

The first mass composed for the Dresden court by Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679-1745) was named in honour of St Cecilia, the Patron Saint of Musicians, and it was dedicated to Zelenka's employer, the King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, August II ('der Starke'). Today, the principal source of the work is kept at the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden (SLUB): D-DL, Mus. 2358-D-7a. This complex autograph document is a concept score whose original working shows many crossed-out passages and alterations either written into the score or onto slips of manuscript paper pasted throughout which, until recently, obliterated many sections of the original.¹

Certain movements have been reworked (the part for first violins in the opening 'Kyrie', for example, was revised), and newly composed additions are seen throughout the score. The card catalogue of the former Sächsische Landesbibliothek of Dresden (now SLUB) recorded that the score once was accompanied by seventeen parts. These now are missing. Zelenka's autograph contains at least three workings. The original version of *circa* 1711 first was altered by January 1712 – known because Zelenka's petition to August II, dated 31 January 1712, revealed that due to the king's recent absence from Dresden the mass could be revised. Zelenka wrote:

A musical work is laid at your feet which was ready some time ago to be produced before Your Royal Highness. Because, however, at that time Your Royal Highness was out of this country on important business and [the Mass] could be revised in the meantime [...].²

The major revision to the mass, however, took place in or about 1727 at which time Zelenka added page numbers to each upper corner.³ The date *circa* 1727 is established

¹ The score of *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* (RISM, ID no. 12006519) has been digitised by SLUB as part of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) project 'Die Notenbestände der Dresdner Hofkirche und der Königlichen Privat-Musikaliensammlung aus der Zeit der sächsisch-polnischen Union', <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id426603591/1> (Public Domain Mark 1.0).

² 'Es leget zu Ew. Königl. Maj. Füßen sich ein Musicalisches Werk, welches vor einiger Zeit albereit destiniert gewesen, vor Ew. Königl. Maj. *produciret* zu werden; Weiln aber damahlen Ew. Königl. Maj. wegen Dero höchst wichtigsten Angelegenheiten sich außer Dero Landen befunden, und es mitler Zeit beßer revidiret werden können [...].' The autograph of Zelenka's petition is kept in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Vienna (A-Wn) together with a copy of *Missae Sanctae Caeciliae* ('Missa Sollemnis') made by Franz Hauser in 1826: A-Wn, Sign 15773. In his petition Zelenka named his teachers as the Dresden *Kapellmeister* Johann Christoph Schmidt (1664-1728) and his former patron, Count [Johann Hubert von] Hartig of Prague (d. 1741). He also requested a study tour to France and Italy. The petition is reproduced in Wolfgang HORN, Thomas KÖHLHASE, Ortrun LANDMANN, Wolfgang REICH (eds.), *Zelenka-Dokumentation: Quellen und Materialien* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1989), vol. 1, p. 103.

³ Note that Zelenka's page numbering does not correspond with the recent pagination seen at the lower centre of each page.

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The genesis and evolution of *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* (ZWV 1), Jan Dismas Zelenka

Abstract

It is not surprising that the highly devout Dresden court musician Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679-1745) would name his first mass in honour of Saint Cecilia, the Patron Saint of Musicians. Throughout his lifetime this G Major setting would be transformed through at least three or more revisions because Zelenka frequently returned to adapt and improve earlier works, his masses especially. Changes were due not only to Zelenka's own development as a composer, but also to great developments taking place within the renowned music ensemble of the Dresden court, the *Hofkapelle*. Amendments reflect changing conditions within this ensemble as the French manner of performance moved towards the musical taste of Italy enjoyed by Saxon Electoral Prince Friedrich August and his wife, Maria Josepha. Moreover, this electoral prince made it known that he expected the mass to last no more than 45 minutes, an imperative that might have caused Zelenka to delete movements from *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae*. This article provides details of the surviving manuscript sources of Zelenka's earliest mass setting, it documents performances of the work that were reported during his lifetime, and the most important alterations made to Zelenka's first-known mass setting are examined.

Key words: Zelenka, Jan Dismas; *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* (ZWV 1); Baroque music; Dresden Hofkapelle; August II; August III

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by certain changes that took place to Zelenka's notation of music between late 1725 and late 1728.⁴ Alterations made at that time also are clearly visible through his use of a lighter coloured ink, while some amendments suggest even later adjustments.

A vital aspect of this study is Claudia Lubkoll's examination of the papers used in Zelenka's autograph which revealed the presence of four different types. These are shown in Table 1.⁵ Thus, no definitive version of *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* exists. The autograph score reflects Zelenka's personal development as a composer, the changing taste and personnel of the principal music ensemble of the Dresden court – the renowned *Hofkapelle*, as well as the order of the Saxon electoral prince that the length of the mass in the Catholic court church of Dresden was to be curtailed.

Table 1:
Paper types used for Zelenka's autograph score and Philipp Troyer's score copy of *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* (ZWV 1)

| Water-mark | Pages | <i>Missa Sanctae Caeciliae</i> (ZWV 1) | | | | |
|-----------------------|---------------|---|--|----------------------------------|---|---|
| | | D-DI, Mus. 2358-D-7a | D-DI, Mus. 2358-D-8 | D-DI, Mus. 2358-D-7a | D-DI, Mus. 2358-D-7a | D-DI, Mus. 2358-D-7a |
| | | Autograph | Philipp Troyer | Autograph | Autograph | Autograph |
| | | c. 1711-12 | c. 1712-19? | c. 1727 | c. 1727 | c. 1728 |
| W-DI-178 ⁶ | 7-30 39-60 | 'Kyrie eleison I: 'Christe eleison': 'Kyrie eleison II': Gloria: Credo: Sanctus | Kyrie: Gloria: Credo: Sanctus 'Agnus Dei Sicut Kyrie' | | | |
| W-DI-002 ⁷ | 31-38 | | | 'Cum Sancto Spiritu', revised | | |
| W-DI-266 ⁸ | 3-4 61-80 | | | | Title page: 'Et unam sanctam' revised: Revised and newly-composed Sanctus – Agnus Dei | |
| W-DI-492 ⁹ | 5-6 | | | | | Revised introduction to 'Kyrie eleison I' |

Two title pages exist for Zelenka's *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae*. They are written on the grey-blue paper he used as covers (*Umschläge*) for scores and performance materials. The first title page reads: '# 21 [upper right] | Missa Sanctae | Coeciliae¹⁰ | à 4: | di Giou: Disma Zelenka' [lower right]. The number 21 corresponds to the number Zelenka assigned to the listing of this mass in his *Inventarium*, a catalogue which began to be compiled on 17 January 1726. There, the work is listed on page 6 (recent pagination) as '21 : g. a.: Missa S: Coeciliae. à 4. S:A:T:B. | Violin 2[,] Oboe. 2. Viola. Viola di Gamba,¹¹ Violoncello, Fagotto | concertato. et Basso Continuo, cu[m] partitura. | Zelenka.'¹² Zelenka's second title page to the mass is followed by the dedication to August II (➤ Ill. 1). In translation it reads:

⁴ Changes vital to dating Zelenka's hand in the mid- to late 1720s include the attachment of a stroke, natural, or a flat to a figure of the basso continuo instead of placing the accidental beside the figure (late 1725); the use of strokes to separate systems of staves instead of a line to bind them together (circa 1727); alteration to the manner of writing the bass clef (late 1728) (➤ Ill. 7). Discussed by Janice B. STOCKIGT in *Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679-1745): A Bohemian Musician at the Court of Dresden* (Oxford: OUP, 2000), p. 136.

⁵ Identification of these paper types was kindly provided by Claudia Lubkoll.

⁶ Paper from Wangen in Allgäu, a region of Bavaria. Sometimes used in Dresden, mostly by Zelenka.

⁷ Paper from Dresden. Often used at the Dresden court.

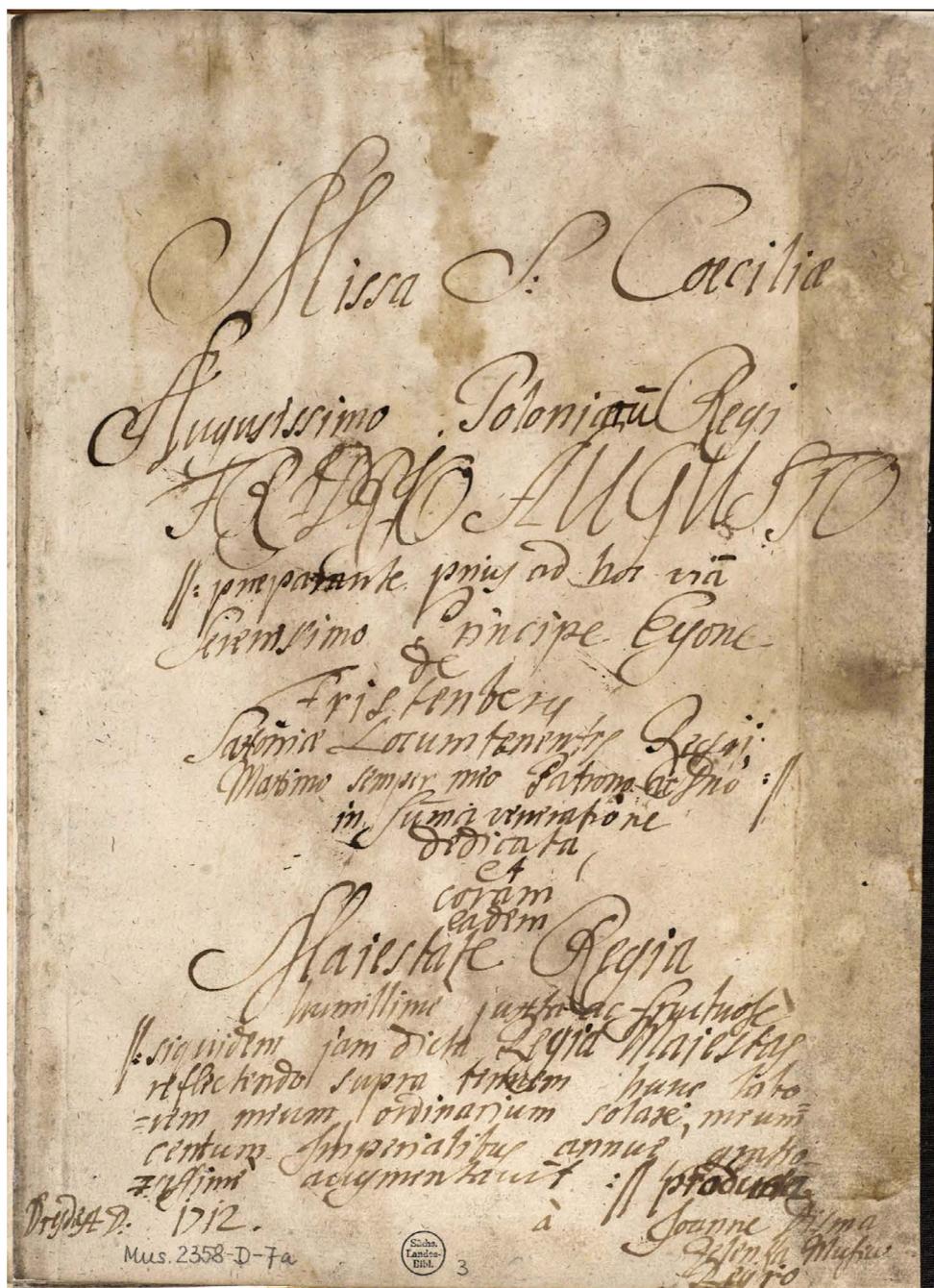
⁸ Paper from Saxony. Often used at the Dresden court.

⁹ Paper from Niederlungwitz Saxony. Rarely used at the Dresden court, mainly by Zelenka.

¹⁰ Note that Zelenka's spelling of *Coeciliae* is given as *Caeciliae* in subsequent documentation (including *RISM*). This is the form used throughout this text.

¹¹ Although Zelenka listed the viola da gamba in the *Inventarium* as a required instrument, in the score he later replaced that instrument with the viola ('la viola ~~da gamba~~'), and then with the viola section ('Tutti la Viola'). See Illustrations 2 and 3.

¹² 'Inventarium rerum musicarum variorum auctorum ecclesiae servientium'. MS. D-DI, Bibl. -Arch.



Ill. 1:
Missa S. Caeciliae
(ZWV 1), circa 1727
(D-Dl, Mus. 2358-D-7a),
autograph title page,
<http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id426603591/7>

Missa S. Caeciliae: To the Most August Friedrich Augustus, King of Poland (Prince Egon de Fristenberg [= von Fürstenberg], Royal Governor of Saxony, my principal Patron and Master, prepared the way for this), dedicated in profound veneration and performed with great humility and with beneficial results (in that the above-mentioned Royal Majesty on reflecting on this slight work of mine most generously increased my normal salary by 100 Imperials a year) in the presence of His Royal Majesty. Dresden AD 1712,

By the royal musician Jan Dismas Zelenka¹³

III H b 787d, <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id425379515/7>. Repr. in *Zelenka-Dokumentation* (↖ note 2), pp. 169-218. Zelenka's listing of *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* comes immediately before the entry of his now-missing *Missa Corporis Domini* ZWV 9, circa 1727.

¹³ D-Dl, Mus. 2358-D-7a, p. 3: 'Missa sanctae Coeciliae, augusissimo [I, = augustissimo] Poloniarum regi FRIDRICO AUGUSTO (praeparante prius ad hoc viam serenissimo principe Egone de Fristenberg [= Fürstenberg] Saxoniae locumtenentis regii [I], maximo semper meo patrono ac domino) in summa veneratione dedicata et coram eadem maestate regia humillime iuxta ac fructuose (siquidem iam dicta regia maestas, reflectendo supra tenuem hunc laborem meum, ordinarium solare [I, = salaire (French), salarium (Latin)] meum centum imperialibus annue gratiosissime augmentavit) producta Dresdae anno Domini 1712. a Joanne Disma Zelenka musico regio.' [Latin transcribed by Jiří K. Kroupa.]

Here, Zelenka revealed that his patron in Dresden was the powerful Governor of Saxony: Prince Egon von Fürstenberg. After August II, Egon von Fürstenberg, a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, was the most authoritative person in Saxony, one whose rank placed him above every Saxon nobleman. It was he who ruled Saxony during the frequent absences of August II in Poland. Therefore, when Zelenka first arrived in Dresden he enjoyed patronage of the highest order. Moreover, Philipp Troyer, the copyist known to have shared accommodation with Zelenka in Vienna during 1717, came from Weitra,¹⁴ a small town in Lower Austria whose estates were in the possession of the von Fürstenberg family. Thus, it is quite possible that Zelenka and Troyer were brought into contact with each other through the patronage of this Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, Egon von Fürstenberg. Incidentally, this title page must have been written when the work was revised in *circa* 1727:¹⁵ Zelenka's statement that the king most generously increased his salary by 100 Imperials a year could only have been written after June 1714, by which time Zelenka's original salary of 300 *Thaler* had risen to 400.

The second major source of *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* is a handsome copy made by Philipp Troyer. This pristine score also is held in Dresden: D-Dl, Mus. Mus. 2358-D-8.¹⁶ It is written on the same paper type as that used by Zelenka for the earliest version of *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae*, as seen in Table 1. This score, which *RISM* dates 'ca. 1719',¹⁷ is of very great value because it almost certainly is based upon the version Zelenka presented to August II in 1712. Pencilled catalogue numbers seen on opening and closing pages suggest that this copy was held in the royal collection, while the title page bears the stamp 'BIBLIOTHECA MUSICA REGIA' which was used by the royal library of Dresden between 1806 and 1917.

The third source is a set of nine parts for the Credo from *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae*. Titled 'Credo in Unum Deum', it is held in the important library of sacred music of the Prague Order of Knights of the Cross with the Red Star (*Ordo militaris Crucigerorum cum rubea stella; Rytířský řád křižovníků s červenou hvězdou; Kreuzherren*) The nine performance materials which probably are the skeleton of the original set are for Canto; Alto; Tenore; Basso; Violino 1^{mo}; Violino 2^{do}; Viola; Organo; Organo: CZ-Pkřiž, XXX D 77.¹⁸ Some parts contain the opening letters of Zelenka's usual dedication: O A M D Gl et B M V H (Canto and Alto parts); A M D Gl (viola part); O A M D Gl (organ part).¹⁹ Before entering the *Kreuzherren* collection, the Credo from *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* was held by the music director of Prague's Metropolitan cathedral, Christoph Gayer (*circa* 1668-1734), whose hand is seen in three parts. As noted by Jana Vojtěšková who first brought this source to our attention, these parts appear to have been copied from the performance materials prepared for Zelenka's early versions of 1711 or 1712.²⁰

In addition to these three sources, two nineteenth-century copies exist: a source copied in 1826 by Franz Hauser, now held in Vienna,²¹ and a nineteenth-century attempt by Wilhelm Christoph Fischer to make a copy from Zelenka's autograph which, at that time, probably was held in Dresden's *Hofkirche*.²² Fischer's copy ends with the second movement of the Gloria, 'Laudamus te'.

¹⁴ On Philipp Troyer [Dreier], see Herbert SEIFERT, 'Zelenka in Wien', *Zelenka-Studien II: Referate und Materialien der 2. Internationalen Fachkonferenz Jan Dismas Zelenka, Dresden und Prag 1995*, ed by Wolfgang REICH and Günter GATTERMAN [= Deutsche Musik im Osten, 12] (Sankt Augustin: Academia Verlag, 1997), pp. 183-192.

¹⁵ In appearance, this title page is very similar to title pages of other masses of the mid 1720s, Zelenka's *Missa Nativitatis Domini* (ZWV 8: 16-23 December 1726), and *Missa Circumcisionis* (ZWV 11; composed between September and December 1728), for example.

¹⁶ See <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id1666544752/1>.

¹⁷ *RISM*, ID no. 1001071761, <https://opac.rism.info/search?id=1001071761&View=rism>.

¹⁸ The cover title to CZ-Pkřiž, XXX D 77 reads: 'Credo in unum Deum | à | 4 Voci: | Violin: 2 | Viol. 1. | Organo è Tiorba.'

¹⁹ Note that the final letters 'P in R:' (or similar) written at the conclusion of the dedication seen in most of Zelenka's compositions composed for the Dresden court were not used on copies of his music held outside Dresden.

²⁰ On this source see Jana VOJTĚŠKOVÁ, 'Die Zelenka-Überlieferung in Böhmen und in der Tschechoslowakei' in *Zelenka-Studien I: Referate der Internationalen Fachkonferenz Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679-1745), Marburg, J.-G.-Herder-Institut, 16.-20. November 1991*, ed. by Thomas KOHLHASE [Musik des Ostens, 14] (Kassel and New York: Bärenreiter, 1993), pp. 85-108, at p. 90. Also Thomas KOHLHASE, 'Der Dresdner Hofkirchenkomponist Jan Dismas Zelenka: Ein Forschungsbericht', Sonderdruck aus *Musik des Ostens*, 12 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1992), pp. 115-212, at pp. 152-153.

²¹ A-Wn, Sign. Mus. Hs. 15773. See note 2 above.

²² D-Dl, Mus. 2358-D-7, <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id443457921/1>.

Overview of known and possible performances of *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae*

The first available account of *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* being heard in the Catholic court church of Dresden was given in 1711 on 22 November, the feast day of St Cecilia, when the *Diarium Missionis* of the Dresden Jesuits reported: 'The music for the sung mass, recently composed by Zelenka, who also is royal musician, was performed by the King's French musicians in honour of Saint Cecilia[...].'²³ Soon after, on 31 January 1712, the mass again was heard. Perhaps it was performed in the presence of the August II, to whom the work is dedicated. The *Diarium Dresdae* report simply states that during the sung mass, the king heard a low mass.²⁴

Sections of this mass then were heard in Zelenka's second sepulchro oratorio: *Attendite et videte* (ZWV 59) which Zelenka dated '1712'. Despite this dating, it is quite uncertain which was the first to be composed, the mass or the oratorio. Although Zelenka is not named, the *Diarium* of Prague's Clementinum College reported that on Good Friday, 25 March 1712, music was heard at the Holy Sepulchre in the church of St Salvatore which did not last beyond 45 minutes.²⁵

An entry in the *Diarium Dresdae* of 22 November 1712 reveals that the writer must have expected to hear music for St Cecilia once again. Clearly, he was disappointed when he wrote: 'Can it be that they forgot?'²⁶ Nevertheless, a few days later, on 30 November, it was noted that the king's French Musicians had performed solemn music which they had been rehearsing for some time.²⁷ Might this be the occasion when the third performance of Zelenka's *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* was given in Dresden's Catholic court church?

Following the Dresden arrival in 1717 of Antonio Lotti with singers and instrumentalists of his Venetian operatic ensemble, it is likely that they were the performers on the feast days of St Cecilia reported in *Diarium Dresdae* in 1718 and 1719.²⁸ By 1721, after the departure of Lotti and most of his musicians, music for the feast began to be provided by Giovanni Alberto Ristori (1692-1753). In 1721, then in 1724, 1726, and 1727, the year when Zelenka appears to have undertaken a major revision to the *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae*, Dresden reports associated Ristori with the celebration of St Cecilia's feast day.²⁹ Zelenka's involvement with music for this feast first was noted in 1729 when the *Diarium Dresdae* stated that he had been responsible for the music.³⁰ Then, during the years known as the *Interregnum*,³¹ the *Diarium Dresdae*

²³ *Diarium Dresdae*, 22. 11. 1711: 'Musicam pro Sacro cantato fecerunt Galli Regii Musici in honorem Sanctae Caeciliae Virginis et Martyrae quod recenter composuit Dominus, pariter Musicus Regius.' See *Diarium Dresdae* (1710-1738). Excerpts published by Wolfgang REICH, 'Exzerpte aus dem Diarium Missionis S. J. Dresdae' in *Zelenka-Studien II* (≪ note 14), pp. 315-375. Latin excerpts from the *Diarium Dresdae* (1710-1738) given in this paper are based upon the transcriptions published by Wolfgang Reich.

²⁴ *Diarium Dresdae*, 31. 1. 1712. 'Rex sub Sacro cantato audivit lectum celebrante Patre Superiore.'

²⁵ *Diarium collegii Societatis Iesu ad sanctum Clementem Vetero-Pragae 1699-1714*, fol. 201r: 'Dimidia 8^{va} in templo Sancti Salvatoris et tempello Sancti Eligii conciones inchoatae: post ad Sanctum Salvatorem ceremoniae et illatum Sanctissimum ad Sepulchrum. Ad quod vesperi circa ½ 8^{vae} musica. Que non fuit nisi ad ¾ horae extracta.' See https://imagines.manuscriptorium.com/loris/AIPDIG-KKPS_DC_III_18__3LKPKG3-cs/id434/full/full/0/default.jpg.

²⁶ *Diarium Dresdae*, 22. 11. 1712: 'Dies S. Caeciliae Virginis et M. musici sub Sacro suo non fecerunt musicam. An obliti ((...)) forte?'

²⁷ *Diarium Dresdae*, 30. 11. 1712: 'Festum S. Andreae Apostoli. [...] Sub Sacro cantato musicam solennem fecerunt Galli Musici Regii et diu ante probaverunt. Interfuit invitatus ab illis Seren. Princeps Gubernator.'

²⁸ *Diarium Dresdae*, 22. 11. 1719: 'Domini Musici venerati sunt S. Caeciliam musica selectissima. Capellamque Regiam exornaverunt cooperanti Domino Mauro magno splendore et pompa.' Using an extract from the *Historia* of the Dresden Jesuits, Wolfgang Horn described the music performed in 1717 during the octave of the feast of Saint Cecilia. The Italian musicians performed a sung mass which took about three hours with such admirable artistic skill, voices as well as instruments, as had never been heard before in Dresden. See Wolfgang HORN, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik 1720-1745: Studien zu ihren Voraussetzungen und ihrem Repertoire* (Kassel and Stuttgart: Bärenreiter, 1987), p. 49.

²⁹ On 22. 11. 1727, for example, the *Diarium Dresdae* reported: 'Hora 11 [...] Sacrum cantatum. miserat D. Ristori die Veneris an assistentiae futurae concessi: non. Quia festum hoc solius chori, musicorum festum est solenne non universis ecclesiae [...].'

³⁰ *Diarium Dresdae*, 22. 11. 1729: 'Musicam fecit D. Zelenka.'

³¹ The term 'Interregnum' was used by Horn in *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik* (≪ note 28) to signify the years between the death of Kapellmeister Heinichen in 1729 and the arrival in Dresden in 1734 of Kapellmeister Johann Adolph Hasse (1699-1783). During this era Zelenka was responsible for the music of the Dresden Catholic court church.

named him only in 1731 as composer of the mass when the feast of the Patroness of Musicians was celebrated: 'Recreation all day because of the feast of Saint Cecilia. At 11 o'clock Zelenka directed the sung mass.'³²

Observations on Zelenka's first Mass setting

The early versions of *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* and its performances give rise to two features of interest: First, it demonstrates that in 1711, soon after his arrival in Dresden, Zelenka knew of musical developments that had taken place in Naples for mass settings, as seen in Troyer's score. Zelenka followed the plan of the so-called 'Neapolitan Mass' composed for vocal soloists, choir, and instruments with the text set over a number of movements. Choruses composed in the *Stile antico*, or choruses with ritornellos were juxtaposed with solo or ensemble arias often operatic in style.³³

The second observation concerns the surprising revelation that the earliest performances were given by the French musicians of Dresden. Surely, they would have been led by concertmaster, Jean-Baptiste Volumier (Woulmyer: 1670-1728) who received his musical education at the French court.³⁴ But who were these players and singers? Troyer's score specifies arias for Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass vocal soloists and a four-part chorus (except for the 'Qui tollis I', a fugue for seven voices: SAATBB), violins 1 and 2, viola, viola da gamba and violoncello (as obbligato instruments in certain arias), oboes I and 2 (strangely, after the Gloria the score does not require oboes), and a bass line, presumably for a string bass instrument and organ. Did string players and singers come from the court's French ballet and theatrical troupes? Were the French instrumentalists from the *Hofkapelle* also involved? Perhaps French woodwind players from the court's oboe band (*Bande Hautboisten*) joined in as well. Whatever the case may have been, the playing of these musicians would have pleased the king whose artistic taste veered so heavily towards the French culture he enjoyed during his Grand Tour when he spent time in Paris and at the court of Versailles.

With French musicians, the strings would have performed with the French style of bowing, woodwind players would have used French articulation patterns, and French vocalists may well have sung the Latin text with French accentuation. The early Dresden performances of Zelenka's *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* almost certainly would have been played at the low French pitch of *a'* = circa 390-396 Hertz, which was about one whole tone below modern pitch as that was the pitch at which French musicians would have been trained and the pitch at which the instruments used by Dresden's French oboists (the flautists and bassoonists also) would have been tuned. It is clear that problems of pitch plagued early performances in Dresden's Catholic court church. For example, Zelenka's score for *Missa Corporis Domini* in C Major (ZWV 3; circa 1719) has two organ parts, one notated in the key of B flat.³⁵ This implies that either the main organ in the gallery which had been built at the cost of 600 *Thaler* by the Dresden court organ builder, Johann Heinrich Gräbner and described by Moritz Fürstenau 'eine kleine Orgel',³⁶ or the *positif* that was placed in the body of the church in 1712,³⁷ sounded one tone above the pitch

³² *Diarium Dresdae*, 22. 11. 1731: 'Tota dies recreatio propter festum S. Caeciliae. D. Zelenka fecit hora 11. cantatum sacrum.'

³³ The instruction *Da capo ... Segno* (with a fermata sign) seen at the conclusion of some arias in both Zelenka's and Troyer's scores of *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* ('Quoniam tu solus sanctus', for example) implies that a reprise of the opening instrumental ritornello was to be played. *Da capo* arias are virtually non-existent in masses of the early Classical era 'because the form is incompatible with the ongoing text'. See Bruce C MAC INTYRE, *The Viennese Concerted Mass of the Early Classic Period* [= Studies in Musicology, 89] (Ann Arbor, 1986), pp. 127, 134.

³⁴ In circa 1717-1718, when members of the Dresden *Hofkapelle* were required to give information about themselves, Volumier wrote: 'J. Baptiste Woulmyer, Maitre de Concert et Entré au service de sa Majesté l'année 1709. Natif Espagnol Elevé [deletion] a la Cour de France [...]'. Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (D-Dla), 10006 Oberhofmarschallamt, K II Nr. 5, 'Specification Derer Königl. Pohl und Churf: Sächsfl. Hoff und Cammer Musici, wie alt einjeder, wo er her ist, u: wie lang bey Hoffe alß', fols. 90-93, at fol. 91f.

³⁵ D-Dl, Mus. 2358-D-10.1-3, <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id443457921/1>.

³⁶ Moritz FÜRSTENAU, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe zu Dresden*, Vol. 2: *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe der Kurfürsten von Sachsen und Könige von Polen Friedrich August I. (August II.) und Friedrich August II. (August III.)* (Dresden: Kuntze, 1861-62), <http://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10598568-7>. Repr. with commentary and indexes by Wolfgang REICH (Leipzig: Peters, 1971), vol. 2, p. 37.

³⁷ In 1712 a smaller organ was purchased for the Catholic court church of Dresden to aid congregational singing in the vernacular. A letter dated 21 November 1712 from the Dresden Superior Fr Klein SJ

used by royal musicians at that time. Moreover, during Holy Week 1722, the *Diarium Dresdae* reported that Zelenka insisted on the organ being modified to *Cammerton*, noting that this was the fourth alteration to the organ!³⁸ This suggests that previously the organ was tuned to *Chorton* pitch.³⁹

Zelenka's alterations seen in the autograph score

Over a period of more than twenty years, *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* underwent many adjustments. These involve changed orchestration (including alterations to the obbligato instruments used in arias and the division of the vocal and instrumental forces into solo and ripieno groups), occasional revisions of text underlay, amendments to rhythm and pitch, cuts and additions both major and minor, and additional or altered performance instructions of tempi, dynamics, and articulations. Figures were added to the bass line. Minor alterations were made directly into the score or on slips of manuscript paper pasted over the original notation, while major changes were re-written and pasted onto entire pages or sections of a page. Many changes seen in the score made in or about 1727 are obvious due to the use of a different coloured ink. Although most of these revisions are beyond the scope of this paper, three important major adjustments warrant investigation.

The first involves an abbreviation to the Gloria made at the conclusion of 'Gratias agimus tibi' (➤ Ill. 2). Seen on the left is the original introduction to the aria 'Domine Deus', a declaimed page of two bars to the text 'Domine, Domine'. On the right are shown (in part) the first bars of the soprano aria 'Domine Deus' whose original obbligato instruments are given as 'la Viola Gamba' (with deletion of 'Gamba'), and 'Fagotto con sord:[ino]'.⁴⁰ (Troyer's copy of circa 1719 gives the obbligato instruments as 'Viola Gamba' and 'Violoncello'). Beside the original title 'Domine Deus' Zelenka wrote a sign in different ink. This ink also is used for the word 'Benedictus' which he wrote below 'Domine Deus'. Zelenka's later alterations are seen in ➤ Ill. 3. Instead of the original declaimed *tutti* passage of two bars on the words 'Domine, Domine', he added a brief concluding ritornello to the preceding aria, 'Gratias agimus tibi'. Below this he pasted a slip of paper on which he wrote: NB Omisso Do- l -mine et his quae l sequuntur procedi l tur ad Qui tollis l paginâ 23 l [sign] :/:'.⁴¹ The sign which follows indicates where the music was to re-enter on page 23 (Zelenka's pagination). Anselm Gerhard, whose excellent *Magister-Arbeit* of 1980 investigated *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* (ZWV 1),⁴² reads Zelenka's note as: NB Omisso Do= l =mine et his qua l sequuntur l provedi l tur ad Qui tollis l pagina 23 / [sign]. A published edition based upon Gerhard's study omits the introduction 'Domine, Domine' and aria 'Domine Deus', and re-enters at 'Qui tollis I'.⁴³ Zelenka's construction of this

to the king's Confessor, Maurizio Vota SJ (who was living in retirement in Rome), stated that a new organ had been purchased: 'Ecclesia Paternitatis V[est]rae exornata est novo organo, notabiliter sonante et populum in cantibus vernaculis ad omnem gratiam adjuvante.' *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* (ARSI), Epp NN 101, fol. 148^v.

³⁸ *Diarium Dresdae*, 24. 3. 1722: 'NB quia Domino Zelenka cura demandata est componendi Lamentationes et reliqua pro sacra hebdomada, adeo is instituit ut mutaretur organum et transferetur in den Cammer-Thon ut vocant; quod est factum, sumptus suppeditante Serenae Principae [...]. [Margin:] Mutatio organi, NB jam quarta vice.'

³⁹ Ecclesiastical (*Chorton*) pitch was higher than chamber pitch (*Cammerton*). I acknowledge with appreciation the advice of Geoffrey Burgess who points out that the combination in Dresden of woodwinds tuned to French pitch and *Chorton* organs was not unique in Saxony at that time: 'The situation in Dresden seems completely consistent with practices elsewhere, for instance the situation in Leipzig for Bach.' Email received 9. 1. 2020.

⁴⁰ This aria is notated across two pages. Page 18 only (Zelenka's pagination) is shown in ➤ Illustrations 2 and 3. A principal player of the viola di gamba in Dresden was the theorist/archlutenist Gottfried Bentley (d. 1729) who, from 1718 to 1720, was listed in court records as a 'Violdigambist'. D-Dla 10006 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 383/2, 'Specificatio. Der Königl. Musicorum und Ihres jährlichen Tractements', fols. 121, 138-9, 162. In 1719, the famous Ernst Christian Hesse (1676-1762) also was listed as a 'Violdigambist' in this source (fols. 138-9).

⁴¹ Zelenka also added 'Tutti' before 'la Viola'.

⁴² Anselm GERHARD, *Jan Dismas Zelenka Missa Sanctae Caeciliae. Synoptische Übertragung der Fassungen, Kritischer Bericht und Kommentar*, unpublished *Magister-Arbeit* (Technical University of Berlin, 1981), p. 9.

⁴³ Martin KELLHUBER (ed.), *Jan Dismas Zelenka: Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* (Magdeburg: Edition Walhall, [2005]). To provide an alternative setting of 'Domine Deus' the editor re-used the music of the aria 'Gratias agimus tibi' with the text of 'Domine Deus'.



note, however, leads us to interpret this passage not as an instruction, but as an option: 'NB: When the Domine and those [verses] which follow are omitted, one proceeds to Qui tollis on page 23. [sign] :/:'.⁴⁴ The sign showing where the music should recommence is seen on the lower half of Zelenka's page 23 at the beginning of 'Qui tollis II' (> Ill. 4). Thus, this not only means that the introduction 'Domine, Domine' and the aria 'Domine Deus' were to be left out: also to be omitted was the setting of 'Qui tollis I', a seven-part fugue setting that was singled out in the nineteenth century for special praise by Moritz Fürstenau, among others.⁴⁵

Why did Zelenka abbreviate *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae*? The reason probably lies in the demand of Saxon Electoral Prince Friedrich August for the mass to be kept within a time frame. After his return to Dresden from Vienna in 1719 following his marriage to Maria Josepha, he ordered the service to last no more than 45 minutes. On 9 September 1719 the *Diarium Dresdae* reported: 'Father Kogler was sent to me by the prince and he informed me that from now on the prince would like the sung mass to always be performed at 11 o'clock and for it never to exceed 45 minutes.' This wish was immediately communicated to Fr Jungwirth, the Prefect of Music.⁴⁶

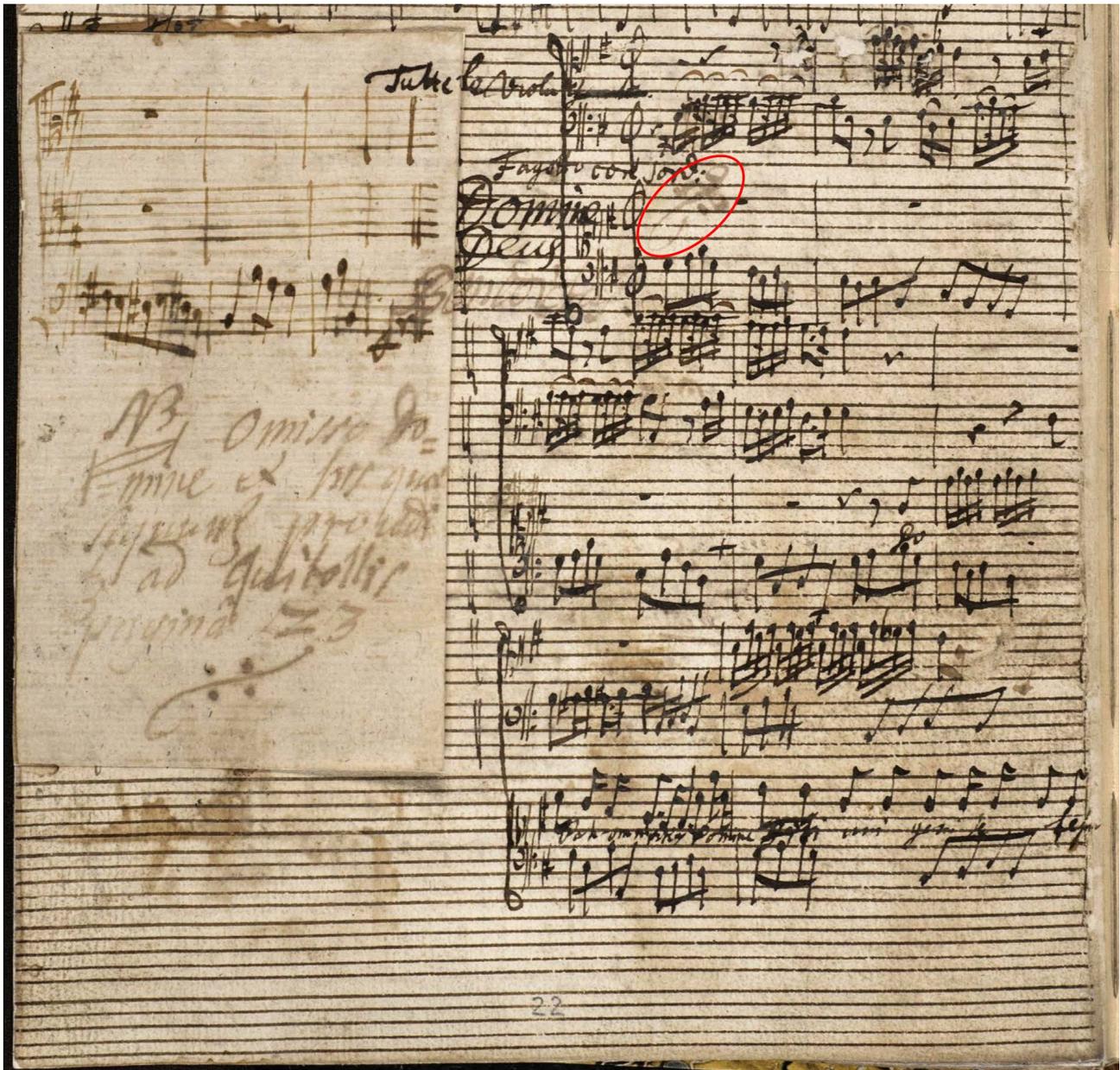
Ill. 2:

Missa S. Caeciliae
(ZWV 1),
circa 1711-12 (D-DI,
Mus. 2358-D-7a),
lower part of
Zelenka's page 18
(recent page 22),
version I: 'Domine,
Domine' and
beginning of aria
'Domine Deus', [http://
digital.slub-dresden.
de/id426603591/32](http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id426603591/32)

⁴⁴ I am indebted to Constant Mews, Jason Stoessel, and Jiří K. Kroupa for their advice on the translation of this passage.

⁴⁵ FÜRSTENAU, *Zur Geschichte der Musik* (< note 36), vol. 2, p. 72.

⁴⁶ *Diarium Dresdae*, 9. 9. 1719: 'Missus est ad me a Serenissimo Principe R. P. Kogler, insinuavitque



Ill. 3:

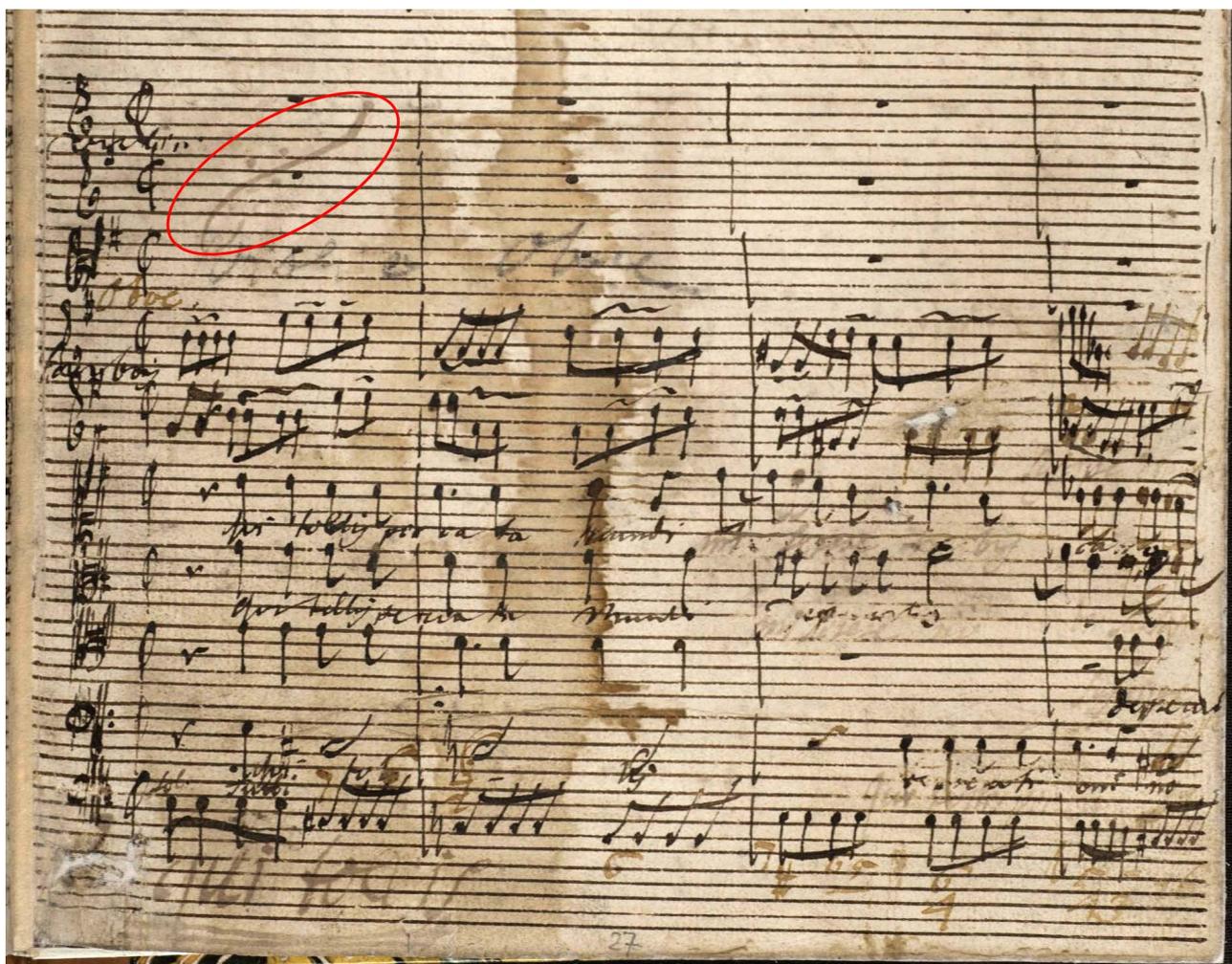
Missa S. Caeciliae (ZWV 1), circa 1727+ (D-DI, Mus. 2358-D-7a), version 2: Concluding ritornello for preceding aria 'Gratias agimus tibi; instruction 'NB Omissio Domine et his quae sequuntur proceditur ad Qui tollis' paginâ 23 | [sign] :/'; alterations to obbligato instruments; additional articulations; 'Benedictus' with sign, <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id426603591/33>

Then, in 1726 the *Diarium Dresdae* noted 'The Gloria and Credo will always need to be brief',⁴⁷ a directive that led *Kapellmeister* Heinichen to abbreviate three of his earlier masses between 1727 and 1728.⁴⁸ (A *Diarium Dresdae* report from 1741 confirms that Friedrich August, who in 1733 was elected to succeed his father as King of Poland, continued to appreciate short masses:

Confessor Regius Serenissimum Principem velle habere ut deinceps Sacrum cantatum semper habeatur hora undecima, et ut nunquam ultra tres quadrantes horae protrahatur. Haec intelligens confestim R. D. Jungwirth advocavi, mentemque Seren. Principis eidem declaravi.' Fr Antonius Kogler (or Kögler) SJ was appointed Confessor to the electoral prince in Prague during the 1711 visit of the prince and August II to the Clementinum College. See Jóhannes ÁGÚSTSSON and Janice B. STOCKIGT, 'Reflections and recent findings on the life and music of Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679-1745)', *Clavibus unitis* 4 (2015), pp. 7-48, at p. 9, http://www.acecs.cz/media/cu_2015_04.pdf. A *Diarium Dresdae* entry of 16. 1. 1712 identified Johannes Jungwirth, a former member of the Society of Jesus, as the *Kapellmeister* (*Magister Capellae*). He worked mainly with the choristers (*Kapellknaben*) of the church.

⁴⁷ *Diarium Dresdae*, 28. 10. 1725: 'debebit Gloria et Credo constanter esse breve.'

⁴⁸ Among Heinichen's Masses to be abbreviated at this time are D-DI, Mus. 2398-D-5: Mass in D, 1721: rev. 1727 ('Missa prima [...] abbreviate'), <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id426605993/1>; D-DI, Mus. 2398-D-13a, Mass in F: 1721: rev. 1727 ('Missa 4^{ta} [...] abbreviata 1727'), <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id426607732/1>; D-DI, Mus. 2398-D-14a: Mass in E, 1723: rev. 1728 ('Missa 5^a abbreviata'), <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id426608003/1>.



Ill. 4:

Missa S. Caeciliae (ZWV 1), circa 1727+ (D-DI, Mus. 2358-D-7a), extract from Zelenka's page 23 (recent page 27). 'Qui tollis[II]' with sign showing where the music should begin following the omission of 'Domine Deus' and 'Qui tollis [I], <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id426603591/40>

'The sung mass, which has been performed three times, was produced at the king's request by Michael Breunich,⁴⁹ priest of the church of Mainz. [The music] pleased greatly because of its [illegible] and its brevity.⁵⁰

Despite Zelenka's abbreviation to the Gloria of *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae*, at the conclusion of 'Osanna' (page 72, recent pagination) he wrote an instruction as to where a setting of the text 'Benedictus, qui venit in nomine Domini' was to be placed and where it was come from: 'Benedictus vide pagina 18' (➤ Ill. 5). Thus, this now-missing movement, which is not present in Troyer's copy, must have been a re-texted version of the aria 'Domine Deus'.⁵¹ (Interestingly, in the late 1720s and early 1730s, and for reasons unknown, Zelenka either revised or added completely new 'Benedictus' settings to many of his complete masses.⁵²) If, however, he retained the aria 'Domine Deus', and if he intended the music to be repeated for the 'Benedictus', then

⁴⁹ Fr Michael Breunich SJ (1669-1755), a former *Kapellmeister* of the Mainz cathedral, succeeded Zelenka as 'Kirchen Compositueur' of the Dresden court.

⁵⁰ *Diarium Dresdae*, 15. 1. 1741: 'Cantatum ((...ter)) Expositum produxit e voluntate Serissimi Regis R. D. Michael Breunich Sacerdos Ecclesiasticus Moguntinus, quod ob ((.tem)) et brevitatem mire placuit.'. See Gerhard POPPE, 'Ein weiterer Faszikel aus dem *Diarium Missionis Societatis Jesu Dresdae* wieder aufgefunden,' *Die Oberlausitz – eine Grenzregion der mitteldeutschen Barockmusik*, ed. Peter WOLLNY [= Jahrbuch: Ständige Konferenz Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik 2006] (Beeskow: Ortus, 2007), pp. 193-204, at p. 201, <https://journals.qucosa.de/ejournals/jmb/article/view/2688/2697>.

⁵¹ The original source for this 'Benedictus' apparently is missing.

⁵² A 'Benedictus' setting in a mass now missing from Dresden, but present in a copy by Zelenka's student Gottlob Harrer (1703-1755), is kept in Berlin: *Missa Corporis Dominici* ZWV 9 (D-B, Am.B 362: circa 1727). Apart from the revised version of *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* ZWV 1, Zelenka included a 'Benedictus' setting into these masses of the late 1720s: *Missa Circumcisionis* ZWV 11 (D-DI, Mus. 2358-D-24: 1728), 'Benedictus tacet' is written on page 89 in the autograph score of In *Missa Divi Xaverii* ZWV 12 (D-DI, Mus. 2358-D-12: 1729), and *Missa 'Gratias agimus tibi'* ZWV 13 (D-DI, Mus. 2358-D-21: 1730).



Ill. 5:
Missa S. Caeciliae
 (ZWV 1),
 circa 1727+ (D-Dl,
 Mus. 2358-D-7a),
 Zelenka's page 68 (re-
 cent page 72) showing
 where the 'Benedictus'
 setting was to be
 inserted, [http://digi-
 tal.slub-dresden.de/
 id426603591/92](http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id426603591/92)

an internal musical arch would be added to the structure of the mass as well as the external arch created with the repetition of the music of the opening fugal setting of 'Kyrie eleison' for 'Dona nobis pacem.' Perhaps Zelenka's omission of movements from *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* was a temporary measure to be used only on those occasions when (and if) the electoral prince was present in Dresden's Catholic court church for the feast of St Cecilia.⁵³

The second major change is seen in the aria for soprano with violin obbligato, 'Et unam sanctam'. Zelenka's revision included transposition down one fourth from A minor to E minor, and the vocal soloist was changed from soprano to alto (> Ill. 6 and 7). Perhaps this alteration was due to the deteriorating voice of Dresden's male solo soprano, Andrea Ruota, a singer who left the Dresden court in 1731 soon after the arrival in 1730 of the group of young, Italian-

⁵³ It is possible that the omitted texts would have been chanted.



Ill. 6:
Missa S. Caeciliae
 (ZwV 1), circa 1719
 (D-Dl, Mus. 2358-D-8),
 Philipp Troyer's copy
 of 'Et unam sanctam'
 in A Minor, page 119,
 bars 1-15,
<http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id1666544752/127>

trained singers.⁵⁴ In the late 1720s, however, the voice of Dresden's male alto Nicolò Pozzi ('Nicolini') could be called upon.⁵⁵ Moreover, while Zelenka's revision took the solo voice and bass line down one fourth, the violin obbligato was raised one fifth, giving a higher tessitura to this movement. Not only was the violin part enhanced with dotted rhythms and passing notes, but the somewhat static original bass line was altered to give more impetus to the movement of the beautiful aria.⁵⁶ These are signs of musical developments of the late 1720s when elements of the elegant *stile galant* were gaining favour in Dresden. Moreover, while

⁵⁴ On the Italian singers who arrived in 1730 see Jóhannes ÁGÚSTSSON, 'The Secular Collection of Jan Dismas Zelenka: A Reconstruction', *Studi vivaldiani* 13 (2013), pp. 9-10.

⁵⁵ Andrea Ruota (male soprano), the soprano voice of a group of four Italian vocal soloists who arrived at the Dresden court in October 1724. The others were Nicolò Pozzi (male alto), Matteo Luchini (tenor) and Cosimo Ermino (bass). See ÁGÚSTSSON, 'The Secular Collection of Jan Dismas Zelenka' (< note 54).

⁵⁶ The inserted manuscript seen in bars 11-12 hide the original version which included a brief passage in which consecutive fifths occur between the violin soloist and alto voice.

Largo.

Sanctae sanctae sanctae et aequaliter apostolicum et catholicum

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Ill. 7: *Missa S. Caeciliae* (ZWV 1), circa 1727+ (D-DI, Mus. 2358-D-7a), Zelenka's autograph notation of the revised setting of 'Et unam sanctam' in E Minor, page 57 (recent page 61, bars 1-16), <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id426603591/81>

concertmaster Volumier would have played the original obbligato part, by 1729 the violin solo would have been played by his Italian-trained successor, Johann Georg Pisendel (1687-1755).

Finally, it is noted that Zelenka also re-notated or revised the two great fugal choruses that conclude the Gloria and the Credo, each in cut common time (*alla breve*). In the first case, he completely rewrote the setting 'Cum Sancto Spiritu' and pasted the new version over the original. In the second case the original double fugue 'Et vitam venturi' of 121 bars was re-composed and reduced to 56 bars. Thus, with re-notation, re-composition, and with the possible omission of the seven-part fugue 'Qui tollis I', Zelenka discarded the three movements of *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* composed in the *Stile antico*.

* * *

On 22 November 1734 the *Diarium* reported that a solemn mass was held for St Cecilia for which Zelenka requested the high altar to be adorned with eighteen candles.⁵⁷ This request almost certainly represents his thanksgiving for the promotion to the position of Church Composer ('*Kirchen-Compositeur*') which had been formally conferred upon him by September 1734⁵⁸ – despite the assumption of the Dresden Jesuits that Zelenka now held the title *Kapellmeister*.⁵⁹ For this occasion in 1734 it was not recorded if Zelenka also directed the music for the feast of St Cecilia. During 1735 and 1736, however, when neither the court nor the new *Kapellmeister* Johann Adolph Hasse (1699-1783) were in Dresden, Zelenka's music might have been heard, but reports for the feast of those years are not given in the *Diarium Dresdae*. In 1737 it was recorded that Hasse produced the sung mass and had candles placed on the high altar.⁶⁰ For the feast in 1738 (a Saturday), when the court again was in Poland, a mass was sung at 11 o'clock, as was the Litany of Loreto at 4 o'clock.⁶¹ No report appeared in 1739, but in 1740 a solemn mass was heard. The last available information from Dresden of the celebration of the feast for the Patroness of Musicians comes from 1741 when it was noted that Hasse, who paid for many candles to be placed on the altar, again produced the solemn music.⁶²

Zelenka's autograph score of *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae*, with its multitude of revisions, is a testament to his own development as a composer and to the musical changes taking place in Dresden. Reported performances of the mass encompass a period of at least twenty years, the era which covered the reign of August II who, in 1709, had begun to re-establish the Dresden court orchestra. For the following two decades this ensemble flourished and grew in stature, first under the leadership of Volumier, then of Pisendel. Following the death of August II on 1 February 1733 a new musical era began in Dresden with Hasse as *Kapellmeister*, Zelenka as Church Composer, and the firm establishment of the musical taste of the new King-Elector, August III and his wife Maria Josepha.

⁵⁷ *Diarium Dresdae*, 22. 11. 1734: 'Festum musicorum. Hora 11. Cantatum sollemnissimum cum assistentia, pro qua supplicavit D. Zelenka per literas 18 candelae ornatum magis altare.'

⁵⁸ ÅGÜSTSSON – STOCKIGT, 'Reflections and recent findings on the life and music of Jan Dismas Zelenka' (↵ note 46), p. 32, http://www.acecs.cz/media/cu_2015_04.pdf.

⁵⁹ *Diarium Dresdae*, 4. 11. 1734: 'In prandio nostro RR. DD. Assistentes cum Domino Zelenka Capellae Magistro.' It is apparent that in the 1730s, when *Kapellmeister* Johann Adolph Hasse was absent from Dresden, Zelenka took over the role of *Kapellmeister*.

⁶⁰ *Diarium Dresdae*, 22. 11. 1737: 'Hora 11 Sacrum cantatum solenne cum assistentia quod produxit D. Hasse, qui etiam candelas solvit in ara majore.'

⁶¹ *Diarium Dresdae*, 22. 11. 1738: 'Hora 11. sacrum cantatum. Hora 4. Litaniae Lauretanae.' In 1727 the annual letter from Dresden to Rome reported that from the beginning of the school year the number of young musicians was increased in order to amplify Marian devotions, and all Saturdays and also ferial days preceding Marian feasts were to be celebrated with litanies, exposition of the Blessed Sacrament in the ciborium, and Benediction. ARSI, Boh. 143, p. 19.

⁶² *Diarium Dresdae*, 22. 11. 1741: 'S. Caeciliae Virginis et Martyris Patronae Musicorum. Hora 11. Sacrum cum assistentia. Musicam solennem produxit D. Hasse, qui etiam candelas ((copiosarem)) solvit.' See POPPE, 'Ein weiterer Faszikel' (↵ note 50), p. 202.