During mid-1996 I visited a number of European libraries and archives in order to examine secondary Zelenka sources. The major objective of this investigation was to check copies of works attributed to Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679-1745) held outside Dresden, the city where most of Zelenka's autographs have been stored since his death. With the renaissance of Zelenka's music during the past two decades much new information has emerged, especially at two recent Zelenka symposia (1991, 1995). Zelenka scholars generally agree that the worklists assembled in the late 1980s are in need of revision, and that reviews will be required for the article to be written for the new edition of Music in Geschichte und Gegenwart, for the revision of The New Grove article, and for a book on Zelenka's life and works now in preparation. Two unexpected factors and a hypothesis emerged during this recent examination of Zelenka sources.

First, it has become apparent that the extent of copying, collection and transmission of certain works of Zelenka during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is more extensive than originally believed. The following type of statement in booklets which accompany compact discs of Zelenka's music is not uncommon:

...Zelenka disappeared from the musical scene for 200 years. Only in the second half of the present century has he been resurrected by musicologists such as C. Schoenbaum, G. Hausswald and J. Buzga.

Secondary sources kept in English, German and Czech libraries demonstrate that Zelenka's music was not ignored, locked away and unavailable to those wishing access. It is true that various commentators experienced difficulties in gaining access to the autograph manuscripts—after all, most of his compositions were written to commissions from the Royal Polish and Saxon Electoral court and Zelenka's musical estate was purchased by Maria Josepha, Saxon Electress and Polish Queen, after his death—but there can be no doubt that transmission of Zelenka's music did take place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The following sample of works held in English collections, though not extensive, demonstrates the movement to that country of at least six works in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries:

1. Early copies of Zelenka's music were held at St Michael's Tenbury (now kept in the Bodleian Library, Oxford). The works are Missa Paschalis (1726, and I suspect that this is a very early copy), the setting of 'Cum Sancto Spiritu' from Missa Purificationis (1733) and an anthem in English, 'O Sing Unto the Lord'. The anthem with an English text turns out to be a nineteenth-century parody upon sections of Missa Paschalis.

2. An important eighteenth-century London concert-giving society, The Concert of Ancient [Antient] Music, held a copy of one of Zelenka's two surviving Magnificat settings (ca. 1727). The object of this society, which came into existence in 1776, was 'the preservation, by means of regular performances, of the great works of earlier composers which might otherwise fall into oblivion'. Catalogues of music held by this Society are kept at The Royal College of Music, London. An almost complete set of programs of the concerts given by this Society is kept at the Music Library of the British Library. Despite bearing the stamp 'Her Majesty's Concerts of Ancient Music', and despite pencil marks which indicate that the score had been studied (at least), the copy of Zelenka's Magnificat is unlisted in the catalogues and in the concert programs available for study at the British Library. Thus, an early English performance of this work cannot be proven.


Copies of Zelenka works in Munich, Dresden, Berlin, Darmstadt and Leipzig demonstrate the interest in Zelenka's liturgical music by German collectors and also by various vocal societies founded in the nineteenth century. Holdings in Austria and The Czech Republic lead us back to the beginnings of musicology, to the rise of the nineteenth-century Caecilian movement in liturgical music, and to the use of music to support nationalistic sentiment. The following example demonstrates one trend.

A catalogue of the music collection of the nineteenth-century dilettante Raphael Georg Kiesewetter...
(1773–1850) is held in the Österreichische National Bibliothek. The second section of this catalogue lists the works of his collection according to seventeen epochs, beginning with ‘Epoch Heubald, 908 bis 1020’, and finishing with ‘Epoch Beethoven und Rossini’. Each epoch is defined by a set of musical characteristics. Composers considered to hold common musical values are then listed under an epoch and identified by nationality. Zelenka is listed as a Bohemian composer under the fourteenth epoch, ‘Epoch Leo und Durante: 1720 bis 1760’, the Neapolitan School, characterised (by Kiesewetter) as an era of melodic reform and growth of the number of instruments in the orchestra. Among composers listed here are Francesco Durante, Pergolesi, Porpora (Neapolitans), Galuppi (Venetian), J. S. Bach, Handel and Hasse (Germans), and Táma and Wagenseil (Austrians, although Táma was born in Bohemia). The importance of collections such as that of Kiesewetter in the dissemination of sources is demonstrated in one work held in the British Library. A collection ‘Purchd of C. Zoeller/11 Oct 1884’ contains a Serenata of Alessandro Scarlatti, acquired, according to a pencilled remark, from the source held in the collection of Kiesewetter.

Zelenka’s works were also made available through the Breitkopf nonthematic catalogues of 1761, 1764 and 1769. From these listings, collectors could purchase copies of at least four mass settings of Zelenka, one Kyrie setting, a Magnificat setting (the same setting to be found in the collection of The Society of Antient Music), and two settings of the Marian antiphon Salve Regina which, although attributed to Zelenka, are actually his reworkings of organ works of Frescobaldi. These listings require much more investigation, but early thoughts lead to the suspicion that the works offered for sale by Breitkopf came from the collection of Gottlob Harrer (1703–55), a student of Zelenka and J. S. Bach’s successor at the Thomasschule in Leipzig.

Another collector of importance to the preservation of copies of Zelenka works was the Berlin-based collector Georg Pölchau (1773–1836), who acquired the musical estate of C. Ph. E. Bach. Among this collection are two masses of Zelenka (Missa Nativitatis and Missa Circumcisionis) and a copy of the twenty-seven Responses for Holy Week that had once belonged to Telemann. Upon his death, Pölchau’s valuable collection went to the Royal Library in Berlin and the Singakademie of that city.

Societies such as the Verein der Kunstfreunde für Kirchenmusik in Böhmen were important to the nineteenth-century collection of Zelenka sources. At least one mid-nineteenth-century copy of Zelenka’s Litiae Omnium Sanctorum (to be found in the library of the Prague Conservatorium, a collection now being catalogued) is a unicum, preserved through the copying and collecting activities of this society.

In Germany, interest in Zelenka continued through the investigations of the Dresden flautist and archivist Moritz Fürstenau (1824–89), who wrote the first extensive biography of Zelenka and had several works of Zelenka copied, and the work of the nineteenth-century Dresden court organist Anton Dreybig (founder of a singing academy), from whose estate a copy of Zelenka’s Miserere (1738) came. One of the Salve Regina settings attributed to Zelenka (but now known to be one of two parodies upon Frescobaldi) was part of the collection of Carl Georg von Winterfeld (1784–1852), German musicologist and founder of the Bachgesellschaft. This same work was published as a work by Zelenka in Leipzig, 1832. A copy of a seven-part fugue (‘Qui tollis’) from Zelenka’s first mass setting (Missae Sanctae Caeciliae, 1711) was part of a collection belonging to Gustav Wilhelm Teschner (1800–83) a singer, teacher, music editor and Royal Prussian Professor in Berlin.

A second factor of importance observed during this recent research relates to archival developments in former East-bloc countries which will have important implications for Zelenka (and other) studies. It is my understanding that following political changes in the Czech Lands in the late-1940s music collections from libraries of certain monasteries and churches were taken to central locations, including the Narodní (National) Museum in Prague. One such collection, the incredibly rich Kreuzherren (Ordo Crucigerorum cum rubea stella, or Knights of the Cross with the Red Star) archive, became part of this Museum. This collection appears to have had its basis in the sale in 1717 of a collection of Italian liturgical works collected in Italy by Balthasar Knapp, a musician and secretary to Count Stephan Kinsky. One third of this musical store was then purchased by Christoph Karl Gayer (1668–1734), Kapellmeister of the Prague cathedral of Saint Vitus. In the year of Gayer’s purchase (1717) the remainder of the Knapp collection was bought by the Prague cathedral. Upon Gayer’s death, his widow sold his entire music collection to the Kreuzherren order. The Kreuzherren collection of more than 1000 works (mainly from Italy, and especially Venice) was being thoroughly investigated in the early 1990s by a group from the Narodní museum (and therefore I was denied access to the collection). This work has now ceased because the entire collection has been returned to the Kreuzherren order. No-one was able to inform me of the library sigla to be used for this collection (formerly, it was CS-Pnm).
With the establishment of this precedent, it is possible that other monasteries and churches in The Czech Republic will reclaim their former musical holdings. This movement of materials will not occur in the former East Germany, especially with the collection of the Music Department of the Sächsische Landesbibliothek. Acts of Parliament in the nineteenth century ensured the legal transfer of the archives of the the ruling house of Saxony to the State. But it should be noted that planning is now underway for the amalgamation of the Sächsische Landesbibliothek and the library of the Technische Universität Dresden. It is also to be noted that the Berlin collections of music, once divided into East and West, are to be reunited under one library sigla. The collections of the former Staatsbibliothek Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung (D-brd-B [Berlin West]) and former Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Musikabteilung (D-ddr-Bds [Berlin DDR]) are to become D-B. This reunification will bring together certain Zelenka score copies and accompanying sets of parts held in Berlin.

Finally, a hypothesis: Among the many Zelenka sources held in The Czech Republic are copies of works that are not listed in Zelenka’s inventory, nor do they exist in Dresden. This collection includes two Masses, a Requiem and two arias, all attributed to Zelenka. Stylistically, these works are galant and, although included in the recently compiled Zelenka worklists, they are troubling because they do not bear the personal stamp of his unique style. The provenances of several of these works are established, and because at least one of the Masses is from the former collection of one of the Prague Jesuit colleges with which Zelenka had contact, its authenticity seemed to be beyond question. In Brno at the Moravské muzeum, ušťav dejin hudby (CS-Bm) I examined one of the Mass settings and the two liturgical arias. These works are so unlike those of Zelenka that a half-serious thought crossed my mind: is it possible that there were two eighteenth-century Bohemian composers bearing the same name? This question has now become a real consideration. Zelenka did have a younger brother (Jan Kilian) who was also a musician. It is known that Jan Kilian succeeded his father as organist and cantor in the town where the family lived (Louňovice pod Blaníkem). Analysis of the musical style, watermarks, and paleographic features, and further investigation of the provenance of these works attributed to Jan Dismas, as well as discovery of biographical detail about Jan Kilian, must now be undertaken in order to sort out these Czech Zelenka sources.

End Notes

1 The revised article for The New Grove and a book for Oxford University Press are being written by this author.
3 The entire collection of St Michael’s was catalogued by Edmund H. Fellowes early in the present century and published as Catalogue of MSS. of St. Michael’s College Tenbury, 2nd ed. (Paris: L’Oiseau-Lyre, 1934).
4 It was probably made by Edward Taylor (1784–1863), an English musician, lecturer and writer and celebrated choral conductor and bass singer. Taylor adapted Spohr’s Last Judgement and published the English versions of Mozart’s Requiem, Haydn’s Seasons and other choral works. He wrote the librettos for two of Spohr’s late oratorios and founded the Purcell Club.
5 A Catalogue of the Musical Library belonging to His Majesty’s Concert of Ancient Music, Instituted in 1776 at the Rooms, Tottenham Street, Richmond to the Concert Room at the Opera House in 1795, and to the Rooms, Hanover Square, in 1804 (London, 1827). A handwritten catalogue, Concert of Ancient Vocal and Instrumental Music. Established in the Year 1776, contains dates of performances of the works listed.
6 Apart from his Mozart biography, Jahn had planned to write a life of Beethoven and of Haydn also.
7 Including listings in the collection of Princess Anna Amalia von Preußen.
8 The Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek (now missing).
9 Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig.
10 Wien, Österreichische National Bibliothek, Musiksammlung and Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Bibliothek.
11 Too numerous to mention here, but including libraries and archives in Prague, Brno and Bratislava.
12 After the Dresden performance of Zelenka’s Suite in F (Ouverture a 7 concertanti ZWV 188) in March 1863, Prague newspapers published a short description of Zelenka’s life together with a request to revitalise the work of this Czech composer. During one of the first meetings of the society Umelecka beseda, Smetana was commissioned to purchase copies of compositions by Zelenka from Dresden.
14 The note reads: ‘Serenata/componirt zur Feier der Geburt des Erz. Kronerben / Carl VI. im Jahr 1716. / von / Alessandro Scarlatti.’ Pencilled lower left is the remark ‘Spurtit nach der Originalstif[m]enden / Kiesewettersehen Bibliothek.’ To the right of ‘von’, in pencil, is the remark ‘S Kiesewetters Catalog/seiner Sam[m]lung alter Musik/pg. 79’. Examination of Kiesewetter’s catalogue confirms this statement.
16 A further copy of this work in Berlin bears the Dreyßig stamp.
17 The non-thematic eighteenth-century catalogue of the Kreuzherren has been reproduced in an unpublished thesis: Jiří Fukáč, 'Krížovnický hudební inventář: Príspěvek k poznání Krížovnické hudební kultury a jejího místa v hudebním životě barokní Prahy', 2 vols, diss., Brno, 1959, Part II.


19 It is possible that among the music of the collection sold by Gayer’s widow were items of the cathedral collection.

Janice Stockigt