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## *Early Years in Bohemia*

On 16 October 1679 Jan Lukáš [Dismas] Zelenka was baptized in the Catholic parish church of Louňovice,<sup>1</sup> a small Bohemian village south-east of Prague close to Blaník, that Bohemian mountain with great national and patriotic resonances. Zelenka came from a distinguished lineage of talented Bohemian musicians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, all of them progeny of village organist-cantors.<sup>2</sup> His father, Jiřík Zelenka, born in Bavorov in south Bohemia in either 1648–9 or 1655,<sup>3</sup> probably took up his cantorial duties in Louňovice on the feast-day of St George (24 April in Bohemia), the customary date for the intake of new priests and cantors.<sup>4</sup> Such positions entailed a number of duties—village teacher, church organist, and director of the church music. It is reported that the Czech word *kantor* then meant ‘teacher’ rather than ‘choirmaster’,<sup>5</sup> thereby emphasizing the educational role played by men such as Jiřík Zelenka. His Latin is said to have been fluent and it is claimed that he wrote in the Czech language with precision.<sup>6</sup> In the year following his arrival at Louňovice Jiřík married Maria

<sup>1</sup> Wedding Register (Traubuch) of the Catholic church of Louňovice, 1679. Schulz, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Others were František Míča, František Tůma, František X. Brixl, Česlav Vaňura, Jiří Ignác Linek, and Václav Mašek. Many musicians also came from the middle (or burgher) class, such as František [Franz] Benda, Jan [Johann] Stamic [Stamitz], Jiří [Georg] Benda, Josef Brentner (Prentner), and Vincenz Krommer-Kramář. See Barbara A. Renton, ‘The Musical Culture of Eighteenth-Century Bohemia, with Special Emphasis on the Music Inventories of Osek and the Knights of the Cross’ (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1990), esp. ch. 1, which surveys the social, economic, and educational conditions of Bohemian musicians of this era.

<sup>3</sup> Schulz, 2, states that Jiřík Zelenka was 29 years old when he married Maria Magdalena on 7 Nov. 1677, and he had arrived in Louňovice during the previous year. This agrees with Jiřík’s age given in the Register of Deaths (Totenbuch) of the Louňovice parish church for 1724, which records that he had been cantor and organist of Louňovice for 48 years and was about 76 years old at the time of death. Three writers, however, give the date of Jiřík Zelenka’s birth as 12 Apr. 1655; Jaroslav Paleček, ‘Louňovický kantor a organista Jiřík Zelenka Bavorovský’, *Sborník vlastivědných prací z Podblanicka*, 2 (Benešov, 1959), 89–101; Camillo Schoenbaum, Preface to *Jan Dismas Zelenka: Composizioni per orchestra* (MAB 1/61; Prague, 1963), p. xii; Vratislav Bělský, *Jan Dismas Zelenka: Lamentationes Jeremiae Prophetæ* (MAB 2/4; Prague, 1984), p. xiv.

<sup>4</sup> Paleček, ‘Louňovický kantor’, 93.

<sup>5</sup> Jaroslav Bužga, ‘Musiker und musikalische Institutionen im Zeitalter des Barocks in den böhmischen Ländern’, in E. Arro (ed.), *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte Osteuropas* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 334–68. See also Renton, ‘Musical Culture of Eighteenth-Century Bohemia’, 81.

<sup>6</sup> This observation is based upon entries made by Jiřík Zelenka into the Louňovice parish record books. See Paleček, ‘Louňovický kantor’, 100, who notes that Jiřík usually employed Czech equivalents of Latin names (‘Ignác’ instead of ‘Ignatius’, for example).

Magdalena, the daughter of Václav Hájek.<sup>7</sup> In the presence of the official bridal party and guests from surrounding villages, the marriage was confirmed by Jan Ignatius Wirkner (or Birkner), the dean of Načeradec and parish priest of Louňovice. To Maria and Jiřík eight children were born. The first, Jan Lukáš, was followed by Terezie, Veronika Marta, Kateřina Žofie, Matěj, Marie Markéta, Jan Kilián, and Polexina.<sup>8</sup>

The officiant at the baptism of the first-born child was Jan Ignác Komenský, said to have been a nephew of the celebrated educational reformer Jan Amos Komenský (Comenius).<sup>9</sup> He also baptized the following three daughters born to Jiřík and Maria Magdalena. Komenský became a close friend of the cantor of Louňovice, residing in the same parish building as the expanding Zelenka family until his sudden death in July 1687. The administration of the parish was then taken over by Ondřej Neumann, who was followed in 1690 by Václav Pánek. In that same year the building of a new parish school began. Pánek baptized the remaining four Zelenka children.<sup>10</sup>

Almost one hundred years later Dr Charles Burney sought a cause for the remarkable eminence achieved by Bohemian musicians throughout European centres. In this quest he visited parish schools of that kingdom to observe the music instruction of Bohemian children. Burney's descriptions of the tasks of the organist and cantor 'M. Johann Dulsick' at Czaslau (Čáslav),<sup>11</sup> and his account of the rich musical chaos of the classroom must have resembled much of the professional life of Jiřík Zelenka, who was almost certainly responsible for the earliest musical instruction of his children. This well-known account from Burney provides insight into the type of musical education that might have been experienced by the eldest of the Zelenka children, Jan Lukáš:

I went into the school, which was full of little children of both sexes, from 6 to 10, or 11 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.<sup>12</sup>

In 1796 a description defining the education given and career paths available to young Bohemian musicians in former times was published in the *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag*.<sup>13</sup> The opening of the account confirms Burney's portrayal of the music education provided by village cantors:

Many musicians who are still alive come from the smallest places and from small Bohemian village schools. The opportunity to form a truly artistic genius was given only there, where talent and lonely studies went together. But if the 5 or 6 year old

<sup>7</sup> Schulz, 2. Maria Magdalena Zelenka died in Louňovice on 26 July 1725, aged 70. Schulz, 4.

<sup>8</sup> Paleček, 'Louňovický kantor', 95.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 97.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 95.

<sup>11</sup> 'M. Johann Dulsick' was probably the father of the acclaimed pianist-composer Jan Ladislav Dusík [Dussek]. Renton, 'Musical Culture of Eighteenth-Century Bohemia', 127.

<sup>12</sup> Burney II, 131–2.

<sup>13</sup> Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag* (Vienna, 1796; repr. 1976), esp. 'Musikalische Verfassung von Prag', 103–8.

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student's talent is limited to one room shared with eight or ten other boys, if he has to do his practising together with others of unequal ability, if, for example, for four or five hours, Anton has to practise the french horn in the one corner, Andreas, the oboe, in the second, Michel the violin in a third, and Mathes his descant in the fourth, then the teacher has the opportunity to hear with only one ear everything that is needed to guide his students. Was it easy then to keep the tempo when seven or even eight instruments played at the same time in one room[?] . . . The difficulty of maintaining attention and order amidst this noise was to be the true test as to whether this or that child had an inclination and genius for music. If, despite these difficulties, one of the children showed outstanding ability, then the little virtuoso had to perform in public.<sup>14</sup>

Jan Kilián, youngest brother of Jan Lukáš, also became a musician. From 1719, the year of his marriage, until at least 1736, Jan Kilián was intermittently listed in parish records as organist of the Louňovice church. It is known that at some time during the intervening years, at least until 1729, he had taught at nearby Pravonín.<sup>15</sup> By 2 July 1740 Prokop Bébr from Louňovice had become the village cantor. A number of copies of scores and sets of parts to be found in libraries of the Czech Republic bear the name 'Zelenka'. A handful of these, which have been attributed to Jan Dismas, are stylistically incompatible with his verified compositions. For this reason, investigation of the musical activities of Jan Kilián Zelenka, additional (especially younger) members of the family, and other composers bearing this surname becomes a matter of increasing interest.

In 1704 Jan Dismas Zelenka, now approaching his mid-20s, composed the music for a Latin school drama, *Via laureata* (ZWV 245). Although the music is lost, the Latin-German synopsis survives in Prague. *Via laureata* was performed in the Jesuit college of St Nicholas in the Malá Strana district of Prague by numerous participants, most of them students. The title-page bears a florid Latin inscription that provides all the titles of 'Hermann Jacobi S.R.I.', the rich and powerful Bohemian nobleman Herman Jakub Černín, a member of one of the most prominent, artistic, and cultivated families of Bohemia.<sup>16</sup> Composed of six scenes plus *Proludium* and conclusion, this drama celebrates deeds of the forebears of Herman Jakub Černín. Homage is paid to this noble benefactor of the college in the final scene. *Via laureata* seems to have been an example of the remarkable Jesuit dramatic tradition, especially important at the Viennese Habsburg court, of fully staged productions with scenery, costumes, music, and dance, performed by students.<sup>17</sup> It is to be imagined that Zelenka's music for this school drama followed the Viennese model in which, by the end of the seventeenth century, music and drama were of equal importance. In Vienna the music consisted of the same

<sup>14</sup> Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch*, 103–4.

<sup>15</sup> Paleček, 'Louňovický kantor', 101.

<sup>16</sup> Vladimír Novák, 'K počátkům dramatické tvorby Jana Dismase Zelenky', *Hudební věda*, 4 (1967), 662–4. The synopsis of *Via laureata* is presented as an appendix to Tomislav Volek's 'Die Bedeutung Prags für Zelenkas Leben und Schaffen', in *ZS I*, 29–35.

<sup>17</sup> Edna Purdie, 'Jesuit Drama', *The Oxford Companion to the Theatre*, ed. P. Hartnoll (Oxford, 1951), 415–22.

types of small-scale musical structures to be found in opera—‘sinfonie, ritornellos, dances, choruses, vocal ensembles, arias, and both simple and accompanied recitatives’.<sup>18</sup> At the conclusion of the synopsis of *Via laureata*, Zelenka’s name appears: ‘Musicam adornavit: generosus Dominus Joannes Dismas Zelenka, Bohemus Launowicensis’. Thus we learn that by 1704 Zelenka’s middle name of Lukáš had been altered to Dismas—the apocryphal name of the Good Thief, one of the two malefactors crucified with Christ. Perhaps Zelenka took this name (Dismas was not an unusual name in Bohemia at that time) at confirmation.<sup>19</sup>

*Via laureata*, and the context of its performance, point to Zelenka’s early association with the Society of Jesus. It is almost impossible to consider his later liturgical music, its style and emphases, Zelenka’s career developments, and his personality, without reference to the Society, so strongly was he bound to and influenced by its religious, artistic, and cultural expressions. Although the name ‘Zelenka’ (or similar names such as ‘Selenka’, ‘Zelenga’, ‘Zelencka’) was not uncommon in Bohemia, it is notable that sources in the Roman Jesuit archives list at least three Bohemian Jesuits of the second half of the seventeenth century bearing this surname. They were Johannes Selenka, who died on 6 April 1684 at Litoměřice (Leitmeritz),<sup>20</sup> the northern Bohemian town with which the Catholic church of the Dresden court was to develop strong links; Carolus Zelenka, who died on 26 March 1707 at Jičín;<sup>21</sup> and Simon Petrus Zelenga, born 26 October 1673, who arrived in Rome to join the Society in 1699, and who died in Arezzo in 1705.<sup>22</sup> But whether any of these Bohemian Jesuits was related to the family of Jiřík Zelenka remains unknown.

It is probable that, until he departed from Louňovice (at an unknown date), the musical-educational developments in the life of Jan Dismas followed the course described both by Burney and the *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag*. How he came to be educated and supported in Prague are matters of speculation, but it is likely that Zelenka followed the direction described in the continuation of the *Jahrbuch*:

After these successful musical exercises the boy was taken to an establishment where, apart from training in music, he could continue his other studies. Here he became acquainted with priests and friends of music who initially occupied him only with small bits and pieces such as, for example, musical copies or a violin part (*musikalische Abschriften oder eine Violinstimme*). Because monasteries, prelates, and recognized families were then known as protectors and patrons of music, an opportunity was soon found to secure a place for young artistic geniuses in an orchestra or *Kapelle*.<sup>23</sup>

The pre-1710 *Statio quadruplex pro Processione Theophorica* (ZWV 158), of which only No. 1 remains, is regarded as Zelenka’s earliest surviving work. His

<sup>18</sup> Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, 3 vols. (Chapel Hill, 1977–87), i. 367.

<sup>19</sup> Suggested by Schulz, 3. ‘Ignatius’ was included as one of Zelenka’s names in a chronogram (1714). See Ch. 2.

<sup>20</sup> ARSI Boh 207.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> ARSI Rom 67, Rom 97.

<sup>23</sup> Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch*, 104–5.

next surviving composition is *Immisit Dominus pestilentiam* (ZWV 58) of 1709. According to the title-page the performance was directed by Zelenka, who composed the work at the request of the Clementinum college, the greatest of the four Jesuit colleges of Prague. This institution in the Old Town (it now houses the National Library of the Czech Republic; see Pl. 1) probably provided Zelenka with higher education.<sup>24</sup> No information is yet available to confirm this—only the circumstantial evidence of Zelenka's continued association with this college, at least until 1723.

The title-page of *Immisit Dominus pestilentiam* informs that in 1709 Zelenka was living in the Prague household of a member of the Bohemian nobility, Count Hartig:

Music performed at the holy sepulchre in the Great Clementinum College in the Old Town of Prague, composed and directed there at the request of the college by Jan Dismas Zelenka, at that time living in the house of Count Hartig. 1709.<sup>25</sup>

The *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag* reported that along with the institutions of the church, the noble stratum of Bohemian society played a parallel role in the training and support of musical talent. The families of Hartig and Černín, the archbishop of Prague, and others are cited as supporting and providing patronage of many young musicians.

Through these opportunities some exquisite abilities have become known. During *Tafelmusik*, in concerts, and so on, one came across names of skilled musicians: they were given deserved accolades and one tried to favour them. As Prague is frequently visited by foreigners, it often happened that skilled people moved to a different country, either through recommendation, or even through abduction, where they trained and made a career befitting the impressive quality of their flourishing artistic ability. So it happens that Bohemian musicians are to be found in all states, and they are sought and honoured everywhere. Nowadays, the new protectors and friends of music try to maintain this old national practice.<sup>26</sup>

This description of a patronage system concluded with a list of the then-current Bohemian aristocratic friends and protectors of music. Here the name 'Herr Franz Graf v. Hartig' appears, an indication of that family's continued patronage of Bohemian musicians, at least until late in the eighteenth century. In 1712 Zelenka stated in a petition to Friedrich August I, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, that 'the widely known Herr Baron von Hartig of Prague, famed in music' had provided him with musical instruction.<sup>27</sup> This has led to the assumption that his patron and head of the household to which Zelenka was attached was the skilled keyboard player, well-known dilettante, and

<sup>24</sup> The other Jesuit colleges of Prague were St Wenceslas in the Old Town, St Ignatius in the New Town, and St Nicholas on the Malá Strana. See Volek, 'Die Bedeutung Prags', 18.

<sup>25</sup> Orig. text in App. B, ZWV 58. The reading of the Latin of the badly damaged title-page is based upon ZD, doc. 1a, 102–3. Jaroslav Bužga's reading led him to suppose that Zelenka was *Regenschori* (choral director) at the Clementinum. See 'The Vocal Works of Jan Dismas Zelenka', *Early Music*, 9 (1981), 177–83 at 178.

<sup>26</sup> Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch*, 106.

<sup>27</sup> Reprinted in ZD, doc. 2, 103–4. See also Ch. 2 and App. B, ZWV 1.

'Protectore' of the Academy of Music in Prague (an institution akin to the English 'Academy of Ancient Music') Baron Josef Ludvík Hartig (1685–1735), who was elevated socially in 1719 when he received the title 'Count'. The most extensive information on Hartig's musical activities is found in a brief record provided by Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel (1690–1749) who, in an entry published by Mattheson, described Hartig as a connoisseur, expert, and patron of music ('Kenner, Könnner und Gönner der Musik').<sup>28</sup> According to Stölzel's report, a performance of a Mass by Antonio Lotti (c.1667–1740), sponsored by Baron Hartig and given in the Jesuit church in the Old Town, was the finest music Stölzel had heard. It could be assumed, then, that when Zelenka referred to 'the widely known Herr Baron von Hartig of Prague, famed in music' he was speaking of Josef Ludvík.

Persuasive argument has been put forward, however, to suggest that it was Jan Hubert Hartig, younger brother of Josef Ludvík, who became Zelenka's patron.<sup>29</sup> Even after Zelenka's move to Dresden, Jan Hubert's continued support for Zelenka is evident. Zelenka's oratorio *I penitenti al Sepolcro del Redentore* (ZWV 63), composed for performance in the Catholic court church of Dresden during Holy Week of 1736, was heard in 1738 at St Francis Serafin, the Prague church of the Order of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star (Křižovníci), a performance made possible through the mediation of Jan Hubert Hartig.<sup>30</sup> Zelenka dedicated copies of at least two works to this Prague nobleman.<sup>31</sup> Jan Hubert (1671–1741) had spent part of his formative years in Siena. Several important positions in Bohemia followed, including Assessor at the State Court in Prague (1700–8) and State Governor and Burggraf of the Hradec Králové district (1708–18). Confusion arises because at the time Zelenka dated the scores of his three sepulchre cantatas of 1709, 1712, and 1716 (ZWV 58, 59, and 60), no member of the Hartig family was yet eligible to bear the title 'Count', a title bestowed upon Josef Ludvík only in 1719 and upon Jan Hubert in 1725.<sup>32</sup> With no information concerning the musical skills of Jan Hubert, but armed with contemporary evidence of the high esteem in which Josef Ludvík Hartig was held, it is conceivable that the older brother, Josef Ludvík, was Zelenka's teacher and the younger brother, Jan Hubert, was his patron.

<sup>28</sup> See 'Hartig (ex. liter. Stölzel)' in Johann Mattheson's *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (Hamburg, 1740; repr. 1910), 102–3.

<sup>29</sup> Jana Vojtěšková, 'Die Zelenka-Überlieferung in Böhmen und in der Tschechoslowakei', in *ZS I*, 85–108 at 85–7.

<sup>30</sup> 'Anno 1738 Oratorium productum Auth: Domini Zelenka ab/titl: Illustrst DD Hartik [Hartig] gratiosè concessum et productum'. See Jiří Fukač, 'Křižovnický hudební inventář: Příspěvek k poznání křižovnické hudební kultury a jejího místa v hudebním životě barokní Prahy', 2 vols. (Ph.D. thesis, Brno, 1959), ii, fo. 56<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> Vojtěšková, 'Die Zelenka-Überlieferung', 86. Copies of works by Zelenka dedicated to Jan Hubert von Hartig are *Responsoria pro hebdomada sancta*, 1723[?] (ZWV 55) and *Litaniae Lauretanae*, 1741 (ZWV 152).

<sup>32</sup> Vojtěšková, 'Die Zelenka-Überlieferung', 86. The possibility that Zelenka wrote the title-pages of these cantatas at a later time, following the bestowal of the titles upon the Hartig brothers, must be considered.

According to autograph inscriptions on their title-pages, two more sepulchre cantatas—*Attendite et videte* of 1712 (ZWV 59) and *Deus Dux fortissime* of 1716 (ZWV 60)—were also composed to commissions from Count Hartig for performance at the Clementinum.<sup>33</sup> All three works are listed in two eighteenth-century music catalogues of the Dresden Catholic court church music collection under the titles ‘Cantate/Ad Sepulchru[m] Sacru[m]’ (Catalogo, 1765) and ‘3. Cantata Ad Sepulchrum Sacr:’ (Catalogo, c.1775).<sup>34</sup> As a genre, the sepulchre cantata reached its zenith in Bohemia during the eighteenth century, when examples were heard during Holy Week. Following the Josephine reforms later in that century (and the Cecilian movement of the nineteenth century) this type of work became extinct.<sup>35</sup> Generally scored for vocal soloists, choir, instruments, and organ, such works may be regarded as examples of a distinctly Bohemian form comprising a mixture of the Jesuit Latin school drama, Viennese *Sepolcro*, and Roman oratorio.<sup>36</sup>

The three severely damaged autograph scores of Zelenka’s sepulchre cantatas survive at the Sächsische Landesbibliothek- Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden. Two bear dedicatory mottos, with ‘A M D G’ (Ad majorem Dei gloriam—To the Greater Glory of God) appearing at the conclusion of *Immisit Dominus pestilentiam* and ‘Laus Deo’ (Praise to God) at the conclusion of *Attendite et videte*.<sup>37</sup> Latin texts are used throughout and although the authors are unknown, the teacher of rhetoric at the Clementinum was probably responsible (although it is possible that Zelenka himself undertook this task).<sup>38</sup> Unlike in Jesuit Latin school dramas, no character representation occurs. Each work is scored for soloists, chorus, instruments with obbligato and accompanying roles, and basso continuo (mostly unfigured). Each is structured as a single large-scale unit, comprising the basic forms Zelenka then had at his disposal. The phrase ‘ad Sepulchru[m] Domini’ on the title-page of each score indicates that these works were to be performed before an *apparato*, a representation of the holy sepulchre.<sup>39</sup> It should be noted, however, that no aspect of any one of Zelenka’s sepulchre cantatas links the works with Holy Week.

Although no evidence survives to suggest that Zelenka’s sepulchre cantatas

<sup>33</sup> Orig. texts in App. B, ZWV 59, ZWV 60.

<sup>34</sup> A score (without parts) is registered in each catalogue.

<sup>35</sup> Jaroslav Bužga, ‘Oratorium: (F: 2) Tschechische Sonderformen: Sepolchri’, *MGG*, x. 157–8.

<sup>36</sup> The chief distinctions between the oratorio and *Sepolcro* are outlined by Smither, *History of the Oratorio*, i. 376–82.

<sup>37</sup> ‘O A M D G’ (Omnia ad majorem Dei gloriam, the Jesuit motto) and the variant ‘OO A M D G’ are also to be seen at the openings of dedication formulae written into most of Zelenka’s autographs composed during or after 1725. On Zelenka’s dedications, see Ch. 5 and App. B.

<sup>38</sup> Texts for Jesuit dramas were usually written by the Professor of Rhetoric, but sometimes pupils composed or compiled the words. See Purdie, ‘Jesuit Drama’, 416.

<sup>39</sup> Descriptions of *apparati* constructed for Forty Hour devotions are provided by Mark S. Weil in ‘The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, 37 (1974), 218–48.



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were performed in Dresden, Jesuit records dating from 1710 inform us that music was performed during ceremonies at the holy sepulchre of the Dresden Catholic court church.<sup>40</sup> Perhaps a reference to the music heard at eight o'clock in the evening of Good Friday (see below) alludes to the performance of a sepulchre cantata. Such devotional practices formed the basis of the later custom of the construction of elaborate *apparati*, designed by Italian theatrical architects from the Dresden court, for the oratorio (always termed 'oratorium' in Dresden Jesuit sources) performances, which were introduced into the court church during the 1720s.<sup>41</sup>

[Good Friday] At 8 [a.m.], before the formalities, a sermon was given by Fr. Heimbach. The Father Superior then performed the sacred ceremonies, including the Veneration of the Cross. The Passion was sung in German. After the observances, the Holy Sacrament was borne to the sepulchre as the singers sang *Ecce quomodo moritur justus* . . . Matins at three o'clock, with one Nocturn, and Lauds. Then, the Lenten exhortation was given, after which *O Lamb Gottes* [original spelling] was sung. At eight [p.m.] music was performed at the sepulchre and the Blessed Sacrament was removed.<sup>42</sup>

A brief description of the *apparato* constructed for Holy Week in 1710, the year of the above-mentioned ceremonies, was reported in the *Diarium* of the Dresden mission:

On Good Friday the church, albeit large, barely contained the congregation. We performed here also the customary ceremonies of Holy Week, building a sepulchre after the Catholic fashion, in which Jacob wrestling with the angel was represented before the Eucharistic dawn of the rising Christ.<sup>43</sup>

A more detailed account of the sepulchre is available in the *Historia* of the Saxon Mission (HMS):

For Good Friday we have, for the first time, erected a holy sepulchre near the sacristy. 'The struggle of Jacob with the Angel' from the First Book of Moses [Genesis] was presented . . . A banderole showed the words of the angel: 'Let me go, for the day breaketh', a hint at the time of dawn at which the Saviour rose. We had placed the Blessed Sacrament to beautiful effect into the rosy colour of the dawn.<sup>44</sup>

Mid-seventeenth-century *apparati* were composed of painted flats arranged to give the illusion of a space different from that which actually existed. Figures, as well as the illusionistic settings, were painted *a chiaroscuro* on flats and flat silhouettes. All was illuminated by thousands of oil lamps and candles

<sup>40</sup> The Jesuit sources are the annual letters (ARSI), the *Historia Missionis Societatis Jesu Dresdae* (HMS), and the *Dresden Diarium* (1710–38), from which excerpts have been published by Wolfgang Reich and Siegfried Seifert, with introduction, as 'Exzerpte aus dem *Diarium Missionis S.J. Dresdae*', app. 2, *ZS II*, 315–75.

<sup>41</sup> Construction of a holy sepulchre in the Leipzig Catholic chapel is first mentioned in the annual letter of 1719. ARSI Boh 133, 12.

<sup>42</sup> *Diarium*, 18 Apr. 1710.

<sup>43</sup> ARSI Boh 122, 18–19.

<sup>44</sup> Saft, 39, drawing upon reports from the HMS.

placed behind.<sup>45</sup> Today, in the vestry of the principal church of the former Clementinum college S. Salvatore, stands a great cabinet of three sections. Although this free-standing cupboard matches the style of the built-in furnishings of the vestry, it has probably been brought there from another part of the old buildings. The central section of the cupboard is four metres high with a depth of more than one metre. Forty-four wooden slats run from the back to the front at both base and ceiling of the great cupboard. Each side cupboard, slightly more than two metres high, and of little less depth than the centre-piece, has forty similar wooden slats on the ceiling. Marks at the bases of the smaller cupboards hint that matching slats once existed there also. It is probable that this structure once held the canvas flats required for erecting the holy sepulchre (or other theatrical productions) performed either in the main auditorium (where the cupboard might once have stood) or in the churches of the Clementinum college.<sup>46</sup>

*Immisit Dominus pestilentiam* is especially worthy of attention because this early work provides insights into Zelenka's musical abilities before he moved to Dresden and before he had undertaken studies in Vienna (and before his supposed visit to Italy). Here, the origins of his middle and mature musical style are evident; features associated with his later highly personal and extraordinarily expressive musical language are already apparent. This cantata is a 'number' setting in which the text is articulated through a series of movements comprising accompanied and secco recitatives, arias, arioso sections, dramatically declaimed choruses, and fugues—including fugues based upon two subjects, the type for which Zelenka was to become renowned. In a cappella movements, instruments were sometimes included with a colla parte function (especially in contrapuntal movements). Otherwise, they had an obbligato role, or they provided accompaniments. It would seem that concerted vocal and instrumental writing, organized along the tutti-solo principles of the concerto grosso, was not yet part of Zelenka's compositional equipment. The concerted style in church music, categorized as *stylus mixtus* by Johann Joseph Fux (1660–1741), was to become so commonplace that in 1725 Zelenka's future teacher wrote: 'By *stylus mixtus*, I mean both composition with one, two, three, or more voices contending with a variety of instruments and also full chorus, which nowadays is much practised in our churches. As it is common and frequently heard I do not consider it worthwhile to discourse much about it or provide examples.'<sup>47</sup> Zelenka's arias of 1709 were either ABA structures or *Kirchenarien*, described as being 'essentially the same as the outer sections of a contemporary *da capo* aria—with three ritornellos framing two solo sections'.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Weil, 'Devotion of the Forty Hours', 218–19.

<sup>46</sup> I am indebted to Robert Hugo (Prague) for bringing these cupboards and their fittings to my attention.

<sup>47</sup> Johann Joseph Fux, *Gradus ad Parnassum* (Vienna, 1725; repr. 1967), 273.

<sup>48</sup> Michael Talbot, *The Sacred Music of Antonio Vivaldi* (Florence, 1995), 138. See also p. 223.

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The text for Zelenka's setting is based upon a compilation of Introit, Collect, and Lesson of the votive Mass in Time of Pestilence (Pro vitanda mortalitate vel tempore pestilentiae), Old Testament extracts, and an unidentified prayer, hymn, or rhymed sequence. The subject of the text is plague, which then threatened Bohemia. An outbreak occurred, leading in 1713 to a great evacuation from Prague.<sup>49</sup> The annual letter of 1714 from Dresden to Rome reported closure of the border between Bohemia and Saxony.<sup>50</sup> An entry made into the Dresden Diarium on 4 September 1713 recorded that a Mass (with Credo) was sung in honour of St Rosalie 'on account of public dangers, because the threat of plague is at hand'.

Table 1.1 provides the Latin text of *Immisit Dominus pestilentiam* with translation. The table demonstrates the large-scale tonal structure (minor keys predominate, emphasizing the overriding doleful nature of the work) and it presents the range of musical resources used by Zelenka for the setting.<sup>51</sup> Zelenka's constant search for musical means to bring maximum expression to key words of the texts supports the belief that he had received at least a secondary education, which would have included rhetoric. His musical gloss of critical aspects of the text also suggests the parallel realization by a musician of preaching and teaching—two special strengths of the Jesuits. In this sense, an early influence upon Zelenka may have been the music of Giacomo Carissimi (1605–74), *maestro di cappella* of the German College in Rome, whose works contain many of the affective musical figures that one generation later were incorporated into Zelenka's musical language.<sup>52</sup> In *Musurgia universalis* (Rome, 1650) the Jesuit theoretician Athanasius Kircher (1601–80) deliberated upon Carissimi's music, noting that he 'surpasses all others in moving the minds of listeners to whatever affections he wishes'.<sup>53</sup>

Examples from the opening recitatives Nos. 1 and 2, where already Zelenka's search for profound harmonic affect and effect is evident, and from a chorus (No. 8; see Ex. 1.7), highlight Zelenka's settings of words and imagery that seem to have held special significance for him. Beginning in bar

<sup>49</sup> The account of Moses ben Hayim Eisenstadt testifies to the disastrous effect of this outbreak upon the Jewish community of Prague in 1713. Reprinted in Sylvie Anne Goldberg, *Les Deux Rives du Yabbok: la maladie et la mort dans le judaïsme ashkénaze: Prague XVI<sup>e</sup>–XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1989). Eng. trans. by Carol Cosman as *Crossing the Jabbok: Illness and Death in Ashkenazi Judaism in Sixteenth- through Nineteenth-Century Prague* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1996), 163–70.

<sup>50</sup> ARSI Boh 127, 12.  
<sup>51</sup> Readings of the score and text of *Immisit Dominus pestilentiam* (Exs. 1.1–7) are based on a microfilm of the autograph MS (D-Dlb D-75), and an unpublished transcription by Reinhold Kubik for *EdM*.

<sup>52</sup> The influence of the German College on music throughout Europe is discussed in Thomas D. Culley, *Jesuits and Music, i: A Study of the Musicians Connected with the German College in Rome during the 17th Century and of their Activities in Northern Europe* (Sources and Studies for the History of the Jesuits, 2; Rome, 1970), esp. the conclusion of ch. 3.

<sup>53</sup> Cited by Graham Dixon, *Carissimi* (Oxford Studies of Composers, 20; Oxford and New York, 1986), 13. *Musurgia universalis* was a publication to which Zelenka probably had access either through one of the Jesuit colleges of Prague, or in Dresden. In 1665 Kircher sent copies of his works to the Saxon Elector Johann Georg II (1656–80). Fürstenau I, 8.

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TABLE 1.1. *Text and musical organization of Immisit Dominus pestilentiam 1709 (Z WV 58)*

Text <sup>a</sup>	Translation <sup>b</sup>	Setting
1. Immisit Dominus pestilentiam in Israel de mane usque ad tempus constitutum, et mortui sunt ex populo a Dan usque ad Bersabee septuaginta mil[li]a virorum. <sup>c</sup> Emit ergo David aream et boves <sup>d</sup> et aedificavit altare Domino et obtulit holocausta et pacifica. Et propitiatus est Dominus terrae et cohibita est plaga ab Israel. <sup>e</sup>	And the Lord sent a pestilence upon Israel, from the morning until the time appointed, and there died of the people from Dan to Bersabee seventy thousand men. And so David bought the [threshing] floor and oxen, and built an altar to the Lord, and offered holocausts and peace offerings. And the Lord became merciful to the land, and the plague was stayed from Israel.	<i>Recitativo accompagnato</i> A minor C: Adagio S. solo; 2 vn.; va.; b.c.
2. Feriam pestilentia atque consumam <sup>f</sup> finis universae carnis venit coram me repleta est terra iniquitate. <sup>g</sup>	I will strike [them there-fore] with pestilence, and will consume them. The end of all flesh is come before me, the earth is filled with iniquity.	<i>Recitativo secco</i> C–A minor C: — B. solo; b.c.
3. Recordare Domine testamenti tui dic angelo percutienti: Non desoletur terra. <sup>h</sup>	Be mindful, O Lord, of Thy covenant, and say to the destroying angel: let not the land be made desolate.	Aria G minor 3: Adagio A. solo; ‘Chalamaux’ and va. obbl.; b.c.
4. Sacrificemur Domino Deo nostro, ne forte accidat nobis pestis. <sup>i</sup>	Let us sacrifice to the Lord our God, lest a pestilence fall upon us.	Chorus (fugue) A minor–G minor <sup>v</sup> C: — SATB ch.; ‘Tutti’; b.c.
5. Orate pro me, lacrimae, dolentis teste[s] animae, lugete cordis intima, ob perpet[r]ata crimina.	Pray for me, with tears, witnesses of a suffering soul. Mourn, innermost heart, for the sins committed.	Aria G minor 3: [Larghetto] S. solo; vn. [and fl.?] obbl.; b.c.
6. Parcite, boni angeli, beatae pacis nuntii, placate Deum iudicem, vitae scelestae vindicem.	Be merciful, good angels, messengers of blessed peace. Placate God the judge, the avenger of a wicked life.	Aria D minor C: Andante T. solo; 2 ob.; 2 vn.; va.; b.c.

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TABLE 1.1. *continued*

Text <sup>a</sup>	Translation <sup>b</sup>	Setting
7. Clamate, guttae sanguinis, ob culpam fusae criminis, delete mortis debitum favete vita[e] coelitum. <sup>j</sup>	Cry out, drops of blood, shed because of the guilt of copious sin. Cancel the debt of death. Help us to achieve eternal life.	<i>Recitativo accompagnato</i> F C: Adagio–Andante– Adagio–Andante A.B. soli; 2 vn.; va.; b.c.
8. Deus, qui non mortem sed poenitentiam desideras peccatorum: populum tuum propitius respice ad te revertentem.	O God, who desirest not the death but the repentance of sinners: mercifully look upon Thy people who return to Thee.	Chorus A minor-v C: Adagio SATB ch.; [2 ob.; 2 vn.; va. colla parte]; b.c.
9. Ut dum tibi devotus existit iracundiae tuae flagella ab eo placatus amoveas, amen. <sup>k</sup>	And grant that they, being devoted to Thee, may by Thy mercy be delivered from the scourges of Thy anger.	Chorus (fugue) A minor ♩: — SATB ch.; ['Tutti']; b.c.

<sup>a</sup> Reading of the text is based on a microfilm of the autograph (*D-Dlb* D-75) and a transcription prepared for EdM by Reinhold Kubik.

<sup>b</sup> English translation of sections from the Introit, Collect and Lesson of the votive Mass in the Time of Pestilence are based upon *Saint Andrew Daily Missal* (Bruges, 1959), 1662–5. Translations of biblical texts are taken from the Douay–Rheims version. Further translations by David Fairservice and Stanislaus Hogan, SJ.

<sup>c</sup> Lesson: Votive Mass in the Time of Pestilence (2 Kgs. 24:15).

<sup>d</sup> 2 Kgs. 24:24.

<sup>e</sup> Lesson: Votive Mass in the Time of Pestilence (2 Kgs. 24:25).

<sup>f</sup> Num. 14:12.

<sup>g</sup> Gen. 6:13.

<sup>h</sup> Introit: Votive Mass in the Time of Pestilence (2 Kgs. 24:16).

<sup>i</sup> Exod. 5:3.

<sup>j</sup> The preceding three strophes are from an unidentified hymn or rhymed sequence.

<sup>k</sup> Collect: Votive Mass in the Time of Pestilence.

4 of Ex. 1.1 the treatment of the text ‘et mortui sunt ex populo a Dan usque ad Bersabee septuaginta mil[li]a virorum’ (and there died of the people from Dan to Beersheba seventy thousand men) the tempo is altered from ‘Adagio’ to ‘Adagio adagio’, chromatic descent occurs in the bass line, and a string of seventh chords succeed each other. Use of such devices demonstrates Zelenka’s early fascination with the musical expression of terror, later giving rise to chilling, even grotesque, settings of the text ‘[resurrectionem] mortuorum’ and ‘judicare vivos et mortuos’ in the Credo settings of his Masses.

Zelenka’s highly individual treatment of a solo vocal line is already apparent. Ex. 1.1 demonstrates use of the voice as an integral part of the ensemble, creating a dissonance here (bar 3, first beat) or a principal harmonic note

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there (bar 2, third beat, and bar 6, third beat). Bar 5 of Ex. 1.2 contains the first known example of Zelenka's use of the musical-rhetorical figure *mutatio toni*, that distinctive unprepared shift to the parallel tonality (in this case, major to minor).<sup>54</sup> Such unexpected harmonic change was to become a strong element of his personal style. Here, the abrupt movement occurs in the accompaniment to the word 'iniquitate' (bb. 4–5), one of those terms associated with transgression that Zelenka always sought to treat in a special manner. In the penultimate bar, the unfigured chord of the diminished seventh, based upon the leading-note of the dominant (marked with an asterisk), was to become a frequently used approach to 6/4–5/3 cadences (and cadenzas). It will be seen in many musical examples which follow.

Although the movement 'Recordare, Domine' (Ex. 1.3) might be regarded as an example of a student composer, this charming aria presents several embryonic aspects of the mature musician.<sup>55</sup> The harmonic sequence moving through a circle of fifths, with a chain of seventh chords (bb. 5–9) was one element of the then-current Italian musical language to be frequently utilized by Zelenka. This very early example of writing for

<sup>54</sup> Dietrich Bartel's *Handbuch der musikalischen Figurenlehre* (2nd edn., Laaber, 1992) has been used as the basis for definitions of musical-rhetorical figures given throughout this book. The juxtaposition of major and minor versions of the same material (also to be found in Vivaldi's music) anticipates the usage of Viennese classical composers (esp. Schubert). Michael Talbot, *Vivaldi* (The Master Musicians Series; London, 1978), 112.

<sup>55</sup> For critical appraisal of this movement, see *Hkm*, 57–8.

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obbligato chalumeau (Zelenka used 'chalamaux', perhaps an indication that at least two instruments were to play in unison, but possibly a colloquial variant of 'chalumeau'), an instrument only recently introduced into various German courts, indicates its availability in 1709 to the Clementinum in Prague.<sup>56</sup> The young Zelenka's appreciation of this special colour, which he came to favour as an obbligato voice in certain arias of a dolorous nature, is evident. The short dramatic scene injected into the middle of this ABA-structured aria is a device which he later used often, especially in settings of

Psalms 110 (111), 'Confitebor tibi Domine', and 111 (112) 'Beatus vir', composed in the 1720s. Of particular interest here is Zelenka's pre-Dresden use of tremolo, shown by the notation of a wavy line above groups of notes—a performance technique he used repeatedly to heighten the musical affect of texts associated with fear, pleading, and death.<sup>56</sup> Here, the instruction appears for all accompanying instruments at the text 'Non desoletur terra' (Let not the earth be made desolate). The performance technique used by the string players at this point probably attempted to emulate the tremulant stop of an organ (an instrument which is assumed in this work, even though no score indication is provided). Thus, repetition of the groups of four or eight quavers in the same bow stroke, possibly accompanied by left-hand

<sup>56</sup> Telemann claimed to have studied chalumeau in Hildesheim between 1697 and 1701. In 1706 the German oboist Ludwig Erdmann was appointed teacher of chalumeau at the Pietà in Venice. That same year saw its earliest known use in Viennese opera (Giovanni Bononcini's *Endimione*). Colin Lawson, 'The Chalumeau in the Works of Fux', in H. White (ed.), *Johann Joseph Fux* (Cambridge, 1992), 78–94 at 83–4.

<sup>57</sup> Zelenka calls for string tremolo (and, on occasion, keyboard and woodwind tremolo also) on the words 'Miserere' (in Masses and settings of Ps. 50), 'mortuorum' and 'mortuos' (in the Credo of Mass settings), and 'humiles' (in one Magnificat setting, ZWV 108). In his

vibrato, was used to heighten the impression of desolation.<sup>58</sup> The little dance-like figure of the bass line (at 'Presto') with characteristics of a fanfare (or polonaise) frequently appears in Zelenka's later works.

Two choral fugues are incorporated into this work. The first, No. 4 (Ex. 1.4), is based upon double counterpoint of the type for which Zelenka became an acknowledged master. A pair of subjects, each exclusively associated with a

Easter offertorium *Dominus Angelus descendit* of 1725 (ZWV 161) Zelenka wrote 'Tremulo' at the head of a passage of six bars of repeated semiquavers, played by a pair of violins, viola[s], and unspecified basso continuo. A wavy line is also written above each pair of groups of four semiquavers. This short string passage musically portrays the quaking of the earth which rolled the rock from the holy sepulchre. On the other hand, in the 1725 setting of *In exitu Israel* (ZWV 83) Zelenka notated a succession of sixteen repeated semiquavers for violins, violas, and basso continuo at the text 'A facie Domini mota est terra' (At the presence of the Lord the earth was moved), an indication that a fast succession of up- and down-bows was required.

section of the text (1: 'Sacrificemur Domino Deo nostro'; 2: 'ne forte accidat nobis pestis'), are presented and developed in a movement of seventy-five bars. The second subjects of Zelenka's double fugues often give the impression of an early entry of the countersubject, but their status is heightened not only by the structural importance they received in the working, but by the texts they bear. Notable is the first fugal subject, the opening melodic outline of which was used by many composers, including Dietrich (Diderik) Buxtehude and Joseph Haydn.<sup>59</sup> The unnotated woodwind doubling of the upper voices for the choruses leaves to the performers the choice of instruments to be used. This leads to the interesting possibility that one or two pairs of players available to the Clementinum, capable of playing oboes, chalumeau[x], and, perhaps, transverse flute[s], might have accommodated all the woodwind requirements of this work. This possibility is supported by the sequence of obbligatorios, organized so that only one woodwind instrument type is required at any one time.

In the opening and closing instrumental sections of No. 5 (which comprise more than half the length of the entire movement) the introductory material is extended with sequences and echo-like repetitions, all linked by interrupted cadences and cadential elision. If the reading 'Violino Solo/Trave[rsa]' at the head of this aria is correct, then remarkable indeed is the inclusion of a unison violin and flute obbligato in the relatively simple aria for solo soprano 'Orate pro me' (Ex. 1.5). This special instrumental colour was to become associated with French practices, especially the music of Rameau. Perhaps inspired by Viennese use of the flute, Zelenka's incorporation of the particular tone colour arising from use of these two instruments in unison provides an early non-French example.<sup>60</sup> If Zelenka intended the transverse flute to be used, this must represent one of the earliest examples of its use in Bohemia and Germany.

The opening of the aria No. 6 (Ex. 1.6) has a walking bass line accompanying two voices—one stating the theme in the tonic key, the second in the dominant. In this case, Zelenka has used two pairs of themes given out by two pairs of instruments, two oboes and two violins. Ex. 1.6 provides the earliest available example of his writing for a pair of oboes, instruments with which he has become especially associated through the sonatas of c. 1720–2 (ZWV 181). The distinctive timbre of two oboes was already well established throughout major European centres when Zelenka composed this aria.<sup>61</sup> The new material introduced by the first violin at bar 4 was to be recalled by Zelenka (in an

<sup>58</sup> Stewart Carter, 'The String Tremolo in the 17th Century', *Early Music*, 19 (1991), 43–59. See also Ch. 8 for discussion of Zelenka's tremolo requirements for woodwind instruments.

<sup>59</sup> Buxtehude's Praeludium in F sharp minor, *BuxWV* 146, beginning at 'Grave' (b. 29), and Franz Joseph Haydn's Quartet in F minor (H. III: 35), 4th movt., first fugue subject.

<sup>60</sup> Evidence of the type of instrument named 'Flöte' played by the Habsburg emperor Joseph I is lacking, but it seems certain that Antonio and Giovanni Bononcini intended the transverse form of the instrument for works performed in Vienna during 1707 (*Il trionfo della grazia* and *Turno Aricino*), and by Fux in 1710 (*La decima fatica d'Ercole*, K 307). See Herbert Seifert, 'Die Bläser der kaiserlichen Hofkapelle zur Zeit von J. J. Fux' and Ernst Kubitschek, 'Block- und Querflöte im Umkreis von Johann Joseph Fux—Versuch einer Übersicht', in B. Habla (ed.), *Johann Joseph Fux und die barocke Bläsertradition* (Tutzing, 1987), 9–23 and 99–119.

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elaborated form, played by either an oboe or chalumeau) in the section 'Un poco Andante' of the second Lamentation 'pro die Veneris sancto' from *Lamentationes Jeremiae Prophetæ* of 1722 (ZWV 53). With three statements of the ritornello surrounding two vocal solo sections, this movement follows the structure of a *Kirchenarie*. The opening of the vocal part presents an example of a *Devisenarie* in which the beginning vocal phrase is interrupted by instrumental material, followed by a full statement of the vocal phrase.

Ex. 1.7 displays further examples of Zelenka's handling of the terms 'mortem' (death) and 'peccatorum' (of sinners). Throughout the first seven bars of this chorus, the tenor sings a passage in which the interval of a perfect fourth is covered through chromatic descent, an example of the *passus duriusculus*, that rhetorical figure used so often by Zelenka. Indeed, so embedded is this figure within his music that it could be claimed that the *passus duriusculus* assumed the role of Zelenka's personal leitmotif. The dramatic, declamatory setting of the opening text 'Deus, qui non mortem . . . [desideras]' (O God, who [desirest] not the death) employs a diminished seventh chord (whose resolution is delayed through the use of suspensions) for each of the three statements of 'mortem'. A brief canonic choral passage leads to the full choir singing 'peccatorum' on an unprepared diminished seventh, left unresolved, hanging in the air on a tutti rest.

*Immisit Dominus pestilentiam* was composed by a 29-year-old who, as far as is known, had not yet travelled beyond Bohemia's borders. Yet this relatively simple work illustrates that many models of style, form, and instrumental colour were already available to him in Prague. More importantly, this first example from Zelenka illustrates his profound concern with the use of music to elucidate a text, a concern that was to provide a major impetus to almost every liturgical work which followed.

The city of Dresden was the seat of the Wettin family, whose head was Friedrich August I, Elector of Saxony and, from 1697, King of Poland. In that year, against all reasonable expectations, and as a last-minute candidate, Friedrich August I was elected by the nobility of neighbouring Poland to succeed Jan III Sobieski (who had died during the preceding year) as king. This result was achieved 'by bribery, by threats, and by skilful timing'.<sup>62</sup> So that a basic criterion of candidacy for the Polish crown could be met, Friedrich August I was obliged to convert to Catholicism: any nobleman, whether Polish citizen or foreigner, was eligible to present himself as a candidate, provided he was Catholic. Count Jacob Heinrich von Fleming, Field-Marshal of Saxony, promised the Pope that Friedrich August I would change confession. Further, Fleming arranged for the Wettin family jewels to be pawned in Vienna so that funds could be raised for distribution in order to secure the desired result.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>61</sup> See the Index by instrumentation in Bruce Haynes, *Music for Oboe, 1650–1800: A Bibliography* (2nd edn., Berkeley, 1992), where fifty obbligatos composed before 1709 requiring a pair of 'hautboys' are given.

<sup>62</sup> Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1981), i. 492.



The reign of the Saxon Elector as King of Poland was interrupted by the Great Northern War, which began in 1700. This conflict, motivated by a Russian power bid against Charles XII of Sweden (at whose court Bach's beloved brother Johann Jacob was employed as an oboist), was often fought in Poland, leading to invasion of part of Saxony. The ensuing Peace of Altranstadt obliged Friedrich August I in 1706 to renounce the Polish throne, which was not regained until 1710.

In either 1710 or 1711 Zelenka arrived in Dresden as a royal musician at the court of this Polish king and Saxon elector, a court which was increasingly turning to Catholicism in the midst of a staunchly Lutheran population. In 1713 the sole legitimate son of Friedrich August I, the Electoral Prince

<sup>63</sup> Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1981), i. 492.

Friedrich August II, also converted to Catholicism, an act which later enabled him to become an eligible candidate for king of Poland when elections were held following the death of his father. Thus, Zelenka served the courts of the Saxon Elector Friedrich August I (August II as King of Poland) and, following his death in 1733, the new Saxon Elector Friedrich August II (August III as King of Poland).

Dresden's beautiful architecture and magnificent treasures later led to the epithet—attributed to Johann Gottfried Herder—'Florence on the Elbe'. A contemporary account provided by Baron von Pöllnitz described that exquisite city of this era as the pleasure centre of Germany. During the months when Friedrich August I was in residence, Dresden was especially lively with 'plays, masquerades, balls, banquets, tilting at the ring, sleigh-races, tourings, hunting parties . . . most of the fêtes public. The plays and the masquerades open to anyone who was well dressed . . .'.<sup>64</sup> Pöllnitz described the charismatic king and the special relationship he enjoyed with Dresden and its inhabitants:

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And all who were present [during Carnival] were even more delighted with the King's pleasant manners than with the loveliness of the scene and the magnificence of the feasts . . . Though the King divides his time between his kingdom and his Electorate, it is true that he appears to enjoy himself better in Saxony than in Poland. It is his hereditary country, and he is absolute there; his will is that of his subjects, by whom he is adored rather than beloved . . . His court . . . was the most brilliant in Europe, full of magnificence, stateliness and pleasure.<sup>65</sup>

Following his conversion, Friedrich August I made no move to enforce the canon established at the Peace of Westphalia in 1648—'Cuius regnum eius religio'—the state will adopt the religion of the ruler. Eleven years were to elapse before a public Catholic church was founded in Dresden. In addition to the spiritual needs of the great number of Catholics who came to the Saxon court of this Polish king, one of the reasons necessitating this royal establishment was the unsatisfactory place of worship then used by the Dresden Catholics. The inadequacy of the existing arrangement was outlined in a draft document titled 'Memoires' [*sic*], which came to form the basis of a set of 'Reglements' [*sic*], those regulations which governed the practice of Catholicism in Saxony. The Memoires were almost certainly written by Fr. Maurizio Vota, SJ, confessor to the previous Polish king, Jan Sobieski, now confessor to Friedrich August I.

All parochial activities such as baptism, marriage, and others, which are presently celebrated in the small, inconvenient upstairs chapel in the house of the Secretary [insert: Foreign Minister] with little decorum and not without danger of some possible accident because of the great crowd of people which this weak structure cannot hold, will in future be celebrated in the new church, the Chapel Royal, dedicated in perpetuity to divine worship. The chapel will be decently appointed and will be able to hold all the Catholic people and even numerous Protestants, who will be thereby edified. Concerning this, one will readily come to agreement with His Holiness because it is a question of the greater glory of God and the salvation and edification of the people of God. And it will no longer be permitted to the Chaplain . . . to perform parochial activities in this small and wretched place at the top of so many flights of stairs, next door to the kitchen, [with] the women and girls who work there, who make noise with their kitchen pots, coming in and going out during the actual Mass, making themselves noticed, not without scandal to the people.<sup>66</sup>

The new Catholic royal chapel was established within the precincts of the Dresden court (see Pl. 2, second building from right). On Maundy Thursday of 1708 the inaugural service of the church, dedicated to the Most Holy Trinity, was held in the presence of the king. In that same year a Catholic chapel was opened within Pleissenburg, the fortress of Leipzig. A small room for devotions of the King, Electoral Prince, and members of the court (not to be called a

<sup>64</sup> Carl Ludwig von Pöllnitz, *Des Freyherrn von Pöllnitz neue Nachrichten*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt, 1739). Eng. trans. of sections by Edith Cuthell, *A Vagabond Courtier: From the Memoirs and Letters of Baron Charles Louis von Pöllnitz*, 2 vols. (London, 1913), i. 128–9.

<sup>65</sup> Cuthell, *Vagabond Courtier*, i. 126.

'chapel') was included in the hunting castle of Hubertusburg,<sup>67</sup> and in 1739 the Imperial chaplain was given permission to establish a chapel in Dresden-Neustadt. Each was open for public worship. The most prestigious of these churches was located in the former theatre of the Dresden palace. This chapel, which had previously been the court theatre 'Am Taschenberg', was renovated at the order of the king and decorated to his particular taste.<sup>68</sup> By using a court building he avoided Lutheran outrage, which would certainly have manifested itself had a Lutheran church been taken for use by the Catholic court, or if the Catholic court church had been built upon Saxon state land.

The new Catholic court chapel comprised an elongated nave, the narrow east end of which ran into a rounded apse where the high altar stood. To the left of the altar was placed the wooden pulpit carved by Balthazar Permoser, above which hung a replica of the Polish crown. The sculptures of Permoser contributed to the particular character of Augustinian Dresden, and together with the elegant architecture of Matthaeus Daniel Pöppelmann, a style developed that was to remain inherently associated with that city until its bombardment in 1945.<sup>69</sup> The organ and protruding choir stalls were at the western end of the nave, where the stage of the theatre had once been.<sup>70</sup> Around the interior ran a balcony. A contemporary engraving shows royal trumpeters and timpanists positioned in the first section (the western end) of this gallery.<sup>71</sup> In the early years, the chapel had two side altars; by the 1730s there were four. Two rows of pews stood in the nave. The high altar was enclosed by an elaborate balustrade and in the left-hand niche of the altar the font was placed. In the apse, above the high altar and at the same level as the balcony, four galleries were placed for the use of members of the Electoral Saxon and Royal Polish family. A corridor connected these with the royal palace. Confessional stalls were placed behind the high altar and in side niches in front. The entire decoration was in Renaissance style, fluted columns and pillars with Roman capitals adorning the walls and galleries. The main entrance to the church was from the southern side, with another below the organ and musicians' choir for use by the church servants and chapel musicians. On each side of this entrance was a vestibule with rooms for rehearsal and storage of music and instruments.<sup>72</sup> Following the completion of the replacement Catholic court church in the mid-eighteenth century (a building made famous in the paintings of Dresden by Bernardo Bellotto, known as 'Canaletto'), the old church became the *Ballhaus* of the Dresden palace. From the nineteenth century until its demolition in 1896, this building housed the Hauptstaatsarchiv.

<sup>66</sup> Memoires, fos. 4<sup>r</sup>–5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>67</sup> Saft, 147.

<sup>68</sup> It should be noted that the first post-Reformation Catholic court church of Dresden was not the building made famous by the illustrations of Canaletto seen, for example, in Fritz Löffler's *Bernardo Bellotto genannt Canaletto* (Leipzig, 1988). Extensive information on Dresden's architectural history is given by Löffler in *Das alte Dresden: Geschichte seiner Bauten* (Leipzig, 1982).

<sup>69</sup> Examples of the work of Permoser and Pöppelmann are given in Löffler, *Das alte Dresden*.

<sup>70</sup> Fürstenau II, 34 [n. 1].

<sup>71</sup> Repr. in *Hkm*.

Using precedents from the conversions within other Protestant courts, and scandals arising from combinations of orders and nationalities of clerics serving in certain German and Polish Catholic courts, the Memoires argued that the chaplains in the service of the Dresden royal chapel should come from one order only. Their behaviour, their demeanour, even their dress were prescribed in this document. There can be little doubt about the identity of the religious order in the mind of Fr. Vota, the architect of the Memoires. During the first two years after the foundation of the royal chapel its chaplains were drawn from two provinces of the Society of Jesus. They were supervised by Fr. Vota. But because this royal confessor was so often absent from Dresden, the Jesuit General, Michelangelo Tamburini, appointed a Superior especially for the royal chaplains of Dresden. On 16 January 1710 Fr. Georgius Klein of the Province of Bohemia, who had recently arrived from Prague as Superior of the Saxon Mission, began to keep a chronicle.<sup>73</sup> In that same year the Dresden Catholic court chapel came to be administered by the Jesuit Province of Bohemia. The Memoires, the Reglements, and other accompanying foundation documents outlined the establishment of a group of musicians to serve the Catholic court chapel of Dresden,<sup>74</sup> a body which was to play a vital role in the liturgy and music of this church. For years to come this establishment brought a constant stream of talented young Bohemian choristers to Dresden—an import made necessary because of the lack of Saxon Catholic children.<sup>75</sup> After their voices changed, many former choristers remained in Saxony as musicians. Names such as ‘Franciscus Benda’ (who achieved fame as a violinist and composer at the court of Frederick the Great), ‘Franciscus Ritzschel’ (listed in the *Königl. Polnischer und Churfürstl. Sächsischer Hof- und Staats-Calender* [*HStCal*] from 1733 as a bass singer of the court), ‘Schürer’ (who came to serve the Dresden court as a composer), ‘Schuster’ (who later sang bass roles in Dresden productions of Hasse’s operas, father of the composer Joseph Schuster), and ‘Uhlig’ (from 1733, listed in the *HStCal* as a violinist) all were former members of the *Kapellknaben* institute of the Catholic court church.

The Memoires envisaged that the music for specified ceremonies would be provided by a choir of six young *clerics*, a music master, and an organist. According to this source, the boys were to be the foundation of a seminary. In addition to *le chant figuré et la Musique*, they were to be taught instruments by

<sup>72</sup> Saft, 25–6, whose description is based upon the mid-19th-c. publication of Wilhelm Schäfer, *Die katholische Hofkirche zu Dresden* (1851), 5–6. Schäfer’s description of the orientation of the church is not entirely correct.

<sup>73</sup> The Dresden *Litterae Annuae* (ARSI) and the *Diarium* date from the time of Fr. Klein’s arrival.

<sup>74</sup> Additional reports on the choral foundation the church are provided by Saft, ch. 3, and *Hkm*, 37–40.

<sup>75</sup> See Zdeňka Pilková, ‘Böhmische Musiker am Dresdner Hof zur Zeit Zelenkas’, in *ZS I*, 55–64, and ‘Zelenkas Zeitgenossen und Nachfolger aus Nordböhmen in der Dresdner Hofkapelle’, in *ZS II*, 487–92.

### *Early Years in Bohemia*

a music master. Several sections from the Memoires which pertained to the musical foundation of the chapel were then expanded and refined for the later Reglements. Here, with the addition of four instrumentalists, the original number of six *clerics* grew to ten. A choral director and organist were to be employed. Although performance of music on high feast-days was to be provided by the royal musicians, it is evident that the choristers and young musicians of this foundation carried out most of the musical duties during the formative years of the church.<sup>76</sup>

The musicians of the chapel were to be supervised by the second court chaplain. Two points of the Reglements strictly established their duties, education, and behaviour:

1. They shall serve at the altar, read in turns during meals, learn *chant figuré* and the playing of instruments, study Latin, and obey their instructor under the orders of the director.
2. They shall live according to the rule, eat at the same time and in the same place as the chaplains, and may go out of the house only with their consent, be modest, devout and serious in the church and elsewhere, and very punctual for offices and services in the church, keeping silence and preventing their eyes from wandering, and showing great respect and genuine devotion for the holy altar, to general edification.<sup>77</sup>

The first Prefect of Music to be appointed was Fr. Elias Broggio, SJ, born in 1668 in the northern Bohemian town of Litoměřice. He arrived in Dresden in 1708 and carried out the office until 1717. The recruitment of new singers took him on frequent journeys to Bohemia.<sup>78</sup> Each chapel musician was paid 100 thalers annually for food, clothing, and other necessities. The organist and the music master were each to receive 200.<sup>79</sup> Music was acquired for the royal chapel, confirmed by an entry under the extraordinary expenses of the church for the interval between 10 August 1709 and 10 February 1711.<sup>80</sup> The annual letter of 1712 reported on the progress of the *Kapellknaben*. The chapel musician, who also taught the lower classes of the school established by the Jesuits, was Johannes Jungwirth, a young priest who had once been a member of the Society of Jesus. Born in Budweis, he came to Dresden in 1709 from the northern Bohemian town of Teplice, together with the first choristers. For almost twenty years Jungwirth directed the group. Until late 1722, he sang bass with the choir of the Dresden court chapel. The Saxon Jesuit sources reveal that Jungwirth was to be an ongoing source of irritation.

At the time of the founding of the royal chapel various instruments had been purchased, including a great double bass, two violins, and '4 Flauten mit Fagott'. A small organ had also been built for the church by the court organ builder,

<sup>76</sup> *Hkm*, 37.

<sup>77</sup> Reglements, 'Instruction des Clercs'.

<sup>78</sup> Evidence of sizeable correspondence between the Jesuit General (Michelangelo Tamburini, 1706–30) and Fr. Broggio exists in the Roman Jesuit archives. ARSI Boh 10a.

<sup>79</sup> Reglements, 'Gages'. However, the 'Sumptus pro Stipendiis Sacelli Regii' (ARSI Boh 205/1) indicates a rise in the salaries of the organist to 250 th. and of the music director to 300 th.

Johann Heinrich Gräbner.<sup>81</sup> Diarium entries inform us that a positive was acquired in September 1712. It was installed by the builder from 'Kamentium' (Česká Kamenice), a Bohemian town north of Litoměřice, close to the Saxon border.<sup>82</sup> Its precise location within the church is unknown, but it was positioned at a site determined by the king. This instrument was first used on 29 September 1712. A letter dated 21 November of that same year from Fr. Klein to Fr. Vota, who had now retired to Rome, reports on its use: 'Your church has been embellished with a new organ which plays excellently and which contributes greatly to the quality of the congregation's singing in the vernacular.'<sup>83</sup>

Among the earliest entries in the Diarium is an account of the type of music performed by the choristers. Inadvertently this report presents an example of the wisdom contained in Fr. Vota's Memoires, especially the recommendation that all royal chaplains should come from one order. As it was, the first chaplains of the Catholic court church comprised a mixture of Jesuits from the provinces of Bohemia (three) and the Lower Rhine (two). Had this dispute of 1710 occurred between members of different orders, an extremely unpleasant situation would almost certainly have arisen. The entry reads:

In the evening the Fathers from the Rhine quarrelled with Father Elia[s Broggio] during supper, first about our *Juvenes*, because they do not serve at Mass (being exempted because of their studies); second because there is no plainsong [*cantus choralis*] at Vespers but only figural music [*musica figuralis*] . . . The answer was that this was an order of the Prince, and was popular. The harsh words upset me. I have repeatedly arranged for the psalms to be chanted, the hymn and Magnificat to be performed polyphonically [*ut psalmi cantarentur choraliter hymnus et Magnificat figuraliter*].<sup>84</sup>

A further exchange between these two groups concerned the use of the vernacular in the royal chapel:

Palm Sunday . . . The Passion was sung in the choir [*in choro*] in German because we didn't have it in Latin. Jungwirth used the German text which is sung at Graupen [Krupka, Bohemia]. The Fathers from the Rhine were mightily displeased with this, but the German people welcomed it.<sup>85</sup>

By 1713 the annual letter reported that the modesty, piety, and discipline of the ten young musicians provided 'a source of great edification in this heterodox city',<sup>86</sup> and in 1715 it was noted that lustre had been added to worship in the royal chapel by the nine young musicians who served there. This observation was immediately followed by the statement that the heterodox had 'a growing esteem for the worship in the chapel and this, at the moment, is perhaps the most important result of our activities', a hint of the role played by the *Kapellknaben* in the proselytising activities of the Dresden Jesuits.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>80</sup> ARSI Boh 205/2, 'Extractum'.

<sup>81</sup> Fürstenau II, 37, based upon information provided by Schäfer.

<sup>82</sup> Diarium, 13, 29, and 30 Sept. 1712.

<sup>83</sup> ARSI Epistolae Generalium ad NN et externos et NN 99–102: Epp. P. Mauriti Vota . . . I, II, II, IV. Epp NN 101, 148v.

<sup>84</sup> Diarium, 8 Feb. 1710.

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It is tempting to consider that Zelenka's move to Dresden was somehow connected with this musical foundation of the Catholic court church, so influenced was it by the Society of Jesus and the Province of Bohemia. Given the training provided by his father and his musical experiences in Prague, Zelenka was probably a proficient keyboard player, with understanding of vocal training, and skill on more than one instrument. He must have understood the musical requirements of Bohemian Jesuits. Nevertheless, all evidence points to Zelenka's appointment to the Electoral Saxon and Royal Polish *Hofkapelle* as a player of the violone. If, however, he held ambitions to contribute to this church as a composer, then such aspirations were to become reality soon after his arrival.

<sup>85</sup> Diarium, 13 Apr. 1710. The term 'in choro' might mean a work was sung by the choir of the church, or else a performance in that part of the church between the altar and nave might be intended. See Wolfgang Reich, 'Das *Diarium Missionis Societatis Jesu Dresdae* als Quelle für die kirchenmusikalische Praxis', in *ZS II*, 43–57, who outlines various difficulties encountered in interpreting the Latin terminology of the Diarium.

<sup>86</sup> ARSI Boh 126, 14.

<sup>87</sup> ARSI Boh 128, 16.