

Oratorios Performed at the Holy Sepulchre in the Bohemian Lands and Austria in the 18th Century (Part I)

Methodological Questions on the Sepolcro in the Period of ca. 1700–1760

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Abstract

The study is focused on specific musical-dramatic form of oratorios, which was intended for performances during the Holy Week at the holy sepulchre. Originally, the favourite form from Leopoldine Vienna found a wide use in 18th century. The functional point of view, symbolically designated by the place and purpose of the performance, plays a decisive role in further research. Therefore, for these compositions the term “sepolcro” is used. Apart from terminological questions, the clients, who ordered these compositions, as well as forms and language problematic are researched. On several examples, the various types of themes used in sepolcros are demonstrated.

Keywords

oratorio, sepolcro, holy sepulchre, Holy Week, 18th century, Austria, Bohemian lands, Moravia

Sepulchrum – sepolcro – Heiliges Grab. On the genre designation of works performed at the Holy Sepulchre

Oratorios intended for performance during the Holy Week at the holy sepulchre are a very interesting phenomenon of Central European music culture. This specific musical-dramatic form came to Central Europe from Italy and was especially favoured at the Viennese court. During the reign of Emperor Leopold, they were short, one-part musical-dramatic pieces performed with scenery (sometimes including theatre machinery)¹ and in costumes at the holy sepulchre, which was a type of ephemeral architecture.² The main creators of this form at the imperial court were Antonio Draghi, Giovanni Battista Pederzoli, Giovanni Felice Sances, and Pietro Andrea Ziani; these were works composed for Italian librettos. Several sepolcri were also composed by Emperor Leopold I himself, in two cases with German lyrics.³ Two German sepolcri were also composed by Johann Heinrich Schmelzer in 1677 and 1678.⁴ In literature this type of oratorio is called a *sepolcro*, or also *Wiener Sepolcro*. It has been noted that in the 18th century the form of the sepolcro moved away from being a staged event and became more like an oratorio.⁵ However, this is an inaccurate assumption, as will be shown in the following text. The sepolcro found a broad *raison d'être* in the first half of the 18th century, especially in environments that were inspired by the imperial court, including some religious orders and aristocratic establishments. From a sociological point of view, therefore, this form lost the exclusivity of the imperial court; the auditors consisted at least in part of common folk. Interest in oratorios for the holy sepulchre did not die down in some locations even in the second half of the 18th century.

However, after the death of Emperor Leopold I, this specific type of oratorio continued in the imperial court, though in an altered form similar in many ways to “regular” oratorios (its standard two-part form being the most striking). However, title page labels for such compositions were always based on their classification in a court ceremony, with the words „*Applicato al Suo Santissimo Sepolcro e cantato nell' augustissima Cappella*“.

1 Instructions for the stage machinery can be found in the printed libretto of the sepolcro *Il sacrificio non impedito* from 1692, the authors of which were Nicolò Minato (libretto) and Antonio Draghi (music). The libretto is preserved in A-Wn, sign. 406743-B.Ad. I would like to thank Petr Slouka for this information.

2 “Castrum doloris”, for example, is also ephemeral architecture. Cf. HERSCHE, Peter. *Muße und Verschwendung. Europäische Gesellschaft und Kultur im Barockzeitalter*. Freiburg: Herder 2006, pp. 569–573.

3 Presumably his first work of this type is *Il sacrificio d'Abramo* from 1660 (music score saved in A-Wn, Mus. Hs.16596). The emperor composed German sepolcri in the years 1679 and 1682.

4 Most recently discussed by SLOUKA, Petr. Německojazyčné holdovací serenaty Johanna Heinricha Schmelzera [German serenatas by Johann Heinrich Schmelzer]. In *Cantantibus organis: hudební kultura raného novověku ve středoevropských souvislostech: ad honorem Jiří Sehnal*. Brno: Moravská zemská knihovna v Brně, 2016, pp. 62–63.

5 Cf. SEIFERT, Herbert. *Texte zur Musikdramatik im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. Aufsätze und Vorträge*, ed. Matthias J. Pernerstorfer [= *Summa Summarum* 2]. Wien: Hollitzer Verlag, 2014. THE SAME. Oratorien, Sepolcri und Ordentheater in Österreich. In *Spettacolo barocco! Triumph des Theaters*, eds. Andrea Sommer-Mathis, Daniela Franke and Rudi Rissati (Exhibition catalog). Wien: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2016, pp. 135–142.

The theme, which – whether directly or through parables – was related to Christ’s suffering on the Cross, was also carefully chosen each time.

The genre of works intended for performance by the holy sepulchre at the imperial court in the first half of the 18th century was most commonly called *Azione sacra* or *Componimento sacro*. Outside the imperial court, the genre titles were more varied. The simple title *oratorio* was most common, or sometimes *Trauer-Gesang*; around the mid-18th century, terms such as *Sing-Gedicht*, *Sinnbild* or *Sing-Spiel* also appeared. Performance by the holy sepulchre is also almost always mentioned on the title pages of preserved librettos, which are currently the most important source for exploring this topic. In the following discussion, the term “sepulcro” will be used synonymously with the phrase “oratorio performed by the holy sepulchre” depending on the place of performance and associated functions and events. We believe that the current definition of the sepulcro, usually limited to the Leopoldine period, is too narrow, and that the functional point of view, symbolically designated by the place and purpose of the performance, plays a decisive role in further research of this phenomenon. In order to explore the wide spectrum of forms that this particular type of oratorio gained during the 18th century, we propose to define the sepulcro more generally as a musical dramatic piece performed as the remembrance of Christ’s sufferings during Holy Week at the holy sepulchre, the purpose of which was to encourage piety and virtue in listeners.⁶

Sepulcri were often performed on Good Friday, and sometimes also on Maundy Thursday (frequent in the Capuchin order) or Holy Saturday (typical for Viennese Ursulines, where this time was chosen with regard to the Emperor’s visit,⁷ as was also the case in a number of other orders, such as the Augustinians). The imperial court is an exception, where since ca. 1720 these works were performed – as opposed to the previous Maundy Thursday or Good Friday – by the already standing holy sepulchre on Tuesday of Holy Week, which represents a significant change in the liturgical context.⁸

Musical research of 18th-century sepulcri has so far only been performed rarely, unsystematically, in some selected works, composers or locations.⁹ The low degree of

6 For discussion of this topic, cf. also PERNERSTORFER, Matthias J. *Vom Aschermittwoch zum Heiligen Grab. Passion und Theater im Barock* [online] http://www.donjuanarchiv.at/fileadmin/DJA/Home/Workshop_Passion-und-Theater_Bericht.pdf [cit. 23. 1. 2018]. THE SAME. *Passion und Theater II: Workshop im Kloster Schönbühel zur 350. Wiederkehr der Grundsteinlegung des Heiligen Grabes. Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich*. Neue Folge 82, 2016, pp. 235–240.

7 PAGE, Janet K. *Convent Music and Politics in Eighteenth-century Vienna*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014 (hereinafter PAGE 2014). THE SAME. *Music at the Holy Sepulchre in Viennese Female Convents in the Early Eighteenth Century*. In *Sakralmusik im Habsburger Kaiserreich 1619–1740*, ed. Tassilo Erhardt. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2013 (= Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Musikforschung 29, Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Klasse 824), pp. 231–252.

8 This change, like details of the *Aufführungspraxis* at the court, has not yet been sufficiently elucidated.

9 In recent monographs, deeper insight into the matter is only provided by PAGE 2014. Several older studies that provide vital information on the topic should also be mentioned: SCHINDLER, Otto G. *Über spätbarockes Christi-Leiden-Spiel im Viertel unter dem Wienerwald. Unsere Heimat: Monatsblatt des Vereines für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich und Wien*, 38, 1967, pp. 225–227. THE SAME. *Die Libretto-Sammlung des Stiftes Klosterneuburg. Jahrbuch des Vereines für Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, 23/25, 1967/1969, pp. 183–197 (hereinafter SCHINDLER 1967/69). I would like to thank Otto Biba for references to Schindler’s studies. Many sepulcri

musicological reflection is probably also due to the fact that the musical material for most of these works has not been preserved; only printed librettos, and exceptionally their manuscripts, are available.¹⁰ It was a group of librettos from Moravia that stimulated the beginning of this present research. These are sources from Count Johann Adam Questenberg's residence Jaroměřice/Jarmeritz, other from Brno/Brünn, Olomouc/Olmütz and Znojmo/Znaim (predominantly from the environment of the Capuchin order). During their processing, the transfer or modification of librettos of some works introduced in Moravia was found. This included the taking over of texts from Vienna, and it turned out that a number of Viennese sepolcro librettos performed outside the imperial court – especially by Church orders – have remained almost unnoticed.

Collecting as many preserved librettos or musical scores as possible from Moravia, Vienna, Lower Austria (Niederösterreich) and Burgenland (where the Esterházy residence in Eisenstadt is an important location) is proving to be productive.¹¹ It also seems necessary to compare these sources with other librettos of pieces performed at the imperial court, Prague and Pressburg (Upper Hungary, today Slovakia), as well as Dresden and Salzburg.

Locations in which sepolcri were performed in the 18th century

It has already been said that sepolcri were abundantly performed in the first half of the 18th century in religious orders; the following brief summary does not necessarily claim completeness. A great incidence of oratorios performed by the holy sepulchre has hitherto been recorded in the Capuchin order in Vienna, Brno, Znojmo, Olomouc, Prague and Bruck an der Leitha.¹² Although this was a relatively poor order that usually didn't have its own musicians, the performance of sepolcri by musicians invited from elsewhere was obviously one of the order's priorities. The sepolcro was cultivated for example in the Congregation of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, Vienna, where the oratorio was originally formed, and—since music was one of the key elements of the Augustinian ethos—in the order of the Augustinian Canons (Augustiner Chorherren, Klosterneuburg, Šternberk/Sternberg, Prague) and Discalced Augustinians (Brno). Sepolcri were also performed in the Cistercian order (Heiligenkreuz, Wiener Neustadt), Benedictine order (Rajhrad/Raigern, Prague),¹³

librettos are also cited by GUGITZ, Gustav. *Bibliographie zur Geschichte und Stadtkunde von Wien: nebst Quellen- und Literaturhinweisen*. Bd. 3. *Allgemeine und besondere Topographie von Wien* [...]. Wien 1956.

10 In terms of literary science, much interesting information is provided by SCHEITLER, Irmgard. *Deutschsprachige Oratorienlibretti: von den Anfängen bis 1730* (= Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik 12). Paderborn: Schöningh 2005.

11 These are currently approx. 40 librettos from ca. 1700–1760. A few musical scores of these oratorios that have survived are also recorded.

12 Only one Capuchin libretto from Znojmo is known, as well as one from Bruck an der Leitha.

13 About the Benedictines, especially in Rajhrad, see recently ŽŮREK, Pavel. *K větší slávě Boží i pro potěchu Múz. Podoby klášterní hudební kultury v českých zemích 17. a 18. století na příkladu benediktinů* [For the Greater Glory of God and for the Muses' Delectation. Forms of Monasterial Musical Culture in 17th and 18th Century Czech Lands Illustrated by An Example of Benedictine Order]. Dissertation. Brno: Masarykova univerzita,

Servite order (Vienna, Prague), Barnabite order (Vienna, Prague),¹⁴ the Hospitaller Order of Saint John of God (Prague, Brno), and in Prague especially by *Kreuzherren* (Knights of the Cross with the Red Star), as well as the Jesuit order, Theatine order, Order of Saint John, etc.¹⁵ In women's orders, the Augustinian nuns introduced sepolcri (Vienna – Augustiner-Chorfrauen). In Vienna they resided in the monasteries of “St. Jakob auf der Hülben” and “St. Agnes zur Himmelpforte”, the latter serving as an educational institute for young female nobility. The Augustinians also resided in Eisenstadt; in their local church, some sepolcri were introduced upon the initiative of the noble Esterházy family. The Ursulines also contributed largely to the performance of sepolcri in Vienna as well as in Prague (in the second half of the 18th century), where the Elizabethans also presented sepolcri.¹⁶ In Prague, oratorios performed at the holy sepulchre had a very strong tradition that lasted without much intermission until the early 1780s (1782), that is, until the Josephine reforms. Prague also had other tendencies related to the musical performance of sepolcri; in addition to the introduction of compositions by local composers, compositions from Italy, Vienna and Dresden were used in various orders, probably more often than elsewhere. The works for Italian texts were exceptionally performed in German translation.¹⁷

Sepolcri were also presented at churches in locations belonging to the music-loving nobility. This particularly includes the parish church of St. Margaret by Count Johann Adam Questenberg's castle at Jaroměřice, and in Esterházy's Eisenstadt; the place of performance was a chateau chapel or a church of the Augustinian order. In both places, domestic composers and *Kapellmeisters* played a major role in the creation of sepolcri: František Antonín Míča (Franz Anton Mitscha) for Count Questenberg, and Gregor Joseph Werner for Paul II. Anton von Esterházy.¹⁸ Sepolcri were also featured – often

2017. On Benedictine composer Gunter Jacob by HUGO, Robert. *Gunther Jacob OSB (1685–1734), život a dílo* [Gunter Jacob OSB (1685–1734), Life and Work]. Dissertation. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2017.

14 So far only one libretto of a piece performed by the Barnabites in the Viennese St. Michael's Church on Good Friday in 1753 is known to cite SCHINDLER 1967/1969, p. 195. The original German text of the piece, called *St. Paul zu Athen*, was written by Johann Leopold van Ghelen, and the music was composed by Ignazio Maria Conti.

15 KAMPER, Otakar. *Hudební Praha v XVIII. věku* [Musical Prague in the 18th century]. Praha: Melantrich, 1936. LAUSCHMANN, Josef. *Pražské oratorium století XVIII.* [Prague oratorio in the 18th century.] Dissertation. Praha: Karlova univerzita, 1938 (hereinafter LAUSCHMANN 1938). BUŽGA, Jaroslav. Einige Quellen zur Geschichte der Osteroratorien in Prag und Brno (Brünn) und der Ostermelodramen aus Olomouc (Olmütz) im 18. Jahrhundert. In *De musica disputationes Pragenses*. Praha: Academia, 1972, pp. 151–171. POŠTOLKA, Milan. Libreta strahovské hudební sbírky [Libretti in the Strahov music collection]. *Miscellanea musicologica* 25–26, 1973, pp. 79–149. KAPSA, Václav. Die Musik in der St. Nikolauskirche auf der Prager Kleinsite in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts. *Musicologica Brunensia* 49, 2014, iss. 1, pp. 189–209 (hereinafter KAPSA 2014). FREEMANOVÁ, Michaela. Three points of a triangle: Italian, Latin and German oratorios and sepolcros in the early 18th century Central Europe. *Musicologica Brunensia* 49, 2014, iss. 1, pp. 175–187 (hereinafter FREEMANOVÁ 2014).

16 MICHL, Jakub. Hudební události pražského kláštera alžbětinek v roce 1776 [Musical Events at the Prague Convent of the Order of Saint Elisabeth in 1776]. *Musicalia* 8, 2016, iss. 1–2, pp. 130–138.

17 See note 27.

18 On Míča, see particularly PERUTKOVÁ, Jana. *František Antonín Míča ve službách hraběte Questenberga a italská opera v Jaroměřicích* [František Antonín Míča in the Service of Count Questenberg and Italian Opera

in parish churches – in other locations, such as Lower Austria (in Eggenburg, Stockerau, St. Pölten).¹⁹ Composer Georg Matthias Frumann, who worked in Stockerau between the years of 1738–1783 as regenschori, composed this genre not only for the local parish St. Stephen's Church,²⁰ but also for Viennese oratorios (see below)²¹ and Capuchin friars in Bruck an der Leitha.²² His sepulcro *Braut-Messe, oder geistliche Verbindung der Seel mit Christo*, was probably performed in Brno, or at least a hitherto unknown libretto for this sepulcro was printed there.²³ It's possible that his link to Brno was closer than what has been known so far, since a copy of the sepulcro *Oratorium ad sepulchrum Domini* by Austrian composer Georg Donberger, stored in the collection of the Order of Hospitalers in Brno, is preserved here in Frumann's hand.²⁴ The strong tradition of presenting sepulcri in Salzburg, where composer and organist Johann Ernst Eberlin (1702–1762) was devoted to this genre, is somewhat secondary to our primary interest; Eberlin composed a number of holy sepulchre oratorios for local Benedictines and the Archbishop's court.²⁵

in Jaroměřice]. Praha: KLP, 2011. THE SAME. *Der glorreiche Nahmen Adami. Johann Adam Graf von Questenberg (1678–1752) als Förderer der italienischen Oper in Mähren* (= *Specula Spectacula* 4). Wien: Hollitzer Verlag, 2015 (hereinafter PERUTKOVÁ 2015). HARICH, Johann on Werner: *Esterházy-Musikgeschichte im Spiegel der zeitgenössischen Textbücher. Festgabe anlässlich der 150. Wiederkehr des Todestages von Joseph Haydn*. Eisenstadt: Burgenländisches Landesarchiv 1959 (= *Burgenländische Forschungen* 39). THE SAME. *Szenische Darstellungen und Oratorien-Aufführungen im 18. Jahrhundert am Esterházy-Hof zu Eisenstadt. Burgenländische Heimatblätter* 38, 1976, pp. 112–130. MURÁNYI, Róbert Árpád. *Thematischer Katalog der Werke G. J. Werners in Budapest. Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 38, 1997, 1–2, pp. 151–228.

19 On Eggenburg see cf. BIBA, Otto. Über den Fux-Schüler Franz Rincolini. In *Festschrift Hellmut Federhofer zum 100. Geburtstag*, in Verbindung mit Gernot Gruber und Herbert Schneider hg. von Axel Beer. Tutzing: Schneider 2011 (= *Mainzer Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 45), pp. 39–50. The preserved music score by Johann Adam Scheibl comes from St. Pölten *Oratorium ad S. Sepulchrum* (music score saved in A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 22585).

20 For example, *Guter Hirt Christus Jesus, eines irgegangenen Schäffleins, einer sündigen Seele, in der löblichen St. Stephans-Pfarrkirchen zu Stockerau, in dem heiligen Char-Freytag abends*, [...], 1747. A-Wst, sign. A-5476.

21 *Der Streit eines Weibes, und ihres Kindes wider einen gekrönten sieben-köpfigen Drachen*, [...] *im Gemähl beym heiligen Grab und an dem heiligen Charfreytag, um vier Uhr abends in einem Oratorio vorgestellt wird* [...], 1736. A-Wst, sign. A-5477.

22 *Die mitleydige und reumüthige Seele in Betrachtung des Leydens ihres Herrn [...] Jesu Christi*. SCHINDLER 1967/1969, p. 186.

23 *Braut-Messe, oder geistliche Verbindung der Seel mit Christo* [...] *an dem Heiligen Char-Freytag bey dem Heiligen Grab in einem Musicalischen Oratorio vorgestellt Anno 1759*. Brünn, Emanuel Swoboda. The place of performance is not stated on the libretto. SCHINDLER, 1967/1969, p. 197.

24 Sign. Cz-Bm, A 42. 178. HUG, Raimund. *Georg Donberger (1709–1768) und die Musikpflege im Augustiner-Chorherrenstift Herzogenburg*, Teil II: Thematischer Katalog (Kirchenmusikalische Studien). Sinzig: Studio Verlag, 2007, wrongly names Frumann as „Trumani“. Also cf. FREEMANOVÁ, Michaela. *Fratrum misericordiae artis musicae collectiones in Bohemia et Moravia reservatae. A catalog of musical compositions from the collections of the Knights Hospitaller located in Bohemia and Moravia. With notes, remarks, lists and annexes. Volume I: Bohemia et Moravia I, volume 2: Moravia II*. Praha: Národní knihovna České republiky, 2013, 440–442.

25 HAAS, Robert. *Eberlins Schuldramen und Oratorien. Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 8, 1921, pp. 9–44.

Language, form

At the imperial court, oratorios intended for performance at the holy sepulchre in the first half of the 18th century were written exclusively in Italian; librettos of court poets Pietro Pariati, Apostolo Zeno and, above all, Pietro Metastasio, were of great importance. These texts partly determined the trend for the creation of librettos and sepulcri elsewhere. However, most librettos for the sepulcri examined here were written in German. Some librettos even state that they are written „in hoch-teutscher Sprache“, such as the anonymous libretto of a piece performed in 1717 for the Prague Jesuit order.²⁶ The predominance of German-language texts shows the effort to enable the common population to understand them. Latin was common in the Jesuit order (typically in Prague), but other languages, especially German, were also present. The first hitherto known sepulcro by the Prague Jesuit order is *Immisit Dominus pestilentiam*, performed on Good Friday 1709 in the Church of St. Salvator in Prague. Though the librettist is unknown, the music was composed by Jan Dismas Zelenka; it is a one-part composition consisting of nine sung numbers.²⁷

In Moravia, there were German, Latin, Italian, and, in Questenberg's Jaroměřice, also Czech librettos, which was a unique phenomenon in the Bohemian lands at the time.²⁸ These Czech texts were usually informative, so they were intended for citizens of Jaroměřice, which was primarily a Czech-speaking town. Translations into Czech aimed to provide the local audience with a better understanding of the German or Italian texts in which the works were performed, thereby enhancing their spiritual experience. Sometimes even original Czech librettos were set to music and performed in Jaroměřice.²⁹

From an ongoing evaluation of the sources collected so far, it is evident that oratorios performed by the holy sepulchre in the first half of the 18th century had different forms and lengths. It was usually a short piece containing no more than twenty sung numbers, usually less (10–15). Sometimes these oratorios at the imperial court were also shorter than other oratorio compositions performed there; for example, Caldara's *La passione di Gesù Cristo* from 1730 contains fifteen singing numbers, and his *Sant'Elena al Calvario*

26 *Amoris in iudicio victoria. Oder: Die obsiegende Liebe, In dem, wider das Menschliche Geschlecht, Wegen deß grausamen Christi-Mords, Von der Göttlichen Gerechtigkeit anstellten Hals-Gerichte.* This is a translation of an Italian libretto, and according to the introductory note in the printed libretto, it was a performance of the original Italian composition of Neapolitan origin with a poeticized German text. This note deserves separate attention, cf. also FREEMANOVÁ 2014, p. 180, as well as KAPSA 2014, p. 198. LAUSCHMANN 1938 names Johann Georg Ernst Cajetan Lösel (Lessel) as the possible author of the music.

27 [cover title, p.1:] Mu[sica] [fa]cta | [ad] | Sepulc[hrum] [S]acru[m] | in | Magno Collegio Clementino. | Veterae Pragae | Composita et di- | recta ibidem | Ad requisitionem ejusdem | Collegij à [right side:] Joanne Disma | Zelenka. tunc | in Domo III: DDni | Comitis de Hartig | existente Anno | 1709. Cf. RISM ID no.: 211010665.

28 In Questenberg correspondence, the sepulcri librettos were generally referred to as „tragoedie buch.“

29 For example, *Krátké rozjímání hořkého umučení Pána a Spasitele našeho Ježíše Krista [A Brief Meditation on the Bitter Martyrdom of the Lord and Savior our Jesus Christ]*, libretto: Antonín Dubravský, music: František Antonín Míča. More on this topic by PERUTKOVÁ 2015, passim.

from 1731 contains sixteen (both works were the first musical settings of Metastasio's librettos).³⁰

In terms of form, these compositions at the imperial court were exclusively two-part pieces; in other places they were one-part, two-part and exceptionally even three-part pieces.³¹ The frequently occurring one-part form cannot be considered outdated; it fully satisfies the purpose of the composition. Librettos also prove that the two-part sepolcri were sometimes performed in such a manner that the first part was presented before the sermon and the second after it. This was the case of the oratorio *Ausgelegte schmerzliche Beweinung des angehefften Heylandes Jesu Christi* (the libretto, by an unknown author, was set to music in 1704 by Georg Reutter Sr.). This is a two-part oratorio containing twenty sung numbers. The title page of the libretto indicates that it was performed in the Viennese Capuchin order on Good Friday at seven o'clock in the morning, before and after the sermon („vor und nach der Passion-Predigt“). The same information about the performance of the piece before and after the sermon appears in a libretto of the sepolcro *Der Anfangs verstockte hernach reumüthigbüßende Sünder*, which was performed in the Capuchin order in Vienna in 1724 (the libretto by an unknown author was set by Johann Georg Reinhardt). As in the previous case, the work was performed on Good Friday at 7 am, which suggests an unchanged local tradition.³² The relationship of the sepolcro to liturgy in specific locations has also not been examined in detail until now, with some exceptions, of which the most interesting is Jiří Sehnal's annals-based study of Augustinian canons in the Moravian town of Sternberg, near Olomouc; Sehnal describes the complete liturgy from Maundy Thursday through Easter Monday, including the musical components. Sepolcri were performed here after seven o'clock in the evening; sometimes they were short, and sometimes they lasted an hour to an hour and a half.³³ For some locations we have at least a partial idea of mentioned relationship. Librettos of Jaroměřice sepolcri and other Questenberg archival sources show that these works have always been performed on Good Friday before noon after the sermon. The holy sepulchre was moved to the Church of St. Margaret from St. Catherine's Chapel, which belonged to the Jaroměřice hospital managed by the Servite order. Count Questenberg was very particular about the text of the Good Friday sermon corresponding with the theme of the performed sepolcro.³⁴

30 This issue is not yet underpinned by more detailed research.

31 Josef Antonín Sehling: *Verschwenderischer Sohn* [...], *empfangen mit einem traurig-klingendem Saiten-Spiel und Reyhend, alls dessen Trauer-volle Gedächtnuß unter einen musicalischen Oratorio in der Kirchen S. Benedicti Cler. reg. S. Pauli apostoli auf den Hradschin in Prag, an dem heil. Chor-Freytag und halber zwey Uhr Nachmittag vorgestellt, und in die music gesetzt.* CZ-Pu, sign. 52 C 20, adl. 39, provenience Doksy.

32 The piece is stored in A-Wst, sign. A-5486.

33 SEHNAL, Jiří. Hudba u řeholních kanovníků sv. Augustina na Moravě v 17. a 18. století, část II. – Šternberk [Music at the Canons Regular of St. Augustine in Moravia in the 17th and 18th Century, Part II – Šternberk]. *Hudební věda* 52, 2017, iss. 4, pp. 377–440.

34 This is indicated by the instructions of Count von Questenberg to the steward Haussner dated February 28, 1731: „Hiebey folgen 2 exemplarien von dem oratori beyrn Heyl. Grab, davon ihr eines dem H. Dechant, dass andere dem P. Philipp zu geben habt, damit beede die Passions-Predigt, undt dass grab dernach richten können.“ Moravian Provincial Archive (Moravský zemský archiv – MZA), fund G 436, cartons 765, Inv. no. 6186, f. 229v.

Themes

The themes of oratorios performed by the holy sepulchre in the 18th century are remarkable, as is the spectrum of their characters; they deserve a separate disquisition, so only some basic information and examples will be provided here. Sepolcro themes ranged from works with purely allegorical characters and New and Old Testament themes, to very popular mixed forms of allegorical and biblical elements. One of the main libretto writers for this genre at the imperial court was Pietro Pariati. He created a number of librettos for *Kapellmeister* Johann Joseph Fux, the themes of which were allegorical, mixed (allegorical and New Testament) or exclusively New Testament.³⁵ Imperial court poet Pietro Metastasio sought other ways to enrich the Saviour's story with further connotations. In 1731 he created a piece with the theme of searching for the Cross; his text *Sant' Elena al Calvario* became very popular, and after its premiere with music by Antonio Caldara, it was set many more times (in Moravia by František Antonín Míča in 1733). This is a story of Saint Helena, who went to Jerusalem to search for the cross on which Christ died. In addition to Empress Helen, Metastasio's piece includes Bishop Macarius of Jerusalem, the Roman prefect of province Judea Dracilianus, the Roman Christian Eudossa, and the Palestinian Christian Eustatius. The libretto contains an introductory note ("Argomento") along the lines of opera librettos. This offers a commentary on the story with an emotional portrayal of Helen's search for the Cross and its discovery, as well as the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre. Metastasio also presented an Old Testament theme at the imperial court in the 1732 libretto *La Morte d'Abel*.³⁶ The text of this oratorio, also set to music by Caldara, is divided among five characters: Adam, Eve, Cain, Abel and an Angel. In the preface, Metastasio states that Abel's death is a foreshadowing of Christ's death: „*Non meno conosciuta, che chiara è la relazione, e corrispondenza del nuovo coll'antico Testamento; ed è noto a tutti i Fedeli, che non altramente questo da quello differisce, se non come l'ombra d'una immagine dall'immagine stessa, la promessa dal dono, e la figura di Gesù Cristo da Gesù Cristo medesimo. Nella morte d'Abel sogetto del presente sacro Componimento, riconoscono i Santi Padri delineata, più chiaramente che altrove, quella del Salvatore. Nè poco sarà giovevole a far comprendere la grandezza del Mistero, che in questi giorni si celebra, una occasion di ristrettezza, che si gran tempo innanzi, e fin dal principio de'secoli sia piacciuto all'eterna Provvidenza di prepararlo, figurarlo, e prometterlo.*”³⁷ At the end of the piece, Adam comes with Abel's body, and after a moment of sadness he prophesies that in the future the

35 WHITE, Harry. *The Oratorios of Johann Joseph Fux, 1660–1741*, Diss. Trinity College Dublin 1986; THE SAME: The ›Sepolcro‹ Oratorios of Fux: An Assessment, in: *Johann Joseph Fux and the Music of the Austro-Italian Baroque*, Aldershot 1992, pp. 164–230. HOCHRADNER, Thomas. Von zaghaftem Nachhall. Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte der Oratorien von Johann Joseph Fux. *Musicalogica Brunensia* 49, 2014, iss. 1, pp. 121–135.

36 *La Morte d'Abel: Figura di quella del Nostro Redentore. Componimento Sacro per Musica Applicato al suo Santissimo Sepolcro* [...].

37 METASTASIO, Pietro. *Opere del signor abate Pietro Metastasio* [...]. Paris: Vendova Herissant, 1780, not paged.

true Abel („vero Abelle“) will arrive and save the human race through his blood.³⁸ In the following year of 1733, Apostolo Zeno also brought an Old Testament theme in his piece *Gerusalemme convertita* („Azione sacra per musica applicata al suo santissimo sepolcro“). The descriptions of individual characters, which Zeno also relates to Christ and his story, are strikingly detailed in the libretto. Again, the text was set by imperial composer and *Vize-Kapellmeister* Antonio Caldara.

In other librettos with an Old Testament theme, authors of the text sometimes thought it necessary to explain the analogy between the story and that of Christ's suffering. This is the case in *Der durch des Liebes Brand-Opfer verzehrten, doch in seinem Eigenthum unversehrten Lamms groß gemachte und von Glaub, Hoffnung und Liebe hoch-berühmte [...] Creutzes-Sieg [...]*. This text by an unknown librettist was set to music by Georg Reutter Jr., and the piece was performed by the Viennese Augustinian order in the convent of St. Jakob auf der Hülben. Though the preserved libretto is not dated, the piece probably originated in the 1730s.³⁹ It is a one-part piece containing 11 sung numbers, and it was performed on Holy Saturday. Its allegorical characters represent Faith, Hope, and Love (Glaub, Hoffnung, Liebe); the Old Testament is represented by the Prophet Samuel (Samuel, ein Prophet und Obsieger über die Philistiener) and Icabod (Icabod, Sohn des Priesters Pinehas). According to usual custom, the piece was framed by two choral movements. The preserved libretto contains a short introductory text with a metaphor about Christ's demise on the Cross and the resurrection as victory. Allegorical and Old Testament characters celebrate this victory in a parable of victory over Dagon and the Philistines, and over hell and death, praising the symbol of the Cross. The same libretto without any changes was also set by the little-known composer Franz Josef Seuche (born 1701/02, probably in Bohemia, † 1790).⁴⁰ He worked as a musician in St. Michael's Church in Vienna.⁴¹ This information appears on the title page of the piece, which was presented by the Order of Hospitallers in Prague on Holy Saturday. Unfortunately, the libretto does not state the year of its presentation. Seuche was in close contact with the Order of Hospitallers. The few sources indicate that he gave violin and composition les-

38 It is not without interest, however, that a similar theme appears in Diogenio Bigaglia's *Passione d'Abel innocente*, mentioned in the *Diarium domesticum* of the Prague *Kreuzherren* in 1729; cf. FREEMANOVÁ 2014. Old Testament themes were often centered on the character of Abel. One example is a sepolcro from 1740: *Der in Glaub Hoffnung und Liebe gerechte Abel, Von den ungläubig-verzweiffelten Bruder-Mörder Cain, Auß Haß zum Todt gebracht, Das ist: Der lebendige Glaub, und wahre Hoffnung Jesus Christus, Auß Lieb von den ungläubig-hassenden Adams-Kind gecreuziget, Bey Maria Laureta in heiligen Grab vorgestellt, und mit einem Musicalischen Oratorio Am Grünm Donnerstag Nachmittag umb 5. Uhr bejammert [...]. In die Musique gesetzt, von Antonio Mauritio Taubner, des Lauretanischen Chors Musico.* CZ-Pu, sign. 52 C 21, adl. 11.

39 Date given PAGE 2014, Appendix 1, not numbered. Printer Ignaz Heyinger worked in the period of 1733–1755.

40 Data and information about his mass compositions are provided by MAC INTYRE, Bruce Campbell. *The Viennese concerted mass of the early classic period*, Studies in musicology, no. 89, Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986, p. 230 and passim.

41 According to the RISM database, his works are stored in the Benedictine order in Lambach, Kremsmünster and Otobeuren, in the Cistercian order in Heiligenkreuz and Wilhering, in Győr, Hungary, the Franciscan order in Prague, as well as in Český Krumlov/Böhmisch Krumau and Litoměřice/Leitmeritz.

sons, as he taught violinist Franz Fismann in Vienna as well as several other brothers.⁴²

Old Testament themes also appeared in Moravia.⁴³ In Jaroměřice in 1737, an oratorio entitled *Il martirio della madre de'Maccabei* (libretto by Antonio Maria Lucchini) at the holy sepulchre in the Church of St. Margaret was probably presented by imperial court composer Francesco Bartolomeo Conti. A piece that definitely originated from Questenberg's initiative was performed in 1736 at the Dominican St. Michael's Church in Brno, though not directly by the holy sepulchre, and earlier in the Lenten season („*nella Quadragesima*“). Another Old Testament theme appeared in Jaroměřice in 1739, as evidenced in correspondence between Count Questenberg and the castle steward concerning the artistic form of the holy sepulchre, i.e. the prospect. It was meant to depict Moses on Mt. Sinai.⁴⁴ The Count – as was often the case in matters of art – expressed a precise idea about the form of the work, which Jaroměřice painter Josef Šetínský (Joseph Schetinsky) was in charge of.⁴⁵ It is unfortunately unknown which specific composition was performed in Jaroměřice by the holy sepulchre that year. Thematically, the discussed subject would correspond, for example, with the libretto *Dio sul Sinai* by Italian poet Giambattista Giardini, set to music by imperial court composer Francesco Bartolomeo Conti.

The meditative elements that characterize sepulcri and the contrasting elements that dramatize the story are expressed primarily through the characters of individual roles. Meditative texts often fall to allegorical characters such as the Soul (Seele), Compassion (Mitleid; sometimes also Compassionate Soul – Mitleidende Seele), Love (Liebe, also as Divine Love – Göttliche Liebe), God's Mercy (Göttliche Barmherzigkeit, Misericordia), Hope (Hoffnung), Angel (Engel, also as the guardian Angel – Der Schutzengel, Angel of peace – Der Engel des Friedens, etc.); frequently used choral movements include the Chorus of Souls, Angels, Virtues (Chor der Seelen, Chor deren Engeln, Chor deren Tugenden), etc. The choruses of a commentative, meditative or moralistic character, usually found at the end of sepulcri, are often only referred to as a Chorus. Jesus Christ (Christ) often falls between the meditative and moralistic planes, or sometimes also the less frequent character of God the Father. Dramatic elements are provided by the very frequent character of the Sinner (Sünder, Anima peccatrix or other specific personifications). It often also contains a lamentative element – a lament for sins, like the allegorical

42 FREEMANNOVÁ 2014, p. XI– XIII. Sanctus Czerny and Abundius Micksh were also his pupils. Also BIBA, Otto on Seuche. Die Wiener Kirchenmusik um 1783. *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts I/2*, Eisenstadt 1971, pp. 7–79.

43 See SPÁČILOVÁ, Jana. Unbekannte Brünner Oratorien Neapolitanischer Komponisten vor 1740. *Musikologica Brunensia*, 2014, vol. 49, iss. 1, pp. 137–161.

44 Letter by Count von Questenberg to his steward January 1739: „[...] *indessen aber solle er auch anstatt der Abrahams Figur, eine andere in der Mitten, oder in dem Prospect machen, wie Moyses das gesatz auff dem berg Sinai empfanget, davon anheuer am Charfreytag das Oratorium werden wirdt.*“ Moravian Provincial Archive (MZA), fund G 436, cartons 767, Inv. no. 6187, f. 319r.

45 From the count to the steward on February 4: „*es wird besser sein, wenn zum heyl. Grab das concept von der obgesagten Materie gesetzt, auff einer seythen der Moyses auff dem berg Sinai die gesatz empfangendt; auf der anderen aber umb des goldene Kalb tanzende Israelitische Volck mit dem zorn Moyses, welcher die gesatz taffeln zur erden wirft, gemahlen wurde. wegen welches mann sich mit dem hostinger Pfarrer unterreden konnte, wegen des darzu kommen mussenden text aus der heyl. schrift.*“ Moravian Provincial Archive (MZA), fund G 436, cartons 767, Inv. no. 6187, f. 345r.

figure Despair (Desperatio), Pain (Schmerz), or Regret (Reu). The character of God's Revenge (Göttliche Rache) is also dramatic; some of the characters symbolizing hellish power (Drache – see below, the Angel of Darkness – Der Engel der Finsterniss), and the Chorus of Jews (Chor der Juden).

The text of the sepolcro *Abgesungene Betrachtungen über etwelche Geheimnisse des büßtern Leyden und Sterbens Jesu Christi* may serve as an example of the allegorical theme, which was very frequent especially in the first half of the 18th century. This work, by anonymous authors of both lyrics and music, was presented by the Oratorian order in Vienna in 1726. The lyrics and the title were adopted completely by František Antonín Míča, who set the piece to new music, and it was presented in 1727, just one year later, in Jaroměřice. The characters in this sepolcro are Compassion, the Soul, the Sinner and Christ (Mitleyden, Seel, Sünder, Christus).

A sepolcro that combines Passion, allegorical, and New Testament themes is the oratorio *Das Leyden und Sterben des Heylands Jesu Christi*, which was performed on Maundy Thursday 1734 in a Capuchin church in Znojmo.⁴⁶ The oratorio was commissioned by Carl Joseph Freiherr de Souches (1684–1736), a longtime governor of the Znojmo region who owned the Jevišovice/Jaispitz estate.⁴⁷ The lyrics were written by Franz Anton Neumann, and the music was composed by Souches' unknown and hitherto unidentified house composer, working as a groom (*Stallmeister*), Johann Georg Knefrle.⁴⁸ The characters in this piece are: The Sorrowful Savior (Der Schmerzhaffte Heyland), The Sorrowful Mother (Die Schmerzhaffte Mutter), God's Mercy (Die Göttliche Barmherzigkeit), The Converted Sinner Personified by Mary Magdalene (Der bekehrte Sünder in der Persohn der H. Maria Magdalena), The Desperate Sinner Personified by Judas Iscariot (Der verzweiffelte Sünder in der Persohn Judae Iscariotis) and the Roman Governor Pilate (Der Röm. Land-Pfleger Pilatus). The piece contains a total of 14 sung numbers. According to the common customs at the time, it is framed by two choral movements – the Chorus of Jews (Chor deren Juden) and the Chorus of Patriarchs in Limbo (Chor der Alt-Vätter in der Vorhöll). The common character of a Sinner is concretized here with two roles: Mary Magdalene as a converted sinner, and the “desperate sinner” Judas Iscariot. The most prominent characters are the Sorrowful Savior and the Sorrowful Mother. Only one aria is dedicated to the character Pilate, but it is preceded by a dramatic recitative – a dialogue with the Jews calling for Christ's crucifixion (*Kreutzige ihn!*).⁴⁹ The closing Chorus has a commentative function, and the introductory Chorus of the Jews has a story-telling function, creating the overall dramatic nature of this piece. This is also reflected in the character Judas, who mentions hell in both his arias. His mention of Plutus and Kerber

46 PERUTKOVÁ, Jana – MAŇAS, Vladimír. Pašijové oratorium ve Znojmě roku 1734 – příspěvek k poznání hudebního života na Moravě [Passion oratorio in Znojmo in 1734 – a contribution to the knowledge of musical life in Moravia]. *Opus musicum* 44, 2012, iss. 3, pp. 6–13.

47 He was the last male member of the family of the famous defender of Brno against the Swedes, Louis Raduit de Souches.

48 Singers are also listed, probably belonging to Souches' music ensemble. Due to the lack of sources and records, however, not much more can be said about Souches' ensemble.

49 The text in this place shows some similarity to Lutheran Passion oratorios.

refers to ancient associations; the location of the Patriarchal Chorus in Limbo is related to the Catholic tradition of Christ in Limbo.

Words like “Leyden”, “Sterben” or “Heyland” are key words for the sepulcro genre, like “Erlöser”, “Unschuld”, “bitterste Weg”, etc. This is also indicated by the title of the sepulcro *Leyden, Sterben, und Begräbnuß des Heylands Jesu Christi* created for Count Johann Adam von Questenberg. It was performed in 1732 on Maundy Thursday in the Capuchin order in Brno, and on Good Friday in the Church of St. Margaret in Jaroměřice. As you can see, it has almost the same title as the above-mentioned Znojmo sepulcro with Neumann’s lyrics, but its content is completely different. The libretto was written by actor, occasional translator and writer Johann Georg Schilde, and the music was composed by František Antonín Míča. The narrative centers on the Passion, and the main characters are Mary Magdalene, Mary Jakobi (the mother of Apostle James the Lesser), Joseph of Arimathea, the Hetman and Judas (Judas der Verräter). From a literary point of view, the lyrics of the piece are relatively good, even though Schilde wrote them in a hurry, as Questenberg wanted to present an oratorio with original Czech lyrics that same year. When a member of the Jaroměřice Servite order, priest Philipp, didn’t finish it in time, the count had to turn to Schilde in late February.⁵⁰ This situation truly angered the count, which makes it clear that the pieces in the Czech language were very important to him. He was a great Moravian patriot, a fact that is underlined by the very atypical vignette, containing the Moravian eagle, decorating one of the Questenberg librettos for a sepulcro by Míča.



Fig. 1 Libretto to Míča’s sepulcro *Oefterer Anstoß des zum Berg Calvariae im Geist aufsteigenden Wandersmann*, performed by the Capuchin order in Brno, 1731. CZ-R, sign. Z.f.18, adl. 8.

As mentioned above, sepulcri contained many parables. In this respect, the theme of the sepulcro *Der Streit eines Weibes, und ihres Kindes wider einen gekrönten sieben-köpfigen*

⁵⁰ Letter from Questenberg to Jaroměřice steward Haussner from February 20, 1732: „dem P. Philipp habt ihr zu sagen, das, weillen Er seine parole [his word] so schlecht hallet, undt die Böhmishe Poesie zum Oratorio nicht schicket, ich gezwungen werde, andere, und zwar Teutsche worth hier componieren zu lassen.“ Moravian Provincial Archive (MZA), fund G 436, cartons 765, Inv. no. 6186, f. 468v.

Drachen is quite remarkable. The lyrics by an unknown librettist („*Der Poesie nach / Von einem erwehnter Versammlung* [...]”) were set to music by the already mentioned choir-master from Stockerau, Georg Matthias Frumann, who was named as “Juris Auditore” on the title page of the libretto. The one-part piece consisting of 13 sung numbers was heard at the Vienna Oratory order at Zur Heiligsten Dreifaltigkeit church on Good Friday 1736, at 4 o’clock in the afternoon. The following allegorical characters figure in it: God, Woman, Child and Dragon (Gott, Weib, Kind, Drache). In addition, there are two choral movements: the Chorus of Hell’s Squadron (Chor des Höll-Geschwaders), which presents a dramatic situation in the introduction, and the final Chorus of the Righteous (Chor deren Gerechten). The Biblical parable is illuminated in the introductory “Vorbericht” (placing in a situation, or explaining as in an Argomento). It says that the Woman symbolizes the Catholic Church, the Child symbolizes the people (Volk) representing the Sinner, and finally, the crowned seven-headed dragon represents Satan-Antichrist. It is therefore a fight between heaven and hell for the sinner’s soul. The Dragon-Satan ultimately is overcome, to which he responds with resentment in an aria:

Phuy! Phuy!
 Sind Weiber und die Kinder
 der Helden Überwinder [sic],
 vor welchen Männer weichen,
 doch diese Felsen gleichen.
 Phuy! Phuy!
 Sind Kinder und Weiber
 auch Teuffel Vertreiben
 Phuy! Phuy! [Da Capo].

Mythological themes seem to be rare in *sepolcri* examined so far. In the piece *Jesus Christus ein Heyland*, likely composed by imperial Kapellmeister Johann Joseph Fux, and so far known only as the genre *Oratorium germanicum de passione*, the myth of Andromeda and Perseus is used as an allegory for the suffering of Christ, as evidenced by the names of individual characters. The daughter (Andromeda) is suffering due to her mother’s (Cassiope) guilt, and she is rescued by Perseus, who takes her as his wife. Perseus represents Christ, Cassiope the (sinful) human race, Nemesis Justice, Furor Fury and Andromeda the Sighing and Compassionate Soul. The essence of the story is therefore Christ’s marriage with the Soul.⁵¹

51 Identification of the libretto titled *Jesus Christus ein Heyland* changes our view on the date of this work, but does not clearly shine light on its author. CZ-Pu, sign. 34 C 19, adl. 22. On this piece, cf. GRUBER, Genot. *Das Wiener Sepolcro und Johann Joseph Fux. 1. Teil*. Graz: Johann-Joseph-Fux-Gesellschaft 1972 (Jahresgabe der Johann-Joseph-Fux-Gesellschaft 9). FUKAČ, Jiří. Die Oratorienaufführungen bei den Prager Kreuzherren mit dem Roten Stern als Typ lokaler Musikfeste. *Sborník prací filozofické fakulty Brněnské univerzity* 29, 1994, pp. 69–89. PETERMAYR, Klaus. Fux oder Caldara? – zum wiederaufgefundenen ›Oratorium Germanicum‹ (E 61). *Auf Fux-Jagd* 12, 2004, iss. 1/2, pp. 23–32. PETERMAYR, Klaus. Das Oratorium Germanicum (E 61) von Johann Joseph Fux. *Jahrbuch des RIMS-Österreich* 2, 2011, (Veröffentlichungen des RISM-Österreich A 16), pp. 79–91. FLOTZINGER, Rudolf. Das ›Oratorium Germanicum de Passione‹ von Johann Joseph Fux. Schritte

A typical example of a text centered on the story of the Passion, including allegorical characters, is the sepolcro *Die beschuldigte Unschuld*.⁵² The piece is not dated, but based on secondary sources it may have been created after 1738.⁵³ The lyrics by theatrical actor, impresario, and occasional writer and translator of librettos Andreas Weidner,⁵⁴ were set to music by Georg Reutter Jr.; the piece was performed on Good Friday at the Viennese Augustinian order. It is a one-part piece and contains fourteen sung numbers; the individual characters are: Pilate, the Prosecutor, St. John the Apostle, the Daughter of Zion (representing the Catholic Church) and the Compassionate Soul (Pilatus, Der Ankläger des Jüdischen Volcks, Joannes, der heil. Jünger Christi, Die Tochter Zion, Die mitleidende Seele). The piece opens with the dramatic Chorus of the Jews, and it closes according to custom by the Chorus of Sympathetic Souls (die mitleidenden Seelen).

As we can see, the characters and entire themes of sepolcri were often very similar or intertwined, which relates also to the above-mentioned keywords. However, this is closely related to functional anchoring of the genre and its basic definition, which was a reminder of Christ's suffering. The creation of various parables, whether based on the New Testament, Old Testament or some other source, presented a certain enrichment of the genre.

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52 *Beschuldigte Unschuld, Und Der zum Todt des Creutzes Verurtheilte Welt-Erlöser, In einem Oratorio Bey dem Heiligen Grabe [...] producirt am Heiligen Char-Freytag [...]*. A-Wst, 5491-A.

53 At the time he became bandmaster at St. Stephen's Church, the title of which is listed on the title page of the libretto.

54 On Weidner's Saxon origin and more information see cf. RUDIN, Bärbel. Wien – Berlin – Riga: Commedia dell'arte auf Wanderschaft: Andreas Weidner, Johann Peter Hilverding und "Die entsetzlichen Zufälle in Glück- und Unglückswechsel". In *Im Spiegel der Theatergeschichte: deutschsprachiges Theater im Wechsel von Raum und Zeit*, eds. Paul S. Ulrich, Gunilla Dahlberg, Horst Fassel. Münster: LIT Verlag Münster, 2015, pp. 21–59.

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