On the Dresden sources of Zelenka's instrumental music

The hand of the Bohemian-born and Dresden-based church composer Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745) is one of the more distinctive to be seen among the music autographs held in Dresden today. This is particularly the case with his numerous sacred compositions written in the 1720s, most of which survive as concept scores. The present discussion, however, is confined to the Dresden sources of Zelenka's small number of instrumental works with a Cx number that came to be housed in the renowned "Schränk II" of the Dresden *Hofkirche* at some time after 1765. Excluded, therefore, are the orchestral overtures to Zelenka's melodrama,¹ to his oratorios of 1730, 1731–35 and 1736,² and to the *serenata* of 1737 (titled *Il Diamante*);³ the six sonatas;⁴ and a set of six fanfares scored for four trumpets and timpani that remain classified as "uncertain" in the *Zelenka-Dokumentation*.⁵ As the appended table with basic information on Zelenka's „Schränk II“ instrumental works demonstrates (pp. 205–207), they fall into three clearly defined groups:

1. four capriccios composed in Vienna between c. 1717 and c. 1718/19;⁶
2. four works written in Prague during 1723;
3. a *Sinfonia* composed in Dresden ("18 Maji 1729"), categorized in the *Zelenka-Dokumentation*

1 *Melodrama de S. Wenceslao: Sub olea pacis et palma virtutis* (score; ZWV 175; D-Dl: Mus.2358-D-2).

2 *Il Serpente di bronzo* (score; ZWV 61; D-Dl: Mus.2358-D-74); *Gesù al Calvario* (score and parts; ZWV 62; D-Dl: Mus.2358-D-1a, ...D-1b); *I penitenti al sepulchro del redentore* (score; ZWV 63; D-Dl: Mus.2358-D-73).

3 *Serenata* (score; ZWV 177; D-Dl: Mus.2358-G-1). On the title of this work – *Il Diamante* – see Jóhannes Ágústsson, "Zelenka's *Serenata* ZWV 177: a new source discovered", in: *Hudební věda* 46, 1-2 (2009), pp. 207–210.

4 Six sonatas (scores; ZWV 181; D-Dl: Mus.2358-Q-1; parts for sonatas Nos. 2, 4, 5; D-Dl: Mus.2358-Q-3,1–3). Without Cx numbers.

5 *Reitermärsche* (score and one timpani part; ZWV 212; D-Dl: Mus.2358-N-1; D-Dl: Mus.2358-N-1a). See *Zelenka-Dokumentation. Quellen und Materialien* in 2 vols., edited by Wolfgang Horn et al., Wiesbaden 1989, vol. 2, p. 310 (ZWV 212); and Janice B. Stockigt, Jóhannes Ágústsson, 'Reflections and recent Findings on the Life and Music of Jan Dismas Zelenka', in: *Clavibus unitis* IV (2015), p. 7–48, at p. 29.

6 Although Zelenka's petitions of 1733 and 1736 (reproduced in *Zelenka-Dokumentation*, pp. 94 f. and pp. 95 f.) claimed that he had been in Vienna with the Electoral Prince for one and a half years (the Prince arrived there on 6.10.1717 and departed in February 1719 – a period of eighteen months), either Zelenka was in Vienna for a longer time, or perhaps he made two trips to the imperial capital. His earliest dated work from Vienna, *Currite ad aras* (score; ZWV 166; D-Dl: Mus.2358-E-40), is dated "à Vienna. li 13 Juni: 1716"; the latest, *Capriccio No 4* (parts; D-Dl: Mus.2358-N-4), is dated "à Vien: 20 Ottobre. 1718". "Liber IV" of a collection of musical works copied in Vienna (four books of scores titled "Collectaneorum Musicorum Libri Quatuor"; D-Dl: Mus.1-B-98) bears the remark: "à Vienna | 1719 10 Febru:".

as *Capriccio G-Dur* ZWV 190,⁷ but listed as the second of two “sinfonies” in the *Catalogo* of music kept in the Dresden *Hofkirche* – a thematic inventory (arranged alphabetically according to the surname of composers) finalized in 1765 under the direction of the Dresden court church composer, Johann Georg Schürer.⁸

These nine instrumental compositions allow an examination of Zelenka's handwriting at three dated periods of his life: the years 1717–18/19, 1723, and 1729. But first, an overview of each composition will consider the source materials, the scoring, and the purpose of each work. Aspects of Zelenka's notation are then discussed and finally, the cataloguing and storage of these works will be traced – as far as is possible.

The capriccios: c. 1717–1718/19

These four works are:

- *Capriccio No 1* in D: ZWV 182;
- *Capriccio No 2* in G: ZWV 183;
- *Capriccio No 3* in F: ZWV 184;
- *Capriccio No 4* in A: ZWV 185.

Three of Zelenka's four capriccios (each is titled “Caprice” in the *Catalogo* of 1765) are kept in Dresden as autograph scores. *Capriccio No 1* is accompanied by a set of ten undated non-autograph performance parts in the hand of an unidentified copyist. No score is held for the similarly undated *Capriccio No 4*, now kept as a set of nine non-autograph parts with additional markings by Zelenka. Each autograph score displays the very careful notation seen in many of the composer's early compositions, as well as in copies of works he made in Vienna at this time. These Viennese autographs are not concept scores: they have every appearance of being copies of finished works. At the head of each Zelenka wrote the letters I:N:J:C: (In Nomine Jesu Christe), a dedication he also penned at the head of the Kyrie of the score of the Requiem composed for the exequies held for August II in the Dresden Catholic court church in 1733 (ZWV 47),⁹ and at the head of the score of the *Miserere* composed in 1738 (ZWV 57).¹⁰

Each capriccio is scored for two horns, two oboes (usually named “Hautbois” in the original scores and performance materials),¹¹ violins 1 and 2, viola (required in *Capriccio No 2* and *Capric-*

7 Zelenka-Dokumentation 1989 (as footnote 5), vol. 1, p. 132 (Dok. 48); vol. 2, p. 308 (ZWV 190).

8 *Catalogo <Thematico> della Musica di Chiesa <catolica in Dresda> composta Da diversi Autori secondo l'Alfabetto <1765>*, D-B: Mus.ms.theor. Kat. 186, <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0001A38800000000>. Enhanced electronic edition with browse and search options: <http://hofkirchecatalogo1765.mcm.unimelb.edu.au> (15.12.2018). The date of completion of this inventory is given by Schürer at the conclusion of the *Catalogo*, which was prepared under his supervision: “Daß ich Endes benenter angemerckte Musicalien dieses Catalogi in meinem Beschluß habe, wird hiemit bescheiniget. Dreßden den 9. Martii 1765. Ioannes Georgius Schürer.” *Catalogo* (1765), “Schrank III”, p. 52.

9 D-Dl: Mus.2358-D-81,1.

10 D-Dl: Mus.2358-D-62.

11 The Italian term “Oboi” is used on the one surviving autograph cover to the parts (in Zelenka's hand) for *Capriccio No 4*, a hint that this cover was written at a later time.

cio No 3 only), “Fagotto” (sometimes named “Basson”) and “Contrabass” (named “Violone” in the parts for *Capriccio No 1*). A part for “violoncello” – not shown in the score – is supplied for *Capriccio No 1*, and a cello is named as an alternative to the bassoon in *Capriccio No 4*. Zelenka’s inclusion of horns in these works reflects a Viennese musical fashion of the day, as described by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in a letter from the imperial capital dated 1 January 1717. There, she reported that the music played at balls during carnival was “good, if they had not that detestable Custom of mixing hunting horns with it that almost deafen the company, but the noise is so agreeable here, that they never make concerts without ’em”.¹² Two horn players attached to the court of the prince – Tobias Butz and Johann Joseph Götzl – accompanied him to Vienna during this visit. There, in 1718, two “Waldhörner” with silver mouthpieces were purchased by the Dresden court. These came with two sets of six crooks, which enabled the instruments to play in a minimum of six different keys.¹³ Herbert Seifert reports that in October 1718 an Italian musician named “Girolamo” received a payment from the prince.¹⁴ Might this have been the double bass player and copyist Girolamo Personelli (Personè, also known as “Momolo”) who came to Dresden as a member of Antonio Lotti’s opera group in 1717, entered the *Hofkapelle* in 1718,¹⁵ and whose death is recorded on 5 July 1728?¹⁶ Ortrun Landmann reports that between 1717/18 and 1719 Personelli was, apparently at his own request, given leave from Dresden and granted money to return home.¹⁷ Perhaps his trip was associated with the purchase by the Dresden court from Venice of two matching “Violoni” and two matching “Violette”, all with bows, strings, and cases with covers.¹⁸ Ahead of his departure for Dresden in February 1719, the prince made a payment to an

- 12 “To Lady — Vienna”, Jan. 1. 1717 [Old Style], *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, edited by Robert Halsband, 3 vols., Oxford 1965, vol. 3, p. 291.
- 13 See Moritz Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe zu Dresden*, Dresden 1861/62, 2 vols., reprint Leipzig 1971, vol. 2, p. 58. Thomas Hiebert suggests that these horns were ordered from the Leichnambschneider brothers of Vienna, in: *The Horn in Early Eighteenth-Century Dresden*, PhD thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison 1989, pp. 53 f.
- 14 Herbert Seifert, “Zelenka in Wien”, in: *Zelenka-Studien II: Referate und Materialien der 2. Internationalen Fachkonferenz Jan Dismas Zelenka*, edited by Günter Gattermann, Sankt Augustin 1997, pp. 184 f. (Deutsche Musik im Osten. 12). Seifert also found payments made throughout 1718 to the imperial chamber musician (tenor) Giovanni Battista Barbaretti (who also, on behalf of the prince, organized various musical events), to musicians, and for the hire of instruments and wagons.
- 15 From salary lists the year 1718 can be inferred as the time of Personelli’s entry into the *Hofkapelle* as a “Contra Bass und Notiste”. From the “Accis Cassa” he was paid 800 [Thaler] annually plus 14 [Thaler] in gold per month for accommodation (“monatlich Quartier gold”). See D-Dla: 10006 Oberhofmarschallamt (OHMA) K II Nr. 6, *Königl. Pohnisches und Churfürstl. Sächsisches Hof-Buch von 1721 usq. 1726*, ff. 3b–4a, and 10006 OHMA K II Nr. 7, *Königl. Pohnisches und Churfürstl. Sächsisches Hof-Buch von 1726 bis 1729*, unfoliated.
- 16 “D. Momolo musicus [...] 5 Julii” (1728), s. *Totenbuch 1724–1762* (Domarchiv, Dresden), p. 30.
- 17 “Hauptamtlich Kontrabassist 1717/18 und erneut ab 1719, in den HStCal nun zusätzlich als Notist geführt. In der Zwischenzeit mit Gewährung von Heimreisegeld entlassen, also wohl auf eigenen Wunsch”: Ortrun Landmann, *Über das Musikerbe der Sächsischen Staatskapelle. Drei Studien zur Geschichte der Dresdner Hofkapelle und Hofoper anhand ihrer Quellenüberlieferung in der SLUB Dresden*, 2010, p. 167, <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bsz:14-qucosa-38515>.
- 18 Shelley Hogan in her recent study *The Ripieno Bass Section of the Dresden Hofkapelle During the Reign of August the Strong, 1709–1733*, PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, 2017, Figure 28, p. 281, <https://minerva-access.unimelb.edu.au/handle/11343/221249>, reproduces a contemporary Venetian string order for the Dresden court held by D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab. Loc. 907/3, f. 124.

unknown copyist. Another sum was paid for the hire of a “Violon” (an indication, perhaps, that Zelenka had already returned to Dresden),¹⁹ and an additional payment was made to the person who carried that instrument.

The title page to *Capriccio* No 4 is dated “à Vien: 20 Ottobre | 1718”, while a loose page kept within volume 1 of the score of Zelenka's *Missa Sancti Spiritus* dated “à Vienne le 24 Januar: | 1718” (autograph) belongs with *Capriccio* No 2.²⁰ It states that this “Caprice” was composed for the Saxon Crown Prince Friedrich August (later August III, King of Poland),²¹ who was then based in Vienna to woo the Austrian Archduchess Maria Josepha, daughter of Emperor Joseph I (d. 1711) and official heir to the imperial throne until the birth on 13 May 1717 of Maria Theresa.²² According to a petition dated 18 November 1733 to the prince – who had now succeeded as Elector of Saxony and had recently been elected King of Poland – Zelenka noted that he had spent “one and a half years in Vienna, by order of Your Royal Majesty's father [August II] of most glorious memory, at rest in God, without deriving any remuneration for my music: whereas the other royal musicians sent from here were rightly and generously provided for”.²³ Thus it is reasonable to assume that the four “Caprices” were written for entertainments held in the imperial capital between the prince's arrival there on 6 October 1717 and his departure in February 1719.

The journal (“Journal de Vienne”) which notes the daily activities of the prince during this Viennese sojourn has been examined for this study. Although many reports are given of various entertainments hosted by the Prince, none corresponds exactly with the two dated capriccios.²⁴ *Capriccio* No 2 in G of 24.1.1718, however, might have been prepared for the ball and dinner hosted by the prince at the residence of the Duke of Holstein following a *Course* with sleighs on 8 February of that year.

19 Jaroslav Bužga reports that Zelenka played in a *divertissement* held at Moritzburg during carnival 1719. See “Dokumenty o psobení J. D. Zelenky v Saské dvorní kapele v Drážďanech” [Documents on Zelenka's Activity in the Saxon Court Orchestra in Dresden], in: *Hudební věda* 12 (1975), p. 85. In 1719 Ash Wednesday fell on 22 February.

20 *Missa Sancti Spiritus* (score; ZWV 4; D-Dl: Mus.2358-D-18,1–2).

21 “G# | Caprice fait pour | Son Altesse Royale | Le Prince Electorale [*sic*] de Saxe | à Vienne le 24 Januar: | 1718 | Violin 2 | Hautb. 2 | Corn di Chasse 2 | Fagotto | Basse=Contre | Zelenka”.

22 The marriage of Saxon Prince Friedrich August to Maria Josepha took place on 20 August 1719.

23 The text containing this reference reads: “Eu: Königl: Majestät wird vorhin schon allergnädigst bekannt seyn, daß ich die Gnade gehabt, bereits in die 24. Jahr for dero allerhöchstes Königl: Hauß, insonderheit auch Eu: Königl. Majestät geheiligte Person selbst zu Wien auf Befehl Dero in Gott ruhenden Herrn Vaters Königl. Majestät glorwürdigsten Andenkens, anderthalb Jahr lang ohne den geringsten Genuß einiger Auslösung mit meiner Music in Allerunterthänigkeit zu bedienen: da doch die andren von hier aus dorthin geschickte königl. Musici mit aller Nothwendigkeit reichl. sind versehen worden.” After *Zelenka-Dokumentation*, pp. 94 f., based upon Susanne Oschmann's reading of D-Dla: 10026 Geh. Kab. Loc. 383/1, “Varia, Das Theater, die Italienische Oper, die musicalische Capella und die Musik betreffend 1680–1784 [...]”, ff. 53–55.

24 D-Dla: 10026 Geh. Kab. Loc. 758/7, “Ihrer Hoheit, des Königl: Printzens, Hⁿ. Friedrich Augusts, Aufenthalt in Wien und endlich erfolgte glückliche *Retour* in Dreßden betr. ao 1718. 19. 20 [–22] [und 1717], also titled [f. 267a] “Journal de Vienne de ce, qui s'est passé de plus considerable pendant. Le Sejouo [recte: Sejour] de Son Altesse Royale. En 1717 et 1718. Et 1719”. In the transcription and translation of the extracts from the “Journal de Vienne” I gratefully acknowledge the advice of Elliott Forsyth, David Fairservice and Michael Talbot.

“Le 8^e [February 1718] Elle donna une Course de trent septs trainaux qui fut trouvée magnifique, et très bien regléé, après quoy Elle donna le Bal et souper dans la maison de M. Le Duc de Holstein, ou generalement toute la noblesse de Vienne étoit, il y avoit au souper pour 150. Personnes de Couverts tout remplis de Dames, et plus de 300 autres, qui ont mangé ou derrière les tables, ou dans les appartem[en]ts. Le Souper fini, on range a la Sale ou on avoit soupé, pour La Danse, et on continua à danser dans les deux sales, jusqu’à vers les 5. heures du matin. La fête a été fort applaudie, et tout le monde fort content des manières obligeantes, et de la bonne grace de S.A. R.”²⁵

“The 8th [February 1718], [the prince] held a sleigh race with thirty-seven sleds, which was considered magnificent, and very well organized, after which he gave a ball and supper in the residence of Monsieur the Duke of Holstein, where all the nobility of Vienna were generally present. There were places at the supper for 150 persons, occupied by ladies, and more than 300 people who ate either behind the tables or in the apartments. After supper, the room where the supper had been served was cleared for dancing, which continued in the two rooms until about 5 o’clock in the morning. The festival was greatly applauded, and everyone was delighted with the obliging manners and good grace of His Royal Highness.”

Herbert Seifert’s examination of the prince’s account books from his Viennese visit establishes that payment was made in July 1718 to the musicians of August Christoph, Count von Wackerbarth,²⁶ a close confidant of August II. Perhaps it was they who played at a concert held on 12 July 1718 after a dinner at the residence of the prince, as reported in the “Journal de Vienne”:

“Elle eut grande Compagnie de Ministres, et plusieurs Dames à diner chez Elle, après et pendant le repas il-y-eut concert, en suite on-y-joua jusqu’au soir.”²⁷

“[The prince] had a great company of Ministers and several ladies to dinner in his residence. After and during the meal there was a concert, which continued until evening.”

Seifert also found that a payment was made in September 1718 to eleven musicians for music they provided for the prince. Presumably, these were the Dresden *Hofkapelle* members who, on 22 August 1718, were ordered to travel to Vienna in September to join the retinue of the prince. They were the concertmaster Jean-Baptiste Volumier (Woulmyer), pantaleon player Pantaleon Hebenstreit (also a violinist), the newly-appointed lutenist Silvius Leopold Weiß, the premier violinist Johann Georg Pisendel, the violoncellist Agostino de Rossi, the premier oboist Johann Christian Richter, the flautist Pierre Gabriel Buffardin, the second violinist Carl Joseph Rhein, the oboist Johann Martin Blochwitz, the viola (“Violetta”) player Johann Georg Lehneiß, and the bassoon (“Basson”) player Johann Gott-

25 D-Dla: 10026 Geh. Kab. Loc. 758/7, “Journal de Vienne”, f. 285a.

26 D-Dla: 10026 Geh. Kab. Loc. 763/08, “Des Königl. Printzens Hⁿ. Friedrich Augusts, Hoheit, Hof-Cassa-Rechnungen betr. 1719, 1722, 1725, 1734”. (The precise dates of payments within each month are not given.) See Seifert, *Zelenka in Wien* 1997 (as footnote 14), pp. 185 f.

27 D-Dla: 10026 Geh. Kab. Loc. 758/7, “Journal de Vienne”, f. 293b.

fried Böhme.²⁸ Perhaps the violone player Zelenka joined them in the performance given before the prince and members of the imperial court on 8 September 1718, reported in the “Journal de Vienne”:

“Le 8^e jour [September] de la Nativité de N[ot]ré Dame Elle alla faire ses devotions dans l'Eglise de la Maison professe des jesuites, l'après diner Elle entendit un Concert des musiciens, que Sa Maj.^{te} luy a envoyes, ou quelques Seigneurs de la Cour se trouvèrent.”²⁹

“On the 8th day, the feast of the Nativity of Our Lady, [the prince] went to the church of the Jesuit House where he made his devotions; after lunch he attended a concert by the musicians sent by His Majesty, at which various dignitaries of the court were present.”

Either of two events may have provided the occasion for Zelenka's *Capriccio No 4* in A, dated “20 Ottobre 1718”. The first took place on 16 November 1718.³⁰ The second (reported here) followed on 22 November:

“Le 22^e Elle eût, comme cela se fait ici, l'assemblée chez elle, ou on n'invite personnes, mais il vient, qui veut, quand Elle est annoncée à l'assemblée precedente: il y avoit dans la Sale, ou on dançoit, un monde infini, vingt huit tables de jeux dans les appartements, cent Couverts, ou il n'y avoit presque que de Dames à souper, sans les autres qui ont mangé comme ils ont pu le Bal a duré jusqu'a à 6 heures du matin [...]”³¹

“On the 22nd [November], as is the custom here, [the prince] held the assembly [social gathering] at his residence, to which no invitations are issued, but those who wish may attend, when this is announced at the previous assembly. There was a huge crowd in the hall where dancing was held, with twenty-eight gaming tables in the apartments and a hundred places at table where it was almost entirely ladies who dined, the others eating as best they could. The ball lasted until 6 o'clock in the morning [...]”

A payment made to fourteen musicians in January 1719 was probably associated with a ball hosted by the prince which followed a sleigh race on 8 January, while a payment to twenty-six musicians made in the following month was almost certainly for music they provided for the ball held on 7 February, to which the leading ladies of Vienna (*premières Dames de la ville*) were invited.³²

28 D-Dla: 10026 Geh. Kab. Loc. 383/4, “Die *Bande* Französischer *Comoedianten* und *Orchestra* betr. ao 1703, 1708–1712, 1714–1720”, ff. 222a/b.

29 D-Dla: 10026 Geh. Kab. Loc. 758/7, “Journal de Vienne”, f. 296b.

30 “Le 16^e [November 1718] il-y-eut Bal chez Son Altesse Royale ou il-y-avoit des tables pour 72. Personnes, tout l'y passa fort gayement, et on-y-resta jusques devers les 5. heures du matin.” D-Dla: 10026 Geh. Kab. Loc. 758/7, “Journal de Vienne”, f. 300b.

31 D-Dla: 10026 Geh. Kab. Loc. 758/7, “Journal de Vienne”, ff. 300b/301a. A list of the important guests (covering six folios) follows this report.

32 These payments are recorded in D-Dla: 10026 Geh. Kab. Loc. 763/08, “Des Königl. Printzens [...] Hof-Cassa-Rechnungen”, f. 48b and f. 49a. The two balls of February 1719 are reported in D-Dla: 10026 Geh. Kab. Loc. 758/7, “Journal de Vienne”, ff. 305b/306a and f. 307a.

Before leaving the capriccios, attention is drawn to an aspect of Zelenka's instrumentation. This is such a minor matter, but it does illustrate the level of care that came to be practised by Dresden composers and copyists – one of the tiny features that contributed to the high level of performance for which the Dresden *Hofkapelle* became renowned. Not only do the two sets of parts prepared in Vienna show that both the first and second oboists were required to play *c*[#] (an uncertain note requiring the use of a half hole on the instrument of the day), but in *Capriccio No 4* the second oboist is even required to descend to *b* – a note lying outside the compass (the normal lowest note was *c*). These two notes usually occur in unison passages with violin 2. In time, Zelenka and the Dresden court copyists came to avoid both notes (although they are called for in the oboe parts of the six sonatas, ZWV 181,³³ and they appear in oboe parts prepared for Zelenka by non-court copyists in the early 1730s).³⁴

Compositions inscribed “à Praga 1723”

In 1723 Zelenka wrote an unknown number of major instrumental works. Four exist today. Doubtless, these were composed on commission, but the identity of the patron is unknown. It is generally assumed that the works were intended to be performed in Prague during the festivities held when Emperor Charles VI and his consort Elisabeth Christine came to be crowned King and Queen of Bohemia. At that time Zelenka was in Prague to direct his *Melodrama de S. Wenceslao*, a work commissioned by the Jesuits, and whose premiere was given in the Clementinum College in the presence of the imperial couple.³⁵

The four surviving autographs are:

- *Concerto à 8 Concer[tanti]* (signifying that the music is in some respect soloistic): ZWV 186;
- *Ouverture*, a suite of five movements for seven concertante instruments: ZWV 187;
- *Hipocondrie*, a French *ouverture* in one movement, also for seven concertante instruments: ZWV 188;
- *Simphonie à 8 Concer[tanti]*; ZWV 189.

Each score from 1723 still has its cover (*Umschlag*) of faded thick, dark blue paper, on which Zelenka – probably at a later time – wrote the title, instrumentation, and the annotation “à Praga | 1723. | Zelenka”. The caption title to the *Concerto* reads: “Concerti 6. fatti: in fretta à Praga 1723” (that is, six concertos composed [lit: “made”] in haste in Prague 1723).³⁶ This suggests that ZWV

33 D-Dl: Mus.2358-Q-1. See Geoffrey Burgess, *An Approach to Editing the Trio Sonatas of Jan Dismas Zelenka*, MMus Hons thesis, Sydney University 1982.

34 See, for example, surviving oboe parts for settings of a Litany of Loretto (*Litaniae Lauretanae*) by František Ludvík Poppe, where *a* and *b* appear in the part for oboe 2 (parts; D-Dl: Mus.3610-E-2a).

35 For the contemporary Jesuit documentation (in Latin) of the performance(s), see Jana Vojtěšková and Janice Stockigt, “Zpráva o návštěvě císaře Karla VI. s chotí v Klementinu v roce 1723” [Report on a visit of Emperor Charles VI and the Empress to the Clementinum in 1723], in: *Hudební věda* 4 (1992), pp. 351–359.

36 See D-Dl: Mus.2358-O-1.

186 is the first of six such works written by Zelenka for performance in Prague, and that either this *Concerto* is the only remaining work of a set of six, or else the four surviving instrumental works dated “1723” come from a group of six compositions of which two are now missing. Unlike those of the capriccios, the autograph sources of these instrumental works written in 1723 have every appearance of being hurriedly prepared concept scores. Indeed, the pages of empty manuscript that follow the score of *Hipocondrie* hint that it could be an unfinished composition.³⁷

Each work is scored for oboes 1 and 2, bassoon, violins 1 and 2, viola, and one or more unnamed bass instruments. A cello is specified on the title pages to, and in the scores of, the *Concerto* (“Bassone e Violoncello”) and the *Simphonie* (“Fagotto: e Violoncello”).

Thanks to the digitization project “Die Instrumentalmusik der Dresdner Hofkapelle zur Zeit der sächsisch-polnischen Union”, the score of Zelenka’s *Simphonie* à 8 is now united with a set of nine beautifully prepared parts in the hand of Johann Gottfried Morgenstern, a Dresden court copyist and long-serving viola player of the Dresden *Hofkapelle*.³⁸ (I note that Morgenstern’s parts are not entirely consistent with Zelenka’s concept score.) The appended table shows the different spellings given to this work by Zelenka (“Simphonie”), and by Morgenstern (who wrote “Simphonia” at the head of first movement). “Sinfonia” is the title written by Carl Gottlob Uhle, who also prepared the labels of Zelenka’s instrumental works kept in “Schränk II”. (Uhle always gave the spelling “Zelenka”.) When Uhle prepared the catalogue label for Morgenstern’s set of parts, the work was identified simply as “No 6.) Concerto”, the composer not being named. Could any significance be attached to the fact that when this once-anonymous source was placed into “Schränk II”, it was catalogued in this manner? Might Morgenstern (or another copyist) have prepared parts for six works, or even six concertos, by Zelenka? Morgenstern’s nine parts are for seven voices, including a part for a string bass instrument named “Contra-Basso”. Missing from the performance materials is a part for a second oboe – despite Zelenka’s requirement of this instrument, as evidenced by the score.³⁹

The instrumental compositions written in 1723 for Prague require performers of very great virtuosity. Were they intended for local musicians or for visiting players? Saxon Electoral Princess Maria Josepha, a niece of Charles VI, travelled from Dresden for the coronation, but, apart from the horn players Butz and Götzl, musicians were not included in her entourage.⁴⁰ It is likely, however, that leaving aside the numerous musicians who came to Prague in 1723 (including musicians from the imperial court), those from Dresden present for that occasion included Morgenstern,⁴¹ the lutenist Sylvius Leopold Weiß, the oboist (later, flautist) Johann Joachim Quantz, the cellist Carl Heinrich Graun, and Zelenka.

Before leaving Zelenka’s instrumental works of 1723, one must draw attention once more to the compass of the oboe used, and the composer’s growing concern with this detail of orchestra-

37 Suggested in the *Zelenka-Dokumentation* 1989 (as footnote 5), vol. 2, p. 308 (ZWV 187).

38 Landmann, *Drei Studien* ²2010 (as footnote 17), pp. 163 ff.

39 Oboe 2 is specially required in the second “Minuetto” of the *Simphonie* (ZWV 189), as seen on pp. 43/44 (recent pagination) of Zelenka’s autograph score, D-Dl: Mus.2358-N-9.

40 D-Dla: 10006 OHMA I Nr. 33, “Ihrer Hoheit der Königl. Prinzeßin zu Sachßen Frauen Marien Josephen Reise von Dresden nach Praag und von dar zurück nach Dresden in den Monaten Aug: und Septembr: 1723”, ff. 22a/23a, especially f. 23a. Jóhannes Ágústsson kindly drew my attention to this source.

41 Suggested by Landmann, *Drei Studien* ²2010 (as footnote 17), p. 165.

tion. For example, in the autograph of the overture *Hipocondrie* the score shows that, despite the obvious haste with which it was written, Zelenka was more careful in his writing for the oboe of his day. By bar 10 he was managing the two oboe parts so that neither followed the violins (with which they had been playing in unison) down to *c#*. Finally, no item from the collection composed in 1723 bears the dedicatory letters “I N: J: C” that had been placed at the head of the surviving capriccio scores. Nor did Zelenka conclude these scores with one of the dedication formulae seen in works he composed for the Dresden court.

Sinfonia No 2: 1729

It would seem that, apart from the probability that Zelenka composed six fanfares for trumpets and timpani, he wrote only one instrumental work for the Dresden court. Today, this composition is kept as an autograph concept score without a cover. For many years it has been commonly known as *Capriccio No 5*, probably on account of the instrumentation and the fact that “Capriccio” is written at the head of the first movement – a term used by Zelenka also for two individual movements in the *Simphonie à 8* from 1723. The *Catalogo* of the *Hofkirche* (1765), however, lists this item as the second of “2. Sinfonie” by Zelenka.

The scoring for two horns, two oboes, bassoon, violins 1 and 2, viola, and one or more unspecified bass instruments, is almost identical with that of the earlier capriccios composed years before in Vienna.

The autograph of this work is dated “18 Mai | 1729”. Thus it was composed during the final illness of *Kapellmeister* Heinichen. The dedicatory letters written at the conclusion of the score – “A M D G V B M O O S S H A A P I [or J?] R” – are usually seen in this, or in a similar, form in Zelenka’s works written on commission from the Dresden court.⁴² (The final letters of these formulae are not inscribed on compositions dedicated to August II, August III, or Maria Josepha, nor do they appear on music written for occasions or works unconnected with the Dresden court). Although no event has been found to suggest a purpose for this *Sinfonia*, I propose that it was intended to be heard in 1729 during celebrations held at Moritzburg to mark the birthday of August II. Although the king’s birthday was usually observed in *Galla* on 12 May, in 1729 the event was rescheduled and published in the *Königl. Poln. und Churfürstl. Sächsischer Hoff- und Staats-Calender auf das Jahr 1729 (HStCal)* as a “Galla-Tag” to be held on 21 May (“Mense Mai: Den 21. Maj. Ihrer Majestät. des Königes in Pohlen und Churfürstens zu Sachsen, Herrn Friedrichs August Geburths-Tag in *Galla*”)⁴³ – that is, three days after Zelenka dated his score. At that time August II was in Warsaw, where his birthday was celebrated on 12 May.⁴⁴ Meanwhile, the electoral prince Friedrich August

42 “Ad majorem Dei gloriam [et] Virginis [Beatae] Mariae Omnibus Sanctis honor; Augustissimo Principi in reverentia (or Augustissimum Poloniarum in Regem)”, signifying: To the greater glory of God and the Blessed [here, B is written over V] Mary; honour to all Saints; with reverence to the Most August Prince (or the Most August King of Poland). *Zelenka-Dokumentation* 1989 (as footnote 5), vol. 1, p. 157.

43 This published advice informed court members that gala dress was required for the event. See Elizabeth Mikosch, *Court Ceremony and Dress in the Age of the Baroque: The Royal/Imperial Wedding of 1719 in Dresden*, PhD thesis, New York University 1999, p. 48.

44 *HStCal*, 1731, 11r (recent pagination), col. 2.

and Maria Josepha had left Dresden for Schloss Moritzburg on 11 May, intending to stay there for some time. They returned to Dresden on 4 June.⁴⁵ Thus, although no report of the festivities has yet been found, it is likely that Zelenka's *Sinfonia* was heard at the celebration held *in Galla* at Moritzburg on 21 May 1729.

Features of Zelenka's hand seen in autographs of his instrumental works

During my study of Zelenka's four cycles of Vespers psalms composed between 1724 and about 1730, a chronology was established which relied upon various changes to his notation and page organization seen throughout the autographs of the psalms.⁴⁶ First, there was the alteration to the manner of writing the bass clef, a change that began to take place at some time between the end of 1728 and early in 1729. This new form of bass clef represents a basic tool for dating Zelenka's compositions. As far as I can tell, this feature was first observed by Hubert Unverricht more than fifty years ago.⁴⁷ The change from one form to the other did not occur immediately, as scores written between late 1728 and 1729 use both forms. Several illustrations of both styles are seen in examples of Zelenka's hand reproduced in the *Zelenka-Dokumentation*,⁴⁸ and I note that both clefs are seen throughout the autograph score of Zelenka's *Sinfonie* composed in May 1729. Zelenka's employment of the new form of the bass clef was finally established by the end of 1729.⁴⁹

The second alteration was Zelenka's figuring of the basso continuo, and especially the altered method of raising and lowering the interval of the fourth, so that instead of a sharp, flat, or a natural sign preceding or following the figure 4 (and, to a lesser extent, also the figure 2) the accidental became attached to the figure. Heinichen demonstrated three methods of notating the alteration of these figures of the bass: the placement of the accidental either before or after the figure, and the attachment of the accidental to the figure. He seems to have favoured the attachment of the accidental to the figure, especially in the form of a stroke to indicate a raised interval.⁵⁰ Although Zelenka had adopted this method for a raised (major or augmented) sixth at an earlier stage, his habit of indicating the interval of an augmented fourth similarly was initiated late in 1725; this

45 D-Dla: 10006 OHMA G 29, ff. 18b–20b. The visit of the court to Moritzburg is reported in *Kern Dreßdnischer Merckwürdigkeiten 1729*, p. 19.

46 Janice B. Stockigt, *The Vespers Psalms of Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745) in the Liturgy and Life of the Dresden Catholic Court Church*, PhD thesis, University of Melbourne 1994, part II, ch. 4: "The chronology of Zelenka's Vesper psalm settings", pp. 234–259.

47 See "Zur Datierung der Bläsersonaten von Johann Dismas Zelenka", in: *Die Musikforschung* 15 (1962), pp. 265–268.

48 See, for example, the use of both forms evident in a page from the score of Zelenka's *Missa Circumcisionis D.N.J.C.* December 1728 (ZWV 11; D-Dl: Mus.2358-D-24) in: *Zelenka-Dokumentation* 1989 (as footnote 5), Figure 11, vol. 2, p. 334. The addition of the trumpet and timpani choir (seen on the uppermost staves of this page) seems to be a later addition to the score.

49 Only the new form of the bass clef was used in the score (and the supplementary short score for trumpets and timpani) of Zelenka's *Missa Divi Xaverii*, dated September and November 1729 (ZWV 12; D-Dl: Mus.2358-D-26).

50 Johann David Heinichen, *Der Generalbaß in der Komposition* (Dresden 1728, reprint Hildesheim 1969), pp. 112 f. An example of Zelenka's post-late-1725 method of raising the interval of the fourth is seen in *Zelenka-Dokumentation* 1989 (as footnote 5), Figure 14 (vol. 2, p. 337, lowermost staff), showing a page from *Salve Regina*, 1730 (ZWV 135; D-Dl: Mus.2358-E-8).

change is a crucial tool for the accurate dating of Zelenka's first and second cycles of Vespers psalms, which were entered into his "Inventarium" in reverse order.⁵¹

The third change was the manner in which Zelenka organized systems of staves, and the way in which systems were combined with a bracket (of which there are several types to be seen), or separated by a sign that began to develop in 1727, and which became firmly established by 1728.⁵² Zelenka's organization of consecutive pages of a score (with bars running across two pages or else being confined to one page), and other, miscellaneous observations – including the language he used, as exemplified by the shift from French to Italian when naming woodwind instruments – are also relevant to the dating of these works. The notation of each instrumental work discussed above confirms the dating criteria developed during that study.

However, the matter of Zelenka's figuring of his bass lines, and especially his notation of raised or lowered intervals (the fourth and second in particular), could not be used in this present investigation. Despite the requirement, written on some covers, for "Basso Continuo" – a term usually signifying the instrumental bass line throughout the music over which an improvised chordal accompaniment is played – neither Zelenka nor his copyists provided a figured bass part for any of these instrumental works. Moreover, not one of these compositions has a part for "cembalo" or "tiorba" – figured or otherwise. The absence of a part for chordal accompaniment raises questions about original performance practices. Possibly, these pieces were played without harpsichord or theorbo. Maybe Zelenka directed each performance from the keyboard and, being the composer, had no need of a continuo part. Or it is conceivable that he provided a chordal accompaniment on a string bass instrument.⁵³ It is even within the bounds of the imagination that Zelenka played the theorbo – an easy matter if the type of stringed instrument he played was the lowest member of the viol family, whose fingering patterns are exactly the same as those of the theorbo. But perhaps the answer lies in the ability as performers of the contemporary court cembalists and tiorbists, who had no need for the information provided by figures. It is noteworthy that a great many of the instrumental items once kept in "Schrank II" lack a part with a figured bass – a matter for future investigation, perhaps.

51 See Jan Dismas Zelenka, *Inventarium rerum Musicarum Ecclesiae servientium*, D-Dl: Bibl. Arch. III. Hb, Vol. 787.d. Reproduced in: *Zelenka-Dokumentation*, *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 169–218, especially pp. 194 f.

52 Examples of various types of bracket are seen in Figures 1–6, *Zelenka-Dokumentation*, *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 324–329. The sign to separate staves is shown in Figures 13–15, *Zelenka-Dokumentation*, *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 336–338.

53 This possibility is reminiscent of examples from Corelli's Op. 5, which reads (in translation): "Sonata for violin and violone or cimbalo". Another example is seen on the title pages to Corelli's *Sonate da Camera a tre* (Op. 2 and Op. 4), which state that the sonatas are for two violins and violone or cimbalo. Moreover, we often see printed part books with one part titled: "Violone ò Tiorba". For example, Giovanni Battista Bassani's *Messa per li Defonti*, Op. 20 (D-Dl: Mus. 2114-D-1), and Paolo Benedetto Bellinzani's *Salmi brevi per tutto l'anno*, Op. 2 (D-Dl: Mus. 2431-E-1), provide two examples of part books titled "Violone ò Tiorba". The Dresden example of the "Tiorba" part in a set of Bassani's *Compline* settings Op. 25 (D-Dl: Mus. 2114-E-2) bears the remark "Pro Directore" – perhaps written in the hand of Zelenka, who certainly noted "Basso pro Directore" on a mainly unfigured bass part in František Ludvík Poppe's above-mentioned setting of the Litany of Loretto (see footnote 34), and on the part for "Organo, e Tiorba" in the setting of the same litany by Johann Anton Reichenauer (D-Dl: Mus. 2494-D-3). The *Hofkapelle* member Gottfried Bentley (Bentlĳ, or Pentley) was listed in Dresden court documents variously as a player of the archlute and theorbo, or viola da gamba.

The afterlife in Dresden of the sources for Zelenka's instrumental works

Following his death in December 1745, the musical estate of Zelenka was eventually acquired by the Dresden court. Although certain items were retained for the royal music library, it is not clear where or how the bulk of Zelenka's music was stored, unless it was housed (like Heinichen's music collection) in the cabinets that stood in Maria Josepha's apartments and were moved into the *Hofkirche* either late in 1764 or early in 1765.⁵⁴ By 9 March 1765 Zelenka's instrumental music collection, as well as some secular vocal compositions, came to be kept along with his sacred works in "Schränk III" of the music cabinets of the *Hofkirche*.

The listings of all instrumental ensemble works of Zelenka in the 1765 *Catalogo* of the church's collection prove that nothing has been lost since that year. For *Capriccio No 1*, score and parts were noted; scores only were itemized for *Capriccio No 2* and *Capriccio No 3*, while *Capriccio No 4* existed as a set of parts without score. It is notable, however, that in 1765 flutes were listed in the scoring of the third capriccio – either an error on the part of the cataloguer, or an indication that a reworking about which we now have no source or record had taken place. (Similar discrepancies exist for viola requirements.) Scores without parts are shown for the four works composed for Prague in 1723 – an indication that already by 1765 Morgenstern's parts for the *Simphonie* (or "Concerto", as it was titled on the label to the parts) had become separated from the score – that is, assuming that these performance materials had once accompanied Zelenka's autograph. The second *Sinfonie* (ZWV 190) of 1729 was likewise listed in 1765 as a score only. In time, however, Zelenka's instrumental compositions were taken out of "Schränk III" (where his own numerous sacred compositions remained) and moved to "Schränk II", which must have been emptied of some (or all) the works that once had been housed there in order to create space for the collection of instrumental music. The move to "Schränk II" of Zelenka's instrumental music is known from surviving labels prepared for works to accompany a later *Catalogo della Musica di Chiesa* (volume 3 is also arranged in alphabetical order).⁵⁵ If the "Catalogo della Musica di Chiesa" of the "Dresdner Bibliothek" used by Curt Rudolf Mengelberg for his study of Ristori's music was the later *Catalogo della Musica di Chiesa* of which only volume 3 now remains, then the vast collection of Ristori's compositions – which had been listed in the *Catalogo* of 1765 as being stored in "Schränk II" – must have been moved to "Schränk I": in 1916 Mengelberg wrote that Ristori's works were

54 The document showing Schürer's account for the costs of repairing the locks of the cupboards, and their transport to the *Hofkirche*, as well as the materials required for the preparation of a catalogue, is reproduced in Janice B. Stockigt, "Musica senza nome dell'Autore: anonymous works in the Catalogo of the music collection of the Dresden Hofkirche, 1765", in: *Studi vivaldiani* 7 (2007), pp. 3–52, here p. 25.

55 *Catalogo della Musica di Chiesa. Composta Da diversi Autori Secondo l'Alfabetto. Armario III^{za}*, in the hand of Carl Gottlob Uhle (d. 1784). A facsimile of vol. 3 is published in *Zelenka-Dokumentation* 1989 (as footnote 5), vol. 2, where it is proposed (p. 225) that this catalogue was assembled "ca. 1770". I suggest that it was prepared at an even later time (c.1780 or later). The death in 1784 of the copyist Carl Uhle provides a *terminus ante quem* for this catalogue. Perhaps the "Berechnung" of 1784 for the period "Ostern bis Michaelis" (29 September) showing a payment to the bookbinder Wenzel for binding "von Catalogum derer Kirchen Musicalien, in 4. Englische folio bände" (followed by: "Einen band Musik zum Kyrie, in Franz-pappe zu binden [...]") has some bearing on the date of this later *Catalogo*. D-Dla: 10026 Geh. Kab. Loc. 910/8, "Acta: Das Churfürstl. Orchestre und deßen Unterhaltung ingleichen Das große Opern-Haus und andere zum Departement des Directeur des Plaisirs gehörige Angelegenheiten betr. Anno 1784. sq.", ff. 163b/164a.

listed in “Band I”.⁵⁶ Each of Zelenka’s instrumental works eventually came to be held by the Sächsische Landesbibliothek Dresden, as stamps on all but one item testify.⁵⁷

Conclusion

Together with his undated six sonatas, the instrumental works of c. 1717–19, 1723, and 1729 hold a very special place in the history of the modern reception of the Bohemian-born Zelenka. Beginning with their publication and recording in the 1960s, world-wide attention was drawn to the long-forgotten composer. Yet questions remain. The exact circumstances of performances of the capriccios in Vienna are uncertain, and the copyists of surviving parts, as well as the musicians who first performed these works are unidentified. The precise number of compositions Zelenka prepared for Prague in 1723 is still a mystery, and the commissioning patron remains anonymous. Furthermore, it would be interesting to discover more about the event held at Moritzburg for which the second *Sinfonie* (formerly known as *Capriccio No 5*) was composed in 1729. Answers to these questions would allow a few more gaps to be filled in the ever-fascinating history of Zelenka and his music.

56 Curt Rudolf Mengelberg, *Giovanni Alberto Ristori: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte italienischer Kunstherrschaft in Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1916, introduction to “Verzeichnis der Werke”, p. 142.

57 Today the score of Zelenka’s *Simphonie* (ZWV 189) bears no stamp.

Table

1. Zelenka's instrumental works: Vienna c.1717–18⁵⁸

ZWV	D-Dl: Mus. 2358-...	Cx	Title Page and Date Digital Version of the Source(s)	Score	Parts	Mottos Dedications Water- marks & Stamps ⁵⁹	Storage information from catalogues and labels
182	...N-3 (score) ...N-3a (parts)	1151 1154	[Caprice No.1 in D] Autogr. score and non-autogr. parts. No title page. digital.slub-dresden.de/id311652247 (score) digital.slub-dresden.de/id311653200 (parts)	<i>Corno: 1</i> <i>Corn: 2</i> <i>Hautbo: 1</i> <i>Hautb: 2</i> <i>Violin 1</i> <i>Violin 2</i> <i>Basson</i> <i>Contrabasso</i>	<i>Violino 1</i> <i>Violino 1</i> <i>Violino 2</i> <i>Violino 2</i> <i>Violoncello</i> <i>Violone</i> <i>Hautbois 1</i> <i>Fagotto</i> <i>Hautbois 2</i> <i>Corno 2</i> [Corno 1 missing]	Motto (head of score): I:N;J:C: “No: 1” upper right., (non-autogr.) Watermarks (score) I: (provenance Italy/ Austria, pre-1718. A tre-lune watermark) ⁶⁰ Watermarks (parts) III?: (a tre-lune water- mark. From the same mill as I?)	Catalogo 1765 Schrank III; Fach 26; Lage 3: 4 Capricis: No. 1°; “a 2 V ⁿⁱ . V ^{la} . ob. e Corni”; [Partitura/ Parti] Label c.1780+ Schrank No. II; 28 Fach; 5 Lage: No. 1° Caprice; “co’ VV ⁿⁱ . Oboi, Corni, Viola e basso. Partitura e Parti”. [“10” pen- cilled over “1”] St. del [Sig’ Zelencka]
183	...N-12	1153	[Caprice No. 2 in G] Autogr. score. Autogr. title page in Mus.2358-D-18,1: “G# Caprice fait pour Son Altesse Royale Le Prince Electorale de Saxe a Vienne de 24 Januar: 1718 Violin 2 Hautb. 2 Corn. di Chasse 2 Fagotto Basse=Contre Zelenka.” digital.slub-dresden.de/id311659497	[Corn: 1] [Corn: 2] [ob. 1] [ob. 2] [vn. 1] [vn. 2] [va] <i>Fagotto</i> [Contrabas- so]	—	Motto (head of score): I: N: J: C: “No: 2” up- per right (non-autogr.) Watermarks I?; X? (a tre-lune water- mark)	Catalogo 1765 Schrank III; Fach 26; Lage 4: [4 Capricis]: No. 2°; “a 2 V ⁿⁱ . V ^{la} . ob. e Corni”; [Partitura]
184	...N-5	1153a	[Caprice No. 3 in F] Autogr. score. digital.slub-dresden.de/id311655394	[Corn: 1] [Corn: 2] <i>Hautbois 1</i> <i>Hautb. 2</i> <i>Violino 1</i> <i>Violin 2</i> <i>Viola</i> <i>Fagotto</i> <i>Contra Basso</i>	—	Motto (head of score): I:N;J:C: [upper right corner torn off] Watermarks I; III	Catalogo 1765 Schrank III; Fach 26; Lage 5: [4 Capricis]: No. 3°. “a 2 V ⁿⁱ . V ^{la} . oboè, Flauti, Corni e Fagotti” [Partitura] Label c.1780+ Schrank No. II. 28. Fach 8 Lage. No.4) “Caprice co’ V ⁿⁱ . Ob. Fla: Cor: Fag: V ^{la} e Basso. Partitura Sola”
185	...N-4	1152	[Caprice No. 4 in A] ⁶¹ Autogr. title page (parts): A# [No. 4] Capricio à 2 Violin: 2 Oboi, 2 Corn: di Caccia, Fagotto e Con- tra Basso di Giovanni Disma Zelenka Musico di Camera de S. M’ Polaka et Ellettore di Sassonia. Lower left: à Vien: 20 Ottobre 1718 Violin: 2 Hautbois 2 Corn: di Caccia 2 Fagotto Contr Basso digital.slub-dresden.de/id320800431	—	<i>Violino P^{mo}</i> <i>Violino 2^{do}</i> (part autogr.) <i>Contra=Basso</i> (part autogr.) <i>Hautbois P^{ma}</i> <i>Hautbois 2</i> <i>Fagotto ò</i> <i>Violoncello</i> <i>Corn’ P^{mo}</i> <i>Corn 2^{do}</i>	Stamp Königl. Öffentliche Bibliothek Dresden. “No: 4” upper right (non-autogr.) Watermarks I; III	Catalogo 1765 Schrank III; Fach 26; Lage 6 [4 Capricis]: No. 4°. “a 2 V ⁿⁱ . V ^{la} . oboè, Corni e Fagotti” [Parti] c.1780+ Schrank No. II; 28. Fach 8. Lage: No. 4. “Caprice co’ WW ⁿⁱ Oboi, Corni: Viola e Basso 9 St. ⁶² del Sig’ Zelencka”

58 I acknowledge with gratitude the advice of Wolfgang Eckhardt on the watermarks shown in this Table, who has also identified further sources of the capriccios. See Wolfgang Eckhardt, “Über die in den Manuskripten aus dem Schranck No: II verwendeten Papiersorten”, in: *Schranck No: II. Das erhaltene Instrumentalmusikrepertoire der Dresdner Hofkapelle aus den ersten beiden Dritteln des 18. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Gerhard Poppe et al., Beeskow 2012, pp. 231–253 (Forum Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik. 2).

59 With the exception of D-Dl: Mus.2358-N-9, each source bears the stamp of the Sächsische Landesbibliothek (“Sächs. Landes-Bibl.”).

60 Watermark I also appears in Zelenka’s *Collectaneorum Musicorum* (D-Dl: Mus.1-B-98), and Missa primitiva by Fux (D-Dl: Mus.2130-D-2), prov. Zelenka.

61 An “Andante” movement of Capriccio in D (ZWV 185) was also used for the third movement of Zelenka’s Sonata VI (ZWV 181,6).

62 Only eight parts survive in SLUB today.

2. Zelenka's instrumental works: "à Praga 1723"

ZWV	D-DI Mus. 2358-...	Cx	Title Page and Date Digital Version of the Source(s)	Score	Parts	Mottos Dedications Watermarks Stamps	Storage information from catalogues and labels
186	...O-1	1149	Dark blue-grey wrapper with autogr. title: g# Concerto à 8 Concer[tante]: VViolin 2, Oboe 2, Viola, Fagotto, Violoncello è Basso Continuo à Praga 1723 Zelenka. Caption title: Concerti 6. fatti: in fretta à Praga 1723 digital.slub-dresden.de/id311660150	<i>1 Oboe</i> <i>Violin. 1</i> <i>Violin 2 Uniso:</i> [va] <i>Bassone e Violoncello</i> <i>Violon</i> [?]	—	Watermarks IV (Rothenhaus [Cerveny Hradek] Czech Rep. ca. 1717–1724); V (prov. probably Czech Rep.); VII (Rothenhaus? or Oberleutensdorf [Litvinov], Czech Rep.)	Catalogo 1765 Schränk III; Fach 26; Lage 7. "Concerto. a 2 V ⁿⁱ . Viola, 2 ob. Fagotti e Violoncello". [Partitura]
187	...N-11	1146	Dark blue-grey wrapper with autogr. title. a# Hipocondri à 7 Conce: VViolin 2, Oboe 2, Viola, Fagotto e Basso Contin: à Praga 1723 Zelenka digital.slub-dresden.de/id311659128	[ob. 1 (<i>col vn I</i>)] [ob. 2 (<i>col vn 2</i>)] [vn 1] [vn 2] [va] [basso]	—	Watermarks IV; VI (GLATTAV [Klattau/Klatovy], Czech Rep.); IX (Czech Rep.)	Catalogo 1765 Schränk III; Fach 26; Lage 8. "Ouverture. a 2 VV ⁿⁱ Viola, 2 oboè, Fagotto e Basso". [Partitura]
188	...N-6	1150	Dark blue-grey wrapper with autogr. title. F Ouverture à 7 Concerta: Violin: 2 Oboe 2 Viola Fagotto e Basso Contin à Praga 1723 Zelenka. Caption title: "Ouverture a 4 di Giovanni Disma Zelenka 1723— a Praga" digital.slub-dresden.de/id311657095	[vn. 1: ob. 1] [vn. 2: ob. 2] [va] [basso]	—	Watermarks IV; V; VI?	Catalogo 1765 Schränk III; Fach 26; Lage 9. "Hipocondrie. a 2 V ⁿⁱ . V ^{la} . 2 oboè, Fagotto e Basso". [Partitura] Label c.1780+ Schränk No. II 28. Fach 4. Lage [illegible] "co' WW ⁿⁱ Ob. Viola Basso Partitura sola del [Sig ^r Zelencka]"
189	...N-9 (score) ...N-9a (parts)	1148	2358-N-9 Dark blue-grey wrapper with autogr. title. A Simphonie a 8 Concer: Violin 2, Oboe 2. Viola, Violoncello, Fa= gotto e Basso Contin: à Praga 1723 Zelenka digital.slub-dresden.de/id311657745 (score) digital.slub-dresden.de/id311658547 (parts)	<i>Hautbois con V 1^{mo}</i> <i>Violino 1</i> <i>Concert col VI d'rinforzo</i> <i>Violino 2 Concert col VI 2 d'rinforzo e 2 oboe</i> [va] <i>Fagotto e Violoncello</i> <i>Contra Basso</i>	2358-N-9a ⁶³ Set of 9 parts (titled " Symphonia ") <i>V^{no} 1 Concertato</i> <i>V^{no} 2 Concertato</i> <i>Violoncello</i> <i>Oboe Concertato</i> <i>Fagotto</i> <i>Violino 1^{mo}</i> <i>Rinforzato</i> <i>Violino II^{do} Rinforzato</i> <i>Viola</i> <i>Contra Basso</i>	Watermarks (score) IV; V Watermark (parts) VIII	Catalogo 1765 Schränk III; Fach 26; Lage 10. "2. Sinfonie . No. 1) a 2 V ⁿⁱ . V ^{la} . 2 Oboè. Fagotto, Violoncello e B." [Partitura] Label for score c.1780+ Schränk No. II, 28. Fach 2. Lage No. 1). " Sinfonia co' W ⁿⁱ Ob. Viola e Basso Partitura sola del Sig ^r Zelencka" Label for parts c.1780+ (-N-9a) Schränk No: II 33. Fach 6. Lage No: 6) " Concerto co' Ob ^{nc} conc: VV ⁿⁱ . V ^{la} . e Basso 9 St."

63 Cx1189. NB: No part for Oboe 2 is kept with this set.

3. Zelenka's instrumental work composed for Dresden: 1729

ZWV	D-Dl: Mus. 2358-...	Cx	Title Page and Date Digital Version of the Source(s)	Score	Parts	Mottos Dedications Watermarks Stamps	Storage information from catalogues and labels
190	...N-2	1153b	Autogr. score with cover. No wrapper; no label; no title page. Pencil (Cx 1153b) Title "Capriccio" (first movt.) led to classification as Capriccio No. 5. <i>Hofkirche</i> "Catalogo" (1765) lists this as the second of "2. Sinfonie" digital.slub-dresden.de/ id311649696	[Corn: 1] [Corn: 2] [ob. 1] [ob. 2] [vn. 1] [vn. 2] [va] [Contrabas- so]	—	Dedication with date: "A M D G V B M ⁶⁴ OO SS H AA P J R 18 Maji 1729" Watermark: II (mill of Komotau [Chomutov, Czech Rep.], owned by Johann Franz Ossendorf, 1720–41)	Catalogo 1765 ["2. Sinfonie"]: No. 2 ^a ; "a 2 V ⁿⁱ V ^{la} 2 Oboè, 2 Corni e Basso". Partitura

64 The letter B[eatae] is written over the letter M[ariae]. This set of letters signify Zelenka's dedication "Ad majorem Dei gloriam [et] Virginis Beatae [Mariae] Omnibus Sanctis honor; Augustissimo Principi in reverentia" (or "Augustissimum Poloniarum in Regem"). See Zelenka-Dokumentation, vol. 1, p. 157.