

This article is an attempt to assess the early reception of Jan Dismas Zelenka's music in Prague, doing so with the help of a rather neglected type of information obtained from the well-known music inventory of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star. Generally, the music inventory as a specific type of document provides two basic types of information: 1) bibliographical data on musical items on the list (provided they are specified) and 2) the shape of the music collection at the very moment of inventorying. On the other hand, a record in the music inventory usually does not guarantee that the music was actually performed. In this respect, the music inventory of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star is a rare exception. The inventory contains a column called "Productio" and at least some items in this column are accompanied by dashes marking the number of performances.

While still in his student years, the Moravian musicologist Jiří Fukač (1936-2002) discovered the music inventory of the Knights of the Cross¹ when researching the musical history of his birth town of Znojmo in 1956. He was fully aware of the value of the information from the *Productio* column.² However, his extensive thesis containing the transcription of the inventory remains unpublished.³ All subsequent studies drew from Fukač's typescript rather than from the original source, which was assumed lost during the past decades, and most readers probably did not fully grasp the importance of the data from the *Productio* column edited by Fukač, although the edition itself is reliable. Thanks to musicologist Pavel Žůrek, who rediscovered the source in its original place, i.e. in the historical library of Hradiště, South Moravia, and generously shared the information, we can now see the difference in the appearance of the original source and Fukač's edition (► Fig. 1a-b). As part

¹ In the whole article the Order of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star is meant. It is important not to confuse this order with the Order of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Heart or the Cyriac order, as sometimes happen. Both orders had their monasteries on the bank of the Vltava river, played important role in St. John of Nepomuk cult and left a significant trace in Prague's music history.

² He emphasized its importance already in his first publication on this topic, see Jiří FUKAČ, 'Hudba na Hradišti. Příspěvek k problematice hudebního baroka', *Podjíz. Sborník pro musejní a vlastivědnou práci* 1 (1958), pp. 27-32, 45-47, 57-59, 74-76, 90-92, 100-102, 125-128, here pp. 74-75.

³ Jiří FUKAČ, *Křížovnícký hudební inventář (Příspěvek k poznání křížovnícké hudební kultury a jejího místa v hudebním životě Prahy)*, 2 vols., thesis (Brno 1959).

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The place of Jan Dismas Zelenka within Prague's sacred music scene as viewed through the inventory of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star

Abstract

The music inventory of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star from ca. 1737/38 belongs to the paradigmatic sources both within research of "the musical culture of eighteenth-century Bohemia" (to cite the title of Barbara Ann Renton's dissertation) and the exploring of rich terrain of music inventories from Czech lands started with the Jiří Fukač's founding work about this immense source discovered by him. Paradoxically, Fukač's edition of the Knights of the Cross inventory remains unpublished, while all subsequent studies drew from his typescript rather than from the original source. What picture does the inventory provide of music culture in Prague of the time? And what place does Jan Dismas Zelenka and his compositions occupy in this context? The article aims to search for possible answers to these questions by analysing data from the column "Productio", which has received minimum attention since Fukač's effort.

Key words: Zelenka, Jan Dismas; Baroque music; music inventories; music performances; Prague; the Order of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star

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written without Zelenka in mind and did not even mention his name. I am indebted to Janice B. Stockigt for the invitation to the Zelenka Conference 2018 and for the idea to apply my research on the Knights of the Cross inventory to the questions related to Zelenka. I am also grateful to my collaborators on this study: David Souček worked out the statistical analysis, Lukáš Vokřínek entered the data, Lenka Kapsová and Ben Hague helped with the English translation.

of the project on historical music inventories in the Czech lands, the music inventory of the Knights of the Cross will be published in the form of a facsimile edition supplemented with registers and comments.

The source and its contents

The volume consists of 57 folios and, with more than 3 000 items, it represents the largest Bohemian music inventory of that time. The title page is missing, as are several blank parts of the sheets, which were cut off to make use of the paper; the Prague provenance of the inventory was identified by Fukač based on its contents. The major part of the inventory was written by single scribe in one stroke, other scribes are responsible for several items and inscriptions added later on. None of the scribes has been identified so far. At the end of the inventory, there is a list of oratorios performed from 1738 to 1759 in St. Francis church in Prague.⁴ Taking its contents into account, Fukač dated the origin of the inventory to 1737 or 1738 and the end of its use to 1759. At the same time, it is apparent that the music acquisitions made by the Knights of the Cross in the 1740s and 1750s were not listed in the inventory in their entirety. There is nothing to change about these conclusions, or substantially to correct in the edition made by Fukač.

As usual, the layout of the catalogue clearly reflects the physical organisation of the collection (► Fig. 2). It was stored in 5 cabinets, each representing one "Ordo" in the inventory. *Ordos* are further divided into "Scrinia" (compartments), which are, similarly to the *Ordos*, numbered in Roman numerals, and, as a rule, in each *Scrinium* the items are numbered continuously in Arabic numerals. Each item of the inventory thus has a unique shelf mark containing two Roman and one Arabic numerals. However, on the covers of sheet music itself the old shelf marks most commonly contain the last Arabic numeral only. I base this statement on information provided by the catalogue records put together by Vladimír Koronthály and, in a much larger scope, by Jana Vojtěšková and Dagmar Štefancová (née Vanišová), who catalogued almost the entire collection while it was stored in the Museum of Czech Music (today the National museum – Czech Museum of Music, CZ-Pnm). These catalogue cards are available in the Union Music Catalogue of the National Library of the Czech Republic and it was according to them that the *RISM* records were made.⁵ Unfortunately, not nearly all catalogue records contain explicit list of the old signatures and a non-specific formula "old shelf marks on the cover" sometimes occurs.

The outline of the inventory contents is shown in ► Fig. 3. On the vertical axis one can see the number of items and each bar of the diagram represents one *Ordo*. Each cabinet was assigned for a specific part of collection. The first cabinet contains, according to the caption title in the inventory, "musicalium Gayerianorum omnium", a collection that the Knights of the Cross acquired from the widow of the late Karel Kryštof Gayer (ca. 1668-1734), *Kapellmeister* of the Prague St. Vitus cathedral. While the original inventories written in Gayer's hand remain unknown,⁶ there are several substantially

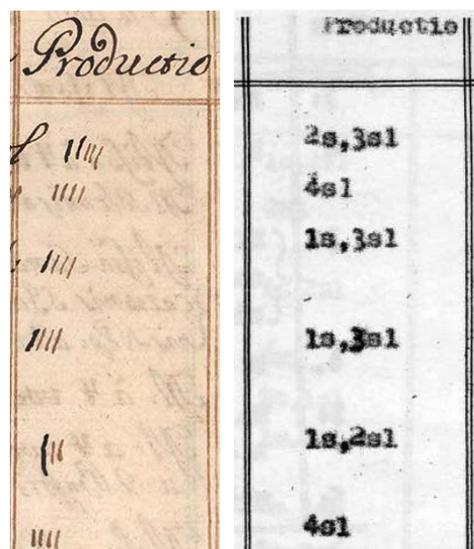


Fig. 1a-b:
The *Productio* column in the original of the Knights of the Cross music inventory (fol. 2^r) and in Fukač's edition, where "s" is the sign for thick and "sl" for thin dash

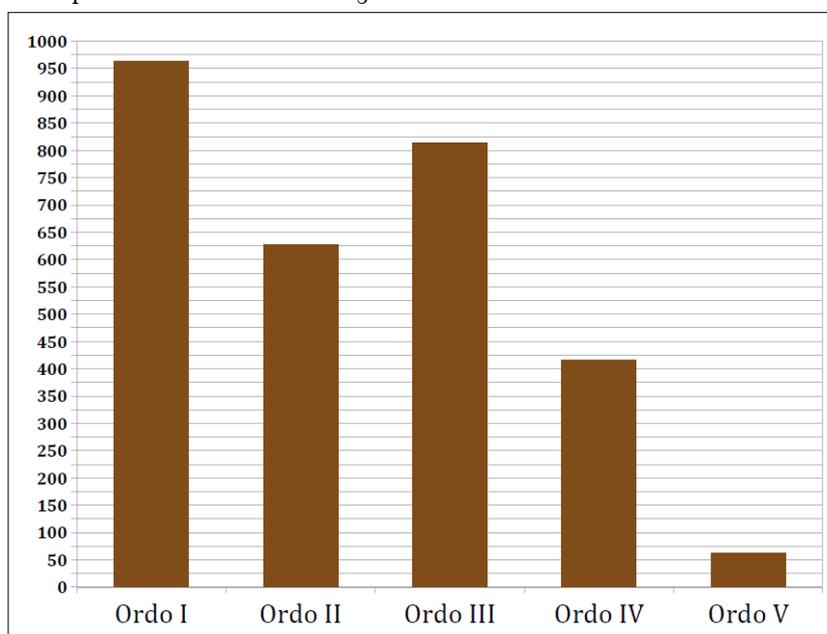


Fig. 3:
The basic outline of the Knights of the Cross music inventory

⁴ Edited and analysed by Jiří FUKAČ, 'Die Oratorienaufführungen bei den Prager Kreuzherren mit dem roten Stern als Typ lokaler Musikfeste', *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity / Studia minorum Facultatis Philosophicae Universitatis Brunensis* 43 (1994), H 29, pp. 69-89, available online: <https://digilib.phil.muni.cz/handle/11222.digilib/112131>.

⁵ The records are available in the *RISM Catalog* under the library siglum CZ-Pkříž.

⁶ The Prague chapter of St. Vitus ordered *Kapellmeister* Gayer to process the inventory of the cathedral music collection after the acquisition of Italian compositions from Balthasar Knapp in 1717. Neither the two copies of the inventory from 1717 nor the copy from 1722 are known today. See Antonín

H 5 1

Musicalium Tayerianorum omnium in Alinari I^{mo} Contentorum

ORDO I:

Scrinium I^{mo} In quo inveniuntur Missae Solemnissimae a 2^{bus} Choris.

Numerus	Missae	Instrumenta singulariora	Tonus ex quo	Authores	Productio
1.	Missae à 8 vocibus	Oboe violoncello 2 Cornu	F.	Dignati 1	
2.	Missae à 9 vocibus	Oboe violoncello: Tubae	Duro	Sarri 1	Bene
3.	Missae à 8 vocibus	4 violini, violoncello 2 violette Concerti	D.	Scharlatte 1	Mediocr.
4.	Missae à 2 Choris 9 voc.		G.	Fago 1	Bene
5.	Kyrie & Gloria a 10 voc.	2 Violini		Sarcuni 1	Mediocr.
6.	Missae a 2 Choris 10 voc.	2 Trombae 2 violoncello		Mancini 1	Bene.

Scrinium II^{dum}
In quo inven: Missae Solemnissimae a 2 Choris

1.	Missae a 5 vel 8 voc. Solen.	2 violinis Adaptatis	C	Bisi 1	Bene.
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Fig. 2: The music inventory of the Prague's Knights of the Cross, fol. 1^r

differing opinions on the presumed extent of his collection sold to the Knights of the Cross. The researchers analysing the inventory, Jiří Fukač and Barbara Ann Renton, tended to view the whole first *Ordo* comprising almost one thousand items as the “Gayer collection”.⁷ In contrast, Vladimír Koronthály, who tried to reconstruct the “Gayer collection” according to musical sources, identified in the second version of his unpublished study about 300 items as belonging to it, out of which 190 were recognized with certainty and 116 with some degree of probability. He also found the music formerly possessed by Gayer in the other *Ordos* of the inventory, although most of it is still located in the first *Ordo*.⁸ Finally, Milada Jonášová cites a number of 202 items as the extent of the “Gayer collection”, unfortunately without reference to the source of this information.⁹ One way or other, the music acquired from Gayer’s estate clearly caused the differences between the contents of the first *Ordo* and the rest of the collection, which will be explained further.

In the remaining cabinets, the original music collection of the Knights of the Cross was stored: the second *Ordo* lists predominantly music intended for use in a mass including arias, offertories etc.; in the third *Ordo*, music for special times such as Advent, Christmas, Lent and Easter predominates, and there are also additions to the *Scrinia* of the second cabinet; the fourth *Ordo* lists chiefly music for the vespers including litanies, and the fifth *Ordo* comprises scores only. The impression that the fifth cabinet was almost empty, which one might gain from the inventory, is false because of the presence of collective items: “Partiturae Poppianae item Partiturae diversarum Operarum” are listed as one item, which probably means all scores from the estate of Franz Ludwig Poppe, O.Cr. (1671-1730), the “house composer” of the Knights of the Cross.

As far as the origin of the composers and the genre of compositions are concerned, the contents of the inventory have been thoroughly analysed by Jiří Fukač and Barbara Ann Renton.¹⁰ As a reminder and illustration of some of these observations, the next diagram will show the proportion of the composers represented in each *Ordo* according to the places of their activity (► Fig. 4).

Composers working in Italy (green color) and Vienna (blue), the latter group including the Italians at the imperial court, clearly prevail in the first *Ordo*. The international scope and the occurrence of up-to-date and popular pieces by Caldara and other Viennese composers were evidently the main reasons for the acquisition of Gayer’s collection. In the original collection of the Knights of the Cross, the representation of Bo-

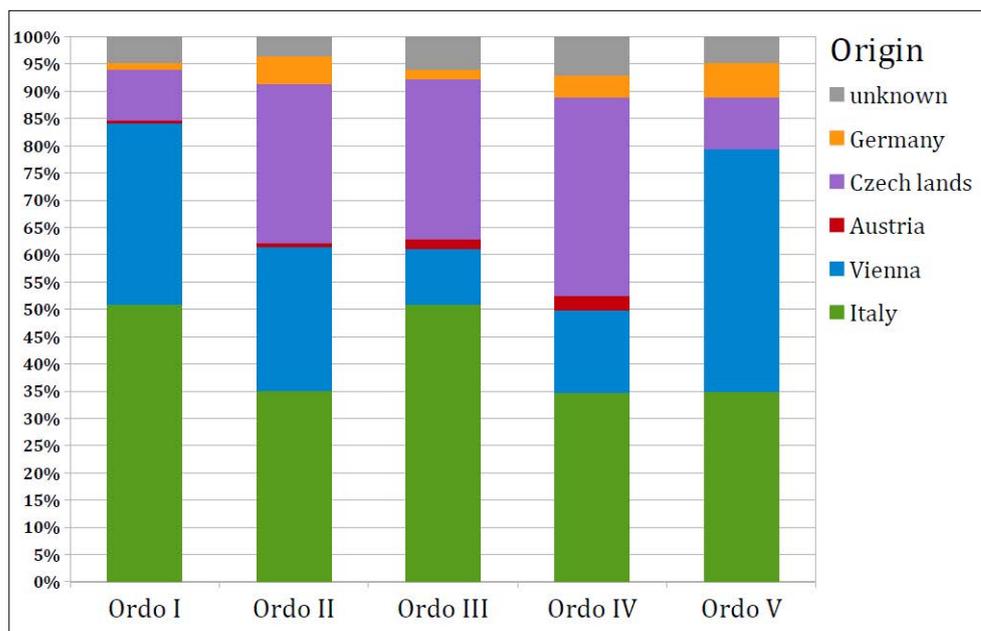


Fig. 4:
Items and places of activity of their authors in percentage

PODLAHA, *Catalogus collectionis operum artis musicae quae in Bibliotheca Capituli Metropolitanii Pragensis asservantur* (Pragae: Sumptibus S. F. Metropolitanii capituli Pragensis, 1926), p. XVII, and Claudio BACCIAGALUPPI, *Rom, Prag, Dresden: Pergolesi und die neapolitanische Messe in Europa* [= Schweizer Beiträge zur Musikforschung, Bd. 14] (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2010), pp. 105-110.

⁷ FUKAČ, *Křižovnický hudební inventář* (↖ note 3), vol. 1, pp. 115-116 and Barbara Ann RENTON, *The Musical Culture of Eighteenth-Century Bohemia, with Special Emphasis on the Music Inventories of Osek and the Knights of the Cross*, PhD diss. (New York: The City University, 1990), p. 419.

⁸ Vladimír KORONTHÁLY, *Hudební sbírka Kryštofa Gayera. Příspěvek k poznání hudebního života v barokní Praze*, 3 vols., typescript (Prague 1981). The first version of this study under the same title, but in 2 volumes only and smaller extent, was approved as a thesis at the Charles University in Prague in 1977.

⁹ Milada JONÁŠOVÁ, ‘Hudba ve svatovítské katedrále v 18. století’, *Salve. Revue pro teologii a hudební život* 14 (2014), 2, pp. 99-108, here p. 102.

¹⁰ FUKAČ, *Křižovnický hudební inventář* (↖ note 3), vol. 1, p. 149 ff. and RENTON, *The Musical Culture of Eighteenth-Century Bohemia* (↖ note 7), p. 420 ff.

hemian composers (purple) was significantly higher. The proportion of Italian music in the first and third *Ordo* is approximately 50 %, while in three remaining *Ordos* it coincidentally reaches 35 %. This diagram will also serve as a point of departure for the discussion of the dashes from the *Productio* column.

Dashes from the *Productio* column

Interpretation of the data from the *Productio* column is somewhat ambiguous. Why? We are apparently dealing with a system, yet some of its aspects remain hidden. Figs. 1-2 and 5a-b show four examples of dashes from the *Productio* column. It is possible to identify two types of dashes: some of them are thick and made in dark ink, the others are thin. While there are several possible ways of interpreting this fact – for instance, the thicker dash might stand for ten or twelve thinner dashes, since the maximum number of thick dashes in one item is three –, the most probable explanation seems to be that we are dealing with two time layers.¹¹ The first copyist might be responsible for the thick dashes, and the second one for the others, as can be seen in Fig. 5a displaying two offertories by Jan Michael Angstenberger, another composing member of the Knights-of-the-Cross order. His first composition mentioned in the same example, the *Offertorium de Dedicacione Ecclesiae Omnes gentes*, would with its fifteen dashes represent the most frequently performed piece of the whole inventory. Fig. 5b shows that in several places the dashes are distributed illogically: here, the thin dash is written from the left side, i.e. in the first position.

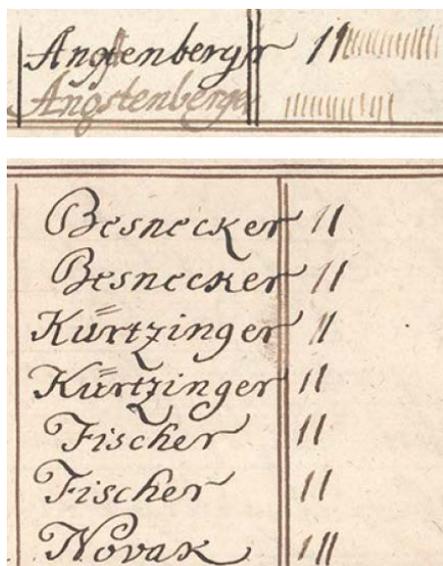


Fig. 5a-b:
Different dashes in the
Productio column,
the Knights of the
Cross music inventory,
fols. 23^r and 32^r

The dashes were apparently not written continuously, but always at one stroke. How was the information about performances recorded in the meantime? To give you an idea of the overall numbers of dashes, there are over one thousand thick and more than two thousand eight hundred thin dashes. The most likely explanation is that the information was somehow kept in the sheet music itself, perhaps on the covers, and that the transfer to the inventory was a result of an inventorying and subsequent revision made by the second scribe. Extensive research in the survived music collection would be necessary to verify this hypothesis; unfortunately, under recent circumstances such research is not possible. However, we can still work further with the information from the inventory. To illustrate the main features, there is no urgent need to distinguish between thick and thin dashes; the presumable time span between both layers seems to be promising for further analysis at first sight, but the very small number of thick dashes found against individual items (mostly one or two) makes any conclusion rather unreliable. But the total of almost 4 000 dashes represents a sufficiently large set of data to be usable for

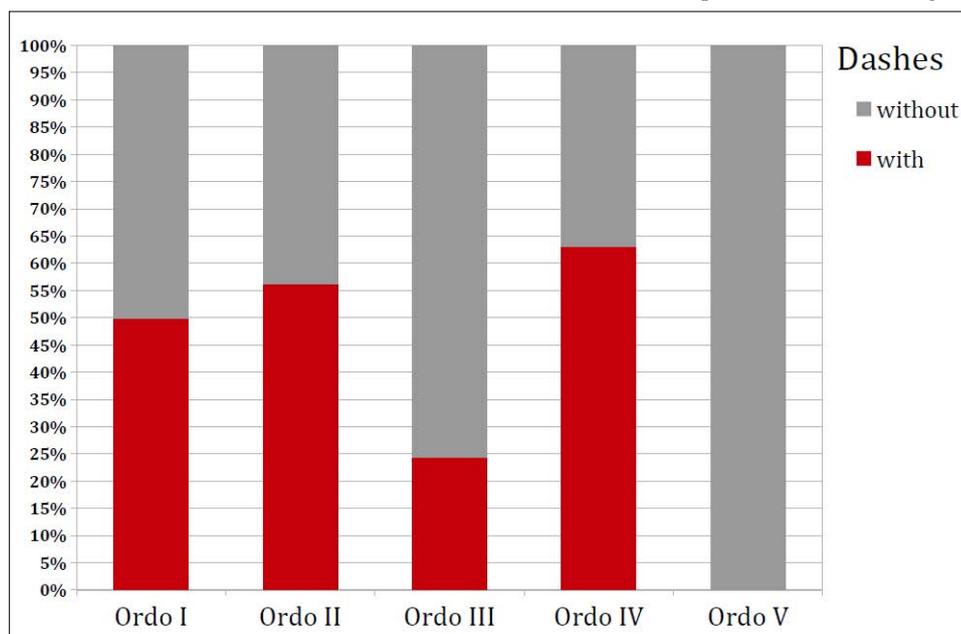


Fig. 6:
Items with and
without dashes
in percentage

¹¹ Fukač came to the same conclusion, see FUKAČ, *Křižovnický hudební inventář* (↵ note 3), vol. 2, p. 132.

some art of statistical analysis.

The next diagram shows the items with at least one dash – the red part of each column shows the per cent proportion of items with dashes (➤ Fig. 6). In the fifth *Ordo*, the performances are not indicated by dashes at all, this part of the collection clearly served more as an archive. The low number of performances in the third *Ordo* is caused not only by the special nature of the repertory (see above), but also by the entire absence of dashes in all sections with additions to

the *Scrinia* from second *Ordo* (such as “Appendix in Missas”, “Appendix in Offertoria” etc.); the reason for this absence is unclear. More interesting is that only half of the items from the first *Ordo* were performed. Why might that be, and what kind of music was played? This is obvious from the next diagram, jointly showing the number of performances and the provenance of the composers (➤ Fig. 7). A while ago we saw in Fig. 4 that the music of composers working in Italy accounts for 50 % of *Ordos* I and III and 35 % of *Ordos* II, IV and V. By contrast, in performances music from Italy

loses mostly to Viennese composers (as is the case in the first *Ordo* comprising the major part of the Gayer collection) and, in particular, to Bohemian composers (in the original repertory possessed by the Knights of the Cross).

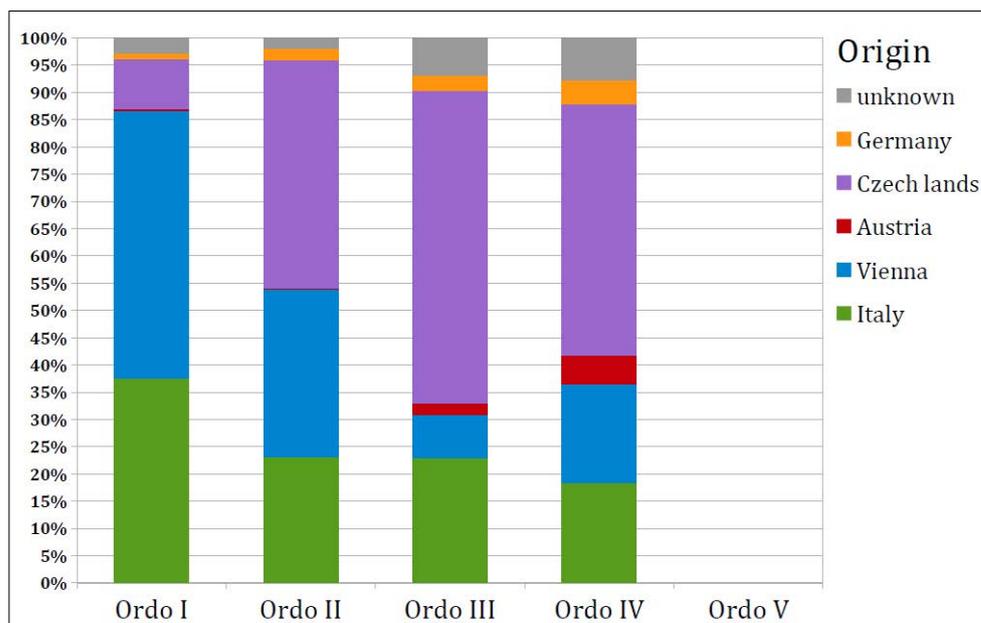


Fig. 7:
Performances
and places of the ac-
tivity of composers
in percentage

“Prague top 20 chart” and Jan Dismas Zelenka

The popularity of Vienna-based and Bohemian composers is apparent even if we look at the small group of the most frequently performed composers from the Knights of the Cross inventory. The “top 20 chart” from the total of 270 names of composers occurring in the inventory (➤ Fig. 8a-b) covers almost half of the items and more than half of performances. Viennese composers represent a large group on the list with Caldara on the top, followed by Fux, Öttl, Reinhardt, Ziani and Conti (most probably Ignazio Maria, named “Contini” in the inventory, although overlap or, more likely, misattribution between father and son, i.e. with works by Francesco Bartolomeo Conti, is possible in some entries). Performed compositions of these composers are evidenced mostly in the first *Ordo* and it was precisely because of these pieces – and the works of several Neapolitan composers, out of which Mancini and Sarri found their way to our first twenty – that Gayer’s collection was probably acquired in the 1730s by the Knights of the Cross despite the fact that it contained a comparatively large number of pieces by earlier Italian composers, which must have been out of fashion at the time of the purchase.¹² The second largest group of the most frequently performed composers consists of Bohemians, especially two members of the order, Poppe and Daniel Milčinský, and popular Prague composers Anton Reichenauer and Jan František Novák. The high number of performances of their works, which are also present in the inventory in relatively high proportions, indicates that they were closely connected with St. Francis choir.

It comes as a surprise that apart from Reichenauer and Novák, also the little known Franz Rumpelnig, *Kapellmeister* in Eisenstadt in the early eighteenth century, seems to be closely connected with Knights of the Cross, to judge from both the number of compositions and their performances (➤ Fig. 8a-b).¹³ It is also apparent that Antonio Lotti, Johann Caspar Ferdinand Fischer (though in this case, confusion of different Fischers is quite likely) and Giovanni Battista Bassani reached their positions in our “top 20 chart” of most frequently played composers with a substantially higher number of items in comparison with others. This means that each of their works was played only a few times, which seems to indicate an increasing outdatedness of their music at the time in question. The much younger and today almost unknown Ignaz Prustmann represents the opposite case: forty-eight recorded performances

➤ Corr. 2020-05-02

¹² See FUKAČ, *Křížovnický hudební inventář* (↖ note 3), vol. 1, footnote 60 on p. 198 and RENTON, *The Musical Culture of Eighteenth-Century Bohemia* (↖ note 7), p. 436.

¹³ Ulrich TANK wrote about Franz Rumpelnigs career in Eisenstadt in *Studien zur Esterházyischen Hofmusik von etwa 1620 bis 1790* (Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1981), pp. 56-57. In *RISM* and several other catalogues and dictionaries the composer’s name is given in the form “Rumpeling”.

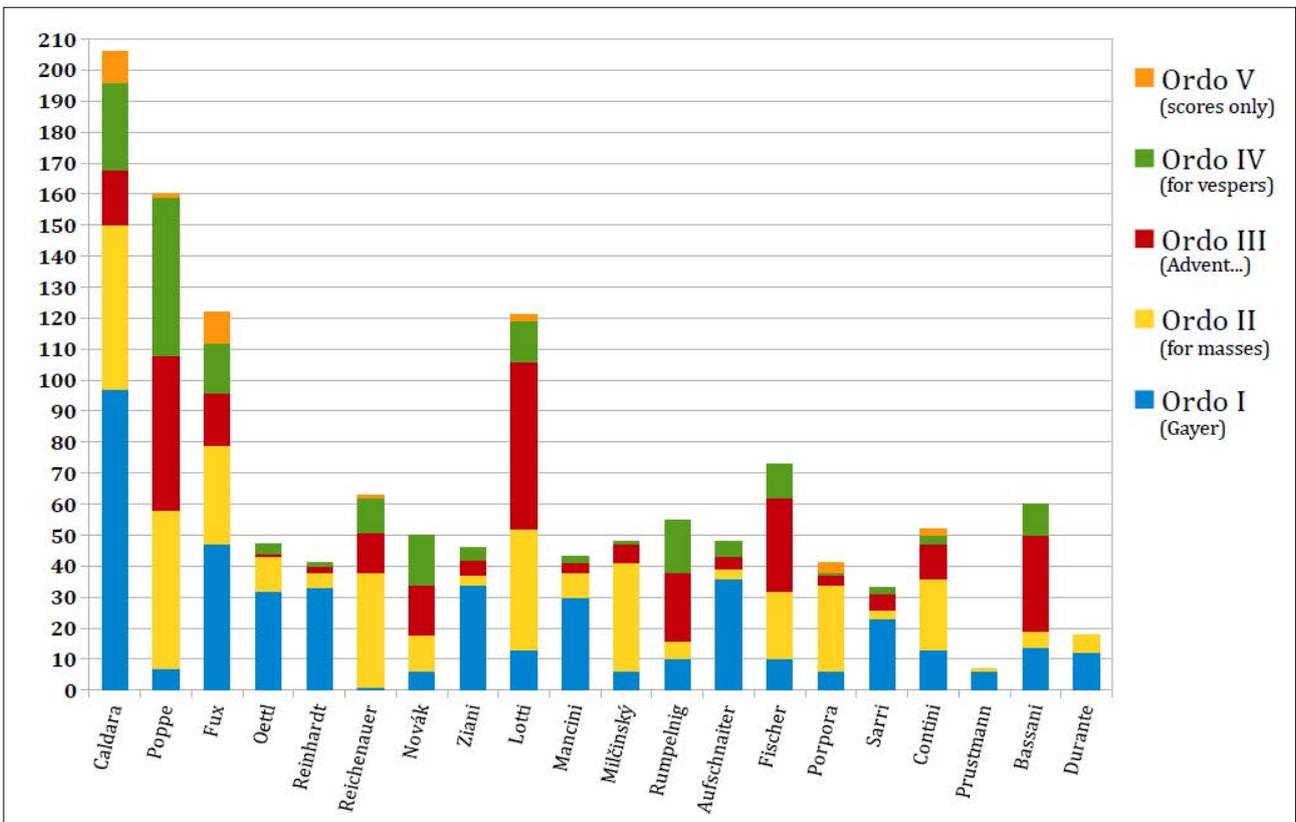
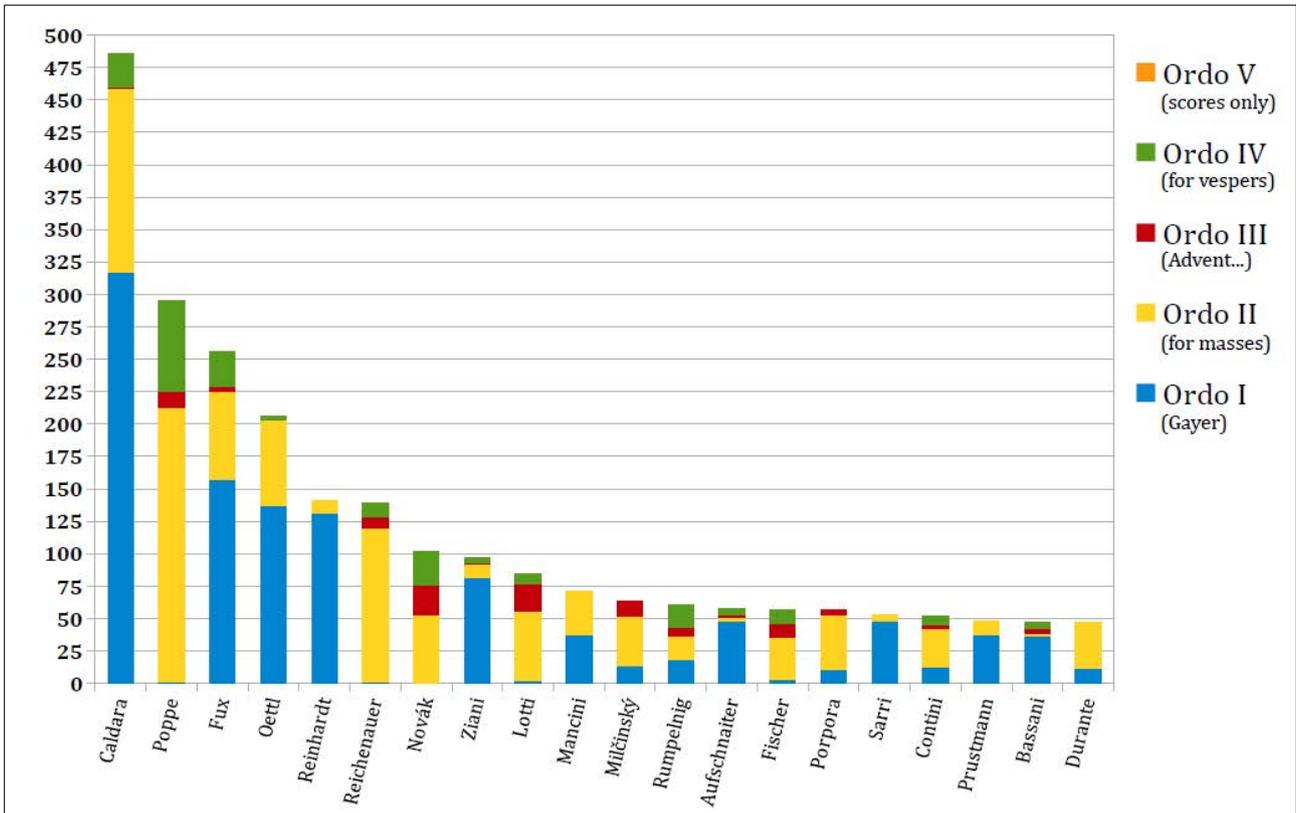


Fig. 8a-b:
The Knights of the Cross top 20 composers: a) number of performances; b) number of items

of his works grant him the eighteenth position in our chart, but he reaches it with seven compositions only!

With ten items and a total of fifteen performances, Jan Dismas Zelenka is surprisingly underrepresented in the inventory; with respect to performances he shares the 44th, 45th and 46th position with Francesco Manfredini and Antonio Negri, both of them reaching fifteen performances with three compositions only. The entries mentioning Zelenka in the Knights

of the Cross music inventory were already published and commented on by Jana Vojtěšková.¹⁴ However, it is worth taking a look at them again in the context of the whole inventory. Table 1 shows the entries of music by Zelenka, which are grouped according to their position in the inventory. Each of the four compositions by Zelenka listed in the first *Ordo* occurs twice in the inventory, i.e. they are listed also in the second, third or fourth *Ordos*. It is true that in a non-thematic inventory we cannot be absolutely sure about the identification of a composition mentioned in an entry, but in this particular case the entries are convincing enough to make such a claim. Actually, such an overlap between the first *Ordo* and the rest of the collection is not uncommon and indicates that the pieces occurring twice in the inventory were already owned by the Knights of the Cross before the acquisition of the “Gayer collection”. The occurrence of these pairs also indicates that the “Gayer collection” was most probably larger than Koronthály judged based on the music sources, which had been insufficiently catalogued at the time of his research.

Two of these four compositions by Zelenka have survived in the Knights of the Cross music collection, namely the *Credo* from *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* (ZWV 1) in its second revision made in 1712 and *De profundis* (ZWV 50) composed after the death of Zelenka’s father in 1724.¹⁵ Some of their parts were copied by Gayer himself, although the old shelf marks on the title pages belong to the copies listed in the other *Ordos* – this indicates that both copies listed in the inventory were perhaps later merged into one.¹⁶ Among the two *Salve, Regina* settings owned by the Knights of the Cross in two copies each, the A minor setting apparently represents its first version with the oboe, which Zelenka later substantially reworked. This first version dated 1719 in its Dresden source is considered to be Zelenka’s reworking of a work by an unknown composer. The second *Salve* survived in Dresden as well and was composed in 1724.¹⁷ Finally, from the remaining works listed in the third *Ordo* only the offertorium *Eja, triumphos pangite*, dated 1715, has survived in the Knights of the Cross archive,¹⁸ while the cantata *Desiste, incauta mens* remains unknown and is not even listed in the Zelenka *Werkverzeichnis*. It is possible to conclude that all compositions by Zelenka listed in the inventory – apart from the latter mentioned, now unknown cantata – are either his early pieces (such as *Credo*, *Offertorium* and *Salve* from 1719) or pieces composed in 1724.

Hypothesis in place of a conclusion

To evaluate the position of Zelenka within the Knights of the Cross music inventory properly, three further comments are necessary:

1) Although we do not know when the copies listed in the inventory were acquired by Gayer or the Knights of the Cross, it is striking that none of the pieces was composed after 1724. Furthermore, the fact that four of them occur twice in the inventory is important. It clearly indicates that both Gayer and the choirmaster of the Knights of the Cross acquired the same compositions simultaneously, or that they copied them mutually from one another. Both these possibilities suggest not only their interest in the music by Zelenka, but also indicate that these particular compositions circulated and were widely available in Prague.

2) Today, the Knights of the Cross music collection contains more pieces by Zelenka.¹⁹ Two of them – parts of the *Requiem* (ZWV 46) – were even (although probably wrongly) identified by Koronthály as a part of the “Gayer collection”.²⁰ But we have not found these sources listed in the inventory, which clearly indicates that in 1737/38 they were not part of the collection.

¹⁴ Jana VOJTĚŠKOVÁ, ‘Skladby Jana Dismase Zelenky v křižovnickém hudebním archívu’, *Hudební věda* 27 (1990), no. 1, pp. 3-24; Jana VOJTĚŠKOVÁ, ‘Die Zelenka-Überlieferung in der Tschechoslowakei’, *Zelenka-Studien I*, ed. by Thomas KOHLHASE and Hubert UNVERRICHT [= Musik des Ostens, 14] (Bärenreiter: Kassel, 1993), pp. 85-99; Jana VOJTĚŠKOVÁ, ‘The works of Jan Dismas Zelenka in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Prague’, *Clavibus unitis* 4 (2015), pp. 85-90, http://www.acecs.cz/media/cu_2015_04.pdf.

¹⁵ See RISM ID no.: 550255326, <https://opac.rism.info/search?id=550255326&View=rism>, and RISM ID no.: 550255327, <https://opac.rism.info/search?id=550255327&View=rism>.

¹⁶ This statement is based on the information given by KORONTHÁLY, *Hudební sbírka Kryštofa Gayera* (↵ note 8), VOJTĚŠKOVÁ (↵ note 14) and the RISM records (↵ note 15).

¹⁷ See Janice B. STOCKIGT, *Jan Dismas Zelenka: a Bohemian musician at the court of Dresden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 174-175.

¹⁸ Edited by Jana VOJTĚŠKOVÁ in *Zelenka Studien I* (↵ note 14), pp. 102-108.

¹⁹ See VOJTĚŠKOVÁ (↵ note 14) and *RISM Catalog*.

²⁰ KORONTHÁLY, *Hudební sbírka Kryštofa Gayera* (↵ note 8), no. 245 and 246, pp. 224-225. RISM ID

It seems that at the time of inventorying there were no more than 10 copies of a total of 6 compositions by Zelenka in the huge and highly regarded music collection.

3) At the same time, the connections between the Knights of the Cross and the Dresden catholic court music milieu were relatively numerous and close. Both Zelenka's own music inventory, started in 1726,²¹ and the music collection of the Dresden *Hofkirche* prove many concordances with the Knights of the Cross Prague music collection as listed in the inventory from 1737/38;²² this is quite remarkable owing to the fact that the order has traditionally refrained from loaning and circulating the contents of its music collection.²³ In 1727, Zelenka's pupil and colleague Tobias Butz composed the oratorio *Deus propter scelera* to the text written by Karel Kořinek, a Knight of the Cross, which was played both in Prague and Dresden.²⁴

Under these circumstances, the occurrence of Zelenka's music in the Prague Knights of the Cross music inventory seems to be strikingly poor. Was there some real obstacle preventing the free circulation of his compositions? Or are these only the numerous losses of music sources and information that prevent us from seeing and understanding more clearly? Jóhannes Ágústsson rightly pointed out in a discussion at the Zelenka Conference 2018 that sacred music by other composers from the Dresden court such as Heinichen or Ristori were not even widely circulated. But should we not presume a different kind of attitude and much stronger interest in the case of such a renowned and – at least in Prague in 1723 – openly promoted Zelenka? The answers to these questions might bring an important and most welcome insight to the fates of the composer and his work and perhaps they can also help us understand some of the motivations that had led to the older image of Zelenka, which has rapidly changed since then based on the current research.²⁵

On a closer look, what is especially conspicuous is the gap in the inflow of compositions by Zelenka between 1724 and the late 1730s. From a broader Prague view, the year 1734 when Zelenka composed the arias for the Prague performance of Leonardo Leo's *Sant'Elena al Calvario* might possibly be seen as a sort of turning point in the import of his music to Prague.²⁶ For Zelenka the late 1720s and the early 1730s represent a period of huge compositional and organisational activity. He was responsible for the ever-increasing portion of court church music duties, for part of this period also being in charge of the musical direction of *Kapellknaben* and acting effectively – though not formally – as the *Kapellmeister*. Perhaps he had no time and energy to repay his Bohemian colleagues immediately for the music obtained from Prague. But the one-way stream of sacred music repertory traveling from Bohemia to Zelenka in Dresden at this particular time also urges us to hypothesize that in this manner, Zelenka's Prague colleagues and perhaps also the local church superiors backed up the composer in his demanding tasks as well as his aspirations at the court in Dresden. When the new hierarchy of court music in Dresden was definitely established in 1734, the mutual circulation of the repertory was restored.

no.: 550255324, <https://opac.rism.info/search?id=550255324&View=rism>, and RISM ID no.: 550255323, <https://opac.rism.info/search?id=550255323&View=rism>.

²¹ *Inventarium rerum musicarum variorum auctorum ecclesiae servientium* [1726-1739], <https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/112990/1>.

²² See Claudio BACCIAGALUPPI and Janice B. STOCKIGT, 'Italian Manuscripts of Sacred Music in Dresden: The Neapolitan Collection of 1738-1740', *Fonti musicali italiane. Periodico di ricerca musicologica* 15 (2010), pp. 141-179.

²³ See PODLAHA, *Catalogus collectionis operum artis musicae* (↵ note 6), pp. XV-XVI.

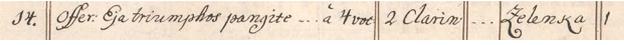
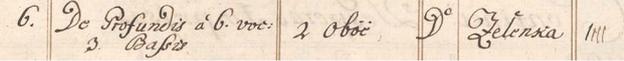
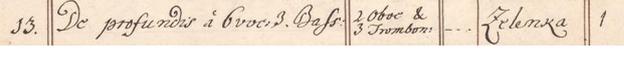
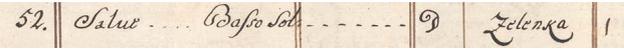
²⁴ See Michaela FREEMANOVA, 'Three points of a triangle: Italian, Latin and German oratorios and sepulchros in the early 18th century Central Europe', *Musica Brunensia* 49 (2014), no. 1, pp. 175-187, <http://hdl.handle.net/11222.digilib/130211>. The identification of the composer was possible through the Knights of the Cross music inventory, see FUKAČ, 'Die Oratorienaufführungen' (↵ note 4), p. 82. The librettos are available online, <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id287832856/1> and https://aleph.nkp.cz/F/?func=direct&doc_number=000122923&local_base=STI.

²⁵ Janice B. STOCKIGT and Jóhannes ÁGÚSTSSON, 'Reflections and recent findings on the life and music of Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679-1745)', *Clavibus unitis* 4 (2015), pp. 7-48, http://www.acecs.cz/media/cu_2015_04.pdf.

²⁶ Michaela FREEMANOVA and Janice B. STOCKIGT, 'Jan Dismas Zelenka and a Prague performance of *Sant'Elena al Calvario* by Leonardo Leo (1734): An hypothesis', *Hudební věda* 51 (2014), no. 1-2, pp. 149-160, <http://www.digitalniknihovna.cz/knav/uuid:c4a7bbe9-86ef-417e-a887-59facf1404c3>, and Michaela FREEMANOVA, 'Prague 1734: Jan Dismas Zelenka and Leonardo Leo', *Clavibus unitis* 4 (2015), pp. 71-74, http://www.acecs.cz/media/cu_2015_04.pdf.

Table 1:

The entries of Zelenka's compositions in the Knights of the Cross music inventory
(Three numbers at the head of each entry show the position in the inventory, bold script indicates that the music survived in the Knights-of-the-Cross music archives.)

Ordo I (Gayer)	Ordo II
I/XII/4 Credo à 4 voc: [in] A, from ZWV 1, 3 performances 	II/XXV/16 Credo à 4 voc: [in] A, from ZWV 1, 1 performance 
	Ordo III
	III/VII/14 Offer: Eja triumphos pangite à 4 voc: 2 Clarin., dated 1715, ZWV 233, 1 performance 
I/XXXIV/6 De Profundis à 6. voc: 3. Bassis 2 oboë [in] D, ZWV 50, 4 performances 	III/XI/13 De profundis à 6 voc: 3. Bass: 2 Oboe & 3 Trombon., ZWV 50, 1 performance 
	III/XXVIII/17 Cantat: Desiste incauta Mens de R: D: C: S [in] E, ZWV deest 
	Ordo IV
I/XXVI/10 Salve à Canto Solo Violin & oboe sol., ZWV 204, 3 performances 	IV/III/10 Salve Cant: Sol: Una oboa [in] A, ZWV 204, 1 performance 
I/XL/19 Salve Basso Solo, ZWV 139 	IV/III/52 Salve Basso Sol: [in] D, ZWV 139, 1 performance 

Author's correction (2020-05-02):

The explanatory note about Conti (↖ p. 96/6) should be corrected as follows:

[...] (most probably Francesco Bartolomeo, often named "Contini" in the inventory, although overlap or, more likely, misattribution between father and son, i.e. with works by Ignazio Maria Conti, is possible in some entries) [...]