

Jan Dismas Zelenka and a Prague performance of *Sant'Elena al Calvario* by Leonardo Leo (1734)

An hypothesis

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In 1734 Leonardo Leo's oratorio *Sant'Elena al Calvario* was performed at the Clementinum College, Prague. Inserted into a Latin version of Metastasio's were two alto arias whose texts are associated with Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745): *Sollicitus fossor* (ZWV 209) and *Barbara dira effera* (ZWV 164). The insertion of these arias into the Latin version of Leo's oratorio supports the theory proposed by Wolfgang Horn and Emery Snyder that Zelenka's motets are connected with the Invention of the Cross (*inventio crucis*), and therefore, to the *Legenda aurea* and the related Elena oratorios.

Background

The music drama repertoire performed in Prague during the eighteenth century was not only operatic:¹ also were heard sacred dramas. Oratorios, school plays, sepolchro oratorios, sacred cantatas and serenatas were produced during the season of Lent, usually on Good Friday. Performances were also given late in the morning, at noon, or late afternoon on Palm Sunday and Easter Saturday. Religious orders, especially the Jesuits and the Kreuzherren with the Red Star, were mainly responsible for the performance of sacred dramas. Also active in this area were the Capuchins, Brothers Hospitallers (Barmherzige Brüder, Fatebene Fratelli), Knights of the Maltese Cross, the Augustinians, Benedictines, Premonstratensians, Theatins, Ursulines, Servites (Ordo Servorum Mariae), Barnabites, Carmelites, and the Dominicans.² At times, sacred dramas were also produced by impresarios

¹ Operas were performed from 1724 in Count Franz Anton Sporck's theatre; from 1739 in the Kotce (Kotzen) Theatre, from 1783 in the Nostitz Theatre, and between 1782 and 1794 during the summer months also in the Thun Theatre in the Lesser Town.

² For Prague oratorio performances see especially Gottfried Johann DLABÁČ: *Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexikon*, Prag 1815; Emanuel Antonín MELIŠ: "O pěstování oratorní hudby v Čechách v XVIII. století" [Oratorio performances in 18th century Bohemia], *Dalibor* 6 (1863), No. 1, pp. 1–2, No. 2, pp. 9–10; Otakar KAMPER: *Hudební Praha v XVIII. věku* [Music in XVIIIth Century Prague], Praha 1935; Josef Jiří LAUSCHMANN: *Pražské oratorium XVIII. století* [Prague's XVIIIth Century Oratorio Performances], PhDiss., Praha 1938; Pravoslav KNEIDL: "Libreta italské opery v Praze v 18. století" [18th Century Prague Opera Librettos], in: *Strahovská knihovna. Sborník památníku národního písemnictví*, vol. 1, Praha 1966, pp. 97–131; vol. 2, Praha 1967, pp. 115–188; vol. 3, Praha 1968, pp. 190–201; vol. 4, Praha 1969, pp. 186–215; Jan PORT: "Divadlo řádových škol a náboženských bratrstev" [The Theatre of the Monastic Schools and Church Brotherhoods], in: *Dějiny českého divadla I*, Praha 1968, pp. 167–193; Jaroslav BUŽGA: "Einige Quellen zur Geschichte des Osteroratorium in Prag und Brno und der Ostermelodramen aus Olomouc", in: *De musica disputationes Pragenses I*, Prague 1972, pp. 151–172; Milan POŠTOLKA: "Libreta strahovské hudební sbírky" [The Librettos in the Strahov Music Collection], in: *Miscellanea musicologica XXV–XXVI*, Praha 1973, pp. 79–149; Jiří BERKOVEC: *Musicalia v pražském periodickém tisku 18. století* [Music news in 18th Century Prague Periodicals], Prague 1989; Michaela FREEMANOVÁ: "Pietro Metastasio's oratorio librettos in the Czech Lands – a document on the changes of taste in the 18th and 19th centuries", in: *Händel-Jahrbuch*, Leipzig 1999, pp. 270–275; id.: "The librettos of the Italian oratorios in the Bohemian Lands in the 18th century", in: *Händel-Jahrbuch*, Leipzig 2000, pp. 231–246; id.: "Oratorios (and operas) by German composers in the 18th and 19th century Bohemian lands", in: *Deutschsprachiges Theater in Prag*, Praha 2001, pp. 195–204; id.: "Italské oratorium v českých zemích na sklonku 17. a v 18. století" [Italian Oratorio in Bohemia in the late 17th and in the 18th Centuries] in: *Barokní Praha – barokní Čechie 1620–1740. Sborník příspěvků z vědecké konference o fenoménu baroka v Čechách*,

at the Sporck theatre, the Kotce theatre, and the Thun theatre in the Lesser Town. Records of productions in the halls of the Prague castle are, however, rare.³

Most of the sacred drama repertoire heard in Prague was composed by Italians. Also produced were works by Bohemian and Austrian composers, as well as by composers from other German speaking countries.

Librettos of Italian oratorios produced in Prague were printed locally either in the original language, or in Latin and German. For example, Latin and German translations of the librettos to Carlo Francesco Cesarini's oratorios *Il figliuol prodigo* (Rome 1708) and *Il Tobia* (Rome 1714) were printed by the Jesuits in 1714 and 1715 and published as *Poenitentia Filii Prodigii in Lucem posita – Der verlohrene Sohn* and *Constantis Fiduciaie Messis Uberior. Der [...] mit [...] Trost-Ernde beglueckte Tobias*. Other oratorio performances by the Prague Jesuits included the 1717 production of *Amoris in judicio victoria, oder: die obsiegende Liebe*, which had been performed in Naples in 1716 and which has been Nicola Porpora's *Il trionfo della divina giustizia nel tormenti di Giesù Cristo* (1716).⁴ Antonio Caldara's *Cristo condannato (Christus condemnatus)* followed in 1723, and in 1724 *Jesus Christus In Cruce pro nobis mortuus* by Antonio Lotti, who supposedly visited Prague several times between 1718 and 1726. Apart from Italian oratorios, Lotti also composed sacred dramas to Latin texts. His *Jesus Christus* might have been written to a specific Prague order, as was his *Triumphus fidei* of 1712, a work composed for the Venetian Ospedale degli incurabili. In 1734 a Latin version of Leonardo Leo's *Sant'Elena al Calvario (S. Helena in monte Calvario solicite crucem Christi quaerens etc.)* was heard, and in 1736 the oratorio *Sacrificium Jephthe, figura cruenti sacrificii [...]* by the Neapolitan composer Costantino Roberto was given.

Latin works also appeared in the oratorio repertoire of the Kreuzherren. In 1728 a Latin version of Giuseppe Porsile's *L'esaltazione di Salomone (Exaltatio Salomonis in Thronum regum depresso Adonia: figura exaltatii cruce Filii hominis depresso infernali Adonii)* was performed. Most of the German oratorios heard in Prague were written to anonymous texts. One of the few exceptions was an anonymous setting of Metastasio's *La morte d'Abel*, which had been adapted as

Praha, 24.–27. září 2001, Praha 2004, pp. 87–93; id.: “Oratorium v Czechach, na Morawach i v Morawskiej czesci Slaska v XVII–XLIX wieku” [Oratorio in Bohemia, Moravia and Moravian Silesia in the 17th–19th Centuries], in: *Wokalistyka i pedagogika wokalna*, Tom IV, Wrocław 2005, pp. 219–228; Jana SPÁČILOVÁ: “Sant'Elena al Calvario: Leo, Miča, Caldara, nebo Conti? Příspěvek k historii oratoria v českých zemích doby baroka” [Sant'Elena Al Calvario: Leo, Miča, Caldara or Conti? A Contribution to the Oratorio History in the Bohemian Lands of the Baroque Era], *Opus Musicum* 41 (2009), No. 3, pp. 25–29; Michaela FREEMANOVÁ: “Oratorios performed in the Jesuit Colleges in the Bohemian Lands”, in: *Bohemia Jesuitica 1556–2006*, vol. 2, Praha 2010, pp. 1011–1018; id.: “Johann Adolf Hasse's oratorios in the Bohemian Lands”, in: *Musiker-Migration und Musik-Transfer zwischen Böhmen und Sachsen im 18. Jahrhundert*, Dresden 2012, pp. 28–38 < http://www.qucosa.de/fileadmin/data/qucosa/documents/8822/Kolloquium_Freemanova.pdf > [access 15.1.2014].

³ See, for example, Jiří BERKOVEC, op. cit., item 9, p. 45 (Francesco Bartolomeo Conti, *Il trionfo della fama*, performed in the Spanish Palace – i.e. Rudolph Gallery of the Prague Castle); see *Pražské poštovské noviny* [Prague Postal News], (November 6th, 1723), No. 89; Štěpán VÁCHA – Irena VESELÁ – Vít VLNAS – Petra VOKÁČOVÁ: *Karel VI & Alžběta Kristýna* [Charles VI and Elizabeth Christina], Praha – Litomyšl 2009, pp. 228–230; Giovanni FELICELLA: *La sagra Giovane Nepomucena (1729)*, Prague, National Library, 52 A 6.

⁴ Prague, National Library 52 C 20. See Michaela FREEMANOVÁ: “Three points of a triangle. Italian, German and Latin oratorios and sepulchros in the early 18th century Central Europe”, *Musicologica Brunensia* 49 (2014), No. 1, pp. 175–187.

a *Singspiel* (*Kain der Brueder-Moerder Abels Ein geistliches Gedichte in einen Sing Spiele vorgestellt*) for a production in 1771 given at the Augustinian monastery in the Lesser Town. It is noted that another German version of this same text already had been published in Prague in 1763 under the title *Der Tod Abels, ein geistlicher Singspiel*, translated by Johann Joseph Eberle.⁵

Sant'Elena al Calvario

In 1734 Leonardo Leo's oratorio *Sant'Elena al Calvario* was performed at the Clementinum, the principal Jesuit college in Prague. The Latin version of this work presents a highly interesting example of treatment of Metastasio's text (see **Fig. I**). This oratorio deals with the visit to the Holy Land by St Helena (Elena), where she is credited with the finding of the True Cross. While Metastasio's Italian text of 1731 treated this subject with literary elegance, the 1734 Latin translation lacks the original's poetic clarity – a characteristic of most of Latin and German oratorio translations made for Prague. In the 1734 performance two additional *da capo* arias were inserted into Parts I and II of Leo's oratorio. Each is sung by Eudossa ("romana" in Metastasio's libretto, Eudoxia in the Latin translation).⁶ These insertions appear to be peculiar to the Prague performance as they are not found in any other surviving score copy of this oratorio kept today in Berlin,⁷ Brussels,⁸ Dresden,⁹ Hamburg¹⁰ and Naples.¹¹

Sollicitus fossor (Z WV 209)

With minor deviations of spelling, the text of the inserted aria for Eudossa in Part I for this 1734 performance of *Sant'Elena* in Prague (see below) corresponds with the text of a motet attributed to Jan Dismas Zelenka titled *Sollicitus fossor* (Z WV 209).

Sollicitus fossor anhelat aurum
 Irrequieto animo;
 Mens nostra crucis avet thesaurum
 Jugi, ô Dux, suspirio!
 Crucem dum tardas quærere,

⁵ Prague, National Library 34 C 319, 65 D 1608.

⁶ It is not clear whether or not this is the fictitious sister of Emperor Constantine and daughter of St Helen, mentioned in a Saphidic Coptic legend, according to which she discovered the Holy Sepulchre (see the *Claremont Coptic Encyclopedia*, in the Claremont Colleges Digital Library).

⁷ See Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. 12821. For this information, we are indebted to Clemens Brenneis.

⁸ See Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België – Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Muziekafdeling – Section de la Musique, Ms II 3934 Mus Fétis 2179. For this information, we are indebted to the Library's Music service.

⁹ See Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Sammlung Musik, Mus 2460-D-4. We are indebted for his help with this research to Karl W. Geck.

¹⁰ See Hamburg, Staats und Universitäts Bibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, Musik Abteilung, D-Hs/ND VI 2448. We are indebted for his help with this research to Juergen Neubacher.

¹¹ See PDF scans of five *Sant'Elena al Calvario* scores surviving in the Biblioteca del Conservatorio di S. Pietro a Majella in Naples, at: IMSLP/Petrucci Music Library <<http://imslp.org>> [access 15.1.2014].

Anhelos crucias;
Sudori dum vis parcere,
Elicis lacrymas.¹²

This aria is inserted near the end of Part I of the oratorio. It follows Eudossa's recitative, translated into Latin and published for the Clementinum college in 1734 as: "Helena, eccur tardas? suspirant omnes consequi vestigia tua: omnis morae sunt impatientes! hoc frons eorum loquitur! nos tuos habes, tu nos deduc ad fontem."¹³

Barbara dira effera (ZWV 164)

The text of Eudossa's additional aria in Part II of the oratorio also corresponds with a composition by Zelenka. It is the *da capo* aria of his motet *Barbara dira effera* (ZWV 164):

Barbara, dira, effera
Hebrææ gentis rabies.
Quæ lignum sacrum crucibus
Latronum confudisti:
Hispida, sæva, horrida
Carnificium Barbaries
Pignus dulce fossoribus
Anhelis invidisti.
Mens metûs plena fluctuat,
Quod lignum Redemptoris?
Cor inquietum dubitat,
Quæ Crux fit Salvatoris?¹⁴

The aria is inserted into the first half of Part II of the oratorio. It follows Eudossa's recitative, translated into Latin and published for the Clementinum college of Prague in 1734 as: "Siste, ô! Augusta.; ah coeli! quis novit, quae fit Crux nostri Redemptoris? Jacet confusa inter duas preemtorum, qui diversa ex sorte sociati erant Domino in morte."¹⁵

¹² Free translation: "With a restless mind the eager miner yearns for gold; Our soul fervently desires the treasure of the Cross together with endless sighs, O Lord. If you delay your search for the cross, you crucify the longing; if you don't wish to sweat then summon forth tears".

¹³ Original: "Elena, che si tarda? Ognun sospira | Di seguir l'orme tue. L'impaziente | Desio non leggi a' tuoi seguaci in fronte? | Noi siam la greggia; | ah ne conduci al fonte!" Quoted after: *Sant'Elena al Calvario*, in: Biblioteca Classica Italiana, Secolo XVIII, No. 16, Opere di Pietro Metastasio, Volume unico, Sezione letteraria-artistica dal Lloyd Austriaco, Trieste 1857, p. 508.

¹⁴ Free translation: "Barbarous, cruel and wild was the rage of the Jewish people who confounded the sacred wood of the cross with the crosses of the thieves. Rough, harsh, savage barbarism of the executioner; sweet the vow of the breathless diggers. The fearful mind hesitates about the tree of the Redeemer. The restless heart doubts which is the cross of the Saviour".

¹⁵ Metastasio's original text: "Fermati, Augusta. Oh Dio! Chi sa qual sia | Quella del Redentore? Ella e confusa | Fra le due di que' rei | Che con diversa sorte | Furo al nostro Signor compagni in morte." Quoted after: *Sant'Elena al Calvario*, p. 509 (see fn. 13).

The Dresden sources of Zelenka's settings of *Sollicitus fossor* and *Barbara dira effera*

The history of Zelenka's solo motet *Sollicitus fossor* is not as clear-cut as that of *Barbara dira effera*. Even though the score of this *da capo* aria is in Zelenka's hand, he did not enter the work into his personal inventory, the *Inventarium*.¹⁶ Nor is it listed among Zelenka's works in either of the two music catalogues of the Catholic court church of Dresden that were compiled in 1765 and c1783/4.¹⁷ Instead, *Sollicitus fossor* is found at the conclusion of both catalogues in the section titled "Musica senza nome dell'Autore" where it is listed (with incipit) as the fifth item in the category "Motetti". In the catalogue of 1765, which was assembled under the direction of the then-director of the church music: Johann Georg Schürer, the motet is shown as: "N^o. 5^o) Sollicitus fossor a Contr. Solo co' VVⁿⁱ V^{la} Fagotto e Violoncello". Thus, this setting was a solo motet for contralto with obbligato parts for a solo bassoon and a solo violoncello. No performance materials are shown to accompany the listed score in either catalogue, an indication that *Sollicitus fossor* was probably never heard in Dresden's Catholic court church. Until now, this motet has been categorized in the Zelenka literature among the "Incerta und fälschlich zugeschriebene Werke" [Lost, Doubtful, and Falsely Attributed Works].¹⁸ The autograph score, today held in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (SLUB) Dresden with the shelf mark D-DI, Mus. 2358-E-38, has a new cover and binding. It is notable that the autograph score lacks a title page, although outer parts of the score may now be missing. It has no identification by name or date. Nor does it bear the usual dedication used by Zelenka (A: M: D: G: B: M: V: OO: SS: H: AA: P: J: R).¹⁹ This suggests that this aria was not written for, or to a commission from the Dresden court. Upon hearing *Sollicitus fossor*, however, there can be little doubt that, on stylistic grounds alone, this is indeed a composition by Jan Dismas Zelenka.

In Zelenka's *Inventarium* the twelfth item listed among the motets is listed as: "Mottetto. Barbara dira effera! | a Contralto Sol. VViolini 2 Oboe 2 | Viola, Fagotto e Basso Continuo. Z." In 1765 this work was entered into the music catalogue of the Catholic court church of Dresden under Zelenka's name. The entry into this catalogue identifies the purpose of the composition as "Pro Resurrect. D'ni" and it shows that a set of parts once accompanied the score, thereby providing a strong indication that *Barbara dira effera* had been performed in Dresden's royal chapel.

¹⁶ Zelenka, Jan Dismas. "Inventarium rerum Musicarum Ecclesiae servientium." D-DI, Bibl. -Arch. III H b 787d.

¹⁷ "Catalogo (Thematico) [sic] della Musica di Chiesa (catholica [sic] in Dresda) composta da diversi Autori – secondo l'Alfabetto 1765", 3 vols., MS. D-B, Mus. ms. theor. Kat. 186, and "Catalogo della Musica di Chiesa, composta da diversi Autori secondo l'alfabetto [sic]. Armario III²⁰, principiando dalla littera S sino al Z con l'aggiunta degli Autori senza Nome", 3 vols. Vols. 1 and 2 missing. MS. D-DIa, Sign. Bibl. Arch. III H 788, 3. Compiled c1780+.

¹⁸ See *Zelenka-Dokumentation. Quellen und Materialien*, 2 vols., eds. Wolfgang Horn, Thomas Kohlhasse, Ortrun Landmann, Wolfgang Reich, Wiesbaden 1989, p. 310.

¹⁹ Zelenka's dedications comprise a series of letters, the most common being "A: M: D: G: V: M: OO: SS: H: AA: P: J: R:". This formula honours God (A: M: D: G: – "Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam"), the Virgin Mary (V: M: – "Virgini Mariae"), saints (OO: SS: H: – "Omnibus Sanctis honor"), and Zelenka's patrons, the royal and electoral family (AA: P: J: R: – possibly "Augustissimis Principibus in reverentia"). Many variations occur, but the ordering of the four groups of letters remained constant.

The later catalogue of the music collection of this church gives very similar information.²⁰ When *Barbara dira effera* was catalogued in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek in the early part of the twentieth century, a set of thirteen parts accompanied the autograph score – performance materials that today are missing from Dresden. Zelenka's score, now held in SLUB (D-DI, Mus. 2358-E-36), has a new cover and binding. No title page, if one ever existed, accompanies this score. The sole dedication is "L: G: C:" (Laus Jesu Christe) penned at the conclusion of the score.

The Dresden source of *Barbara dira effera* is in three movements. It opens with the extended *da capo* aria marked "Allegro assai, e sempre fiero" in which fury and anguish of the text are dramatically portrayed. The vocal fireworks of the aria for solo alto are matched by a virtuosic bassoon obbligato. This aria was probably the only section of the motet to be written for Prague and it is tempting to link the demands made on the bassoonist with the presence in Prague of the excellent player of that instrument, Anton Möser, a one-time member of Count Wenzel Morzin's band who later came to Dresden to become a bassoonist the *Hofkapelle*.²¹ Möser's move to Dresden in 1738 suggests that Zelenka might have re-used this aria as the opening movement of a three-movement composition, thereby bringing it into the style of the solo motet in three movements then in vogue in the Dresden Catholic court church. (Another possibility to consider is the Imperial bassoonist Johann Jacob Fridrich who, up to 1725, had been employed by Count Černín/Czernin. In 1734 Fridrich visited Dresden, as reported on 19 October by the Dresden Jesuits in their Diarium. He died in Vienna in 1741).²²

Interestingly, both scores are written on paper with a watermark used by paper-mills in Germany as well as in Bohemia – a crowned shield with

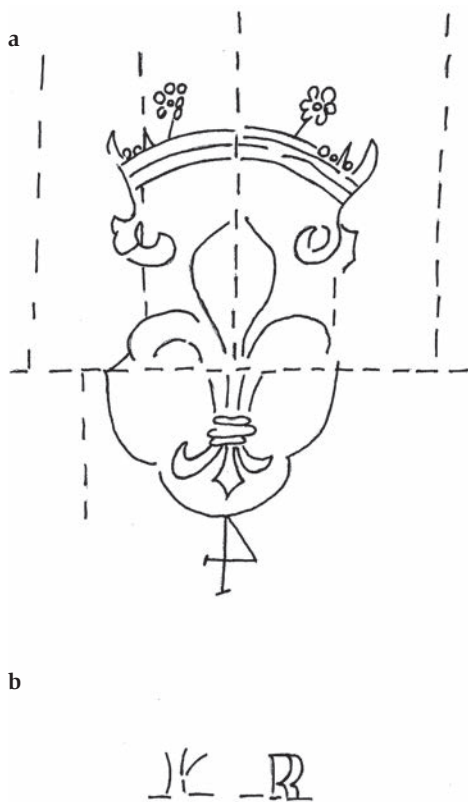


Fig. 1 The Zelenka Mss. watermark (reduced by 50 %), **a** crowned shield with fleur-de-lys, left(?) side of half a sheet, **b** initial KB, right(?) side of half a sheet

²⁰ "Catalogo della Musica di Chiesa..." (see fn. 17).

²¹ On Anton Möser see Václav KAPSA: *Hudebníci hraběte Morzina* [Count Morzin's Musicians], Praha 2010, pp. 105–110.

²² KAPSA, "Hofmusici a lokajové. K postavení hudebníka na šlechtickém dvoře v Čechách první poloviny 18. století" [Homusici and Laqueys. To the Standing of Musicians at the Courts of the Nobility in the early 18th Century], in: *Theatrum historiae* 9, Pardubice 2011, pp. 241–255; id.: "Accout books, names and music: Count Wenzel von Morzin's *Virtuosissima Orchestra*", *Early Music* 40 (2012), No. 4, pp. 605–625.

a fleur-de-lys and anchor on one side of a sheet, and, in this case, initials KB on the other. The maker and production place remain unknown.²³ Due to the fact that a paper-splitting machine was used during the (recent?) restoration, it is not possible to obtain further information on the precise warp and stamp orientation.

Conclusion

The motets *Sollicitus fossor* and *Barbara dira effera* are generally associated only with Jan Dismas Zelenka; no other setting of these texts by another composer is as known at present. The insertion of these arias into the Prague Latin version of Leonardo Leo's *Sant'Elena al Calvario* supports the theory proposed by Wolfgang Horn and Emery Snyder that they are connected with the Invention of the Cross (*inventio crucis*), and therefore, to the *Legenda aurea* and the related Elena oratorios.²⁴ Although the arias might have been composed in 1734 or even earlier, there is no Prague source available to support this idea. The *Anuae Literae Collegii Societatis JESU Praegae ad Sanctum Clementem pro anno 1734* which survive in the Jesuit archives in Rome, does not contain any information on the music performed in Clementinum, apart from the productions in which the Jesuit College students took part.²⁵ Therefore, the proposal that Zelenka composed the arias *Sollicitus fossor* and *Barbara dira effera* to be inserted into Leonardo Leo's *Sant'Elena al Calvario* for a performance given at the Clementinum college of Prague in 1734 is supported only by the circumstantial evidence of almost parallel texts. Our theory requires further research. If proven, it would be shown that in addition to his three sepulchro oratorios of 1709, 1712, and 1716,²⁶ and the Melodrama of 1723,²⁷ Zelenka's contributions of original music to the Clementinum college of Prague continued into the 1730s.

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²³ See Fig. II–IV. For the Dresden Court collection watermarks see especially Schranck No: II. *Das erhaltene Instrumentalmusikrepertoire der Dresdner Hofkapelle aus den ersten beiden Dritteln des 18. Jahrhunderts*, eds. Gerhard Poppe, Katrin Bemann, Wolfgang Eckhardt, Sylvie Reinelt, Steffen Voss, Beeskow 2012 (= Forum Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik 2). For the watermarks see <http://www.schrank-zwei.de/willkommen/> [access 15. 1. 2014] (Wasserzeichenkatalog, item 165, Telemann, Sonatas, Mus 2392-S-1). For the crowned shield with a fleur-de-lys see: František ZUMAN: *České filigrány XVIII. století* [Bohemian 18th Century Watermarks], Praha 1932; Georg EINEDER: *The Ancient Paper-Mills of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire*, Hilversum 1960; Michaela FREEMANOVÁ: *Collectio Fratrum Misericordiae Kukussiensis*, Praha 1998, p. 92.

²⁴ The relation between Zelenka's texts of *Barbara, dira, effera* and *Sollicitus fossor* was first discussed by Wolfgang Horn and Emery Snyder in the surroundings of a concert programme by Reinhard Goebel's "Musica Antiqua" in autumn 2006. We are indebted for this information to Wolfgang Horn.

²⁵ See Rome, ARSI (Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu), Bohemia 152, *Anuae Literae Collegii Societatis JESU Praegae ad Sanctum Clementem ad Annum 1734*, pp. 211–226; Bohemia 155, *Supplementum Historiae Collegij Societatis JESU Praegae ad S: Clementem Ad Annum 1734*, pp. 139–141. We are indebted to Brian McCuarta SJ for his help in making the relevant sources accessible.

²⁶ *Immisit Dominus pestilentiam* (ZWV 58); *Attendite et videte* (ZWV 59); *Deus Dux fortissimo* (ZWV 60). Each work was composed at the instigation of Baron (or Count) Johann Hubert von Hartig to be performed at the Holy Sepulchre in the Clementinum college.

²⁷ *Sub olea pacis et palma virtutis conspicua orbi regia Bohemiae Corona – Melodrama de Sancto Wenceslao* (ZWV 175). Composed by Zelenka for the Jesuits of the Clementinum college to celebrate the coronation of Emperor Charles VI as King of Bohemia.

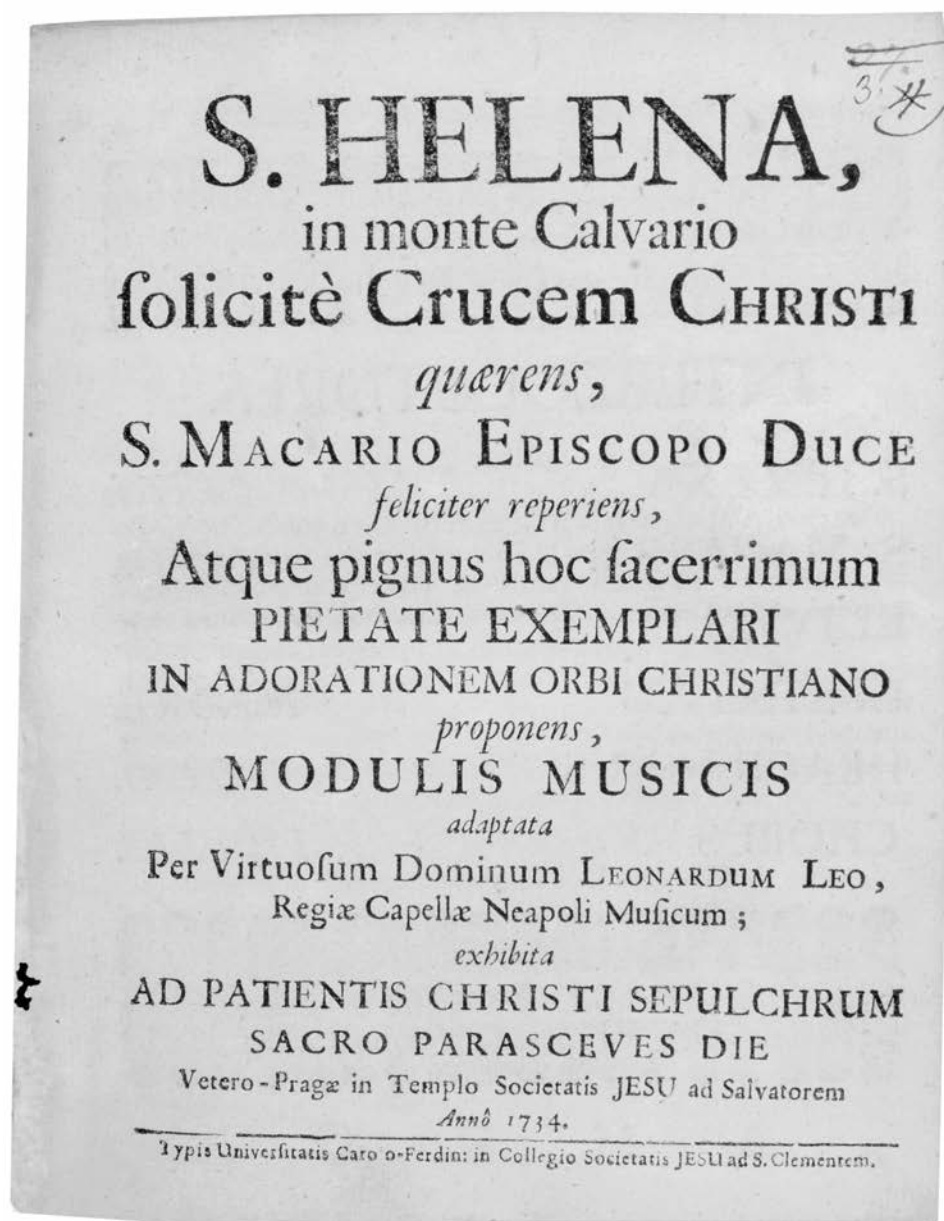


Fig. II *S. Helena, in monte Calvario*. Prague 1734. Title page. Courtesy of the National Library, Prague

Perditum dum, quod erat,
 Suspirat pia mens;
 Pande salutis rorem
 Astris demissa lux,
 Redde DEUS favorem
 Nobis optate DUX.

S. Hel. Secunda aterne Pater nostra cœlica vota ! non dedignare me eligere ministram ! Scio, sæpe per debile instrumentum grandia operaris. Si tibi lubet, cadit Goliath ad jactum fundæ inexperti Pastoris ; in suo sanguine Sisara jacet ; & Holofernes truncatur per manum fœminæ ; cantant securi intrâ fornacem ardentem innocentes tres Pueri ; & ipsarum ferarum barbara crudelitas mansuescit, dum inermis Prophetæ ad pedes procumbit. *Eud.* Helena, ecur tardas ? suspirant omnes consequi vestigia tua : omnis moræ sunt impatientes ! hoc frons eorum loquitur ! nos tuos habes, tu nos deduc ad fontem.

Sollicitus fossor anhelat aurum
 Irrequieto animo ;
 Mens nostra crucis avet thesaurum
 Jugi ô Dux suspirio !
 Crucem dum tardas quærere,
 Anhelos crucias ;
 Sudori dum vis parcere,
 Elicis lacrymas.

S. Hel. Venite ! jam mihi cœlum distinctè vestrum zelum manifestat, ô Chari ! sacrum Sepulchrum quæramus ; non moremur, ad opus animæ electæ. *Omnes.* Ad opus ! ad opus !

B

Cho.

Fig. III *S. Helena, in monte Calvario*. Prague 1734. Pars prima. Inserted text of *Sollicitus fossor*. Courtesy of the National Library, Prague

S. Mac. O Marmor gloriosum ! æmulum utero Magnæ Matris MARIÆ ! clausistis in vobis pretium uterque humanæ salutis, immaculatus uterque Redemptionis nostræ locus: infinitus initium sumpsit in illo ; in te finivit.

Qui abscondisti vitæ Authorem,
Reclusum cellâ nunc profer florem !
Matris adinstar aperi sinum,
Ede thesaurum Crucis Divinum.

S. Hel. Cedat, cedat tandem timor nostri desiderii. Itè amici rigare hoc Sepulchrum solatioſis lacrymis. Ego Dux præcedo. Sed quid cerno ! spectate ad sacram tumbam inter ruinas lignum jacere absconditum ! *S. Mac.* O ! fortunata dies ! bene sparsi sunt sudores. Ecce ! hic suspiratus noster triumphus : ecce ! hic Vexillum, quod enervat infernum : ecce ! hic Crucem. *S. Hel.* Ah ! finite, ut ego vadam ad Crucem amplexandam ; inter languores, amplexus, & fervores, inter agonias pascam spiritum meum. *Eud.* Siste, ô ! Augusta ; ah cœli ! quis novit, quæ sit Crux Nostri Redemptoris ? jacet confusa inter duas peremptorum, qui diversa ex sorte sociati erant Domino in morte.

Barbara, dira, effera
Hebrææ gentis rabies,
Quæ lignum sacrum crucibus
Latronum confudisti :
Hispida, sæva, horrida
Carnificum Barbaries
Pignus dulce fossoribus
Anhelis invidisti.

Fig. IV *S. Helena, in monte Calvario.* Prague 1734. Inserted text of *Barbara, dira, effera.* Courtesy of the National Library, Prague

Mens metûs plena fluctuat,
 Quod lignum Redemptoris?
 Cor inquietum dubitat,
 Quæ Crux sit Salvatoris?

S. Hel. Illa erit, quæ has inter jacet media. *Eust.* Siste! Malitia perfidorum incertum Crucis fecit pretium: *S. Hel.* Saltè Scriptura, quæ *JESUM Nazarenum Judæorum Regem* titulò distinguit, distinguet quoque crucem? *Drac.* A ligno, cui erat affixa, separata est tabella; nec lignum est, cui cruci sit avulsa. *S. Hel.* Ah! quàm memet laniat nova pignoris sacri incertitudo! Crux amata! in terris pavor, summus in cœlis amor! ah! radium unum emitte, qui dubia cordis dispescat; video te, & ignoro te: uror amore, & quæ crux amoris magnes es? Vix te inveni, perdididi; ah me! nequeo te venerari. Nam, si adorare te tento, infame lignum fors animo meo præsentio. *S. Mac.* Helena! ecquis hic Iesus! audin' funebrem naniam? ad pedem montis cernis supra feretrum skeleton exstinctum? *S. Hel.* Video. *S. Mac.* Ah! casu hoc funus non offert se nobis spectandum! aude: afferamus hanc crucem Eustati! spero videre virtutem vitalis arboris: *Eust.* Sed quale lignum ex tribus asportabimus? *S. Mac.* Illud, quod inter hæc occupat medium. Ah! citò secundate impulsus mei cordis. Sequere! hic dies author est mirabilium. *S. Hel.* Credo, spero, propero & ego. *S. Mac.* Absit; tu Augusta hic fiste, & tuis affectibus nobis inclina Cœlum, ut secundet Numen nostratæ zelum.

S. Hel. Eud. Magne DEUS Israëlis,
 Exaudire vota velis
 Supplicantis populi.

S. Hel. Animis inspira lucem,
Eud. Quæ revelet illam Crucem,

S. Hel.

Jan Dismas Zelenka a pražské provedení oratoria *Sant'Elena al Calvario* Leonarda Lea (1734): hypotéza

Michaela Freemanová – Janice B. Stockigt

V Praze byla v 18. století vedle oper provozována i oratoria – zpravidla v období postu a o Velikonocích. O jejich provádění pečovali zejména jesuité a křížovníci s červenou hvězdou, dále kapucíni, milosrdní bratři, maltézští rytíři, augustiniáni, benediktíni, premonstráti, kajetáni, voršilky, servité, barnabiti, karmelitáni a dominikáni. Občas byla oratoria uváděna v divadlech; na Pražském hradě jen výjimečně. Nejčastěji byla v Praze provozována oratoria italských autorů; hrály se i skladby autorů českých, rakouských a německých. Libreta oratorií byla vydávána v původních jazycích, nebo v latině a němčině.

V roce 1734 tak bylo jesuity v Praze v latině uvedeno oratorium Leonarda Lea *Sant'Elena al Calvario* (*S. Helena in monte Calvario sollicite crucem Christi quaerens etc.*). Pietro Metastasio v něm zpracoval historii nálezu sv. Kříže sv. Helenou, matkou císaře Konstantina. Zatímco Metastasiovo libreto z roku 1731 pojednává tento námět s literární elegancí, latinskému překladu básnická lehkost originálu schází; jistá těžkopádnost je charakteristická pro většinu pražských překladů libret italských oratorií té doby. V pražské verzi byly do prvního a druhého dílu Leova oratoria navíc vloženy *da capo* arie, svěšené postavě Římanky Eudossy (Eudoxii) – *Sollicitus fossor* a *Barbara dira effera*. Zdá se, že se tak stalo pouze při této příležitosti; vložené arie se neobjevují v žádné z partitur díla, dochovaných v Berlíně, Bruselu, Drážďanech, Hamburku a Neapoli. Partitury obou motet jsou uloženy v Sächsische Landesbibliothek v Drážďanech; obě jsou psány Zelenkovou rukou, na papíře s vodoznakem používaným papírnami v Německu i v Čechách. U moteta *Sollicitus fossor* bylo Zelenkovo autorství do nedávna považováno za nejisté; kompoziční styl skladby však tuto pochybnost vyvrací. Zdá se, že tato skladba nebyla za Zelenkova života nikdy provedena v drážďanském katolickém dvorním kostele, a že ani pro Drážďany nevznikla. Drážďanská verze moteta *Barbara dira effera*, která v katolickém dvorním kostele provozovaná byla, má tři části. První část, virtuózní *aria da capo* pro alt s obligátním fagotem, koresponduje s textem arie vložené v Praze do Leova oratoria. Teoreticky mohla být původně napsána pro jeho pražské provedení; v takovém případě mohl fagotový part v Praze snad hrát morzinský hudebník Anton Möser, v Drážďanech černínský, později císařský dvorní hudebník Johann Jacob Fridrich, jehož drážďanský pobyt je v jesuitských diariích doložen k roku 1734.

Texty motet *Sollicitus fossor* a *Barbara dira effera* jsou prozatím známé pouze z jejich zhudebnění Janem Dismasem Zelenkou (ZWV 209, ZWV 164). To, že tyto arie byly v Praze vloženy do latinské verze Leovy *Sant'Elena al Calvario* podporuje názor Wolfganga Horna a Emeryho Snyderse že jsou tematicky spjaty z nalezením sv. Kříže, *Legendou aureou* i dalšími oratorii na stejný námět. Tyto arie mohly být zkomponovány roku 1734, nebo i dříve, pražský pramen z této doby však znám není. *Anuae Literae Collegii Societatis JESU Pragae ad Sanctum Clementem pro anno 1734*, uložené v jesuitském archivu v Římě, neobsahují žádné informace o hudbě, uváděné tehdy v Klementinu, s výjimkou produkci studentů koleje. Možnost, že Zelenka složil arie *Sollicitus fossor* a *Barbara dira effera* jako vložky do Leova oratoria *Sant'Elena al Calvario*, provedeného v Klementinu v roce 1734, dokládá dnes jen to, že texty jeho motet a árií, vložených do Leova oratoria, jsou totožné. Potvrzení této teorie je otázkou dalšího výzkumu; pokud by jeho výsledek byl kladný, bylo by zřejmé, že Jan Dismas Zelenka pro pražské jesuity nenapsal jen sepolkra z let 1709, 1712, a 1716, a *Sub olea pacis* z roku 1723, nýbrž že jesuitské klementinské koleji dodával své skladby až do 30. let 18. století.