

# Zelenka's *Ave regina coelorum* Settings (ZWV 128) of 1737: A Case Study in the Transmission of Viennese Liturgico-musical Practices to Dresden

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In recent decades, the music of Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745) has been the object of increasing interest to scholars and performers of eighteenth-century music. Zelenka was one of a contingent of Bohemian musicians working at the Dresden court during the first half of the eighteenth century, when connections between the Province of Bohemia and the Saxon city were strong. The repertoire of sacred music accumulated and performed for Dresden's Catholic court church during Zelenka's career represents one of the crowning artistic achievements of that court. However, a detailed study of the complete set of Zelenka's *Ave regina coelorum* settings (ZWV 128) has not yet been undertaken.<sup>1</sup>

These works were composed toward the end of Zelenka's life, when the influence of Viennese court culture in Dresden was prominent. Throughout the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, sacred music at the Viennese court was organised into categories to ensure that liturgical occasions were celebrated with music of commensurate pomp and splendour, or conversely, of an appropriately modest nature. This process was documented by Kilian Reinhardt (c. 1653–1729), the musical administrator and later *Konzertmeister* there, in his 1727 *Rubriche generali*.<sup>2</sup> Using this document as a basis for further study, Friedrich W.

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Kohlhase's edition of Jan Dismas Zelenka's *Ave Regina coelorum g-Moll* (Stuttgart: Carus-Verlag, 1983) provides a brief description of each setting.

<sup>2</sup> The full title of this document is *Rubriche generali per le funzioni ecclesiastiche musicali di tutto l'anno, con un'appendice in fine dell'essenziale ad uso, e servizio dell'Augustissima Imperiale Capella* (Vienna, 1727); James Isbell Armstrong, Jr, provides a useful summary of its contents in 'Litaniae Lauretanae: Sacred Music at the Viennese Imperial Court, ca. 1700–1783,' PhD thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1993, 200–6.

Riedel discusses the three main categories of music at the Viennese court under the headings 'A Cappella-Musik,' 'Ordinari Musik' and 'Solenne Musik' (hereafter A Cappella, Ordinary and Solemn).<sup>3</sup> As was the case with many centres influenced by Viennese court culture during the early eighteenth century, the same three tiers can be observed in the repertoire of sacred music accumulated by the Catholic court church of Dresden.<sup>4</sup> This article sheds light not only on the range of styles represented in Zelenka's six *Ave regina coelorum* settings (ZWV 128), but also on the extent to which they cohere with the three Viennese categories of A Cappella, Ordinary and Solemn, as described in Riedel's study and the writings of Imperial *Kapellmeister* Johann Joseph Fux (1660–1741). Given that these pieces were composed at a time when Viennese court culture was extremely influential in Dresden, this will help to reveal some of the ways in which the organisation of music at the Dresden court diverged from that in Vienna.

Zelenka arrived in Dresden in either 1710 or 1711, to take up employment as a violone player in the Dresden Hofkapelle (the court's foremost musical institution).<sup>5</sup> Between 1716 and 1719 he spent about eighteen months in Vienna, during which time he studied under *Kapellmeister* Johann Joseph Fux (1660–1741). Aside from this, Zelenka's trips abroad were few. He never married, had no children, and died in Dresden in 1745. Alongside *Kapellmeister* Johann David Heinichen (1683–1729) and the lesser-known composers Giovanni Alberto Ristori (1692–1753) and Tobias Butz (d.1760),<sup>6</sup> Zelenka established the musical traditions and repertoire of Dresden's newly founded Catholic court church.<sup>7</sup>

The *Ave regina coelorum* is one of four main Marian antiphon texts—a group of short devotional chants in the Gregorian repertory, sung in veneration of the Virgin Mary. Each one is reserved for a particular season of the liturgical year. The four main Marian antiphon texts, in order of season, are: *Alma redemptoris mater*, sung from first Vespers of Advent until second Vespers of Purification (2 February); *Ave regina coelorum*, sung from Compline of Purification until Compline of Wednesday in Holy Week (no antiphon was sung on the last three days of Holy Week); *Regina coeli*, sung from Compline of Easter Day until None of the Saturday after Pentecost; and *Salve regina*, sung from first Vespers of Trinity Sunday to None of the Saturday before Advent. Tridentine reforms of the sixteenth century permitted the singing of such antiphons at the conclusion of whichever service of the Daily Office was the final one

<sup>3</sup> Reinhardt uses the terms 'in contrapunto,' 'mediocre' or 'ordinarie,' and 'Solenne.' Friedrich W. Riedel, *Kirchenmusik am Hofe Karls VI. (1711–1740)* (Munich and Salzburg: Katzschler, 1977), pt. II. It should be noted that in this article the term 'A Cappella' differs from the modern usage meaning unaccompanied vocal music only. The term will be discussed further below. Wolfgang Horn provides a detailed study of the A Cappella repertoire in his *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik, 1720–1745: Studien zu ihren Voraussetzungen und ihrem Repertoire* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987), esp. 'Das a-cappella-Repertoire,' 95–109, and he uses the term 'mediocre' rather than 'Ordinari' (157, 161–62); see also Janice B. Stockigt, 'Hinweise auf die Originalaufführungen von Zelenkas Vesperpsalmen,' *Zelenka Studien II: Referate und Materialien der 2. Internationalen Fachkonferenz Jan Dismas Zelenka (Dresden und Prag 1995)*, ed. Wolfgang Reich and Günther Gatterman, *Deutsche Musik im Osten 12* (Sankt Augustin: Academia-Verlag, 1997), 101–43.

<sup>4</sup> Janice B. Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka: A Bohemian Musician at the Court of Dresden* (Oxford: OUP, 2000), 66–67.

<sup>5</sup> Wolfgang Horn and Thomas Kohlhase, eds, *Zelenka-Dokumentation: Quellen und Materialien*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1989), 91.

<sup>6</sup> Butz was Zelenka's student of composition and erstwhile horn-player to the Electoral Prince.

<sup>7</sup> Upon being named *Oberkapellmeister* to the Dresden court in 1717, Johann Christoph Schmidt (1664–1728) handed his responsibility for the music of the Catholic court chapel to Heinichen; see Dieter Härtwig, 'Schmidt, Johann Christoph (i),' *Grove Music Online*, <[www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com)>.

performed by the choir.<sup>8</sup> The *Diarium*, a logbook kept by the Jesuit superior who managed and staffed the Dresden Catholic court church, which is also the single-most reliable primary source of information on daily life at that church, reports Compline only during Lent.<sup>9</sup> Thus, it seems that Compline was only held as an independent service during Lent, perhaps replacing Vespers, and that the *Ave regina coelorum* was the only Marian antiphon that formed part of that service.

Within Saxony, the stronghold of the Protestant Reformation, very significant changes occurred during Zelenka's early life that defined the context in which these *Ave regina coelorum* settings, and indeed most of his output of sacred music, were composed and performed. In 1697, the Elector of Saxony Friedrich August I had also become the King of Poland (titled August II, sometimes known as 'August the Strong'). This was achieved through his conversion to Catholicism, thereby fulfilling the requirement for candidature. Even though Friedrich August refrained from imposing the canon *Cuius regnum eius religio* (whose realm, his religion), which had been established at the Peace of Westphalia (1648), the Lutheran population was shocked by this conversion. The Great Northern War (1700–1721) ensued, during which the new king was forced to relinquish the throne as a condition of the Treaty of Altränstadt (1706).<sup>10</sup> Financial difficulties caused by the war also resulted in the dismissal of all of the instrumentalists of the Hofkapelle in 1707, although most were soon reassembled for royal service. In 1708, under pressure from Pope Clement XI, a new public Catholic royal chapel was established within the palace theatre *Am Taschenberg*,<sup>11</sup> and on Maundy Thursday of that year its inaugural service took place.<sup>12</sup> In 1709, Friedrich August regained the Polish throne.<sup>13</sup> A new era of music composition and practice began in Saxony, in which Catholic sacred music especially flourished. This artistic and musical blossoming extended until the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in 1756, during which Dresden was all but destroyed.

The re-establishment of Catholicism in Saxony allowed strong political relationships to be forged, which influenced the organisation of liturgical music in Dresden. On 20 August 1719 Austrian Archduchess Maria Josepha and Saxon Electoral Prince Friedrich August II (who had also converted to Catholicism in 1712<sup>14</sup>) were married in Vienna, linking Dresden to the Imperial capital.<sup>15</sup> Elaborate and spectacular celebrations marking the occasion were staged in Dresden throughout the month of September 1719.<sup>16</sup> Maria Josepha's Catholic upbringing was strongly influenced by *pietas austriaca*, or 'Austrian Piety,' a uniquely Habsburgian style

<sup>8</sup> Michael Talbot, *The Sacred Vocal Music of Antonio Vivaldi* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1995), 72.

<sup>9</sup> The *Diarium*, once held at the Dresden Dompfarramt, is now at the Domstift und Bischöfliches Ordinariat, Bibliothek und Archiv, Bautzen, Germany (D-BAUd); extracts have been published by Wolfgang Reich in *Zelenka-Studien II*, ed. Reich and Gatterman, 315–75. I am indebted to David Fairservice for providing English translations of excerpts from the *Diarium*.

<sup>10</sup> Tony Sharp, *Pleasure and Ambition: The Life, Loves and Wars of Augustus the Strong, 1670–1707* (London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2001), 231.

<sup>11</sup> Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 200.

<sup>12</sup> Moritz Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe zu Dresden*, vol. 2 (Dresden: Rudolf Kunze, 1862), 34; also available online at <d-nb.info/740362755>.

<sup>13</sup> Norman Davies, *Europe: A History* (Oxford: OUP, 1996), 653. Elisabeth Mikosch gives the year of his official reinstatement as King of Poland as 1716 in her thesis 'Court Dress and Ceremony in the Age of the Baroque: The Royal/Imperial Wedding of 1719 in Dresden: A Case Study,' PhD thesis, New York University, 1999, 78.

<sup>14</sup> Stockigt, *Zelenka*, 25.

<sup>15</sup> Mikosch, 'Court Dress and Ceremony,' 74.

<sup>16</sup> Stockigt, *Zelenka*, 55–58.

of religious expression centred upon three principal features: Eucharistic devotion, adoration of the Virgin Mary as Queen of Heaven and the veneration of the cross.<sup>17</sup> Notwithstanding persistent sensitivities resulting from the conversion of Saxon Elector Friedrich August I, the marriage treaty between Maria Josepha and the Saxon Electoral Prince ensured free public practice of her faith, with the exception of public processions. Maria Josepha influenced court culture in Dresden in an unprecedented way, and the organisation of sacred music for the Catholic court came partially to reflect the organisation of such music for the Habsburg court in Vienna; this included the liturgico-musical categories A Cappella, Ordinary and Solemn. Zelenka's six settings of the Marian antiphon *Ave regina coelorum*, whose devotional theme was a central feature of 'Austrian Piety,' can provide insight into the nature of the operation of these Viennese categories in Dresden.

The Viennese A Cappella style in the early eighteenth century, according to *Kapellmeister* Fux,<sup>18</sup> fell into two subcategories: the voices sang either without the accompaniment of other instruments, or with it. The unaccompanied, stricter, style was indebted to Palestrina; it used longer note values, modal harmony to encourage 'ease and naturalness of the singing' without the aid of instruments, and sometimes used *cantus firmus*. Fux claimed that this style was still prevalent in cathedrals and at the Viennese Imperial churches during Lent.<sup>19</sup> The accompanied style of A Cappella music used shorter note values, included a small continuo group of organ and string bass, and may also have included instrumental parts doubling the voices.<sup>20</sup>

Ordinary music, according to Riedel's study,<sup>21</sup> occupied the vast middle ground between the simpler A Cappella settings and the more elaborate Solemn settings discussed below. Ordinary music, which while unremarkable was the product of careful consideration, was used in services of moderate length, and employed standard instrumentation: four-part choir and soloists, two obbligato violins (occasionally also viola), four ripieno instruments doubling the voices (cornetto, alto and tenor trombones and bassoon), and a basso group of violoncello, violone, organ, and occasionally also theorbo. Other characteristics of Ordinary music at the Viennese court, based on Riedel's definition, are:

1. the alternation of 'tutti' and 'solo' sections;
2. the use of obbligato instruments, while refraining from virtuosic detail;
3. relative shortness, perhaps afforded by the use of polytextuality and the avoidance of textual repetitions;
4. contrasting sections of metre, tempo and text setting (tutti, arioso, recitativo, fugato, etc.);
5. frequent division of the soloists into two groups: the three upper voices with continuo in one, and bass with violins and continuo in the other; and
6. an exceedingly animated bass line, promoting flexible harmonic movement.

<sup>17</sup> Riedel, *Kirchenmusik*, 26–29; Anna Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2004).

<sup>18</sup> Johann Joseph Fux, *Gradus ad Parnassum* (Vienna, 1725; facs. repr. New York: Broude Brothers, 1966). Unless otherwise stated, the source used for this text is Johann Joseph Fux and Susan Wollenberg, "'Gradus ad Parnassum' (1725): Concluding Chapters," *Music Analysis* 11 (1992): 209–43.

<sup>19</sup> Wollenberg incorrectly translates 'tempore quadragesimali' (Fux, *Gradus ad Parnassum*, 243) as 'for forty years,' rather than 'Lent' (Fux and Wollenberg, 'Gradus ad Parnassum,' 218).

<sup>20</sup> Fux and Wollenberg, 'Gradus ad Parnassum,' 218.

<sup>21</sup> Information in this section on Viennese Ordinary and Solemn music has been taken from Riedel, *Kirchenmusik*, 146–72.

The most distinctive feature of Viennese Solemn music was usually the addition of trumpets, timpani and sometimes horns. Indeed, it was in Vienna that the first known collection of church music with trumpets was ever published.<sup>22</sup> Solemn settings were usually of multiple movements, richly worked and appropriate for high feasts and special celebrations. However, on the classification of litany settings in the Viennese system, Armstrong writes, 'the presence of trumpets and timpani in a given setting was unnecessary in classifying that setting as solemn,' and that a work could be 'classified as solemn by virtue of the large ensemble for which it is scored.'<sup>23</sup> Therefore, Solemn music was often, but not exclusively, indicated by the presence of trumpets and timpani, and a richly orchestrated work lacking these instruments, usually in multiple movements, could still be considered Solemn.

It can be no surprise that shortly after the arrival of Maria Josepha in 1719 the *Diarium* reports, 'Father Steyerer ... wants everything in the church to be done in the Viennese style.'<sup>24</sup> Indeed, the *Diarium* often reports that church services were performed in a Solemn or A Cappella manner, and unsurprisingly the term Ordinary rarely appears in the same context. Performances of Ordinary and A Cappella music for regular services, including Sundays and feast days, were usually the responsibility of the *Kapellknaben* institute, a small ensemble of young musicians sourced from Bohemia because of the lack of Saxon Catholic children. The celebrated royal musicians of the Hofkapelle usually provided music for the Dresden opera, Gala days (*Galla-Tage*) and Solemn sacred music at high feasts.<sup>25</sup>

Most of Zelenka's Marian antiphons, like those at the Viennese court, fall within the Ordinary category. Table 1 lists all Zelenka's known Marian antiphons. Solemn occasions were usually marked with a performance by one or more of the brilliant Italian castrati who took up employment in Dresden during the 1720s and 1730s.<sup>26</sup> Although most of the Marian antiphons listed in Table 1 are Ordinary settings, some were clearly intended for performance by castrati, and thus probably should be considered Solemn. The *Salve regina* setting in a-minor (ZWV 135), for example, is scored for soprano solo, flutes, oboes, two violins, viola and basso continuo, in five movements, and would take nearly twenty minutes to perform.<sup>27</sup> The length of this work and its virtuosic vocal writing reveal that, as in Vienna, trumpets and timpani were not always required for a work to be classified as Solemn in Dresden.

The *Ave regina coelorum* settings (ZWV 128), dated 1737, appear to have been Zelenka's final Marian antiphon compositions, and the only extant settings of that text by him. Table 2 provides details on the scoring, metre, key and length (in bars) of each work.

<sup>22</sup> *Messa, Magnificat et Jubilate Deo a 7 chori conc. con le trombe* (1621), by Giovanni Valentini (c. 1582–1649); see Riedel, *Kirchenmusik*, 173. Valentini has been described as 'a highly adventurous, even avant-garde composer' (Hellmut Federhofer and Steven Saunders, 'Valentini, Giovanni (i)', *Grove Music Online*, <[www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com)>). His *Secondo libro di madrigali* (1616) is the first known published collection of madrigals to combine voices and instruments.

<sup>23</sup> Armstrong, 'Litaniae Laureanae,' 101, n. 22.

<sup>24</sup> 'Origo autem verum harum videtur Pater Steyerer esse, qui omnia in ecclesia vult ordinata secundum stylum Viennensem' (*Diarium*, 24 Mar. 1722).

<sup>25</sup> Janice B. Stockigt, 'The Court of Saxony-Dresden,' *Music at German Courts, 1715–1760: Changing Artistic Priorities* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), 23.

<sup>26</sup> Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte*, 159–60.

<sup>27</sup> This work is held at the Sächsische Landesbibliothek–Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden (D-DI), hereafter SLUB, Mus. 2358-E-8.

**Table 1.** Zelenka's Marian Antiphons (based on information contained in Stockigt, *Zelenka*, Appendix A 'Worklist,' 286–306)

Date	Title	Key	ZWV
c. 1725–1726	<i>Alma redemptoris mater</i>	a minor	124
c. 1727–1728	<i>Alma redemptoris mater</i>	F-major	123
c. 1728	<i>Alma redemptoris mater</i>	d minor	127
c. 1729	<i>Alma redemptoris mater</i>	a minor	125
1730	<i>Alma redemptoris mater</i>	D major	126
1737	<i>Ave regina coelorum</i> (six settings)	a minor d minor C major g minor G major a minor	128
[missing?]	<i>Ave regina [coelorum]</i>	?	232
c. 1726–1727	<i>Regina coeli</i>	F major	134
post-1728	<i>Regina coeli</i> (three settings)	C major a minor C-major	129
1729	<i>Regina coeli</i>	A major	130
c. 1731	<i>Regina coeli</i>	D-major	133
missing	<i>Regina coeli</i>	A major	131
missing	<i>Regina coeli</i>	C major	132
c. 1719	<i>Salve regina</i> [adapted as ZWV 135]	a minor	204
1724	<i>Salve regina</i>	d minor	139
c. 1725–1726	<i>Salve regina</i>	g minor	140
c. 1727	<i>Salve regina</i>	a minor	136
1730	<i>Salve regina</i>	a minor	135
?	<i>Salve regina</i>	a minor	137
missing	<i>Salve regina</i> (two settings)	C major D major	138
?	<i>Salve regina</i>	g minor	141
missing	<i>Salve regina</i> [set of parts]	F major	205

**Table 2.** The *Ave regina coelorum* (ZWV 128) settings

No.	Scoring	Metre	Key	Length (bars)
1	SAT soli, SATB chorus; b.c.	$\text{C} ; \frac{3}{2}$	a minor	33
2	A solo, SATB chorus; vn., va., b.c.	$\text{C}$	d minor	23
3	SATB chorus; b.c.	$\text{C}$	C major	16
4	SATB chorus; b.c.	$\frac{3}{4}$	g minor	61
5	[SATB soli?], chorus; 2 ob.; 2 vn.; va.; b.c.	$\text{C} ; \frac{3}{4} ; \text{C}$	G major	37
6	STB soli, SATB chorus; 2 vn.; va.; b.c.	$\text{C}$	a minor	80

These works fall into the A Cappella and Ordinary categories. They are all short, single-movement settings, and the scoring suggests they were composed for performance by the *Kapellknaben*. Their brevity, however, should not diminish our expectation of their quality, and can be understood as one of the subtle liturgico-musical differences between Vienna and Dresden. Although Viennese Ordinary music is generally short, Wolfgang Horn has demonstrated that certain foreign works in the Dresden Catholic court church collection, including Ordinary works brought from Vienna, were subjected to severe abbreviation. *Kapellmeister* Heinichen 'downright mercilessly eliminated' (*geradezu gnadenlos eliminiert*) whole sections of works by Imperial *Vizekapellmeister* Antonio Caldara (c. 1671–1736) to suit Dresden requirements, including the removal of text repetitions from one of his *Salve regina* settings.<sup>28</sup> Reports in the *Diarium* also reveal that the church composers were sometimes under royal and electoral pressure to ensure their sacred works, including those used during Lenten devotions, were not too long. These directives also came from the Habsburg Maria Josepha.<sup>29</sup> Thus, Zelenka's six *Ave regina coelorum* settings (ZWV 128) may be viewed as stylistically 'compact,' not only due to traditional containments associated with the Lenten period, but also due to Dresden aristocratic tastes.

Example 1 presents the opening bars of the first *Ave regina coelorum* setting in Zelenka's set (ZWV 128).<sup>30</sup> This setting certainly falls into the category of accompanied A Cappella. Although the score indicates no instrumental doubling of the voices, Horn has argued that this practice was standard.<sup>31</sup> A set of thirty-one parts once accompanied the manuscript scores. It is likely that these parts were relocated to Russia following the Second World War, and their existence

<sup>28</sup> Wolfgang Horn, 'Das Repertoire der Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik um 1720–1730 und die Werke Antonio Caldaras,' *Antonio Caldara: Essays on his Life and Times*, ed. Brian Pritchard (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1987), 284.

<sup>29</sup> See, for example, the *Diarium* entry of 27 February 1720.

<sup>30</sup> Unless otherwise stated, all musical examples in this article are unedited transcriptions of the manuscript scores, which are held at the SLUB Mus. 2358-E-20. However, opening clefs, system brackets and beaming have been modernised, bar numbers added, and text underlay standardised and realised where missing. Note names are given according to the Helmholtz system in which *c'* equals middle C. I am indebted to Dr Karl Wilhelm Geck and the kind staff at this library for providing me with access to this source.

<sup>31</sup> 'Bei den Aufführungen von Werken der Vokalpolyphonie im Dresdner Hofgottesdienst wurden die Singstimmen von Instrumenten unterstützt' (Horn, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik*, 109).

Example 1. *Ave regina coelorum no.1, 1737 (Z WV 128), bars 1–12*

[Soprano, Vn. 1?]  
A - ve re - gi - na coe - lo - rum, a - ve do - mi - na

[Alto, Vn. 2?]  
A - ve re - gi - na coe - lo - rum, a - ve do - mi - na

[Tenor, Va. ?]  
A - ve re - gi - na coe - lo - rum, a - ve do - mi - na

[Bass]  
A - ve re - gi - na coe - lo - rum, a - ve do - mi - na

[Basso continuo]  
5/3 = 6 5 6 7 4/2 6/3 5/4 3

5  
an - ge - lo - - rum: sal - ve ra - dix, sal - - - - ve  
an - ge - lo - - rum: sal - ve ra - dix, sal -  
an - ge - lo - - rum: sal - ve ra - dix, sal -  
an - ge - lo - - rum: sal - ve ra - dix, sal -

4/2 6 7 6 # 6 5 5 6 7 5

9  
sal - - - - ve por - ta, ex qua mun - do ex - - - -  
- - - - ve por - ta, ex qua mun - - - do lux est  
- ve por - - - - ta, ex qua mun - - - do lux  
- ve por - - - - ta, ex qua mun - do ex qua

4/2 6 5/3 = # | 4/2 6 5 6 5 3 6 4/2

<sup>a</sup> Source gives figure as  $\frac{5}{4}$

strongly suggests that at least some of these works were performed during Zelenka's lifetime.<sup>32</sup> Should this work have been performed, the missing parts may confirm instrumental doubling of the voices, but this is yet to be determined. This setting, in *stile antico*, is marked 'Soli à 3' (soprano, alto and tenor with *basso seguente*) at the beginning of the second section, to emphasise a change from cut-common to triple metre. Zelenka employed the terms 'Soli,' 'Solo' or similar, often only to indicate that a particular portion of the ensemble was the musical focus, but in this case it seems likely that solo voices were required, along with a reduced accompaniment of organ and cello (the basso group would also have included violone, which would remain silent here).<sup>33</sup> The time signature, long note values, sense of harmonic inertness (recalling Renaissance modality) and gently imitative counterpoint of the outer voices are all references to the 'Palestrina style' that characterises Viennese A Cappella music of this period. The basso continuo part doubles the vocal bass almost entirely, which leaves open the possibility that the part could be removed if desired. It will be recalled that Fux claimed the unaccompanied A Cappella style was still prevalent in Viennese Imperial churches during Lent, and the removal of the continuo section would align this setting with the Viennese style. Here, the absence of instrumentation markings is pertinent: did the composer wish to leave open the possibility that instrumental doubling, as well as the continuo section, be abandoned altogether for an occasion when instrumental accompaniment was deemed inappropriate?

A comment made in the *Diarium* sheds some light on local taste concerning the use of instruments in A Cappella music. The comment, made by the Jesuit Superior Fr Hartmann on the Eve of Corpus Christi in 1726, reads, 'The Litanies brought from Vienna were performed *choraliter* without organ or other instruments. Others might like it—I certainly don't.'<sup>34</sup> This comment provides a small insight into the musical tastes of the Jesuits in Dresden, with whom Zelenka worked closely. Hartmann expresses his dislike for the unaccompanied A Cappella style, and also suggests that it may have been a feature of increasing popularity in Dresden at this time. While Zelenka's *Ave regina coelorum* (ZWV 128) settings were composed eleven years later, the first setting may have been adapted to suit both tastes.

Stylistic ambiguities are present in the third and fourth settings. On the one hand, they may fall into the Ordinary category because the bass lines in both works receive a great degree of textural prominence and promote flexible harmonic movement. On the other hand, neither employs concertante principles, nor contains contrasting sections, nor requires obligato instruments, which would render them A Cappella by Viennese standards. It is also noteworthy that all of Zelenka's Vesper psalms, most of which are Ordinary settings, require vocal soloists, except *Lauda Jerusalem*, ZWV 102. Thus, the exclusion of soloists from the third and fourth settings would also suggest an A Cappella categorisation. The lively bass lines are, no doubt, a product of the composer's training as a violone player, but also demonstrate a Venetian

<sup>32</sup> See Karl Wilhelm Geck, 'Die SLUB als Archiv für die Musik der Dresdner Hofkapelle,' *SLUB-Kurier* 12.3 (1998): 12–14.

<sup>33</sup> Janice B. Stockigt, 'The Role of Copyists when Preparing Orchestral Oboe Parts from Scores of Jan Dismas Zelenka,' *Double Reed* 25.4 (2002): 31; see also Thomas Kohlhase, 'Anmerkungen zur Generalbaßpraxis der Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik der 1720er bis 1740er Jahre,' *Zelenka-Studien I: Referate der Internationalen Fachkonferenz Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745)*, Marburg, J.-G.-Herder-Institut, 16.–20. November 1991, ed. Thomas Kohlhase, *Musik des Ostens* 14 (Kassel and New York: Bärenreiter, 1993), 233–40.

<sup>34</sup> '... fuerunt Litaniae choraliter sine organo, sine aliis instrumentis procuratae Vienna; si aliis placent, mihi certe non arident' (*Diarium*, 19 June 1726).





Example 3. *Ave regina coelorum* no. 3, 1737 (ZWV 128), bars 1–7

[Soprano, Vn. 1?]  
A - ve re - gi - na coe - lo - rum, a - ve do - mi - na an - ge - lo - rum: sal - ve

[Alto, Vn. 2?]  
A - ve re - gi - na coe - lo - rum, a - ve do - mi - na an - ge - lo - rum:

[Tenor, Va. ?]  
A - ve re - gi - na coe - lo - rum, a - ve do - mi - na an - ge - lo - rum:

[Bass]  
A - ve re - gi - na coe - lo - rum, a - ve do - mi - na an - ge - lo - rum:

[Basso continuo]  
Andante assai

4  
ra - dix, sal - ve por - ta, ex qua mun - do lux est or - ta: va - le, o val - de de - co - ra,  
gau - de vir - go glo - ri - o - sa, su - per o - mnes spe - ci - o - sa: va - le, o val - de de - co - ra,  
8  
sal - ve ra - dix, sal - ve por - ta, ex qua mun - do lux est or - ta: va - le, o val - de de - co - ra,  
gau - de vir - go glo - ri - o - sa, su - per o - mnes spe - ci - o - sa: va - le, o val - de de - co - ra,

added inscription ‘VViolini [sic] e Viola,’ which seems to have been added at a later date (the part has been added to the score in the example). This implies that the piece, in its original form, alternated ‘tutti’ and ‘solo’ sections without obligato instrumental accompaniment, which was unusual for Viennese Ordinary music, and more closely represents the *stile concertato* (‘concerted style’) of early seventeenth-century Italian and German sacred music. The work is also notated as though it were in the polyphonic Dorian mode, adding a conservative A Cappella aspect. The existence of the additional violin part strongly suggests that the work was performed, and that oboes would have been added to the ensemble.<sup>36</sup> Based on the violin writing in this setting, Viennese cautions to avoid virtuosic detail in the obligato instrumental

<sup>36</sup> Margaret Williams (‘The Vespers Music of J.D. Heinichen (1683–1729),’ PhD thesis, University of Bristol, 2007, 106) has argued that the Dresden ‘house rules of orchestration for church music’ during Heinichen’s reign as *Kapellmeister* included oboes doubling the violins even when none are mentioned on the score, dropping out during vocal solos. The fifth setting (see below), where the oboes are instructed to double the sopranos only, presents a deviation from this standard practice. Thus, the use of the oboes in this setting remains unclear.

## Example 4. Ave regina coelorum no. 2 1737 (Z WV 128), bars 1–6

The musical score for Example 4, 'Ave regina coelorum no. 2' (Z WV 128), bars 1–6, is presented in a multi-staff format. The staves are as follows:

- Violin:** Starts with a *pia:* marking, followed by a *For.* marking. The melody is in treble clef.
- Soprano, Ob. 1?]:** Features a *Tutti* marking. The vocal line is in treble clef.
- [Alto, Ob 2. Rip?]:** Features a *Soli* marking followed by a *Tutti [Ob. Rip?]* marking. The vocal line is in treble clef.
- [Tenor]:** Features a *Soli* marking followed by a *Tutti [Ob. Rip?]* marking. The vocal line is in treble clef.
- [Bass]:** Features a *Soli* marking followed by a *Tutti [Ob. Rip?]* marking. The vocal line is in bass clef.
- [Basso continuo]:** Features a *Soli* marking followed by a *Tutti* marking. The line is in bass clef.

The lyrics are: "A - ve re - gi - na re - gi - na coe - lo - rum, a - ve do - mi - na an - ge - lo - rum: sal - ve ra - dix, sal - ve". The score includes various performance instructions such as *pia:*, *For.*, *Tutti*, *Soli*, and *Tutti [Ob. Rip?]*. The score is divided into two systems, with the first system covering bars 1–6 and the second system covering bars 7–12. The second system includes a *p:* marking and a *Org.* marking.

parts of Ordinary compositions were not strictly observed in Dresden. Instead, the violin elaborately embellishes the continuo line during 'tutti' sections and doubles it at the upper octave during 'solo' sections. Given that one or two members from the *Kapellknaben* institute were probably responsible for its performance, this part suggests a high standard of technical ability within their ranks.

The final two settings (numbers five and six) present formal and textural complexities not yet encountered in this set. The fifth setting, while still only thirty-seven bars in length, comprises two passages of polytextual double-fugal writing in 'Vivace' common time,

separated by an 'Allegro' passage in triple metre (a representative portion is given as Example 5). This 'Allegro' passage—which is marked with a vertical stroke indicating that it may have been intended for soloists—demonstrates the flexibility of concertante principles by superimposing them upon the Venetian 'foreground'/'background' textural relationship used in earlier settings. Brilliantly concerted violin arpeggios alternate with passages of homorhythmic-homophonic choral voices. These arpeggios occur in discrete units that carefully preserve their sonority, inner structure and technical playability, a distinctly Vivaldian characteristic which, to use Michael Talbot's words, prioritises the 'vertical' musical aspect over the 'horizontal' one. This characteristic is not usually associated with the music of other well-known Venetian composers such as Caldara and Tomaso Albinoni (1671–1751).<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, given that Fux and Caldara were the foremost exponents of the Habsburgian *Reichstil*, it is unlikely that Zelenka would have encountered this Vivaldian compositional technique during his period of study in Vienna between 1716 and 1719.<sup>38</sup> So

**Example 5.** *Ave regina coelorum no. 5*, 1737 (ZWV 128), bars 10–18

The musical score for Example 5, *Ave regina coelorum no. 5*, bars 10–18, is presented in a standard format. It includes staves for Violin 1, Violin 2, Viola, Soprano/Oboe, Alto, Tenor, Bass, and Basso continuo. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The tempo marking is [Allegro]. The score shows a transition from a slower section to a faster 'Allegro' section at bar 10, indicated by a vertical stroke. The violin parts feature arpeggiated figures, while the vocal parts are homorhythmic. The Basso continuo part includes figured bass notation: 6 #, 7, 6 #, #5, 5 #, #, 5, 6 #, #5.

<sup>37</sup> Talbot, 'Venezianische Elemente,' 312–13.

<sup>38</sup> Harry M. White, 'De Stylo Ecclesiastico: Sacred Music at the Imperial Court Chapel in Vienna ca. 1700–1730 and the Influence of Northern Italy,' *Barocco Padano. II: Atti del X Convegno internazionale sulla musica sacra nei secoli XVII–XVIII*, ed. A. Colzani, A. Luppi and M. Padoan, Contributi musicologici del Centro Ricerche dell'AMIS-Como 14 (Como: AMIS, 2002), 265.

Musical score for measures 12-13. It consists of three staves: a treble staff with a melodic line, a middle treble staff with a similar melodic line, and a bass staff with a bass line. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The time signature is 5/8. There are two first endings (1) and two second endings (2) indicated by brackets. A trill (tr) is marked above the first measure. A repeat sign with a first ending bracket is at the end of the system.

Vocal score for measures 12-13. It consists of five staves: four vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and a bass line. The lyrics are: "ci - o - sa: su - per o - mnes spe -". The key signature has one sharp (F#). The time signature is 5/8. A trill (tr) is marked above the first measure. A repeat sign with a first ending bracket is at the end of the system.

Musical score for measures 14-15. It consists of three staves: a treble staff with a melodic line, a middle treble staff with a similar melodic line, and a bass staff with a bass line. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The time signature is 5/8. There are two first endings (1) and two second endings (2) indicated by brackets. Trills (tr) are marked above the first and fourth measures. A repeat sign with a first ending bracket is at the end of the system.

Vocal score for measures 14-15. It consists of five staves: four vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and a bass line. The lyrics are: "ci - o - sa: su - per o - mnes spe - ci - o - sa: spe - ci -". The key signature has one sharp (F#). The time signature is 5/8. A trill (tr) is marked above the first measure. A repeat sign with a first ending bracket is at the end of the system.

17

1 2

ada.

ada.

17

ad:

ad:

ad:

ad:

spe - ci - o - - - - - sa:

su - per o - mnes spe - ci - o - - - - - sa:

$\frac{5}{8} = \frac{5}{8}$  ad:  $\frac{7}{5}$   $\frac{8}{5}$

where and how, exactly, did these stylistic influences reach Zelenka? Is it possible that they came directly from Venice?<sup>39</sup>

Zelenka's sensitivity to this 'vertical' aspect is compounded by his innovative methods of, and apparent preoccupation with, generating asymmetry in phrasing and figuration. Zelenka treats the repeated violin arpeggios to a simple change in direction, dividing the unit into two unequal parts (marked '1' and '2' in Example 5). Throughout this section, the asymmetry in the violin part adds an agogic element that emphasises the metre and the concertante interplay. This interplay between violins and chorus is emphasised by the instrumental doubling: in the opening bars of this setting, Zelenka gives the instruction 'NB: Tutto l'Oboi col Soprano' (all oboes with soprano) which, unlike the first four settings, reinforces the upper-most part. The propulsion only relents when symmetry in the phrasing returns (bar 17). This setting reveals that Zelenka utilised Vivaldian compositional techniques to expand the stature of his Ordinary settings, which were then seasoned with his own striking rhythmic style.

<sup>39</sup> It has been alleged that Zelenka travelled to Venice in 1716 to accompany the Saxon Electoral Prince on part of his Grand Tour, but no known primary source document exists to confirm whether Zelenka ever made this journey; see Stockigt, *Zelenka*, 39. It is confirmed, however, that the promising violinist and future *Konzertmeister* to the Dresden Hofkapelle Johann Georg Pisendel (1687–1755) accompanied the Saxon Electoral Prince in Venice, where he became a student of Vivaldi, and returned to Dresden with a large collection of Vivaldi's works; see Michael Talbot, *The Chamber Cantatas of Antonio Vivaldi* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2006), 165–66.

The sixth and final setting is a vibrant, virtuosic work that suggests the ample technical abilities of the young *Kapellknaben* who would have performed it. In this piece, Zelenka adopts Vivaldian methods of thematic development to achieve a work of great quality. This setting is the only one to include an instrumental ritornello, whose wide and dramatic staccato leaps convey the type of energy and power often associated with Venetian instrumental music from this period. Two sections in ritornello form frame a central *ricercare* passage for solo voices (soprano, tenor and bass with basso continuo). As Talbot points out, while scholars generally avoid claiming that Vivaldi alone devised the ritornello form, nobody ventures to propose an alternative or additional name. Thus, the use of this form probably demonstrates a further influence of that composer.<sup>40</sup> Unmistakably Vivaldian, however, is Zelenka's manipulation of tiny rhythmic or melodic cells, too brief and basic to qualify as motifs, in order to generate thematic development.<sup>41</sup> Two examples are presented in Example 6a (marked 'A' and 'C'; resting bars omitted).

**Example 6a.** *Ave regina coelorum* no. 6, 1737 (ZWV 128), bars 1–5 (notation modernised)

The musical score for Example 6a consists of four staves: Violin 1, Violin 2, Viola, and Basso continuo. The music is in common time (C) and begins with a staccato section marked 'A' (bars 1-3). This section features wide leaps and is characterized by 'Staccato.' and '[Ob. 1 Rip.]' for the violins. The Viola and Basso continuo parts also play staccato. Section 'B' (bars 4-5) is a *ricercare* passage marked 'C', featuring a more complex rhythmic and melodic texture. The tempo is marked 'Un poco allegro.' Fingerings and ornaments are indicated below the Basso continuo staff.

<sup>40</sup> Talbot, 'Venezianische Elemente,' 313.

<sup>41</sup> Janice B. Stockigt and Michael Talbot, 'Two More Vivaldi Finds in Dresden,' *Eighteenth Century Music* 3.1 (2006): 50.

The first is a simple descending leap of a fifth, and the second is a short descending melodic line marked by the dactylic rhythm that characterises the polonaise (one accented note followed by two unaccented notes, in this case a quaver followed by two semi-quavers).<sup>42</sup> The elementary nature of these cells allows them to be separated and rejoined in a vast number of permutations. Example 6b presents the rejoining of those two cells, with 'A' having undergone slight rhythmic alteration, and 'C' deprived of its escape tones, to form a ricercare subject whose exposition defines the middle section of this work. This formation reproduces the introductory octave leap in the basso continuo (bar 1), also used to herald the first appearance of cell 'C' (bar 3).

**Example 6b.** *Ave regina coelorum no. 6*, ricercare subject, bars 30–32

The musical score for Example 6b consists of three staves: Tenor, Bass, and Basso continuo. The Tenor staff is in treble clef with a 'Soli à 3' marking above it. The Bass staff is in bass clef. The Basso continuo staff is in bass clef and includes figured bass notation: 5 5 # 6 5 7 6 6 5. The lyrics for the Tenor part are 'gau - de vir - go glo - ri - o - sa, su - per o - mnes spe - ci -'. The lyrics for the Bass part are 'gau - de vir - go glo - ri -'. The score is divided into two sections, 'A' and 'C', with brackets above the notes.

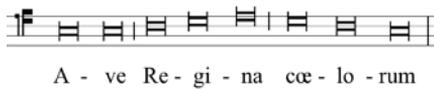
That such a ricercare passage would appear as the centrepiece of the most elaborate of the six works demonstrates Zelenka's ongoing pursuit of the esoteric contrapuntal ideal, and attests to the significant place of that style within Dresden's Lenten musical tradition at that time. The simplified rhythms and loosely structured exposition, in which restatements of the subject appear along a downward spiralling circle of fifths, demonstrate the influence of a conservative Viennese style that Zelenka had become very familiar with during the approximately eighteen-month period he spent there between 1716 and 1719. During that period Zelenka amassed a large collection of sacred music that included seven ricercari by Alessandro Poglietti (d. 1683), fourteen by Luigi Battiferri (d. 1682 or later), one by Johann Jacob Froberger (1616–1667), and many others.<sup>43</sup> The archaic mannerisms of this passage, juxtaposed with the energetic Venetian style of the ritornello, constitute a powerful musical statement.

More fundamental to the character of the ritornello, however, is a motif marked 'B' in Example 6a. Parallels can be drawn between this motif and a parochial *Ave regina coelorum* melody contained in the 'Cantus Invitatoriorum,' an undated plainchant manuscript whose provenance is unknown, but which is still held in Dresden and was almost certainly used in the Catholic court church during the eighteenth century (the opening phrase of this melody is given as Example 7).<sup>44</sup> Unlike the *Ave regina coelorum* melodies in the *Liber usualis* and the

<sup>42</sup> Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, 'Tradition and Popular Elements in Polish Music of the Baroque Era,' *Musical Quarterly* 56 (1970): 99–115.

<sup>43</sup> Horn and Kohlhase, *Zelenka-Dokumentation*, 71–86. The timing of this trip to Vienna suggests the possibility that Zelenka was sent there partly to observe musical practices and performance contexts during the courtship of Saxon Electoral Prince Friedrich August II and Maria Josepha, so that the expectations of the Austrian Archduchess could be met in Dresden.

<sup>44</sup> Example 7 is an unedited transcription of the manuscript score, held at the SLUB Mus. 1-E-736. Hyphens have been added.

**Example 7.** 'Cantus Invitatoriorum,' *Ave regina coelorum*

*Antiphonale Monasticum*,<sup>45</sup> this melody begins with an ascending rather than descending profile, and with a repeated first note, which resembles well-known Franciscan versions of the melody.<sup>46</sup> Motif 'B' uses the same repeated note and ascending melodic line, and employs them as Vivaldian cells, concluding with the aforementioned octave leap. This motif is used to define all homophonic tutti entries in the final setting (Example 8 presents one such entry, with the notes of the motif marked under horizontal brackets using asterisks [\*]). Although the connection between Zelenka and the 'Cantus Invitatoriorum' cannot yet be proven, the shared material does suggest an avenue for further research.

**Example 8.** *Ave regina coelorum no. 6*, 1737 (ZWV 128), bars 14–16

[Allegro un poco]

[Violin 1]

[Violin 2]

[Viola]

[Soprano]

A - ve a - ve re - gi - na coe - lo - rum, a - ve

[Tutti; Ob. 1 Rip.]

[Alto]

A - ve a - ve re - gi - na coe - lo - rum, re - gi - na coe - lo - rum,

[Tutti; Ob. 2 Rip.]

[Tenor]

A - ve a - ve re - gi - na coe - lo - rum, re - gi - na coe - lo -

[Bass]

A - ve a - ve re - gi - na coe - lo - rum,

[Basso continuo]

Tutti: 6/4 = 5/4 = 6/4 = 6/4

<sup>45</sup> Benedictines of Solesmes, eds, *The Liber Usualis: With Introduction and Rubrics in English* (Tournai, Belgium and New York: Desclée, 1962), 274, 278; a searchable version is available from <<http://ddmal.music.mcgill.ca/liber/>>; and *Antiphonale Monasticum: Liber antiphonarius pro diurnis horis*, vol. 1 (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, 2005), 474–75.

<sup>46</sup> I would like to thank Dr Melanie Plesch from the University of Melbourne and Professor Claudio Morla from the Universidad Católica Argentina for their advice on this matter.



This setting demonstrates Zelenka's adoption of Vivaldian methods of thematic expansion in ritornello form, and also the flexibility inherent in the form itself, easily incorporating passages of fugal counterpoint. The amalgamation of ritornello and *ricercare* (or fugue) through shared thematic material is a process common to many of Zelenka's late Mass settings. This has been linked to the influence of contemporary Neapolitan sacred music, especially that of Leonardo Leo (1694–1744), while Venetians such as Albinoni and Vivaldi employed this technique more commonly in their instrumental music.<sup>48</sup> Although the different sections of this setting remain formally distinct, the path to amalgamation is laid out using Vivaldian methods. Moreover, while the contrasting middle section of the fifth setting maintains relative thematic and structural autonomy, consistent with Viennese Ordinary standards, the prospect of formal amalgamation in the sixth setting, created by the shared thematic material of the ritornello and *ricercare* passage, indicates that a Solemn reworking might incorporate a blending of those forms.

Even after the arrival of Maria Josepha in 1719, and her influential brand of religious practice, these settings reveal that the Viennese categories of A Cappella, Ordinary and Solemn operated with some flexibility in Dresden, but also that certain conservative Viennese ideals were preserved. While the first setting is certainly A Cappella, others present stylistic ambiguities that blur the distinction between the A Cappella and Ordinary categories. Other Marian antiphons by Zelenka, such as the *Salve regina* in a-minor (Z WV 135) were clearly composed for Solemn occasions and for performance by castrati, but it seems Zelenka did not compose any *Ave regina coelorum* settings for performance by those musicians, and for this reason, along with the fact that all settings are relatively short and contained within single movements, it is unlikely that any of these works should be considered Solemn. All the settings, however, demonstrate pragmatic features that would allow them to be adapted significantly to suit varied performance contexts, revealing that the appropriate selection of a musical work in Dresden relied as much on the work's adaptability as it did its inherent musical properties. Virtuoso passages suggest the high standard of technical ability required of the *Kapellknaben*, who probably performed these works, and are a feature not normally associated with Viennese Ordinary music. In a stylistically compact manner, Zelenka employs Venetian, if not Vivaldian, 'foreground' / 'background' textural relationships and methods of formal expansion (where concertante principles are applied to the above-mentioned texture), and Vivaldian techniques of thematic development (employing manipulable rhythmic or melodic cells). The appearance of shared thematic material in the ritornello and *ricercare* sections adds complexity to the final and most elaborate work of the set, although the sections remain relatively distinct. This suggests the influence of contemporary Neapolitan sacred music, and also seems to present a boundary within which the amalgamation of ritornello and *ricercare* (perhaps also fugue) would be inappropriate for performances of Ordinary Marian antiphons during the Lenten period in Dresden. However, the central *ricercare* passage of the final setting points to the ongoing influence, and significance, of Viennese conservatism in Zelenka's late style.

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<sup>48</sup> Roberto Scoccimarro, 'The Question of the "Mixed" Form in Mass Settings by Jan Dismas Zelenka and Neapolitan Composers of the Early 18th Century,' *Studi Pergolesiani*, proceedings of the conference G.B. Pergolesi, the Transmission and Reception of Neapolitan Music in Saxony and Bohemia, Dresden, 12–14 Nov. 2010, forthcoming.

Although Zelenka's music remained largely neglected until late in the twentieth century, a poem by Johann Gottlob Kittel (pseudonym Micrander), which was published in 1740 and pays tribute to the outstanding musicians of the Dresden Hofkapelle, tells us that something wonderful had been forgotten. He describes the church composer Zelenka as a perfect virtuoso (*vollkommner Virtuos*) who, delighting the soul in God's honour, was able to write church music 'in the most stimulating manner, so touching that the reverent breast receives a foretaste of those heavenly pleasures.'<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> 'Du kanst zu Gottes Her, die Seelen zu ergötzen, Auf das beweglichste die Kirchen-Stücken setzen, Die also rührend sind, daß die andächtge Brust Den Vor[ge]schmack schon empfind[e]lt von jener Himmels-Lust.' Johann Gottlob Kittel, *Denen Bey Ihro Königl. Majest. in Pohlen und Churfürstl. Durchl. zu Sachsen, Welt-gepriesenen Hof-Capelle Befindlichen Virtuosen ... folgendes Lob-Gedichte Im Monath Junio 1740* (Dresden, 1740; facs. repr. with epilogue by Gerhard Poppe published at Beeskow: Ortus, 2008). This poem was discovered recently by Szymon Paczkowski.