services that took the name "Saturday *Salve* devotions" (*Sonnabendliche Salve-Andacht*) after the Marian antiphon *Salve regina*. ¹⁶⁴ Between 1726 and 1732 the number of *Kapellknaben* rose from eleven choristers to sixteen, and during this period Augustinus Uhlig (1700–ca. 1773) served the ensemble as organist. ¹⁶⁵ In

 $^{^{160}}$ HMS, 83; quoted in Hkm, 37. Horn gives "palàm fatentium" as "die heimlich eingestehen" (secretly admit).

¹⁶¹ ARSI Boh 144, 19, *quoted in* Stockigt, *Zelenka*, 68 and 205.

¹⁶² Stockigt, "Recent Research."

¹⁶³ The annual letters of 1722–26 report that the *Kapellknaben* numbered ten, nine, ten, eleven and eleven musicians and choristers respectively. No numbers are given in 1727 or 1728. *See* Stockigt, "The 'Kapellknaben'," 16.

¹⁶⁴ Saft, Neuaufbau der katholischen Kirche, 44.

¹⁶⁵ Hogan and Stockigt, "Dictionary of Instrumentalists."

October 1730, two oboists unsuccessfully auditioned for the ensemble, ¹⁶⁶ a bassoonist was accepted in August 1731, ¹⁶⁷ and two horn players are mentioned in association with the ensemble in a *Diarium* report from July 1732. ¹⁶⁸ The work of the *Kapellknaben* appears to have been successful: the annual letter of 1730 reports that the chapel had been "filled to overflowing because of the presence of so many heretics." ¹⁶⁹ It is known from *Diarium* entries of 1732 that the *Kapellknaben* institute took vacation in Graupen, Bohemia "as in previous years", which was also the destination of the court's pilgrimages, and on the fourth day of the 1732 trip the *Salve regina* was sung in the church after lunch, but unfortunately no information on the composer is given. ¹⁷⁰

On 3 February 1733 the *Diarium* reports that news of the king's death had arrived in Dresden. Two days later, all priests celebrated in black, and on 2 April the *Kapellknaben* received mourning garments. On 29 July, during the customary restructuring of the court's musical institutions that followed the death of the king, the Dresden Jesuits were informed that the Saxon Electoral Prince had ordered the dismissal of all but six of the *Kapellknaben*, who were usually responsible for performing sacred music on Sundays and regular feast days. The royal singers and instrumentalists (often referred to as "Majores" in the *Diarium* from 1733 onwards) were to take over performances of liturgical music in the Catholic court church, although the remaining *Kapellknaben* also continued to perform. Now among the musicians employed at the court was a group of outstanding Italian singers, who had been recruited and trained as part of a plan, initiated in 1724 and reaching fruition in 1730, to revive the Dresden opera, which had been closed since 1720. This group

¹⁶⁶ See the entry dated 31 October 1730 in Reich, "Diarium," 355.

¹⁶⁷ See the entry dated 24 August 1731 in Reich, "Diarium," 356.

¹⁶⁸ See the entry dated 17 July 1732 in Reich, "Diarium," 358.

^{169 &}quot;ob nimiam haereticorum concurrentiam...", quoted in Stockigt, "Kapellknaben," 20.

¹⁷⁰ "...ut hic aliquam distractionem in vacationibus more aliorum annorum haberunt..." dated 15 September 1732. Reich, "Diarium," 358; *see also* the entry dated 19 September of that year, 358.

¹⁷¹ See the entry dated 29 July 1733 in Reich, "Diarium," 361.

¹⁷² Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte*, 159–60. The Dresden opera was closed after a celebrated altercation between Heinichen and the Italian castrati Francesco Bernardi ("Senesino", died ca. 1759) and Matteo Berselli (fl. 1708–21) during a rehearsal for Heinichen's opera *Flavio Crispo*, which the composer would never see performed. *See* Stockigt *Zelenka*, 61.

included the male sopranos Ventura Rochetti, Giovanni Bindi, the male alto Domenico Annibali and the female sopranos Maria Santina Cattaneo and the Negri sisters, Anna and Maria Rosa. ¹⁷³ By 24 September of that year, all dismissed *Kapellknaben* had left the Jesuit House, and on that day everybody received double helpings of food. ¹⁷⁴ Within months of the sacking of these *Kapellknaben* it was apparent to the Jesuits that this new arrangement was highly unsatisfactory: the obstinacy of the royal musicians was met with dismay in several *Diarium* reports from this period. One representative report, from 1 November, reads:

9 o'clock. The Ordinary ... but with no singing beforehand because the royal musicians say they are not obliged to do this. And so many things in the new organisation of music are left out, which should be performed for the spiritual edification of the congregation ... *Salve Regina* was sung in the choir. Our fathers also were invited to support the choir in singing the psalms. ¹⁷⁵

Other reports reveal that the commands of Maria Josepha were required to force the royal musicians to perform Requiems and sung Mass, and that numerous forms of devotion were being omitted "since the new organisation of the music began." The tone of these reports suggests that morale was low. Around the same time, however, the royal musicians were also being seriously overworked, possibly explaining some of the problems mentioned above. On 7, 8 and 22 October of that year they performed a "Pastorale" in the Dresden Palace, and Italian opera performances were also given on 17, 19, 24 and 26 November, in addition to their new duties at the church. While it may have seemed logical to maximise the use of the Italian musicians, whose salaries were considerable, this arrangement appears to have been beset with problems.

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¹⁷³ Stockigt, "Vespers Psalms," 111.

¹⁷⁴ "Exiverunt Juvenes; datum in mensa omnibus duplex." Reich, "Diarium," 361.

¹⁷⁵ "Hora 9. Ordinaria ... sed sine praevio cantu, quia Musici Regii dicunt adhoc se non esse obligatos, ita multa in novo regulamento musicae sunt omissa, ad quae propter aedificationem publicam reflecti debuisset... in choro Salve Regina decantatur. Invitantur etiam nostri Patres ut sustineant chorum in psalmis decantandis." Reich, "Diarium," 361.

¹⁷⁶ "...post factam novam Musicae dispositionem," dated 29 November 1733. Reich, "Diarium," 362. *See also* entries on 3 and 21 November of that year, Reich "Diarium," 362.

¹⁷⁷ Stockigt, "The Court of Saxony-Dresden," 31.

¹⁷⁸ Fürstenau, Zur Geschichte, 165-66.

The dismissal of all but six of the *Kapellknaben* clearly affected the way conventional services in the chapel were performed. Stockigt has suggested that the Catholic court church re-established its choir by 1738,¹⁷⁹ but the information below will show that the number of *Kapellknaben* had hardly increased at all since the end of 1733. Even though Zelenka's *Ave regina coelorum* settings (*ZWV* 128) are A Cappella and Ordinary works, and thus were likely to have been intended for performance by the *Kapellknaben*, the reduced number of forces increases the likelihood that the Jesuit priests, members of the *Hofkapelle* or even musicians seeking employment at the court ("expectant" musicians) were also involved in their performance.¹⁸⁰

The Kapellknaben in 1737 and 1738

In Lent 1737 (which fell on 21 April) Jungwirth, the founding director of the *Kapellknaben* institute, died. The *Diarium* reports that this occurred on 5 March, after he had suffered an apoplectic stroke early the previous year. ¹⁸¹ Despite a letter sent from Rome in 1717 ordering his removal, ¹⁸² and reports that the Saxon Electoral Prince and Princess could not bear to listen to him sing, ¹⁸³ the *Diarium* reports his faithful service with gratitude. The royal musicians were specially invited to perform a Sung Requiem for Jungwirth six days following his death, and the *Diarium* notes gladly that they all "turned up." ¹⁸⁴

The ensemble is reported to have had six members in the 1737 edition of the *HStCal*, and seven members in the 1738 edition (each edition was prepared towards the end of each preceding year), revealing that at some point during 1737, or very late in 1736, the number of *Kapellknaben* increased by one. One member of this group is named in a

¹⁷⁹ Stockigt, Zelenka, 236.

¹⁸⁰ Stockigt, "Hinweise," 128.

 $^{^{181}}$ See the entries dated 5 March 1737 and 18 January 1736 in Reich, "Diarium," 372 and 369 respectively.

¹⁸² See the "Supplement" of 1720 in Reich, "Diarium," 333.

¹⁸³ See the entry dated 30 December 1722 in Reich, "Diarium," 337.

¹⁸⁴ "Requiem cantatum hora 11. pro R.D. Jungwirth, ad hoc faciendum specialiter invitati fuerunt Musici Regii, qui etiam omnes comparuerunt." Reich, "Diarium," 372.

Diarium report of 15 February 1737, which states that "Count Phillip Kinsky is searching everywhere for subjects of his who are students and is threatening to imprison their parents; this fate touches our discantist, Joseph Hanke; negotiations [are underway] through the principal Lady-in-Waiting of the Queen's court to retain him." Nine days later, the same source reports that Kinsky sent permission for Hanke to continue his studies there for another two years, indicating that the situation had been resolved to the Count's satisfaction. Other members of the ensemble are named in *Diarium* reports of that year (see Table 6):

Table 6: Kapellknaben Mentioned in the Diarium in 1737

Date (1737)	Diarium report
9 September	"Stephan and Mischkowitz went home for holidays." 187
23 September	"The discantist Hancke went on vacation." 188
30 September	"The new discantist, Theophilus Donath, arrived. He has been taken on to replace Reichel, who is to be sent home." 189
2 October	"Stephan and Mischkowitz returned from holidays. Schürer went home." $^{\rm 190}$
23 October	"The discantist Hancke returned from his holidays." $^{\rm 191}$
29 October	"Schürer returned from holidays." 192

The first mention of the new discantists "Joannes Franciscus Mischkowitz" and "Joseph Stephan" appears in the *Diarium* entries of 23 and 26 September 1734 respectively.

¹⁸⁵ "Comes Philippus Kinsky repetit undique subditos suos studentes sub poena incarcerandorum parentum; sors haec etiam tangit discantistam nostrum Joseph Hanke; actum pro eo retinendo per Supremam Aulae Reginae Praefectam." Reich, "Diarium," 372.

¹⁸⁶ See the entry dated 24 February 1737 in Reich, "Diarium," 372. The Count referred to in these reports is probably Count Philip Joseph von Kinsky (1700–1749), high chancellor of the Kingdom of Bohemia.

¹⁸⁷ "Stephan, et Mischkowitz abiverunt ad vacationes in Patriam." Reich, "Diarium," 373.

¹⁸⁸ "Discessit ad vacationes Hancke discantista." Reich, "Diarium," 373.

¹⁸⁹ "Advenit Theophilus Donath novus discantista susceptus loco Reichel ad Patriam remittendi." Reich, "Diarium," 373.

¹⁹⁰ "Redivit Stephan, et Mischkowitz ex vacationibus. Discessit ad patriam Schürer." Reich, "Diarium." 373.

¹⁹¹ "Redivit Hancke discantista ex vacationibus." Reich, "Diarium," 373.

^{192 &}quot;Redivit Schürer ex vacationibus." Reich, "Diarium," 373.

A second Stephan, "Antonius" from "Pontensis" is reported to have arrived in Dresden on 6 December 1735. This report reveals that Antonius was a tenor, a one-time student at Graupen and then Commotov, and was taken on to replace one "Pompe", who had run away. Upon arriving, he was sent to retrieve bedding and toiletries, with which he returned on 14 December (the report from this date also reveals he was a poet), ¹⁹³ and in February the following year he accompanied Father Racke on a trip to Freyberg, "to the bedside of [a] sick woman." ¹⁹⁴ On 13 August 1736, "the younger Stephan" was advised to look for another job after losing his voice, and a report from 18 September reveals his name: Joseph Stephan was sent home with his mother. ¹⁹⁵ Therefore, it must have been the older Antonius Stephan who remained in Dresden, and who intoned the psalms at Matins on Christmas Eve that year. ¹⁹⁶

A report from 9 January 1737 reveals that Antonius Stephan had been awarded the title of Prefect of Music (replacing Francis Poltz, who left the institute "after almost six years of sterling service" to take up service with Father Probst, the Queen's Confessor) and that Schürer had been put in charge of the refectory. Both were relieved of dishwashing duties. ¹⁹⁷ On 6 September 1738, Mischkowitz was sent home with new clothes after beginning to lose his voice. ¹⁹⁸

The *HStCal* of 1739 lists "Joh. Francisc. de Hancke" as a violinist in the *Hofkapelle*, and the 1746 edition again lists "Joh. Franc. Hancke". ¹⁹⁹ However, it is unlikely that this violinist was the same person as the discantist mentioned in the *Diarium* reports above.

¹⁹³ See the entries dated 6 and 14 December 1735 in Reich, "Diarium," 369.

¹⁹⁴ "P. Racke vocatus Freybergam ad infirmam, discessit ... secum vehens capellam, socium egit Antonius Stephan." *See* the entry dated 5 February 1736 in Reich, "Diarium," 369.

 $^{^{195}}$ See entries dated 13 August and 18 September 1736 in Reich, "Diarium," 370 and 371 respectively.

¹⁹⁶ See the entry dated 24 December 1736 in Reich, "Diarium," 371.

^{197 &}quot;...postquam 6. fere annis hic cum bona satisfactione servisset." Reich, "Diarium," 371–72.

¹⁹⁸ Reich, "Diarium," 375. This report introduces ambiguity regarding the length of Mischkowitz's service in Dresden. It states, "already in his first year [Mischkowitz] is losing his voice…" ("Mischkowitz mox primo anno vocem perdens domum remissus cum novo vestitu.")

¹⁹⁹ "Johann Franz Hantke" is listed as receiving an annual pension of 350 thaler on 1 January 1764. See *D-Dla* 10026 Geh. Kab. Loc. 910/1 f. 26v. I thank Shelley Hogan for informing me of this source.

Aside from the discrepancy in the names (many variations in spelling of names occur throughout the *Diarium*), the violinist Hancke was seconded to Warsaw in 1738, about one year after Joseph was given leave to continue his studies for two years with the *Kapellknaben* institute February 1737.²⁰⁰ It is highly unlikely that the young *Kapellknabe* entered the *Hofkapelle* as a violinist prior to completing this study.²⁰¹

A report from 3 October 1738 also states "Schürer and Schuster left for their holidays." ²⁰² Josephus Schuster is first mentioned as an alto singer and organist in the *Diarium* on 3 June 1735. He was listed as a bass singer in the *Hofkapelle* in the *HStCal* of 1746, and in 1748 his son, who became a successful composer and conductor, was born and given the same name. In an extraordinary incident about which nothing more is known, Johann Georg Schürer, who arrived in Dresden from Bohemia on 16 May 1732, ²⁰³ sadly had his face burnt by a fireball accidentally thrown by servants during recreation in July 1735. ²⁰⁴ This young *Kapellknabe* went on to a prolific career as *Kirchencompositeur* at the Dresden court from 1748 to 1780, and supervised the compilation of an important catalogue of the Dresden Catholic court church's sacred music collection following the destruction of the Seven Years' War (1756–63), which is hereafter referred to as the Catalogo (1765). ²⁰⁵ In 1764 he received a salary of 700 thaler. ²⁰⁶

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²⁰⁰ Żórawska-Witkowska, "Kingdom of Poland," 67.

 $^{^{201}}$ Stockigt has previously argued that they are the same person. See Stockigt, Zelenka, 237, esp. Table 8

²⁰² "Schürer et Schuster, iverunt ad vacationes." Reich, "Diarium," 375.

²⁰³ See the entry on that date in Reich, "Diarium," 358. Is this also the discantist "Schierer" mentioned in a report of 25 July 1732, which reads, "Redivit ante aliquot hebdomadas dicedens discantista Schierer ex Anspach pago Boemiae"? Reich, "Diarium," 358.

²⁰⁴ See the entry dated 5 July 1735 in Reich, "Diarium," 368.

²⁰⁵ The full title of this document is *Catalogo (Thematico) [sic] della Musica di Chiesa (catholica [sic] in Dresda) composta Da diversi Autori - secondo l'Alfabetto 1765*, and it is held in Berlin at *D-B* Mus. ms. theor. K. 186. A second, more detailed, catalogue of the music of the *Hofkirche* was later assembled—referred to here as the Catalogo (ca. 1780+)—of which only the third volume survives: *Catalogo della Musica di Chiesa, composta da diversi Autori secondo l'alfabetto. Armaro III²⁰, principiando dalla littera S sino al Z con l'aggiunta degli'Autori senza Nome, held at <i>D-Dlb* Sign. Bibl. Arch. III H 788, 3; entries that list Zelenka's works are published in *ZD II*.

²⁰⁶ *D-Dla* 10026 Geh. Kab. Loc. 910/1, "Acta. Das Churfürstl: *Orchestre* und deßen Unterhaltung ingleichen das große *Opern*-Haus und andere zum *Departement* des *Directeur des Plaisirs* gehörige Angelegenheiten betr. Anno 1711. [1717.] 1764. 65. 66. 67. 68." fol. 23. "Joseph Schuster" is listed as a bass singer in the same source (fol. 23v.) I again thank Shelley Hogan for informing me of this source.

Very little information can be found on the discantist Theophilus Donath, who replaced Reichel (still present in Dresden in September of that year). If any of Zelenka's *Ave regina coelorum* (*ZWV* 128) settings were performed in 1737, Donath had not yet joined the ensemble that probably performed them. He is reported in the *Diarium* to have taken vacation on 6 September 1738, and it seems he would have been available to perform the *Ave regina coelorum* settings that year.

The *Diarium* first mentions "Reichel" in a report from 9 September 1736. From this report, it is known that he was a discantist who arrived in Dresden from Bohemia on that date. ²⁰⁷ He should not be confused with the "Johann Christoph [also Christian] Reichel" listed as a viola player in the 1729, 1739 and 1746 editions of the *HStCal* (who in the 1736 edition is named "Johann Christoph Rechel"). It is known, however, that by 30 September 1737 this *Kapellknabe*'s services were no longer required by the Dresden Jesuits, and Donath replaced him. Given that the *HStCal* of 1738 numbers the *Kapellknaben* at seven, Reichel had probably left the institute before this edition of the *HStCal* was prepared.

A *Diarium* entry on 7 January 1738 mentions that "our discantist Joseph Sieber," contracted quinsy (*angina*) on that date and, tragically, died the following day in the Jesuit House, ²⁰⁸ but it is not clear how long this young musician had been in service at the Dresden Catholic chapel. The annual letter of 1737 mentions the death of a small "discantista", which may have been Sieber (it is plausible that the letter was written after 8 January 1738). The letter reports that the singer was so young that, before he died, he requested permission from the Prefect of Music to speak German rather than the obligatory Latin. ²⁰⁹ Ten days after Sieber's death "Joannes Franciscus Palme", from Steinschönau in Bohemia, replaced him. ²¹⁰

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²⁰⁷ "Advenit novus discantista Reichel ex Bohemia." Reich, "Diarium," 371.

²⁰⁸ See the entries dated 7 and 8 January 1738 in Reich, "Diarium," 374.

²⁰⁹ ARSI Boh 156, 45-46, quoted in Stockigt, "Vespers Psalms," 151.

²¹⁰ See the entry dated 18 January 1738 in Reich, "Diarium," 374. Another report, from 30 November of that year, informs that this young musician was also sent home at the demand of Count Kinsky, who had threatened to imprison his parents. Both he and Joseph Hanke had come

It is not clear from the *Diarium* reports when Hanke or the ill-fated Sieber arrived, but all other members (except Donath, who arrived in September 1737) are mentioned in reports prior to 1737. Thus, it appears that Hanke or Sieber joined the *Kapellknaben* ensemble shortly after the *HStCal* edition for 1737 was compiled in late 1736. Based on the *Diarium* entries discussed above, Table 4 proposes a list of members of the *Kapellknaben* in 1737 and 1738.

Table 7: Proposed List of Members of the Kapellknaben in 1737 and 1738

1737

Theophilus Donath (arrived 30 September)
Joseph Hanke [Hancke]
"Joannes Franciscus" Mischkowitz
"Reichel" (replaced by Donath, 30 September)
Johann Georg Schürer
Joseph Schuster [Senior]
Joseph Sieber
Joseph Antonius Stephan

1738

Theophilus Donath
Joseph Hanke [Hancke]

"Joannes Franciscus" Mischkowitz

"Joannes Franciscus Palme" (arrived 18 January)
Johann Georg Schürer
Joseph Schuster [Senior]
Joseph Sieber (died 8 January)
Joseph Antonius Stephan

One *Diarium* entry of 21 January 1737 tantalisingly suggests that some of these young *Kapellknaben* were also involved in the performance of an opera. It reads,

The opera was performed again. The Director of Music, de Breitenbauch, lent our house a harpsichord [*cymbalum*] and a pair of flutes [*flautarum*] from the royal instrument collection so that our Juvenes can practice.²¹¹

to Dresden from the same region in Bohemia. *See* the entries dated 30 November 1738 and 19 July 1735 in Reich, "Diarium," 375 and 369 respectively.

²¹¹ "Reproducta fuit Opera. Excellentissimus D. Director Musicae de Breitenbauch concessit domui nostrae cymbalum, et par flautarum ex repositorio Regis instrumentorum pro exercitio nostrorum Juvenum." Reich, "Diarium," 372. A *Diarium* entry dated 21 September 1731 also suggests that previous members of the *Kapellknaben* ensemble had been involved in opera performances. It reads, "Vespers at four o'clock, after which there was an opera [Hasse's *Cleofide*]

The name of the opera is unfortunately not revealed in the report. Was it one of Ristori's operas composed for Dresden in 1736, *Le Fate* or *Arianna*, ²¹² for performance by the royal musicians, who had returned to Dresden from Warsaw on 17 June of that year? ²¹³ After a flurry of compositional activity by Ristori in 1735 and 1736, he may reasonably have expected the limelight to shift following the "long-awaited" arrival in Dresden of the famed *Kapellmeister* Hasse and his wife Faustina, reported in the *Diarium* nine days later. ²¹⁴ On 27 February 1737, Hasse's opera *Senocrita* was performed in Dresden. ²¹⁵ The final rehearsal was recorded in a *Diarium* entry on the previous day, suggesting that the *Kapellknaben* also may have been involved in this performance. ²¹⁶ On the night of the performance, the source only reports ambiguously, "some of us attended." ²¹⁷

The *Kapellknaben* institute produced many outstanding musicians. Some remained in service at the Dresden court (for example, Schürer and Schuster), and some went on to achieve great success elsewhere. The *Diarium* entries shed new light on the activities of the *Kapellknaben* in 1737, and provide some insight into the lives of its members. Although Zelenka's *Ave regina* coelorum settings (*ZWV* 128) were almost certainly intended for performance by the *Kapellknaben*, the reduced number of members increases the likelihood that the Jesuit priests, members of the *Hofkapelle*, or even "expectant" musicians assisted with the performance. It is true that the Dresden court

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in the theatre. The young vocalists were required to attend as singers. Some of the Fathers were present." ("Hora quarta Vesperae, post has Opera in theatro. Juvenes vocalistae adesse debuerunt pro cantu. Adfuerunt etiam nostri Patres." Reich, "Diarium", 356).

 $^{^{212}}$ First performed on 10 August 1736 (D-Dl Mus. 2455-F-5) and 7 October 1736 (D-Dl Mus. 2455-F-4) respectively. See Ágústsson, "Giovanni Alberto Ristori," 57n15.

²¹³ Reich, "Diarium," 370.

²¹⁴ "Advenit pridem expectata Signora Faustina cum Domino Hasse," dated 30 January 1737. Reich, "Diarium," 372.

²¹⁵ See the report in the 1738 edition of the *HStCal*, 15v, col.1, which reads "Den 27. Febr. wurde eine neue *Opera Xenocrite* genannt, repræsentiret."

²¹⁶ Reich, "Diarium," 372.

²¹⁷ "Producta Opera interfuerunt aliquot nostri." Reich, "Diarium," 372.

²¹⁸ For example, Franz (František) Benda, who was recruited to sing in Dresden as a *Kapellknabe* in 1719, went on to achieve great success as a violinist and composer at the court of Friedrich of Prussia. *See* Franz Benda and Douglas A. Lee, *A Musician at Court: An Autobiography of Franz Benda* (Warren, Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1998), 3–8; see also Stockigt, *Zelenka*, 68–69.

records usually only outline the multitudes of personnel associated with the court at any one time, but reports in the *Diarium* have supported the *HStCal*, which states that the numbers of *Kapellknaben* were still quite low in 1737 and 1738. Some of these reports also hint at the possibility that the *Kapellknaben* were also involved in opera performances, but this cannot yet be confirmed. It is clear, however, that these young musicians achieved a very high level of musicianship before their voices broke, at which point they were often sent away.

Conclusion

The purpose of part I of this thesis has been to provide a context to Zelenka's six Ave regina coelorum settings (ZWV 128) of 1737. It is certainly reasonable to claim that any critical edition of music by this wonderful composer is, in itself, a worthwhile scholarly pursuit. However, part I of this thesis has attempted to show that studying the context of these works has significant implications for our understanding of the different styles represented in the set. After providing background information on the composer and the context of his employment at the Dresden court, I have presented the first detailed study of the musicalhistorical context of Zelenka's Ave regina coelorum settings (ZWV 128), highlighting in particular the influence of Viennese liturgico-musical practices on this context and the operation of the categories A Cappella, Ordinary and Solemn in Dresden. This was followed by the first detailed examination and description of the style of each work in ZWV 128, which formed the basis of my categorisation of these works as A Cappella and Ordinary. Understanding Zelenka's Ave regina coelorum settings (ZWV 128) as A Cappella and Ordinary music thus provides framework for understanding their style, and has, in turn, provided strong indications about which ensemble was likely to have performed them. Because very little is known about the nature and activities of this ensemble at the time Zelenka composed these Ave regina coelorum settings, I have included a study of the Kapellknaben in chapter four. Thus, part I of this thesis will contribute to an informed hearing of these works, and enriches current understandings of the musical style of one of the baroque period's great composers. A critical edition of these works follows in part II.

Part II: A Critical Edition of Jan Dismas Zelenka's Six *Ave*regina coelorum Settings of 1737 (ZWV 128)

Notes on Performance

As mentioned in chapter three, instruments usually accompanied performances of A Cappella music in Dresden's Catholic court church. Although this accompaniment sometimes included woodwinds (oboes, bassoon) and even theorbo, this was more common in performances of large-scale works appropriate for significant occasions, such as offertories by Palestrina, performed by the royal musicians. Given that the A Cappella works in *ZWV* 128 (the first and third settings) are likely to have been performed by the *Kapellknaben*, I suggest that in these settings violins double the soprano and alto voices, and viola the tenor, with the possibility that woodwinds were also required, depending on the occasion.

While "VViolini" might seem like an unlikely instruction for the inclusion of oboes in the second setting, this abbreviation (or "VV", or "senza oboi") often appears in Zelenka's music to indicate that violins should be playing without oboes where this combination of instruments is deployed. 221 Thus I have suggested that oboes be included in the second setting. But did they double the violins, or the choral sopranos and altos? Margaret Williams has argued that the "house rules of orchestration" for sacred music during Heinichen's reign as *Kapellmeister* in Dresden included oboes doubling the first and second violins even when none are mentioned on the score, dropping out during vocal solos. 222 However, in several sets of parts to Zelenka's scores the oboes outline the principal notes of the violin melody to avoid untidy articulation, and sometimes play abbreviated violin arpeggios using the vocal rhythm. In other cases, the oboes double the choral sopranos

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 $^{^{219}}$ See the set of parts to Palestrina's offertory *Deus firmavit orbem*, held in Dresden at *D-Dl* Mus. 997-D-46.

²²⁰ *Hkm*, 109-110.

²²¹ Stockigt, "Role of Copyists," 31. The use of the plural "VViolini" [*sic*] indicates that at least two violins were required, as do the stem directions of the violin part in bars 22 and 23, where the part splits into two to avoid the awkward movement out of first position (on the final quaver of bar 22) that would be necessary if this part were played by a single violinist.

²²² Williams, "The Vespers Music of J.D. Heinichen," 106.

and altos, and often the sopranos only.²²³ The role of the oboes in all settings except the fifth is uncertain, and this edition suggests that, in the second setting, the first oboes double the choral sopranos and the second oboes double the choral altos.

In the sixth setting, the obbligato string parts and alternation of tutti and solo groups indicate with near-certainty that oboes would have been included in performance, either doubling the choral sopranos and altos, or the violins (perhaps outlining only the principal notes, or adopting the vocal rhythm where applicable). In the absence of written instructions from the composer, it seems most reasonable to suggest that the oboes would have doubled the violins in the ritornello, doubled the choral sopranos and altos during choral sections, and remained silent during vocal solos. This has been suggested in the edition, and is optional in performance.

Surviving sets of parts to Zelenka's Vesper psalms, most of which are Ordinary settings, demonstrate that the full continuo section included organ, violoncello, violone, bassoon and possibly also theorbo, with the bassoon and violone functioning as ripieno instruments. ²²⁴ Therefore, while the simple A Cappella works of the set may not have required woodwinds—and the missing set of parts may indeed prove this—it can be assumed that the more complex Ordinary works in this set, especially those based on concertante principles (the second, fifth and sixth settings), included bassoon in the continuo group. Therefore, where "Tutti; Rip." appears on the continuo line of the second, fifth and sixth settings, the entire section (including ripieno instruments) should play. The suggested continuo accompaniment for vocal soloists is given on that stave, according to standard Dresden practices defined below.

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²²³ Stockigt, "Role of Copyists," 33; for an example of oboes doubling the sopranos, *see* the second movement of Zelenka's 1738 setting of the Miserere (*ZWV* 57); for an example of oboes doubling (or outlining) the sopranos and altos *see* the second Kyrie in his *Missa votiva* of 1739 (*ZWV* 18), both in Jan Dismas Zelenka, *Missa votiva e-Moll, ZWV* 18 (1739); *Miserere c-Moll, ZWV* 57 (1738), the *Missa votiva* edited by Reinhold Kubik, the Miserere edited by Matthias Hutzel and Thomas Kohlhase. Das Erbe deutcher Musik 108 (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1997).

²²⁴ Stockigt, "Vespers Psalms," 359–62.

Kohlhase has described the varied instrumental doubling practices of the continuo section in relation to the choral vocal ensemble. When the vocal bass is the foundation of the ensemble, the complete continuo section provides instrumental support, including the instruments of the basso ripieno (bassoon and violone). If the tenor is momentarily the lowest voice, only the violoncello and organ play, with the ripieno instruments remaining silent. If the alto or soprano voices are temporarily the lowest of the ensemble, theorbo and organ accompany them. The bassoon and violone do not accompany vocal soloists. ²²⁵ Zelenka marks this change in vocal texture by using the corresponding vocal clef on the basso continuo stave, and uses a small vertical stroke above or below the notes of the continuo line to indicate *tasto solo* (one example appears above the final note of the continuo line in bar 10 of the first setting (see page 77). Using these guidelines, suggested instrumentation markings have been added in square brackets in this edition. Although theorbo has not been included in the continuo section (very little is known about the role of this instrument in Catholic sacred music in Dresden), ²²⁶ the possibility remains that it may originally have been required.

Zelenka often uses short vertical strokes to indicate the precise points of entry and departure of the basso ripieno, or a change from choral to solo voices or vice versa, or some other change, for example, in dynamic or tempo. In some cases, the meaning of such vertical strokes is ambiguous. In bar seven of the fifth setting (see page 101), for example, it is not entirely clear whether the stroke in the alto part only indicates a change in tempo, or whether Zelenka also intended a change from choral voices to soloists. Thus, in the edition "[Soli]" is given, but the employment of solo voices remains optional in performance (and the return of the choral voices is also marked in square brackets in bar nineteen, see page 106). In the sixth setting, Zelenka may have intended the basso ripieno instruments (and oboes) to drop out during the ritornello at points marked on the stave with a vertical stroke.

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²²⁵ Kohlhase, "Generalbaßpraxis," passim; see also Ongley, "Reconstruction."

²²⁶ Burris, "Lute and Theorbo," esp. "The Theorbo as Continuo Instrument in Church," 122.

Or, this stroke could indicate only the precise point at which the dynamic should change (this has been suggested in the edition).

Zelenka often used the term "Solo" or "Soli" to indicate that a particular portion of the ensemble was the musical focus, even if only to highlight mthe absence of voices. ²²⁷ For this reason, Zelenka might have given "Solo" at the opening ritornello of the sixth setting, where the edition states "Tutti; Rip." (as in bar 25, where "Tutti; Rip." replaces "Soli", which Zelenka has given to highlight the departure of the chorus). Superseding this convention, "Tutti; Rip." has been chosen to avoid ambiguity, with the change noted in the critical report. ²²⁸

The instruction "Org.", which Zelenka often used to indicate that a reduced ensemble was required, ²²⁹ appears on the continuo stave of the second setting. In this case, however, it is clear that this was not the intention: the term consistently appears at moments when the full instrumental ensemble is required, marked by "Tutti" or similar. For this reason, it seems likely that Zelenka intended the organist to employ a stronger registration. In bar eight of this setting Zelenka also gives the instruction "Ottavi basso" (see page 84) meaning that the string bass—whatever this is—should play an octave lower than the notated pitch. This seems to have been added as an afterthought, along with the additional violin part. As mentioned above, the violone usually functioned as a ripieno instrument, so it seems likely that the cello would have accompanied the soloist at the lower octave. For this reason, one could also suggest that in bar thirteen (see page 87) the cello double the violin at the lower octave for the three notes that the score states they ought to play in unison.

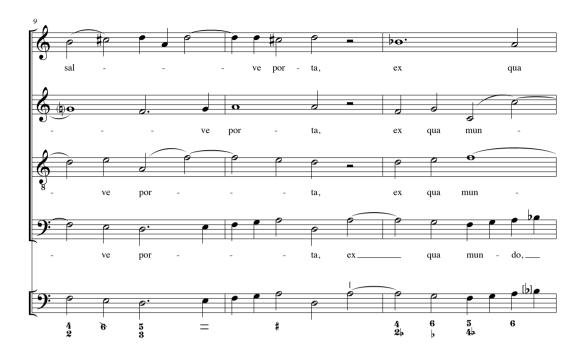
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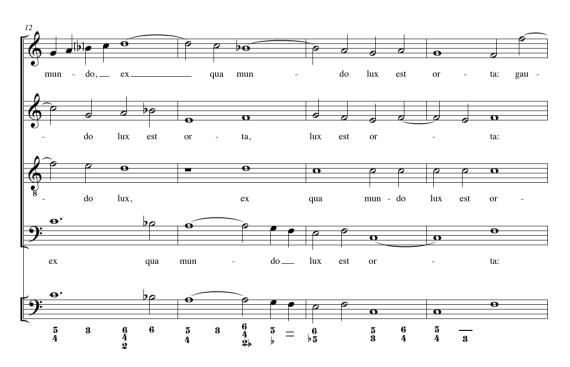
²²⁷ Stockigt, "Role of Copyists," 31.

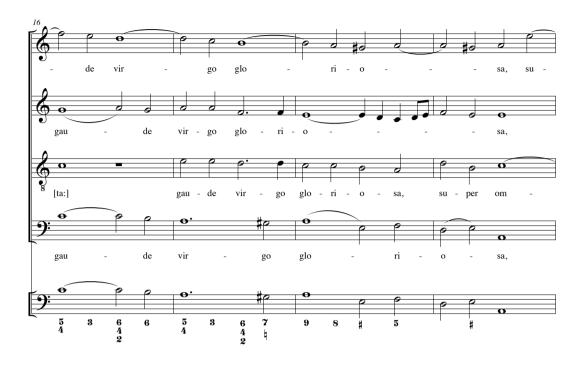
²²⁸ Stockigt, "Vespers Psalms," 357–58.

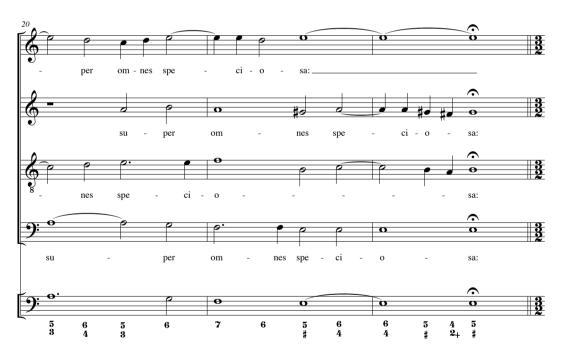
²²⁹ Stockigt, "Role of Copyists", 31.

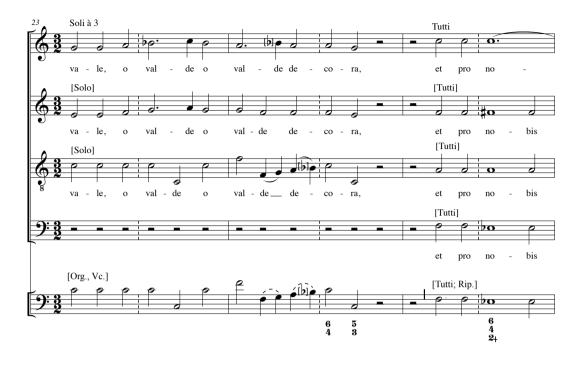




























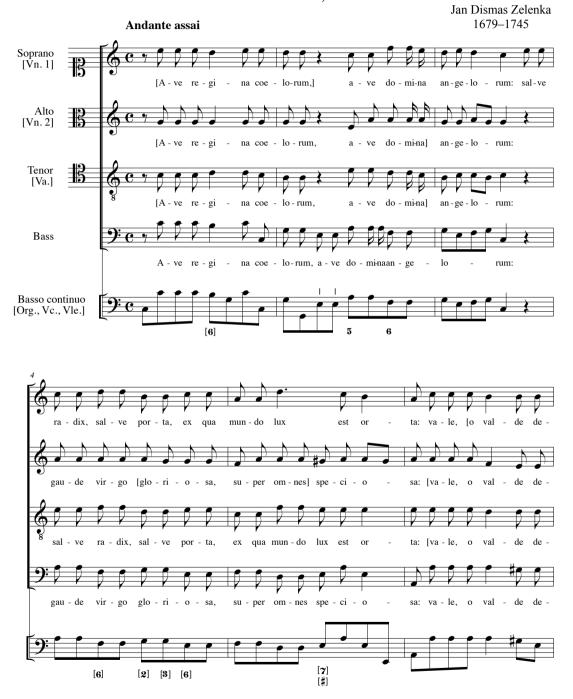


















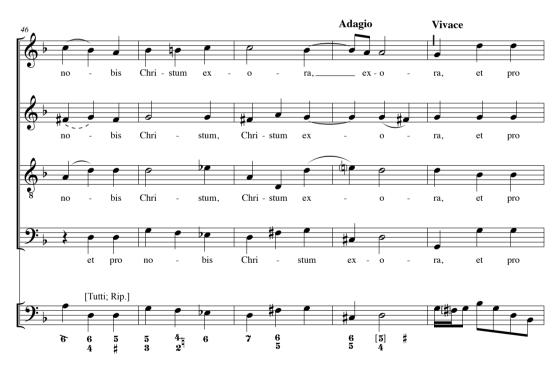














Ave regina coelorum ZWV 128, 5

























Ave regina coelorum



















































Critical Report

The Sources

The sources for this edition are sole autograph, partially damaged, scores of six settings of the *Ave regina coelorum* text, and one autograph violin part to accompany the second setting, held in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (SLUB), Dresden (*D-Dl* Mus. 2358-E-20). These sources are bound together in a single volume of thirty-eight pages in landscape format, 24cm by 32.5cm, between a blue/grey cardboard cover. A stamp on the inside back cover, referring to the restoration of the volume (done using a paper-splitting machine), gives the date 10 March 1992. A reasonably large portion of the centre of page thirty-seven has been completely replaced after severe damage, and all markings are lost. Other small sections have also been replaced. According to the library's card catalogue, a set of thirty-one parts to accompany the scores is missing from Dresden.

While there is no original cover or title page, cataloguing information is given (in a hand other than Zelenka's) at the head of the first page, flush right, and this information matches their position in the Catalogo (1765, see Appendix A): "Schranck N: 3 / Z. 16. Fach 10. Lage / 6. Ave Regina / parti cav[ate]:". This represents an early attempt at cataloguing and identifying the location of the scores. They were stored in the third cupboard (Schrank) on the sixteenth shelf (Fach) in the tenth lot (Lage), and "parti cav:" confirms that parts had been extracted from the scores.

The scores and the now-missing parts became part of the collection of the Dresden Catholic court church (Maria Josepha apparrently organised this acquisition after Zelenka's death—see chapter one). This is confirmed by listings in two important catalogues of that church's collection, the Catalogo (1760) and the Catalogo (c. 1780+). Many works from this collection were moved to the Königliche Öffentliche Bibliothek (Royal Public Library) in

1908, but these scores were not among them; no stamps from this library are to be found on the manuscript. Instead, the stamps "Sächs. Landes-Bibl." and "Sächs. Landesbibliothek.

Depositum der Kath. Hofkirche", which appear on pages one and thirty-eight respectively, reveal that these scores remained part of the church's holdings until after 1919, once the Royal Public Library had taken the name "Sächsische Landesbibliothek" (Saxon State Library). 230

Each page of the score contains ten staves, of length between approximately 25 cm and 30 cm, spaced approximately 8 mm apart. The consistency of the stave dimensions in the score suggests that these were pre-ruled, as do two further clues: the final page contains only blank staves, and the number of staves ruled for the fifth and sixth settings exceeds the number required by two. The violin part contains only eight staves of approximately 18.5 cm length, spaced approximately 12 mm apart. The different stave dimensions in the violin part suggest that this part was added at a later date, and the appearance of blank staves on the back of this page suggests that the staves were pre-ruled.

The bar lines in the score are generally evenly spaced five per stave. Except for the fourth setting and the violin part, they connect staves and, where two systems share a stave, they also connect systems, suggesting that the bar lines in all settings except the fourth were pre-ruled. It is unclear why Zelenka adopted a different system of ruling bar lines in the fourth setting; the change may have been simply for economical reasons. Further details on the individual settings are as follows (recent pagination is used):

No. 1 (pages 1-4)

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Score layout is two systems of five unlabelled staves per page, separated by two diagonal strokes, for SATB ch. (with SAT soli) and b.c. The title appears above the top stave on page 1,

²³⁰ The Royal Public Library was renamed the "Königliche Landesbibliothek" in 1917 and "Sächsische Landesbibliothek" in 1919. *See* Ortrun Landmann and Wolfgang Reich, *Führer durch die Musikabteilung der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek zu Dresden* (Dresden: Sächsischen Landesbibliothek, 1983), 62.

and is badly damaged; only "Ave Regina" is legible, and on the left and right hand sides of the title Zelenka gives " \mathbb{N} 1^{mo}".

No. 2, and the violin part (pages 4-8)

Score layout is two systems of five unlabelled staves per page, separated by two diagonal strokes, for SATB ch. (with A solo) and b.c. Zelenka has extended the some of the staves on page five in order to add two extra bars (bars eleven and seventeen). "VViolini e Viola" is written above the continuo stave. The title appears after the final bar of the first setting, on the first system of page four. It reads: "//: Ave Regina / Coelorum / \mathbb{H}^{ro} 2^{do} ://". " \mathbb{H}^{ro} 2^{do} " also appears before the first bar of the top stave of the second system. At the bottom of page six Zelenka gives "// Siegue \mathbb{H}^r 3^{zo} //" ("number three follows"). Zelenka began using the term siegue regularly from about 1733. The violin part appears on page seven. At the top of that page is "VViolini: andante mà non tropp:" and at the bottom is "NB Pro Numero 2^{do} ".

No. 3 (pages 9-10)

Score layout is two systems of five unlabelled staves per page, separated by two diagonal strokes, for SATB ch., b.c. At the top of page nine is " $\Re 3$ //: Ave Regina Coelor \Im :// \Re 0 3". At the bottom of page ten is "Siegue $\Re 4$:"

No. 4 (pages 11-14)

Score layout is two systems of five unlabelled staves per page, separated by two diagonal strokes, for SATB ch., b.c. At the top of page 11 is " $\mathbb{N}4^{\text{to.}}$ /: Ave Regina Coelorum :/ $\mathbb{N}^{\text{ro.}}4^{\text{to.}}$ ".

No. 5 (pages 15-22)

Score layout is one system of eight unlabelled staves per page, for vn. 1, vn. 2, va., SATB ch. (possibly also with SATB soli), b.c. At the top of page fifteen is "//: Ave Regina coelorum ://

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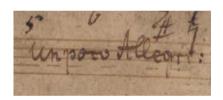
²³¹ Stockigt, *Zelenka*, 136.

 $\frac{1}{2}$ 5^{to"}. Zelenka gives colla parte instructions on each of the string staves, as well as the instruction "NB: Tutto l'Oboi col Soprano." At the bottom of page twenty-two is "// Siegue $\frac{1}{2}$ 6^{to.}://".

No. 6 (pages 23-37)

Page twenty-three contains two systems of four unlabelled staves, separated by two diagonal strokes, for vn. 1, vn. 2, va., b.c. From page twenty-four onwards, the source layout is one system of eight unlabelled staves per page for vn. 1, vn. 2, va., SATB ch. (with STB soli), b.c. Figure 1 presents a second type of handwriting, in light-coloured ink, which appears sporadically throughout. It appears to be that of a scribe identified as ZS 1 (not to be confused with the publication listed as *ZS 1* in "List of Abbreviations") who was associated with Zelenka during the composer's late years, but whose identity is unknown.²³²

Figure 1: Handwriting of ZS 1



At the base of page thirty-seven (page thirty-eight is empty) is a dedication and date: "A:M:D:G:B:V:M:OO:SS:H: / AA P:J:R: 1737". The first part of this dedication honours God ("Ad majorem Dei gloriam;"), the Virgin Mary and the saints ("Beatae Virgini Mariae et Omnibus Sanctis honor;"). The final part honours Zelenka's patrons, the royal and electoral family, although various interpretations of this passage exist: "Augustissimo Principi in reverentia" and "Augustissimum Poloniarum in Regem" are two.²³³

Small gaps in some stave lines, as well as the colons that remain from a former "p:"

[piano] indication, suggest that several dynamic markings "p:" have been scratched away

from bar seventy of the tenor part of the sixth setting. These details are visible in the

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 $^{^{232}}$ I thank Jóhannes Ágústsson for his advice on this matter. For more on ZS 1, see Horn, "Die wichtigsten Schreiber," esp. 155–57, and 197–98.

²³³ ZD I, 157; see also Stockigt, Zelenka, 136.

manuscript scores despite their smooth texture, which was created by the restoration of the paper and would have caused any scratches to disappear. Figure 2 presents the second note of bar seventy, with altered shading (see also page 211). A faint but distinct "p" shape remains on the score above this note, and its stem intersects the top line of the stave.²³⁴

Figure 2: "p"-Shape in Tenor Part of no.6, bar 70



Editorial Methods

The editorial methods, manuscript layout and the format of the notes (given in the next section) are based upon the advice of two principal sources: John Caldwell's *Editing Early Music*, and the A-R Editions style guide. ²³⁵ The order of works has been retained. As mentioned in chapter two, the title and text of each setting are given as per John Harper's *Forms and Orders of the Western Liturgy*, except for the spelling of "caeli" and "caelorum": Zelenka's spelling has been retained here in the tradition of church (rather than classical) Latin. ²³⁶ Titles have been extended to include setting number. Hyphenation of the text and division of the syllables have been modernised according to *The Chicago Manual of Style*, ²³⁷ and alignment of the text underlay tacitly carried out, with only exceptional cases mentioned in the notes. Missing text has been reconstructed according to principles

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²³⁴ I thank Uwe Wolf for his advice on this matter.

²³⁵ See John Caldwell, Editing Early Music, 2nd ed., Early Music Series 5 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), especially ch. 4, "Baroque and Classical Music"; and "Recent Researches in Music: Style Guide" (A-R Editions, 1999), available from www.areditions.com/ac/StyleGuide.pdf.

²³⁶ Harper, Forms and Orders, 274-75.

²³⁷ The Chicago Manual of Style, 16th ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010).

described in the notes, and is given in the edition in square brackets. Commas have been added, or replace colons and final periods, when the preceding text is repeated. Lower-case letters have been changed to upper case when the first portion of text sung by a given part is not the first line of text in the poem.

Woodwinds, strings, vocal parts and basso continuo have been grouped together using vertical brackets, and the original score order of all settings has been retained, except for the following cases that relate to information described above (see "The Sources"): No. 2: one violin and one viola stave have been added above the soprano stave. The violin part is that which accompanies the manuscript score. The viola part has been extracted from the basso continuo part according to the following principles: generally, it doubles the basso continuo at the upper octave, based on Zelenka's written instruction "VViolini e Viola", but occasionally the viola part rises above the violin part, creating awkward registration issues. At these points (or slightly before or after these points, depending on what produces the smoothest transition) the viola part doubles the basso continuo at the unison, except on one occasion (bar 1), where this approach would result in awkward leaps: in this case, the viola doubles the violin at the unison; No. 5: an oboe stave has been added above the original first violin stave, and doubles the soprano throughout based on Zelenka's instruction "NB: Tutto l'Oboi col Soprano"; No. 6: two oboe staves (of reduced size) have been added above the original first violin stave (see "Notes on Performance").

Vertical strokes that appear on the stave to indicate changes in orchestration, tempo or something else (see "Notes on Performance") have been standardised so that they only extend across the two uppermost or lowermost lines of the stave, depending on which provides a clearer layout, and their relative position within the bar has been retained. Vertical strokes indicating *tasto solo* are given directly above or below the corresponding note according to stem direction (these are distinguished from staccato strokes by their greater size).

Written directives regarding orchestration (such as "Tutti") are displayed above or below the stave (whichever provides a clearer page layout). Abbreviations and other variants of "Tutti" and "Soli" have been standardised as such (where appropriate, "Solo" is given on a vocal staves to indicate a single soloist). Tempo markings are displayed at the top of the system, and again above the vocal staves when these are not the uppermost staves of the system. Abbreviated performance indications and tempo markings have been tacitly standardised. The introductory "Andante ma non troppo" of the second setting comes from the accompanying violin part (see above, "The Sources") and has been spelt out. Parts are labelled without brackets using English, and "Basso continuo" is used to label the accompaniment. Parts that have been added according to standard Dresden instrumental doubling practices (see "Notes on Performance") are named in square brackets. *Colla parte* and notational shorthand instructions have been realised without further comment. Where multiple performing forces share a stave (for example, basso continuo and basso ripieno) all forces are named at the beginning of the work, and entry points for individual instruments or voices are marked above the stave in square brackets.

Missing bar lines have been silently added, except where this causes metrical ambiguity, in which case dashed bar lines are used (these do not connect staves). All final bar lines have been modernised to thin-thick bar lines. Bar numbers are given at the beginning of each system, on the top stave of each group except basso continuo. Original time signatures, note values, slurs, ties and articulation markings have been retained unless stated otherwise in the notes, and their alignment has been standardised for clarity. Dotted notes that extend over the barline in the manuscript have been replaced with tied notes, without further comment, and the practice of placing a dot after a bar line to indicate a tied note has been tacitly modernised. Editorial slurs and ties are dashed, and appoggiaturas have been standardised with a slur. Original key signatures have been retained, and have been added where lacking in original without further comment. Beaming in instrumental

parts has been modernised, and beaming in vocal parts is syllabic to aid declamation. 238

Stem directions have been adapted to modern conventions. Rests lacking in the source have been added in the edition without further comment. Clefs have been modernised (only superceded clefs are displayed on prefatory staves), including those used on the basso continuo stave during passages of *basso seguente* where, instead, the suggested instrumentation is marked above the stave in square brackets. Dynamic markings are given below instrumental staves and above vocal staves, and their alignment within the bar has been tacitly standardised. Editorial dynamic markings are given in square brackets. All dynamic markings in the second setting lacking square brackets have been imported from the violin part. Fermatas have been displayed above the stave only.

Regarding Zelenka's usage of accidentals as represented in this source, many aspects of his practice are common to the baroque period. Generally, the bar line is of little significance: where a pitch requires inflection by a sharp or flat on consecutive notes separated by a bar line, the accidental is regularly shown only on the note before the bar line, not after. Accidentals are usually cancelled after a change in pitch, or some other interruption such as a rest or another accidental, as is common in many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century manuscripts. Other aspects of Zelenka's usage are slightly more idiosyncratic. For example, while much baroque music employs only two accidentals (sharp and flat, where the sharp was used to cancel a flat and vice versa), Zelenka also used the natural sign, which, in this source, usually serves to cancel a key signature flat, while the flat (not the natural) is used regularly to cancel or contradict the expectation of a sharp.

In this edition, the use of accidentals has been modernised so that they apply to the end of the bar in which they appear, unless cancelled by a natural. Thus, accidentals in the source that are made redundant by this convention have been tacitly removed (for example, the repetition of a sharp sign within the bar after a change in pitch), while accidentals that

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²³⁸ One exception to this policy occurs in the first four notes of the strings in bar 11 of the sixth setting, and at other instances where this motif reappears. Zelenka's beaming has been retained at these points because it describes an agogic accent that deliberately complements the shape of the slur, and modernising it would almost totally obscure this accent.

become necessary because of this convention have been tacitly added (for example, a natural sign needed to cancel a sharp or flat within the bar after a change in pitch). Editorial accidentals are placed in square brackets, and where an editorial accidental cannot be shown on the edited score on account of the conversion from baroque to modern conventions, a comment is made in the critical notes (see, for example, the last note in bar 23 of the first setting, page 79). Source cautionary accidentals have not been retained in the edition; added cautionary accidentals are placed in parentheses. Editorial bar lines (dashed) cancel accidentals, and accidentals required as a consequence of the addition of a dashed bar line have been added without further comment. Accidentals have been added tacitly to trill markings, where appropriate.

Original bass figures have been retained unless stated otherwise in the notes, and are given below the stave only. Due to faded ink and paper damage, it is sometimes difficult to identify whether accidentals and bass figures are in Zelenka's hand, or that of the copyist ZS 1 (see "The Sources"). For this reason, and because no grave consequences have been identified as a result of adopting this policy, all accidentals and bass figures have been treated as holograph. The basso ostinato figure in the fourth setting occasionally contradicts accidentals present in the vocal parts or implied in the figured bass (for example, the *a* in b.c., bar 35, see page 97). It is deemed preferable to maintain the integrity of the ostinato figure in such cases, and this has been suggested in the edition.

Notes

The following notes give source readings that have been rejected or altered in the edition, or document exceptional events in the source not accounted for by the policies described in the Editorial Methods. These notes follow the order: Bar number(s), part or parts (identified by their abbreviated name, with multiple parts separated by a comma), note number (if relevant), source reading or comment. Individual notes are separated by a forward slash (/).

Pitch names are standard: c' refers to middle C. Grace notes and rests are not included in the note count of each measure.

No. 1

Bars 1–6, S, A, T, text between square brackets reconstructed by analogy to B / Bar 6, B, note 1 missing: pitch reconstructed by analogy to B, rhythm by analogy to A, T / Bar 12, S, note 5, "lux" and "ex" both given / Bar 13, B, note 3, pitch is obscured by ink / Bar 13, S, note 2, "est" and "qua" both given / Bar 16, T, note 1, "-ta" missing / Bar 20, T, note 4, pitch is obscured by paper damage / Bar 22, b.c., third bass figure obscured by ink / Bar 23, S, note 1, performance indication partially lost; read as "Soli à 3" / Bar 23, S, note 6, flat sign lacking / Bar 24, T, source gives a single slur from note 2 to note 5 / Bar 25, b.c., note 1, vertical stroke is given at the end of bar 24 / Bar 27, b.c., note 1, stem missing due to paper damage / Bar 27, b.c., fifth bass figure gives two horizontal strokes / Bar 28, A, note 4, pitch obscured by ink / Bar 28, T, note 3 is c' with slur / Bar 29, S, note 6, rhythm and pitch obscured by ink / Bar 30, A, pitch of all notes could be g' or a' / Bar 32, b.c., third bass figure obscured by paper damage.

No. 2

Bar 3, b.c., note 1, flat sign given twice / Bar 3, vn., note 14, pitch could be g'' or a''' / Bars 3 and 4, T, text in square brackets reconstructed by analogy to B / Bar 4, A, notes 7 and 9 lack flat / Bars 5 and 6, S, T, text in square brackets reconstructed by analogy to B / Bar 5, A, text in square brackets reconstructed by extrapolation of text that follows / Bar 7, S, note 7, pitch obscured by ink / Bar 7, A, note 5, "qua" missing / Bar 7, b.c., note 1, vertical stroke is after the note / Bar 11, A, notes 1–3, text and notation partly obscured by ink; vertical stroke is on T stave / Bar 11, A, note 3, pitch obscured by paper damage / Bar 11, A, note 6 is a semiquaver; pitch could be d' or f' / Bar 11, b.c., note 2, pitch obscured due to paper damage: reconstructed by analogy to vn. / Bars 12–13, S, all notes, text in square brackets

reconstructed by analogy to B / Bar 14, T, all notes, text reconstructed by analogy to B / Bar 17, A, notes 3–5, notation obscured by ink and paper damage / Bar 17, B.c., note 1, dot obscured by paper damage / Bar 21, vn., note 15 lacks sharp / Bar 21, T, note 2, pitch obscured by ink / Bar 22, vn., notes 3, 5 and 7 lack flat / Bar 2 Bar 22, A, note 2, pitch obscured by ink.

No. 3

Bar 1, S, A, T, all notes, and bar 2, S, A, T, notes 1 and 2, text reconstructed by analogy to B / Bar 2, A, T, notes 3–7, text reconstructed by analogy to S / Bars 4–5, A, text in square brackets reconstructed by analogy to B / Bars 6–9, S, A, T, text in square brackets reconstructed by analogy to B / Bar 8, b.c., note 4, bass figure "5" is underneath bass figure "6" / Bars 11–12, A, T, text in square brackets reconstructed by analogy to S / Bars 14–16, A, T, text in square brackets reconstructed by analogy to B / Bar 16, S, text reconstructed by analogy to T / Bar 16, b.c., note 1, flat sign is attached to "6".

No. 4

Bars 1–19, S, A, T, text in square brackets reconstructed by analogy to B / Bar 8, b.c., notes 7 and 11 lack sharp / Bar 10, T, note 1, b' flat and d'' both given / Bar 16, B, notes 2–3, pitches obscured by ink / Bar 16, b.c., note 6, bass figure is under note 7 / Bar 17, b.c., notes 7 and 11 lack natural sign / Bar 21, b.c., note 6, bass figure gives single horizontal stroke only / Bars 24, 27 and 29, b.c., notes 7 and 11 lack sharp / Bar 27, b.c., note 1, bass figure obscured by ink / Bars 30–33, B, text reconstructed by extrapolation of preceding text / Bars 31 and 33, b.c., notes 7 and 11 lack natural sign / Bars 33 and 35, b.c., note 5, flat sign is attached to "7" / Bar 36, b.c., note 1, bass figure obscured by paper damage and ink / Bar 38, T, note 1, "-ra" missing / Bars 38–40, b.c., notes 7 and 11 lack sharp / Bar 39, A, text in square brackets reconstructed as per repeat symbol given in source (\div) / Bar 41, A, note 1, both f' sharp and a' given / Bar 50, S, note 1, vertical stroke given after note 1, "Vivace" given

above note 2 / Bar 51, A, note 3, tie obscured by paper damage / Bar 53, B, note 3, "pro" missing / Bar 56, S, all note durations obscured by ink / Bar 57, A, note 3, pitch obscured by paper damage / Bars 57 and 59, b.c., notes 7 and 11 lack sharp / Bar 58, A, notes 1–2 lost due to paper damage / Bar 59, A, four crotchet rests given.

No. 5

Bar 7, A, T, note 1, "-rum" lacking / Bars 7–10, S, A, T, text in square brackets reconstructed by analogy to B / Bar 8, T, note 1, accidental obscured by paper damage / Bar 11, S, "omnes" missing / Bars 11–16, A, T, text in square brackets reconstructed by analogy to B, as per repeat symbols given in source (\div) / Bar 16, S, notes 1–3, text reconstructed by analogy to B / Bar 17, vn. 1, note 24 is after bar line / Bar 17, T, note 3 lacks dot / Bar 18, A, note 4, text reconstructed by analogy to S / Bar 31, S, note 3, "-o-" missing / Bar 32, A, "-ra" missing / Bar 35, T, note 1, accidental obscured by stain / Bar 36, b.c., note 2, flat sign is attached to "6" / Bar 37, T, note 1, "-ra" missing.

No. 6

Bar 3, vn. 1, note 4 lacks sharp / Bar 10, b.c., note 2, bass figure gives two horizontal strokes; note 8, bass figure is # only, 4 added to match g'' sharp in vn. 1 / Bar 11, vn. 2, no notation given; read as "Unison" / Bar 13, vn. 1, note 1, pitch obscured by ink / Bars 14–15, A, T, text in square brackets reconstructed by analogy to S / Bar 17, va., note 6, pitch obscured by ink / Bar 17, T, notes 4–6, text reconstructed by analogy to A / Bars 17–19, S, text in square brackets reconstructed as per repeat symbol given in source (\div) / Bar 18, B, note 5 is a quaver / Bar 18, A, text in square brackets reconstructed as per repeat symbol given in source (\div) / Bar 21, A, T, text in square brackets reconstructed by analogy to B / Bar 22, vn. 2, va., note 9 lacks sharp / Bar 22, T, notes 3–6, text in square brackets reconstructed by extrapolation of preceding text / Bar 23, B, text in square brackets reconstructed as per repeat symbol given in source (\div) / Bar 24, vn. 2, note 3 lacks sharp / Bar 24, S, note 1, text

is "o-" / Bar 25, b.c., note 2, "Solo" given / Bar 29, b.c., note 7, bass figure is 6 / Bar 36, B, note 6 lacks sharp / Bars 36 and 38, b.c., note 4, bass figure gives two horizontal strokes / Bar 38, T, note 3, pitch obscured by stain / Bar 39, T, note 3, text obscured by paper damage / Bar 41, T, note 2, "-sa" missing / Bar 41, b.c., note 4, flat sign is attached to "6" / Bars 44 and 45, b.c., flat sign is attached to "6" in second bass figure / Bar 46, B, notes 1-2, text reconstructed by extrapolation of preceding text / Bar 47, vn. 1, note 6, accidental obscured by paper damage / Bar 52, b.c., note 1, bass figure unclear due to paper damage / Bar 53, A, note 2 is g', corrected to f' to match bass figure "6" / Bar 54, va., notes 5-6, pitches obscured by ink / Bar 54, vn. 2, note 10 lacks sharp / Bar 54, b.c., notes 3-4, pitches obscured by stain / Bar 55, vn. 1, note 13 lacks sharp / Bar 55, va., note 12 lacks sharp / Bar 56, vn. 1, notes 3, 12, and 16 lack sharp / Bar 56, va., notes 3 and 4 lack sharp / Bar 56, S, note 1, "-o-" missing / Bar 57, vn. 1, note 4 lacks sharp, notes 11, 13 and 15 lack flat / Bar 57, va., notes 12 and 16 lack flat / Bar 57, b.c., note 3, flat sign is attached to 6 / Bar 58, vn. 1, note 8 lacks sharp / Bar 58, va., note 7 lacks sharp, note 14 obscured by paper damage / Bar 59, T, note 2 not given / Bar 61, S, T, text reconstructed by analogy to B / Bar 63, b.c., notes 3-4, crotchet rest also given / Bar 67, vn. 1, notes 4 and 16 lack sharp / Bar 67, va., note 15 lacks sharp / Bar 68, va., note 3 is a quaver / Bar 68, S, note 2, pitch obscured by paper damage / Bar 70, B, text reconstructed by analogy to T / Bar 71, A, note 2 is a crotchet / Bar 73, vn. 1, note 12 lacks sharp / Bar 73, va., note 11 lacks sharp / Bar 73, S, note 1, "-o-" missing / Bar 77, va., note 2, pitch obscured by paper damage / Bar 78, va., notes 2-5, source is damaged, all markings lost; notation in square brackets reconstructed by analogy to va., bars 11-12 / Bar 78, b.c., note 4, stem obscured by paper damage.

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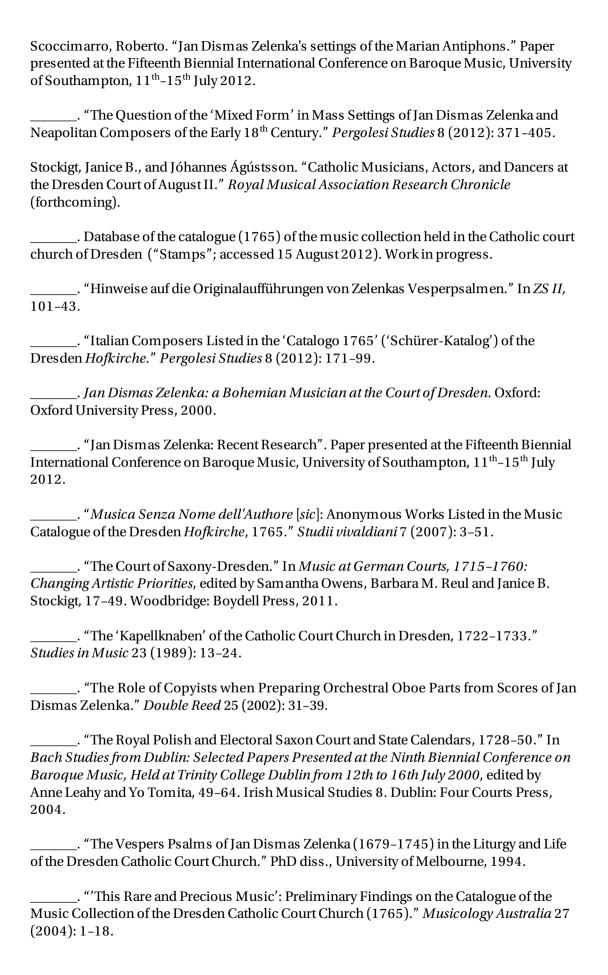
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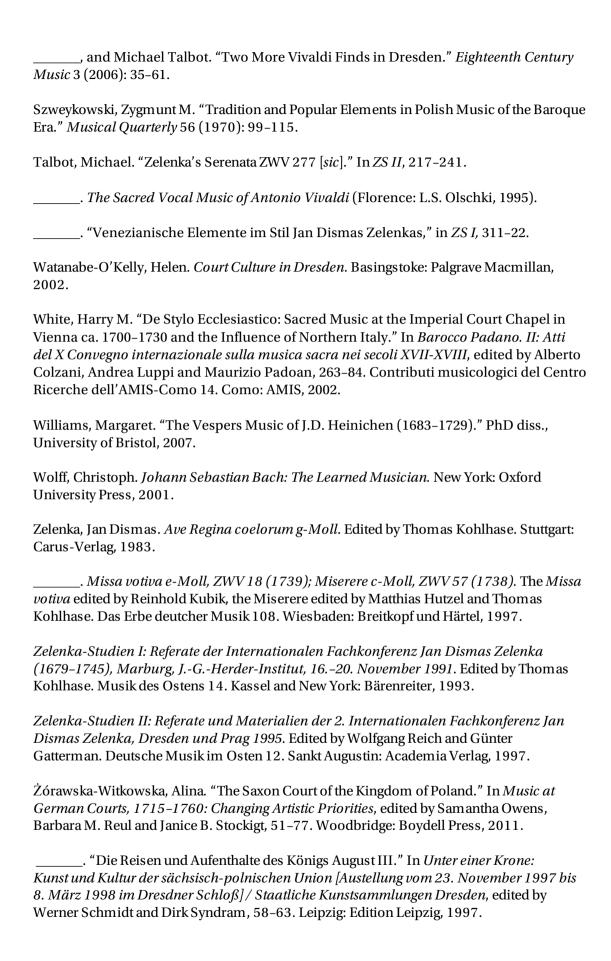
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Appendix A: A Catalogue of the Known Repertoire of Marian Antiphons at the Catholic Court Church of Dresden, ca. 1708–65

Appendix A provides a catalogue of the known repertoire of Marian antiphons in the collection of, or associated with, the Catholic court church of Dresden during the period ca. 1708–65. The appendix comprises four tables, one for each Marian antiphon text, that list alphabetically by composer the Marian antiphons found in the Catalogo (1765), Zelenka's *Inventarium*, Zelenka's collection of works not listed in the *Inventarium*, as well as works by composers not represented in the Catalogo (1765) or Zelenka's collection, but associated with the church (such as works by Heinichen). Works marked with an asterisk (*) are listed under "Musica / Senza Nome dell'Autore" in the Catalogo (1765), Schrank III, Fach 30, ²³⁹ and relevant peculiarities relating to listings in the Catalogo (ca. 1780+) are also mentioned.

The first three columns give the composer's name (standardised), thematic index numbers where available, and scoring details for each work (if quotation marks are used, the quote comes from the corresponding entry in the Catalogo [1765], unless otherwise stated). The fourth column lists the performance materials available at 1765 where known (either a score, a set of parts, or both), and the fifth column gives their location at that time, in the order Schrank (using roman numerals), Fach, Lage (both using arabic numerals). If the

²³⁹ The two anonymous *Alma redemptoris mater* settings were formerly held at Lage 1 (currently held at *CZ Pak* 1475 Sign 1420); the three anonymous *Salve regina* settings were formerly held at Lage 3, Lage 7 and Lage 8 respectively; and the Rathgeber *Salve regina* duplex was formerly held at Lage 5 and attributed to Zelenka (*ZWV* 219, formerly held at *D-Dl* Mus. 2358-E-15,1/15,2). Attributions are discussed in Stockigt, "*Musica Senza Nome*," passim. Other anonymous Marian antiphons listed in the Catalogo (1765) are a score for an *Alma redemptoris mater* setting (for "3. voci, 2. Sopr. / e Basso con stromenti"; Schrank III, Fach 30, Lage 2); a set of parts for a *Salve regina* setting (for "Contr. S. con strom."; Schrank III, Fach 30, Lage 6); and a score for a *Salve regina* setting (for "4. voci con strom."; Schrank III, Fach 30, Lage 9; a suggested attribution follows).

work is listed in Zelenka's *Inventarium*, this is indicated in the same column using "*Inv.*" followed by page and item numbers separated by a forward slash (/). The letter "Z" in parentheses in that column indicates that the work was part of Zelenka's collection but is not listed in the *Inventarium*. A large portion of the former repertoire of Dresden's Catholic court church entered the collection of the Königliche Öffentliche Bibliothek in 1908 (renamed the "Königliche Landesbibliothek" in 1917 and "Sächsische Landesbibliothek" in 1919). ²⁴⁰ If the performance materials bear a stamp, this is recorded in the sixth column. ²⁴¹ The following abbreviations apply:

BMR Bibliotheca Musica Regia

SLB Sächs. Landes-Bibl.

DKH Sächs. Landesbibliothek. Depositum der Kath. Hofkirche

The right-most column lists extant performance materials and their current call numbers.

Sources missing since the Second World War are marked with a cross (†).

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²⁴⁰ Landmann and Reich, Musikabteilung, 62.

 $^{^{241}}$ Information on stamps has been taken from Janice B. Stockigt, Database of the catalogue (1765) of the music collection held in the Catholic court church of Dresden ("Stamps"; accessed 15 August 2012), work in progress.

Alma redemptoris mater

Composer	Thematic Index	Scoring	Materials at 1765	Former Location (Schrank, Fach, Lage)	Stamp	Current Materials, call no. (D-Dl Mus.)
$\mathrm{Anonymous}(2)^*$		"N.° 1.°) a 4. voci co' VV ⁿⁱ . / Viola, Trombe e Timp. / N.° 2.°) a 4. voci con strom."	score / parts score / parts	III, 30, 1	~.	۵.
Anonymous*	1	" $N.^{\circ}3.^{\circ}$) a 3. voci, 2. Sopr. / e Basso con stromenti."	score	III, 30, 2	۵.	~-
Bernabei, G. Antonio	1	ATB soli, b.c. [canon]	score	I, 3, 2; Inv. 43/3	BMR; sticker (A 32); SLB	MS score copy, 2119-E-1
Fux, J. Joseph	K 187	S solo, 2 vn., va., b.c.	score / parts	I, 14, 13; Inv. 43/2	Sticker (A 117)	Autogr. score, 2130-E-1; (parts †)
Galuppi, Baldassare	Burde: II/63	A solo, 2 vn., va., b.c.	score	I, 19, 4	DKH	MS score copy, 2973-E-7
Hasse, J. Adolf	Hansell 116	A solo, 2 vn., va., b.c.	parts	I, 28, 2	SLB	20 MS parts, 2477-E-34
Heinichen, J. David	Seibel 23	SATB soli, ch., 2 ob., 2 vn., va., b.c.	score / [parts?]	,	DKH	MS score, 2398- E-1; (31 parts†)

Novàk, Jan Frantisek - SATB soli, ch., 2 vn., va., b.c. ("a Capella") Philippi, Jan Jiría - "1.º a 3. voci, Sopr. Contr. e B. / senza stromenti 2.º a 2. voci. Sopr. e Contr. / con due Viole e Basso." Rathgeber, J. Valentin Op. 5 "4. voci con strom. "" Ristori, G. Alberto - "N.º 1.) a Sopr[ano]: Solo, co' VV. "/ Viola, Basso e Flauti." - "2.º) a 4. voci, co' VV. "/ Viola e Basso."					
Op. 5		score	II, 6, 7; (Z)	DKH	MS score copy, 3847-E-2
Op. 5	Sopr. Contr. romenti sopr: e Contr. / e Basso."	score / parts	II, 10, 11; (Inv. 43/11, 43/12?)	~ ·	~ .
1		parts	П, 16, 1	DKH	7 MS parts, 2395-E-3
- "2.º) a 4. voci, co' V e Basso."		score / parts	II, 26, 1	۰.	Missing†
		score / parts	II, 26, 2	ç	Missing†
- " $ m N^{o}3.^{o}a4.vociconstrom^{ti}$."		score / parts	II, 26, 3	~ .	Missing†
- "4.º) a 4. voci con s	con strom <u>"</u> "	score / parts	II, 26, 4	~ .	Missing†
- "5.º) a 4. voci con s	con strom <u>"</u> "	score / parts	II, 26, 5	۰.	Missing†
- "6.º) a Contr[alto]: S[olo]. con strom ^{i.} ."		score / parts	II, 26, 6	~ ·	Missing †

Zeiler, Gallus ^b	1	S solo, [2 ob. ad lib,] 2 vn., va., b.c.	score	III, 5, 2; Inv. 43/7	DKH	MS score copy, 3158-E-2; parts (E-1)
	1	A solo, [2 ob. ad lib,] 2 vn., va., b.c.	score	III, 5, 3; Inv. 43/8	ОКН	MS score copy, 3158-E-3; parts (E-1)
		T solo, [2 ob. ad lib,] 2 vn., va., b.c.	score	III, 5, 4; Inv. 43/9	ркн	MS score copy, 3158-E-4; parts (E-1)
		B solo, [2 ob. ad lib,] 2 vn., va., b.c.	score / parts	III, 5, 5; Inv. 43/10 (E-5 only?)	ркн	2 MS score copies, 3158-E-5/6; one set of parts (E-1)
Zelenka, J. Dismas	ZWV 125	SATB ch., 2 vn., b.c.	score / parts	III, 16, 5; (Inv. 43/1?)	1	Autogr. score (fragment), 2358- E-4; (23 parts†)
	ZWV 124	SATB ch., vn., 2 va. [?], b.c.	score / parts	III, 16, 6; (Inv. 43/1?)	ркн	Autogr. score, 2358-E-5; (22 parts†)
	ZWV 123	S solo., 2 vn., b.c.	score / parts	III, 16, 7; Inv. 43/4	ОКН	Autogr. score, 2358-E-3; (15 parts†)
	ZWV 126	A solo, 2 fl., 2 vn., va. ad lib., b.c.	score / parts	III, 16, 8; Inv. 43/6	ркн	Autogr. score, 2358-E-2; (17 parts †)

ZWV 127	SA soli, ob., vn., vc., b.c.°	score / parts	III, 16, 9; Inv. 43/5	DKH	Autogr. score, 2358-E-6;
					(8 parts†)
These works were shelved and catalogued together in the Catalogo (1765), thus it is assumed that sets of parts existed for both. I suggest that these settings were	ued together in the Catalogo (1765), th	us it is assumed that	sets of parts existed fo	r both. I suggest that th	ese settings were
also listed in Zelenka's <i>Inventarium</i> (43, nos. 11-12; listed as anonymous works in <i>ZD I</i> , 30, nos. 14-15).	, nos. 11-12; listed as anonymous work	s in ZD I, 30, nos. 14-	.15).	})
^b It seems likely that parts for the first three settings by Zeiler (those listed here for S, A and T soli) were listed in the Catalogo (1765) under "16. Antiphonae"	ree settings by Zeiler (those listed here	for S, A and T soli) w	ere listed in the Catal	ogo (1765) under "16. A	ntiphonae"
(Schrank III, Fach 5, Lage 11), and in the Catalogo (ca. 1780+) under "16. Antiphona / B.V.M" (Schrank III, Fach 7, Lage 11), now held at D-DI Mus. 3158-E-1.	e Catalogo (ca. 1780+) under "16. Antiț	hona / B.V.M" (Schr	ank III, Fach 7, Lage 1	1), now held at D - Dl M	us. 3158-E-1.
Krombach writes that the original scoring for Zeiler's Marian antiphons (published in Augsburg, 1732) did not include viola. It is likely that the viola part was added	ng for Zeiler's Marian antiphons (publi	shed in Augsburg, 17	32) did not include vi	ola. It is likely that the	riola part was added
for performance in Dresden. Gabriela Krombach, "Die Marianischen Antiphonen von Abt Gallus Zeiler," in Abt Gallus Zeiler OSB (1705-1755) und die Musikpflege	rombach, "Die Marianischen Antipho	nen von Abt Gallus Z	eiler," in Abt Gallus Z	eiler OSB (1705–1755) ı	ınd die Musikpflege

The Catalogo (ca. 1780+) gives scoring as "à 3. voci / 2. Sopr: e Contralt....," this is probably a misreading of the title page of the work, which reads, "Alma Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Bayerische Musikgeschichte (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2007), 111. Redempto- / -ris Mater: / à 2 / C: A:..."

im Kloster St. Mang in Füssen: Bericht über das interdisziplinäre Symposium anlässlich des 300. Geburtstages von Gallus Zeiler, veranstaltet von der Gesellschaft

Klostermusik in Schwaben und der Gesellschaft für Bayerische Musikgeschichte. Füssen, 29. April-1. Mai 2005, ed. Stephan Hörner and Friedrich W. Riedel,

Ave regina coelorum

Composer	Thematic Index	Scoring	Materials at 1765	Former Location (Schrank, Fach, Lage)	Stamp	Current Materials, call no. (D-Dl Mus.)
Aufschnaiter, Benedict	ı	SATB soli, ch., 2 vn, va., b.c.	score / parts	I, 1, 9; Inv. 45/2	DKH (score) SLB (parts)	MS score copy, 2005-E-2; 21 parts (E-2a)
Einwaldt, Carl	ı	Four settings: "4. voci, co' VV™ Viola / e Basso."	score / parts	I, 12, 2; Inv. 45/7, 1-4 (listed as "Ave Maria")	& :	8:
Galuppi, Baldassare	Burde: II/66	A solo, 2 vn., va., b.c.	score	I, 19, 5	ркн	MS score copy, 2973-E-8
Hasse, J. Adolf	Hansell 118	A solo, 2 ob., 2 vn., va., b.c.	score / parts	1, 28, 3	DKH (score) SLB (parts)	MS score copy, 2477-E-11; 20 parts (11a)
	Hansell 117	A solo, 2 ob., 2 vn., va., b.c.	parts	I, 28 4	SLB	18 MS parts, 2477-E-10
Heinichen, J. David	Seibel 24	SA soli, 2 fl., 2 ob., 2 vn., va., b.c.	score	1	DKH	Autogr. score, 2398-E-6

Novàk, Jan Frantisek		Two settings. No. 1: SATB ch., 2 cn., 2 vn., va., b.c.; No. 2: SATB ch., 2 vn., va., b.c.	score	II, 6, 8; (Z)	DKH	MS score copy, 3847-E-1
Reichenauer, J. Anton	ı	A solo, 2 va., b.c.	score	II, 16, 6; Inv. 48/3ª	DKH	MS score copy, 2494-E-1
Ristori, G. Alberto	ı	"4. voci, co' VV. ⁿⁱ / Viola, Flauti e Basso."	score / parts	II, 26, 7	~-	Missing †
	ı	"4. voci con strom $^{\mathrm{ii}}$."	score / parts	II, 26, 8	~-	Missing †
Zeiler, Gallus	1	S solo, [2 ob. ad lib,] 2 vn., va., b.c.	score / parts	III, 5, 6; Inv. 45/3	DKH	MS score copy, 3158-E-7; 5 parts (E-1)
	1	A solo, [2 ob. ad lib,] 2 vn., va., b.c.	score / parts	III, 5, 7; Inv. 45/4	DKH	MS score copy, 3158-E-8; 5 parts (E-1)
	1	T solo, [2 ob. ad lib,] 2 vn., va., b.c.	score / parts	III, 5, 8; Inv. 45/5	DKH	MS score copy, 3158-E-9; 5 parts (E-1)
		B solo, [2 ob. ad lib,] 2 vn., va., b.c.	score / parts	III, 5, 9; Inv. 45/6	DKH	MS score copy, 3158-E-10; 5 parts (E-1)

Zelenka, J. Dismas	ZWV128	Six settings. No. 1: SAT soli,	score / parts	III, 16, 10;	SLB, DKH	Autogr. score
		SATB chorus, b.c.; No. 2: A		$Inv. 46/6^{b}$		and one violin
		solo, SATB chorus, [2 ob.?],				part, 2358-E-20;
		vn., va., b.c.; Nos. 3-4: SATB				(31 parts †)
		chorus, b.c.; No. 5: [SATB				
		soli?], SATB chorus, 2 ob., 2				
		vn., va., b.c.; No. 6: STB soli,				
		SATB chorus, [2 ob.?], 2 vn.,				
		va., b.c.				
	ZWV 232	"à 4[.] Vv: 2 Viola e / organo."	٥٠	$Inv.\ 45/1$	۵.	۵۰

^a Listed in the *Inventarium* as a *Salve regina* setting. See *ZD II*, 206.
^b These six works are listed in the *Inventarium* as "6 Regina", mistakenly under the heading "Regina coeli."

Regina coeli

	Index	Scoring	Materials at 1765	Former Location (Schrank, Fach, Lage)	Stamp	Current Materials, call no. (D-Dl Mus.)
Galuppi, Baldassare	Burde: II/68	S solo, 2 vn., va., b.c.	score	I, 19, 6	DKH	MS score copy, 2973-E-6
Hasse, J. Adolf	MülH 168/4	A solo, ch., 2 ob., 2 vn., va., b.c.	score / parts	I, 28, 5	DKH	MS score copy, 2477-E-3b ^a
Heinichen, J. David	Seibel 102	AT soli, ch., 2 ob., 2 vn., va., b.c.	score		DKH	Autogr. score, 2398-E-4
	Seibel 101	SAT soli, ch., 2 fl., 3 ob., bn., 2 vn., va., b.c.	score	1	DKH	Autogr. score, 2398-E-3
Ristori, G. Alberto	ı	"4. voci co' VV. ¹¹ Viola / e Basso."	score / parts	П, 26, 9	<i>~</i> ·	Missing†
Zeiler, Gallus		S solo, [2 ob. ad lib,] 2 vn., va., b.c.	score / parts ^b	III, 5, 10; Inv. 46/5,1	DKH	MS score copy, 3158-E-11; 5 parts (E-1)
		A solo, [2 ob. ad lib,] 2 vn., va., b.c.	score / parts	III, 5, 10; Inv. 46/5,2	DKH	MS score copy, 3158-E-12; 5 parts (E-1)

	1	T solo, [2 ob. ad lib,] 2 vn., va., b.c.	score / parts	III, 5, 10; Inv. 46/5,3	DKH	MS score copy, 3158-E-13; 5 parts (E-1)
	1	B solo, [2 ob. ad lib,] 2 vn., va., b.c.	score / parts	III, 5, 10; Inv. 46/5,4	DКН	MS score copy, 3158-E-14; 5 parts (E-1)
Zelenka, J. Dismas	ZWV 129 $^{\circ}$	Three settings for SATB ch., 2 ob., 2 vn., va., b.c.	score / parts	III, 16, 11	DКН	Two autogr. scores, one part-autogr. score (no. 3), 2358-E-16; (35 parts †)
	ZWV 131	"Sopr. o Ten. Solo / con stromenti" [<i>Inventarium</i> entry gives "Sop: Solo. Vvioli 2. Ob: 2 / Viola e Bass. Conti:"]	score / parts	III, 16, 12; Inv. 46/1	φ.	Missing
	ZWV 132	"2. voci, Sopr. / e Contr. co' $\mathrm{VV}^{\mathrm{ni}}$. e Flauti." d	score / parts	III, 16, 13; Inv. 46/4	<i>~</i> ٠	Missing
	ZWV 134	SSA soli, 2 ob., 2 vn., va., b.c.	score / parts	III, 16, 14; Inv. 46/2	DKH	Autogr. score, 2358- E-19; (15 parts†)
	ZWV133	SATB ch., 2 ob. [ad lib.], 2 vn., va., b.c.	score	III, 16, 15	DKH	Score (incomplete), 2358-E-17
	ZWV130	S.S. soli, SSATB ch., vn., b.c.	score / parts	III, 16, 16; Inv. 46/3	DKH	Autogr. score, 2358- E-18; (27 parts†)

^a The original parts are missing, although performance materials prepared at a later time, and various other score copies, are held by SLUB.

¹ Stockigt gives scoring as "Can e Alto: VViolin 2, ob. 2, Traverso 2, Viola e Organ"; see Stockigt, Zelenka, 299. The Catalogo (ca. 1780+) also lists "Fag."

individual compositions are not listed, they can be found in the Catalogo (1765) as "16. Antiphonae" (Schrank III, Fach 5, Lage 11), and in the Catalogo (ca. 1780+) as b The Catalogo (1765) and Catalogo (ca. 1780+) give conflicting information regarding the presence of sets of parts to Zeiler's Marian antiphons. Where parts to the "16. Antiphona / B.V.M" (Schrank III, Fach 7, Lage 11).

^c Only one listing is provided in the Catalogo (1765). Three individual incipits are given in the Catalogo (ca. 1780+), grouped together by a vertical bracket.

Salve regina

Composer	Thematic Index	Scoring	Materials at 1765	Former Location (Schrank, Fach, Lage)	Stamp	Current Materials, call no. (D-DI Mus.)
Anonymous*	1	"a Sopr. S. con strom."	score / parts	III, 30, 3; (Inv. 48/5?)	۵.	~-
Anonymous*	1	"a Contr. S. con strom."	score / parts	III, 30, 7; (Inv. 49/12?)	~ ·	۶.
Anonymous*	1	"a Contr. S. con strom."	score / parts	III, 30, 8; (Inv. 48/8?)	~ ·	۶.
Brunetti, G. Gualberto	1	"4. voci con stromenti."	score	I, 5, 6	DKH (score only)	MS score copy, 4387-E-1; 31 parts (after ca. 1785, E-1a)
Harrer, J. Gottlob	1	"à 5. instrument[i?] ad / libitu[m]."	<i>~</i> .	<i>Inv.</i> 49/15	<i>٠</i> ٠	۵-
Hasse, J. Adolf	Hansell 124	S solo, 2 vn., va., b.c.	[score?] / parts	I, 28, 6	DКН	MS score copy, 2477-E-29; (20 parts†)

	Hansell 126	"Sopr: overo Contralt. / con stromenti" [S solo, 2 vn., va., b.c.]	[score?] / parts	1, 28, 7	DKH	MS score copy, 2477-E-23; (22 parts †)
	Hansell 120	A solo, 2 vn., va., b.c.	[score?] / parts	I, 28, 8	ркн	MS score copy, 2477-E-12; (64 parts †)
Majo, Giuseppe de	1	S solo, 2 vn., va., b.c.	score	II, 5, 1	Inner cover: A 220 ^e [pencil]	MS score copy, 2475-D-1
Mayer [Wenzel?]	r	S solo, 2 vn., 2 ob., va., b.c.	score / parts	II, 5, 6	SLB (E-1); Sticker A 230 (E-1a)	MS score copy, 2371-E-1; set of 10 parts (E-1a); set of 4 parts (E-1b)
Moro, Giulio	ı	"Sopr: Solo con strom. <u>"</u> "	score	11, 5, 8	۶۰	(MS score copy †)
Novàk, Jan Frantisek ["Novari"]	1	"à 4 con stromenti: / e Basso Conti:"	۰.	<i>Inv.</i> 49/16	c	۵.
Pergolesi, G. Battista	Paymer 76	A solo, 2 vn., va., b.c.	score / parts	II, 9, 1	DKH (both); Sticker [red ink] a ' 40' (D-12a)	2 MS score copies, 3005-D-12/12a; (2x14 parts †)
Picinetti, G. Felice Maria	1	S solo, 2 vn., va., b.c.	score	II, 10, 6; (Inv. 49/14?)	DKH	MS score copy, 3161-E-1
Pisani, Giovanni		"4. voci con strom. $^{ ext{ii}}$ "	score / parts	II, 10, 8	ė	.

Rathgeber, J. Valentin	Op. 5 nos. 6, 2*	"Duplex. 1.º a B. Solo / 2.º) a 2. Sopr. con strom."	score / parts	III, 30, 5; (Inv. 48/9?)	~-	2 MS score copies, 2395-E-5,1/5,2
Ristori, G. Alberto	1	"Soprano Solo, co' / VV. ¹¹ Viola e Basso."	score / parts	II, 26, 10	~٠	Missing †
	ı	"Sopr: S. con strom <u>"</u> ."	score / parts	II, 26, 11	<i>~</i> .	Missing †
	ı	"2. Sopr: e Contralto / co' VV. ⁿⁱ V. ^{la} B. e Flauti."	score / parts	II, 26, 12	~-	Missing †
	ı	"4. voci con strom $^{\mathrm{ti}}$."	score / parts	П, 26, 13	<i>د</i> ٠.	Missing†
	ı	"4. voci con strom $^{\mathrm{ii}}$."	score / parts	II, 26, 14	<i>~</i> .	Missing †
	ı	"4. voci con strom $^{\mathrm{ii}}$."	score / parts	II, 26, 15	<i>~</i> .	Missing †
Reichenauer, J. Anton ^b	ı	A solo; 2 vn., [va.?], bc.	[score / parts]?	Inv. 48/3 (III, 17, 3?)	~٠	MS score copy, 2494-E-2
Uhlig, Augustin	1	S solo, fl. ["traversa"], vn. [b.c.]	۵۰.	Inv . $49/10$	۵۰.	۵۰
Vignati, Giuseppe	ı	[SSAT soli], SSATB ch., [2 ob.?], vn., va. ["concertato"], b.c.°	score / parts	III, 4, 3; Inv. 48/4	DKH	MS score copy, 2246-D-1; (27 parts †)

Villicus, Balthazar	1	S solo, ob. ["conc ^{to} "] vn., va., b.c.	score / parts	III, 4, 4; Inv. 49/13	DKH	[Autogr.?] score copy, 2820-E-1; (parts missing or lost)
	ı	"Soprano Solo / con Violino e Flauto conc." [b.c.]	score / parts	III, 4, 5; (Z)	SLB	[Autogr.?] score copy, 2820-E-2; set of 5 parts (E-2a)
Zabradeczky [?] ^d	ı	SATB ch., 2 vn., b.c.	score / parts	III, 5, 1	ркн	Set of 7 MS parts, 2880-D-1; (score missing or lost)
Zach, Johann		"à 4 con stromenti: / e Basso Continu:"	ç	<i>Inv.</i> 49/17	œ.	۵.
Zeiler, Gallus ^e		S solo, [2 ob. ad lib,] 2 vn., va., b.c. ^f	score / parts	III, 5, 11	ркн	MS score copy, 3158-E-15; 5 MS parts, 3158-E-1
		A solo, [2 ob. ad lib,] 2 vn., va., b.c.	[score?] / parts	III, 5, 11	ркн	5 MS parts, 3158-E-1
	1	T solo, [2 ob. ad lib,] 2 vn., va., b.c.	score / parts	Inv. 49/11,1 (III, 17, 2?)	DKH (parts only)	MS score copy, 3158-E-16.1; 5 parts (E-1)

Inv. 49/11,2 DKH MS score copy, (III, 17, 2?) (parts only) 3158-E-16.2; 5 parts (E-1)	7, 1; DKH Autogr. score, 2358-E-8; (19 parts †)	7, 4; DKH Autogr. score, 48/1 2358-E-10; (5 parts †)	7, 5; DKH Autogr. score, 2358-E-14.1; (32 parts †, possibly includes parts for ZWV 136).	7, 6; DKH Autogr. score, 2358-E-14.2; (see above)	Catalogo (ca. ? Set of parts, 2358-1780+) only: E-12 (missing)	? No Dresden source	? No Dresden
score / parts Inv. 4	score / parts III, 17, 1; Inv. 48/2	score / parts ^h III, 17, 4; Inv. 48/1	score / parts III, 17, 5; Inv. 48/6	score ^j / parts III, 17, 6; Inv. 48/7	parts Catal 1780 III, 10		۰.
B solo, [2 ob. ad lib,] 2 vn., va., b.c.	S solo, fl., 2 ob., 2 vn., va., b.c.	B solo, 2 ob., 2 vn., b.c.	SATB soli, ch., 2 ob., 2 vn., va., b.c.	SATB ch., vn. [unison], b.c.	Two settings: "Duplex à 4. voci / co' VV. ¹¹ Viola ed Org."	SATB ch., 2 ob., 2 vn., va., b.c.	SATB ch., 2 vn., va., b.c.
1	ZWV 135	ZWV 139	ZWV 140	ZWV 136	ZWV 138	ZWV 137	ZWV 141
	Zelenka, J. Dismas ^g						

Autogr. score,	2358-E-9	Set of parts, 2358- E-7 (missing)
DKH		۵۰
1		~ ·
score		parts
[Adapted as $ZWV135$]		~.
ZWV204		ZWV 205

This sticker is found on the frontispiece of several manuscripts of Italian music thought to have arrived in Dresden from Naples ca. 1738-40. The purpose of the sticker is not yet known. See Stockigt and Bacciagaluppi, "Neapolitan Collection," 152 and 163, esp. Table 5.

The Catalogo (ca. 1780+) also lists "Oboi". Although no indication is given on the score, parts for these instruments may have been present.

No part exists for viola, although the Catalogo (ca. 1780+) lists scoring for that instrument. I suggest that the score for this work is listed in the Catalogo (1765) as the .780+) at Schrank III, Fach 26, Lage 9. The parts are listed in the Catalogo (1765) at Schrank III, Fach 5, Lage 1, and in the Catalogo (ca. 1780+) at Schrank III, Fach 7, ast of seven unidentified Salve regina settings, under the heading "Musica / Senza Nome dell'Autore", at Schrank III, Fach 30, Lage 9, and in the Catalogo (ca.

The sets of parts for Zeiler's Salve regina settings are listed in the Catalogo (1765) under "16. Antiphonae" (Schrank III, Fach 5, Lage 11). The scores to Zeiler's Salve ocation Schrank III, Fach 17, Lage 2, titled "Duplex. 1.°) a Ten. S. / 2.°) a 2. Sopr. con stromⁱⁿ, although the obvious discrepancy in the scoring of the second work is egina settings for tenor and bass soloists could not be viewed. It is possible that they are the same works listed in the Catalogo (1765) under Zelenka's name at the disconcerting. A Salve regina duplex by Zeiler was formerly attributed to Zelenka (ZWV 217) and held at D-Dl Mus. 2358-E-13.

The score for this work, formerly attributed to Rathgeber, is listed under that composer's name in the Catalogo (1765) at the location Schrank II, Fach 16, Lage 2. The score bears the stamp DKH, and was formerly held at D-Dl Mus. 2395-E-4.

masses ("Messa delli Apostoli" and "Messa della donna") respectively, from Fiori musicali (1635). Both are attributed to Zelenka, with sources held in Berlin and 3 ZWV 137 and ZWV 141 are parodies on "Canzon quarti toni" and "Recercar dopo il Credo" from Girolamo Frescobaldi's (1583-1643) second and third organ Warsaw. See Stockigt, Zelenka, 299.

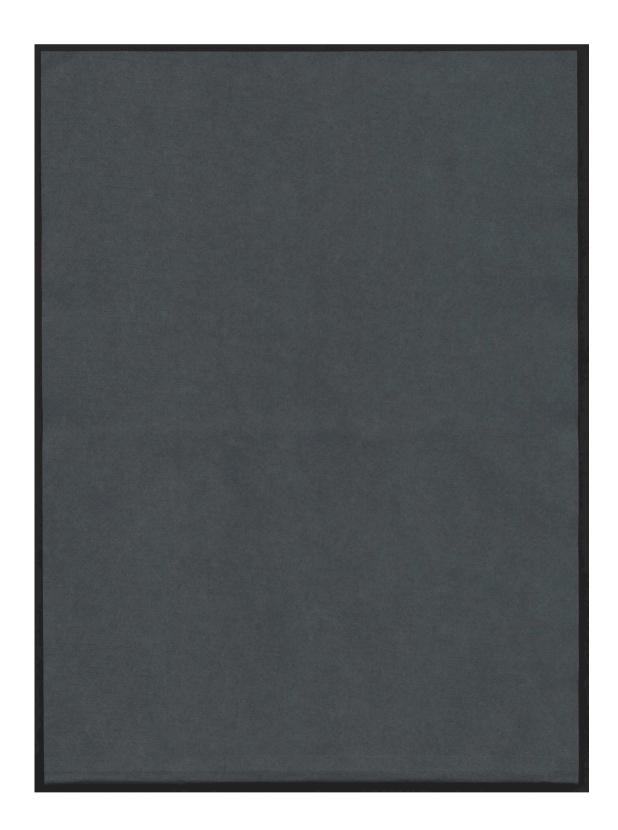
This set of parts is listed in the Catalogo (1765) but unlisted in the later catalogue. This must have been an oversight, because at some point they came to be held at SLB (later SLUB).

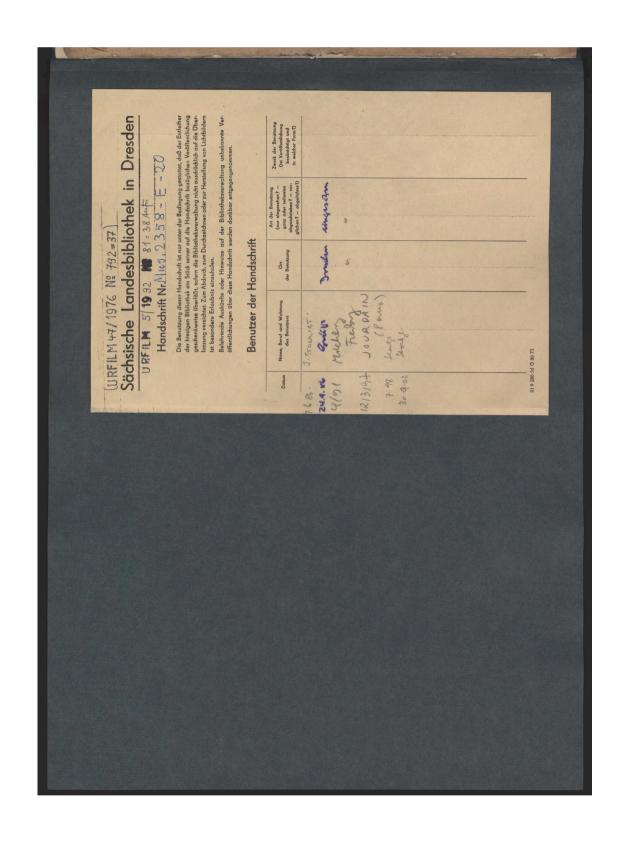
See 7D II 301

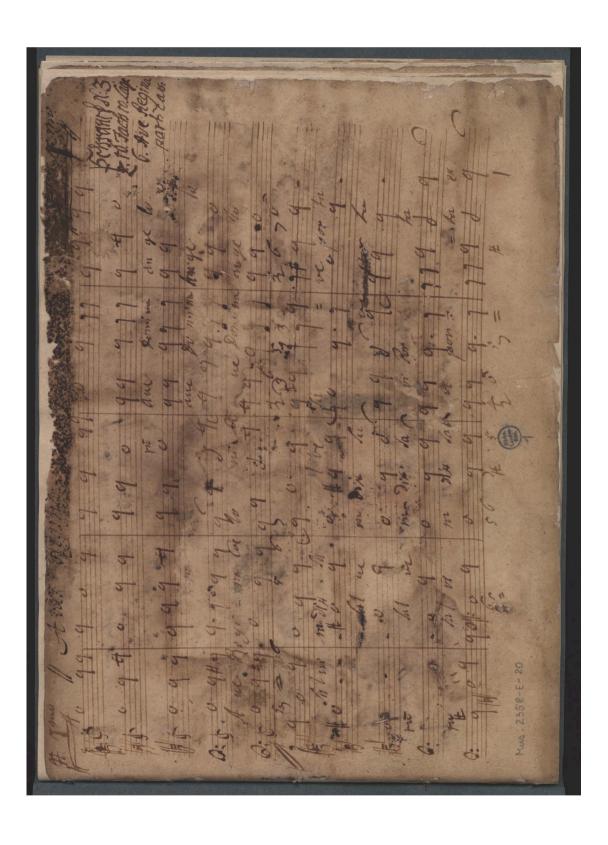
itled "N.º 3.º) a Contr. S. con strom." A Salve regina setting in D minor by Reichenauer was formerly attributed to Zelenka (ZWV 218) and held at D-Dl Mus. 2358-E-11. The set of parts is absent from the Catalogo (ca. 1780+), indicating that at some point between 1765 and the time of writing the second catalogue the parts went It seems likely that a score and parts for this setting in D minor is listed in the Catalogo (1765) under Zelenka's name at the location Schrank III, Fach 17, Lage 3,

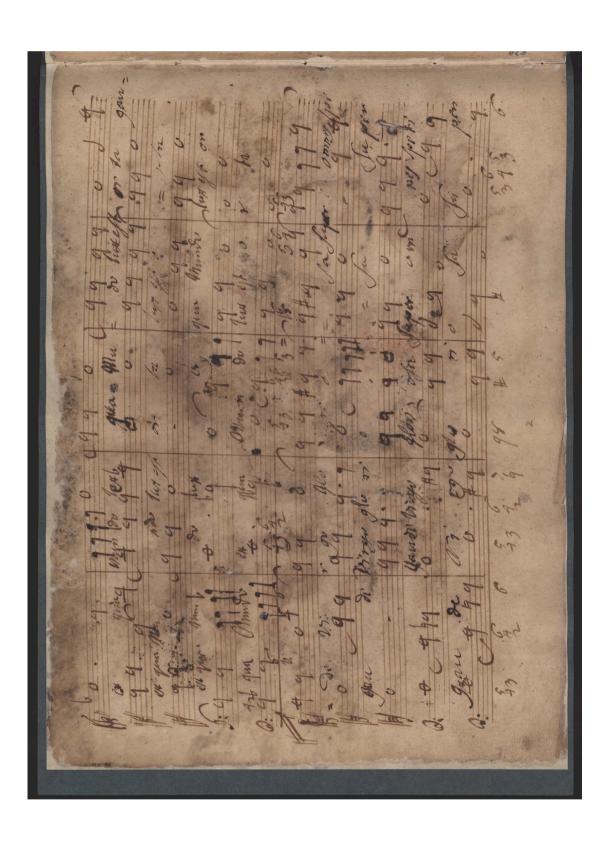
The score is unlisted in the Catalogo (1765), but is listed in the Catalogo (ca. 1780+) in Schrank III, Fach 16, Lage 12.

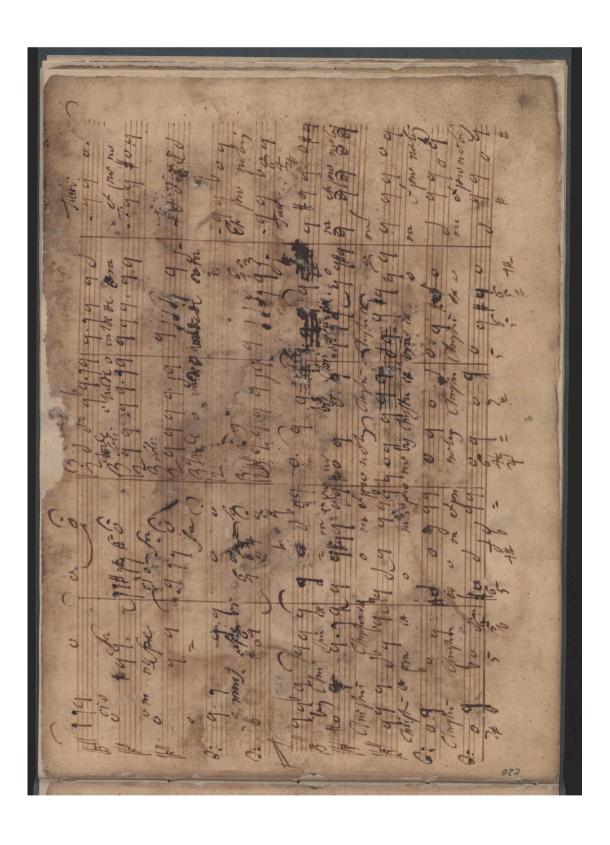
Appendix B: The Facsimile Manuscripts of *ZWV* **128**

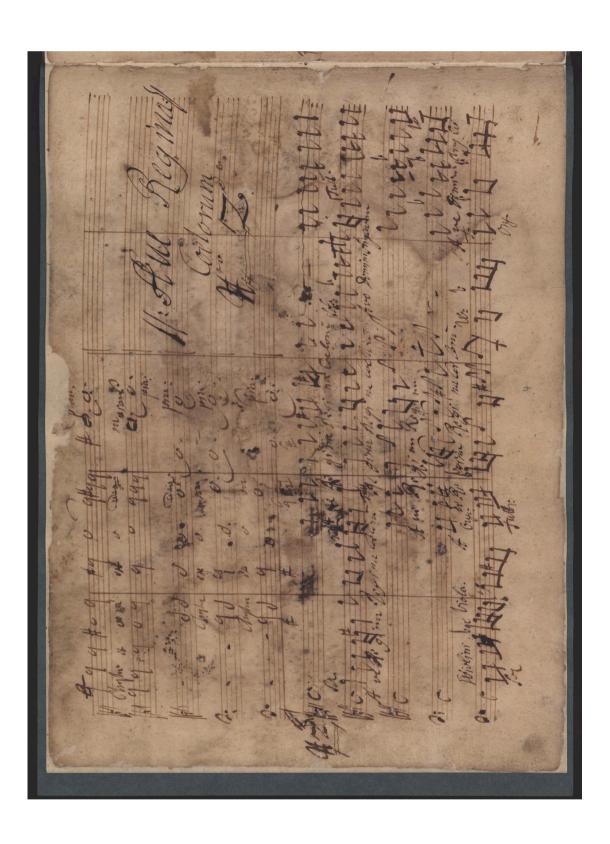


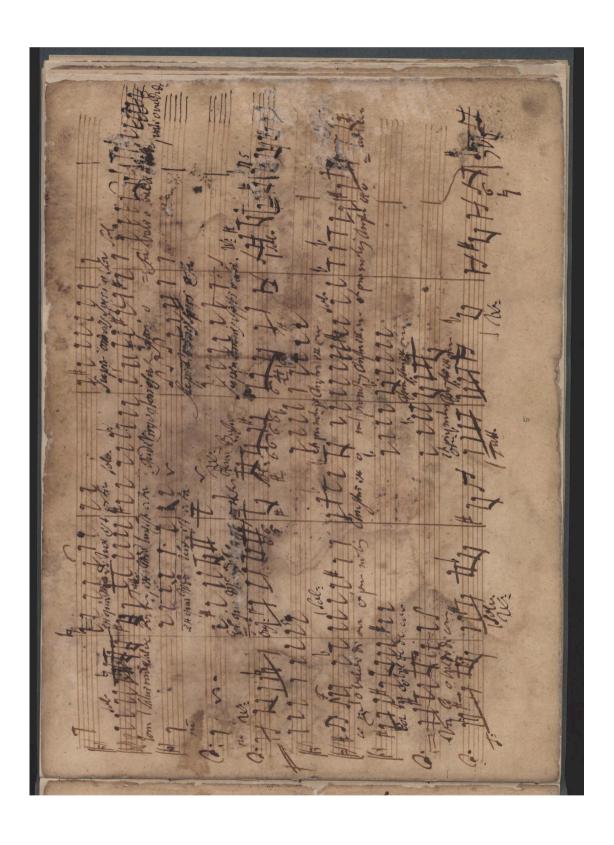


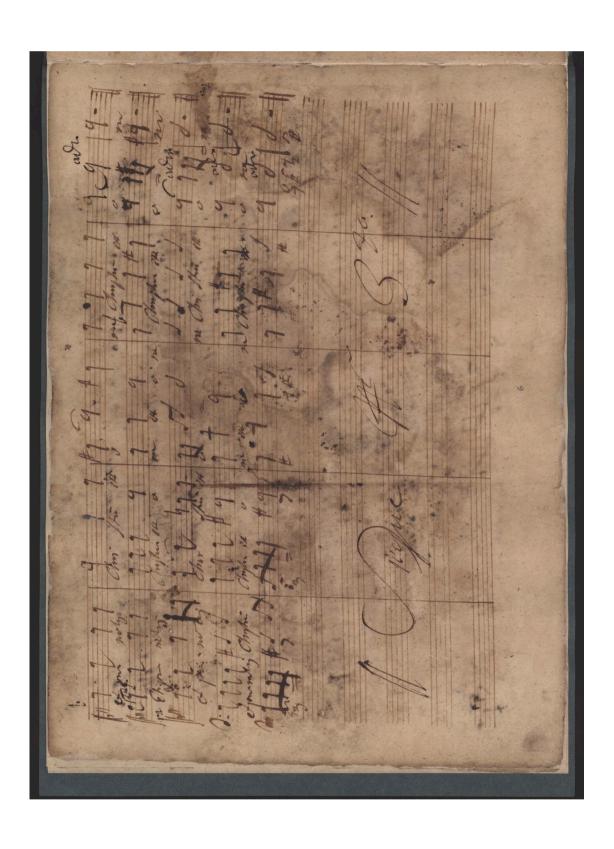


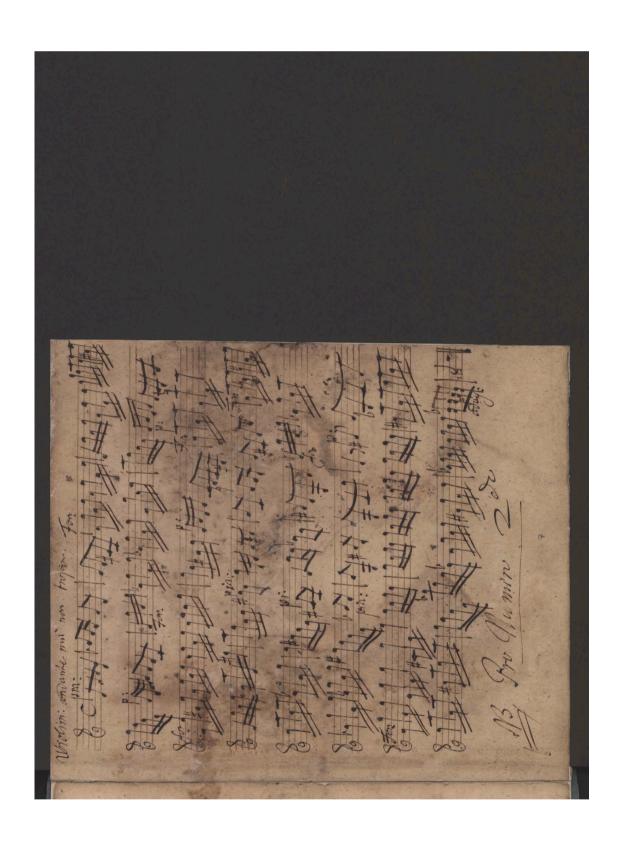




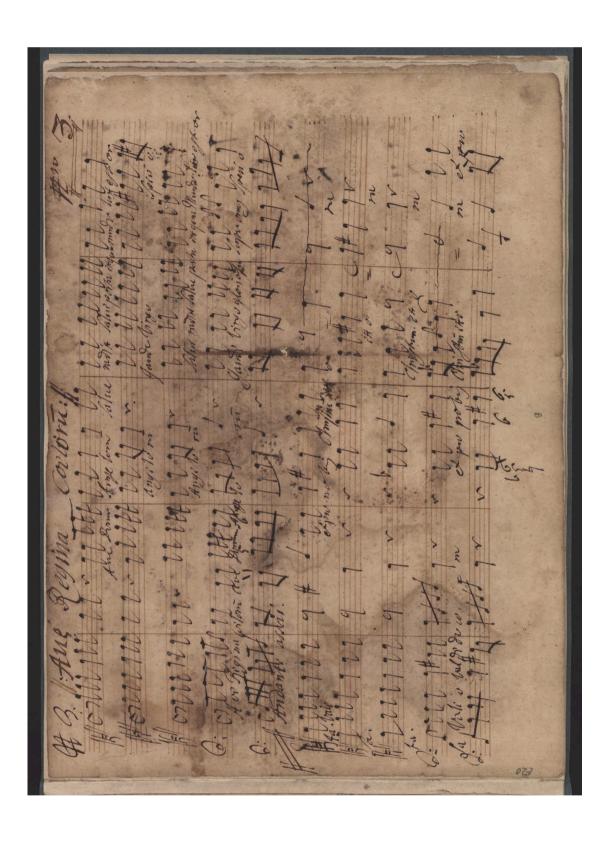


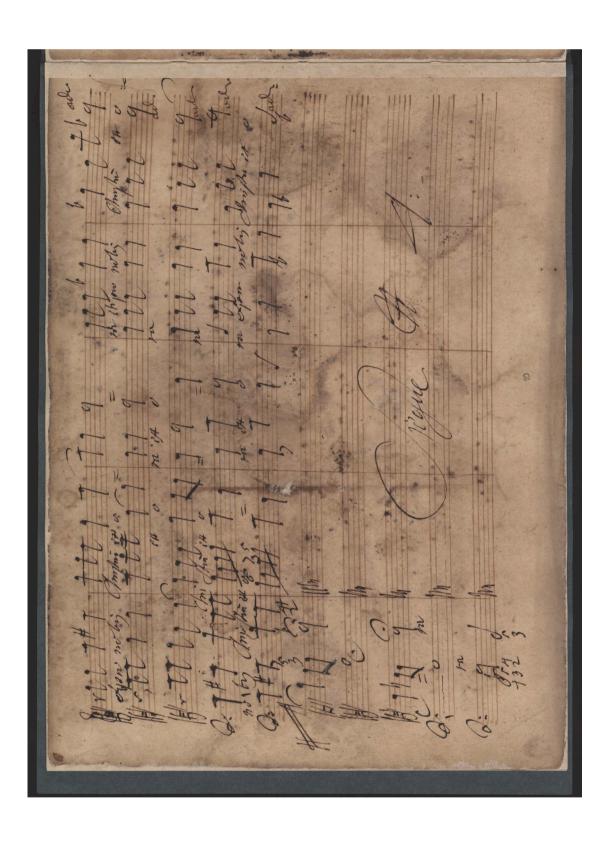


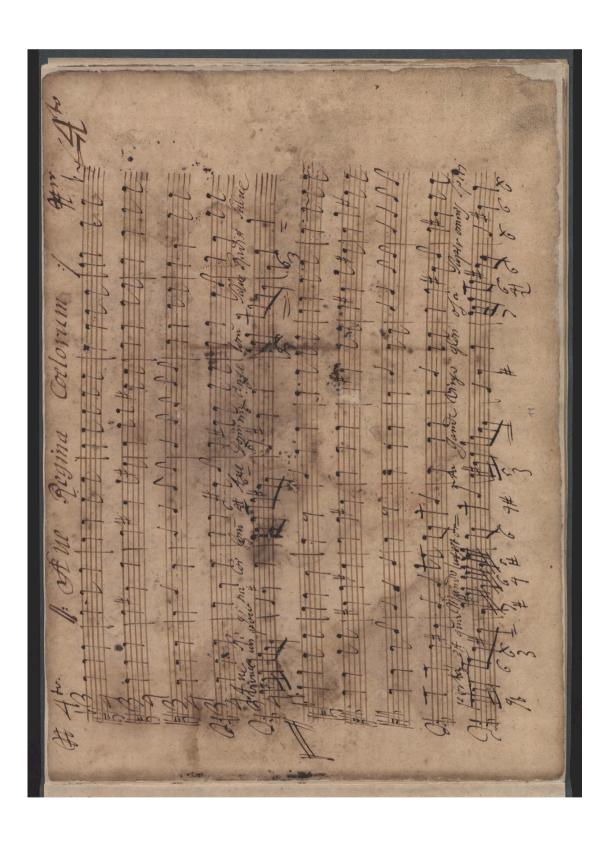


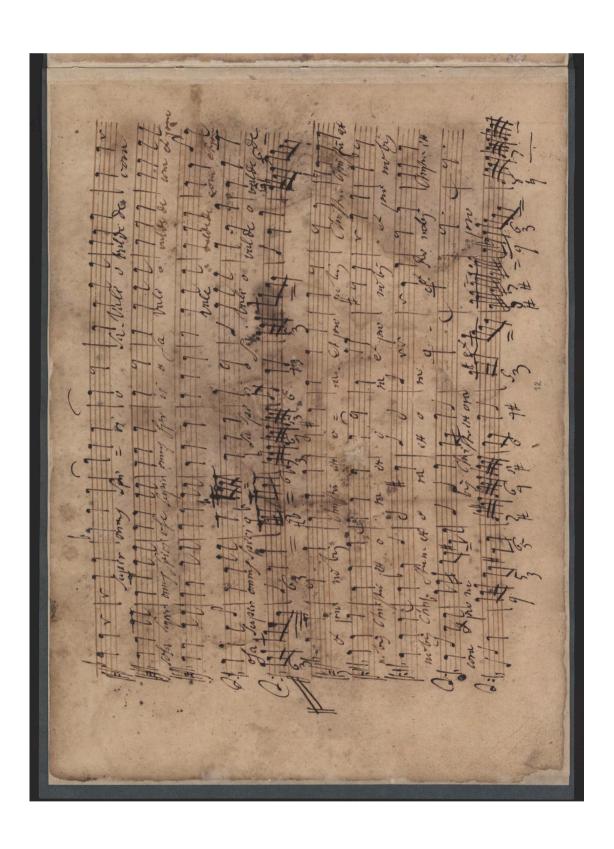


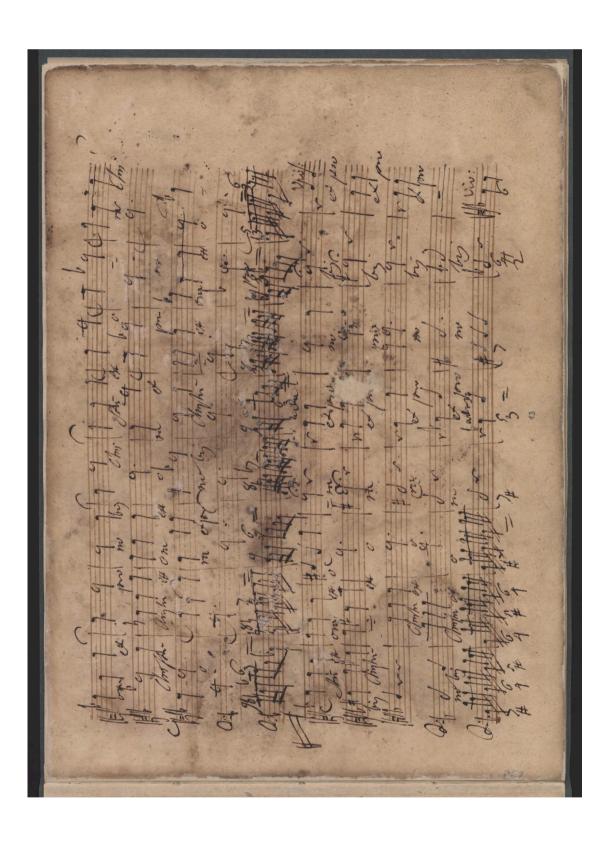


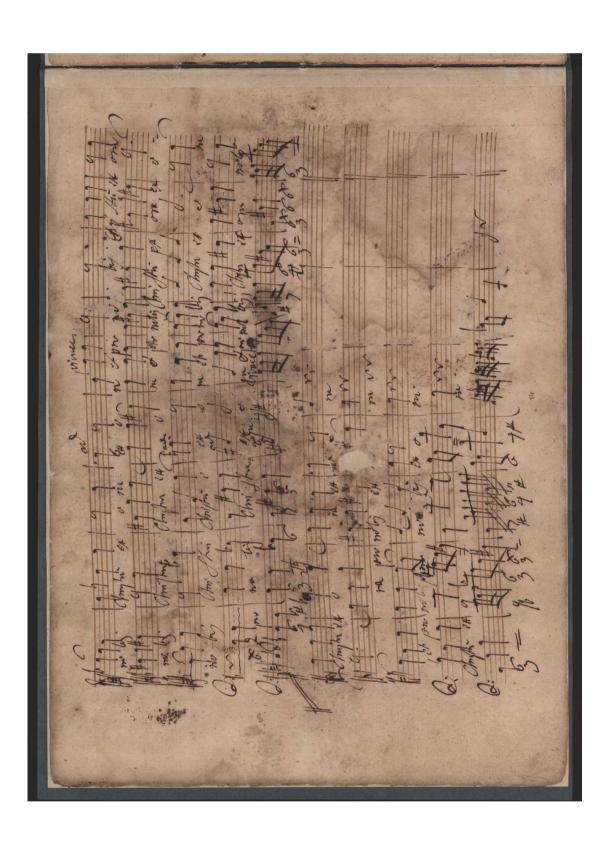




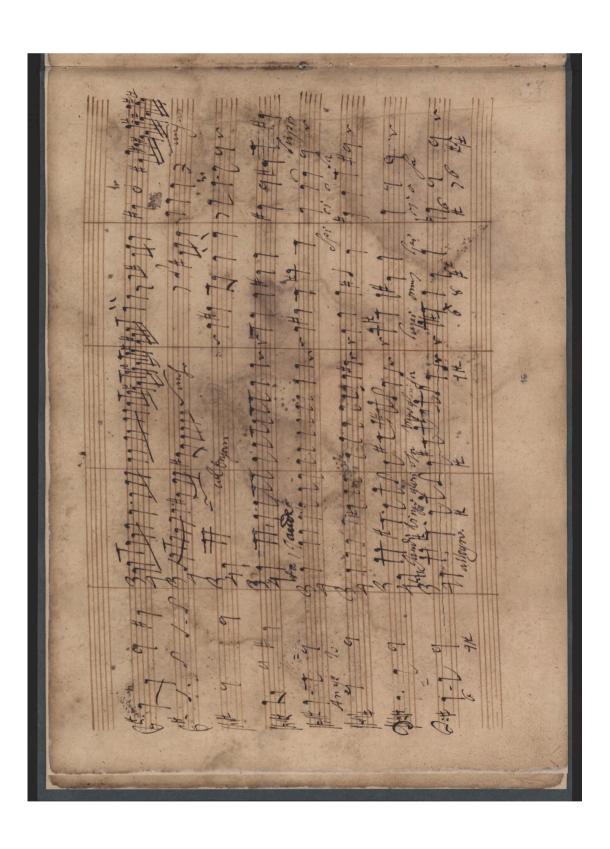


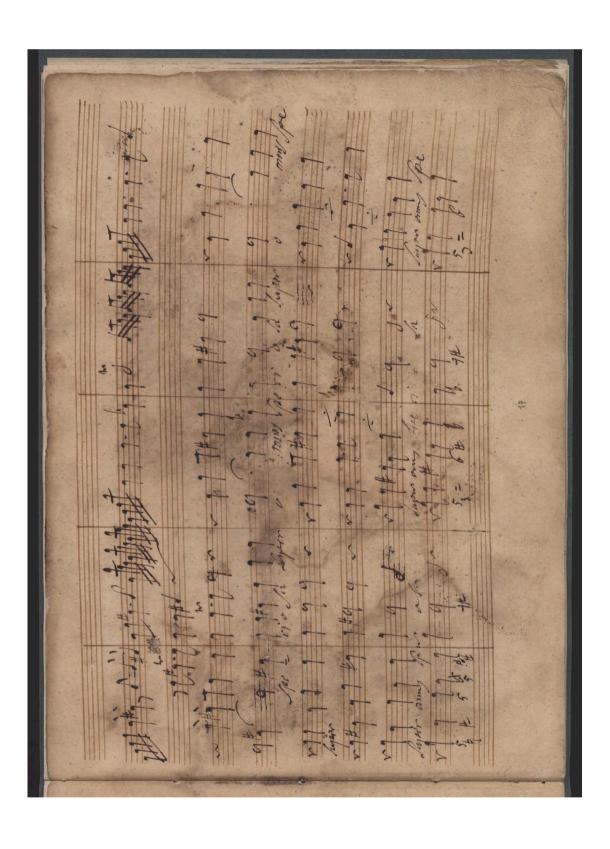


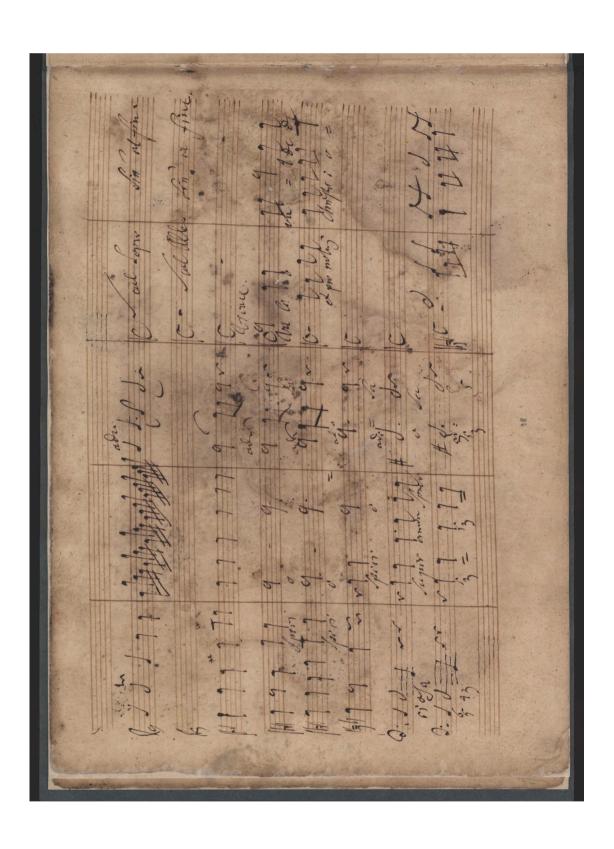




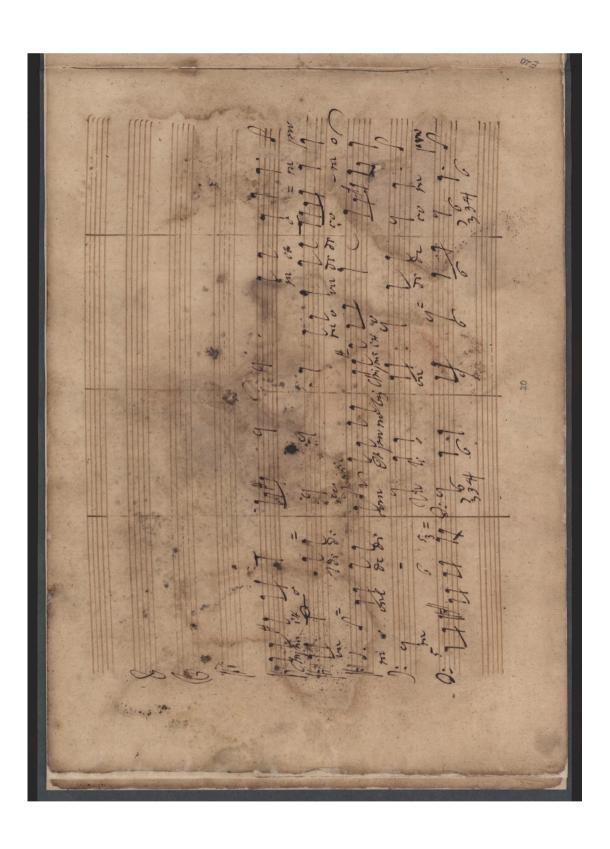


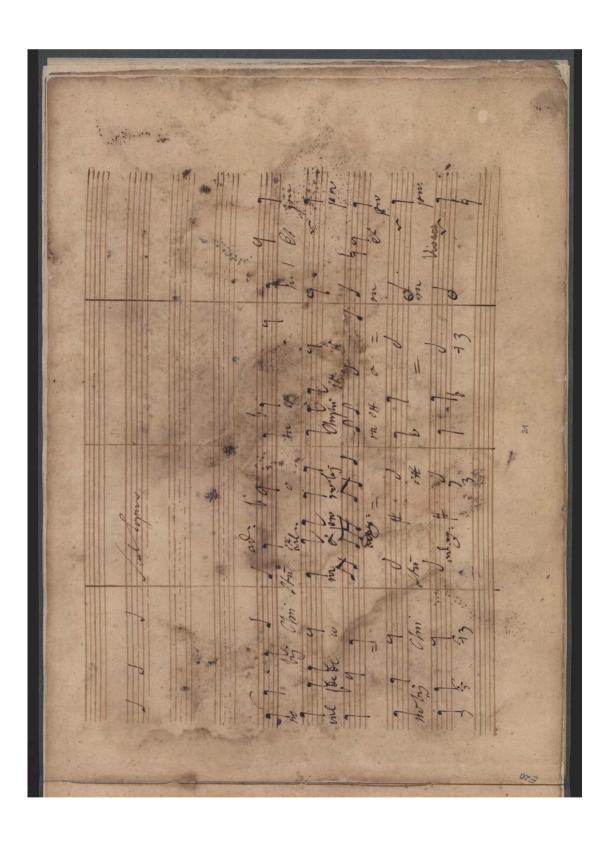


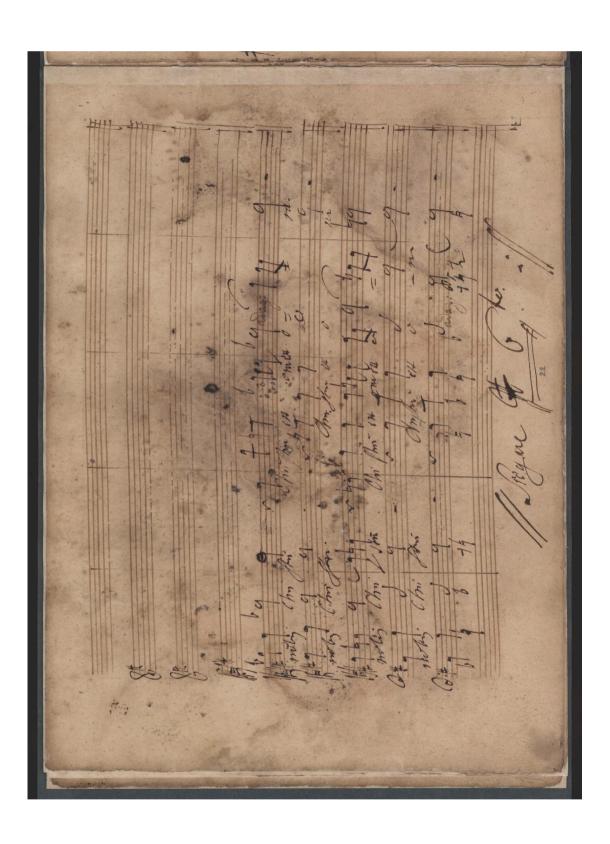


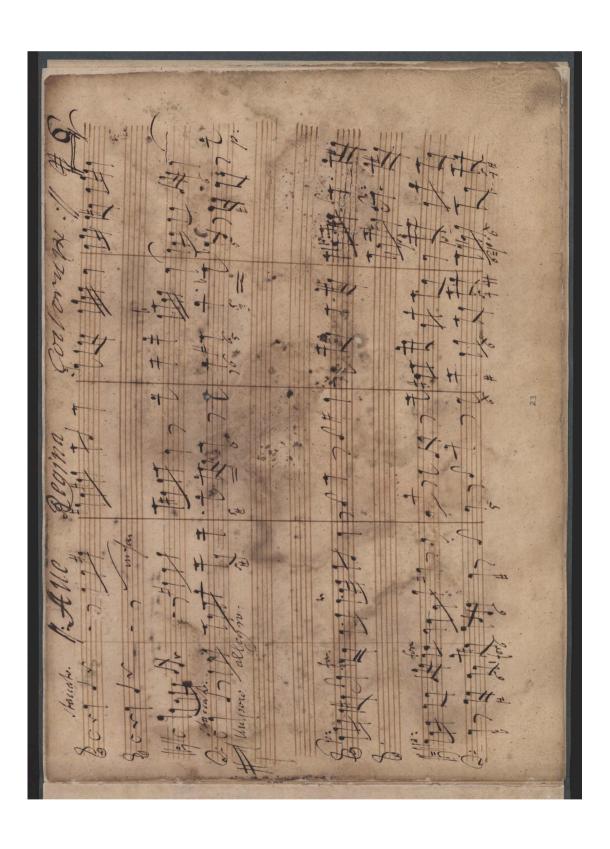


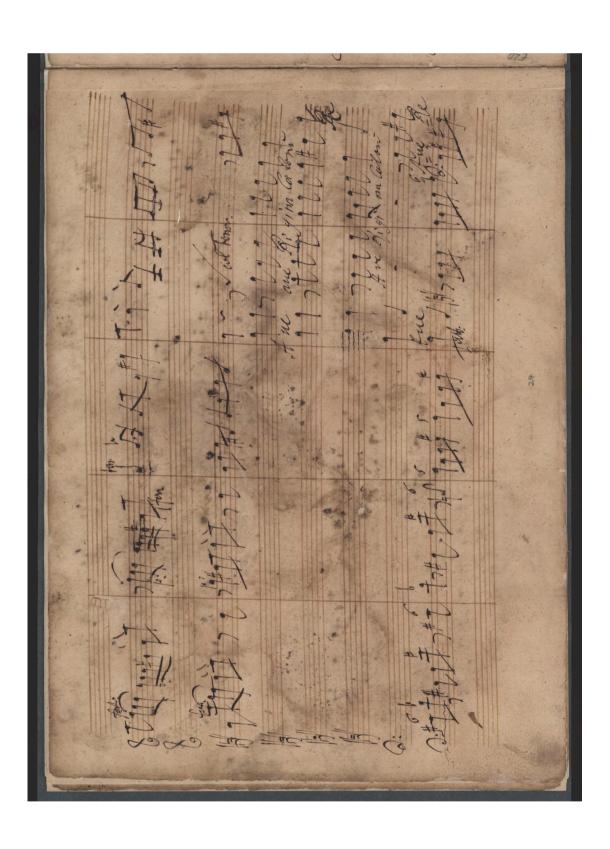


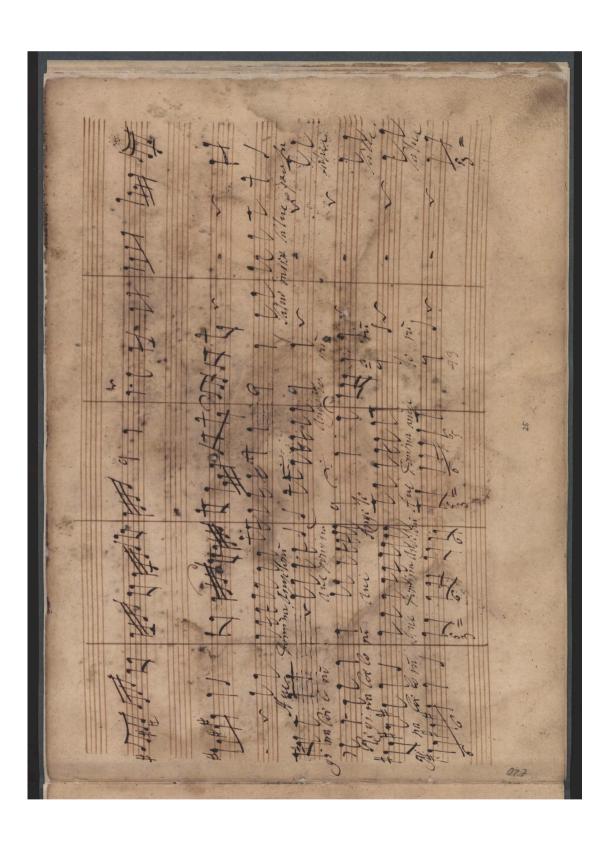


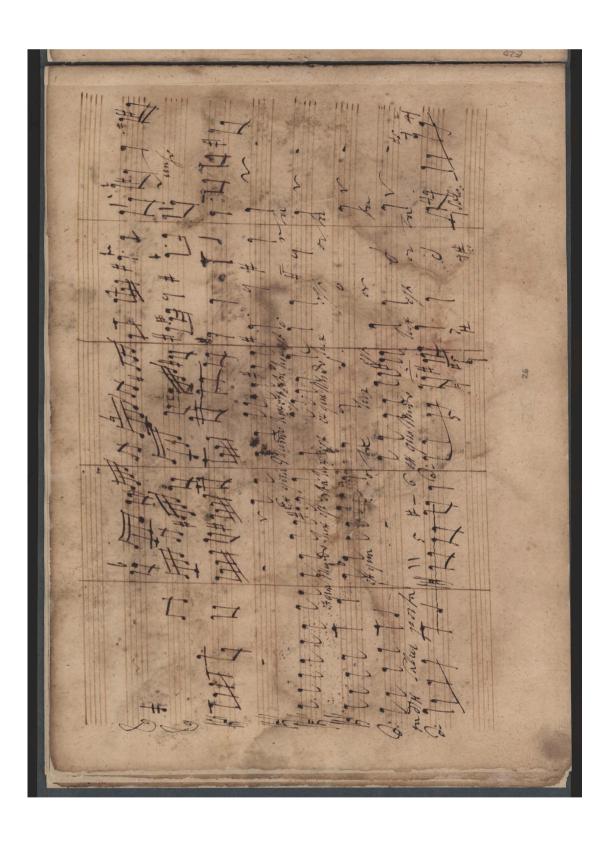


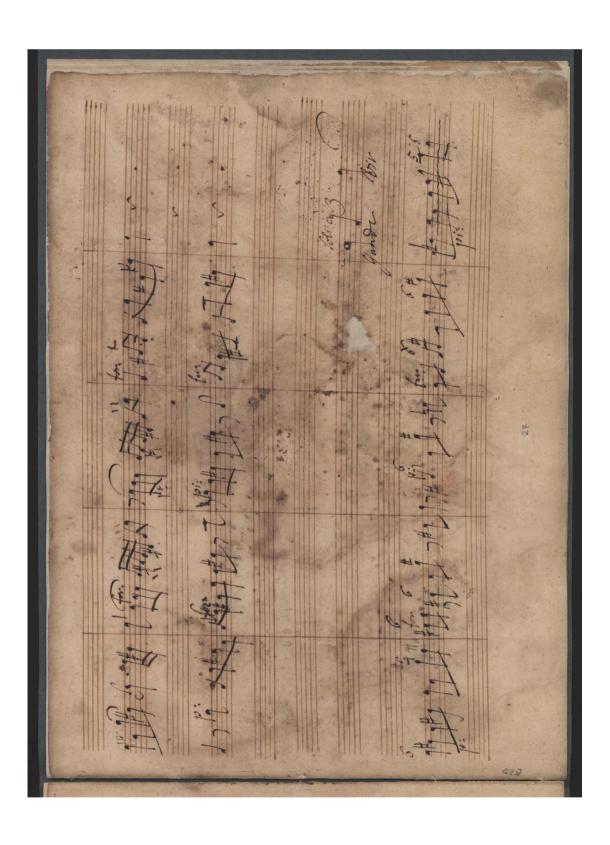




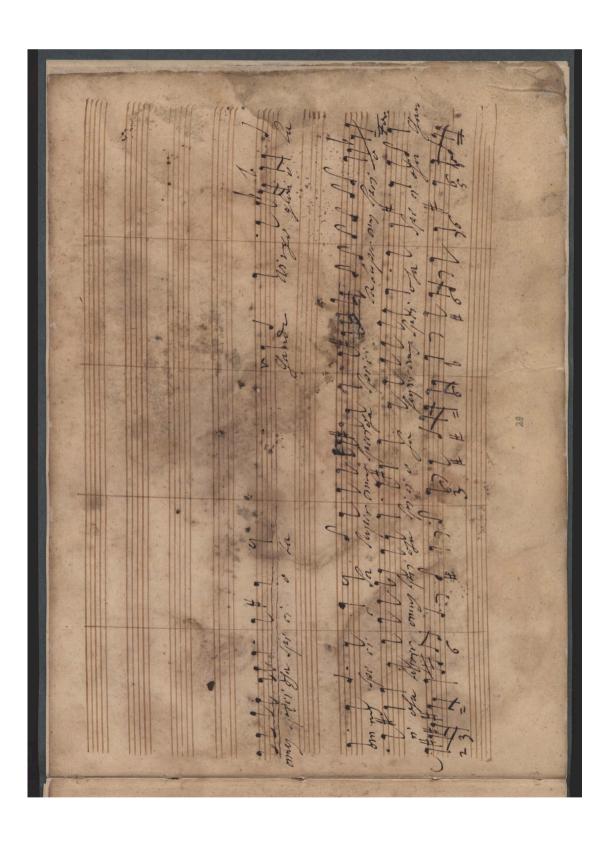




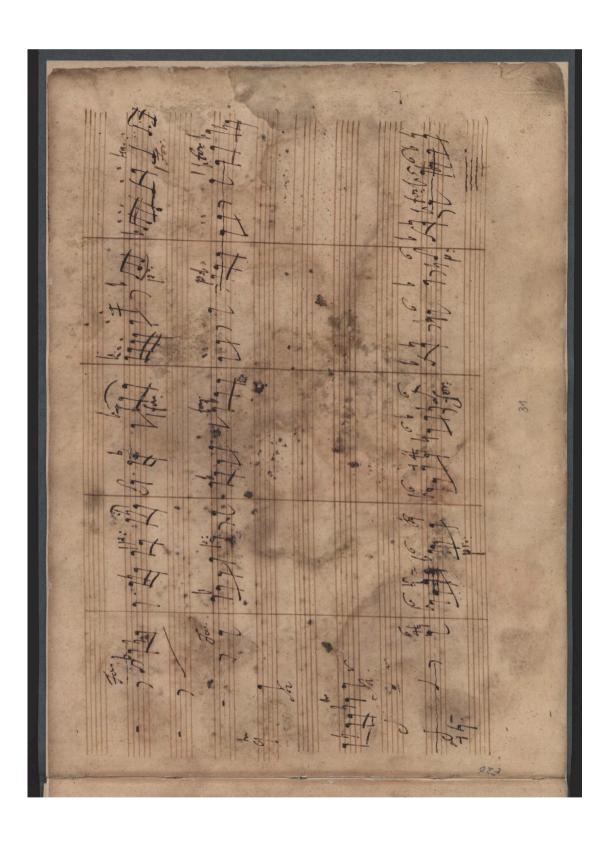


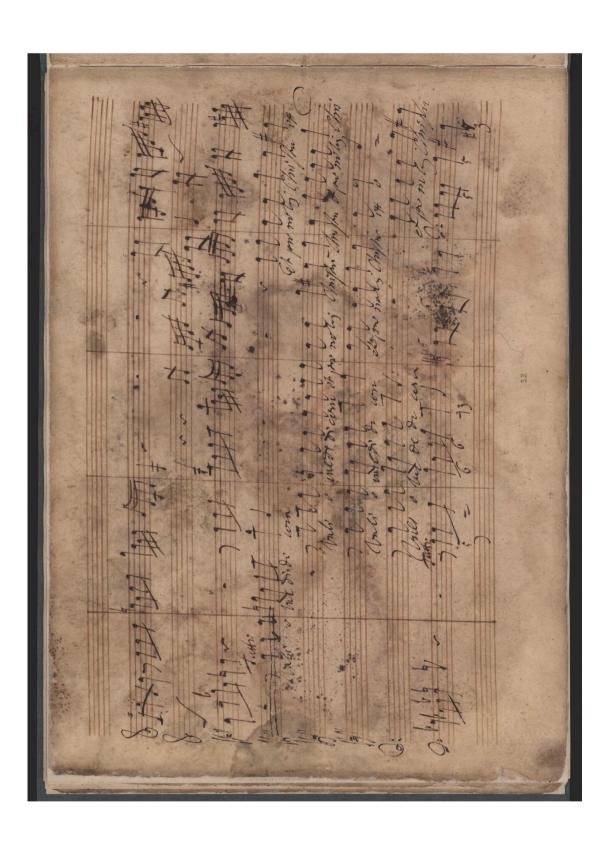


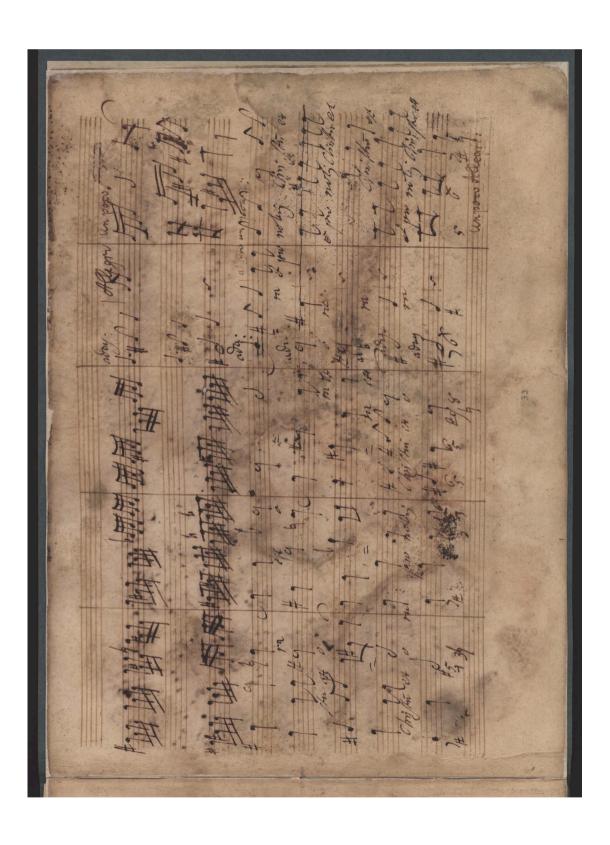


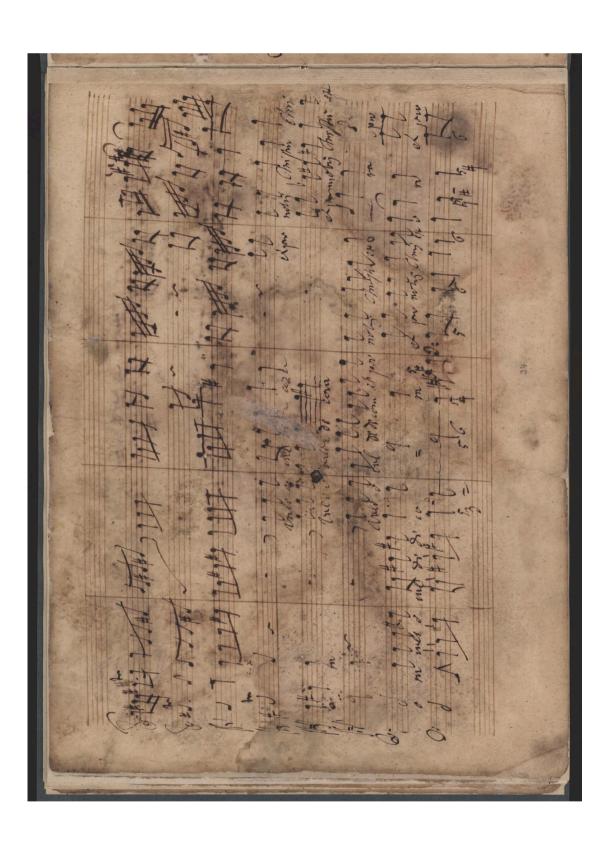


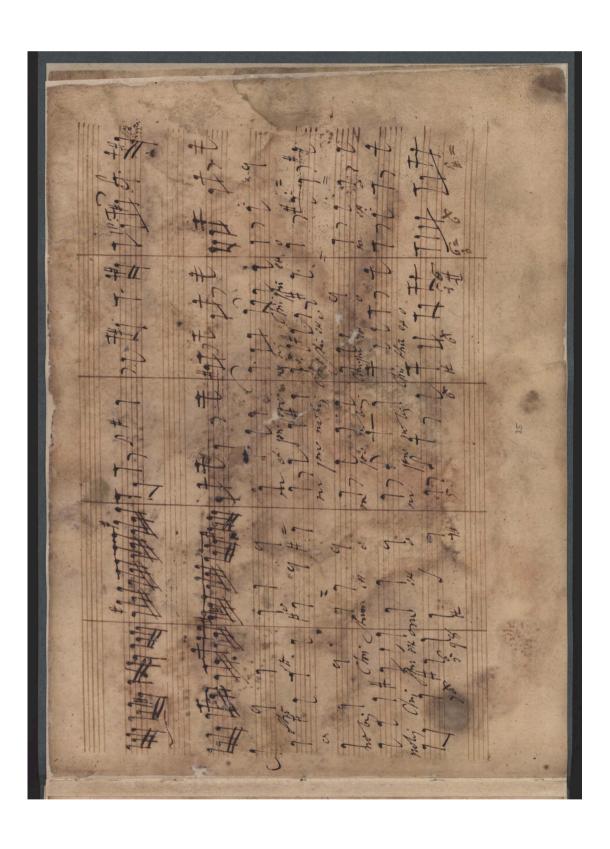


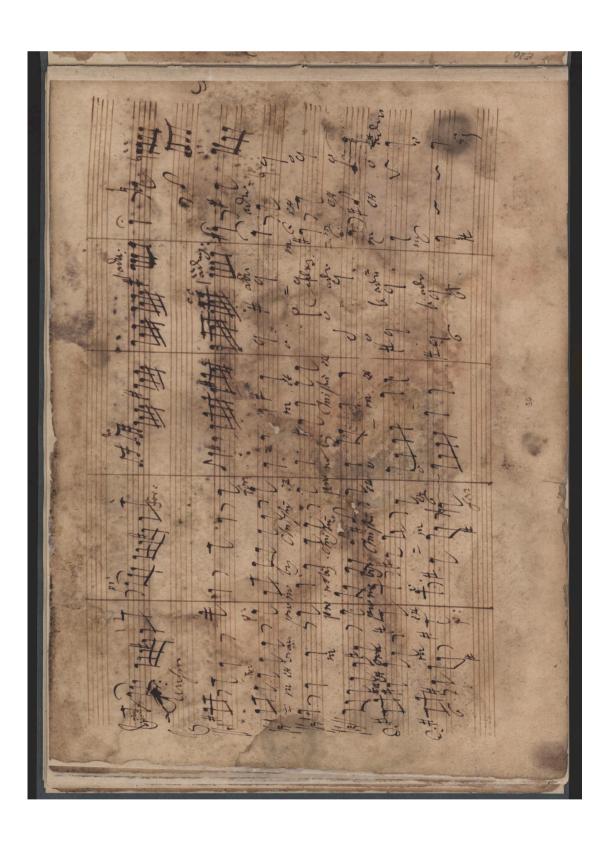


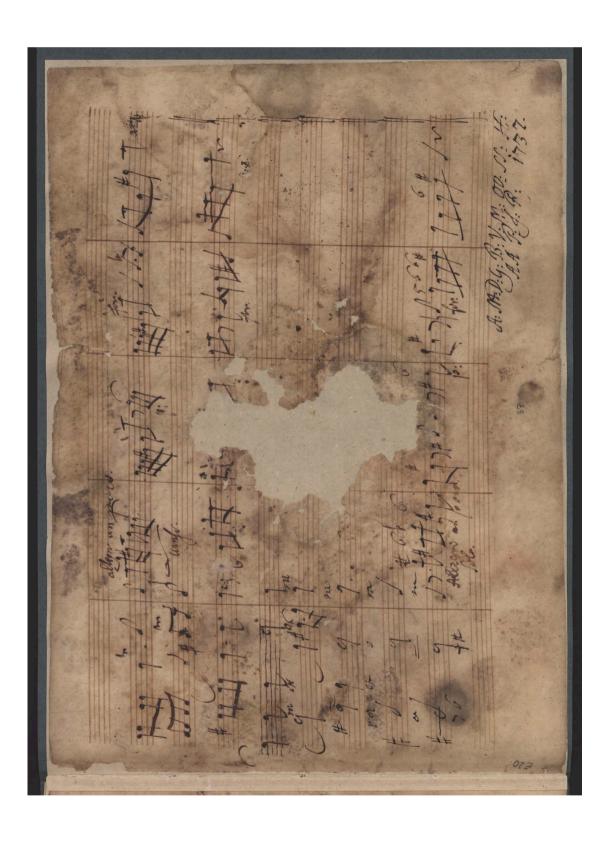




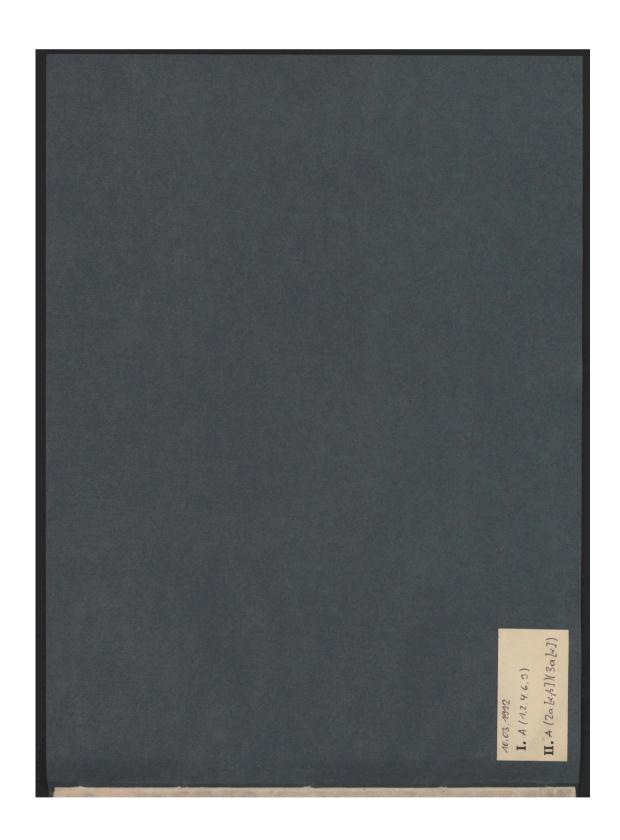














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