

*Studies on the reception
of Italian music
in central-eastern Europe
in the 16th and 17th century*

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of Italian music
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edited by
Marina Toffetti

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On the cover

Front page: First page of the facsimile of the inventory from Gumpoldskirchen

Back page: Luca Marenzio, *Jubilate Deo* for eight voices. Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio «G. Verdi», Ris. Mus. C 135-41, Cantus I, fol. 3.

Lay-out

Andrzej Sitarz

Revision of the English texts

Michael Webb

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List of abbreviations

- MMG1 – *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Friedrich Blume, 14 vols., Kassel – Basel: Bärenreiter, 1949–1968 (+ Supplement 2 vols. 1973–1979)
- MGG2 – *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Ludwig Finscher, 29 vols. (Personenteil, 17 vols.; Sachteil, 9 vols. + Register, 2 vols. + Supplement), Kassel – Basel – London – New York – Prag: Bärenreiter; Stuttgart – Weimar: Metzler, 1994–2008
- NG2 – *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musician*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 29 vols., London – New York: Macmillan, 2001
- RISM A/I – *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales. A/I: Einzeldrucke vor 1800 (Individual Prints before 1800)*, 9 vols., 4 supplements, index, CD-ROM, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1971–2012
- RISM B/I – *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales. B/I: Recueils imprimés XVIe–XVIIe siècles*, ed. François Lesure, München – Duisburg: Henle, 1960

INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

Marina Toffetti

Tracking the dissemination of Italian music in central-eastern Europe

1. Why a book of this kind?

This work is intended as a contribution to the history of music reception in Europe and stems from the observation that, in some sectors of historical musicology, there exists a lack of communication between scholars of different areas that tends to slow down (and at times prevent) its harmonious realization. While on the one hand the results of numerous musicological studies have highlighted the significance of the phenomenon of the dissemination in Europe of forms, genres, styles and techniques of Italian origin – a phenomenon that began in the 16th century with the diffusion of the madrigal, and continued in the 17th century with that of polychoral music and the small-scale motet with basso continuo, then becoming macroscopic in the 18th–19th century with the widespread diffusion of the melodrama and other various forms of opera¹ – on the other, many of these studies (and especially those concerning the reception

¹ To gain an idea of the extent of the, albeit well known, phenomenon of the circulation of Italian music and musicians in Europe, it is sufficient to look at the entries about Italy (and the relative bibliography) in the main music dictionaries and encyclopedias. See Nino PIRROTTA – Pierluigi PETROBELLI – Antonio ROSTAGNO – Giorgio PESTELLI – John C. G. WATERHOUSE – Raffaele POZZI, “Italy. Art Music”, in: NG2, vol. 12, pp. 637–664; Dietrich KÄMPER, “Italien”, B. “Kunstmusik”, in: MGG2, *Sachteil*, vol. 4 (1996), coll. 1243–1282. See also what is written at the start of the latter entry (A. “Zum Problem der Abgrenzung”, col. 1243): “die italienische Musik – und zwar nicht nur die Werke selbst, sondern auch der entsprechende Kompositionsstil – zeitweise auch außerhalb Italiens eine solche Verbreitung gefunden hat, daß der Begriff der Kultur- oder Musiknation für die Musikgeschichte Italiens und der davon beeinflussten anderen Länder nur von relativer Bedeutung sein kann.”

of Italian music in central-eastern Europe) have been carried out by specialists working in delimited areas, whose results have been published, at least until some decades ago, for the most part in non-vehicular languages, or in publications difficult to access.² It will be evident to anyone undertaking the study of single segments of the history of the reception and dissemination of music or of the migration of musicians, that this represents a waste of resources, since the overall picture of the dissemination in Europe of musical genres, techniques and styles emerging from the studies on the reception of music (above all in the Baroque era) would not only be enriched, but probably modified and reshaped, if the results of research until now carried out within delimited linguistic areas could be more widely shared by international musicology.³

The primary aim of this volume is therefore to give a contribution to scientific communication (or, more specifically, to the exchange of knowledge

² The topic of the assimilation of Italian music has been a main focus of central-eastern European – especially Polish – scholarship since the beginning of the twentieth century. In the history of Polish musicology and historiography, an important place is held by the monograph by Zdzisław JACHIMECKI, *Wpływy włoskie w muzyce polskiej. Część I. 1540–1640* [Italian influences in Polish music. Part I. 1540–1640] (Studia do Historii Muzyki w Polsce), Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1911, while Mateusz Gliński published a monograph in Italian on Asprilio Pacelli (Città del Vaticano: s.e., 1941). Successively, many scholars followed in the wake of Jachimecki, producing a considerable amount of studies mostly written in Polish: these include, among others, Adolf Chybiński, Hieronim Feicht, Jerzy Gołos, Stanisław Chodyński, Tomasz Jasiński, Tadeusz Maciejewski, Władysław Malinowski (who has also published in German), Mirosław Perz (who has also published articles in Italian and French), Adam Sutkowski (who has also published in Italian), Elżbieta Zwolińska (who has written some articles in Italian and German), Anna Szweykowska and Zygmunt M. Szweykowski (who have also published in Italian and English), Piotr Poźniak (who has also published in Italian), Stanisław Czajkowski, Alina Żórawska-Witkowska (who has also published in German and English) and Karolina Targosz. In other areas mention should be made of the work of the Croatian Dragan Plamenac (who has also published widely in English, especially during his period in the USA), of the Czechs Jiří Sehnal (some of whose articles have been published in German) and Theodora Straková, of the Slovaks Richard Rybarič and Marta Hulková (who has published several articles in German), of the Slovenians Ivan Klemenčič, Edo Škulj, Katarina Bedina and Dragotin Cvetko (who have also published in German), and Aleš Nagode, and of the Lithuanian Jūratė Trilupaitytė.

³ The translation into English of two articles already published in German (that of Herbert Seifert) and in Italian (that of the present author, here extensively revised and updated) stems from the observation that these two languages, which in principle *should* be mastered by all musicologists, especially if undertaking a study of the reception of Italian music, is *de facto* no longer (or at least: not necessarily) part of the linguistic competence of the younger generations of researchers, who will have the task of continuing along the lines of research proposed in these pages, and who resort more and more to English as a privileged vehicle language.

within the international musicological community), but it is also intended as a research tool (see the indexes of names and the tables, in which scholars may be surprised to find – or not find – the composer or music they are interested in) that one hopes will offer further impetus to the study (which needs to be as interdisciplinary as possible) of the dissemination and reception of Italian music culture in a broader European context, which is nevertheless rooted in a cultural and musical identity common to much of Europe.

We know that in past eras the strong creative drive that enriched many geo-political areas of Europe of the time derived from the musical output of great figures linked to the present Veneto region and to Venice itself, from Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli, to Claudio Monteverdi, and then a long list of illustrious musicians and chapel masters of St Mark's Basilica, not to mention the opera writers connected to local theatres, as well as the composers linked to Padua Cathedral, the chapel of St Anthony's Basilica, and countless other musical institutions mostly held to be 'minor', but sometimes no less lively and productive than those of the main centres. It comes as no surprise, then, that this project has been made possible thanks to the support of the Department of Cultural Heritage of the University of Padua, which is one of the oldest universities not only in the Veneto region, but also in the whole of Europe.

It should also be remembered that this book is not the outcome of an isolated and extemporary initiative, but on the contrary is one of the results issuing from an international study group, formed in 2010 in the framework of the research projects of the Ugo and Olga Levi foundation in Venice⁴ and coordinated by the present author, which from 2016 expanded thanks to the adhesion of new scholars, became independent from its original context, and continued to pursue its specific objective: the investigation of the different means and times in which Italian music was received in different geographical and cultural areas, with particular attention to the parts of central and eastern

⁴ The members of the original research group, coordinated by the present author, were Jana Kalinayová-Bartová (Comenius University, Bratislava), Daniele V. Filippi (University of Boston), Tomasz Jeż (University of Warsaw), Metoda Kokole (Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Ljubljana), Antonio Lovato (University of Padua), Aleksandra Patalas (Jagellonian University), Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska (Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw) and Marina Toffetti (University of Padua), who in 2013 were joined by Lars Berglund (University of Uppsala), Herbert Seifert (University of Vienna) and Joachim Steinheuer (University of Heidelberg).

Europe most affected by this phenomenon, both macroscopic and capillary, of stylistic and cultural assimilation.

Starting from 2016 that the same group promoted further scientific and didactic initiatives under the patronage and with the support of Padua University and of the Department of Cultural Heritage, including the international conference *The Reception of Small-Scale Motet in Central-Eastern Europe in the Early Baroque Era*, held in the Palazzo del Bo in Padua on 8 June 2016, and the International Winter School *Editing, Performing and Analysing Small-Scale Motet* (20–24 February 2017),⁵ which was the didactic translation of the scientific results that emerged during the course of the previous conference.

This publication also owes much to the collaboration of the members of this research group, since the project would not have been feasible without consulting scholars from different geographical and cultural areas. The initial aim of making specialist articles on the dissemination of Italian music in central-eastern Europe and its compositional assimilation more accessible through their English translation, gradually became broader and more varied thanks to the suggestions of several colleagues, who proposed a series of publications that they believed significant for various reasons (because they were particularly recent, or on the contrary were ‘historical’, if not pioneering in their respective sectors; because they appeared in publications that were hard to find; on account of the amount of information they contain, or else of the originality of the methods adopted) for the purposes of studying the reception of Italian music. There followed a phase of scrutiny, during which the various criteria of selection were discussed, finally resulting in a volume that intends to encompass different geo-cultural and linguistic areas and to present articles focusing on three main themes: 1) the dissemination of Italian music, faithfully reflected in the numerous historical inventories of music items kept in ecclesiastic institutions of the area under consideration; 2) the phenomenon of the migration of musicians and composers; 3) the adaptation and assimilation of style and compositional techniques of Italian origin, suitably modified

⁵ The International Winter School *Editing, Performing and Analysing Small-Scale Motet*, held in Milan from 20 to 24 February 2017, saw the participation of scholars of diverse provenance long involved in the initiatives of the previously mentioned research group: Daniele V. Filippi (Schola Cantorum Basiliensis), Aleksandra Patalas, Herbert Seifert, Jana Kalinayová-Bartová, and Marina Toffetti, as well as musicians and singers from the Conservatory of Venice, under the guidance of Cristina Miatello.

depending on the performing conditions and shaped to the particular needs (liturgical, celebrative or other) of the different geo-cultural contexts.

2. The dissemination of Italian music in central-eastern Europe in the first half of the 17th century

Although the fact that a work appears in a music inventory does not necessarily mean that it was actually performed in the place where the inventory was made and in the period when it was written, it nevertheless represents an indispensable source of information for anyone trying to reconstruct the paths of the dissemination of the music repertoire. Among the many music inventories published to date, which feature works by Italian composers,⁶ the three articles contained in this volume were selected because the inventories in question, found in small centres in southern Austria, Moravia and the Dalmatian coast, and now transcribed in their entirety and commented, were compiled in a very limited space of time, and offer an illuminating overview of the musical works that circulated in Europe towards the end of the Thirty Years War. The

⁶ Among the most notable contributions concerning inventories preserved in eastern Europe see, among others: Dragotin CVETKO, "Ein unbekanntes Inventarium musicalium aus dem Jahre 1620", *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 8, 1958, pp. 77–80 (concerning the *Inventarium librorum musicalium ecclesiae cathedralis Labacensis*, a list of 317 musicalia belonging to the Cathedral of Ljubljana, and recorded mostly in 1620 by order of the prince-bishop Tomaž Hren); Mirosław PERZ, "Inwentarz przemyski (1677)" [An inventory from Przemyśl (1677)], *Muzyka*, 1974/4, pp. 44–69; Tadeusz MACIEJEWSKI, "Inwentarz muzykaliów kapeli karmelickiej w Krakowie na Piasku z lat 1665–1684" [A music inventory of the Carmelite chapel on the Sands in Cracow 1665–1684], *Muzyka*, 1976/2, pp. 77–99; Mirosław PERZ, "Na marginesie polskich inwentarzy muzycznych II poł. XVII wieku oraz traktatu M. H. Schachta *Musicus Danicus*" [On the margins of Polish music inventories from the second half of the seventeenth century and M. H. Schacht's treatise *Musicus Danicus*], *Muzyka*, 1977/3, pp. 75–81; Jiří SEHNAL, "Hudební inventář Strážnických piaristů z roku 1675" [A music inventory of the Piarists of Strážnica from 1675], *Časopis Moravského Musea*, 1984 [for other publications by the same scholar see footnote 7]; Jana KALINAYOVÁ et al., *Musikinventare und das Repertoire der mehrstimmigen Musik in der Slowakei im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum-Hudobné múzeum, 1994; Tomasz CZEPIEL, "Zacheus Kesner and the Music Book Trade at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century: an Inventory of 1602", *Musica Iagellonica*, 2, 1997, pp. 23–69; Aleksandra PATALAS, "Polonica w inwentarzach słowackich z lat 1581–1718" [Polonica in Slovakian inventories from the years 1581–1718], *Muzyka*, 2002/2, pp. 97–107; Alicja DACEWICZ, "Franciszkańskie inwentarze muzyczne z II połowy XVII wieku" [Franciscan music inventories from the second half of the seventeenth century], *W nurcie franciszkańskim*, 19, 2012, pp. 139–170.

chronological span covered by these documents goes, in fact, from 1640, the date when the list was made of the music kept in the church of St Michael in Gumpoldskirchen, not far from Vienna, to 1648, the year in which the second integration was added to the inventory of the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin in Moravská Třebová, a small town situated in the eastern part of the historical region of Moravia (today in the region of Bohemia, Czech Republic), also taking into consideration the inventory of music belonging to the cathedral of Hvar (Lesina at the time), compiled between 1646 and 1647. Moreover, in Jiří Sehnal's article on the inventory from Moravská Třebová we find the first complete transcription of another inventory (consisting of just eleven works) regarding the musical assets of Branná, a town situated in the region of Olomouc (in the present Czech Republic), written in the years 1677–1684.

In the present (partly updated) version of his article about the inventory from Gumpoldskirchen, a small town situated around thirty kilometres from Vienna, Herbert Seifert tries to explain the presence of a quite substantial collection of church music in a small community that at the time had just one organist and one not particularly large choir of school children. Since the oldest music inventories, dating from 1617, 1636 and 1638, list only liturgical music books and make no reference to other types of music, it can be inferred that most of the books listed in the inventory of 1640 must have been purchased between 1639 and 1640.

Eight years after publishing his article, Herbert Seifert learned from a local historian that in 1639 Giovanni Valentini, then chapel master of the imperial court of Vienna, had purchased 8200 (!) litres of wine precisely in Gumpoldskirchen (a locality widely renowned for its wine production) probably to meet the needs of the same chapel, and that in April of the same year the copyist of the 1640 inventory went to Vienna to collect the money. Seifert's hypothesis, certainly fanciful but also quite feasible, is that Valentini, on that occasion, gave the small parish church a certain number of music books, mostly dating from the end of the 16th and start of the 17th century, which were probably no longer used by the much more up-to-date imperial chapel. Furthermore, none of the volumes listed in the Gumpoldskirchen inventory is to be found (at least in complete form) at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, where one would expect to find the collections that had belonged to the imperial chapel. According to Seifert, it is precisely this habit of discarding music no longer in use that could explain why most of the church and instrumental

music used at the imperial court is not kept in Vienna, but survives in other, even quite remote, localities such as the castle of Kremsier / Kroměříž (today in the Czech Republic), the monastery of Kremsmünster (Upper Austria) or the Düben collection of the university library in Uppsala (Sweden).

The following article by Jiří Sehnal is dedicated to the inventory of instruments and music books in the church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Moravská Třebová, compiled in 1644 and then supplemented in 1647 and 1648.⁷ The document is of particular interest for many reasons, which are well

⁷ In the space of over fifty years of scientific activity, Jiří Sehnal has dedicated fifteen or so articles, mostly in the Czech language, to the study and publication of numerous music inventories that came to light in the area of Moravia and Bohemia. See Jiří SEHNAL, “Pohled do instrumentáře kroměřížské kapely v 17. a 18. století” [View of the instruments of the Kroměříž chapel in the 17th and 18th centuries], *Umění a svět*, 1959/2–3, pp. 53–91; ID., “Das Älteste Musikalieninventar Mährens”, *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, 7, 1965, pp. 139–148; ID., “Hudba v jezuitském semináři v Uherském Hradišti” [Music at the Jesuit Seminar in Uherske Hradište], *Hudební věda*, 4, 1967, pp. 139–147; ID., “Die Musikkapelle des Olmützer Bischofs Maximilian Hamilton”, *Die Musikforschung*, 24, 1971/4, pp. 411–417; ID., “Das Musikinventar des Olmützer Bischofs Leopold Egk aus dem Jahre 1760 als Quelle vorklassischer Instrumentalmusik”, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 29, 1972, pp. 285–317; ID., “Nové příspěvky k dějinám hudby na Moravě v 17. a 18. století” [New contributions to the history of music in Moravia in the 17th and 18th centuries], *Časopis Moravského musea – vědy společenské*, 60, 1975, pp. 159–180; ID., “Hudební kapela Antona Theodora Colloreda Waldsee (1777–1811) v Kroměříži a Olomouci” [The music chapel of Anton Theodor Colloredo Waldsee (1777–1811) in Kroměříž and Olomouc], *Hudební věda*, 13, 1976, pp. 291–349; ID., “Hudební inventář strážnických piaristů z r. 1675” [A music inventory piarists in Strážnica from 1675], *Časopis Moravského musea – vědy společenské*, 69, 1984, pp. 117–128; ID., “Hudební inventář Kroměříže z roku 1659” [A music inventory of Kroměříž from 1659], *Sborník prací filosofické fakulty brněnské university*, 19–20, 1984, pp. 71–76; ID., “Hudební zájmy královského rychtáře v Uherském Hradišti v roce 1632” [Musical interests of the royal rector in Uherské Hradiště in 1632], *Hudební věda*, 24, 1987, pp. 63–72; ID., “Die Musik in Mähren gegen Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts und Jacobus Gallus”, in: *Gallus Carniolus in Evropska Renesansa*, vol. 1, Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 1991, pp. 33–43; ID., “Musikinventare der Olmützer Erzbischöfe aus dem 19. Jahrhundert”, in: *Prof. Jiří Fukač – Festschrift*, Hradec Králové: Gaudeamus, 1998, pp. 131–140; Jiří SEHNAL – Jitřenka PEŠKOVÁ, *Caroli de Liechtenstein–Castelcorno episcopi Olomucensis operum artis musicae collectio Cremsirii reservata*, Prague: Bibliotheca nationalis rei publicae Bohemicae, 1998 (Artis musicae antiquioris catalogorum series, V/1, V/2); ID., “Stylové změny v repertoáru kostela sv. Mořice v Kroměříži v první polovině 19. Století” [Stylistical changes in the repertoire of St. Mořice in Kroměříž in the first half of the 19th century], *Hudební věda*, 47, 2010, pp. 351–358. The article presented here in English translation (“Hudební inventář kostela v Moravské Třebové z konce třicetileté války” [The music inventory of the church in Moravská Třebová from the end of the Thirty Years War], *Hudební věda*, 52, 2015, pp. 55–78) was selected on account of the chronological proximity of the Moravská Třebová inventory to the others included in this volume and the breadth of the multidisciplinary observations arising from its commentary.

covered by the author, who tackles the various different issues (musical, historical-political, religious, cultural) raised by this document with great critical acumen. The inventory is among the largest of those kept in Moravia: it lists 155 works, mostly printed, attributed to over 50 composers (almost all identified). Around half of the composers (who wrote the greatest part of the works) are of Italian origin (see the Table included in the present introduction); there is also a group of works by German protestant composers, whereas there is not a single Czech composer. The collection (now lost) also included 4 medieval liturgical books, three of which are probably preserved in Moravia and were written at the end of the 14th century.

Moravská Třebová, a prevalently German town in the 16th century, was pervious to the Reform and from 1550 was under the control of the protestants; later (from 1589 to 1620) it belonged to count Ladislav Velen of Žerotín (1581–1638), who had been educated by the Calvinists and tended to be anti-Habsburg. The town finally underwent a process of re-catholicization under prince Charles I of Liechtenstein. Although after the mid-1600s there are no new works by protestant composers listed in the inventory, some protestant compositions, and in particular those with Latin texts usable also in the liturgical context of the counter-reform, were apparently tolerated even after the area became newly catholic. The music repertoire of the parish church until 1620 is mainly polyphonic and reflects the usages of the court of Prague, while after that date the modern style of the Italianate concertato motet prevails.

As well as commenting on the contents and characteristics of the musical items found in the inventory, the author also compares them with those mentioned in other Moravian inventories (Prostějov 1608, Příbor 1614–1638, Nový Jičín 1630, Uherské Hradiště 1632, Kroměříž 1659, Litovel 1672, Strážnice 1675, and Branná 1677–1684, the latter transcribed for the first time in its entirety in this article), thus offering a rich overview of the music purchased, copied, preserved and performed in the churches of Moravia in the 17th century.

Besides this, the author gives an account of the complexity of the relations developed in the various phases of history, including the political circumstances, the alternation of sovereigns and groups of power, the history of the religious institutions, the cultural policy and the liturgical-musical practice, integrating the data drawn from archival and historical-documentary research with numerous observations about the cultural and musical policy of the time. Moreover, particular attention is given to the dissemination, reception and

assimilation of the liturgical-musical repertoire and to the evident cultural permeability, and various questions are raised that merit further investigation in the light of new documentary findings and new critical and historiographic trends.

The article by Maja Milošević transcribes and comments on the only 17th century inventory of music books so far found along the Dalmatian coast: it consists of a list of music books and items from the chapter of the cathedral in Hvar (Lesina at the time), compiled between 1646 and 1647. Although now lost, the recorded music titles bear witness to the quantity and quality of music in the town of Hvar (and Dalmatia in general) during the first half of the 17th century. This music inventory testifies not only to the presence of contemporary Italian (mostly Venetian early-Baroque) music literature on the island; it also reveals two titles of Tomaso Cecchini's previously unknown opuses. Considering the importance of this source in the context of Croatian music historiography and (early) Baroque culture, a focal point of this article is an overview of the inventory's musical content.

The fact that these three, almost coeval, inventories have now been presented in a single publication, makes it possible to set out some considerations on the basis of their comparison. Firstly, with regards their consistency, the inventory from the cathedral of Lesina (73 titles) and that from the small town of Moravská Třebová (72 titles) are equal in size; however, the latter was expanded by two further additions in 1647 (35 titles) and 1648 (48 titles), demonstrating how this collection was amplified by legacies and donations. The size of the collection of music books kept in the church of St Michael in Gumpoldskirchen in 1640 (41 titles) seems even more surprising, if one considers that at the time this town was just a small market centre dealing mainly in wine. If we exclude a couple of collections of instrumental music listed in the Moravian inventory, both the Gumpoldskirchen collection and that of Moravská Třebová consisted exclusively of sacred music: a few ancient choral books, but otherwise consisting of Renaissance polyphonic collections (more numerous in Gumpoldskirchen, but also present in the Moravian collection), polychoral works (especially in Moravská Třebová) and concertato motets for a varying number of voices and basso continuo mostly by Italian composers (present in both inventories). On the contrary, the Lesina inventory contains a surprisingly high percentage of secular collections (41, compared to 30 collections of sacred music), probably destined for more worldly entertainment,

perhaps linked to carnival celebrations, whose musical component was traditionally entrusted to the chapel master of the cathedral, Tomaso Cecchini, who not by chance is the most represented composer. In the list we find, among others, madrigals and *madrigaletti* by various composers (including Pomponio Nenna), arias by Antonio Brunelli, Alessandro Grandi and others, cantatas, canzonettas, the *Scherzi musicali* of Claudio Monteverdi, ballets by Giovanni Gastoldi, villanellas by Luca Marenzio, and even a copy of Caccini's *Euridice*. Also the sacred music kept in Lesina clearly shows how this centre was up-to-date and open to more modern stylistic tendencies, as shown by the presence of the polychoral Masses for seven voices by Cecchini, the psalms and lamentations for two voices by the chapel master himself, but above all the numerous collections of small-scale motets by various composers (besides the inevitable Cecchini, Gabriello Puliti, the Montecassino Benedictine monk Serafino Patta, Alessandro Grandi), the madrigals and spiritual canzonettas of Severo Bonini and the spiritual canzonettas of Damiano Nembri, brother of the compiler of the inventory and in his turn a Benedictine monk of San Giorgio in Venice, from where the music kept in the church of San Michele in Lesina most likely originated. In addition, the list also includes two music theory treatises (a kind of publication totally absent from the other two inventories): Galeazzo Sabbatini's *Regola facile e breve per sonare sopra il basso continuo* (1628), and Adriano Banchieri's *Cantorino*, a well known treatise on *cantus firmus* (1622).

As far as the chronological details of the listed works are concerned, setting aside the choral books, which are in some cases dated (like the Breviary of Moravská Třebová, 1395) and in others nevertheless presumably old – like the books recorded in the Gumpoldskirchen inventory as 'Ein alt Zerrissnes antiphonarium' (an old torn antiphonarium), 'Ein alteß Psalterium' (an old Psalterium), 'Ein alt Gradual Buech' (an old Gradual book), and 'Ein alt Zerrissne Agenda' (an old torn Agenda) – we can say that the inventories of Gumpoldskirchen and Lesina cover a substantially similar span of time (the first 1568–1633 and the second 1567–1630), while the inventory of Moravská Třebová covers a span that goes from 1580 to 1637 (if we exclude a *Liber quindecim missarum*, which could correspond to a surviving collection published in 1539), with a clear prevalence of books from the 17th century. Moreover, in all three repertoires (including the second addition to the list of Moravská Třebová, dated 1648 and including books printed between 1607 and 1644), the latest

acquisitions are very close to (if not coincident with) the date of compilation of the inventories, and the most represented books belong to the genre of small-scale motets with basso continuo.

With regards the provenance of the composers appearing in the different lists, the Lesina inventory contains composers exclusively of Italian origin (which is no surprise given that Lesina was under Venetian dominion at the time), while in those of Moravská Třebová and Gumpoldskirchen only around half of the composers mentioned are Italian and half come from German speaking areas (see Table 1). Local composers appear quite frequently in the Gumpoldskirchen inventory, while they are rare in that of Lesina,⁸ and are totally absent from the Moravská Třebová inventory, where there are no Moravian composers at all, while the presence of composers from other areas is limited to three works by the Polish Marcin Mielczewski that entered the collection thanks to the donation of the Polish priest Andreas Porsitzky.

Table 1: Composers in the inventories of Gumpoldskirchen, Moravská Třebová, Lesina and Branná

	Gumpoldskirchen 1640	Moravská Třebová 1644	Lesina 1646–1647	Moravská Třebová 1647	Moravská Třebová 1648	Branná 1677–1684
Abbate Carlo		2				1
Aichinger Gregor	2					
Alouisi Giovanni Battista					1	
Ammon Blasius	3	1				
Arivieri Eustachio			1			
Asola (Asula) Giovanni Matteo	1					
Aula Johannes	1					
Bachini Gislamerio					1	
Banchieri Adriano			2			
Barera Rodiano			1			
Belli Giulio					1	

⁸ Except for Tomaso Cecchini and Gabriello Puliti, who were also active in the Croatian maritime areas, the majority of the composers listed in the inventory of Lesina-Hvar spent their lifetimes in northern Italy, while the smallest share goes to authors from Florence and southern Italy.

	Gumpoldskirchen 1640	Moravská Třebová 1644	Lesina 1646–1647	Moravská Třebová 1647	Moravská Třebová 1648	Branná 1677–1684
Berti Giovanni Pietro			1			
Bonini Severo			1			
Brunelli Antonio			1			
Bruschi Giulio	1					
Burlini Antonio					1	
Caccini Giulio			1			
Cecchini Tomaso		1	20			
Clavo Adamo				1		
Colombini (Columbini) Antonio					1	
Costa Giovanni Paolo			1			
Croce Giovanni	1					
Czasla Joannes Boleslaw					1	
Demantius Christoph		2				
Donati Ignazio	1				1	
Donfrid Johannes						1
Dressler Gallus		1				
Fabritius Friedrich	2					
Ferraro (Ferrari) Antonio			1			
Filibero (Orazio Filiberi?)			1			
Finetti Giacomo	2	1				
Fossa Johannes de	1					
Franck Melchior		1				
Fritsch Thomas		1				
Gallerano Leandro		2				
Gastoldi Giovanni			1			
Gesius Bartolomäus		1				
Giovannelli Pietro	1					
Ghizzolo Giovanni		2			1	
Gnati Georgio					1	
Grancini Michel Angelo					1	
Grandi Alessandro		2	2			1
Gualtieri (Alessandro?)			1			

Tracking the dissemination of Italian music

	Gumpoldskirchen 1640	Moravská Třebová 1644	Lesina 1646–1647	Moravská Třebová 1647	Moravská Třebová 1648	Branná 1677–1684
Handl (Gallus) Jacobus	1					
Hassler Hans Leo		1			2	
Hassler Kaspar		1				
Herrer Michael	1					
Hofer Andreas						1
Ingegneri Marc'Antonio		1				
Jelić Vinzenz						1
Lassus Orlando de	2	3			1	
Lechner Leonhard		1				
Lindner Friedrich		1				
Malgarini Federico			1			
Marenzio Luca			1			
Melli Domenico Maria			1			
Mielczewski Marcin				3		
Milanuzzi Carlo		2	1			
Millioni Pietro			1			
Miniscalchi Guglielmo			1			
Monteverdi Claudio			2			
Nembri Damiano			2			
Nenna Pomponio			1			
Patta Serafino		1	2			
Pecci Tomaso			3			
Persone (?)			1			
Pesaro Marino			1			
Pesenti Martino			1			
Pio Francesco					1	
Plauzi (Plautius, Plautzius) Gabriele					1	
Porta Ercole			1			
Poss Georgius					1	
Puliti Gabriello			1			
Priuli Giovanni			6			
Radesca (di Foggia) Enrico Antonio			1			

	Gumpoldskirchen 1640	Moravská Třebová 1644	Lesina 1646–1647	Moravská Třebová 1647	Moravská Třebová 1648	Branná 1677–1684
Ratenberger Adam					1	
Riccio Teodoro			1			
Sabbatini Galeazzo			2			
Sätzl Christoph					1	
Savetta Antonio					1	
Scapitta Vincenzo		1				
Schadaeus Abraham		1				
Schäufler Matthias	1					
Schröter Leonhard		1				
Seneso Bartholomaei (?)						1
Signoretti Aurelio		3				
Stadlmayr Johann					1	
Stefani Giovanni			1			
Strauss, Nicolaus					1	
Trombetti Ascanio		1				
Tuzzi (de Tutiis) Vincenzo			1			
Valentini Giovanni					2	
Varotto Michele		1				
Vecchi Orazio	1		2			
Viadana Lodovico		1			1	1
Visconti (Domenico?)			1			
Vulpus Melchior		2				
Walliser Christoph Thomas		1				
Walter (?)		1				
Weissensee Fridericus		1				
Zapff Michael	1					
Zucchini Gregorio			1			

It goes without saying that much more significant results could emerge from a systematic study that takes into account, for the periods in question, *all* the music inventories known to date, making use of a data-base that would facilitate the recovery and comparison of the data as and when archived.

However, the impression gained from a ‘synoptic’ reading of these three coeval inventories is that the issues arising from the comparison of these materials and the partial results obtained in this first phase of study are without doubt a stimulus to continue and broaden such projects in the same direction as well as their mutual integration.⁹

If the first three articles are able to give an idea of the wealth of results that might be obtained from a systematic study of the historical inventories found in different geo-cultural areas and dating from a similar period of time, the following articles instead tackle questions linked to the circulation and migration of musicians and the processes of adaptation and of stylistic assimilation of the music.

3. The circulation of musicians and composers

The first of the two articles by Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska included in this volume deals with the migration of musicians, and in particular of Italian musicians to Poland in the first decades of the 17th century. It is based on the transcription of some letters sent to Poland from Italy in the years 1629–1630, subsequently removed from Poland during the Swedish occupation in 1655–1658, taken to Sweden as war booty and kept in the Skokloster castle since the end of the 17th century. In this case too, numerous articles and books have been written about the migration of Italian musicians to various parts of Europe, based on unpublished documents of biographical interest. Among these, this particular article seemed worthy of note as the information it contains is drawn from a series of documents from the Skokloster castle (today kept in the Riksarkivet in Stockholm) that have been little studied by musicologists. In this sense, Przybyszewska-Jarmińska’s article represents a pioneering attempt,

⁹ On this matter, see the “Historical music inventories series”, a collaborative project started in 2009 by the Institute of Musicology of Fribourg University and the Swiss RISM Office, with the support of the Swiss National Science Foundation. This online resource brings together different catalogues of music collections from the past and provides a database containing the digitalized sources and the catalogued data. Among the current initiatives see also the research project “Hudební inventáře raného novověku v českých zemích” [Music inventories of the early modern age in the Czech lands] (project period: 2016–2018), which involves the following institutions: Masaryk University, Brno (Vladimír Maňas), Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic (Václav Kapsa), and Palacký University, Olomouc (Jana Spáčilová).

which one hopes will open the way to further investigations in the same direction.

The letters transcribed by the scholar offer a great deal of information about the attempts, mostly failed, to recruit Italian musicians, undertaken by the ex papal nuncio in Poland, Cosimo de Torres, after his return to Rome and by other figures linked to the king of Poland, Sigismund III Vasa. The documents in question paint a vivid and informative picture of the relations between Italy and Poland at the time of the Thirty Years War, during which the very loyal papal nuncio in Poland, perhaps in return for the favours of Sigismund III (who had succeeded in convincing the pontiff to proclaim his protégé a cardinal), diligently set out to identify good musicians and try to persuade them to leave Italy in order to join the service of the king of Poland. Judging from the outcome of his efforts (invariably negative for the cases described in these letters), the task of convincing an Italian musician to leave his country to go to a cold and distant land, which moreover involved crossing territories overhung by the double threat of war and plague, must have been all but simple.

But what will prove most interesting to musicologists (and not only) are the portraits of the musicians who fleetingly appear in these pages: talented and skilled in singing, but equally untrustworthy and at times also a little deceitful (like the Roman ‘castratino’ who first pockets the generous sum advanced on his departure, then changes his mind and tries to escape in order to avoid paying back the money, or the musicians approached by Antonio Tarone, who behaved just like the young Roman singer, to the extent of causing the death of the intermediary due to the countless tribulations suffered), glimpses into the life of eminent figures in the political, ecclesiastic and musical scene of the time that often integrate the scarce details known about their lives. In one of these letters addressed to Tobiasz Małachowski, archdeacon of Warsaw and secretary of king Sigismund, Cosimo de Torres makes the following comment about the decision of Giovanni Francesco Anerio to leave the service of the Polish court to return home (where, however, he would never arrive): «I learn from the same letter about Anerio’s and Corrado’s reprehensible conduct in abandoning the service of His Majesty’s chapel, and I am not surprised, because they are musicians and behave in such a way as could be expected of people pursuing their trade», almost as if wishing to stigmatize the inevitable fickleness of a category intrinsically (and incurably) untrustworthy.

4. Adaptation, assimilation and compositional reception

The next three articles are linked by their interest in the musical output of two Italian composers (Luca Marenzio, the subject of the articles by Przybyszewska-Jarmińska and the present author, and Giovanni Francesco Anerio, dealt with in the article of Aleksandra Patalas) who worked for a certain time in the music chapel of the court of the Polish king Sigismund III Vasa, and in the dissemination of the works presumably connected to their Polish period.

Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska's second article, dedicated to Luca Marenzio's *Missa super Iniquos odio habui*, focuses on the phenomenon of the circulation of Italian musicians and composers in central-eastern European countries and the consequent processes of assimilation and adaptation. The article takes up the discussion on Luca Marenzio's polychoral work and its possible links with the composer's stay in Poland. We know that Marenzio must have reached Cracow at the end of 1595, staying in Poland until 1597 or 1598; that in March 1596 he travelled to Warsaw with a group of 22 Italian musicians; and that in autumn of the same year the papal legate cardinal Enrico Caetani also arrived there, accompanied by Giovanni Paolo Mucante, his master of ceremonies. In his diaries Mucante reports that he attended a ceremony in the church of St John the Baptist in Warsaw, during which the chapel royal performed a Mass in echo form composed and directed by Marenzio. Until now scholars were convinced that none of the surviving Masses attributed to Marenzio could correspond to the 'echo Mass' described by Mucante. However, in her article Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska reaches the opposite conclusion, taking into account some sources that had not previously been considered: two manuscripts in separate parts kept at the library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Gdańsk, containing just the *Kyrie* and the *Gloria*, in keeping with the protestant usage, in which the composition is ascribed to Marenzio; a print from 1630, in which a different version of the same composition is attributed to Georg Vintz; and a further version (anonymous) of the same Mass included in the manuscript tablature of Pelpin (in Poland), compiled by the local Cistercian community in the years 1620–1640 and adapted for *alternatim* performance, in which polyphonic sections alternate with sections performed homophonically. According to Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, though, the most authoritative document, being closer to the composer's last years of life, is a manuscript dated 1602–1603, originally from Breslau (today

Wrocław) and now kept in Berlin, which is the only source in which the Mass, explicitly attributed to Marenzio, has survived in complete form (Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei).¹⁰ The collation of the contents of all the sources available today made it possible not only to confirm the attribution of this Mass to Marenzio but also to identify it as the work performed in 1596 and described by Mucante in his diaries. Moreover, a comparison of the various versions revealed aspects of the adaptation and reception of a composition that clearly enjoyed a fair success and survived long after the celebrative occasion for which it was written.

The following article, by the present author, is strictly linked to the previous one, in turn examining Marenzio's polychoral output, and in particular the two versions (respectively for two and three choirs) of the motet *Jubilate Deo... cantate*. Evidence of the link between these two compositions and Marenzio's stay in Poland comes from the fact that the 3-choir version of the motet appears in the printed anthology *Melodiae Sacrae*, compiled by Vincenzo Lilius (Gigli) and published in Cracow in 1604, while both versions are included in the manuscript tablature kept in Pelplin. As with the *Missa Iniquos odio habui*, the article again takes into account sources that were previously unknown, or in any case not collated for the purposes of publishing Marenzio's complete works: with regards the 3-choir version, to which the part-books of the alto and bass of the second choir kept in the municipal library of Waldheim (once mistakenly believed to be part of the 2-choir version) also belong, of particular interest is the manuscript kept in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden, which consists of a part-book, clearly intended for the use of an organist to accompany the vocal performance, the title page of which bears the indicative date of 1623. Although not significant for the purposes of establishing the date of composition of this motet, the document is nevertheless of interest not only for the history of the reception of the composition, but also because it is the only source which includes a basso continuo part, which moreover contains indications for the organist about the alternation between the three choirs. With regards the 2-choir version, two manuscripts in separate parts proved of interest: the first kept in the library of the Milan Conservatory, but originally

¹⁰ In the critical edition of this Mass edited by Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska and published after the original version of her article, the editor used the manuscript kept in Berlin as her main source. Cfr. Luca MARENZIO, *Missa super Iniquos odio habui*, ed. Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, Warszawa: Liber pro arte, 2016.

from Mantua, dating from between the end of the 16th century and the first thirty years of the 17th century; the second kept in Berlin, but originally from Breslau, dated 1631–1633 and once belonging to a cantor active in the church of St Christopher in Breslau. As far as the order of the two versions and their reciprocal relations are concerned, a comparison between the two versions led to opposite conclusions with respect to what was previously held, suggesting that the 2-choir version was actually a later adaptation of the one for three choirs.

The results emerging from the two articles on part of Luca Marenzio's polychoral output, presented here in English translation, provide numerous starting points for further investigations and represent an invitation to undertake a more thorough examination of other polychoral works of the same composer, returning once more to the many thorny and still open questions of dating and attribution and possibly publishing new critical editions in the wake of the study of sources unknown until now.

Like the previous two, also the article by Aleksandra Patalas, dealing with the use of parody in the polychoral Masses of Giovanni Francesco Anerio, examines the musical (and in particular the polychoral) output of an Italian composer of the Roman school working in Poland (Anerio directed the prestigious music chapel of Sigismund III Vasa from 1624 to 1630). As in the case of Marenzio, it is not easy to establish with any certainty which of Anerio's works were actually written during his Polish period. Patalas circumscribes the works certainly linked to this period of his life to four polychoral Masses (of which two, known through two indirect sources, are lost), with the doubtful addition of a fifth. As for Marenzio, in this case too the main issue explored is the identification of any changes in techniques or in style occurring in Anerio's compositions after his arrival in Poland as a response to the requirements and preferences of his employer and the new conditions and performing possibilities offered by the chapel royal. Patalas examines the characteristics of the (polychoral) Masses composed in Poland and compares them with the Masses (for one or two choirs) written previously by the same composer, highlighting the analogies and differences in technique and style.

It should be noted that, as in the case of Marenzio, Anerio's polychoral works have come down to us in manuscript form, or have been lost, while the rest of his surviving sacred works (with few exceptions, including some polyphonic Masses) were printed. It cannot, of course, be ruled out that one or

both of the composers had intended to publish these compositions when they came back to Italy and were not able to fulfil their plan (besides, Anerio, as is known, died on his way back to Italy, taking with him five boxes of manuscript music, perhaps partly destined for printing, that has been lost). On the other hand, it could be hypothesized that in both cases, the polychoral works merely represented a parenthesis mainly linked to their duties while in the service of the court of Sigismund III.

Another theme examined by Aleksandra Patalas, equally pertinent in the study of the history of reception, assimilation and adaptation, concerns the different ways Anerio re-uses pre-existing material (madrigals or motets by various Roman composers, such as Giovanni Maria Nanino's madrigal *Là dove par ch'ogn'altro mi conforta* by and Palestrina's motets *Circuire possum Domine*, *Surge illuminare*, *Pulchra es*) in his parody Masses.

5. A further research perspective: the circulation of poetic texts in music

Compared to the other contributions in this volume, the article by Ennio Stipčević is relatively anomalous. The author investigates how poetry written in Italian by authors residing on the Dalmatian coast circulated and was set to music outside of this area. The main case-study focuses on the work of the poet Ludovico Pasquali (c. 1500–1551) from Cattaro (today Kotor) and the presence of some of his verses within collections of madrigals composed and published outside of Dalmatia. This is nevertheless projected against the background of the trilingual literary culture (Croatian, Latin and Italian) widespread along the Dalmatian coast, which was part of the *domini da mar* of the Venetian Republic from the 16th century until the definitive demise of its power at the end of the 18th century. While there is no shortage of studies on the poetry written in Italian in Dalmatia, until now no systematic investigation has been carried out on its reception within collections of music outside of that area. The article of Stipčević therefore represents a first attempt to tackle this question, and is a forerunner to further developments in the same line of research.

The madrigalists so far identified who set some of Pasquali's verses to music are Camillo Perego, Francesco Menta and Giovanni Battista Pace. Camillo Perego set a madrigal and a sonnet by Pasquali, both published in his collection of 4-part madrigals of 1555. Francesco Menta (Brussels, c. 1540; active

1560–1577) set to music two poems by Pasquali contained in his collection of madrigals published in Rome in 1560. Giovanni Battista Pace (active 1585–1591), a composer from the circle of Stefano Felis (Bari, c. 1550–Bari?, 1603), set to music a sextain by Pasquali in a volume that includes his own madrigals and those of Giovanni Donato Vopa published in Venice by Angelo Gardano in 1585 (that is, almost 35 years after the poet’s death). One hopes that further research will be able to shed light on how these three composers came to know of Pasquali’s poetry and explain the reasons for their choices.

6. The study of the reception of music as a contribution to the reflection on the cultural roots of Europe

The volume concludes with an article by Richard Rybarič (1930–1989), a Slovakian musicologist who did much to stimulate research on Renaissance and Baroque music in the current territory of Slovakia.¹¹ His article examines a significant case of conflicting attribution: the oratorio *Judicium Salomonis*, of which, at the time of writing of his article (1971), Rybarič knew just two manuscript sources, kept respectively in Paris and in Hamburg, and a posthumous print, the *Continuatio [Theatri Musici]* (Nuremberg 1669).¹² In the two manuscripts the oratorio is attributed to Giacomo Carissimi (1605–1674), at the time active in the church of Sant’Apollinare in Rome, while in the print it is attributed to Samuel Capricornus (1628–1665), a protestant composer of Bohemian origin who was chapel master at the Lutheran church of the Holy Trinity in Prešporok (today Bratislava) from 1651 to 1657.

We know that Capricornus, who was a great admirer of the music of Carissimi, had sent two of his compositions to him, which Carissimi had deemed

¹¹ The article was included in this volume on the suggestion of Jana Kalinayová-Bartová, who added a biographical note on the author and a brief bibliographical update on the figures of Giacomo Carissimi and Samuel Friedrich Capricornus.

¹² Issues of conflicting attribution involving Carissimi’s music are also dealt with in Beverly STEIN, “Problems in the Attribution of Carissimi Cantatas and the Question of Musical Style”, in: *L’opera musicale di Giacomo Carissimi. Fonti, catalogazione, attribuzioni. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Roma, 18–19 novembre 2005*, ed. Daniele Torelli, Roma: Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, 2014 (L’arte Armonica. Serie III, Studi e testi, 14), pp. 55–80; Alessio RUFFATTI, “La cantata “Dite o cieli se crudeli”: un esempio di conflitto di attribuzione tra Rossi e Carissimi e la diffusione delle cantate italiane fuori d’Italia”, in: Daniele Torelli, ed., *L’opera musicale di Giacomo Carissimi*, pp. 81–106.

worthy of praise. The documented contacts between the two composers can thus explain how Capricornus could have come into possession of a manuscript of this oratorio, which was later included, with an erroneous attribution, in his posthumous collection.¹³ Although today many other manuscript copies, complete or partial, are known of the oratorio *Judicium Salomonis*,¹⁴ and in spite of the fact that the article presented here in an English translation has been superseded by the results of more recent musicology, the work of Rybarič, over and above the specific case of the oratorio in question, remains a stimulus on account of the author's awareness of the significant role that similar studies on the circulation of music and musicians, apparently specialist and niche areas, can assume in the much wider context of investigations on the history of culture in the European Baroque.

We are, of course, well aware that a great many other articles on the themes we are dealing with deserve a wider circulation, something that only an English translation would be able to guarantee. However, constraints of time and resources obliged us to limit this first phase of work, which we intend to pursue and extend in the near future, conscious that a greater diffusion of the findings

¹³ On Carissimi's biography see Federico GHISI – Lino BIANCHI, "Carissimi Giacomo", in: *Dizionario Enciclopedico Universale della Musica e dei Musicisti* (DEUMM), Torino, UTET, *Le biografie*, vol. 2 (1985), pp. 109–116; Günther MASSENKEIL, "Carissimi, Giacomo", in: MGG2, *Personenteil*, vol. 4 (2000), coll. 204–221; Andrew W. JONES, "Carissimi, Giacomo", in: NG2, vol. 5, pp. 135–150. On Samuel Friedrich Capricornus see Clotilde MORRIGONE, "Bockshorn, Samuel Friedrich", in: DEUMM, *Le biografie*, vol. 1 (1985), p. 584; Jean-Luc GESTER – Ladislav KAČIČ, "Capricornus (Bockshorn), Samuel (Friedrich)", in: MGG2, *Personenteil*, vol. 4 (2000), coll. 145–150; Kerala J. SNYDER – John SHERIDAN, "Capricornus, Samuel Friedrich", in: NG2, vol. 5, pp. 101–103.

¹⁴ See Domenico STATUTO, "Il *Judicium Salomonis* di Giacomo Carissimi: le relazioni genealogiche fra i testimoni della «famiglia inglese»", *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, 29, 1994, pp. 89–137. Other editions exist of the oratorio *Judicium Salomonis*, besides the one edited by Friedrich Chrisander and mentioned by Rybarič: one in a collection published in Milan in the early 20th century (Giacomo CARISSIMI, *Oratorii per canto e pianoforte a cura di Francesco Balilla Pratella*, Milano: Istituto Editoriale Italiano, [1918–1919] (Raccolta nazionale delle musiche italiane diretta da Gabriele D'Annunzio, 5, Quaderni 13–18)), another edited by Alceo Toni (Milano: Ricordi, 1929); and an edition with the text in German published in Berlin in the 1930s (*Judicium Salomonis. König Salomo's Urteil. I Könige 3, 16–28. Oratorium für Soli (2 Soprani, Tenor, Baß) und gemischtem Chor mit Streichorchester (2 Violinen, Violoncello, Kontrabaß ad lib.) Orgel oder Cembalo von Giacomo Carissimi (1604–1674). Mit deutschem Text versehen und bearbeitet von Arthur Egid*, Berlin-Lichterfelde: Chr. Friedrich Vieweg, [1930]). See also the edition of the libretto with an Italian translation: *Judicium Salomonis. Oratorio per soli, coro a 6 voci miste e b.c. [di] Giacomo Carissimi*, versione italiana di Albino Varotti, Assisi: Cappella Musicale S. Rufino, 1974.

of research on the dissemination and reception of music repertoires in Europe could give rise to results that are appreciable and of interest not only to musicologists already oriented in this direction, but also to a potentially much larger number of music historians, and probably to non-specialists as well. We are, in fact, convinced that such results, if duly disseminated through effective strategies of cultural mediation, could also allow concert audiences to become more aware of the common musical roots shared by different European geo-cultural areas and thus help foster a greater awareness of the common European cultural identity.

Translated by Michael Webb

Part one

MUSIC DISSEMINATION

Herbert Seifert

An inventory from Gumpoldskirchen near Vienna from 1640

In the archives of the market-town Gumpoldskirchen near Vienna (Lower Austria) an inventory is preserved of the church music and the school, written on April 28, 1640.¹ It seems to bear witness to an astonishing high standard of the music performances at the village parish church St. Michael, which was taken care of by the Teutonic Order, during the early 17th century and moreover lists some hitherto unknown compositions in the form of prints and manuscripts. The annotations on the margins seem to be evidence of the actual use of the material.

The dateable music prints were published in the time between 1568 and 1633 and originate from the Austrian-Southern German-Italian region. The high quota of Italian composers and the inclusion of a print with da cappella Masses (Donati) that had been published only seven years before the drawing up of the inventory, as well as a print with few-voiced sacred concertos from 1629 (Bruschi) are striking.

The following diplomatic transcription of the six leaves of the document gives the part pertaining to the church. The short inventory of the school at the end of the manuscript contains, beside furniture – among which a blackboard for singing – only one single book (Christoph Rudolph, *Algebra*). Only the German parts of the text are translated into English.

¹ Kart. 190/230/5. I thank Dr. Johann Hagenauer for having drawn my attention to this document and the other archival sources in Gumpoldskirchen.

Inventory of the school and church books
of the Imperial market-town Gumpoldskirchen.
April 28, 1640.

On April 28, 1640, this inventory together with the instruction and the keys of the church have been handed over to the present school master Christoph Vögl by an honourable council, about which he has been sworn in and which he has taken over.

Inventory.
In the church.
April 28, 1640.

- good. Psalmista secundum consuetudinem Romanae Curiae. in 8°, hard-back.²
- good. Guilio [sic] Brusco, â due, tre et quatro voci, con le laudi della B[eata] Vergine, et il Basso continuo per l Organo il tertio [sic] libro. quinque partium.³
Michael Zapff, quinque vocum sine partitura.⁴
Missa scripta vnâ cum partitura; quinque librorum.

² Venetijs: per Iacobum Pentium, 1518, 1520; Venetiis: apud [Petrum] Liechtenstein, 1538; Venetijs: per Ioannis Antonij de Vulpinis Castri Giufredi, 1540; Brixia: apud Damianum Turlinum, 1561.

³ Giulio BRUSCHI (Piacenza ? – ?), *Il terzo libro delli Concerti ecclesiastici a due, tre & quattro voci, con le Laudi della B. Vergine, et il basso continuo per l'organo [...] opera sesta*. Venetia: Alessandro Vincenti 1629. See: MGG2, Personenteil; RISM A/I.

⁴ Michael ZAPFF had been a musician of archduke Maximilian III of Austria, master of the Teutonic Order, around 1605 in Innsbruck. The archduke's Innsbruck inheritance inventory from 1618 (Archives of the Teutonic Order, Vienna, Hs. 203, fol. 125v) contains the following print: "Five parts, containing Masses, and Salve by Blasius Amon and Michael Zapf, bound in written parchment." Zapf can be found also in the inventory of the monastery Zwettl from 1611 (Archives of Zwettl monastery Hs. 4/3, fol. 46v), with "Missae [...] 5. partes." See: Robert EITNER, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellenlexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten*, 2nd edition, Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt 1959f.; Walter SENN, *Musik und Theater am Hof zu Innsbruck*, Innsbruck: Österreichische Verlagsanstalt 1954; Stefan HOLZHAUSER, "Zwettl", in: MGG2, Sachteil 9. Kassel: Bärenreiter – Stuttgart: Metzler 1998, col. 2497.

- Canticum nouum Musicale Giouani de Fossa, vna com partitura â 1. 2. 3. 4. 7. et 8. voci libri quinque.⁵
Blasij Amon quatuor voces sine partitura. [Added with pencil:] *Introitus Dominicales*.⁶
good. Idem Amon, diuersarum Cantionum lib[ri] quatuor.⁷
Diuersae cantiones septem vocum, ex libris diuersorum Authorum conscriptae.
Jacobi Handls Missarum, septem et octo; sex partes.⁸
Eight voices, Friderici Fabritij manuscript.⁹
Joan Croce motets quatuor vocum, sine partitura. Venetijs impress[ae] 1599.¹⁰
Five [later scribe, above it:] *Six* written part-books of a Mass and vespers, bound in blue paper.
good. Il 2.^{do} libro D. Ignatio Donati della de Messa. lib[ri] sex.¹¹

⁵ Johannes DE FOSSA jun. (? – Passau 1611) worked probably in Nieuwpoort in the Netherlands before coming to Innsbruck in 1603 with a recommendation of archduke Albrecht, where he held the post of chapel master of archduke Maximilian III, the master of the Teutonic Order. From 1607 until his death he was chapel master of the bishop of Passau, archduke Leopold V. It was probably this hitherto unknown print (not in RISM) which de Fossa had dedicated to archduke Maximilian III in 1610 in Prague and which is described in his inventory from 1618 (see footnote 4) thus: “Five parts, bound in red leather, with gold cut, with His Highness’ coat of arms, which had been dedicated to His Highness by Joann de Fosso [sic] at Prague.” See: Walter SENN, *Musik und Theater am Hof zu Innsbruck*; MGG2.

⁶ Blasius AMON (Imst, Tyrol, c1560 – Vienna 1590), *Introitus dominicales per totum annum, secundum ritum Ecclesiae Catholicae, suavitate et breuitate quatuor vocibus exculiti*, Vienna: Leonhard Formica [1601]. This print is also listed in the inventory of Zwettl from 1611 (see footnote 4, fol. 46r) and in that from Göttweig monastery from 1612. See: MGG2; RISM A/I; Friedrich Wilhelm RIEDEL, “Musikpflege im Benediktinerstift Göttweig (Niederösterreich) um 1600”, *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 46 (1962), pp. 83–97.

⁷ To be considered are: *Sacrae cantiones, quas vulgo moteta vocant, quatuor, quinque et sex vocum*, Munic: Adam Berg 1590, and *Breues et selectae quaedam motetae, quatuor, quinque et sex vocum*, Munic: Adam Berg 1593.

⁸ Jacob HANDL (Jacobus Gallus, Ribnica? 1550 – Prague 1591), *Selectiores quaedam Missae [...] Missarum VII. & VIII. vocum liber I*, Prague: Georg Nigrin 1580. See: MGG2; RISM A/I.

⁹ Friedrich FABRITIUS had been schoolmaster and organist in Gumpoldskirchen (Gumpoldskirchen, Archives, church accounts 1636 and 1637). A motet by a composer with this name had been in Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek. See: Robert EITNER, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellenlexikon*.

¹⁰ Giovanni CROCE (Chioggia c1577 – Venice 1609), *Motetti a Quattro voci [...] libro primo*, Venice: Giacomo Vincenti 1597, 1599. See: RISM A/I. The inventory of archduke Maximilian from 1618 (see footnote 4, fol. 122v) lists another print by Croce.

¹¹ Ignazio DONATI (Casalmaggiore? c1570/75 – Milan 1638), *Il secondo libro delle Messe da capella a quattro, et a cinque [...] opera duodecima*. Venice: Alessandro Vincenti 1633. In fact it consists of six partbooks: five voices and organ. See: MGG2; RISM A/I.

- Moteta Orlandi de Lassus; sex libri.¹²
 Six Italian parts, authore Horatio Vecchi.¹³
 good. Hortus musicalis, authore Michaele Herrerio; quinque partes.¹⁴
 good. Quercus Dodonea, authore Gregorio Aichinger. 4 libri.¹⁵
 Two different parts Orlandi et Amon.¹⁶
 Written Mass Joan[nis] Aula; 3 partes.¹⁷

¹² Which of the numerous motet prints by Orlando di LASSO (Orlande de Lassus, Mons 1532 – Munic 1594) these could have been is not clear, but possibly the six voluminous part-books of the posthumous collection *Magnum opus musicum [...] complectens omnes cantiones quas Motetas vulgo vocant [...] II. III. IV. V. VI. VII. IIX. IX. X. XII. Vocum*, Munic: Nicolaus Heinrich, which was very widespread and listed e. g. in the inventories of Innsbruck 1618 (see footnote 4) and of Göttweig 1612. See: MGG2; RISM A/I; Josef HIRN, *Erzherzog Maximilian der Deutschmeister, Regent von Tirol* 1. Innsbruck: 1915, Reprint Bozen: Athesia 1981; Friedrich Wilhelm RIEDEL, “Musikpflege im Benediktinerstift Göttweig”.

¹³ Orazio VECCHI (Modena 1550 – Modena 1605), *Canzonette a sei voci [...] libro primo*. Venice: Angelo Gardano 1597, or *Piu e diversi Madrigali e Canzonette a 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. & 10. voci*, Nuremberg: Theodor Gerlach 1594, or *Convito musicale nel quale si contengono varij sogetti, et capricci, a tre, quattro, cinque, sei, sette, & otto voci*, Venice: Angelo Gardano 1597, or *Convivium musicale [...] ternis, quaternis, quinis, senis, septenis, & octonis vocibus*, Nuremberg: Paul Kauffmann 1598, or *Le Veglie di Siena [...] a tre a 4. a 5. & a 6. voci composte*, Venice: Angelo Gardano 1604 and Nuremberg: Paul Kauffmann 1605. The inventories from Innsbruck 1607 and 1618 (see footnote 4, fol. 127v) list “Canzoneti” (sic!) by Vecchi. See: MGG2; RISM A/I; Josef HIRN, *Erzherzog Maximilian der Deutschmeister*.

¹⁴ *Hortus musicalis, variis antea diversorum auctorum Italiae floribus consitus, jam verò latinis fructus, mira suavitate quinque vocibus concinendos [...] Authore R. P. Michaele Herrerio, [...] Liber primus*. Passau: Matthaeus Nenninger 1606; Michael HERRER (Bavaria? ? – Carinthia? after 1607) was provost of the monastery Suben / Inn (Upper Austria) and after several years in Passau at the monastery St. Nicolai at Strassburg / Gurk (Carinthia), where the bishops of Gurk resided. He edited this collection of almost 100 sacred contrafacta of primarily Italian works in three books, of which only the first one consists of five partbooks, and dedicated it to archduke Leopold, then bishop of Passau. It was also part of the music books of archduke Maximilian III (see the inventory of 1618, fn. 4, fol. 129v), of Zwettl (1611, see footnote 5, fol. 46v) and of Göttweig (1612) (See: RISM B/I; MGG2; Friedrich Wilhelm RIEDEL, “Musikpflege im Benediktinerstift Göttweig”; Stefan HOLZHAUSER, “Zwettl”).

¹⁵ Gregor AICHINGER (Regensburg 1564/65 – Augsburg 1628), *Quercus Dodonea cuius vocales glandes suavitate cyanea saporatas*, Augsburg: Johann Praetorius 1619 (See: MGG2; RISM A/I). The Gumpoldskirchen church accounts of 1636 (Kart. 190/73) list on January 18 an expense of 1 Pfund Pfennig, 2 Schilling and 25 Pfennig “because of the concertos by Aichinger”.

¹⁶ Unspecified compositions by Orlande DE LASSUS and Blasius AMON.

¹⁷ A composer with this name is not known; Giovanni Matteo ASOLA (Verona c1532 – Venice 1609) could be meant, who had two Masses for three voices printed in 1588 (2nd edition) and 1620 (3rd edition). Three Masses of his composition are listed in the inventory of Göttweig (1612), Masses for three voices in the inventory Freising from 1651. See MGG2; RISM A/I; Friedrich Wilhelm RIEDEL, “Musikpflege im Benediktinerstift Göttweig”; Karl

- Petri Joannelli quintus liber, 5. partes.¹⁸
Seven written books with several concertos.
Written Mass with three voices, together with the *partitura*. Four part-books.
Item one with six voices. 7. books.
Three written motets and the *partitura*.
good. Te DEVM Laudamus, with four voices, written.
Old written concertos with three, and the *partitura*.
Magnificat with five voices, written.
Item one with two voices, not bound.
Te DEVM Laudamus with 3. voices. [cancelled with pencil]
Several simple written cantiones, and concertos, vespers, Magnificat, etc. â. 2. 3. 4. etc. vocum.
A whole bunch of old worthless books, written and printed.
By the late Mr. Matthias Schäußleder for the church acquired [addition in pencil:] 4 partes, authore [addition in pencil:] *Fineto*¹⁹
Antiphonarium Romanum.
Moreover an Antiphonarium in parchment.
An old torn antiphonarium.
Again an old Antiphonarium.
An old Psalterium.
An old Gradual book.

Gustav FELLERER, "Ein Musikalien-Inventar des fürstbischöflichen Hofes in Freising aus dem 17. Jahrhundert", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 6 (1924), p. 480.

¹⁸ *Novi atque catholici thesauri musici. Liber quintus* [...] *summo studio atque labore Petri Joannelli de Gandino bergomensis, collectae*, Venice: Antonio Gardano 1568. – Pietro GIOVANNELLI (before 1640 Gandino near Bergamo – ?) was a merchant in Vienna and musician. He edited the five books of this collection at his own expense and dedicated them to Emperor Maximilian II and his brothers. The composers in them were mainly members of the Imperial court chapel. The fifth book contains almost exclusively state motets. The collection was widespread and can be found in the inventories of the monasteries Kremsmünster (1600), Zwettl (1611, see footnote 4, fol. 47r) and Göttweig (1612). See: Österreichisches Musiklexikon online: <http://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml?frames=no>, accessed in 2017; RISM B/I; Altmann KELLNER, *Musikgeschichte des Stiftes Kremsmünster*, Kassel: Bärenreiter 1956; Stefan HOLZHAUSER, "Zwettl"; Friedrich Wilhelm RIEDEL, "Musikpflege im Benediktinerstift Göttweig".

¹⁹ Matthias SCHÄUSSLEDER had been schoolmaster and organist in Gumpoldskirchen (church accounts 1639, Kart. 190/76, January 27). He seems to have died on February 29, 1640 (church accounts 1640, Kart. 190/77).

The following prints by Giacomo FINETTI (Ancona ? – ?) with four partbooks are known: *Orationes vespertinae quaternis vocibus concinendae*. Venice: Ricciardo Amadino 1606, *Sacrarium cantionum ternis vocibus, cum basso ad organum* [...] *liber quartus*, Venice: Bartolomeo Magni 1613, 1617 and 1621, *Sacrarium concertuum ternis vocibus concinendorum cum basso ad organum*, Oberursel: Nikolaus Stein 1619, and *Salmi a tre voci* [...] *con il basso per l'organo*, Venice: Bartolomeo Magni 1614, 1618 and 1629. See: MGG2; RISM A/I.

An old torn Agenda.
An old written Cationale Ecc[lesiae] Gumpoldskh[irchiensis].
An old torn Missal.
A very torn old Missal.

In the school

...

A big black blackboard for singing.

...

Gumpoltskirch, April 25, 1640

P. S.: This is the translated version of the essay which was published in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 39 (1988), p. 55–61. Meanwhile the local historian Dr. Johann Hagenauer in a letter from August 18, 2006, has provided evidence for a possible explanation of the existence of such a rather numerous collection of church music, unexpected in a village church with an organist and a few school boy singers. The parish is not far from Vienna, but is – to this day – known especially for its wine production. The last inventory before 1640, dating from 1617/36/38, does not contain any music attributed to composers, only gradu-als, antiphonaries, missals, agenda and psalters, which are also listed at the end of the published inventory. The overwhelming majority of the compositions listed here²⁰ must therefore have come into the church in 1639 or 1640.

In this context the fact gains significance that the Imperial chapel master Giovanni Valentini exactly in 1639 bought the huge amount of 142 Eimer (buckets) of wine (equal to about 8200 l) of the vintage 1638 from Gumpoldskirchen for 318 florins and 12 Schilling,²¹ presumably not for the needs of his household, but maybe for the Hofkapelle. The scribe of the market town, Heinrich Rath, who a year later would write the inventory, went to Vienna on April 6, 1639, to get the payment for the wine from Valentini.²² It seems not unlikely that the head of the Hofkapelle on this occasion or some months afterwards donated old music, for the most part from the time before or around

²⁰ Exceptions are the manuscript by the church's organist Friedrich Fabritius (see footnote 9), *Quercus Dodonea* by Gregor Aichinger, which had been bought by the church in 1636 (see footnote 15), and Finetti's compositions (see footnote 19).

²¹ Archives of Gumpoldskirchen Kart. 177 GVR 1639, Kart. 190 ZAR 1639, Kart. 185 SPAR 1639.

²² Ibidem Kart. 57 KAR, Beilage 1639.

1600, which was not used any more at this modern institution, to the church of the market town. An argument for this hypothesis could be that all the compositions of the inventory which can be identified are not to be found – at least not in complete form – in today’s Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, the successor of the Imperial collections. At first sight this argument seems weak, since there is very little music at all from the 17th century there,²³ not even Valentini’s musical prints or manuscripts. On the other hand, this habit of discarding music no longer in use, also in later times could be responsible for the fact that most of the church and instrumental music of the 17th century from the Imperial court is not preserved in the Viennese court archives, but by chance in other places where they had been collected, especially in the castle of Kremsier/Kroměříž, in the Upper Austrian monastery Kremsmünster or in the Düben collection in Uppsala.

The evaluation “gut”/good is given not only to the print of Gregor Aichinger’s continuo motets for two and three voices from 1619, bought purposely for performance four years before, but also to a printed Psalter (see note 2), the *Concerti ecclesiastici* by Giulio Bruschi (Venice 1629), Blasius Amon’s motets without continuo before 1600, Ignazio Donati’s Masses with continuo (1633), Michael Herrer’s collection of contrafacta from 1606 and a Te Deum in manuscript for four voices, but not to the print by Giacomo Finetti, bought by the recently deceased organist Matthias Schäußleder. We could assume that this “good” music was regarded usable for performances in the parish church by the singers and the continuo, played on the regal, which at that time was present in the church and had been repaired in 1636 by Hans Weckherl,²⁴ the famous organ maker from Vienna.

²³ Except for operas and oratorios after 1659 in Emperor Leopold’s „Bibliotheca cubicularis”.

²⁴ Archives of Gumpoldskirchen, Kart. 190 ZAR 1636.

Appendix.

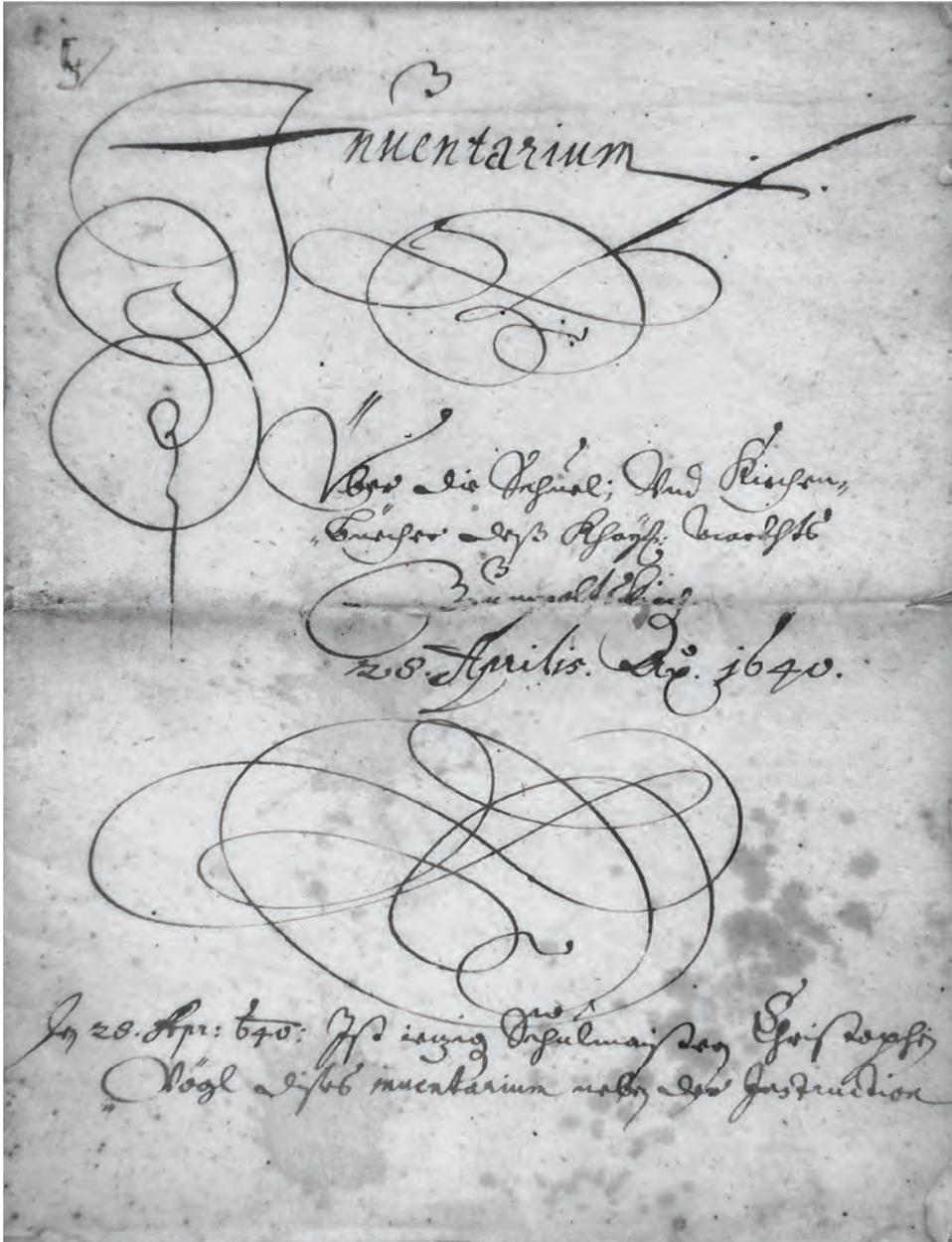
List of composers mentioned in the footnotes

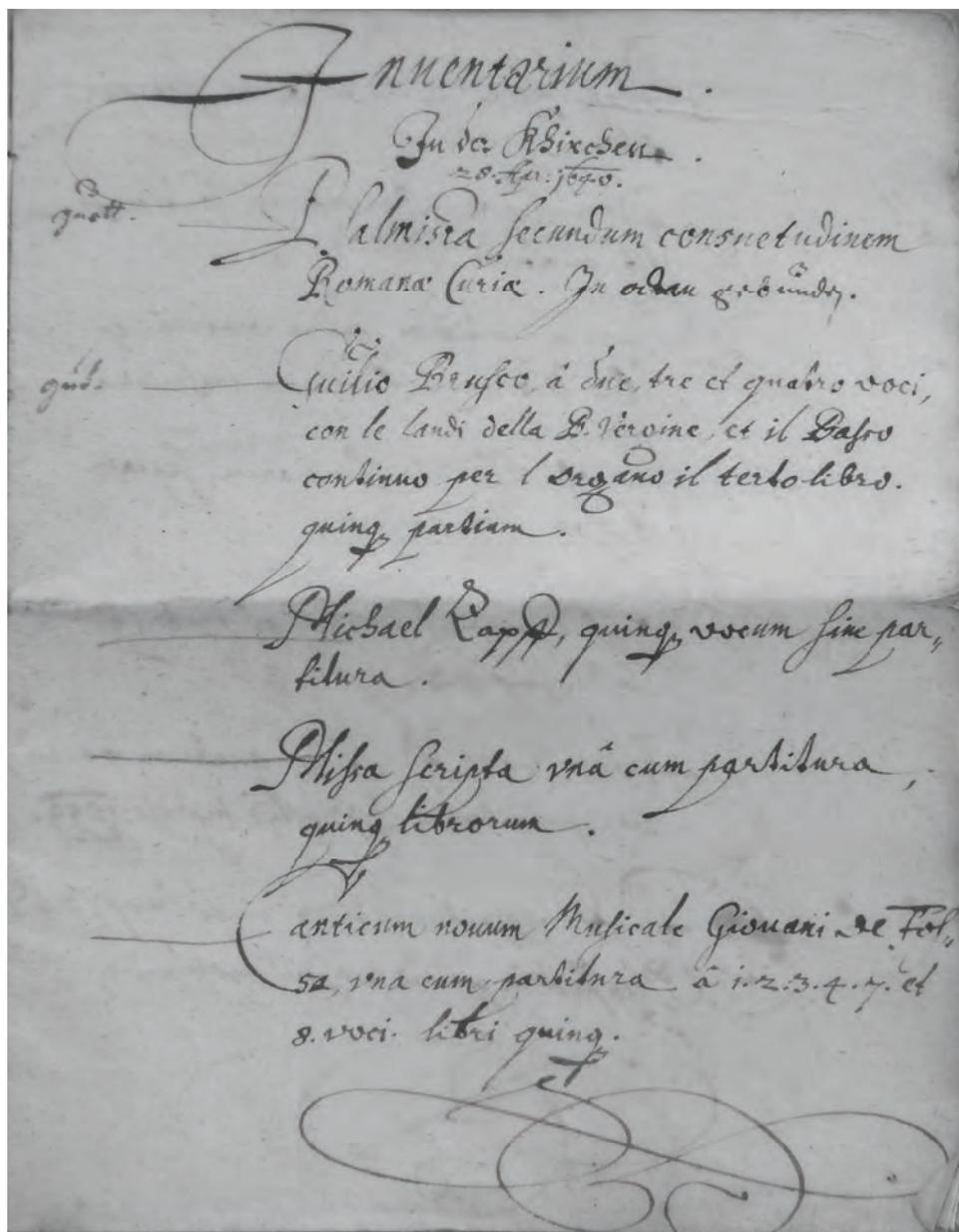
Achinger, Gregor	15, 20
Amon, Blasius	6, 7, 16
Asola, Giovanni Matteo (see Aula, Johannes)	17
Aula, Johannes (Asola, Giovanni Matteo?)	17
Bruschi, Giulio	3
Croce, Giovanni	10
Donati, Ignazio	11
Fabritius, Friedrich	9, 20
Finetti, Giacomo	19, 20
Fossa, Johannes de	5
Giovannelli, Pietro	18
Handl (Gallus), Jacobus	8
Herrer, Michael	14
Lasso, Orlando di	12, 16
Schäußleder, Matthias	19
Vecchi, Orazio	13
Zapff, Michael	4

Translated by the author

Appendix

Facsimile of the inventory from Gumpoldskirchen.
(Gumpoldskirchen, Archiv der Marktgemeinde, Kart. 190/230/5)





Summary

In the archives of Gumpoldskirchen near Vienna exists an inventory from 1640 of the music in the church St. Michael, which was taken care of by the Teutonic Order. This article presents a facsimile of the inventory, together with an annotated translation into English. The dateable music prints listed in the inventory were published in the time between 1568 and 1633 and originate from the Austrian-Southern German-Italian region. At first sight the inventory seems to bear witness to an astonishing high standard of the music performances in the village, and some evaluations (“good”) in the margins seem to be evidence of the actual use of the material. But a probable explanation for the acquisition of this collection – except for two printed works purchased before – is that it was material no longer in use at the Imperial Court Chapel, donated to the wine producing village in connection with the purchase of a huge amount of wine by the chapel master Giovanni Valentini in 1639.

Jiří Sehnal

A music inventory of a church in Moravská Třebová from the end of the Thirty Years' War

An inventory of music and musical instruments from the parish church of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary in Moravská Třebová compiled in 1644 and its supplements from the following years have been preserved.¹ The inventory is written in a book entitled *Registrum Ecclesiae Triboviensis Moravorum [...] Procuratum sub [...] Davide Adalberto Kristelio [...] eiusdem loci Parocho et Decano Anno [...] 1644.*²

Dean David Vojtěch Kristelius, who was the scribe or the person initiating this inventory, came from the large, wealthy family of Kristelius in Svítavy. We find bearers of the name Kristelius and its variants Christelius, Kristely, and Kristeli from Svítavy in the seventeenth century among the students at the Jesuit schools, not only in Olomouc,³ but also in Brno.⁴ David Vojtěch Kristelius

¹ The author sincerely thanks the organ specialist MUDr. Tomáš Horák for calling his attention to this important source.

² Státní okresní archiv Litomyšl, farní úřad Moravská Třebová, [Regional archive of Litomyšl, parish office of Moravská Třebová], i.c. [inventory control number] 107, kniha [book] 380, pp. 22–25.

³ 1657, Paulus Bernardus; 1669, Franciscus Ludovicus, Moravský Zemský Archiv v Brně [Moravian regional archive in Brno, from here abbreviated as MZA], E 28, kniha 16; 1678, Ferdinand, Franciscus, Státní ústřední archiv Praha (from here abbreviated as SÚA) JS III o 462; 1686, Joannes, Mathias. MZA, E 11/4.

⁴ 1632, Joannes; 1650, Paulus, Georgius; 1658, Severinus; 1667, Mathias; 1738, Mathaeus. Album gymnasii Brunensis in collegio Societatis Iesu, Archiv města Brna [Archive of the town of Brno, henceforth abbreviated as AMB].

was born in approximately 1602, and evidently studied with the Jesuits in Olomouc. He was installed as dean in Moravská Třebová on 16 October 1640, and continued in this position until his death, supposedly on 17 September 1665.⁵ However, he was already dead on 11 September 1665 according to a note in the register. He must have been relatively wealthy, because in 1643 he was able to lend the town of Svitavy 600 tolars to make a payment demanded by Torstenson's army.⁶ Since Svitavy was not able to repay him, David Vojtěch and his brother Matouš Bernard changed the debt to a fund of 1500 Moravian tolars to support three boys in the seminary of St. Francis Xavier at the Jesuit college in Olomouc.⁷ This fund was increased to 2500 florins in 1660 to support five boys from the Kristelius family, related families, or natives of Svitavy on the condition that two of them would become musicians.⁸ Dean Kristelius was one of the great benefactors of his church; he acquired valuable liturgical vessels and decorations for it. It is evident from the music inventory that he had a sense of order and a close relationship to music. Specialists may be familiar with the name of Jesuit Bartholomaeus Christelius (1624–1701), author of sacred works.⁹ Although he signed his name as Christelius, he came from Mohelnice and had nothing in common with the Kristelius family from Svitavy. In 1644, Dean Kristelius or a trusted scribe made a list of all of the scores that he found in the church. Most of them had been acquired by his predecessors. There had been five of them in the parish of Moravská Třebová between 1623 and 1640.¹⁰

We have transcribed Kristelius's inventory literally. For practical reasons, we have substituted the letter U with the letter V where appropriate. We have numbered the individual items in the inventory for the sake of better

⁵ Gregor WOLNÝ, *Kirchliche Topographie von Mähren*, 1. Abt., 2. Band, Brünn: Selbstverlag, 1857, p. 452.

⁶ Jan ŽILKA, "Školství" [Education], in: *Moravskotřebovsko-Svitavsko*, Brno: Muzejní a vlastivědná společnost, 2002, p. 448.

⁷ The written records of the foundation from 20 September 1653 are deposited in MZA, G 11, FM 480.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 448; Jiří SEHNAL, "Hudba v minulosti" [Music in the past], in: *Moravskotřebovsko-Svitavsko*, Brno: Muzejní a vlastivědná společnost, 2002, pp. 430–431.

⁹ Jiří SEHNAL, "Zpěvník Bartoloměje Christelia z roku 1678 a hudba na Moravě v 2. polovině 17. století" [The songbook of Bartoloměj Christelius from 1678 and music in Moravia during the second half of the seventeenth century], *Hudební věda* [Musicology] 16, 1979, pp. 146–154.

¹⁰ Gregor WOLNÝ, *Kirchliche*, p. 451.

orientation. The names of composers are printed in bold type. We show the lexical form of the composers' names, dates and relevant, more precise specifications of the given work with their entry in RISM for every item after the sign •, because adding more information to the remarks would have made it unnecessarily difficult to study the inventory. Many works could not be identified because they were written by Lassus, who was an extraordinarily prolific composer, or because the inventory entry was not precise. However, it is possible that specialists will be able to identify some of these works.

p. 22 [of the original inventory]

Inventarium der Chorbücher bey der Kirchen Unser Lieben Frauen, welche der Herr Rector,¹¹ Organist¹² und Cantores unter sich haben samtt den Chor Instrumenten

- 1) *Missa et Psalmi* **Gallerani** 8 et 12 Vocum
Gallerano, Leandro, Minorite (end of the sixteenth century – 1632).
Probably *Messa e salmi concertati a 3, 5 et 8 voci* (Venezia 1629). RISM G 152.
- 2) *Missa Vincentii* **Scapittae** 5 et 8 Vocum
Scapitta, Vincenzo, Minorite (1593 – 1656): *Missae quinis octonisque vocibus* (Venezia 1629). RISM S 1161.
- 3) *Missae et Psalmi* **Thomae Cecchini** 3.4.5 et 8 Vocum
Cecchini, Tomaso (1583?-1644): *Missae tribus, quatuor, quinque, et octo vocibus in organo concinendae una cum Psalmis Vespertinis* (Venezia 1627). PL-Kj (compl.)
- 4) *Missae Liquide per le amor*, **Car. Milanutii** 5 Vocum
Milanuzzi, Carlo, Augustinian (end of the sixteenth century – after 1647). This work could not be identified.
- 5) *Missae et Psalmi* **F. Leandri Gallerani** 5 Vocum
Gallerano, Leandro: *Missarum et psalmodiarum [...] quinis vocibus* (Venezia 1628). RISM G 159.
- 6) *Vesperae* **Aurelii Signoretti** 5 vel 9 Vocum
Signoretti, Aurelio (1567–1635): perhaps *Vespertinae omnium solemnissimum psalmodiae 5–9 vocum* (Venezia 1629). RISM S 3425.

¹¹ Johann Paul Ulrich, mentioned later in the inventory, may still have been rector at the time. He died on 12 May 1648 at the age of 56 years. He thus would have been born around 1592, and would have attended school to the age of 18 or 19, around the year 1630. Kindly communicated by PhD Petr Hlaváček.

¹² Organist Lukas Knauer died on 16 January 1643, the year before the inventory was made. Kindly communicated by PhD Petr Hlaváček.

- 7) *Voces quatuor additae pro Vesp. Aurelii Signoretti ad placitum et Hortus Sacer Car. Milanutii 1. 2. et 3 Voc.*
Milanuzzi, Carlo: *Hortus sacer deliciarum 1–3 vocum* (Venetia 1636).
RISM M 2754.
- 8) *Concertus Aurelii Signoretti 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. et Octo Vocum*
Signoretti, Aurelio: *Il primo libro de motetti 2–6 et 8 voci con il basso continuo* (Venezia 1615). RISM S 3424.
- 9) *Concertus Alex. Grandi 2. 3. 4. Vocum*
Grandi, Alessandro (1586–1630). This work could not be identified.
- 10) *Viti Gessneri Psalmi in Folio von Herrn Salich bezahlt*
Gessner, Vitus Albertus: perhaps *Psalmi, Magnificat, Antiphonae* (Wien 1632), evidently the same work discussed by J. Kalinayová, p. 37, 41, 58.¹³ This composer does not have an entry in *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon*.
- 11) *Te Deum Laudamus gedruckt in einem Band*
- 12) *Deutsch Contional (!) Buch im Rhoten Schindt E*
- 13) *Deutsch Contional (!) in folio E*

Verzeichnuß der Partes so zuvor in kheinem Register verzeichnet gewesen

- 14) *Jacob Finetti Concertus 2. 3. 4. Vocum*
Finetti, Giacomo, Minorite (flourished 1605–1622): *Concerti ecclesiastici 2. 3 et 4 vocibus cum basso generali ad organum*. Many editions. Perhaps printed in Antwerp, 1621. RISM F 830.
- 15) *Ludovici Viadano 1. 2. 3. 4 Vocum*
Viadana, Lodovico, Franciscan (1560–1627): *Cento concerti ecclesiastici op. 12*. First edition Venezia 1602. However, we cannot determine the edition.
- 16) *Thomae Fritsch mottetae 5. 6. 7. 8. 9 Vocum*
Fritsch, Thomas (1563–1619): *Novum et insigne opus musicum* (Breslau 1620). RISM F 2009.
- 17) *Ecclesiodiae Germanicae 4. 5. 6 Vocum.*
Ecclesiodiae. Das ist Kirchen Gesäng: nemblich Die gebrüchlichsten Psalmen Davids so nicht allein viva voce sondern auch zu musikalischen Instrumenten Christlich zugebrauchen. Durch Christoph Thomas Walliser. (Strasbourg 1614). RISM Mi Wall 1614.¹⁴

¹³ Jana KALINAYOVÁ et al., *Hudobné inventáre a repertoár viachlasnej hudby na Slovensku v 16.–17. storočí* [Musical inventories and repertory of polyphonic music in Slovakia from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries], Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum–Hudobné múzeum, 1994.

¹⁴ The author thanks Dr. Jan Baťa for identifying this work.

- 18) *Partes allerley mutteten Böhmisch und Latainisch mit den Introiten **Blasii Amonis** Ammon, Blasius (circa 1560–1590): *Introitus dominicales per totum annum* (Wien 1601). RISM A 945.*
- 19) *Partes allerley Mutteten 4. 5. 6 et 8 Vocum.*
- 20) *Beyde Theil **Melchiori Vulpii** seind nicht vorhanden.*
Vulpius, Melchior (1570–1615): *Pars prima cantionum sacrarum* (Jena 1602). *Pars secunda* [*secunda?* Or (!)] (Jena 1603) RISM V 2569, RISM V 2571.
- 21) *Sertum musicale Fr. **Car. Abbatis** de Genua 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. Voc.*
Abbate, Carlo, Minorite (circa 1600–1675): this work was previously unknown.

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- 22) *Etliche Geschriebene Messen undt Concert 2. 3. 4. Vocum von dem Herrn Cantore Matthaeo **Grillo**.*¹⁵
- 23) *Geschriebene Messen in Folio 8 Vocum*
- 24) ***Seraphini** Partes 1. 2. 3 Vocum*
Perhaps Serafino Patta (1580 – after 1 November 1619), *Sacrorum canticorum una, duabus, tribus, quatuor, et quinque vocibus* (Venezia, Giacomo Vincenti, 1613). RISM P 1038.
- 25) *Missa Concertata 5 vel 9 Vocum **Joannis Chizzolo***
Ghizzolo, Giovanni, Minorite (circa 1580–1623): perhaps *Messa, salmi* [...] *a 5 o 9 voci* (Venezia 1619, 1622). RISM G .
- 26) *Missa super exultate Deo 8 vocum*
- 27) *Passio deutsch Secundum Mathaeum Choraliter;*
- 28) *Item Zwey Tabellatur Bücher*
- 29) *Promptuarium Musicum **Abrahami Schadaei** in Folio.*
Schadaeus, Abraham, *Promptuarium 1* (Strasbourg 1611), second edition (1612) or third (1613). RISM B/I 1611¹, 1612³, 1613².
- 30) *Opus Melicum **Friderici Weinsensee** in Folio*
Weinsensee, Fridericus (circa 1560–1621): *Opus melicum* [...] 4. 5. 6. 7. 9. et 12 vocum (Magdeburg 1602). RISM W 625.
- 31) *Magnificat **Michaelis Varotti** in Folio*
Varotto, Michele (before 1550–1599?): *Li otto Magnificat* (Venezia 1580). RISM V 988.

¹⁵ The name of Grillo is somewhat unusual. PhDr. Petr Hlaváček has found a Václav Grillo who was burgrave during the 1660s in Moravská Třebová. He died on 14 September 1680.

- 32) *Sacrae Symphoniae Casparis Hasleri in 4to*
Hassler, Kaspar (1562–1618): *Sacrae symphoniae* (Nürnberg 1601 or later).
dabey Magnificat Christophori Demanti
Demantius, Christoph (1567–1643). This work could not be identified.
- 33) *Cantiones Sacrae Joan Leo Hasler in 4to*
Hassler, Johann Leo (1564–1612). This work could not be identified.
undt darbey Opus Melchiori Vulpii 3. Theil E
This work could not be identified, because *Tertia pars sacrarum cantionum* is unknown.
- 34) *Selectissimae Cantio[nes]. Orlandi Lassi in 4to*
Lassus, Orlando de (1532–1594). This work could not be identified.
- 35) *Mottetae Ascanii Trombetti in 4to*
Trombetti, Ascanio (1544–1590): *Il primo libro de motetti [...] 5–12 vocum* (Venezia 1589). RISM T 1277.
und darbey den Marcum Anto. Ingignerum
Ingegneri, Marc Antonio (1535/6–1592). This work could not be identified.
- 36) *Continuatio Cantio[num]. Sacra[rum]. Friderici Lindner in 4to*
Lindner, Friedrich (1542–1597): *Continuatio cantionum sacrarum 4–12 Vocum* (Nürnberg 1588).
Darbey Liber missa[rum]. Leonh. Lechner
Lechner, Leonhard (1553–1606): *Liber missarum 6 et 5 vocum* (Nürnberg 1584). RISM L 1298.
- 37) *Teutsche Psalm Undt Kirchen Gesäng Melch. Franc in 4to Non adsunt.*
Franck, Melchior (1579–1639): perhaps *Contrapuncti composti deutscher Psalmen und andere geistlichen Kirchengesäng* (Nürnberg 1602).
- 38) *Hortus delitiarum 4 Vocum*
This title is similar to that in entry 7 by Carlo Milanuzzi, but it is another, unknown work.
- 39) *Collectaneae 3 Vocum*
- 40) *Flores variorum Authorum 4 Vocum*
This work could be either *Flores praestantissimorum virorum* by Philippo Lomatio, Milano 1626, RISM 1626⁵ or *Flores verni ex viridario Oslawiensis*, Oslavany 1628, perhaps issued by Carlo Abbate. RISM does not contain this title.
- 41) *Par[tes]. Missae et Psalmorum concertantium 5 Vocum.*
- 42) *Par[tes]. Laudum Vespertinarum.*

- 43) *Missa Concertata 8 Vocum Alexandri Grandi*
Grandi, Alessandro: perhaps *Messe concertate a otto voci* (Venezia 1637).
RISM G 3462.
- 44) *Concertus cum Symphoniis 4 Vocum Sub lit. C.*
- 45) *Missa Concertata 5 vel 10 Vocum cum 3bus adiunctis Concertationibus.*

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- 46) *Missa 4 et 5 V. cum 2bus Violinis et Ripien.*
- 47) *Psalmi Vespertini 4 et 5 Vocum. Non adsunt.*
- 48) *Requiem Giovanni Ghizzolo a 5 Vocum*
Ghizzolo, Giovanni. This work could not be identified more precisely.
- 49) *Miserere 4 Voc.*
- 50) *Magnificat 4 Voc.*
- 51) *4 Salve Regina 2 et 3 Voc.*

Item alte Partes die man nicht gebraucht

- 52) **Orlandus Lassus**
Lassus, Orlando de. This work could not be identified.
Darbey Cantio[nes] 4. 5. et pluri[um]. V. Galli Dresleri in 4to E [sic]
Dressler, Gallus (1533–1580/9). This work could not be identified.
- 53) *Liber quindecim Missarum a praestant. Musicis in 4to.*
Perhaps *Liber quindecim missarum a praestantissimis musicis compositorum*
(Nürnberg 1539). RISM 1539
- 54) *Symbolorum Tonus Darbey geschriebene Magnificat in 4to*
- 55) *Tomus primus 31 Psalmorum in 4to*
- 56) *Hymni Sacri Leonh. Schroetteri in 4to*
Schröter, Leonhard (1532–1600): *Hymni sacri* (Erfurt 1587). RISM S 2232.
- 57) *Allerley geschriebene Mutteten Latainsch Undt Deutsch 5 Vocum E (?)*
- 58) *Geschriebene Concerten 4 V*
- 59) *Item geschriebene Deutsch Part[es]. 4 Vocum*
- 60) *1 Gradual in Pargam[ento]*
This could be *Graduale de tempore et de sanctis* kept in the Library of the
Benedictine Cloister of Rajhrad, now in the care of Muzeum Brněnska,
under shelf-mark R 627.
- 61) *2 Antiphonaria in Pargam[ento]*

Perhaps two parts of a setting of *Breviarii Olomucensis seu libri horarum de tempore et de sanctis*, which is currently deposited in the Library of the Benedictine Cloister of Rajhrad, now in the care of Muzeum Brněnska, under shelf-mark R 625 and R 627.

62) *1 Choral Buch in folio*

63) *2 Psalteria 1 in Pargam[ento]. 1 in papir*

Item erkauffte Frau Martha H. Michael Speren Haus Fraue Zur Kirchen nachfolgende Bücher und Instrumenten von Frauen Anna des in Gott ruhenden Joannes Teisbergers gewesenen Trompeters allhier Hauswirthin per 26 fl

64) *Conviviorum delitiae Christophori Demantii 6 Vocum* Orlando de. Demantius, Christoph: *Conviviorum delitiae 6 v.* (Nürnberg 1608).

65) *Orlandi de Lassus 6 Voc.*
Lassus, Orlando de. This work could not be identified.

66) *Handelii par[tes] 4 Vocum*
Handl, Jacobus (1550–1591). This work could not be identified.

67) *Deütsche Geiseliche (!) Lieder Bath. (!) Gesii 4. 5. Voc.*
Gesius, Bartholomäus (1551/62–1613): perhaps *Deutsche geistliche Lieder* (1594 edition, lost) or one of the later editions (1601, 1605, 1607).

68) *Wiederumb Orlandi de Lassus 5 Vocum*
Lassus, Orlando de. This work could not be identified.

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69) *Geschriebene in Quarto Walterische und Geseliche Paduan und Galliardi*
This work could not be identified, because Johann Jakob Walther (circa 1650–1717) was either not yet born or an infant, and none of the other bearers of that name wrote instrumental music.

70) *Geschriebene Symphonien 4 Vo[cum] Grün gefaßet*

71) *Kleine geschriebene partes 4 Vocum*

72) *Item geschriebene kleine partes*

An Instrumenten

3 Zincken ein Octav Zincken, ein Quart Zincken, ein gemein Zincken

2 Fledten později připsáno Ao 1655 eine Newe Alt Posaun kaufft

3 Posaunen. Ein Alt Posaun, ein Tenor Posaun, ein Pass Posaun

5 Feldt Trompeten sambt denen Mundt Stucken

Mehr ein Haupt Stuckle undt zwey Stangen

Item eine Trompett welche H. Fürsten richter P. Klar¹⁶ verehret

3 Geigen, ein Discant Geigen, ein Tenor Geigen, ein Bass Geigen

Item Ao 1655 gekaufft worden 2 Diskant geigen 7 fl 30

Item Ao 1645 seindt zur Kirchen gekaufft worden zwey Kessel paucken umb 10 fl

Item widerum 1652 eine Tenor geigen kaufft worden 15 groschen (!)

Anno 1647

*Verehret der wohlehrwürdiger H. Andreas Porsitzky AA. LL. Baccalaureus formatus
et Phiae Mgr. necnon SS. Theologie zu unserer Kirchen nachfolgende geschriebene
Partes Motetarum et Symphoniarum, Officiorum et Litaniarum*

Moteta a Due Voci

- 73) *De Sto Joanne Baptista a Due Bassi*
- 74) *De Ascensione Dni a Due Bassi*
- 75) *De Resurrectione Dni a Due Bassi*
- 76) *De Confessore Beatus Vir a Due Bassi*
- 77) *Ibant Apostoli gaudentes Canto et Basso*
- 78) *Benedicite Deum Coeli Due Canti*
- 79) *O vos omnes qui transitis Due Tenori*

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Motetta a Tre Voci

- 80) *Vidi Dnum sedentem a Due Canti et Basso*
- 81) *O adorata Trinitas a Due Canti et Basso*
- 82) *Anima mea liquefacta est Alto, Tenore, Basso*
- 83) *Deus Canticum novum Basso a Due Canti*
- 84) *Magi videntes stellam Tre Bassi*
- 85) *Magi videntes stellam Tre Bassi*

Motetta a quadro (! Or: quatro) voci

- 86) *Canzon M. M. Solis Instrumentis¹⁷*

¹⁶ Paul Klar is documented as a royal knight in 1642. See Christian d'ELVERT, *Mährische und Schlesische Chroniken* 1., Brünn: A. Nitsch, 1861, p. 331.

¹⁷ The Monogram M. M. has been used to designate the composer Marcin Mielczewski. Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska documents 15 instrumental canzonas by Mielczewski, but

- 87) *Decantabat populus Basso Tenore cum Instrumentis*
- 88) *Iste cognovit iustitiam CATB cum Instrumentis vel sine*
- 89) *Quam pulchra es quatuor cum Instrumentis vel sine*
- 90) *Jubilamus (!) quatuor instrumentis a Tre*
- 91) *Concerto de Martyre Iste Sanctus Canto A. T. et Basso*
- 92) *Lytaniae B. M. V. triplices Canto A. T. et Basso*

Motetta a Quinque Voci

- 93) *Missa 8vi Toni **Adamo Clavo** Autore C, 2 T, A, B*
We do not know of a composer by this name.
- 94) *Isti sunt viri sancti 2 B, T, A cum Instrumentis*
- 95) *Magnum nomen Dni Emanuel 3 C, A, B*
- 96) *Dne Deus meus Symphonia A, B cum Instr. a Tre*
- 97) *Cantate Do. 2 C cum Instr. a Tre*
- 98) *Hi sunt quos habuimus in derisum C, B cum Instr. a Tre*

Motetta a 6 vocibus

- 99) *Deus Canticum novum a 6 vocibus cum instr. a 6 vel etiam sine*
- 100) *Salve Virgo puerperia a Tre cum instr. a Tre*

Symphoniae reliquae cum Instrumentis

- 101) *Bonitatem fecisti Concerto a decem*
- 102) *Dextera Dni a decem*
- 103) *Jubilate Concerto ab undecim*

Sola voce cum Instrumentis

- 104) *Surge, surge, prospera Solo Canto cum Instrumentis a Tre*
- 105) *O gloriosa Dna Solo Tenore cum instrumentis a 4*
- 106) *Missa Lustrich **Martini Mielczovsky** ab 8 Vocibus¹⁸*

it is not possible to determine from the inventory which of them would have been in Moravská Třebová. Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *Muzyka pod patronatem polskich Wazów. Marcin Mielczewski* [Music under the patronage of the House of Vasa in Poland. Marcin Mielczewski]. Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 2011, pp. 87, 406–407.

¹⁸ The *Mass a 8 voce 6.toni* by Marcin Mielczewski, known as *Missa Lustik ab 8*, which survives in incomplete form in several sources. Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *Muzyka pod patronatem* (see footnote 17), pp. 413–414.

107) *Ibidem Lytaniae B. M. V. ab 8 Vocibus*¹⁹

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*Item A. 1648. Partes sequentes Officiorum, Concertuum, Vesperarum et Lytaniarum ad Eccl.am nostram, partim coemptae, partim testamento ablegatae sunt a pie defuncto Joanne Ulrich hujus scholae auditore.*²⁰

108) *In folio 7 Officia 8 Voc.*

109) *In 4to 7 Officia 8 et 12 Voc.*

110) *In 4to Oficium B. M. V. Ghizoli* cum Vesperis et Litanis Ghizzolo, Giovanni. This work could not be identified.

111) *In 4to 3 Officia Autore Ad[am]o Ratenberger 6. 4. et 8 Vocum*
Composer unknown.

112) *In 4to 2 Officia primi et 7 Toni Ignatii Donati* 12 Vocum
Donati, Ignazio (1570/5–1638). This work could not be identified.

113) *In fol. Requiem Julii Belli* 8 Voc.
Belli, Giulio (circa 1560–po 1621): perhaps *Missarum quatuor vocibus [...] et missa pro defunctis* (Venezia 1615).

114) *In fol. Officium Joannis Valentini* 6 Voc.
Valentini, Giovanni (1582/3–1649). This work could not be identified.

115) *In fol. Officium Gislamerii Bachini* 9 Voc.
Bachini, Gislamerio (dates unknown): *Il primo libro delle messe a tre, quattro concertate* (Venezia 1627). RISM B 537.

116) *In fol. Officium Joannis Valentini* 8 Voc
Valentini, Giovanni. This work could not be identified.

117) *In fol. Oficium Super Heut triumphiret* [?] 11 Voc

118) *In 4to Off. 8. Toni sub littera A* 8 V.

119) *In folio Off. Orlandi* 5 V.
Lassus, Orlando de. This work could not be identified.

120) *In 4to 5 Off. Hasleri* 8 Voc.
Perhaps [Probably] Hassler, Hans Leo. This work could not be identified.

121) *In 4to Off. Super Benedicite* 8 Voc

¹⁹ We cannot eliminate the possibility that this litany was by Mielczewski. It is only known as a litany for 5 voices. Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *Muzyka pod patronatem* (see footnote 17), p. 412.

²⁰ See footnote 12.

- 122) *In 4to in membrana Concertus 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. V.*
- 123) *In 4to motectae germ. et latinae cum Officiis **Hasleri** 5 et 6 V.*
Probably Hassler, Hans Leo. This work could not be identified.
- 124) *In 4to in membrana Concertus et cum 2 instrum. 2. 3. 4. et 5. V.*
- 125) *In fol. Cantemus et Decantabat **Georgii Gnathi** 12 V.*
Composer unknown.
- 126) *In fol. Bonum est et Dne quis habitabit **Nic. Straus** 8 V.*
Perhaps Strauss, Christoph (1575–1631), who was leader of Ferdinand II's chapel from 1617: *Bonum est confiteri Domino 8 v. et Basso continuo.*
- 127) *In 4to Concertus Variorum Authorum. Sub litera B 2. 3. 4. 5. V.*
- 128) *In 4to Vesperae **Antonii Savettae** 8 V.*
Savetta, Antonio (circa 1550–1641): *Salmi concertati* (Venezia 1635).
RISM A/I S 1108.
- 129) *In 4to Vesperae **Francisci Pii** 9 V.*
Pio, Francesco (1590–1660): *Il primo libro de salmi a nove concertati*
(Venezia 1621) or *Il secondo libro* (Venezia 1625). RISM P 2410.
- 130) *In 4to Vesperae **Antonii Columbini** 4 V.*
[Antonio Colombini?, unknown]. This work could not be identified.
- 131) *In fol. Off. Super Incredimini **Stadelmeyers** 8 V*
Stadlmayr, Johann (1575–1648). This work could not be identified.
- 132) *In 4to Salve, Ave Regina, Congratulamini, Rorate, Dum complerentur, Sepulto Dno Litt. C 4 Voc.*
- 133) *In 4to Introitus de Fecit cum Requiem 5 Voc.*
- 134) *Lamentationes 6 Voc.*
- 135) *In 4to Aliquae Mottetae germ[anicae] 4 Voc. Non adsunt.*
- 136) *Requiem 4 V.*
- 137) *In fol. Vita quid est 8 Voc.*
- 138) *In 4to Cationale geschrieben*

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- 139) *In fol. Missa Concertata **Antonii Burlini** 8 Voc.*
Burlini, Antonio (1577–1623): perhaps *Messa, salmi et motetti concertati a otto voci in due chori et basso continuo* (Venezia 1615). RISM B 5021.
- 140) *Vesperae D[omi]nicales **Lodovici** 4 Voc.*
Viadana, Ludovico. This work could not be identified.

- 141) *In fol. Ein Partitur sub Lit. M*
- 142) *In 4to Gedruckte 7 Meßsen, die erste super Dixit Maria 4. 5. 6 et 8 Voc.*
- 143) *In fol. Off. Super Cicerlanda 5 Voc.*
This work could not be identified.
- 144) *In fol. Off. Auth. Joan. Boleslaw Czasla 8 Voc.*
Unknown composer, probably Polish.
- 145) *In fol Off. 1 super Jubilate 8 Voc.*
- 146) *In fol. Off. 1 Super Veni dilecte Mi 8 Voc.*
- 147) *In fol. Off. 1 super Jubilate Auth. Georgii Poss 8 Voc.*
Poss, Georgius (circa 1570–1633) (?): *Liber primus missarum octonis et senis vocibus* (Graz 1607). RISM P 5245.
- 148) *In Chartis Plaudite 6 Voc.*
- 149) *In 4to Motettae 2 Ave Maria et Deo Pri sit Gloria 6 Voc.*
- 150) *In 4to Magnificat 1 super Aspice Dne Auth. Gabriele Plautzi 8 Voc.*
Plautzius, Gabriel (1590–1641). This work could not be identified.
- 151) *Litaniae impressae Aloysii coemptae a D. Kozuroffski 8 Voc.*
Alouisi, Giovanni Battista, Minorite (circa 1600–1664): perhaps *Vellus aureum* (Venezia 1640).
- 152) *In 8vo Antiphonarium Romanum impressum*
- 153) *Concerti Ecclesiastici a Due e tre Voci con una Salve a Quatro e Letanie della Madonna a cinque*
Grancini, Michel Angelo (1605?–1669): perhaps *Il quinto libro de concerti ecclesiastici*. Milano 1636. RISM G 1636.
- 154) *Missae triplicatae 4tuor 8 Vo. 4 Concer. et 4 Ripieni Udalrici Rbombdensi.*
Composer unknown.
- 155) *Cantiones Genethliacae ad Chri. Cunas 5 Vo. Christophori Satzel.*
Sätzl, Christoph (1592–1655): *Cantiones genethliacae* [13 Christmas motets and 1 Mass] (Innsbruck 1644). RISM A/I S 306.

The medieval choral manuscripts, entries 60, 61, 62, and 63, would have been stylistically inconsistent with the rest of the works in the inventory. Nevertheless, entries 60 and 61 are the only items which survive from the collection. They are now part of the Benedictine library of Rajhrad. They did not originally come from Moravská Třebová, but were merely transient items in the archive of the local church. The Gradual, entry 60, is certainly identical to manuscript

R 627 in the Rajhrad library. The two books of antiphons under entry 61 are probably the same as the two breviaries R 625 and R 626. Breviaries usually did not contain musical notation, but these are musical settings of the entire text. That may have led Dean Kristelius to designate them as antiphons in the inventory, as Pavel Žůrek has correctly indicated.²¹ All three manuscripts show common traits of penmanship, notation, and binding. Smil of Kunštát had the winter section of the breviary (R 625) set to music in 1395, and the summer section (R 626) in 1397. The breviaries and the gradual were then part of the library of Ladislav of Boskovice (1455–1520), whose principal residence was Moravská Třebová. They were received into the holdings of the parish church in 1639 at the latest. In 1853, Dean Franz Krönes of Moravská Třebová then donated the manuscripts to the Benedictine cloister in Rajhrad.²² The breviaries may have been originally used in the village Vyšehorky near Mohelnice.²³ It is interesting that we would not have anticipated the existence of this valuable manuscript in such a small village as Vyšehorky.

Judging by the number of compositions, the Moravská Třebová inventory is the richest musical inventory from Moravia, except for the inventory of Karel Liechtenstein in Kroměříž from 1695. Most of the church inventories from the seventeenth century known to date record around ten compositions, and cannot be compared with the Moravská Třebová collection. The Moravská Třebová collection is distinguished by the large time span within which its compositions were written. If we exclude the medieval choral books (entries 60, 61, 62, and 63), the oldest printed item in the collection is probably the *Liber 15 missarum* from 1539 (entry 53). The latest additions recorded in 1648 by Alouisi (entries 151, 1640) and Sätzl (entries 155, 1644), show that the musical archive included scores from the previous century and was continually augmented.

²¹ Lumír ŠKVAŘIL – Vladimír MAŇAS – Pavel ŽŮREK, *In conspectu angelorum psallam tibi. K hudební kultuře benediktinského kláštera Rajhrad od jeho založení do začátku 18. století* [On the musical culture of the Benedictine cloister Rajhrad from its founding to the beginning of the eighteenth century], Brno: Moravská zemská knihovna v Brně, 2014, pp. 131–132.

²² This information comes from the following sources: Vladislav DOKOUPIL, *Soupis rukopisů knihovny benediktinů v Rajhradě* [Catalogue of manuscripts in the Benedictine library in Rajhrad], Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1966, pp. 316–320; Pavel ŽŮREK, “Období od vzniku kláštera do 15. století” [The era from the origin of the cloister to the fifteenth century], in: *In conspectu angelorum psallam tibi* (see footnote 21), pp. 130–135, 139–140. The author thanks Dr. Vladimír Mañas for calling his attention to this manuscript in Rajhrad.

²³ Pavel ŽŮREK: *Období od vzniku kláštera* (see footnote 22), p. 134.

1. Ladislav Velen of Žerotín and Moravská Třebová

The Moravská Třebová would not have attained such an unusual breadth of musical compositions for its own sake. The reason may be Dean Kristelius' exceptional interest in sacred music. However, some of the scores, especially entries 1–63, were obtained before his arrival, which was certainly during the reign of the Protestant noble Ladislav Velen of Žerotín (1601–1620). At the time, Moravská Třebová had hopes of becoming an important cultural center. But the Uprising of the Estates suddenly dashed such hopes; Ladislav Velen, who was one of the principal leaders of the rebellion in Moravia, escaped during Easter 1621 into emigration, where he continued in the war against the Hapsburgs. Under the rule of prince Liechtenstein, Moravská Třebová declined from a powerful residence to a subsidiary economic estate.

Ladislav Velen of Žerotín (1581–1638) was the cousin of Karl of Žerotín the elder. He was born in Strážnice and orphaned as a child. He spent his youth in studies in foreign lands. The literature shows that he travelled to Strasbourg, Geneva, Basel, and Heidelberg. In Basel Ladislav Velen learned to play on the spinet from Samuel Mareschall (1554–1640?), the local organist of the cathedral. Mareschall dedicated a beautifully written work consisting of David's psalms for spinet to him. We infer that Ladislav Velen enjoyed making music. He visited Padua in 1597, Siena in 1598, and Florence in 1599. His journey in Italy made an unusually deep impression on him. After his return home in 1601, he decided to develop Moravská Třebová, which he had inherited in 1589, into a magnificent city of residence like those belonging to the rich Italian nobles. He was able to do so because he was the richest noble in Moravia. He employed painters, architects, theologians, singers, doctors of medicine, and alchemists at his castle. Although he had been raised as a Calvinist, witnesses tell us that he was fond of a luxurious, sociable life, which led to his nickname Lumpenburg (=the castle of crooks).²⁴ This irreverent nickname comes from the German name of Ladislav Velen's estate Lundenburg (Břeclav) in South Moravia.

²⁴ František HRUBÝ, *Ladislav Velen ze Žerotína*, Praha: Historický klub, 1930, particularly pp. 33–48; Collective authors: *Hrady, zámky a tvrze v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku* [Castles, palaces, and fortresses in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia]. 2. Severní Morava [Northern Moravia], Praha: Svoboda, 1983, p. 158; Pavel BALCÁREK, *Ve víru třicetileté války* [In the maelstrom of the Thirty Years' War], České Budějovice: Veduta, 2011, pp. 99–111.

Ladislav Velen understandably had musicians among his employees. We know of three, but their names tell us nothing: Müller, Koch, and Börner. Georg Börner came from Radenburg in Meissen and was the cantor in Moravská Třebová from 1590.²⁵ There was also instrumental music at the castle. A piece of evidence is provided in an undated letter written from Prague by the imperial trumpeter Georg Zigotta of Pelegriner Insel. Zigotta writes that he sends the count six books and strings,²⁶ and promises to add the violins that had been ordered. Georg Zigotta began to learn trumpet playing in 1582 at the house of his brother Lucas at the court of Rudolf II, and obtained a prominent position there. Both men remained in Prague after the emperor's death in 1612.²⁷ Even from such brief reports, it is clear that Ladislav Velen had an interest in assuring music of high quality at his court in Moravská Třebová and its environs. But if he actually were in touch with the imperial musicians, it would be surprising that, unlike other musical institutions in Moravia, we do not find names of the musicians from the court chapel of Rudolf II in the Moravská Třebová inventory except for Hans Leo Hassler (entries 33, 120, and 123). The three above-mentioned musicians would not have been enough to perform compositions for four to six voices or for double choir in the church. We have no idea who the musicians were that were not students at the school.

During the sixteenth century, Moravská Třebová was primarily a German town. This fact facilitated the acceptance of reformation. In 1549, evangelist Václav of Boskovice (†1569) became lord of the town and asked that his subject accept his faith. The Catholic priest Andreas left Moravská Třebová in 1550. He was succeeded as preacher and superintendent by Joannes Satpogius, absolvent of the theological faculty of Wittenberg. The Lutheran orientation of Satpogius and his successors is shown by their care of the organ and the decoration of the church. In 1554, Stefan, an organ builder from Olomouc, and his son Johann installed an organ which the town council had purchased.

²⁵ Theodora STRAKOVÁ, "Vokálně polyfonní skladby na Moravě v 16.a na začátku 17. století" [Polyphonic vocal compositions in Moravia in the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century]. 3. Hudební instituce na Moravě a jejich repertoár. [Musical institutions in Moravia and their repertoaries] *Acta Musei Moraviae – scientiae sociales* 68 (1983), pp. 150, 172; Jiří SEHNAL, *Hudba v minulosti* (see footnote 8), p. 419.

²⁶ František HRUBÝ, *Ladislav Velen*, p. 43 (see footnote 24).

²⁷ Michaela ŽÁČKOVÁ-ROSSI, *The Musicians at the Court of Rudolf II. The Musical Entourage. Reconstructed from the Imperial Accounting Ledgers of Rudolf II (1576–1612)*, Praha (in press). I thank the author for voluntarily providing information from previously unpublished sources.

For this work, which lasted 6 weeks, he received 60 florins and board.²⁸ In 1556, a new altar was placed in the church; it was painted by artist Sebastian of Olomouc in the following years. In 1569, Benedikt from Těšín repainted the altar in the parish church.²⁹ The pay of the town employees in 1587 was as follows: the parish priest received 152 florins 7 groschen, cows and salt; the teacher, (magister scholae), 30 florins; his assistant, 10 florins; the organist, 10 florins; and the notary, 30 florins.³⁰ The rector of the school was also the cantor of the church. Rector Wolfgang Wachter, a scholarly and righteous man, died in 1585. He was succeeded by Casparus Hoppe from Goldberg in Silesia.

In September 1592, the town church introduced new church hymns that had been printed and distributed by their composer, a certain Johann Kniff who was an organist in New Town Prague.³¹ According to the opinion of Petr Daněk, these hymns would have been *Novae melodiae 5–8 vocum instrumentali pariter musicae accommodatae* (RISM A/I K 993) by Johann Knöfel, the organist of the church of St. Jindřich [Henry], printed during 1592 in Prague.³² From the given information, it can be inferred that Knöfel had a personal relationship with Moravská Třebová, since he sent his new compositions there. The composer's connection with Moravská Třebová may have been based on the fact that the town was a bastion of the Lutheran faith. However, this work is not mentioned in the Moravská Třebová inventory, and apparently was not preserved in Czech lands. During the same year, Georg Koch of Meissen was employed as the organ builder; sculptor Gabriel and painter Georgius of Olomouc worked on the decoration of the interior of the church. Georg Koch is also known to have been active in Protestant Jihlava during the 1590s. Other Koch organ builders, Johann and particularly Steffan, were also active at the time in Brno, Olomouc and Uherské Hradiště.³³ We have said that the last

²⁸ Josef Edmund HORKÝ, *Versuch eines historischen Jahrbuches der Stadt und Herrschaft Mährisch Tribau bis zu 1700ten Jahr.*, I. Abtheilung. Geschrieben Anno 1812, pp. 97a, 98. AMB, Sbírka Mitrovského A 93.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 100, 101, 102.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 125a.

³² Petr DANĚK, *Historické tisky vokální polyfonie, rané monodie, hudební teorie a instrumentální hudby v českých zemích do roku 1630*. [Historical Prints of Vocal Polyphony, Early Monody, Music Theory, and Instrumental Music in the Bohemian Lands before 1630], Praha: Koniasch Latin Press, 2015.

³³ Jiří SEHNAL, *Barokní varhanářství na Moravě*. Díl 1. [Baroque organ building in Moravia. Part I], Brno: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2003, pp. 75–76.

non-Catholic lord, Ladislav Velen of Žerotín, was brought up in his youth in the Calvinistic Reform faith, but it seems that under the influence of journeys abroad, particularly in Italy, he did not adhere to Calvinistic principles. Music in the town church conformed to the cultural success of Lutheran practice from the beginning of his reign.

2. Lutheran music in Moravia

I stated in the book *Dějiny hudby na Moravě* that the Counter-reformation cast out all evidence of non-Catholic culture in Moravia.³⁴ However, I have found some traces in seventeenth-century inventories, including the Moravská Třebová inventory. These traces imply that German Protestants cultivated instrumental as well as choral vocal music. They did not restrict themselves to Protestant composers, for they performed works by contemporary Catholic composers whether or not their texts were doctrinally acceptable. The Moravská Třebová inventory shows that in the declining years of the Thirty Years' War, works by Protestant composers remained in the repertory for decades after the chapel passed into Catholic hands. When the domain of Moravská Třebová was confiscated from the rebel Ladislav Velen, and transferred as a fief of the Czech crown to prince Karl I of Liechtenstein (1569–1627) in 1622, the citizens petitioned prince Karl to permit observation of the Lutheran faith. In reference to the imperial decree, prince Karl refused the request. The Lutheran pastor was driven out and replaced by the Catholic administrator Jakob Allgaier.³⁵ We do not have other information about course of recatholicization in Moravská Třebová.

Nevertheless, the music inventory from 1644 demonstrates that music by Protestant composers was kept long after the Battle of White Mountain. Fritsch's *Novum et insigne opus musicum* was sold up to the time of the Uprising of the Estates, shortly before the Battle of White Mountain, around 1620. We thus have confirmation that Evangelical scores were bought up to the definitive defeat of the Uprising of the Estates. Most of the Protestant music was obtained in the last decade of the sixteenth century to the first decade of the seventeenth century. From the inventory written personally by Dean Kristelius

³⁴ Jiří SEBNAL – Jiří VYSLOUŽIL, *Dějiny hudby na Moravě* [History of music in Moravia], Brno: Muzejní a vlastivědná společnost v Brně, 2001, p. 43.

³⁵ Gregor WOLNÝ, *Kirchliche Topographie von Mähren* (see footnote 5), p. 451.

or his authorized scribe, it is certain that he either was not prejudiced against works by Protestant composers, or was not aware that they were not Catholic. It is typical that we find the names of Protestant composers mostly among records from 1644 (entries 1–51) and among scores that were no longer in use by that time (entries 52–72). Below we show the names of Protestant composers who are represented here, with the approximate date spans of their compositions.

Christoph Demantius (entries 32, 64): 1608
Dressler, Gallus (entry 52): 1567–1570?
Melchior Franck (entry 37): 1602
Thomas Fritsch (entry 16): 1620
Bartholomäus Gesius (entry 67): 1601–1607
Hans Leo Hassler (entries 33, 120, 123, 137): ca 1590–1620
Kaspar Hassler (entry 32): 1601
Leonhard Lechner (entry 36): 1584
Friedrich Lindner (entry 36): 1588
Leonhard Schröter (entry 56): 1587
Melchior Vulpius (entry 20, 33): 1603
Walliser, Christoph Thomas (entry 17): 1614
Weissensee, Fridericus (entry 30): 1602

We can add here the names of Orlando di Lasso and Jacob Handl, whose works were popular with Catholics as well as evangelicals. This list is not complete, because Lutheran music could be used to set certain German texts or contained in collections. Lutheran music almost vanished from the acquisitions received during 1647–1648. Works received after 1647 were usually by Italian Catholic composers. The Officium on Lutheran hymns, *Heut triumphieret Gottes Sohn* (entry 117) and a collection of German and Latin motets by Hans Leo Hassler (entry 123) are exceptions. We can consider most of the works with German text to be non-Catholic (for example, entries 17, 57, 59), because the Catholic liturgy allowed only Latin in sacred services after the Council of Trent. Accordingly, we could consider as non-Catholic two German cantionals (entries 12, 13), particularly the second in folio format. The Catholic hymns of Franck, Gesius and Vulpius must have been more disquieting from a doctrinal perspective, and we are not surprised that items by Franck (entry 37) and Vulpius (entry 20) were dropped during a revision.

When Eva Mikanová was researching music sources in Česká Lípa, she was surprised to find a mixture of Catholic and Protestant composers in the music repertory of the Catholic church.³⁶ Vladimír Mañas was puzzled that the church management in Nový Jičín allowed music by Lutheran composers to be performed in 1630.³⁷ Most of the works by Lutheran composers were acceptable for Catholics, because they were settings of texts that were used in the Catholic liturgy. This particularly concerned Masses, vespers, magnificats, and certain motets to Latin texts. Some wrote compositions for nobles of various confessions without regard to their own profession of faith. For example, the staunch Lutheran Leonhard Lechner composed his *Liber missarum* (entry 36) for his lord, duke Eitelfriedrich von Hohenzollern-Hechingen, who was an implacable Catholic.³⁸ Demantius's *Conviviorum delitiae* (entry 64) were secular compositions, and his *Magnificat* (entry 32) was satisfactory for all confessions. In 1602, the town council in Olomouc donated a collection of Magnificats for six voices by Demantius to the church of St. Maurice.³⁹ A particularly strange example is the collection *Promptuarium Musicum* (entry 29). Its printer, Abraham Schadaeus (1566–1626), was certainly Lutheran, but he primarily issued prints by Catholic composers before he printed *Promptuarium*.

Another source of information about Lutheran music before the Battle of White Mountain in Moravia comes from fragments of the account records of the church of St. Michael in Znojmo from the years 1592 to 1610, when it was controlled by Lutherans. The title is: *Vermerkt was ich Hans Koller der Zeyt Kirchvatter bey S. Michael empfangen und wider zuer Kirchen und Schuel Notturft ausgeben hab.*⁴⁰ By 1592, the church of St. Michael had a paid organist (2 florins 21 kreutzers 3 denarii yearly, and a boy to pump the organ

³⁶ Eva MIKANOVÁ, “Hudební kultura v České Lípě a okolí” [Musical culture in Česká Lípa and its environs], in: *Sborník příspěvků k době poddanského povstání roku 1680 v severních Čechách* [Collection of contributions to the period of the uprising of the serfs in 1680 in northern Bohemia], Praha: TEPS, 1980, p. 209.

³⁷ Vladimír MAŇAS, “Inventář hudebnin farního kostela v Novém Jičíně z roku 1630” [Inventory of scores in the parish church in Nový Jičín from 1630], *Musicologica Brunensia* 47, 2012/2, pp. 73–74.

³⁸ Konrad AMELN, “Lechner, Leonhard”, in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 1980, vol. 10, pp. 585–586 [Konrad AMELN, “Lechner, Leonhard”, in: NG2, vol. 14, pp. 441–448].

³⁹ Jiří SEHNAL, “Die Musik in Mähren gegen Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts und Jacobus Gallus”, in: *Gallus Carniolus in evropska renesansa*, Ljubljana: SAZU, 1991, p. 41.

⁴⁰ Archiv Biskupství brněnského [Archive of the bishopric of Brno], F 46, c. 5–38.

bellows (2 florins 20 kreutzers). The church devoted particular care to three feast days of the year, for which the cantor received 3 florins in 1606. *Praetorii und Coleri Partes* was purchased for 2 florins on 10 September of the same year. The church owned a large cantional, which was repaired on 22 January 1608 for 4 kreutzers, 2 denarii. In 1609, an otherwise unknown organ builder was paid *vom dem Werck* 56 florins 1 kreutzers 6 denarii,⁴¹ his apprentice, 1 florin, and the boy who pumped the organ bellows received 12 kreutzers 1 denarii. Since the choir was being repaired and painted, this expense may have had to do with rebuilding the old organ. There were other related expenses, such as for scaffolding (3 kreutzers) and food for the organ builder (2 florins 25 kreutzers 5 denarii). In the same year, a *misál* (!) was received from Prague⁴² for 7 florins 22 kreutzers, and works by various composers for 7 florins 26 kreutzers 1 denarii.⁴³ There were in all eight volumes, for which the bookbinder Sixtus paid 3 florins 25 kreutzers 5 denarii. Soon afterward, *Opus Michaelis Praetorii deutsch (Musae Sioniae?)* was bought for 6 florins, with 23 kreutzers 4 denarii for binding. On 6 February 1610, compositions by various composers⁴⁴ were bought for 3 florins 13 kreutzers, and bound for 25 kreutzers 5 denarii. Notable among them were the *Cantioneten zu der Orgel* for 25 kreutzers 5 denarii, and *Fasciculus Musicus M. Joachimi Marci* for 25 kreutzers 5 denarii, which was bound for 17 kreutzers 1 denarius.

We can infer from this modest information that the Lutherans in Znojmo paid an organist and a cantor, and also cultivated polychoral music which the church of St. Michael did not purchase as a rule for their choir. The names of three composers are found among the purchases: Michael Praetorius, Colerus and Joachim Marcus. During the first half of the seventeenth century, Michael Praetorius was one of the most widely disseminated of the Protestant composers. Thus it is strange that we do not find his name in the Moravská Třebová inventory. Colerus, whose baptismal name was David Köhler (1532–1565), was born in Zwickau, and was cantor of the Latin school in Horní Slavkov near Karlovy Vary from 1554 to 1555, from which comes a well-known music

⁴¹ The bill of 56 florins would have been too low for a new organ in that era. We thus infer that the bill was for a repair.

⁴² This addition unambiguously shows the Lutheran orientation of the Znojmo chapel. Unfortunately, bibliographic information about this print could not be obtained.

⁴³ The entry reads: *Umb unterschiedliche Componisten fuhr die Robe Materii.*

⁴⁴ The entry is somewhat equivocal: *unterschiedliche Componisten gekauft fuhr die robe Materii geben.*

inventory.⁴⁵ During that time, Köhler composed *Zehn Psalmen Davids* for 4–6 voices, which was issued in 1554 in Leipzig. Klaus-Peter Koch considers this work to be the first significant German setting of psalms as motets.⁴⁶ Joachim Marcus has not been identified.

German Evangelicals valued the organ highly. Thus it is not surprising that their instruments were used by the Jesuits after the Battle of White Mountain. That happened in Znojmo, where the church of St. Michael was taken over by the Jesuits in 1624. The Jesuits used an old organ up to 1714, when the first new organ was built.⁴⁷ The situation was similar for the church of St. Jacob in Jihlava, where in 1712 the organ was still in the sort of Gothic case with shutters⁴⁸ that would not have been built in the eighteenth century. The new baroque organ there was installed around 1740 by Václav Pantoček.⁴⁹ The old organ from the Protestant era was apparently still in use up to 1712.

3. Lutherans and Catholics

Despite the sharp ideological opposition between Catholic and Protestant confessions, the field of music was relatively peaceful and sometimes even showed signs of cooperation. Composers such as Lassus, Hans Leo Hassler, Kaspar Hassler, and Handl, were well-liked by both opposing groups, and even composed for them. Handl, who was active in the service of the Moravian bishop Stanislav Pavlovský, maintained contacts with Czech Utraquists in Prague as well as Protestants in Zhořelec.⁵⁰ A majority of Latin texts were used in Protestant as well as Catholic liturgies; in addition, part of the Lutheran Mass was identical to the Catholic Mass. Italian innovations in musical style, printed in Venice, Milan, Rome, and Antwerp, were performed enthusiastically during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the principal Lutheran

⁴⁵ H. Horčíčka, “Die Lateinschule in Schlaggenwald (1554–1624): ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Reformation”, in: *Jahresbericht des k. k. Neustädter deutschen Staats-Ober-Gymnasiums in Prag am Grabe am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1894*, Prag: Grabe, 1894, pp. 3–39.

⁴⁶ Klaus-Peter KOCH, entry for David Köler in: *Lexikon zur deutschen Musik-kultur Böhmen, Mähren, Sudetenschlesien*. Band 1, München: Langen-Müller, 2000, p. 748.

⁴⁷ Jiří SEHNAL, *Barokní varhanářství* (see footnote 33), p. 21.

⁴⁸ *Nákres varhan v archivu biskupství brněnského* [Sketch of an organ in the Archive of the Bishopric of Brno], 6032, shelf-mark J 155, 1613.

⁴⁹ Jiří SEHNAL, *Barokní varhanářství* (see footnote 33), p. 94.

⁵⁰ Dragotin CVETKO, *Jacobus Gallus Carniolus*, Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1965, pp. 54, 96–97.

churches in Hamburg, Lübeck and Lüneburg. Let us at least name Giovanni and Andrea Gabrieli, Grandi, Monteverdi, Quagliati, Rovetta, and Vecchi.⁵¹ We find a similar situation among the Lutherans in Slovakia. Their inventories include works by Bernardi, Croce, Donati, Gallus, Grandi, Merula, Stadlmayr, Valentini, Viadana, and other Catholic composers.⁵² In Transylvania, the Franciscan P. Josef Caioni made entries for Protestants (Praetorius, Schütz, Hammerschmidt and others) as well as Catholics in his illustrious codex.⁵³

The musicians of Bishop Karel II Liechtenstein-Kastelcorn of Olomouc apparently did not avoid Lutheran composers, even after 1664. It is true that we are not certain when these works were performed in the church of St. Maurice, but their texts do not show anything that would prevent their use by Catholics. For example, Hammerschmidt's *Missae* (Dresden 1663)⁵⁴ includes only the Kyrie, Gloria and Agnus, following Lutheran practice. Works by Capricornus were performed at the bishop's court, as is shown by their copies inventoried by Pavel Vejvanovský. Capricornus' *Missa Nativitatis*⁵⁵ includes all five parts of the Catholic ordinary Mass. Apparently, there were no objections to compositions by Hieronymus Praetorius in Příbor in 1637.⁵⁶ In Nový Jicín, the Catholic parish priest gave the new cantor Lutheran music prints that were settings of Latin texts.⁵⁷ The same evidence is given by sources in Bohemia. The inventory from Česká Lípa documents ownership of works by Demantius, Hammerschmidt, and Hieronymus Praetorius as late as 1652.⁵⁸ The radical change found in bindings from Zahořany and Vintřov, presumably after 1637, is eloquent. We find Italians and Germans beside one another:

⁵¹ Friedrich W. RIEDEL, "Lutherischer Gottesdienst und katholische Kirchenmusik" [Lutheran worship and Catholic church music], in: *Gegenreformation und Barock in Mitteleuropa, in der Slowakei*, Bratislava: Kabinet für Slawistik der SAW, 2000, pp. 71–77.

⁵² Jana KALINAYOVÁ et al., *Hudobné inventáre a repertoár* (see footnote 13), pp. 33–72.

⁵³ Ladislav KAČIČ, "Evangelische und katholische Kirchenmusik des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in der Slowakei und ihre Verbreitung in Südosteuropa" [Evangelical and catholic church music of the 17th and 18th centuries in Slovakia and their diffusion in southeast Europe], in: *Die Kirchenmusik in Südosteuropa* [Church music in southeast Europe], ed. Franz Metz, Tutzing: Schneider, 2003, pp. 36–37.

⁵⁴ Jiří SEHNAL – Jitřenka PEŠKOVÁ, *Caroli de Liechtenstein-Castelcorni episcopi Olomucensis operum artis musicae collection Cremsirii reservata*, Praha: Editio Supraphon, 1993, p. 903.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 220–221.

⁵⁶ Jiří SEHNAL, "Nové příspěvky k dějinám hudby na Morave" [New contributions to the history of music in Moravia], *Acta Musei Moraviae – scientiae sociales* 60, 1975, pp. 161–162.

⁵⁷ Vladimír MAŇAS, "Inventář hudebnin farního kostela" (see footnote 37), pp. 73–77.

⁵⁸ Eva MIKÁNOVÁ, "Hudební kultura v České Lípě" (see footnote 36), pp. 217–218.

Massaino, Hassler, Lechner, Lassus, Claudio Merulo, Melchior Franck, and Jakob Reiner.⁵⁹ We infer that some of the prints from Italian Catholic composers shown in the Moravská Třebová inventory, especially vespers, motets and Masses, were performed before 1622 when the town was governed by Protestants. However, it appears that only music by Catholic composers was performed from the 1660s.

The Moravská Třebová inventory provides extensive information about Lutheran figural music in the Czech lands before the Battle of White Mountain. For Prague, we only know that the Vulpius press existed there from 1614, and that the festive composition *Zu Gottes Lob* by Martin Krumboltz, organist at St. Nicholas in Staré Mesto [Old Town Prague] was performed at the laying of the cornerstone of the Lutheran church of St. Salvator.⁶⁰ Polyphonic music such as that in Moravská Třebová and Znojmo apparently would have been heard in Lutheran churches and among German Lutherans in Olomouc, Brno, Jihlava and Opava, but no supporting evidence has been found to date.

It was as if Czech music did not exist in Moravská Třebová. Motets in Czech and Latin are recorded only in entry 18. We can thus infer that Utraquist and Protestant minorities existed in Moravská Třebová. Ladislav Velen supported German Protestants. For example, the German Protestant minority was able to hold services and to sing in the parish church of predominantly Czech Zábřeh.⁶¹ An insignificant number of Czech names is typical for all music sources in Bohemia and Moravia, and the Moravská Třebová inventory is not exceptional in this regard. This description also applies to other seventeenth-century inventories from Bohemia and Moravia. The Liechtenstein collection in Kroměříž (after 1664) was the first to contribute, in addition to the works of trumpeter Pavel Vejvanovský, names of Czech composers that had not been known previously, that evoked well-deserved enthusiasm in the field of Czech musicology.

⁵⁹ Bohumil RYBA, "Dva nálezy z vnitřku starých vazeb" [Two discoveries from the interior of old bindings], in: *Historická knižní vazba 1966–1970: sborník příspěvků k dějinám vazby a k metodice ochrany historických knižních vazeb* [Historical book bindings 1966–1970; Collection of contributions to the history of binding and methods of preserving historical book bindings], v. 5–9, Liberec: Severočeské krajské nakladatelství, 1970, p. 67–85.

⁶⁰ Josef ŠEBESTA, *Luteránská hudba v Praze v předbělohorském období* [Lutheran music in Prague during the pre-White Mountain era], Dissertation, Phil. Fac phil. Univ. Carolinae, Praha, 2006. See also Jan BAT'Á: *Musical culture of the Prague Lutherans during the Pre-White Mountain period*, in: *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2015, pp. 185–196.

⁶¹ František HRUBÝ, *Ladislav Velen ze Žerotína* (see footnote 24), p. 58.

The Moravská Třebová music collection was inventoried shortly before the bishop's chapel was established in Kroměříž, as well as the period Adam Michna composed his principal works (1647–1661). We cannot exclude the possibility that Michna knew works by composers represented in the Moravská Třebová inventory and perhaps performed them in Jindřichův Hradec, but we have no proof. In any case, we could well ask why Michna would not be represented in such an extensive collection such as the one at Moravská Třebová. It is understandable that Michna's hymns in Czech would not be suitable for a German choir. That may also be the case for his compositions to Latin texts *Officium Vespertinum* (1648) and *Sacra et Litaniae* (1654). Unfortunately, we have no evidence showing how Michna's compositions were disseminated, whether by the composer himself, by his acquaintances acting as agents, or even whether their distribution mattered to him. Meanwhile, we can only state that Michna's Latin compositions were not very well known in Czech lands, and must have been usually disseminated through personal contacts. *Officium Vespertinum* was received in Kroměříž because Michna's friend from his youth, Reiter of Hornberg, was there. However, we do not know how and why it came to Vimperk or perhaps Rajhrad.⁶² Although he dedicated a composition to the town council of České Budějovice, there is no trace of it there. It is understandable that we should find the collection *Sacra et Litaniae* in Kroměříž, because it commemorates Reiter's anniversary, but we cannot explain why other exemplars would have been received in Rajhrad, Jevíčko, Kouřim and Wrocław.⁶³ Michna's compositions found in other towns (Český Krumlov, Litomyšl, Litovel, Prievidza, Slaný) are only known from inventories.⁶⁴

The only other Moravian collection that would have approached the size of the Moravská Třebová collection would have been the music collection of prince Karl I of Liechtenstein in Prostějov in 1608.⁶⁵ In his time, the prince was one

⁶² Jiří SEHNAL, *Adam Michna of Otradovice – Composer. Perspectives on seventeenth-century sacred music in Czech lands*, Olomouc: Palacký University, 2013, p. 100.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 193–164.

⁶⁵ Vladimír MAŇAS, "Tušení souvislostí. Hudba na dvoře Karla I. z Lichtenštejna na počátku 17. století ve středoevropském kontextu" [A sense of coherence. Music in the court of Karl von Liechtenstein at the beginning of the seventeenth century in the context of Middle Europe], *Časopis Matice moravské* 132 (2013), supplementum 5, Lichtenštejnové a umění [supplement 5, Liechtenstein and the arts], pp. 127–137; Vladimír MAŇAS, "Prostějovský inventář hudebnin z roku 1608" [Inventory of scores in Prostějov from 1608], *Opus musicum* 46, 2014/6, pp. 6–28.

of the richest nobles in Moravia, and in close contact with the imperial court after his conversion. Although his collection included a wealth of sacred music, secular and instrumental music were performed at his court. The Prostějov ensemble performed at court, whereas the Moravská Třebová inventory was used by the chapel of a church. The Liechtenstein chapel had works in its repertory by approximately 49 composers, as well as unattributed compositions and works in the collections. At the half-century mark, Moravská Třebová owned compositions from about 52 composers whose names are given. The chronological interval between these two inventories is approximately forty years, or two generations.

Musical style and taste changed at precipitous speed in that era. That is why we are not surprised to find in both inventories only four composers' names: Melchior Franck, Hans Leo Hassler, Orlando di Lasso and Leonhard Lechner. The composers represented in the Liechtenstein collection are typically those who were active in the imperial chapel: Hassler, Luython, Monte, Regnart, Schöndorf, and Zangius. Although at that time prince Karl I was Catholic, we find evangelical composers in his Prostějov inventory such as Melchior Franck, Leonhard Lechner, Hieronymus Praetorius, not to mention that from 1604 to 1606 (?) the Protestant Nicolaus Zangius was employed as master of the chapel.⁶⁶ It is not surprising that the indispensable Lasso is represented in both collections, but it is strange that we do not find Gallus in the Liechtenstein repertory, for his compositions were then being performed throughout Central Europe. A more thorough examination of the Liechtenstein repertory convinces us that these works represent a different stylistic world than that of Moravská Třebová.

Other music inventories from Moravia and Bohemia are very small when compared with the Moravská Třebová inventory. Along with Příbor,⁶⁷ Nový Jičín,⁶⁸ and Litovel,⁶⁹ there are inventories from Branná,⁷⁰ Kroměříž,⁷¹

⁶⁶ Vladimír MAŇAS, "Music in Moravia ca 1600", in: *Zur Geschichte und Aufführungspraxis der Musik des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts in Mittel- und Osteuropa*, ed. Gerold W. Gruber, Bratislava: Institut für Musikwissenschaft, 2013, p. 104.

⁶⁷ Jiří SEHNAL, *Nové příspěvky* (see footnote 56), pp. 159–164.

⁶⁸ Vladimír MAŇAS, "Inventář hudebnin farního kostela v Novém Jičíně" (see footnote 37).

⁶⁹ Jiří SEHNAL, "Das älteste Musikinventar Mährens" [The oldest music inventory in Moravia], *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 7, 1965, pp. 139–141.

⁷⁰ Jiří SEHNAL, "K historii varhan z mariánského kostelíka v Kolštejně" [On historical organs from small Marian churches in Kolštejn], in: *Severní Morava* 10, 1964, p. 37.

⁷¹ Jiří SEHNAL, "Hudební inventář Kroměříže z roku 1659" [A musical inventory from Kroměříž from 1659], in: *Sborník prací* [Collection of works] FFBU H 19–20, *Řada hudebněvědná*, 33–34, 1984–1985, pp. 72–73.

Strážnice⁷² and Uherské Hradiště.⁷³ Protestant composers are represented in all of these inventories, except for the Branná inventory, which is entirely Catholic. Since this inventory has only been published to date in abbreviated form, we provide it here in full. According to its content and supplements, this inventory originated between 1677 and 1684.⁷⁴

- 1) **Alessandro Grandi**, 2. 3. 4 *vocum*.
Grandi, Alessandro. This work could not be identified.
- 2) **Vincentii Jelič** 1. 2. 3. 4 *voc*.
Jelič Vinzenz (1596–1636?) perhaps *Parnassis militia concertuum* (Strasbourg 1622) RISM J 520.
- 3) **Ludovici Viadanae** 1. 2. 3. 4 *voc*. Viadana, Lodovico (1584–1629).
This work could have been taken from *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* or a collection of motets from 1609–1615.
- 5) **Joannis Donfridi** *sacra* 2. 3. 4. *voc*.
Donfrid, Johann (1585–1654): perhaps a volume from the collecton *Promptuarium musicum* (1622–1627).
- 6) **Bartholomaei Seneso** 2. 3. 4. 5. *et* 8. *voc*. 1. 2. 3. 4. *voc*.
[Bartolomeo Senese / da Siena?]. This work could not be identified.
- 7) **Caroli Abathi** 1. 2. 3. 4. *voc*.
Abbate Carlo. This work could not be identified.
- 8) *Geschriebene Concerten* 2. 3. 4. *voc*.
- 9) *Ein geschrieben Antiphonarium*
- 10) *Mathaei Passio*
- 11) *Ver Sacrum seu Flores musici 5 vocibus et totidem Instrumentis producendi* authore **Andrea Hofer** *Eccl. Metropolitanae Salisburg. Regente Chori et Capellae vice Magistro*.
Hofer, Andreas (1629–1684): *Ver sacrum* (Salzburg 1677). RISM H 5736. It is strange that this work is not in Kroměříž, where there are many manuscripts of unique works by Hofer.

⁷² Jiří SEHNAL, “Hudební inventář strážnických piaristů z roku 1675” [A musical inventory of the Piarists in Strážnice from 1675], *Acta Musei Moraviae – scientiae sociales*, 69, 1984, pp. 117–128.

⁷³ Jiří SEHNAL, “Hudební zájmy královského rychtáře v Uherském Hradišti v roce 1632” [Musical interests of the royal knights in Uherské Hradiště in 1632], *Hudební věda*, 24, 1987, c. 1, pp. 63–72.

⁷⁴ The inventory is written in *Kirchen Reüttung bey allhiesigen Kirchen Goldenstein [...]* 1699–1700. Státní okresní archiv Šumperk, farní úrad Branná [Regional archive of Šumperk, parish office of Branná].

Eine Orgel sambt dem Brust Positiff in d. neuen Kirchen

Ist ein Positiff in der alten Kirchen

Ein Regal sambt dem Tischl

Ein Alt, Tenor und Quart Trombon

Trompeten mit blauen Quasten wenig nutz

Ao 1684 ein erkaufft

Ein Paar kleine Kessel Pauken

Ao 1685 ein paar große erkaufft

Ao 1689 2 neue Discant Geigen erkaufft

Item 2 Violae

Scanner Schlüssel zu der Kessel Pauken

It is not surprising to find here some of the well-known names that appear in the Moravská Třebová inventory, because Branná was obtained through confiscation by the Liechtenstein family in 1622. The repertory at Branná is substantially more recent, as is particularly shown by the mention of *Ver sacrum* by Andreas Hofer of Salzburg in 1677, and the same Catholic traits found in the repertory of the parish church in Litovel from 1671.⁷⁵ Let us add that Litovel belonged to the Liechtensteins. This family apparently was particularly interested in assuring that modern sacred music, *stile nuovo*, would be performed in churches under their rule. Unfortunately, we do not have concrete information about musical preferences of individual members of that family except for the above-mentioned Karl I.

The most surprising feature of the Moravská Třebová inventory is the high frequency of Italian composers from the first quarter of the seventeenth century. We have already met some of them in our sources. In first place are members of the Minorite order, Abbate, Alouisi, Finetti, Gallerano, Ghizzolo, and Scapitta, all of whom played an important role in the dissemination of *stile nuovo* for liturgical music with a concertante solo voice and figured bass accompaniment. The Franciscan Viadana (entries 15, 140), whose work strongly influenced Protestant composers in Germany, is documented in the Czech lands only in Moravská Třebová. The following composers are also

⁷⁵ Jiří SEHNAL, "Das älteste Musikinventar Mährens" [The oldest music inventory in Moravia], *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, 7, 1965, pp. 139–148.

represented: Bachini, Belli, Burlini, Cecchini, Clavo (?), Donati, Grandi, Ingegneri, Milanuzzi, Pio, Savetta, Seraphini, Signoretti, Trombetti, Valentini, Varotto, and Viadana.

The Moravská Třebová inventory also contains compositions by Italians who were in the service of cardinal Dietrichstein in Moravia. The most prominent was the Minorite Carlo Abbate from Genoa. His *Sertum musicale pro 1–8 voices* (entry 21) is otherwise entirely unknown. Abbate emerged for the first time in Moravia in 1629 in Oslavany as compiler of a small textbook called *Regulae contrapuncti* for the boarders of the local seminary. He evidently also compiled the collection *Flores verni* (entry 40), in which he has been identified with the pseudonym Magister Oslaviensis. In 1630, the cardinal installed him as music teacher for the newly established choir of the Lorentans in Mikulov. Abbate remained there for two years. In 1632, he left to visit his ailing father in Genoa, where he began work as a trombonist and violinist in the duke's chapel and raised two boys whom cardinal Stefano Durazzo had entrusted to him. He was later active as the chapel master in the church of San Lorenzo. He must have been valued as a musician and composer, because the Minorite order gave him the title of magister musicae – the same title that Bohuslav Matěj Černohorský received much later (1723). Abbate died in 1675.⁷⁶ His compositions are also included in the above-mentioned inventories from Branná and Litovel.

The second of Dietrichstein's deputy musicians in Moravská Třebová was the minorite Giovanni Battista Alouisi (circa 1600 Bologna – 1665 Brno),⁷⁷ recently the subject of a dissertation by Eduard Tomašík.⁷⁸ Alouisi was active in Prague during 1628 as musical prefect in the college of St. Bonaventure through the patronage of cardinal Harrach. Alouisi dedicated his work *Coelestis Parnassus* (Venice 1628) to Harrach. However, we have not been able to find evidence that Harrach responded to the dedication. It is not clear how Alouisi spent the years between 1629 and 1634. He emerged in Mikulov in 1635 with the title of musical prefect to cardinal Dietrichstein, even though the cardinal did not have his own chapel. In the same year, Alouisi took the post of guard-

⁷⁶ Maria Rosa MORETTI, *Musica e costume a Genova tra cinquecento a seicento*, Genova, 1990, pp. 184–186; Jiří SEHNAL, “Italští hudebníci na jižní Moravě v první polovině 17. století” [Italian musicians in south Moravia during the first half of the seventeenth century], in: *Jižní Morava* 41, 2005, v. 44, pp. 91–92.

⁷⁷ Jiří SEHNAL, “Italští hudebníci”, pp. 83–89.

⁷⁸ Eduard TOMAŠÍK, *Giovanni Battista Alouisi – život a dílo* [Giovanni Battista Alouisi: life and work], dissertation, Fac. phil. Universitas Masarykiana, Brno, 2012, p. 188.

ian of the Brno Minorites. After Dietrichstein's death, Alouisi entered the service of his nephew Maximilian Dietrichstein, signing himself as the cardinal's Italian secretary and master of his chapel (Mastro [sic] di Capella), although this noble did not even have a chapel. In reality, Alouisi served as parish priest in various places, for the longest time in the village Dolní Věstonice (circa 1643–1664). He stopped composing in 1640 for an unknown reason. He died in March 1665 in the Minorite cloister in Brno. *Vellus aurem* (Venice 1640), entry 151, was evidently one of the last of Alouisi's known works. *Vellus aureum* contains 10 litanies, and was intended for the above-mentioned vocal choir at the Loretan chapel in Mikulov. Another Minorite, Vincenzo Scapitta, may have been among the group of Italians in service to cardinal Dietrichstein. He is represented by a Mass in the Moravská Třebová inventory (entry 2). However, Scapitta's presence at the cardinal's court has not been confirmed to date.

Palestrina is not among the great names of the sixteenth century in the Moravská Třebová inventory, and Moravská Třebová is not exceptional in this respect. Few of Palestrina's works are recorded in Moravia. The Liechtenstein collection contains only one work by him, the hymn *Ave maris stella*, and the church of St. Thomas in Brno had a print of Palestrina Masses (Roma 1567).⁷⁹ We do not find the name of Palestrina in the inventories known at present. It is as if Czech musicians were avoiding him. Yet the first Piarists in Mikulov, who were Italians, requested a Mass by Palestrina directly from Rome in 1633.⁸⁰ That seems strange, because the *stile nuovo* was being disseminated in Moravia at the time, and Alouisi, one of its representatives, was active in the Dietrichstein court. It might be an exaggeration to assume that there was a concealed antipathy toward domestic musicians among official Roman composer, but this possibility cannot be disregarded. At the same time, Palestrina's compositions were being issued in numerous editions in Rome and Venice during the composer's lifetime (the last after his death in 1595), as well as at the beginning of the seventeenth century (1600–1617). We cannot explain the absence of Palestrina's music in Bohemia during the seventeenth century by assuming that his style was considered to be old-fashioned, because the music of his

⁷⁹ Theodora STRAKOVÁ, "Vokálně polyfonní skladby na Moravě v 16. a na začátku 17. století" [Vocal polyphonic compositions in Moravia in the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century], *Acta Musei Moraviae – scientiae sociales*, 68, 1983, p. 161 (see footnote 25).

⁸⁰ Georgius SÁNTHA, *Epistulae ad S.Iosephum Calasanctium ex Europa Centrali 1625–1648*, Roma: Editiones Calasanctianae, 1969, p. 505.

contemporary Jacob Gallus, both Hasslers and particularly Orlando di Lasso continued to be performed. In Kroměříž, Pavel Vejvanovský personally owned Lasso's *Magnum opus musicum* in 1604 (shelf-mark A 4194).⁸¹ In 1709, 10 volumes of compositions by Lasso are recorded in the sacristy of the church in Velké Losiny with the remark that they are not suitable. Handl, whose music was very popular in the Czech lands, surprisingly had only one composition in Moravská Třebová (entry 66). The only composers of the Viennese chapel that are represented in Moravská Třebová are Valentini and Nicolaus Strauss.

We find that the Moravská Třebová collection was augmented by gifts as well as purchases. The inventory shows the names Salich (entry 10), Andreas Porsitzky, who was a Polish priest (entries 73–107), and Johann Ulrich (entries 108–155) among the donors. The church bought the items in entries 64–72 from Marta, wife of Michael Sper, and from Anna, widow of the deceased trumpeter Johann Teisberg. The price of 26 florins paid to Marta seems relatively high to us in comparison with prices offered for scores by Melchior Heinrich Windhauer in Olomouc in 1757.⁸² We do not know whether Teisberg was a town or field trumpeter. In either case, it is clear that he was only active in Moravská Třebová. He apparently lived during the era before White Mountain, because among his compositions is a song by Bartholomäus Gesius, which would have had nothing to do with a Catholic choir. As a town trumpeter, he would have cultivated instrumental music, as the existence of his symphonie implies (entry 70). He may have been one of the field trumpeters who travelled through Europe during the war with the regiments that they served. His name was unfortunately not entered in the register. According to research by Petr Hlaváček, he may have died of the plague in 1632 along with 486 inhabitants of the town, including the organist Thomas Tzepek (25 December 1632). The last named donor was Kozuroffski, whose name can be considered as a variant of Kocurovský; then it would be the only Czech name in the entire inventory. But there should be mention of where donations were bought or copied. There must have been towns in Central Europe where Italian and German prints could have been obtained. In addition to Vienna,

⁸¹ Jiří SEHNAL, *Pavel Vejvanovský and the Kroměříž music collection*, Olomouc: Vydavatelství UP, 2008, p. 76.

⁸² Jiří SEHNAL, "Der Musikalienkatalog eines Olmützer Buchhändlers aus dem Jahr 1757" [The catalogue of music prints carried in stock at a bookseller in Olomouc from 1757], *Fontes artis musicae*, 25, 1978, pp. 246–249.

there definitely must have been Prague, Nürnberg, and Wrocław, but we cannot say more than that. Scores for the Liechtenstein chapel in Prostějov were bought in Vienna.⁸³ Some scores in Moravská Třebová originated there. We do not know how the scores came to Moravská Třebová; Wrocław, Meissen and Wittenberg may have played a larger role in this matter than Vienna did.

The majority of the compositions in Moravská Třebová were apparently prints. That is typical of all Moravian music collections from the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century. Prints were predominant in the collections from Prostějov, Branná, Litovel and Příbor. The seventeenth-century historical collections in Slovakia consisted predominantly of prints.⁸⁴ With 317 items, the inventory of the Ljubljana Cathedral from 1620 was one of the largest music collections in middle Europe.⁸⁵ Most of the compositions recorded in these inventories were prints. Protestant composers Franck, Christenius, Hagius, Poss, Michael Praetorius, and Widmann are also represented here, but only in connection with instrumental and secular music. Proximity to Italy was evidently the reason why there are more Italian composers represented in Ljubljana than there are, for example, in Prostějov. It is surprising that we find more names in common with the Moravská Třebová collection in Ljubljana than we do in Prostějov: Belli, Donati, Finetti, Ghizzolo, Grandi, Poss, Savetta, Stadlmayr, Valentini, and Viadana.

After the middle of the seventeenth century, we encounter musical scores in manuscript with increasing frequency. All of the scores shown in entry 73, donated by the priest Andreas Porsitzky to the Moravská Třebová chapel, were in manuscript. The focal point of the famed Liechtenstein music collection in Kroměříž from the second half of the seventeenth century consists of manuscripts, while the prints, arising partly from the sixteenth century, form only a small portion of the whole. In conclusion, Adam Michna issued most of his compositions in print up to 1661. It is also interesting that Italian composers active in Italy or neighboring lands during first quarter of the seventeenth century primarily issued their compositions in Venice, which was surely not inexpensive from the standpoint of corrections or practicality. Nevertheless, all

⁸³ Vladimír MAŇAS, "Prostějovský inventář" (see footnote 65), p. 8.

⁸⁴ Jana KALINAYOVÁ et al., *Hudobné inventáre a repertoár* (see footnote 13).

⁸⁵ Dragotin CVETKO, "Ein unbekanntes Inventarium librorum musicalium aus dem Jahre 1620", in: *Bericht über den 7. internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress*, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1960, pp. 134–157.

of the prints by musicians in the Dietrichstein court were issued by presses in Venice. Bertali and Schmelzer, both composers of the imperial court in Vienna, rarely issued their works in print. Although we might have presumed that printing music would have developed in Bohemia after the Thirty Years' War, it actually declined. Music prints were not issued except for cantionals and liturgical books. Could it have been that the handful of composers that were living at that time in Bohemia did not like to issue their works in print?

Let us now examine the relative abundance of instruments in the Moravská Třebová chapel. The existence of zinks, trombones, and stringed instruments does not surprise us. More unusual instruments in the inventory are the flutes, evidently recorders, and trumpets. Recorders do not appear as obligato instruments in the compositions shown in the inventory. This remark also applies to trumpets and timpani. The church chapel in Moravská Třebová may have been the first in the Czech lands for which we can document ownership of these military instruments. It is quite probable that the penetrating sound of the trumpet was first heard in the Czech lands among the Jesuits in Olomouc in 1609.⁸⁶ Trumpet fanfares were commonly played in diocese churches, following the pattern of the imperial court after the Thirty Years' War. This usage is explicitly documented in church inventories. The demand for trumpets at festive Masses and church feasts became so urgent that the use of these instruments was stipulated even for churches that had only a small positive organ. The extraordinary functions of the chapel of prince Karel I of Liechtenstein required 24 trumpets,⁸⁷ corresponding to the prestige of his position as prince. This high number may be due to the existence of several groups of instruments in various tunings. There are not many compositions in the Moravská Třebová inventory that require obligato instruments. We can thus infer that an instrument would have been used for momentary needs for doubling, or to substitute voices. In the epoch of Vladislav Velen, purely instrumental music may have been performed at the castle. This may be indicated by the undated entries 69–72.

The Moravská Třebová collection would be extremely important today if it had survived. Not only because these compositions are exceptional; musical prints from the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century are very rare.

⁸⁶ Jiří SEHNAL, "Trubači a hra na přirozenou trompetu na Moravě v 17. a 18. století" [Trumpeters and performance on the natural trumpet in Moravia during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries], *Acta Musei Moraviae. Scientiae sociales*, 73, 1988, p. 194.

⁸⁷ Vladimír MAŇAS, "Prostějovský inventář" (see footnote 65), p. 14.

Their significance for Czech music history consists in the admirable richness of this repertory. In view of the events which the town lived through in the first half of the seventeenth century, the existence of such an extensive music collection is almost incomprehensible. From 1621 to 1623, Moravská Třebová suffered from occupation by the imperial army; then from 1629 to 1630, catastrophically poor harvests, and the plague in 1632. The worst years were from 1641 to 1649, when it was subject to extortion by the Swedish, Polish, and imperial armies. In 1650, the city walls were demolished and half of the houses lay in ruins.⁸⁸

Was the Moravská Třebová collection typical of Moravia at that time or exceptional, and why? How is it possible that we do not have even a summary of the musical collection of the town church of Brno or the Jesuit academy in Olomouc from the era of the Thirty Years' War? Did the chapel at Moravská Třebová actually include the excellent singers required to perform this music at its disposal? And is the existence of the relatively short reign of the educated and wealthy Ladislav Velen of Žerotín sufficient to answer this question?

The Moravská Třebová music collection reveals that the music used by Moravian church chapels during the Thirty Years' War must have been exclusively Italian and German. We must search for Czech composers only among the anonymous, popular spiritual songs in cantionals. Although we have documentation of polyphonic music for German Protestants, this repertory appears only rarely or not at all among non-Catholics in Moravia. Unfortunately, our knowledge of it is invariably scanty. Catholics certainly must have attempted to perform Latin figural music according to their ability to do so, but our information about that is also inadequate. Is it possible to consider the Moravská Třebová collection from the end of the Thirty Years' War as representative of a Catholic chapel, even though it contained works by Protestant composers? German Protestants in Czech lands were apparently more inclined towards the Lutheran concept of music, while Czech Protestants, in the spiritual tradition of the Hussites, gave precedence to simplicity according to the Calvinist formula. The only relics of Czech Protestant music of that era, the monophonic cantionals of Jakub Kunvaldský (1572) and Tobiáš Závorka Lipenský (1606), are classified as hymnals.

Translated by Judith Fieler

⁸⁸ Christian D'ELVERT, *Mährische und Schlesische Chroniken* (see footnote 15), pp. 330–337.

Appendix

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Summary

The music inventory of the parish church of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary in Moravská Třebová is, at present, the most abundant known source for music in the Czech lands during the seventeenth century. It was compiled by Dean David Vojtěch Kristelius (died 1665) in 1644, and supplemented with additions during the following years. Moravská Třebová was under Protestant control from 1550. From 1589 to 1620, it belonged to Count Ladislav Velen of Žerotín (1581–1638), cousin of the notable Karel of Žerotín the elder. The count built a luxurious castle there in which, although he had been brought up as a Calvinist, he led a profligate life after the pattern of Italian Renaissance nobles. In 1618, Ladislav Velen took part in the Uprising of the Estates against the Habsburgs in Moravia. He emigrated after the battle of White Mountain, but continued the struggle against the Habsburg dynasty until his death. In 1622, the emperor transferred Moravská Třebová as a fief to prince Charles I of Liechtenstein, who re-catholicized the town.

The work presents a list of the 155 entries from the inventory with augmented and corrected information about composers and citations where possible. The list of composers who are represented in the inventory are indexed. Most of the scores were Italian music prints. No Czech composers are represented, perhaps because there was a non-Catholic minority in the town. Although the inventory was compiled during the Catholic era, it also contains compositions by German Protestant composers. The explanation may be that these were mostly compositions on Latin texts that were also used in the Catholic liturgy. Such compositions were tolerated by the Catholic doctrinal authorities for several years after White Mountain. The works by Protestant composers vanish after the middle of the seventeenth century. The author compares the doctrinal and stylistic differences among the surviving seventeenth-century music inventories from Prostějov 1608, Příbor 1614–1638, Nový Jičín 1630, Uherské Hradiště 1632, Kroměříž 1659, Litovel 1672, Strážnice 1675, and Branná 1677–1684. For an example of Protestant musical praxis, the author shows information from account records of the church of St. Michael in Znojmo from 1592–1610, when it was managed by Lutherans.

Imported prints, mostly from Italy, were prevalent in the inventories of Moravian music institutions up to the middle of the seventeenth century. Stylistically, music from the first decades of the century are polyphonic, influenced by the music of the imperial court in Prague and polychoral music. From the 1620s, the musical repertory increasingly reflects the modern Italian style (small concertato) that prevailed around the middle of the seventeenth century. We know that most of the scores in the inventory from Prostějov (1608) were bought mostly in Vienna. We do not know the origin of the scores in other music collections in Moravia. It seems that Wrocław and Protestant centres in Germany were more important contacts for Moravská Třebová than Vienna was. Scores used after the middle of the seventeenth century were predominantly manuscripts; music collections were unified according to confession, and Protestant composers vanished from them.

Maja Milošević

The inventory of musical material from the Hvar Chapter in 1646 and 1647

Introduction

At the scholarly conference entitled *Dani Hvarškoga kazališta* [Days of the Hvar Theatre], held in Hvar on 6–9 May 2015, I had the opportunity to inform scholars from various humanistic disciplines about the music repertory which was flourishing in the town of Hvar during the first half of the 17th century.¹ It was based on the hitherto unpublished manuscript source preserved in the Hvar Chapter archives under the call number XXII/4. It contains the inventory book compiled during 1646 and 1647,² which – along with titles from various areas such as theology, philosophy, and literature³ – also encompasses musical

¹ My paper was delivered on 7 May 2015 under the title *S kakvim se glazbenim repertoarom susrela publika u gradu Hvaru tijekom prve polovice 17. stoljeća?* [What was the music repertory which the audience of the town of Hvar experienced during the first half of the 17th century?].

² More precisely, the dates found in the manuscript are 13 September 1646 and 22 March 1647. However, as one part of the pages for several registered groups (including musical material) is unbound and displaced, it is not clear to which of the two mentioned dates any of them belong.

³ Although this article covers only the musical part of the inventory, it is necessary to point out the quantity and quality of the non-musical titles, which encompass the major part of its contents. Taking into account the enormous amount of the material and the exceptionally broad scope of titles (from Aristotle to Torquato Tasso), this document is of crucial historiographical importance in various aspects of the history of Croatian culture and deserves the full attention of experts from a broad spectrum of social and humanistic disciplines. It is sufficient

material owned by the Hvar Chapter, which is now unfortunately lost. It testifies to the presence of the then recent Italian, mostly Venetian early-Baroque music literature in Hvar during the period in which the town lived through a new cultural and economic prosperity after suffering Turkish-Ottoman ravages and other setbacks at the end of the 16th century.⁴ In addition, along with being an important contribution to the history of art music performance in the then contemporary Hvar, the registered musical material is a precious rarity within Croatian musical culture at large: it is the only hitherto known document in the Croatian lands with explicitly mentioned authors and titles of works used by local (church) musicians and accessible to the audiences up to the mid-17th century.⁵ At the same time, this is also proof of the existence of the practice of the systematic collection and cataloguing of musical material in Croatian church institutions even before the widespread introduction of this process from the mid-18th century on.

Although a more detailed analysis of the musical material in this Hvar inventory book is foreseen for the forthcoming Proceedings of the above mentioned Hvar conference, its fundamental importance within the context of Croatian music historiography commits its discoverer and the author of this article to its immediate musicological presentation. It means that this article consists of a preliminary insight into the musical segment of the above-mentioned inventory book, supplied with three tables as appendices to its content: Table 1 with transcriptions of all titles and data on authors and printed editions; Table 2 with the list of works by Tomaso Cecchini according to the editions hitherto known from previous bibliographical research; and Table 3

to mention here the titles of registered Italian comedies which should certainly be linked with the Hvar theatre, established in 1612, the repertory of which is completely unknown for the first couple of decades after its foundation.

⁴ For more about the above mentioned period in the history of Hvar see: Grga NOVAK, *Hvar kroz stoljeća* [Hvar through Centuries], Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1972, pp. 106–110; Lovorka ČORALIĆ, “Otok Hvar u prošlosti” [The island of Hvar in the past], in: *Otok Hvar* [The island of Hvar], ed. Miro Mihovilović et al., Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1995, pp. 84–87.

⁵ Another akin source, both in contents and in terms of time, has been preserved in Slovenia: it is the inventory of the musical material from Ljubljana Cathedral dating from 1620 and 1628. See Janez HÖFLER, *Glasbena umetnost pozne renesanse in baroka na Slovenskem* [The art of music of the late Renaissance and Baroque in Slovenia], Ljubljana: Partizanska knjiga, 1978, pp. 36–41 (transcriptions on pp. 134–157).

with possible new acquisitions concerning Cecchini's oeuvre.⁶ This discovery of unknown titles of published collections of Cecchini's work seems to be one of the main contributions in this newly discovered Hvar source.

1. Damian Nembri – Giovanni Andrea Nembri – Tomaso Cecchini: a “chain” in purchasing music material?

The author of the entire manuscript kept under the call number XXII/4 can be identified in the attribution which reads “Inventario delle Robe di me Gio. Anda. Nbri Dr”. It refers to Giovanni Andrea Nembri, doctor of theology, canon and for decades an outstanding member of the Hvar Cathedral Chapter.⁷ His undertaking of arranging and inventorying the Chapter books and musical material was certainly stimulated by his imminent departure from Hvar, since shortly after he finished his work on the inventory G.A. Nembri drew up his will (on 22 June 1647) and subsequently left, as a layman, for the Benedictine monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice, where he died in 1651.⁸ His younger brother Damian Nembri, who was prior there, spent most of his life in this monastery and has been acknowledged as the author of an anthology of four-part psalms published in 1641 (preserved), as well as of Masses from 1640, now lost.⁹ Both of these titles are registered in the Chapter inventory book –

⁶ Tables 2 and 3 have been elaborated by the collating of the already existing literature in which lists of works or their discovery were presented. They are: Dragan PLAMENAC, “Toma Cecchini, kapelnik stolnih crkava u Splitu i Hvaru u prvoj polovini XVII stoljeća. Bio-bibliografska studija” [Toma Cecchini, maestro di cappella of the cathedrals in Split and Hvar in the first half of the 17th century], *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, 262, 1938, pp. 106–125; Bojan BUJIC, “Na tragu jednom izgubljenom djelu Tomasa Cecchinija” [Tracing one lost work by Tomaso Cecchini], *Zvuk*, 83, 1968, pp. 159–162; Janez HÖFLER, “Dvije zbirke skladbi Tome Cecchinija” [Two collections of compositions by Toma Cecchini], *Sveta Cecilija*, 40/2, 1970, pp. 44–45; Dragan PLAMENAC, “Ispravci i dopune bibliografiji djela Tome Cecchinija” [Corrections and addenda to the bibliography of works by Toma Cecchini], *Arti musices*, 2, 1971, pp. 43–52; Josip ANDREIS, *Povijest glazbe* [History of music], Book 4, Zagreb: Liber – Mladost, 1974, pp. 87–89; Stanislav TUKSAR, “Prema identifikaciji četiriju, dosad nepoznatih, kasnijih opusa Tomasa Cecchinija iz 1623, 1627, 1630 i 1634 godine” [Towards the identification of four hitherto unknown later opuses by Tomaso Cecchini from 1623, 1627, 1630 and 1634], *Arti musices*, 24/1, 1993, pp. 91–97.

⁷ See Dragan PLAMENAC, “Hvaranin Damjan Nembri (1584 – c1648) i njegovi Večernji psalmi” [Damian Nembri of Hvar (1584 – c1648), and his Vesper Psalms], *Arti musices*, 14/1, 1993, pp. 1, 8.

⁸ See: *ibid.*

⁹ For more on the life and oeuvre of Damian Nembri see in: *ibid.*, pp. 5–13.

i.e., within only a few years after their respective publication – thus suggesting that Nembri's contacts with his native town were ongoing; his contacts with the musical activities of the local Cathedral were realized probably via his canon brother. It is therefore reasonable to presume that the Venice – Hvar connection established between the Nembri brothers might have been one of the channels through which recent Italian titles found their way into the Chapter material.

It seems that both professionally and privately¹⁰ the canon Giovanni Andrea Nembri was connected with the composer Tomaso Cecchini, to whom credit might also be given for the building up of the Chapter funds. Cecchini lived in Hvar from 1614 until his death in 1644, first as a *maestro di cappella* and later also as the Cathedral organist.¹¹ Except for supplementing the collection with his own titles – and thus becoming, with 20 titles in all, the most represented author in the whole inventory book – Cecchini certainly encouraged the purchase of music collections by other composers, which he himself used later. This is confirmed not only by the years of publication of most titles registered in the collection, which are in conformity with the years of Cecchini's service in the Hvar Cathedral, but also by his oeuvre (composed mostly in Hvar) which conveys its author's acquaintance with the then contemporary early-Baroque compositional, technical and aesthetic tendencies.

2. The musical contents of the Hvar chapter inventory book

The manuscript source XXII/4 consists of partially folded-over folios, placed in a thin brown cover, thus forming a booklet (30.5 x 11 cm in size) with 44 pages without number indication.¹² Among the 34 written pages, titles not referring to musical works are noted on 30 pages and are divided according to

¹⁰ In regard to this Dragan Plamenac stated the following: "However, it seems to be certain that members of the Nembri family maintained a friendly relationship with the Cecchini family; we learn from the Hvar registers that Giovanni Andrea the Elder served the Mass at which Cecchini's son Joannes Antonius was baptized on 18 May 1620". *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹¹ The comprehensive study, mentioned here in footnote No. 6, on Tomaso Cecchini is: Dragan PLAMENAC, "Toma Cecchini", pp. 77–125. See also Ennio STIPČEVIĆ, "Glazbenik i društvo: Tomaso Cecchini u Splitu i u Hvaru" [Tomaso Cecchini in Split and in Hvar], in: *Ivan Lukačić i njegovi suvremenici* [Ivan Lukačić and his contemporaries], Zagreb: Musica sacra, 1993, pp. 47–73, and Ennio STIPČEVIĆ, *Tomaso Cecchini*, Zagreb: Muzički informativni centar, 2015.

¹² In order to facilitate further work on the (musical) material of the inventory book, I myself added page numbers with a pencil, marking the first written page within the cover

the physical place occupied on shelves by those units and their size (*in f°*, *in 4°*, *in 8°*, ...), which might suggest that they were printed editions. By analogy, it can be assumed that the registered musical material also consisted of prints (at least in most cases), although they were divided in a different way from the other material: secular music collections (along with only a few “sporadic” ones of spiritual character) were ordered according to the number of voices, while sacred music works were listed in the section *Spirituali*).

More specifically, the musical material was registered in four pages of the catalogue,¹³ and articulated in eight sections with 73 entries in all. They mostly refer to specific collections and to a lesser extent to series, wherein only one title of an individual composition was noted. The sections of the inventory book have been written down in the following order: [p. 18] Five-part compositions (*A' cinq[ue] Voci*, 4 entries); [p. 20] sacred music compositions (*Spirituali*, 28); one-part compositions (*A' Voce Sola*, 8); [p. 29] two-part compositions (*A' 2 Voci*, 1); three-part compositions (*A' 3 Voci*, 9); four-part compositions (*A' 4 Voci*, 4); [p. 41] compositions for more (than 4) parts (*A' più voci*, 15); untitled section with entries which do not belong to any of the mentioned categories (4). In Table 1 I have followed this scheme for the transcribed titles, to which ordinal numbers have been added along with the names of composers and data on printed editions (title; publisher, town, year) which possibly belonged to the Chapter fund.¹⁴ As a starting point in identifying single editions the RISM online catalogue of musical prints (Series A/I) was mostly used,¹⁵ and, consequently, for each entry in Table 1 the RISM catalogue number has been added, if found. In other (rare) cases another source with data on a specific printed edition has been noted.

It is interesting to see that collections of secular music are more numerous than those of sacred music. However, this is not too surprising, since Cecchini

with No. 1 and continuing the list of numbers up to the last written page marked with No. 41, including also blank folios.

¹³ Pages with registered music titles do not follow each other, which might suggest that folios had been mixed up in the meantime since not all folios have been found bound.

¹⁴ For some entries several editions are listed in Table 1, since it is not clear which of them formed part of the Hvar Chapter fund. Although some titles, for reasons of consistency, are supplied with data on some Belgian, Dutch and German editions, these might be eliminated in favour of the Italian ones, as it is much more plausible that they comprised part of the Chapter fund.

¹⁵ Accessed on 20 August 2015 at the digitalized version on <https://opac.rism.info>.

and his predecessors had been occasionally engaged for secular performances, “according to the old habit that the organist plays during Carnival times in the duke’s court”,¹⁶ certainly using the secular musical material from the Chapter fund. Thus 31 units refer to sacred music works (they are mostly collections of motets, psalms and Masses), and 40 refer to secular ones (they are mostly collections of madrigals, arias and canzonettas), while music tutors consist only of two entries. Except for seven entries with uncertain or unknown authorship, the great majority of works (66 entries) are by 33 composers in all. The vast majority are titles by Cecchini (20), followed by those by Giovanni Priuli (6) and Tomaso Pecci (3). Adriano Banchieri, Alessandro Grandi, Claudio Monteverdi, Damian Nembri, Serafino Patta and Orazio Vecchi are represented with two entries each, and all other composers by one entry each. Except for Tomaso Cecchini and Gabriello Puliti, who were also active in the Croatian maritime areas, the majority of other mentioned composers spent their lifetimes in northern Italy, while the smallest share goes to authors from Florence and southern Italy. Also, if first editions of identified titles are taken into account, by far the greatest part has its origin in Venice, mostly from the Vincenti publishing house, while one or two entries were published in Florence, Naples or Bologna. Concerning the dates of publication, seven (first) editions belong to the last third of the 16th century (of these, the earliest dates from 1567), while other titles were printed prevalently during the first half of the 17th century, mostly in the 1610–1630 period, when Venetian early-Baroque music was in full swing.

Of course, all the preliminary data presented here on the musical segment of the Hvar Chapter inventory book are meant only to be a basis for further detailed analysis and interpretation, for which the survey of this material in Table 1 will serve as a starting point, and which will with great probability be subject to further changes and supplements.

¹⁶ Cvito FISKOVIĆ, “Glazba, kazališne i ostale zabavne priredbe u Hvaru u XVIII stoljeću” [Music, theatrical and other entertainment events in Hvar in the 18th century], in: *Dani Hvarskog kazališta: XVIII stoljeće* [Days of the Hvar theatre: 18th century], 5 1978, p. 36. For more on the engaging of Cathedral organists in Hvar from the end of the 16th and during the 17th century see: Grga NOVAK, “Orgulje, orguljaši i učitelji crkvenog pjevanja u Hvaru” [Organs, organists and teachers of church singing in Hvar], *Sveta Cecilija*, 18/6, 1924, pp. 179–181.

3. Towards the revision of Tomaso Cecchini's list of works

Of particular worth in the discovery of the Hvar Chapter inventory book is the detection of two titles of as yet unknown collections by Tomaso Cecchini. These are the first (and, apparently, the last) collection of three-part psalm settings and motets, *Salmi e Motetti à 3. Lib. p.*^o (see Tab. 1, No. 14), and *3.^s Liber S. Concentu[um] 2 Vocib* (No. 20). The latter probably represents the third book in a series of Cecchini's works of sacred monody for two voices, among which the first is the fragmentary preserved Op. 4 (see Tab. 1, No. 19), while the second is lost (Tab. 1, No. 13), but mentioned by Dragan Plamenac according to the catalogue of publications of the Vincenti publishing house. More precisely, Plamenac offered data on Cecchini's works whose trace could be found (only) in Vincenti's catalogues of 1621 and 1649.¹⁷ Some of them were omitted in later revisions of Cecchini's bibliography, and in this article they are included in Table 3 (Nos. 1–4, 6–7).

By merely adding the eight works from Table 3 to the 20 titles included in Table 2, the number of Cecchini's independent collections – either preserved in a complete or fragmentary form or, mostly, nominally – climbs to 28, which gives a number exceeding that of Cecchini's currently known last opus, No. 27 (*Motetti a voce sola, libro secondo*, from 1635). If we take into account that the titles of the collections given in Table 3 under the numbers 1–4 were all listed in Vincenti's catalogue from 1621,¹⁸ it is reasonable to presume that they refer to four of five hitherto unidentified opuses printed between 1612/1613 and 1616/1617, i.e. opuses 1/2,¹⁹ 5, 6, 8 and 10. One of the two collections by Cecchini transmitted only by a note in the Hvar Chapter inventory book was published within this period, too – presumably the third book of two-part *Sacri Conventus* (see Tab. 3, No. 5). Furthermore, if Table 2 is consulted, it can be noticed that we do not know for now the titles of two of Cecchini's opuses printed between 1624 and 1634: namely Nos. 20/21²⁰ and one of the opuses

¹⁷ See Dragan PLAMENAC, "Toma Cecchini", pp. 119–121.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

¹⁹ On Cecchini's first known printed collection entitled *Amorosi concetti, libro primo*, from 1612, it is not noted whether this is Op. 1 or Op. 2.

²⁰ Although it is not quite clear whether the title of the lost collection *Amorosa guerra a 1 & 2 voci* (from 1627) refers to Op. 20 or Op. 21, it is more probable that we are dealing here with Op. 21, taking into account that the next opus No. 22 dates from the same year.

between Nos. 24 and 26.²¹ Collections listed under Nos. 6 and 7 in Table 3, registered in Vincenti's catalogue from 1649,²² belong to this latter period, but this is also very probably the case with the title listed under No. 8, recorded only in the Hvar Chapter inventory book. Among these three collections which belong to the period after 1624, two collections with certainty refer to the two unknown opera. However, it seems that one of these collections was created after Op. 27 and the year 1635, i. e. as Op. 28, which is not surprising since Cecchini was active in the Hvar Cathedral for almost the whole next decade until his death in 1644.

Translated by Stanislav Tuksar

²¹ Since it is a matter of lost and only nominally known works, it is not clear whether the titles *Arie, madrigali & cantate* (from 1630) and *Sonate per uno & due violini* (from 1634) refer to Op. 24 or Op. 25, or to Op. 25 or Op. 26, respectively.

²² See Dragan PLAMENAC, "Toma Cecchini", p. 119.

Table 1: Transcription of the titles listed in the Hvar Chapter inventory book from 1646–1647

No.	TITLES	AUTHOR	TITLE OF THE PRINTED EDITION	TOWN, PUBLISHER, YEAR, RISM SIGLUM)
1	<i>Madrigali del Cecchino</i>	CECCHINI, Tomaso (c1580–1644)	<i>Madrigali et arie a cinque voci con il basso continuo per sonare se piace [...] libro primo [...] opera decimaquinta</i>	A. Vincenti, Venice, 1619 [RISM A/I: C 1676]
2	<i>Del Monteverde. Lib. 6.</i>	MONTEVERDI, Claudio (1567–1634)	<i>Il sesto libro de madrigali a cinque voci, con uno dialogo a sette, con il suo. basso continuo per poterli concertare nel clavicembano [...], et altri stromenti</i>	R. Amadino, Venice, 1614 [RISM A/I: M 3490], 1615 [M 3491] B. Magni, Venice, 1620 [RISM A/I: M 3492] P. Phalèse, Antwerpen, 1639 [RISM A/I: M 3493]
3	<i>Del Riccio. Lib. 1.</i>	RICCIO, Teodoro (c1540–c1600)	<i>Il primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci</i>	A. Gardano, Venice, 1567 [RISM A/I: R 1294]
4	<i>Del Barera. Lib. 2¹</i>	BARERA, Rodiano (mid-16th c.–1623)		

¹ Only Barera's first book of five-part madrigals has been known as *Il primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci* (Venezia: A. Gardano, 1596 [RISM A/I: B 916]). See Serena Dal BELIN PERUFFO, "Barera, Rodiano", in: NG2, vol. 2, p. 725; Angelika HORSTMANN, *Katalog der Musikdrucke aus der Zeit der Kasseler Hofkapelle (1550–1650)*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005, p. 145; Richard J. AGEE, *The Gardano Music Printing Firms, 1569–1611* (Eastman Studies in Music: Book 11), Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1999, p. 298.

[p. 20] *Spirituali*

No.	TITLES	AUTHOR	TITLE OF THE PRINTED EDITION	TOWN, PUBLISHER, YEAR, RISM SIGLUM
5	<i>Par. p.^a S Sacro[rum] Conentu[um] Io. Prioli</i>	PRIULI, Giovanni (c1575–1626)	<i>Sacrorum concentuum [...] in duas partes distributorum, pars prima</i>	B. Magni, Venice, 1618 [RISM A/I: P 5476]
6	<i>Pars 2.^a</i>	PRIULI, Giovanni (c1575–1626))	<i>Sacrorum concentuum [...] in duas partes distributorum, pars altera</i>	B. Magni, Venice, 1619 [RISM A/I: P 5477]
7	<i>Psalmi Eiusdem</i>	PRIULI, Giovanni (c1575–1626)	[<i>Psalmi Davidis regis</i> ?]	Venice, 1621
8	<i>Missae Eiusdem</i>	PRIULI, Giovanni (c1575–1626)	<i>Missae [...] quatuor, sex, & octo vocibus concinendae, cum basso totius operis pro organo, si placet</i>	B. Magni, Venice, 1624 [RISM A/I: P 5478]
			and/or	
			<i>Missae [...] octo, novemq. vocibus, atque etiam instrumentis musicis concinendae</i>	B. Magni, Venice, 1624 [RISM A/I: P 5479]
9	<i>Missa c[um] Psālmis et. S. Cantionib[us] 1, 2, et 3. Vocib[us] D. Vincent. de Tutijs à Graulina</i>	TUZZI (DE TUTIIS), Vincenzo (first half of the 17th c.)	<i>Missa cum Psalmis tribus vocibus, aliaque Sacrae Cantiones una cum Basso Continuo ad Organum³</i>	A. Vincenti, Venice, 1628

² Collection lost. See Jerome ROCHE – Steven SAUNDERS, “Priuli, Giovanni”, in: NG2, vol. 20, p. 385.

³ Data have been preserved only about this collection by Tuzzi. See Gaetano GASPARI, *Catalogo della Biblioteca del Liceo Musicale di Bologna* (Vol. 2), Bologna: Parisini, 1892, pp. 146–147. However, according to the facsimile of a page in Joannes van Doorn's catalogue (*Catalogus librorum musicorum*, Utrecht, 1639), Tuzzi was also the author of a collection of *Vesperae psalms*. See in: Stanislav TUKSAR, “Prema identifikaciji četiriju, dosad nepoznatih, kasnijih opusa Tomasa Cecchinija iz 1623, 1627, 1630 i 1634 godine” [Towards the Identification of Four Hitherto Unknown Later Opuses by Tomaso Cecchini from 1623, 1627, 1630 and 1634], *Arta musicae*, 24, 1993, 1, p. 97.

10	<i>Otto Messe à 4 voci pari sop.^a li otto Toni</i>	CECCHINI, Tomaso (c1580–1644)	<i>Otto messe brevi, facili, et ariose, appropriate per cantare nell'organo, a quattro voci pari [...] opera undecima</i>	G. Vincenti, Venice, 1617 [RISM AVI: C 1672]
11	<i>3.^o Libro delle Messe ariose à 3, 4, 5, et 8. Con salmi</i>	CECCHINI, Tomaso (c1580–1644)	<i>Il terzo Libro delle Messe ariose appropriate per cantar con l'organo. A tre, quattro, cinque et otto voci con alcuni Salmi intieri per il Vespere</i>	A. Vincenti, Venice, 1624 [RISM AVI: C 440]
12	<i>Messa, Salmi, et Motetti à 7 in due Chori</i>	CECCHINI, Tomaso (c1580–1644)	<i>Messa, Salmi et motetti a 7 voc^h</i>	G. Vincenti, Venice, 1620
13	<i>2.^o Libro de Motetti à 2</i>	CECCHINI, Tomaso (c1580–1644)	<i>[Motetti e concerti a 2 con basso, libro secondo]⁵</i>	G. Vincenti, Venice, [1613/14–1616/17]
14	<i>Salmi e Motetti à 3. Lib. p.^o</i> ⁶	CECCHINI, Tomaso (c1580–1644)		
15	<i>Salmi e Motetti à 4. Lib. p.^o</i>	CECCHINI, Tomaso (c1580–1644)	<i>Salmi, et motetti a 4 [...] Libro primo⁷</i>	G. Vincenti, Venice, 1616
16	<i>Lamentationi à 2 col Miserere</i>	CECCHINI, Tomaso (c1580–1644)	<i>[Lamentationi a 2, con basso]⁸</i>	G. Vincenti, Venice, [1612/3–1616/17]

⁴ See Janez HÖFLER, “Dvije zbirke skladbi Tome Cecchinija” [Two Collections of Compositions by Tomaso Cecchini], *Sveta Cecilija*, 40/2, 1970, pp. 44–45.

⁵ Cecchini's lost collection, listed in Vincenti's catalogue from 1621, which has been omitted in most lists except in: Dragan PLAMENAC, “Toma Cecchini”, pp. 119–120. (see Table 3, No. 4). Only the first book of two-part motets is preserved, and has also been listed in the Chapter inventory book (see here No. 19).

⁶ Unknown collection by Cecchini. See Table 3, No. 8.

⁷ See Janez HÖFLER, “Dvije zbirke skladbi Tome Cecchinija”, pp. 44–45.

⁸ This lost collection, listed in Vincenti's catalogue from 1621, has been omitted in most lists except in: Dragan PLAMENAC, “Toma Cecchini”, pp. 119–121. See Table 3, No. 1.

17	<i>Psalmi, Missa, et alia cantica. 5 Vocib.</i>	CECCHINI, Tomaso (c1580–1644)	<i>Psalmi, missa, et alia cantica quinque vocibus, una cum gravi parte pro organo [...] opus decimum quartum</i>	A. Vincenti, Venice, 1619 [RISM A/I: C 1675]
18	<i>Cinque Messe à 2 Voci e Motetti à voce sola</i>	CECCHINI, Tomaso (c1580–1644)	<i>Cinque messe a due voci con il suo basso continuo [...] et vinti due motetti a voce sola [...] opera vigesima terza</i>	A. Vincenti, Venice, 1628 [RISM A/I: C 1677]
19	<i>P.^o Libro de Motetti à 2</i>	CECCHINI, Tomaso (c1580–1644)	<i>Motetti concertati a due voci, con il basso continuo per l'organo [...] in libro primo, opera quarta</i>	R. Amadino, Venice, 1613 [RISM A/I: C 1670]
20	<i>3.^a Liber S. Concentu[um] 2 Vocib.⁹</i>	CECCHINI, Tomaso (c1580–1644)		
21	<i>Motetti à 1, 2, 3, et 4 raccolti dal Malgarini</i>	MALGARINI, Federico (editor)	<i>Motetti a una, due, tre et quattro voci col basso continuo per l'organo¹⁰</i>	G. Vincenti, Venice, 1618
22	<i>Sacri Conventus F. Gabrielis de Pulitis 1, 2, 3 Vocib.</i>	PULLITI, Gabriello (c1580–1642/3)	<i>Sacri conventus, unis, binis, ternisque vocibus, una cum parte organica, opera XIII</i>	G. Vincenti, Venice, 1614 [RISM A/I: P 5652]

⁹ Unknown collection by Cecchini (see Table 3, No. 5). Of course, the registering of the third book of sacred monody *Sacri Conventus* suggests the earlier existence of the first two such collections; it is possible that these were the collections Op. 4 in Table 2 and No. 4 in Table 3.

¹⁰ The complete collection is accessible online (digitalization: Sibley Music Library, University of Rochester, <http://hdl.handle.net/1802/24305>, accessed 10 August 2015).

23	<i>Salteri[um] D. Eustachio Arivieri à 2, 3, 4. Lib. p.^o 11</i>	ARIVIERI, Eustachio
24	<i>Respon[sor]ia Hebdomada S. Gualterij 4 Vocib.¹²</i>	? GUALTIERI, Alessandro (?–1655)? or ? GUALTIERI, Antonio (?–1649/1650)?
25	<i>3.º Libro de i Concerti Ecc.^{ci} del Porta à 2, 3, 4, e 5</i>	PORTA, Ercole (1585–1630) [<i>Concerti Ercole Porta à 1, 2, 3, 4. A. Vincenti, Venice, 1619 I. II. e III. libro novt</i>] ¹³
26	<i>Lib. 3.º Sacro[rum] Cantico[rum] Patt[ae] 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, Vocib.¹⁴</i>	PATTA, Serafino (active 1606–1619)

¹¹ Unknown collection. The composer Arivieri (Arriveri?) has been mentioned only in Vincenti's catalogue, and only as the author of motets for 1 to 4 voices (see X, 13 and XXXII, 37; see in: Alessandro VINCENTI, *Indice di tutte le opere di musica*, arr. by Robert Eitner, Leipzig: Trautwein, 1882–1883, pp. 8, 27), while in the reference literature there are no data on his life and oeuvre.

¹² This title is not included in lists of works of either of two composers bearing the family name Gualtieri (probably kindred), active during the first half of the 17th in the Venetian area. See Jerome ROCHE, "Gualtieri, Alessandro", in: NG2, vol. 10, p. 472; Jerome ROCHE – Elisabeth ROCHE, "Gualtieri, Antonio", in: in: NG2, vol. 10, p. 473.

¹³ In Vincenti's catalogue there exist entries on three (today lost) books of sacred concertos by Porta (see X, 21 i XXXII, 43, in: Alessandro VINCENTI, *Indice di tutte le opere*, pp. 8, 27).

¹⁴ Only the first book (1609, 1611) and the second book (1613) are known, both published in Venice at G. Vincenti [RISM A/I: P 1037, P 1038]. See Gaetano GASPARI, *Catalogo della Biblioteca del Liceo Musicale di Bologna* (Vol. 2), p. 477; Jerome ROCHE, "Patta, Serafino", in: NG2, vol. 19, p. 236.

¹⁵ Both the title and author are unknown.

27	<i>Lib. 4 de Motetti del Grandi à 2, 3, 4, 7</i>	GRANDI, Alessandro (c1586–1630)	<i>Il quarto libro de motetti a due, tre, quattro et sette voci, con il basso continuo per sonar nell'organo</i>	G. Vincenti, Venice, 1616 [RISM AVI: G 3431], 1618 [G 3432] G. B. Maringo, Palermo, 1620 [RISM AVI: G 3433] A. Vincenti, Venice, 1621 [RISM AVI: G 3434], 1628 [G 3435], 1637 [G 3437]
28	<i>Psalmi Accademici Affectuosi 3 Vocib. et 4.</i> ¹⁵			
29	<i>Psalmi D. Damiani Nembri . 4 Vocib.</i>	NEMBRI, Damian (1584–1648/9)	<i>Brevis et facilis psalmarum quattuor-vocibus modulatio</i>	B. Magni, Venice, 1641 [RISM AVI: N 377]
30	<i>Canzonette Sp[iritu]ali del Zuchini à 3 lib. p.</i> ¹⁶	?ZUCCHINI, Gregorio (c1540/c1560–p1615)?		
31	<i>Missae Harmonicae Nembri. 3, 4, et 8 Vocib.</i> ¹⁷	NEMBRI, Damian (1584–1648/9)		Venice, 1640

¹⁶ This collection has not been listed among the works by Gregorio Zucchini, the north-Italian composer of exclusively sacred music, active at the beginning of the 17th century in the areas of Venice and Padua. See Wolfgang WITZEMANN, “Zucchini, Gregorio”, in: NG2, vol. 27, p. 875.

¹⁷ According to *Musicalisches Lexicon* by Johann Gottfried Walther (1732), Nembri is the author of the lost collection of three- and eight-part Masses, printed in Venice in 1640. See Dragan PLAMENAC, “Hvaranin Damjan Nembri (1584 – oko 1648) i njegovi Većernji psalmi” [Damianus Nembri of Hvar (1584 – c1648), and his vesper Psalms], *Arti musices*, 14, 1983, 1, pp. 5–6. However, Walther’s *Lexicon* does not mention Nembri’s four-part Masses as part of the printed collection, so that – having no third source on the structure of Masses from 1640 – it can be presumed that either Walther’s entry is incomplete or that the Hvar Cathedral was in possession of the manuscript variant of Nembri’s Masses, of which those in four-parts were omitted in the published version.

32	<i>Motetti à Voce sola del Cecchino</i>	CECCHINI, Tomaso (c1580–1644)	<i>Motetti a una voce sola, commodi, & facili ad ogni cantore, & con il basso per l'organo [...] opera decimaterza</i>	G. Vincenti, Venice, 1617 [RISM A/I: C 1674]
[p. 20] <i>A' Voce sola</i>				
No.	TITLES	AUTHOR	TITLE OF THE PRINTED EDITION	TOWN, PUBLISHER, YEAR, RISM SIGLUM
33	<i>Canzonette raccolte dal Stefani. p.° 2, 3, et 4</i>	STEFANI, Giovanni (editor) (active 1618–1626)	<i>Affetti amorosi: canzonette ad una voce sola</i> <i>Scherzi amorosi: canzonette ad una voce sola [...] Libro secondo</i> ¹⁸	G. Vincenti, Venice, 1618 [RISM B/I: 1618–15]; A. Vincenti, Venice, 1621 [RISM B/I: 1621–17], 1623 [1623–09], 1626 [1626–13] [?Vincenti?, ? Venice?, 1619], A. Vincenti, Venice, 1622 [RISM B/I: 1622–12]
			<i>Concerti amorosi: terza parte delle canzonette in musica</i> [<i>Ariette amoroze</i>] ¹⁹	A. Vincenti, Venice, 1623 [RISM B/I: 1623–10] Venice, 1626

¹⁸ The first edition of the second book of *Scherzi amorosi* (1619) has been lost. See Roark MILLER, “Stefani, Giovanni”, in: NG2, vol. 24, p. 312.

¹⁹ Collection lost. See *ibid.*

34	<i>Arie del Miniscalchi. lib. 1.</i>	MINISCALCHI, Guglielmo (active 1616–1630)	<i>Arie</i> [...] <i>libro primo per cantarsi nella spinetta, chitarre e simile istromento, con l'intavolatura per la chitarra alla spagnola</i>	A. Vincenti, Venice, 1625 [RISM A/I: M 2851], 1627 [M 2852]
35	<i>Arie del Pesenti.</i>	PESENTI, Martino (c1600–c1648)	[<i>Arie</i> [...] <i>libro primo</i>] ²⁰ and/or <i>Arie a voce sola commode da cantarsi nel clavicembalo, chitarre, & altro simile stromento</i> [...] <i>libro secondo</i>	A. Vincenti, Venice, 1633 [RISM A/I: P 1545]
36	<i>Arie del Berti. p.º et 2.º</i>	BERTI, Giovanni Pietro (c1600–1638)	and/or <i>Arie a voce sola commode da cantarsi nel clavicembalo, chitarre, & altro simile stromento</i> [...] <i>libro terzo</i>	A. Vincenti, Venice, 1636 [RISM A/I: P 1547]
			<i>Cantade et arie ad una voce sola con alcune a doi commode da cantarsi nel clavicembalo, chitarre & altro simile stromento</i> [...] (<i>libro primo</i>)	A. Vincenti, Venice, 1624 [RISM A/I: B 2135]
			<i>Cantade et arie ad una voce sola commode da cantarsi nel clavicembalo, chitarre, & altro simile stromento</i> [...] <i>libro secondo</i>	A. Vincenti, Venice, 1627 [RISM A/I: B 2136]

²⁰ Collection lost. See Eleanor SELFRIDGE-FIELD, “Pesenti, Martino”, in: NG2, vol. 19, pp. 483–484.

37	<i>Ariose Vaghezze del Milanuzzi</i> . 5.° et 6.°	MILANUZZI, Carlo (?–c1647)	[<i>Quinto libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>] ²¹	[p1624–1628]
			Sesto libro delle ariose vaghezze, comode da cantarsi a voce sola nel clavicembalo, chitarone, o altro simile stromento [...] opera decimaquinta	A. Vincenti, Venice, 1628 [RISM A/I: M 2749]
38	<i>Madrigali e Canzonette sp[iritu]ali del Bonini</i>	BONINI, Severo (1582–1663)	<i>Madrigali, e canzonette spirituali [...] per cantare a una voce sola, sopra il chitarone, o spinetta, o altri stromenti</i>	C. Marescotti, Florence, 1607 [RISM A/I: B 3494]
39	<i>Amorosi Concetti del Cecchino, dopo i Scherzi de Mo[se]teverde</i> . Lib. i. ²²	CECCHINI, Tomaso (c1580–1644)	<i>Amorosi concetti, madrigali a voce sola facili per cantare et sonare nel clavicembalo, chitarone o liuto [...] libro primo</i>	R. Amadino, Venice, 1612 [RISM A/I: C 1668]
40	<i>Motetti et Madrigali Sacri del Patta</i> .	PATTA, Serafino (active 1606–1619)	<i>Motetti et madrigali cavati da le poesie sacre [...] per cantare solo nell'organo, clavicordo, chitarone, & altri istromenti</i>	B. Magni, Venice, 1614 [RISM A/I: P 1039]

²¹ Milanuzzi published in the period 1622–1643 a series of nine books entitled *Ariose vaghezze*, among which only the fifth cannot be found in the list of his works. See Jerome ROCHE – Roark MILLER, “Milanuzzi, Carlo”, in: NG2, vol. 16, pp. 672–673.

²² It is possible that Cecchini’s madrigals from both the first and the third book of *Amorosi concetti* (see entry No. 64) formed part of the same (manuscript?) collection with Monteverdi’s collection *Scherzi musicali* (see entry No. 50), which they preceded.

[p. 29] *A' 2 Voci*

No.	TITLES	AUTHOR	TITLE OF THE PRINTED EDITION	TOWN, PUBLISHER, YEAR, RISM SIGLUM
41	<i>Madrigaletti del Cecchini</i>	CECCHINI, Tomaso (c1580–1644)	[<i>Madrigaletti & altri ariosi canti a 2 voci con alcuni avvertimenti per sa per il concertare in diversi modi con voci o Istromenti a bene placito & con il basso continuo</i>] ²³	Venice, 1623

[p. 29] *A' 3 Voci*

No.	TITLES	AUTHOR	TITLE OF THE PRINTED EDITION	TOWN, PUBLISHER, YEAR, RISM SIGLUM
42	<i>Canzonette di D. Marino Pesaro</i>	PESARO, Marino	<i>Canzonette a tre voci [...] libro primo</i>	A. Raverii, Venice, 1608 [RISM A/I: P]

²³ This collection is known only nominally. See Stanislav Tuksar, “Prema identifikaciji četiriju”, p. 93.

43	<i>Vilanelle di Luca Marenzio</i>	MARENZIO, Luca (c1553–1599)	<i>Il primo libro delle villanelle [...] a tre voci, raccolte da Ferrante Franchi</i>	G. Vincenti & R. Amadino, Venice, 1584 [RISM A/I: M 587]; 1586 [M 588]; G. Vincenti, Venice, 1586 [RISM A/I: M 589], 1589 [M 590], 1595 [M 591]; 1593 [M 593]; A. Gardano, Venice, 1600 [RISM A/I: M 592]
			and/or	
			<i>Il secondo libro delle villanelle a tre voci</i>	G. Vincenti, Venice, 1592 [RISM A/I: M 596], 1597 [M 597]
			and/or	
			<i>Il terzo libro delle villanelle a tre voci composte [...] nel modo che hoggidi si usa cantare in Roma; raccolte da Christoforo Ferrari</i>	A. Gardano, Rome, 1585 [RISM A/I: M 599], 1600 [M 603]; G. Vincenti, Venice, 1587 [RISM A/I: M 600], 1592 [M 601], 1597 [M 602]
			and/or	
			<i>Il quarto libro delle villanelle a tre voci [...] raccolte per Attilio Gualtieri</i>	G. Vincenti, Venice, 1587 [RISM A/I: M 604], 1592 [M 601], 1592 [M 605], 1596 [M 606]; A. Gardano, Venice, 1600 [RISM A/I: M 607]
			and/or	
			<i>Il quinto libro delle villanelle a tre voci, con una a quattro, raccolto da Attilio Gualtieri</i>	G. Scotti, Venice, 1587 [RISM A/I: M 608], 1591 [M 609]; A. Gardano, Venice, 1600 [RISM A/I: M 610]

44	<i>Canzonette dell'Affettuoso et inuaghito. P.° et 2.°</i>	PECCI, Tomaso (1576–1604)	<i>Canzonette a tre voci [...] libro primo</i>	G. Vincenti, Venice, 1603 [RISM A/I: P 1109], 1604 [P 1110]; 1607 [P 1111]; P. Phalèse, Antwerpen, 1624 [RISM A/I: P 1112]
45	<i>Del Pecci. p.°</i>	PECCI, Tomaso (1576–1604)	<i>Canzonette a tre voci [...] libro secondo</i>	G. Vincenti, Venice, 1603 [RISM A/I: P 1113], 1604 [P 1115]
46	<i>Dell'Affettuoso. 4.</i> ²⁴	PECCI, Tomaso (1576–1604)	<i>Canzonette a tre voci</i>	G. Vincenti, Venice, 1599 [RISM A/I: P 1102], 1603 [P 1103], 1604 [P 1104]
47	<i>Madrigali et Canzonette del Cecchino</i>	CECCHINI, Tomaso (c1580–1644)	<i>Madrigali et canzonette a tre voci con il suo basso continuo per sonare [...] libro primo, opera duodecima</i> (op. 12)	G. Vincenti, Venice, 1617 [RISM A/I: C 1673]
48	<i>Madrigali del Filibero. Lib. 1.</i>	?FILIBERO? ²⁵		

²⁴ Up to now both Pecci's fourth and third collections of three-part canzonettas have not been registered. See Laura Buch, "Pecci, Tomaso", in: NG2, vol. 19, p. 266.

²⁵ Both the composer and the collection are not known. The referent literature mentions Orazio Filiberi, a composer whose first and only known opus is the collection of psalms printed in 1649; thus his name cannot be linked with the first book of madrigals, listed in the Hvar inventory book. See [s. n.], "Filiberi, Orazio", in: NG2, vol. 8, p. 794.

49	<i>Balletti del Gastoldi</i>	GASTOLDI, Giovanni (c1554–1609)	<i>Balletti a tre voci, con la intavolatura del liuto, per cantare, sonare, & ballare.</i>	R. Amadino, Venice, 1594 [RISM A/I: G 534], 1604 [G 537], 1611 [G 539] P. Phalèse, Antwerpen, 1602 [RISM A/I: G 536], 1606 [G 538], 1617 [G 540], 1631 [G 541] P. Kauffmann, Nürnberg, 1600 [RISM A/I: G 535] W. J. Wijngaert, Amsterdam, 1628 [RISM A/I: G 543] P. Matthysz, Amsterdam, 1641 [RISM A/I: G 544] M. Bastiaensz, Rotterdam, 1641 [RISM A/I: 544a]
50	<i>Scherzi Musicali à 3 del Monteverde</i>	MONTEVERDI, Claudio (1567–1634)	<i>Scherzi musicali a tre voci di Claudio Monteverde, raccolti da Giulio Cesare Monteverde suo fratello</i>	R. Amadino, Venice, 1607 [RISM A/I: M 3485], 1609 [M 3486], 1615 [M 3487] B. Magni, 1628, Venice [RISM A/I: M 3489]
[p. 29] <i>A' 4 Voci</i>				
No.	TITLES	AUTHOR	TITLE OF THE PRINTED EDITION	TOWN, PUBLISHER, YEAR, RISM SIGLUM
51	<i>Novelli fiori del Visconti</i> ²⁶	?VISCONTI, Domenico (?–1626)?		

²⁶ The only composer from the first half of the 17th century bearing the name of Visconti, with data on him in the literature, is Domenico; however, among his known works – the collection of five-part madrigals and the collection of one- and two-part arias – there is no title (probably a collection of madrigals) *Novelli fiori*. See Nigel FORTUNE, “Visconti, Domenico”, in: NG2, vol. 26, p. 790.

52	<i>Madrigalli del Costa</i>	COSTA, Giovanni Paolo (active 1610–1614)	<i>Il primo libro di madrigali a 4 voci</i> [RISM A/I: C 4223]	A. Gardano, Venice, 1613
53	<i>Madrigali del Nenna</i>	NENNA, Pomponio (c1556–1608).	<i>Il primo libro de madrigali a quattro voci</i>	G. B. Gargano, L. Nucci, Naples, 1613 [RISM A/I: N 398]
54	<i>Madrigali del [Persone]</i> ²⁷	?PERSONE?		A. Vincenti, Venice, 1621 [RISM A/I: N 399]
[p. 41] <i>A' più voci</i>				
No.	TITLES	AUTHOR	TITLE OF THE PRINTED EDITION	TOWN, PUBLISHER, YEAR, RISM SIGLUM
55	<i>Amorosa Guerra del Cecchino à 1 et 2</i>	CECCHINI, Tomaso (c1580–1644)	<i>[Amorosa guerra a una & due voci, cioe Ariæ, madrigali, sonate, ritornelli & baletti]</i> ²⁸	Venice, 1627

²⁷ Both the collection and the author unknown.

²⁸ This collection is known only nominally. See Stanislav Tuksar, “Prema identifikaciji četiriju”, p. 94.

56	<i>Diversità da Canti del Cecchino à 1 et 2</i>	CECCHINI, Tomaso (c1580–1644)	<i>Diversità di canti a una & due voci cioè arie madrigali & cantate con li suoi ritornello in baletti alcuni balli & alquante sonate per sonare ogni volta dopo haver cantato (piacendo) con la spinetta o altro stromento simile un chitarone & il violino</i> ²⁹	Venice, 1630
57	<i>Madrigali del Sabbatini. Lib. 1. à 2, 3, et 4</i>	SABBATINI, Galeazzo (1597–1662)	<i>Il primo libro de madrigali [...] concertati a due, tre e quattro voci, opera prima</i>	A. Vincenti, Venice, 1625 [RISM A/I: S 11], 1628 [S 12], 1639 [S 13],
58	<i>Concerti del Ferrari ò Madrigali. Lib. 1. à 2, 3, et 4</i> ³⁰	?FERRARO (FERRARI), Antonio (active 1613–23)?		
59	<i>Arie, Scherzi del Brunelli. à 1, 2, e 3. P.^o et 2.^o</i>	BRUNELLI, Antonio (1577–1630)	<i>Arie, scherzi, canzonette, madrigali a una, due, e tre voci per sonare, e cantare [...] opera nona</i>	G. Vincenti, Venice, 1613 [RISM A/I: B 4645]
			<i>Scherzi, arie, canzonette, e madrigali, a una, due, e tre voci per sonare, e cantare con ogni sorte di stromenti [...] libro secondo, opera decima</i>	G. Vincenti, Venice, 1614 [RISM A/I: B 4646]

²⁹ This collection is known only nominally. See Stanislav Tuksar, “Prema identifikaciji četiriju”, pp. 93, 96.
³⁰ If we are really talking here about the composer Antonio Ferraro (Ferrari), the title registered here has not been listed among his works as yet. See Paolo Emilio CARAPEZZA – Giuseppe COLLISANI, “Ferraro, Antonio”, in: NG2, vol. 8, p. 718.

60	<i>P^e et 2.^e Musiche del Megli. à 1, et 2.</i>	MELLI, Domenico Maria (active at the beginning of the 17th c.)	<i>Musiche [...] composte sopra alcuni madrigali di diversi, per cantare nel chittarone, clavicembalo, & altri instrummenti</i>	G. Vincenti, Venice, 1602 [RISM A/I: M 1752], 1603 [M 1753], 1609 [MM 1753a]
61	<i>Canti Spirituali del Cecchino. à 1, 2, e 3.</i>	CECCHINI, Tomaso (c1580–1644)	<i>Le seconde musiche [...] nelle quali si contengono madrigali, canzonette, arie, & dialoghi, a una & due voci per cantare nel chittarone, clavicembalo, & altri instrummenti</i>	G. Vincenti, Venice, 1602 [RISM A/I: M 1754], 1609 [M 1755]
61	<i>Canti Spirituali del Cecchino. à 1, 2, e 3.</i>	CECCHINI, Tomaso (c1580–1644)	<i>Canti spirituali, a una, due, e tre voci, appropriati per cantare, & sonare nel clavicembalo, chittarone o altro istrumento [...] opera terza, raccolta da Stefano, canonici da Bologna</i>	G. Vincenti, Venice, 1613 [RISM A/I: C 1669]
62	<i>Quinto Libro della Canzonette del Badesca. à 1, 2, e 3.</i>	RADESCA (di Foggia), Enrico Antonio (second half of the 16th c.–1625)	<i>Il quinto libro delle canzonette, madrigali et arie a tre, a una, et a due voci per cantare, & sonare con la spineta, chitarrone, & altri simili stromenti.</i>	G. Vincenti, Venice, 1617 [RISM A/I: R 22]
63	<i>Euridice del Caccini.</i>	CACCINI, Giulio (1551–1618)	<i>L'Euridice composta in musica in stile rappresentativo</i>	G. Marescotti, Florence, 1600 [RISM A/I: C 4]
				G. Vicenti, Venice, 1615 [RISM A/I: C 5]

64	<i>Amorosi concetti del Cecchino Lib. 3. à 1, e 2. dopo i Scherzi del Monteverde</i> ³¹	CECCHINI, Tomaso (c1580–1644)	<i>Amorosi concetti, il terzo libro de' madrigali a una et due voci [...] opera settima</i>	G. Vincenti, Venice, 1616 [RISM A/I: C 1671]
65	<i>Seleva d'Horatio Vecchi</i>	VECCHI, Orazio (c1550–1605)	<i>Seleva di varia ricreazione [...] nella quale si contengono varij soggetti, a 3, a 4, a 5, a 6, a 7, a 8, a 9 & a 10 voci, cioè madrigali, capricci, balli, arie, justiniane, canzonette, fantasie, serenate, dialoghi, un lotto amoroso, con una battaglia a diece nel fine</i>	A. Gardano, Venice, 1590 [RISM A/I: V 1044], 1595 [V 1045] M. Tradata, Milan, 1611 [RISM A/I: V 1046]
66	<i>Convito dell'istesso</i>	VECCHI, Orazio (c1550–1605)	<i>Convito musicale nel quale si contengono varij soggetti, et capricci, a tre, quattro, cinque, sei, sette, & otto voci, nuovamente composto, & dato in luce</i>	A. Gardano, Venice, 1597 [RISM A/I: V 1050] P. Kauffmann, Nürnberg, 1598 [RISM A/I: V 1051]
67	<i>Musiche concertate del Prioli Lib. 4.</i>	PRIOLI, Giovanni (c1575–1626)	<i>Musiche concertate [...] Libro Quarto</i>	P. Phalèse & J. Bellère, Antwerpen, 1598 [RISM A/I: V 1052] B. Magni, Venice, 1622 [RISM A/I]

³¹ See footnote referring to the entry No. 39.

68	<i>Delicie Musicali dell'istesso Grandi</i>	PRIULLI, Giovanni (c1575–1626)	<i>Delicie musicali [a 2–10 v]</i>	B. Magni, Venice, 1625 [RISM A/I : P 5483]
69	<i>Arie et cantada à 2 et 3. del Grandi</i>	GRANDI, Alessandro (c1586–1630)	<i>Arie, et cantade a doi, et tre voci concertate con doi violini</i>	A. Vincenti, Venice, 1626 [RISM A/I : G 3473]
[p. 41] – untitled section				
No.	TITLES	AUTHOR	TITLE OF THE PRINTED EDITION	TOWN, PUBLISHER, YEAR, RISM SIGLUM
70	<i>Intavolatura [per] la Chitarra del Millioni.</i>	MILLIONI, Pietro (first half of the 17th c.)	<i>Quarta impressione del primo, secondo et terzo libro d'intavolatura</i> and/or <i>Seconda impressione del quarto libro d'intavolatura di chitarra spagnola</i> and/or <i>Prima impressione del quinto libro d'intavolatura di chitarra spagnola</i> and/or <i>Corona del primo, secondo, e terzo libro d'intavolatura di chitarra spagnola</i>	G. Facciotti, Rome, 1627 [RISM A/I: M 2834] G. Facciotti, Rome, 1627 [RISM A/I: M 2838] G. Facciotti, Rome, 1627 [RISM A/I: M 2840] F. Ghidolfi, Milan, 1631 [RISM A/I: M 2835]

71	<i>Regola [per] Sonare sop.^a il Basso Continuo del Sabbatini</i>	SABBATINI, Galeazzo (1597–1662)	<i>Regola facile e breve per sonare sopra il basso continuo nell'organo, manacordo o altro simile stromento</i>	Salvadori, Venice, 1628 [RISM B/V, p. 742d]
72	<i>Cantorino il Canto fermo del Banchieri.</i>	BANCHIERI, Adriano (1568–1634)	<i>Cantorino utile a novizzi, e cberici secolari, e regglari, principianti del canto fermo</i>	B. Cochi, Bologna, 1622 [RISM B/V, p. 113g]
73	<i>La Banchierina del medesimo.</i>	BANCHIERI, Adriano (1568–1634)	<i>La Banchierina</i> [Composition No. 8 in Banchieri's collection <i>Canzoni alla francese a quattro voci per sonare</i>] ³²	R. Amadino, Venice, 1596

³² This collection is completely accessible online ([http://imslp.org/wiki/Canzoni_alla_francese_\(Banchieri,_Adriano\)](http://imslp.org/wiki/Canzoni_alla_francese_(Banchieri,_Adriano))), accessed 25 August 2015).

Table 2: Collections listed in hitherto established lists and bibliographical revisions of the oeuvre by Tomaso Cecchini

<i>INDEPENDENT COLLECTIONS</i>				
Opus No.	Place and year of publication	Title	State of preservation	Source
Op. 1?	Venice, 1612	<i>Amorosi concetti, Madrigali voce sola, libro primo</i>	Complete	Dragan PLAMENAC, "Toma Cecchini", pp. 107–108. [collection noted in the Chapter inventory book (Hk-Ka Sign. XXII/4); see Table 1, No. 39]
Op. 2?				
Op. 3	Venice, 1613	<i>Canti spirituali a 1, 2, 3 voci</i>	Complete	Dragan PLAMENAC, "Toma Cecchini", pp. 108–109. [see Table 1, No. 61]
Op. 4	Venice, 1613	<i>Motetti concertati a 2 voci, libro primo</i>	Fragmentary	Dragan PLAMENAC, "Toma Cecchini", pp. 109–110. [see Table 1, No. 19]
Op. 5?				
Op. 6?				
Op. 7	Venice, 1616	<i>Amorosi concetti, il terzo libro di madrigali</i>	Complete	Dragan PLAMENAC, "Toma Cecchini", pp. 110–111. [see Table 1, No. 64]
Op. 8?				

Op. 9	Venice, 1616	<i>Salmi et motetti a 4 voci, libro primo</i>	Fragmentary	Janez HÖFLER, "Dvije zbirke skladbi Tome Cecchinija", <i>Sveta Cecilija</i> , 40 (1970) 2, pp. 44–45. [see Table 1, No. 15]
Op. 10?				
Op. 11	Venice, 1617	<i>Otto messe brevi a 4 voci</i>	Without basso continuo	Dragan PLAMENAC, "Toma Cecchini", p. 111. [see Table 1, No. 10]
Op. 12	Venice, 1617	<i>Madrigali et canzonette a 3 voci, libro primo</i>	Complete	Dragan PLAMENAC, "Toma Cecchini", p. 112. [see Table 1, No. 47]
Op. 13	Venice, 1617	<i>Motetti a una voce sola</i>	Fragmentary	Bojan Bujrč, "Na tragu jednom izgubljenom djelu Tomasa Cecchinija", <i>Zvuk</i> , 63 (1968), pp. 159–162. [see Table 1, No. 32]
Op. 14	Venice, 1619	<i>Psalmi, missa et alia cantica a 5 voci</i>	Complete	Dragan PLAMENAC, "Toma Cecchini", pp. 112–113. [see Table 1, No. 17]
Op. 15	Venice, 1619	<i>Madrigali et arie a 5 voci, libro primo</i>	Fragmentary	Dragan PLAMENAC, "Toma Cecchini", p. 113. Dragan PLAMENAC, "Ispravci i dopune bibliografiji djela Tome Cecchinija", p. 48. [see Table 1, No. 1]
Op. 16	Venice, 1620	<i>Messa, salmi et motetti a 7 voci</i>	Fragmentary	Janez HÖFLER, "Dvije zbirke skladbi Tome Cecchinija", pp. 44–45. [see Table 1, No. 12]
Op. 17	Venice, 1620/21–1622/23	<i>Messe ariose, a 3 e 4 voci con motetti a 4 e 5 voci, libro secondo</i>	Nominal	Dragan PLAMENAC, "Toma Cecchini", p. 113.

Op. 18	Venice, 1623	<i>Madrigaletti & altri ariosi canti a 2 voci</i>	Nominal	Stanislav TUKSAR, "Prema identifikaciji četiriju, dosad nepoznatih, kasnijih opusa Tomasa Cecchinija iz 1623, 1627, 1630 i 1634 godine", <i>Arti musices</i> , 24 (1993) 1, p. 93. [see Table 1, No. 41]
Op. 19	Venice, 1624	<i>Messe ariose a 3, 4, 5 et 8 voci, libro terzo</i>	Complete	Dragan PLAMENAC, "Toma Cecchini", p. 114. [see Table 1, No. 11]
Op. 20?	Venice, 1627	<i>Amorosa guerra a 1 & 2 voci, cioe Arie, madrigali, sonate, ritornelli & baletti</i>	Nominal	Stanislav TUKSAR, "Prema identifikaciji četiriju", p. 94. [see Table 1, No. 55]
Op. 21?				
Op. 22	Venice, 1627	<i>Missae 3, 4, 5, et 8 vocibus, cum psalmis et aliis canticis, liber quartus</i>	Complete	Dragan PLAMENAC, "Toma Cecchini", pp. 115–116.
Op. 23	Venice, 1628	<i>Cinque messe a 2 voci et 22 motetti, con 8 sonate</i>	Complete	Dragan PLAMENAC, "Toma Cecchini", pp. 116–117. [see Table 1, No. 18]
Op. 24?	Venice, 1630	<i>Arie, madrigali & cantate</i>	Nominal	Stanislav TUKSAR, "Prema identifikaciji četiriju", p. 93. [see Table 1, No. 56]
Op. 25?				
Op. 25?	Venice, 1634	<i>Sonate per uno & due violini con il suo basso continuo</i>	Nominal	Stanislav TUKSAR, "Prema identifikaciji četiriju", p. 93.
Op. 26?				
Op. 27	Venice, 1635	<i>Motetti a voce sola, libro secondo</i>	Complete (lost)	Dragan PLAMENAC, "Toma Cecchini", pp. 117–118. Dragan Plamenac, <i>Ispravci i dopune bibliografiji djela Tome Cecchinija</i> , p. 50.

<i>ANTHOLOGIES</i>	Place and year of publication	Title / Cecchini's compositions included	State of preservation	Source
Ingolstadt, 1626	<i>Deliciae sacrae musicae</i> / eight four-part motets	Fragmentary	Dragan PLAMENAC, "Ispravci i dopune bibliografiji djela Tome Cecchinija", pp. 50–51.	
Antwerp, 1626	<i>Corona sacra connexa ex flosculis musicalibus praestantiss. Autorum</i> /dva četverglasna moteta	Fragmentary	Dragan PLAMENAC, "Toma Cecchini", pp. 114–115. Dragan PLAMENAC, "Ispravci i dopune bibliografiji djela Tome Cecchinija", p. 51.	

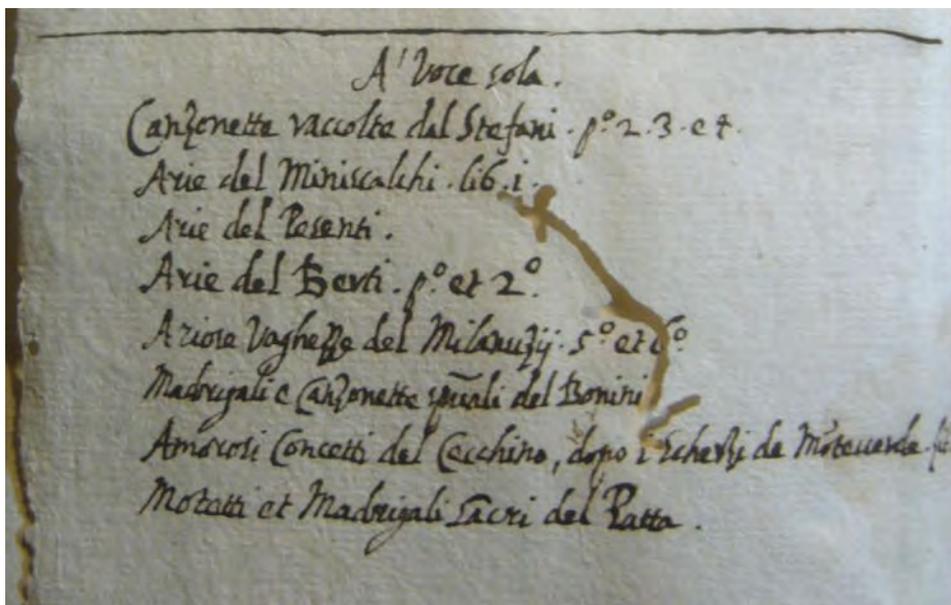
Table 3: Collections omitted from previous lists of works by Tomaso Cecchini

No.	Probable No. of Opus	Probable year of publication	Title	Source
1	op. 1/2, 5, 6, 8, 10	1612/13–1616/17	<i>Lamentationi a 2, con basso</i>	Dragan PLAMENAC, "Toma Cecchini", pp. 262, 119–121. [collection noted in the Chapter inventory book (Hk-Ka Sign. XXII/4); see Table 1, No. 16]
2	op. 1/2, 5, 6, 8, 10	1612/13–1616/17	<i>Vespri con motetti a 4, con basso</i>	Dragan PLAMENAC, "Toma Cecchini", pp. 119–121.
3	op. 5, 6	1613/14–1616/17	<i>Amorosi concetti, libro secondo</i>	Dragan PLAMENAC, "Toma Cecchini", pp. 119–121.
4	op. 5, 6, 8, 10	1613/14–1616/17	<i>Motetti e concerti a 2 con basso, libro secondo</i>	Dragan PLAMENAC, "Toma Cecchini", pp. 119–120. [see Table 1, No. 13]
5	op. 6, 8, 10	1614–1616/7	<i>Sacri concentus, liber tertius</i>	Hk-Ka Sign. XXII/4, p. 20. [see Table 1, No. 20]
6	op. 20/21, 24–26, 28	1624–p1634	<i>Madrigali a 2, con basso</i>	Dragan PLAMENAC, "Toma Cecchini", pp. 119–120.
7	op. 20/21, 24–26, 28	1624–p1634	<i>Note Musicali (Intavolatura d'organo)</i>	Dragan PLAMENAC, "Toma Cecchini", pp. 119–121.
8	op. 20/21, 24–26, 28	1624–p1634	<i>Salmi e motetti a tre, libro primo</i>	Hk-Ka Sign. XXII/4, p. 20. [see Table 1, No. 14]

Appendix
Composers listed in the inventory of musical material
of the Hvar Chapter (1646–1647)

Author	No. of entries
ANONYMOUS	1 (see in Table 1: No. 28)
ARIVIERI, Eustachio	1 (No. 23)
BANCHIERI, Adriano (1568–1634)	2 (Nos. 72, 73)
BARERA, Rodiano (mid-16th ct.–1623)	1 (No. 4)
BERTI, Giovanni Pietro (c1600–1638)	1 (No. 36)
BONINI, Severo (1582–1663)	1 (No. 38)
BRUNELLI, Antonio (1577–1630)	1 (No. 69)
CACCINI, Giulio (1551–1618)	1 (No. 63)
CECCHINI, Tomaso (c1580–1644)	20 (Nos. 1, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 32, 39, 41, 47, 55, 56, 61, 64)
COSTA, Giovanni Paolo (act. 1610–1614)	1 (No. 52)
?FERRARO (FERRARI), Antonio? (act. 1613–23)	1 (No. 58)
?FILIBERO?	1 (No. 48)
GASTOLDI, Giovanni (c1554–1609)	1 (No. 49)
GRANDI, Alessandro (c1586–1630)	2 (Nos. 27, 69)
?GUALTIERI, Alessandro? (?–1655) or Antonio? (?–1649/1650)	1 (No. 24)
MALGARINI, Federico (ed.)	1 (No. 21)
MARENZIO, Luca (c1553–1599)	1 (No. 43)
MELLI, Domenico Maria (act. early 17th ct.)	1 (No. 60)
MILANUZZI, Carlo (?–c1647)	1 (No. 37)
MILLIONI, Pietro (1st half of the 17th ct.)	1 (No. 70)
MINISCALCHI, Guglielmo (act. 1616–1630)	1 (No. 34)
MONTEVERDI, Claudio (1567–1634)	2 (Nos. 2, 50)
NEMBRI, Damjan (1584–1648/9)	2 (Nos. 29, 31)
NENNA, Pomponio (c1556–1608)	1 (No. 53)
PATTA, Serafino (act. 1606–1619)	2 (Nos. 26, 40)
PECCI, Tomaso (1576–1604)	3 (Nos. 44, 45, 46)
?PERSONE?	1 (No. 54)
PESARO, Marino	1 (No. 42)
PESENTI, Martino (c1600–c1648)	1 (No. 35)
PORTA, Ercole (1585–1630)	1 (No. 25)
PRIULI, Giovanni (c1575–1626)	6 (Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 67, 68)
PULITI, Gabriello (c1580–1642/3)	1 (No. 22)
RADESCA (di Foggia), Enrico Antonio (2nd half of the 16th ct.–1625)	1 (No. 62)
RICCIO, Teodoro (c1540–c1600)	1 (No. 3)

SABBATINI, Galeazzo (1597–1662)	2 (Nos. 57, 71)
STEFANI, Giovanni (ed.) (act. 1618–1626)	1 (No. 33)
TUZZI (DE TUTIIS), Vincenzo (1st half of the 17th ct.)	1 (No. 9)
VECCHI, Orazio (c1550–1605)	2 (No. 65, 66)
?VISCONTI, Domenico? (?–1626)	1 (No. 51)
?ZUCCHINI, Gregorio? (c1540/c1560–p1615)	1 (No. 30)



Section *A' Voce sola* in the inventory of musical material
(Hvar Chapter Archives, sign. XXII/4, p. 20)

Summary

A manuscript kept in the Chapter Archives in Hvar (Dalmatia, region of Southern Croatia) contains a list of books and music material owned by the Chapter of the Hvar Cathedral in 1646/47. Although now lost, the recorded music titles bear witness to the quantity and quality of music in the town of Hvar (and generally in Dalmatia) during the 1st half of the 17th century. This (music) inventory testifies not only to the presence of contemporary Italian (mostly Venetian early-Baroque) music literature on the island; it also reveals two titles of Tomaso Cecchini's to date unknown opuses, added here to the revised list of Cecchini's works. Considering the importance of this source in the context of Croatian music historiography and (early) Baroque culture, a focal point of this article is an overview of the inventory's musical content. It is presented here by way of a table containing transcribed titles and additional details on the authors and printed editions, which were formerly a part of the Cathedral Chapter's music collection.

Part two

MUSIC MIGRATION, ADAPTATION
AND ASSIMILATION

Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska

Sources on the history of music at the courts of the Polish Vasas preserved in the Skokloster castle (Sweden)

Skokloster castle, built in the third quarter of the seventeenth century by Carl Gustaf Wrangel (1613–76), field marshal in the wars against Denmark and Poland waged by Sweden during the reign of Charles X Gustav, holds a collection of war booty looted in those countries, consisting of furniture, paintings, various artefacts (including musical instruments), books and manuscripts. They include manuscripts and old prints looted in Poland during the Swedish invasion known as the Deluge.¹ Polish scholars have been aware of the existence of those sources since the nineteenth century,² but until recently the Skokloster documents have barely been explored by his LEITSCH torians and historians of literature, whereas musicologists have ignored them altogether. This is despite the fact that an inventory

¹ Lena RANGSTRÖM, *Krigsbyten på Skokloster* [Warbooties at Skokloster] (Skokloster-studier 13), Bålsta: Skoklosters slott, [1978].

² Following efforts by prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski, some of the *polonica* were returned at the time and deposited in the Czartoryski Library in Puławy; from the 1840s onwards, a number of historians and their teams would travel to Sweden to create an inventory of the part of the collection that remained in Sweden. See Ewa TEODOROWICZ-HELLMAN, “Polonica in the Swedish National Archives – Riksarkivet. The Skokloster Collection”, in: *Polonica w Archiwum Narodowym Szwecji. Kolekcja Skokloster i inne zbiory / Polonica in the Swedish National Archives. The Skokloster Collection and Other Materials*, eds. Alina Nowicka-Jeżowa – Ewa Teodorowicz-Hellman (Stockholm Slavic Papers 14), Stockholm: Stockholm Universitet. Slavska Institutionen, 2007, pp. 9–24.

of a collection of *polonica*³ was created in the second half of the nineteenth century, following the transfer of a large collection of manuscripts from Skokloster to the Riksarkivet in Stockholm, and despite the many years of efforts to catalogue the old prints (most importantly, a box containing a particularly large number of Polish-language editions or sources of Polish provenance), which started around 1970 after the castle and its holdings had passed into the care of the Swedish state. Following energetic efforts by Professor Ewa Teodorowicz-Hellman of the Institute of Slavic Studies in Stockholm and her Swedish collaborators (archivists and librarians, notably Eva Berndtsson and Elisabeth Westin Berg), and by Polish historians of literature, represented by Professor Alina Nowicka-Jeżowa from the Collegium Artes Liberales of Warsaw University, the sources preserved in Skokloster castle are currently being studied with increasing intensity. Results of their research that have appeared in print include catalogues of old prints,⁴ information about the contents of the manuscripts,⁵ editions of conference papers devoted to the collection,⁶ and the subsequent publications of literary works relevant to Polish culture in a series started by Alina Nowicka-Jeżowa, titled *Polonika in Riksarkivet. Skoklostersammlingen*.

Further research is needed to identify and catalogue the collection of prints preserved in the castle library, which holds approximately 30,000 items. The library remains in its original location in Skokloster and is likely to contain other documents related to Poland and awaiting identification.

Based on the currently available studies and a brief preliminary research conducted in the Riksarkivet in Stockholm, in this paper I want to draw

³ A typescript inventory titled "Skoklostersamlingen. Polska brev och handlingar, Riksarkivet" [Skokloster Collection. Polish letters and manuscripts, the Swedish State Archive] 1959.

⁴ Maciej EDER, *The Polonica Collection from Skokloster castle*, ed. Ewa Teodorowicz-Hellman, Stockholm: Stockholm Universitet. Slaviska Institutionen, 2008 (Stockholm Slavic Papers, 16); *Polonika ze zbiorów Zamku Skokloster. Katalog* [*Polonica in the Skokloster castle. A catalogue*], prepared by Maciej Eder, collaboration Elisabeth Westin Berg, ed. Dariusz Chemperek (Humanizm. Idee, nurty, paradygmaty humanistyczne w kulturze polskiej [Humanism. Ideas, developments, and paradigms in Polish culture]), Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Neriton, 2008.

⁵ Alicja NOWICKA-JEŻOWA, Maria WICHOWA, Michał STRASZEWICZ, "Przegląd zawartości kodeksów kolekcji Skokloster. Rękopisy E 8596–8608, 8610,1–2" [A review of codices preserved in the Skokloster collection. Manuscripts E 8596–8608, 8610,1–2], in: *Polonika w zbiorach Archiwum Narodowego Szwecji* [*Polonica in the Swedish State Archive*] (Polonika w Riksarkivet. Skoklostersamlingen 1), Warszawa: Wydział Polonistyki UW, 2006, pp. 43–115.

⁶ *Polonika w Archiwum Narodowym Szwecji. Kolekcja Skokloster i inne zbiory / Polonica in the Swedish National Archives. The Skokloster Collection and Other Materials*, eds. A. Nowicka-Jeżowa – E. Teodorowicz-Hellman, "Polonica in the Swedish National Archives – Riksarkivet".

attention to highly valuable and unique sources that broaden our knowledge about musicians and music life at the courts of Polish kings from the Vasa dynasty.

1. Efforts to recruit Italian musicians made by Sigismund III Vasa in his final years as revealed by the manuscript sources preserved in Skokloster castle

In the collection of *polonica*, separated from the Skokloster collection and currently preserved in the Riksarkivet in Stockholm, there are two items of particular interest for a researcher studying the history of music in the Polish-Lithuanian State in the seventeenth century: items E 8601 and E 8604B. Among other documents, they contain letters by Cosimo de Torres (papal nuntio to Poland in the years 1621–22, a cardinal since 1622, who held the position of the cardinal protector of Poland in the Roman Curia), written mainly from Rome in the years 1629–31 to Sigismund III Vasa, his secretary Tobiasz Małachowski,⁷ and to Paweł Piasecki, bishop of Kamieniec, whom de Torres previously knew as a royal secretary;⁸ also, the source contains letters from the same period written by a certain Giovanni Domenico Orsi,⁹ of whom we have no further information, and by Domenico Gelsomini, formerly a musician employed by Sigismund III, to Tobiasz Małachowski. These writings are a record of efforts made by the Polish king towards the end of his life (he died in 1632) to supplement the royal ensemble with other Italian musicians, in addition to those already employed.¹⁰ They are an excellent testimony to the monarch's

⁷ At the same time he held the dignity of archdeacon of Warsaw, and from 12 June 1630 he was the abbot of the Cistercian monastery in Paradyż. He died on 4 October 1638.

⁸ Paweł Piasecki (1579–1649), a royal secretary (around 1613–27) and bishop of Kamieniec (1627–40).

⁹ The *abate* Orsi from Parma entered the service of prince Ladislaus probably as early as in the 1620s, and became king Ladislaus IV's agent in Rome after the death of Sigismund III.

¹⁰ Some details of the king's efforts must have been known to Jan SEREDYKA, the author of a study titled *Rzeczpospolita w ostatnich latach panowania Zygmunta III (1629–1632). Zarys wewnętrznych dziejów politycznych* [Poland in the final years of the reign of Sigismund III (1629–32). An outline of internal political history] (Opole: WSP, 1978); in its summary, without giving any references or details, he wrote: "Sigismund III deserves [...] admiration for his unrelenting diligence and exceptionally versatile interests. Even in the harshest conditions and terminally ill, he was able to monitor activities as diverse as the content of every sentence in a message to a local parliament and recruiting singers for the royal choir in Italy." (p. 213).

strong involvement in the matters related to the ensemble and to the great difficulty in persuading musicians to depart from Italy on a dangerous journey to Poland, which would take them through territories then ravaged by the Thirty Years' War. Also, the letters clearly reveal the loyalty to the Polish monarch shown by Cosimo de Torres, whose personal involvement and long-lasting efforts to find eligible candidates and persuade them to cross the Alps, described in a dozen or so letters, were probably an attempt to repay his debt of gratitude to Sigismund III, who had used his influence with pope Gregory XV to make de Torres a cardinal.

The surviving letters discussed here are certainly a mere fragment of a more extensive and prolonged correspondence, taking place in the 1620s, in which matters related to the search for musicians for Sigismund's court were touched upon.¹¹ The action undertaken by the royal agent Antonio Taroni,¹² a native of Parma, and formerly (in the period from around 1601 to 1607) a singer in the royal ensemble, has been known to scholars for a long time from Claudio Monteverdi's letter to Alessandro Striggio of 13 June 1627. In the letter, Monteverdi mentions a 24-year-old singer, who had moved from Bologna to Venice in an attempt to escape Taroni's persuasions ("tal Tarroni che conduce musica in Polonia"¹³). Some authors erroneously interpret the letter as evidence that Taroni was staying in Poland at the time.¹⁴ Information

¹¹ It is possible that the recruitment action started immediately after the nuntio's return to Rome, which is suggested by the contents of the letter sent by him to Sigismund III on 22 January 1623. In the letter, evidence is found of attempts to recruit Stefano Landi to the royal ensemble; see Walter LEITSCH, *Das Leben am Hof König Sigismunds III. Von Polen*, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009, vol. 2, p. 929.

¹² For more information on Taroni, see Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, "Starania biskupa wrocławskiego Karola Habsburga o pozyskanie włoskich śpiewaków (1621–1622)" [Efforts by bishop of Wrocław Charles of Habsburg to recruit Italian musicians (1621–22)], *Res Facta Nova* 6 (15), 2003 (*Studia dedykowane Paolo Emilio Carapezzy na Jego sześćdziesiąte piąte urodziny przez przyjaciół sycylijskich i polskich* [Studies in honour of Paolo Emilio Carapezza on his 65th birthday, contributed by his friends from Sicily and Poland]), pp. 127–134; eadem, *Muzyczne dwory polskich Wazów* [Music courts of the Polish Vasas], Warszawa: Semper, 2007, pp. 43, 217.

¹³ (the Taroni, who is bringing music to Poland). See Claudio MONEVERDI, *Lettere, dediche e prefazioni*, ed. Domenico De' Paoli, Roma: De Santis, 1973, p. 265. The letter is quoted (in Polish translation) in: Anna and Zygmunt M. SZWEYKOWSCY, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej polskich Wazów* [Italians in the royal ensemble of the Polish Vasas], Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1997, p. 83.

¹⁴ See e.g. Iain FENLON, "Taroni [Tarroni, Tarone], Antonio", in: NG2, vol. 25, pp. 105–106.

about the circumstances in which the recruitment action by the musician-agent¹⁵ ended, enabling us to establish the approximate date of his death, is included in the letter sent by Giovanni Domenico Orsi to Sigismund III from Rome on 20 January 1629:

Don Pietro Martire Tarone mi scrive ch'io dia parte a V.M.^{ta} della disgratia di **Antonio Tarone** suo fr[at]ello, il quale questo decembre passato si amalò e morse in Milano, dice di fastidio per haver dato diversi denari di V.M.^{ta} a certi musici che volea condurre a V.M.^{ta} et che quelli poi li han[no] mancato, e se ne son fuggiti con li denari che li haveva dato [...].¹⁶

It is therefore evident that Antonio Taroni died in Milan in December 1628, which does not contradict biographical information found in lexicons, according to which his collection *Messe da capella* for five voice-parts and basso continuo was published in Venice in 1646, especially as this edition was a reprint (with b.c. added) of the volume *Il primo libro di messe a 5* (Venezia 1614) by the same composer.¹⁷

It is not clear whether cardinal de Torres became involved in the search for musicians only after Taroni's death, or whether his recruitment action progressed simultaneously. It appears, however, that the second option is more likely, because the correspondence preserved in Stockholm confirms that in

¹⁵ He was an agent not only of king Sigismund III Vasa of Poland, but also of his brothers-in-law: Emperor Ferdinand II and bishop of Wroclaw and Passau Charles of Habsburg. See Barbara PRZYBYSCZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, "Starania".

¹⁶ (Pietro Martire Tarone writes to me with the request to inform Your Majesty about the misfortune suffered by his brother Antonio Tarone, who fell ill and died in Milan in December last year; according to Pietro Tarone, his brother died of grief caused by the fact that he had given money entrusted to him by Your Majesty to some musicians whom he wanted to appear before Your Majesty, and who had failed to keep their word and escaped with the money) [this and other translations of Italian quotations by the author]. Stockholm, Riksarkivet: Skoklostersamlingen (henceforth S-Sr: Sk) E 8601, fol. 72r.

¹⁷ Giuseppe Ottavio PITONI, *Notitia de' contrapuntisti e compositori di musica* [1713], ed. Cesarino Ruini, Firenze: Olschki, 1988 (Studi e testi per la storia della musica 6), p. 235; see also e.g. Iain FENLON, "Taroni". Although Antonio Taroni's connections with Mantua are beyond dispute, and they were most intense for about 10 years from 1607 or 1608, Pitoni seems to be wrong when he describes Taroni as a "mantovano" in the literal sense (which is why many authors give Mantua as the place of Taroni's birth, sometimes with reservations). The fact that his career started in the Madonna della Steccata Church in Parma and that a testimony by one of his contemporaries, the papal nuntio to Poland Francesco Diotalevi, described Taroni's stay in Warsaw in early 1620, referring to him as "Antonio Turoni parmigiano già musico di SM" (see Walter LEITSCH, *Das Leben*, vol. 1, p. 333) make it possible to conclude that Taroni was a native of Parma.

late April of 1629 Sigismund III expressed interest in employing at his court an anonymous Servite Friar, a contralto singer then connected with the San Marcello Church in Rome, of whose existence the king must have been aware beforehand. In a letter from Rome dated 23 June 1629, Cosimo de Torres informed Tobiasz Małachowski:

Intendo dalla lettera di Vostra Signoria de 28 Aprile il desiderio di Sua Maestà d'havere al suo servitio quel **P[ad]re Servita che canta il contralto in S. Marcello**, e farò l'opera che sarà possibile per disporlo ad accettare il partito, che se gl'offerisce, ma dubito d'incontrare delle difficoltà, perché havendolo altre volte ricercato dell'istesso, egli ha recusato di venire. Con tutto ciò non lascerò d'affaticarmi per persuadergli [sic!] ad accettar il servitio, e partito offertoli dalla Maestà Sua e di quelli riporterò ne darò conto a Vostra Signoria [...].¹⁸

The summer had almost passed, and the contralto had not yet departed on the journey to Poland. On the other hand, Cosimo de Torres in all probability received news from the royal court (as of today, I have not found the letter in which it was included) that Gelsomini, a singer from the ensemble of Sigismund III, was returning to his native country; the letters preserved in the collection reveal that the singer's first name was Domenico. This was clearly the same Gelsomini whose activity as a singer at the Polish royal court is confirmed by financial records from the so-called Swedish Extranea, a batch of sources I have already referred to in my research.¹⁹ In it, Gelsomini is listed (without mentioning his first name) in the records from the period 1627–29 (in June 1627, he brought two new alto singers from Italy; in June 1629, having received his wages for June and July on the 19th, he returned to his homeland; at that time he earned 44 florins a month), and I identified him erroneously as Michelagnolo Gelsomini, who performed there as a singer before 1625. It has been established that Domenico was born in Cortona and during the same

¹⁸ (As I gather from Your Honour's letter of 29 April, the King (His Majesty) wishes to secure the services of this Servite Friar who sings as a contralto in the San Marcello Church, and I pledge to do my best to persuade him to departure, but I anticipate difficulties in doing so, because so far he has been refusing to meet with me. Despite these difficulties, I shall not cease in my efforts to persuade him to enter the service and to accept the offer of His Majesty). S-Sr: Sk E 8604B, fol. 346r.

¹⁹ Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, "Muzyka i finanse. Nieznane źródła do dziejów życia muzycznego na dworze królewskim polskich Wazów I" [Music and finances. Unknown sources on the history of music life at the royal courts of the Polish Vasas], *Muzyka*, 1999/1, p. 91; eadem, *Muzyczne dwory*, p. 171.

period, at least in the years 1618–21, he was an envoy representing the Grand duke of Tuscany in Poland.²⁰

In a letter written by Cosimo de Torres in Rome, dated 15 September 1629, to Paweł Piasecki, until recently a royal secretary and the abbot of the Cistercian monastery in Mogiła at the time of writing the letter, the cardinal protector of Poland wrote:

Il sig. [Domenico] Gelsomini non è comparso ancora, e quando comparisca procurarò intender da lui il senso di Sua Maestà intorn'alli **musici**, e conforme a quello si cercherà che resti servita, fra tanto come le scrissi con le passate, s'è fermato un **contralto**, e sto in speranza di poter haver anco un **castratino**. Mi si presenta insieme occasione di poter haver un **basso buono**, ma sto perplesso, s'io deva fermarlo o no poichè non ne tengo commessione, ma credendo per la difficoltà che c'è in trovar ogn'hora di questa sorte di gente, che Sua Maestà sia per riceverlo in bene, mi risolverò facilmente a pigliarlo, tanto più perchè venendo in compagnia, verranno più volentieri [...].²¹

More than a month later, in a letter dated 20 October, while still in Rome the cardinal described to the same recipient the following terms of hiring a contralto and a castrato, without mentioning the bass singer recruited at the same time:

doppo diverse difficoltà si sono stabiliti un **contralto** et un **castratino** con provisione di sedici scudi il mese di moneta romana per ogn'uno di loro che sono tallari dicidotto [sic!], e se gli sono dati scudi settanta d'imprestito per ciascheduno a buon conto della detta provisione della quale vuole ogn'uno di essi sessanta scudi l'anno in Roma, et oltre a questo se gli conteranno scudi cento a ciascuno per il viaggio, e partiranno quest'altra settimana con certi frati Agostiniani, che se ne tornano [...].²²

²⁰ Girolamo MANCINI, *Contributo dei Cortonesi alla cultura italiana*, Firenze 1898, pp. 70, 125. Domenico Gelsomini's accounts of his sojourn in Poland sent to the grand duke of Tuscany were published in: *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Mediceo Florentino* III pars, eds. Valerianus Meysztowicz – Wanda Wyhowska De Andreis (Elementa ad Fontium Editionis, 28), Romae 1972; Walter LEITSCH, *Das Leben*, vol. 1, pp. 281, 322–323, vol. 2, p. 924.

²¹ (Mister [Domenico] Gelsomini has not arrived yet, but when he turns up I will tell him to find out what the King (His Majesty) thinks about hiring new musicians, and the search will proceed accordingly. In the meantime, as I have already communicated [in the letters], a contralto singer has been employed, and I hope to hire a young castrato, too. Also, an opportunity arises to win over a good bass singer, but I am in two minds about hiring him because I have not been instructed to look for bass singers; on the other hand, I believe that knowing how hard it is to find such persons immediately, the King (His Majesty) will be willing to employ him, so I will find it easy to decide to take the bass singer with me, especially because the musicians will be more willing to travel in a larger company [...]). S-Sr: Sk E 8604B, fol. 396r–396v.

²² (despite various obstacles, an agreement has been reached with the contralto and the castrato singers, each of whom has been offered a monthly wage of 16 Roman scudos, or 18

Later in the letter and in an annotation added in his own handwriting under the text already completed and ready to be sent, de Torres adds that it was very difficult to persuade the musicians to set out on the journey and that the castrato eventually turned the offer down.²³

Further negotiations seem to have been effective, because a week later (a letter from Rome, dated 27 October 1629), the cardinal wrote to Tobiasz Małachowski, listing the same conditions (16 Roman scudos, a sum then equivalent to 18 German thalers, per month) and, borrowed against the wages: “a’ contralto scudi settanta, et al castratino scudi novanta, che però dovranno scontarli quando saranno in Polonia, e di più se gl’è promesso della medesima moneta scudi sessanta in Roma ogn’anno, sicche in Polonia non dovranno haver più scudi cento quaranta e se gli daranno cento scudi per uno per le spese del viaggio, per il quale s’incammineranno un giorno di quest’altra settimana alla volta di Venetia [...] al sig. Vincenzo Bianchi [...]”.²⁴

Despite the agreement and the fact that they received the agreed advance wages, the musicians never set out on a journey to Poland, and the castrato attempted to disappear with the money, which landed him in prison. An account of these events was given by Cosimo de Torres in a letter to Tobiasz Małachowski written in Rome on 10 November 1629:

all'improvviso **il castratino** s'è pentito, e non solo ha ricusato di venire, ma ancora andava fuggendo per non restituire il danaro, ond'io mi risolsi hier l'altro di farlo metter prigione, dove si trova, e starà sinché dia sicurezza di venir al servizio della Maestà Sua o restituisca il danaro, di che m'è parso dar avviso a Vostra Signoria, acciò lo rappresenti a Sua Maestà, e sappia che non si perde tempo in procurar di servirla, e che se si troverà altro castratino in luogo di questo s'inviarà, quando che ne verrà per adesso il **contralto** solo. Scritto questo che s'è fatto, è passato per mano del signor Giovanni Carbone, che vuol ordinariamente servir Sua Maestà in queste provisioni de musici, e vi s'è trovato presente ancora il signor **[Domenico] Gelsomini**; e l'uno, e l'altro

thalers; in addition, if they both are given a loan of 70 scudos against the agreed wages, of which they want to receive 60 scudos while in Rome, and if they receive 100 scudos each for the journey, they will depart next week with a group of Augustinians, who are returning from Rome [...]. S-Sr: Sk E 8604B, fol. 398r.

²³ See above, fol. 398v.

²⁴ (sixty scudos for the contralto and ninety for the castrato, which they are supposed to settle, however, upon their arrival in Poland; moreover, if they are promised sixty scudos in the same currency in Rome, as in Poland they are not going to need more than a hundred and forty scudos a year, and another one hundred scudos for the expenses during their journey, which they will begin some day next week by going to Venice [...] to Mister Vincenzo Bianchi [...]). S-Sr: Sk E 8604B, fol. 348r.

testificaranno le difficoltà, che s'incontrano in [fol. 350v:] trovar **musicci**, che vogliano in questi tempi uscir d'Italia [...].²⁵

Indeed, in a letter dated the day before, written to Tobiasz Małachowski, Domenico Gelsomini not only confirms the huge difficulties in persuading the musicians to leave Italy for Poland and cardinal Cosimo de Torres' intense efforts to fulfil the wishes of Sigismund III, but also mentions facts previously unknown to musicologists. The new information concerns musicians of whom scholars have not known to date (a boy singer, later learning how to play the pipe organ, named Jandris or Andrea, a group of organists including a man named Cesare), who left the royal court while the chapel master Asprilio Pacelli (d. 1623) was still alive and returned (or actually escaped) to their native country.²⁶ Also, the letter mentions Antonio Taroni's initiative, informing about the musicians recruited by him in Parma, including a singer who embezzled royal money:

In questo tempo che son stato in Roma sono andato sentendo le musiche di queste capelle, se ci fusse qualche cosa a proposito per il servitio di Sua Maestà Serenissima, ma vedo che li buoni non si vogliono muovere. Haveva l'illustrissimo sig. cardinal de Torres fatto trovare **un castratino** per servitio di detta Maestà assai buono, e già il sig. Carbone haveva fatte con lui le conditioni, et haveva preso denari, con conditione che

²⁵ (unexpectedly, the castrato had changed his mind and not only refused to depart, but attempted to flee to avoid returning the money, so the day before yesterday I decided to have him put in prison, where he will remain until we have certainty that he will either enter the service of the King (His Majesty) or return the money; I inform Your Honour about it with the request to forward the news to the King (His Majesty) and to assure Him that no time is being wasted by us in his service, and that once another castrato has been found, he will be despatched to Poland, whereas now the contralto will go on his own. A letter describing these events passed through the hands of Mister Giovanni Carbone, who wants to serve the King (His Majesty) in matters related to the musicians' remuneration; Mister [Domenico] Gelsomini is also with us here; both gentlemen testify to the difficulties in finding musicians willing to leave Italy these days [...]).S-Sr: Sk E 8604B, fol. 350r–350v.

²⁶ It appears that the musicians in question are not mentioned in any currently known sources on the activities of the chapel of king Sigismund III. It cannot be excluded, however, that Cesare was identical with an organist active in Cracow from not later than 1617 until 1649. In the sources used by Stanisław Tomkiewicz ("Do historii muzyki w Krakowie" [On the history of music in Cracow], *Rocznik Krakowski* 9, 1907, pp. 209–212) the organist was listed as Jan Kanty Cesari (Cesar, Cesarz, Caesary). In the ensembles of Sigismund III, Ladislaus IV and Charles Ferdinand Vasa, one of the members was an instrumentalist of unknown calling named Hieronim Cesari (Caesarius, Cesary, Cezary, Czesary), a son of Hieronim and Elżbieta Alantówna of Lviv, who died between 1669 and 1676, see: Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *Muzyczne dwory*, p. 161.

non piacendoli di andare, il putto dovesse render indietro li denari; si è pentito due o tre volte, e finalmente si è dichiarato a requisitione di sua madre di non voler più venire, non ostante molte diligenze, che in ciò ha fatto fare il detto Illustrissimo sig. Cardinale il quale veramente fa ogni sforzo, acciò con qualche parte buona Sua Maestà restasse servita. Credo verrà **un contralto** con il padre priore di S. Martino non l'ho potuto sentire, per esser'io di partenza per Napoli. Quel **contralto**, che doveva menare **il sig. Taroni** a cotesta corte da Parma, é adesso a Roma, e sta a San Rocco di Ripetta, dove credo sia capellano; mi dicono, che non canta sicuro, ma che ha assai buona voce [...], e quell'altro **che suona il cornetto**, quel pure lui volevo menare, si ritrova ancora alla corte del Duca di Parma. Di tutto questo tengo relatione da quel **Jandris, o Andrea, che era putto di capella di Sua Maestà** appresso alla bona memoria del sig. **Asprilio** [Pacelli – B.P.-J.], che venne in Italia con li organisti fuggitissi; con il quale ho parlato alla longa, con prometterli il perdono in nome di detta Maestà se egli tornando si promette di mostrare li haver fatto qualche profitto o riuscita. Ha per ancora desiderio di imparare e star per qualche tempo in Venetia appresso a quel **Cesare che guastò l'organo del Choro di Sua Maestà** e poi ha animo di tornare, e dando alla medesima qualche satisfattione nel sonare, di ottenere il perdono [...].²⁷

During the next few months, the search for musicians to join the ensemble of the Polish king made no headway at all. Neither did the already recruited contralto singer travel to Poland, which was justified, apart from other considerations, by the time of the year (unless absolutely necessary, long journeys to the North were not undertaken in late autumn and in winter).

²⁷ (Since my arrival in Rome, I have been going to performances of various ensembles, hoping to find someone willing to enter the service of (His Majesty) the king, but I can see now that the good (musicians) are loathe to leave. The Most Serene cardinal de Torres found a quite suitable young castrato to serve the King, and Mr Carbone reached an agreement with him and gave him money, on condition that he must return it if he refused to go; the boy changed his mind several times and eventually – at the demand of his mother – declared that he did not want to leave, despite all the effort invested by the afore-mentioned Most Serene cardinal, who is truly trying his hardest to fulfil the expectations of (His Majesty) the king. I hope that a certain contralto, whom I have not had an opportunity to listen to because of my trip to Naples, will leave with the prior of St Martin's church. The contralto whom Mr Taroni was supposed to bring to the court [of Sigismund III] from Parma is currently in Rome, at the San Rocco di Ripetta [monastery], where he holds the position of the chaplain, I think; they say his performance is uneven, but he has a good voice [...] and the other one, a cornettist, whom Taroni also wanted to send to Poland, is still at the court of the duke of Parma. I received all the news from a Jandris or Andrea, who sang as a boy in the royal ensemble managed by the late Asprilio [Pacelli] and came to Italy with the organists who had escaped; I had a long talk with him, and promised him that he would be forgiven by the King if he proved on his return that as a musician he benefited [from the escape] in one way or another. At present, he wants to continue learning for some time and to spend some time in Venice with Cesare, who broke the King's pipe organs, and then he intends to return and use his performance to obtain royal forgiveness [...]. S-Sr: Sk E 8604B, fol. 326r–326v.

But from the next surviving letter of cardinal de Torres, written in Rome on 16 March 1630 to Tobiasz Małachowski, we learn that another castrato had been impossible to find, while the contralto was now refusing to go, waiting for an opportunity to travel with a Pole:

Per quante diligenze io habbia fatte per cercar qualche **castratino** per Sua Maestà, non m'è stato possibile ancora di trovare alcuno. Sta ben pronto **il contralto**, ch'io fermai per venirsene a cotesta volta, ma perché teme mettersi in viaggio solo vuol aspettar l'occasione del passaggio di qualche Polacco [...].²⁸

In a letter of 13 April 1630, written to the same addressee, de Torres, as if justifying the contralto's behaviour, gives various reasons why travelling was dangerous at the time, mentioning marauding troops and the epidemic they spread;²⁹ on 4 May, he informs that the musician, not having found a companion, will travel to Poland alone;³⁰ on 18 May he writes that the departure will take place two days later, while the cardinal will persist in his efforts to find other musicians:

Posdomattina partirà a' cotesta volta [in Polonia – B.P.-J.] quel **musicò contralto**, che fu fermato già è tanto tempo, e vien solo, perché per le difficoltà scritte tante volte non si son potuti trovar altri musici. Continuerò nondimeno le diligenze per trovarne [...].³¹

The last of the letters concerning the search for Italian musicians for the ensemble of Sigismund III in the years 1629–30 and preserved in the Skoklostersamlingen kept in Riksarkivet in Stockholm clearly testifies to the utter failure of these endeavours. At the same time, it is the earliest known source originating in Rome to confirm that the news of the death of Giovanni Francesco Anerio, the chapel

²⁸ (Despite my intense efforts to find some young castrato for (His Majesty) the King, I have not managed to find a suitable person so far. The contralto whom I have persuaded to depart in this direction [to Poland] is ready to go, but is afraid to go on his own and wants to wait until an opportunity arises to travel with some Polish companion). S-Sr: Sk E 8604B, fol. 354r–354v.

²⁹ S-Sr: Sk E 8604B, fol. 356r–356v, here fol. 356r: “particularmente in questo tempo, che passi sono pericolosi per tante soldatesche e la maggior parte di essi quardati per i sospetti di peste”.

³⁰ S-Sr: Sk E 8604B, fol. 362r.

³¹ (The day after tomorrow, a contralto will set out on a journey in this direction [to Poland]; he has been kept here for a long time now, and is going on his own because it has been impossible to find other musicians owing to the difficulties I have written about many times. Anyway, I will persevere in my attempts to find them [...]). S-Sr: Sk E 8601, fol. 99r.

master of the Polish king, had reached the Eternal City. On 27 July 1630, Cosimo de Torres wrote to Tobiasz Małachowski in response to his letter of 13 June:

Intendo [...] dalla medesima lettera il mal termine c'hanno usato l'**Anerio** e quel **Corrado** musici in partirsi dal servitio della cappella di Sua Maestà, e non me ne maraviglio, perché sono musici, et operano conforme pare, che dobbiamo prometterci da chi esercita questa professione, e la stravaganza fattasi da questi dovrà esser argomento di scusa per quella che son fatte a me da quei, ch'io cerco, e procuro mandar a cotesto servitio, come particolarmente fu quella, che mi fece **quel castratino**, e come questa, che m'ha fatta hora il **contralto** ch'ultimamente incamina a cotesta volta, poiché questo doppio esser arrivato a Firenze s'è pentito, et è ritornato indietro risoluto di non voler venir più per rispetto delli passi così pericolosi per le guerre, e per la peste, ch'ormai tien oppressa tutta l'Italia, e delli danari, che gli furno sborsati, n'ha restituiti la maggior parte, e gl'altri ha promesso restituirli in breve tempo. **L'Anerio** intendo esser morto in Svizzari [sic!]³² mentre veniva qua, e se **Corrado** c'arriverà, procurerò, ch'egli riceva la mortificatione, che merita per essersi partito con termine tanto inconveniente da cotesto servitio [...].³³

It is absolutely to be regretted that we do not know the content of Tobiasz Małachowski's letter of 13 June 1630, in which he most probably described the circumstances in which Giovanni Francesco Anerio and Corrado de' Priori³⁴ quit their service at the court of Sigismund III. Neither do we know whether cardinal Cosimo de Torres actually continued his efforts to dispatch some musicians to Poland. Recently, it has emerged that as early as in January of 1631

³² Anerio died in Austria in Graz (he was buried on 12 June 1630). See Hellmut FEDERHOFER, "Ein Beitrag zur Biographie von Giovanni Francesco Anerio", *Die Musikforschung*, 1949, p. 210 et seq.

³³ (I learn [...] from the same letter about [Giovanni Francesco] Anerio's and Corrado's [de Priori] reprehensible conduct in abandoning the service of His Majesty's chapel, and I am not surprised, because they are musicians and behave in such a way as could be expected of people pursuing their trade; their weird actions go some way towards explaining what happens to me during my quest and efforts to send [musicians] to serve [Sigismund III]; I am referring in particular to what that young castrato did, as well as to the contralto, who eventually set out on a journey in this direction [i.e. to Poland], but then on reaching Florence changed his mind and returned, having been discouraged by the dangers such as war and the plague, which has already spread to every part of Italy; as for the money that he had received, he returned most of it and promised to return the rest shortly. I gather that Anerio died in Switzerland [sic!] on his way here, and if Corrado arrives, I will see to it that he receives a fitting punishment for abandoning his duties in such an inappropriate manner [...]). S-Sr: Sk E 8604B, fol. 364r-364v.

³⁴ A singer (alto) from Rome, present in the records of the Polish royal court from 1628, but probably active there before that date (not later than in 1628 he married a native of New Warsaw, widow Jadwiga Striharka). On his return to the Eternal City, he joined the Cappella Giulia in 1631. See Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *Muzyczne dwory*, p. 204.

the king was engaged in correspondence in which he requested that a new chapel master be recruited for his ensemble; among the eligible candidates the king saw (possibly influenced by cardinal de Torres) was the former chapel master of the Cappella Giulia, Vincenzo Ugolini,³⁵ who was then without employment. Nevertheless, the musician was never recruited for the Polish monarch's ensemble.

* * *

In addition, the collection of sources discussed here contains other unrelated writings significant for historians of music interested in music in seventeenth-century Poland. One of them is a letter written to the king in Florence by Alessandro Cilli, a former singer at the court of Sigismund III and an envoy of the grand duke of Tuscany, and dated 24 November 1629; in the letter, Cilli requests the monarch to prompt cardinal [Antonio] Santacroce, nuntio to Poland in the years 1627–30, to remind cardinal [Francesco] Barberini of his promise made to prince Ladislaus during his sojourn in Rome (at the turn of 1624 and 1625) to remember Cilli should the canonry of Pistoia become vacant. The former royal musician and ex-agent begins his letter by declaring his trust in the royal kindness of Sigismund III, in whose service he had spent 21 years (“Confidato nella clemenza di Vostra Maestà, e nella mia servitù di ventun anno, la supplico a volermi far gratia [...]”).³⁶

A document of certain importance for our knowledge about the life and work of Franciszek Lilius (Francesco Gigli) is the letter of 24 September 1649, written by Jan Sobiepan Zamoyski to Władysław Dominik Zasławski-Ostrogski; the author of the letter proposes Lilius (referred to in the letter as “the chapel master of the Cracow cathedral” without giving his name) for the canon's office in Tarnów (the canonry of the Holy Virgin at Tarnów castle),³⁷ the position which the musician eventually assumed in 1652, replacing Kasper Branwicki, who had died in an epidemic.³⁸

³⁵ Preserved in Moscow (Rossijskaja Gosudarstvennaja Biblioteka) and discovered by Henryk Lulewicz, a letter sent in this connection by Sigismund III to Stanisław Mąkowski is quoted in: Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *Marcin Mielczewski and Music under the Patronage of the Polish Vasas* (Eastern European Studies in Musicology, 3, ed. Maciej Gołąb), Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2014, pp. 7–8.

³⁶ S-Sr: Sk E 8601, fol. 49r.

³⁷ S-Sr: Sk E 8604B, fol. 448r–448v.

³⁸ See Franciszek HERZIG, *Katedra niegdyś kolegiata w Tarnowie wraz z krótką wzmianką o innych kościołach tarnowskich* [The cathedral (formerly a collegiate church) in Tarnów, and brief information about other churches in Tarnów], Tarnow: Magistrat miasta Tarnowa, 1900, p. 22.

The fact that the young Zamoyski presented Lilius to Władysław Dominik Zasławski-Ostrogski as a candidate for the canon's office in Tarnów if it were to become vacant, even though he knew that the prince of Ostróg and Zasław intended to give the prebend to another person, is interesting because Zasławski-Ostrogski³⁹ is regarded as one of Lilius' major patrons, especially during his final years.

2. The literary texts of works for the stage with music, performed at the courts of the Polish Vasas, from the collection of old prints preserved in Skokloster castle

The above-mentioned catalogues of *polonica* edited by Maciej Eder⁴⁰ contain information about old prints still preserved in the library of Skokloster castle, containing librettos of two from at least ten operas once staged at the court of Ladislaus IV Vasa. They are copies of works known from the collections of other libraries: *Il ratto di Helena: dramma musicale di Vergilio Puccitelli, fatto rappresentare dalla magnanimitá di Vladislao Quarto, re di Polonia e Suetia etc., all'eccellentissimo signor Conte di Solre, ambasciatore staordinario della Magnanimitá Cattolica. In Vilna, typis Academiae Societatis Iesu, Anno Domini MDCXXXVI*⁴¹ and *L'Enea; di Virgilio Puccitelli favola drammatica, rappresentata in musica al serenissimo Elettor di Brandenburg et all'Alt[ezza] Sua dedicata, s.l. [1641]*.⁴²

³⁹ According to an undated letter to an unidentified hierarch, another musician who had some unspecified connection with the prince was Giacomo Grandi (S-Sr: Sk E 8604B, fol. 452r), probably identical with the musician from Ferrara whose activity as a violinist in the royal ensemble is confirmed for the years 1642–45 and 1650–51 (see B. PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *Muzyczne dwory*, p. 173).

⁴⁰ Maciej EDER, *The Polonica Collection* and *Polonika ze zbiorów Zamku Skokloster*.

⁴¹ Two copies, shelf nos Pol. 68a and Pol. 68b: Maciej EDER, *The Polonica Collection*, p. 115, items 172 and 173; *Polonika ze zbiorów Zamku Skokloster*, p. 77, items 127 and 128. The author of the catalogues claims on the basis of Karol Estreicher's bibliography that the copies are two of the three extant ones (the third one was allegedly preserved in the Raczyński Library in Poznań). According to the current state of research other copies are preserved in the British Library, in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and in the Russian National Library in Saint Petersburg.

⁴² One copy, shelf No. Pol. 69: Maciej EDER, *The Polonica Collection*, p. 115, item 174; *Polonika ze zbiorów Zamku Skokloster. Katalog*, p. 77, item 130. Moreover, we know of another copy listed in those catalogues, preserved in the Ossolineum Library in Wrocław, as well as the recently found copy belonging to the Russian National Library in Saint Petersburg.

Of special interest are the unique old prints: *Atlante languente, introduzione di balletto di dodici eroi, guidato dal serenissimo Filippo Guglielmo, duca di Neoburg, etc. etc. nelle sue reali nozze con la serenissima infanta Anna Catherina Constanza, prencipessa di Polonia e Suezia*, s.l. [1642],⁴³ an anonymous work attributed by Maciej Eder to Virgilio Puccitelli, and *Attioni sceniche, rappresentate nelle reali nozze della serenissima infanta Anna Catherina Constanza, prencipessa di Polonia e Suecia, col serenissimo Filipo Guglielmo, conte Palatino del Rheno, duca di Neoburg, etc. etc.; di Virgilio Puccitelli*, s.l. [1642].⁴⁴

The last two sources mentioned above offer more details concerning information included by nuntio Mario Filonardi in his letters to cardinal Francesco Barberini written in March and April 1642, regarding music and ballet performed during the wedding celebrations of princess Anna Catherine Constance Vasa and prince Philip William of Neuburg. In a monograph on Agostino Locci published in 2003, Hanna Osiecka-Samsonowicz wrote:

little [...] is known about those celebrations, which were an excellent and much-anticipated opportunity to stage a performance representing the «dramma musicale» genre and a ballet spectacle at court. Only in Mario Filonardi's letters to Rome do we find any mentions of the preparations to staging a «comedia con machine» and a ballet. Another account by Filonardi reveals that on 23 June 1642 the wedding celebrations were concluded with the performance of an Italian comedy «in musica» with intermedi, which typically involved using stage machinery. The nuntio did not even mention the contents of the performance.⁴⁵

The old prints from Skokloster castle inform us that a work titled *Baletto di dodici eroi* was performed during the celebrations, prepared at the request of the Bridegroom and “conducted” by him; the introduction to the ballet was probably written by Virgilio Puccitelli and was published anonymously as *Atlante languente*; also, the drama-and-music performance held on 23 June

⁴³ One copy, shelf No. Pol 70: Maciej EDER, *The Polonica Collection*, p. 114, item 170; *Polonika ze zbiorów Zamku Skokloster*, p. 76, item 126, the title page reproduced in: p. 144, ill. 16.

⁴⁴ One copy, shelf No. Pol 67: Maciej EDER, *The Polonica Collection*, pp. 114–115, item 171; *Polonika ze zbiorów Zamku Skokloster*, p. 77, item 127, a reproduction of the title page: p. 145, ill. 17.

⁴⁵ Hanna OSIECKA-SAMSONOWICZ, *Agostino Locci (1601 – po 1660). Scenografi architekt na dworze królewskim w Polsce* [Agostino Locci (1601 – after 1660). A stage designer and architect at the Polish royal court], Warszawa 2003, p. 111. Quotes from Filonardi's letters are based on the manuscript kept in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 6598, fols 257v, 259r and 282r; see p. 119, footnotes 104 and 105.

included pieces preserved in a print titled *Attioni sceniche rappresentate nelle reali nozze* of Anna Catherine Constance and prince Philip William of Neuburg: prologue *Apollo festante* and three intermedi: *Tancredi dolente*, *Achille ritrovato* and *Europa rapita*, with a text by Virgilio Puccitelli; it is certain that the singers and the ensemble participated in the performance.

These editions⁴⁶ call for investigation by experts in Italian literature, as well as theatre scholars and musicologists.

Translated by Paweł Gruchala

Summary

Skokloster castle, built by Carl Gustaf Wrangl (1613–76), field marshal of the Swedish army in the wars against Denmark and Poland waged during the reign of Charles X Gustav of Sweden, housed the collection of war booty, including manuscripts and old prints looted in Poland. The hoard of manuscripts from the Skokloster collection, currently preserved in Riksarkivet in Stockholm, contains two units marked E 8601 and E 8604B, which are of particular interest for scholars interested in the history of music in the 17th century Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania. They contain – among other things – the letters written from Rome to Poland by cardinal Cosimo de Torres in the years 1629–30 to king Sigismund III Vasa, Tobiasz Małachowski and Paweł Piasecki, as well as letters written by Giovanni Domenico Orsi and Domenico Gelsomini to Tobiasz Małachowski. The manuscripts document the efforts made by the first Vasa monarch on the Polish throne in the last years of his life (he died in 1632) to attract more Italian musicians to become members of his music chapel. Also they provide new biographical information about Italian musicians active at the court of the king of Poland: Antonio Taroni, Domenico Gelsomini, Giovanni Francesco Anerio, Corrado de' Priori and the organist Cesare.

Other sources from the same collection can also be of some significance for historians of music, e.g. letters by Alessandro Cilli and Giacomo Grandi or a letter written by Jan Sobiepan Zamoyski to Władysław Dominik Zasławski-Ostrogski in connection with Franciszek Lilius.

The old prints still preserved in the Skokloster castle include the librettos of operas associated with the reign of Ladislaus IV Vasa (*Il ratto di Helena* and *L'Enea* by Virgilio Puccitelli), and, worthy of particular attention, the uniquely preserved editions of *Atlante languente* (introduction to the ballet by Puccitelli) and an anonymously published work attributed to Puccitelli *Attioni sceniche* (both printed in 1642).

⁴⁶ I would like to thank Professor Ewa Teodorowicz-Hellman for making the copies available to me.

Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska

**On the trail of Luca Marenzio's works
composed in Poland:
*Missa super Iniquos odio habui***

Archival searches carried out during recent decades have significantly changed the state of our knowledge about the circumstances surrounding the creation of the so-called Italian cappella of king Sigismund III Vasa, who reigned in Poland in the years 1587–1632. It has been established on the basis of Vatican sources that its formation began earlier than has been thought until now. After the early turbulent years of governing Poland, and after a few months' stay in Sweden, following the death of his father, John III Vasa, Sigismund was crowned as king of that country. With practically no chance of actually reigning in his homeland, he came back to Cracow in the autumn of 1594. Immediately afterwards he sent his secretary, Krzysztof Kochanowski, a nephew of the greatest Polish poet of the Renaissance period, Jan Kochanowski, to Rome. His mission was to recruit Italian musicians for the royal cappella. As a result of this enterprise, a group of 16 musicians left Rome for Cracow in February 1595. This group was headed by the newly engaged maestro di cappella, a prominent composer from the Palestrina school, Annibale Stabile, who unfortunately died either during the journey to Poland or soon after arriving in Cracow.¹

¹ Marco BIZZARINI, *Marenzio. La carriera di un musicista tra Rinascimento e Controriforma*, Coccaglio – Rodengo Saiano: Comune di Coccaglio – Promozione Franciacorta, 1998, pp. 208–209; Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, “Annibale Stabile i początki włoskiej kapeli Zygmunta III Wazy” [Annibale Stabile and the beginnings of the Italian cappella of

On 15th April 1594 Sigismund III sent another representative to the Eternal City – the canon Bartłomiej Kos, whose task it was to find a replacement for Stabile. With the support of pope Clement VIII and his favourite cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini, Luca Marenzio became the new maestro di cappella of the king of Poland. He set out from Rome on his journey to Cracow, with another group of musicians from Italy, in mid-October, and probably reached his destination at the end of November or in December of that year.²

Unfortunately we know very little about Marenzio's activities in Poland. We do not know the exact period of his stay at the Court of Sigismund III; the only thing that we do know for certain is that in March 1596, at the head of a 22-strong group of musicians described as Italian,³ he travelled from Cracow to Warsaw with Krzysztof Kochanowski as his 'guide'.

He was there still in the autumn of 1596, during the visit of the papal legate, cardinal Enrico Caetani, sent there in connection with the negotiations regarding the anti-Turkish league.

It is not known when Marenzio left the court of the Polish king; spring of 1597 or 1598 is regarded as the probable date. Neither has it been possible to identify any secular works composed during the musician's stay in Poland.⁴ As far as his religious compositions are concerned, three of his polychoral motets

Sigismund III Vasa], *Muzyka*, 2001/2, pp. 93–99; ID., "Muzycy z Cappella Giulia i z innych rzymskich zespołów muzycznych w Rzeczypospolitej czasów Wazów" [Musicians from the Cappella Giulia and other Roman musical ensembles working in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania during the reign of the Vasas], *Muzyka*, 2004/1, pp. 34–35.

² On the subject of the circumstances of Marenzio's recruitment and departure for Poland, see Hans ENGEL, *Luca Marenzio*, Firenze: Olschki, 1956; Steven LEDBETTER, *Luca Marenzio: New Biographical Findings*, New York: New York University, 1971; Anna and Zygmunt M. SZWEYKOWSCY, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej polskich Wazów* [Italians in the Chapel Royal of the Polish Vasa kings], Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1997; Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, "W poszukiwaniu dawnej świetności. Głosy do książki Anny i Zygmunta Szweykowskich «Włosi w kapeli królewskiej polskich Wazów» (Kraków 1997)" [In Search of former splendour. Comments on the book by Anna and Zygmunt Szweykowski «Italians in the Chapel Royal of the Polish Vasa kings» (Cracow 1997)], *Muzyka*, 1998/2, pp. 91–115; Marco BIZZARINI, *Marenzio* (ed. also in English as: *Luca Marenzio: the career of a musician between the Renaissance and the Counter-Reformation*, transl. James Chater, Aldershot: Ashgate 2003).

³ Although we know that among them were also instrumentalists not of Italian extraction.

⁴ Marco Bizzarini questions the hypothesis that the madrigals published in *Lottavo libro de madrigali a cinque* (Venezia 1598) were written during Marenzio's stay at the Polish court (see Marco BIZZARINI, "Luca Marenzio i jego kompozycje świeckie opublikowane po podróży do Rzeczypospolitej" [Luca Marenzio and his secular compositions published after his journey to the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania], *Muzyka*, 2003/4, pp. 7–20).

(one for 8 and two for 12 voices) were published after his death in the, today incomplete, collection *Melodiae sacrae* of Vincentius Lilius (=Vincenzo Gigli) (Cracow 1604²); a number of other works were printed in German anthologies published in the early decades of the seventeenth century, and a few motets and Masses are known from manuscript sources from the same period preserved in Poland (in Gdansk and Pelplin), in Germany (in Dresden and Berlin) and in Austria (in Vienna). Although some of these compositions are also known from manuscripts of Roman or more general Italian provenance, it is highly probable that at least a part of Marenzio's sacred works published or copied in the countries situated north of the Alps was created during his stay at the court of Sigismund III Vasa.⁵

Since 1998, when musicologists first noted the report in the diary of Giovanni Paolo Mucante (master of ceremonies who accompanied cardinal Enrico Caetani during his legation to Poland during 1596–97) of a service in October 1596 at the collegiate church of St John the Baptist in Warsaw, during which the royal cappella under the direction of Marenzio performed his newly-written Mass in echo form,⁶ researchers have unsuccessfully been trying to identify among the composer's extant works the one which would correspond to the description given by the author of the diary. It would have to be a Mass for two choirs, written in such a way that all the words are repeated by "the one and the

⁵ These compositions – those extant in a complete form but also the incomplete ones and those of which only fragments are known – are being gradually published in the series *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, vol. 72: *Luca Marenzio: Musica sacra*, eds. Bernhard Meyer – Roland Jackson, I, III, VII, Neuhausen-Stuttgart 1978, 1979, 2000. On the subject see Roland JACKSON, "Marenzio's Polish Sojourn and his Polychoral Motetes", in: *Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis VII: Acta Musicologica*, Bydgoszcz 1985, pp. 503–525; ID., "The Masses of Marenzio: authentic or not?", in: *Kirchenmusik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Festschrift Hans Schmidt zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Heribert Klein – Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller with collaboration of Jürgen Schaarwächter, Köln: Christoph Dohr, 1998, pp. 171–184; ID., "Marenzio, Poland and the late polychoral sacred style", *Early Music*, 1999/4, pp. 622–631; ID., "Towards a chronology of Marenzio's sacred music", in: *Miscellanea marenziana*, eds. Maria Teresa Rosa Barezani – Antonio Delfino, Pisa: ETS, 2007 («Diverse voci...», 9), pp. 25–36.

⁶ The performance of the Mass took place, according to Mucante's diary, on 13th October 1596, see Jan Władysław Woś, *I due soggiorni del card. legato E. Caetani a Varsavia (1596–1597)*, Firenze: Centro d'incontro della Certosa di Firenze, 1982, p. 46 (diary edited on the basis of Manuscript 159 from the Potocki collection, now held in Warsaw in the Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych); Marco BIZZARINI, *Marenzio*, p. 216, places it on 6th October of that year, on the basis of Manuscript Ottob. Lat. 2623 belonging to the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, in which the report of the Mass is undated.

other choir in the form of an echo” (“fu cantata a duoi chori et tutte le parole erano replicate dall’uno et l’altro choro in forma d’ecco” – to quote Mucante’s own words).

Roland Jackson has analysed all the sources available to him which transmit the Masses ascribed to Marenzio, both those whose authorship is certain, and the doubtful ones. For a variety of reasons he has rejected the possibility that one of them might be the composition described by Mucante. As a consequence, in the entry on Marenzio in the latest edition of *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, he expresses certainty that this Mass has been lost.⁷ However, it seems worthwhile to examine again those Mass cycles which correspond to Mucante’s description of the distribution of parts, both in the cycles preserved in the sources quoted by Jackson, and in those which have so far been ignored.

The following Masses are eight-voice compositions with two-choir distribution, preserved in sources available to Jackson, and transmitted only as two-part (*Kyrie* and *Gloria*) versions: the incomplete (only part-books Soprano II, Tenor I, Tenor II and Bassus extant) *Missa super Jubilate Deo*;⁸ the also incomplete (tenor of the first choir and alto of the second choir missing) *Missa super Ego sum panis vivus*⁹ and the *Missa super Iniquos odio habui*.¹⁰

Roland Jackson, hypothesising that Marenzio composed these works in Poland, states at the same time that «[they] are abbreviated settings, consisting of only the *Kyrie* and *Gloria*, and so would not seem to have been suitable for an occasion such as the one Mucante is describing. [...] Furthermore, *Kyrie-*

⁷ Roland Jackson, “Marenzio, Luca”, in: NG2, vol. 15, p. 837: “this [Mass] does not survive”.

⁸ Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms Mus. Grimma 50 No. 114, edited by Roland Jackson in: *Luca Marenzio: Musica Sacra*, vol. 7.

⁹ Gdańsk, Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Ms 4006 No. 54, edited by Roland Jackson in: *Luca Marenzio: Musica Sacra*, vol. 1.

¹⁰ Incomplete in manuscript sources: Gdańsk, Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Ms 4006 No. 48 – tenor of the first choir and alto of the second choir missing, also the Ms 4012 No. 108 – only the two organ parts; fully preserved in a printed version, but published as a composition by Georg Vintz, included in his collection: *Missae ad praecipuos dies festos accomodatae, quinque, sex & octo vocibus [...] cum basso continuo*, Erfurt: Johann Birckner, Friedrich Melchior Dedekind, 1630 (all the old print books are held in Wien, Bibliothek der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde and in Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska (Collection of the Former Preußische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin); de-completed sets are held in various collections, among them Gdańsk, Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk, and in Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka).

Gloria pairs were not typical of late 16th-century Rome. Each of these Masses makes use of choral exchanges, although none could be characterized as having «all the words [...] repeated by one and the other choir».¹¹

It is highly probable that the Masses in question were in fact written at the time when Luca Marenzio lived in the Commonwealth. King Sigismund III would certainly have expected his maestro di cappella, with his earlier experience in both secular and religious polychoral compositions, to provide magnificent settings involving a multitude of performers for the Masses celebrated at the collegiate church in Warsaw. One can assume that these were also performed at Wawel cathedral in Cracow and in other, always Roman Catholic, churches. However, the supposition that the compositions in the extant sources (leaving aside the question of the missing voices) are transmitted in the form given to them by Marenzio is simply not credible. What one can claim with a fair degree of certainty is that they testify to the practice familiar in Protestant centres in the 16th and 17th century, particularly in Gdansk and various towns in Saxony and Silesia, where only the *Kyrie* and *Gloria*, which were used in the Lutheran liturgy, were copied from Catholic Masses (at that time those usually contained, apart from the *propria*, *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Credo*, *Sanctus*, *Benedictus* (often together with the *Sanctus*) and *Agnus Dei*. The example of the Gdansk music collections also demonstrates that the authors of copies of Masses from the Roman Catholic repertory did not limit themselves to copying the *Kyrie* and *Gloria*, but introduced a variety of changes to these parts when adapting them to the needs of the cappellas performing at Lutheran churches. One cannot exclude the possibility that this is what happened also in the case of Marenzio's Masses for two choirs.

Another reason why – according to Jackson – the *Missa super Jubilate Deo* from Dresden and the “Gdansk” *Missa super Ego sum panis vivus* and *Missa super Iniquos odio habui* do not correspond to the description given by Giovanni Paolo Mucante is the fact that, although their settings do have an exchange of choirs, and the antiphonal choirs frequently repeat the same fragments of the text, not all the words are repeated by both choirs in this way. This reading of Mucante's report seems to be too literal. It is difficult to suppose that Marenzio would want to limit his possibilities as a composer by adopting such a principle without leaving room for other solutions. On the other hand, the repeatability

¹¹ Roland JACKSON, *Marenzio, Poland*, p. 625.

and the echo effect achieved must have been unique enough for this composition to make a striking impression on its listeners.

Unfortunately, in the case of the *Missa super Jubilate Deo* and the *Missa super Ego sum panis vivus* the absence of some voices limits considerably the possibility of drawing unambiguous conclusions. However, it is difficult to miss the fact that, in the second of these Masses, the exchange of choirs with antiphonal repetitions is the basis for the construction of the whole *Kyrie* (both “Kyrie” and “Christe”), and in the *Gloria* it is the basis for the musical setting of particular (but not all) words and phrases, namely: “gratias”, “agimus tibi”, “propter magnam”, “gloriam tuam”, “Filius Patris”, “Qui tollis”, “peccata mundi”, “quoniam”, “tu solus”, “in gloria”. An analogous compositional device can be found among the works of Marenzio published by Roland Jackson, but based on the authorial print of Georg Vintz from 1630: the *Missa super Iniquos odio habui*, particularly in the first “Kyrie”, and in the *Gloria* in the case of “propter magnam gloriam tuam”, “Domine Fili”, “unigenite”, “ad dexteram Patris”, “tu solus Sanctus”, “tu solus Dominus”, “tu solus”, “cum Sancto Spiritu”, “in gloria” and “Dei Patris”. Moreover, if one were to exchange the altos between the two choirs, the “Christe” and the second “Kyrie” in the *Kyrie* would also be in the form of an echo.

son, 27 Chri - ste e - lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei - son,

Ch. I

Ch. II

Chri - ste e - lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei - son,

Example 1: Luca Marenzio / Georg Vintz: *Missa super Iniquos odio habui* [a 8], bars 26–29 (*Kyrie*)¹²

¹² Examples signed as Luca Marenzio / Georg Vintz: *Missa super Iniquos odio habui* according to the edition by Roland Jackson on the basis of Georg Vintz print.

Luca Marenzio's 'Missa super Iniquos odio habui'

27

- son, Chri - ste e - lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei - son,

Ch. I

Ch. II

Chri - ste e - lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei - son,

Example 2: Luca Marenzio / Georg Vintz: *Missa super Iniquos odio habui* [a 8], bars 26–29 (*Kyrie*), with altos exchanged

34

Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

Ch. I

Ch. II

Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e

Example 3: Luca Marenzio / Georg Vintz: *Missa super Iniquos odio habui* [a 8], bars 34–38 (*Kyrie*)

34

Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

Ch. I

Ch. II

Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e

Example 4: Luca Marenzio / Georg Vintz: *Missa super Iniquos odio habui* [a 8], bars 34–38 (*Kyrie*), with altos exchanged

However, there are parts of this compositions in which the echo principle cannot be perceived, particularly in the *Gloria*, where an extensive fragment of the text – “Et in terra pax hominibus, bonae voluntatis, laudamus te, benedicimus te, adoramus te, glorificamus te, gratias agimus tibi” – has been realised using the exchange of choirs, but with no verbal repetitions. Further on in the course of this part we find a large-scale echo effect, but also an exchange of choirs presenting consecutive sections of the text and parts in which particular words are repeated a number of times, homorhythmically, by the whole eight-voice ensemble.

In view of the fact that the *Missa super Iniquos odio habui* was published in a collection of works by Georg Vintz, the authorship of the composition, attributed in Jackson's sources in a conflicting manner, is another matter which demands to be resolved. The printed version names Georg Vintz (died ca 1635 as cathedral organist in Naumburg in Saxony¹³) as its composer; however, in both Gdansk manuscripts, which transmit very similar musical material, the composer is given as Luca Marenzio. The matter is complicated by the fact that this composition (like all his other known Masses) belongs to the *missa parodia* type, and uses as its basis Marenzio's eight-voice (two-choir) motet *Iniquos odio habui*.¹⁴ It is a practice frequently encountered in inscriptions placed in manuscripts of musical notation from the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, in relation to Masses based on the work of well-known composers, to give the surname (sometimes only the first name or a monogram) of the composer of the 'parodied' (also 'paraphrased' or 'imitated') composition, instead of the author of the Mass in which the material from that composition was used. It is thus not impossible that Marenzio's name in the Gdansk manuscripts was meant to indicate the composer of the motet *Iniquos odio habui*, and not of the *Missa super Iniquos odio habui*, whose author would remain anonymous in these sources. Such an interpretation of the inscription avoids the contradictions arising between the three sources, and the author of the Mass might be, as the Erfurt print says, Georg Vintz. In view of the differences between the Gdansk sources and the printed version, one could also take the view that the composer of the Mass was Luca Marenzio (as entered in the Gdansk manuscripts), and that Vintz, who introduced some changes when editing the work, should be regarded as the author of the setting.

¹³ See Frederick K. GABLE, “Vintz, Georg”, in: NG2, vol. 26, p. 662.

¹⁴ Edited by Roland Jackson in: *Luca Marenzio: Musica sacra*, vol. 3.

When publishing the *Missa super Iniquos odio habui* in the volume *Opera omnia* by Luca Marenzio Roland Jackson placed it among the works whose authorship is uncertain, but did not exclude the possibility that this late edition, produced 30 years after the death of the composer, might have some input by Georg Vintz. Other written records of the Mass in question, which have not been analysed so far, provide material which should make it possible to resolve the question of authorship, and perhaps also to answer the question whether the *Missa super Iniquos odio habui* is (possibly) the work described by the papal master of ceremonies, Giovanni Paolo Mucante, in his report from Warsaw.

Until the Second World War, the Breslau Stadtbibliothek held among its music manuscripts a number of copies of various religious compositions (motets and Masses) by Luca Marenzio, and their titles were known from the catalogue published by Emil Bohn.¹⁵ As is well known, this valuable Silesian music collection, referred to as the Bohn collection (Sammlung Bohn) and for a number of decades regarded as lost, has for a dozen or so years been available, preserved almost in its entirety, at the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin. It contains all the works signed with the name of Marenzio which had been listed in the catalogue,¹⁶ among them a two-choir, eight-voice setting of a full Mass cycle entitled *Missa super Iniquos* (sic) *odio habui* (Bohn Ms. mus. 96 No. 11), notated in the form of voices in a collection which Bohn dated to the end of the sixteenth century, but also containing entries from the beginning of the next century, as well as a copy, in new German organ tablature notation, with a reduction to four voices, of the first two parts of the *Missa super Iniquos odio habui* attributed to Georg Vintz (Bohn Ms. mus. 105 No. 27), manuscript dated by Bohn to the first half of the seventeenth century.

The record of the full Mass cycle, with the author – Luca Marenzio – clearly indicated, made (as is shown by the dates in part-books Altus and Tenor Secundi Chori – (Altus, fol. 35r) “17 Aprilis Anno 1603” and (Tenor, fol. 33r) “Anno 1602” respectively) soon after the composer’s death, must be the basic source of this composition. It contains the only complete polychoral Mass undoubtedly by Marenzio known to us today. It was most probably written

¹⁵ Emil BOHN, *Die musikalischen Handschriften des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau*, Breslau: Julius Hainauer, 1890; reprint Hildesheim: Olms, 1970.

¹⁶ See Richard CHARTERIS, *Newly Discovered Music Manuscripts from the Private Collection of Emil Bohn*, in the series *Musical Studies & Documents*, ed. Ursula Günter, vol. 53, Holzgerlingen: Hänssler Verlag, 1999, p. 293.

during the composer's stay at the Court of Sigismund III Vasa. A comparison of particular voices from this composition with the surviving voices of the *Missa super Iniquos odio habui* signed with Marenzio's name, kept in the Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk in Gdansk, Ms 4006 No. 48, has shown that these are the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* parts of the same composition; the difference is that the Gdansk manuscript makes a mistake in describing the alto voice of the first choir, which corresponds to the *Altus Secundi Chori* part in the manuscript from the Bohn collection. A comparison of the lowest voices in these two parts of the Mass taken from the full cycle by Marenzio and the two organ voices recorded in Ms 4012 from the Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk in Gdansk has shown their concordance, thus demonstrating that they were added to a Mass with the same distribution of choirs as that transmitted in the source from the Bohn collection.

In the discussion which follows it is this work, the full cycle of *ordinarium missae* held now at the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, which will be referred to as *Missa super Iniquos odio habui* by Luca Marenzio (as opposed to the Marenzio / Vintz Mass extant in print). However, there does exist – apart from those already mentioned – another source, of Polish provenance, which transmits this composition.¹⁷ This can be used as evidence both of the creative reception of Marenzio's Mass in seventeenth-century Poland, and as an argument for claiming that the echo device used by the royal maestro di cappella was not only noticed, but emphasised and imitated by his contemporaries.

This source of the *Missa super Iniquos odio habui*, which has not so far been considered by scholars researching Luca Marenzio's heritage, is the version contained in the six-volume Pelplin tablature, written in the Cistercian community in the years 1620–1640.¹⁸ For the main part the tablature is devoted to vocal compositions, transmitted in the form of scores written in new German organ tablature notation. Apart from six compositions signed with Marenzio's name (apart from two madrigals these are one-, two- and three-choir motets; among the latter, in the second volume, there is *Jubilate Deo* for 12 voices,¹⁹ a work whose

¹⁷ One should also mention the incomplete Czech manuscript copy of the Mass. See Jan BAT'A, "Luca Marenzio and the Czech Lands", *Hudebni veda*, 2007/2, pp. 121–122.

¹⁸ Pelplin, Archiwum Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego, shelf number 304–308a.

¹⁹ As above, shelf number 305, fols 139v–141r. Facs. ed. in: *The Pelplin Tablature. Facsimile part 2*, eds. Adam Sutkowski – Alina Osostowicz-Sutkowska, in the series *Antiquitates*

Polish genealogy is very likely, published in the already mentioned 1604 collection *Melodiae sacrae* prepared by Vincentius Lilius, in manuscript form, dating probably from the beginning of the seventeenth century, held also, anonymously, in Rome, at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale²⁰, the third volume contains the anonymously transmitted *Missa a 8 Super Iniquos*.²¹ The work was placed in the tablature in a group of nine Masses (three for five voices, one for six voices and five for eight voices) entitled: “Missae varioru[m] authoru[m] ad usum S[acri] Cisterciens[is] Ord[ini]s accom[modatae]”. None of the nine compositions in this group includes a polyphonic setting of the whole text of *ordinarium missae*. The reason for this is that these are examples of Masses prepared for performance within the *alternatim* practice, taking into account the liturgical customs of the Cistercian order. What has been notated are only those fragments of the text of the *ordinarium* (the same in all the Masses) which have been arranged polyphonically. The remaining ones were undoubtedly performed monodically or on the organ, with a choral melody appropriate to the given holy day. On the basis of the tablature record one can suppose that almost the whole *Credo* was performed chorally (only the final “Amen” was realised polyphonically), and in the *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* some verses were performed polyphonically (their percentage in particular parts varies), while others were performed monodically or on the organ.

Musicae in Polonia, ed. Hieronim Feicht, vol. 3, Graz-Warszawa: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt – PWN, 1965, pp. 280–283. See Marina TOFFETTI, “Structural variants and contrapuntal re-elaboration in the versions for two and three choirs of Luca Marenzio’s motet *Jubilare Deo...cantate*” in this volume, pp. 173–210.

²⁰ Roma, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Mss. musicali 33–34, 40–46 (soprano of the first choir and tenor and bass of the third choir missing). Based on this manuscript, the work was published in: *Luca Marenzio: Musica sacra*, ed. Roland Jackson, vol. 7, pp. 9–25. Incidentally, the same part-books held at this library contain, also incomplete, another three-choir motet by Marenzio familiar from the print *Melodiae sacrae – Laudate Dominum a 12*. This has also been published in Roland Jackson’s work referred to above. The edition includes nine out of the original twelve parts arranged for three four-voice choirs: four voices of the first choir (with the reconstructed soprano), four voices of the second choir and the soprano of the third choir (without text); for reasons unknown to me the alto of the third choir (with text) – part-book Ms 34, fols 5v–6r – preserved in the manuscript on which this edition is based, has been omitted.

²¹ Pelplin, Archiwum Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego, shelf number 306, fols 93v–98r. Facs. ed. in: *The Pelplin Tablature. Facsimile Part 3*, eds. Adam Sutkowski – Alina Osostowicz-Sutkowska, in the series *Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia*, ed. Hieronim Feicht, vol. 4, Graz – Warszawa: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt – PWN, 1965, pp. 204–213.

The Masses from the Pelplin tablature are characterised by the polyphonic setting of the whole text of the *Kyrie*, divided into four parts which close with cadences: “Kyrie Primum” and “Kyrie Secundum”, followed by the performance by many voices also of “Christe eleison” and “Kyrie Tertium” and “Kyrie Quartum”. Where the other parts are concerned, the distribution of text in the tablature Masses (see below) does not differ significantly from that in the nine so-called Mantua Masses of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, composed during the years 1578–1579 in the spirit of post-Trent reform,²² in which, as we know, Marenzio also participated.

Gloria

“Gloria in excelsis Deo”	[–]
“Et in terra pax, bonae voluntatis”	[a 8]
“Laudamus te”	[–]
“Benedicimus te”	[a 8]
“Adoramus te”	[–]
“Glorificamus te”	[a 8]
“Gratias agimus tibi, propter magnam gloriam tuam”	[–]
“Domine Deus, Rex caelestis, Deus, Pater omnipotens”	[a 8]
“Domine, Fili unigenite, Jesu Christe”	[–]
“Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, Filius Patris”	[a 8]
“Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis”	[a 8]
“Qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram”	[a 8]
“Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis”	[–]
“Quoniam tu solus Sanctus”	[a 8]
“Tu solus Dominus”	[–]
“Tu solus Altissimus, Jesu Christe”	[a 8]
“Cum Sancto Spiritu, in gloria Dei Patris amen”	[–]
<i>Credo</i>	[–] ²³

Sanctus

“Sanctus”	[a 8] (“Sanctus Primum”)
“Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth”	[a 8] (“Sanctus Secundum”)

²² See Lino BIANCHI – Karl Gustav FELLERER, *Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, Torino: ERI, 1971, pp. 339–341.

²³ With the exception of the polyphonic setting (a 8) of the finale “amen”.

“Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua”	[–]
“Hosanna in excelsis”	[a 8]
“Benedictus, qui venit in nomine Domini”	[–]
[“Hosanna in excelsis”]	[a 8]

Agnus Dei

“Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis”	[a 8]
“Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem”	[–]

A comparison of the anonymous *Missa a 8 Super Iniquos* from the Pelplin tablature, and the *Missa super Iniquos odio habui* by Luca Marenzio, with the motet *Iniquos odio habui* by the latter (see examples 5 and 6, and 8 and 9), leaves one in no doubt that the material used in the Mass comes from that very composition. The convergence between extensive sections of the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* from the anonymous *Missa a 8 Super Iniquos* and *Missa super Iniquos odio habui* by Marenzio and Marenzio / Vintz is also beyond argument. (The Marenzio / Vintz Mass compared to that by Marenzio has in the *Kyrie* a reversal of the choirs, and in part of its course also an exchange of the alto voices between the choirs); see examples 6 and 7, and 9 and 10.

5

I - ni - quos o - dio ha - bu - i

Ch. I

I - ni - quos o - dio ha - bu - i

Ch. II

I - ni - quos o - dio ha - bu - i

Example 5: Luca Marenzio: *Iniquos odio habui* [a 8], bars 1–7²⁴

²⁴ This and other examples from the composition on the basis of the above mentioned edition by Roland Jackson.

Ky - ri - e Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

Ch. I

6 Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

Ch. I

Ch. II

Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

Example 6: Luca Marenzio: *Missa super Iniquos odio habui*, bars 1–11 (*Kyrie*);²⁵
 Anonym: *Missa a 8 Super Iniquos*, bars 1–11 (*Kyrie*)²⁶

Ky - ri - e, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

Ch. I

6 Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

Ch. I

Ch. II

Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

Example 7: Luca Marenzio / Georg Vintz: *Missa super Iniquos odio habui* [a 8],
 bars 1–11 (*Kyrie*)

²⁵ This and other examples from the composition on the basis of the edition of the complete version of the Mass, signed by Luca Marenzio. See Luca MARENZIO, *Missa super Iniquos odio from the habui*, ed. Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarminska, Warszawa: Liber Pro Arte, 2016.

²⁶ This and other examples from the composition prepared by the author.

33 - i. Su - sci-pe, su - sci-pe, su - sci-pe me,

Ch. I

Ch. II

Example 8: Luca Marenzio: *Iniquos odio habui* [a 8], bars 33–35

115

(♩ 3/2) (♩)

Ch. I

Ch. II

su - sci-pe su - sci-pe su - sci-pe de - pre - ca - ti - o - nem, de - pre - ca - ti - o - nem nos - tram nos - tram

Example 9: Anonym: *Missa a 8 Super Iniquos*, bars 115–120 (*Gloria*)

102

Ch. I

Ch. II

su - sci-pe su - sci-pe su - sci-pe de - pre - ca - ti - o - nem nos - tram, qui se - des

107 ad dex - te - ram Pa - tris, ad dex - te - ram Pa - tris

Ch. I

Ch. II

ad dex - te - ram Pa - tris, mi - se - re - re no - bis

Example 10: Luca Marenzio: *Missa super Iniquos odio habui*; Luca Marenzio / Georg Vintz: *Missa super Iniquos odio habui* [a 8], bars 102–112 (*Gloria*)

Extensive parts of the composition are either identical or very similar in these settings. Examples 11 and 11a and 12 and 12a show consecutively the musical material from the “Christe” and the second “Kyrie” from Marenzio’s Mass, convergent with analogical sections of the Marenzio / Vintz Mass, but with the choirs reversed, and the alto of the first choir moved to the second choir and vice versa in the Mass known from the printed version. It also shows great similarity to the corresponding fragments of the Pelplin Mass, which, however, have undergone not only a reversal of choirs, but some abbreviations in the “Christe” and an expansion in the “Kyrie II”.

Luca Marenzio's *Missa super Iniquos odio habui*

27

Chri - ste e - lei - son Chri - ste e - lei - son Chri - ste e - lei - son

Ch. I

Ch. II

- son, Chri - ste e - lei - son Chri - ste e - lei - son

Example 11: Luca Marenzio: *Missa super Iniquos odio habui*, bars 27–29 (*Kyrie*)

34

- son, Chi - ste e - lei - son, e - lei - son.

Ch. I

Ch. II

Chi - ste e - lei - son, Chi - ste e - lei - son, e - lei - son.

Example 11a: Anonym: *Missa a 8 Super Iniquos*, bars 34–37 (*Kyrie*)

34

Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

Ch. I

Ch. II

Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky -

Example 12: Luca Marenzio: *Missa super Iniquos odio habui*, bars 34–39 (*Kyrie*)

51 Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son.

Ch. I

Ch. II

Ky - ri - e Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e

Example 12a: Anonym: *Missa a 8 Super Iniquos*, bars 51–55 (*Kyrie*)

As for the later parts of the cycle which follow the *Kyrie* and *Gloria*, we now have the material which makes it possible to conduct a comparative analysis of the *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* from Marenzio's Mass from the Bohn collection, and the anonymous one from the Pelplin tablature. As has already been mentioned, the latter source does not give a *Credo* setting, and thus at present we know only one polyphonic realisation of the creed (beginning with the words "Patrem omnipotentem", undoubtedly preceded in performance by a chorally intoned "Credo in unum Deum"). In total it contains as many as 205 measures (about two-fifths of the whole work), showing clear links with Marenzio's motet, emphasised particularly in the early parts of the three traditionally recognized internal parts of *Credo*. Their similarity to the beginnings of the other links within the Mass works towards a cohesion of the whole cycle.

One can claim with full confidence that in the realisation of the text of the *Credo* the echo device plays a fundamental role. It runs through nearly two-thirds of the course, while the remaining third also contains segments in which consecutive fragments of the text are performed alternately by both choirs, by the whole ensemble or by one choir. This is what happens over 21 measures of the text with imitative structure, "Crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato passus, et sepultus est". This section, however, is followed by "Et resurrexit", which provides a contrast in terms of the distribution of parts, structure and, clearly, mood. It is wholly shaped by fast exchanges between the choirs, numerous repetitions of single words or two- and three-word phrases. This compositional device dominates until the end of this part and – apart from the setting of the "Benedictus" (of which more below) – until the end of the cycle (see below, example 20).

147 Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten - tem

Ch. I

8 Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten - tem

Ch. II

Fa - cto - rem cae - li et

Fa - cto - rem cae - li et

153 vi - si - bi - li - um om - ni - um et in - vi - si - bi - li - um

Ch. I

8

Ch. II

ter - rae

ter - rae vi - si - bi - li - um om - ni - um et in - vi - si - bi - li - um

Example 13: Luca Marenzio: *Missa super Iniquos odio habui*, bars 147–157 (*Credo*)

A comparison of the *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* of Marenzio's Mass with the anonymous version from the Pelplin tablature shows clearly that in the case of the latter we are dealing with partially reworked (selected fragments being developed) material of the first composition. In the anonymous source, the text of the *Sanctus* has been interpreted in two sections which constitute closed wholes. The first, numbering a few measures, has the character of an invocation and is (apart from the exchange of altos and tenors within the second choir) fully convergent with the beginning of the setting familiar from the full cycle of Marenzio's Mass. It ends with an additionally composed cadence (which does not appear in the *Missa super Iniquos odio habui* from the Bohn collection); see examples 16 and 17.

233

Ch. I

Cru - ci - fi - xus cru - ci - fi - xus e - ti - am pro no - bis

238

Ch. I

- fi - xus cru - ci - fi - xus e - ti - am pro no - bis

Example 14: Luca Marenzio: *Missa super Iniquos odio habui*, bars 233–242 (*Credo*)

254

Ch. I

Et re-sur-re-xit re-sur-re-xit re-sur-re-xit re-sur-re-xit

Et re-sur-re-xit re-sur-re-xit re-sur-re-xit re-sur-re-xit

Example 15: Luca Marenzio: *Missa super Iniquos odio habui*, bars 254–259 (*Credo*)

Luca Marenzio's *Missa super Iniquos odio habui*

339 San - - - - ctus San - ctus San -

Ch. I

Ch. II

San - - - - ctus

364 - - - - ctus Do - mi - nus De - us Sa - ba - oth. Ple -

Ch. I

Ch. II

Do - mi - nus De - us Sa - ba - oth Do - mi - nus De - us Sa - ba - oth

Example 16: Luca Marenzio: *Missa super Iniquos odio habui*, bars 359–368

152 San - - - - ctus San - ctus

Ch. I

Ch. II

San - - - - ctus San - ctus

Example 17: Anonym: *Missa a 8 Super Iniquos*, bars 152-158 (*Sanctus primum*)

The *Sanctus secundum* from the *Missa a 8 Super Iniquos* repeats and develops material from the further course of this part from Marenzio's Mass. Moreover, both sources include as separate sections the homorhythmic choral realisations of the text of "Hosanna", built on the echo principle. The setting of "Hosanna" from Marenzio's Mass cycle retains triple metre throughout. About two-thirds of this setting is repeated with no change in the analogous section of the Pelplin Mass, in which we also find new or reshaped musical material in duple metre. The setting of the first verse of the *Agnus Dei* (there is no setting for the second verse in the tablature) is also for the most part convergent in the two versions, although in the anonymous one it is significantly abbreviated. It is characterised by the repetition by both choirs of the same sections of the text or single words (particularly frequent in the case of the phrase "peccata mundi"). The process of reduction of this section of Marenzio's Mass for the needs of the Cistercians involved removing a dozen or so measures from the middle section of its course, and linking the initial part with the cadence which closes the section. It is worth mentioning that in the full cycle, set polyphonically by the royal maestro di cappella, the echo principle (understood as repeating the same words or fragments of the text alternately by both choirs) is strictly adhered to in the *Agnus Dei*. The first verse is dominated by fast exchanges, a half note apart (semibrevis in the original), as in example 18.

In the setting of the second verse of this text, which closes the composition, we find the largest number of repetitions of material exchanged between the choirs relative to other parts of the cycle. However, since longer verbal-musical structures are involved, which are usually enclosed within the framework of two measures (two breves in the manuscript) and successively carried from choir to choir, the meaning and purpose of this procedure undergoes a change. There is a fading of the music, which corresponds to the word of the text, deepening its supplicatory tone.

The "Benedictus", absent from the tablature (and undoubtedly sung monodically by the Cistercians), was arranged for a four-voice ensemble of sopranos and altos of both choirs, and maintained almost wholly within imitative structure in Marenzio's Mass cycle. In this way the composer referred to the continuing tradition of reducing the distribution of parts in the realisation of this text, and introducing as much contrast as possible between the "Benedictus" and "Hosanna" sections.

Luca Marenzio's *Missa super Iniquos odio habui*'

470

Ch. I

Ch. II

A - gnus De - i,

A - gnus De - i,

A - gnus, A - gnus De -

476

Ch. I

Ch. II

qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di pec - ca - ta mun - di

i, qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di

Example 18: Luca Marenzio: *Missa super Iniquos odio habui*, bars 470–480 (*Agnus Dei*)

As a result of comparing all three versions of the *Missa super Iniquos odio habui* known to us today which are complete in respect of the number of extant voices,²⁷ one can claim that, apart from employing or refraining from using the *alternatim* technique, the basic difference between them concerns the greater or lesser use of the echo effect in the musical settings of the text of *ordinarium missae*. We can assume that the earliest version, the one which most probably reflected the wishes of the composer, Luca Marenzio, was the Mass recorded in the manuscript Bohn Ms. mus. 94 No.11, less than three years after the composer's death. This is the version which will be regarded here as the point of departure, the original work which was subjected to a variety of abbreviations

²⁷ Manuscripts from the Gdansk collection are treated as marginal here, since they are incomplete in this respect.

416

Ch. I
Be - ne - dic - tus, qui ve - nit be - ne - dic - tus, qui ve - nit in

Be - ne - dic - tus, qui ve - nit, qui ve - nit in no - mi - ne

Ch. II
Be - ne - dic - tus, qui ve - nit, qui ve -

Be - ne - dic - tus, qui ve - nit in

423

Ch. I
no - mi - ne Be - Do - mi - ni

qui ve - nit in no -

Ch. II
nit in no - mi - ne Do - mi - ni

no - mi - ne Do - mi - ni

Example 19: Luca Marenzio: *Missa super Iniquos odio habui*, bars 416–426 (“Benedictus”)

and reworkings in the years which followed. The print version and that in the tablature manuscript may have been written even twenty or more years later than the copy in the Bohn collection. The changes which they introduce seem to move away from the original in two opposite directions. In the Marenzio / Vintz Mass the aim seems to be to limit the number of repetitions of words and phrases and their exchanges between the choirs, while the anonymous *Missa a 8 Super Iniquos*, on the contrary, seeks to expand it. The distribution of the text between the choirs in the three versions being compared is shown in the diagram below, in which 1 refers to the first choir, 2 to the second choir, and 1 + 2 to both choirs singing together.

Example 20: a) Luca Marenzio: *Missa super Iniquos odio habui*, b) Luca Marenzio / Georg Vintz: *Missa super Iniquos odio habui*, c) Anonym: *Missa a 8 Super Iniquos* –
Comparison of distribution of text between choirs

a)	b)	c)
[<i>Kyrie</i>]	[<i>Kyrie</i>]	[<i>Kyrie</i>]
[" <i>Kyrie I</i> "]	[" <i>Kyrie I</i> "]	" <i>Kyrie Primum</i> "
Kyrie eleison 1 1 2	Kyrie eleison 2 2 1	Kyrie eleison 1 1 2
		Kyrie 2 Kyrie 1
eleison 1 2	eleison 1	eleison 2
Kyrie 1	Kyrie 2	Kyrie 1
eleison 2 1	eleison 1 2	eleison 2
Kyrie eleison 1+2	Kyrie eleison 1+2	Kyrie 1
	eleison 1+2	
		" <i>Kyrie eleison Secundum</i> "
		Kyrie eleison 1 2 1+2
[" <i>Christe eleison</i> "]	[" <i>Christe eleison</i> "]	" <i>Christe eleison</i> "
Christe eleison 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 1+2	Christe eleison 1+2 ²⁸	Christe eleison 2 1 2 1
		eleison 1+2
[" <i>Kyrie II</i> "]	[" <i>Kyrie II</i> "]	" <i>Kyrie [Tertium]</i> "
Kyrie eleison 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1+2	Kyrie eleison 1+2 ²⁹	Kyrie eleison 2 1 2 1 2
		eleison 1+2
		" <i>Kyrie eleison [Quartum]</i> "
		Kyrie eleison 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 1+2
[<i>Gloria</i>]	[<i>Gloria</i>]	[<i>Gloria</i>]
[" <i>Et in terra pax</i> "]	[" <i>Et in terra pax</i> "]	" <i>Et in terra pax</i> "
Et in terra pax hominibus 1	Et in terra pax hominibus 1	Et in terra pax hominibus 1
bonae voluntatis 2	bonae voluntatis 2	bonae voluntatis 2 1+2
laudamus te 1	laudamus te 1	
		" <i>Benedicimus</i> "
benedicimus te 2	benedicimus te 2	benedicimus te 1 2 1+2
adoramus te 1	adoramus te 1	
		" <i>Glorificamus te</i> "
glorificamus te 2	glorificamus te 2	glorificamus te 2(TB)1(CA) 2 1
		2 1+2
gratias agimus tibi 1+2	gratias agimus tibi 1+2	
propter magnam gloriam tuam 1 2	propter magnam gloriam tuam 1 2	
propter magnam 1 2	propter magnam 1 2	
propter magnam gloriam tuam 1	propter magnam gloriam tuam 1	
		" <i>Domine Deus, Rex caelestis</i> "
Domine Deus, Rex caelestis 2	Domine Deus, Rex caelestis 2	Domine Deus, Rex caelestis 1 2

²⁸ Distribution differs if we exchange altos; see examples 1 and 2.

²⁹ Distribution differs if we exchange altos; see examples 3 and 4.

Deus, Pater omnipotens 1 Domine, Fili 2 1 2 unigenite 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 Jesu Christe 2 1 1+2	Deus, Pater omnipotens 1 Domine, Fili 2 1 2 unigenite 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 Jesu Christe 2 1 1+2	Deus, Pater omnipotens 1 1+2 "Domine Deus, Agnus": Domine Deus, Agnus Dei 2 1 Filius 2 1 2 Patris 1 2 Filius 1 Patris 2 Filius 2 1 2 Patris 1 Filius Patris 1+2
Domine Deus, Agnus Dei 1 Filius 2 1 Patris 2 1 Filius Patris 1 Filius 1 2 1 Patris 2 1 2 Filius Patris 1 Patris 1+2	Domine Deus, Agnus Dei 1 Filius 1+2 Patris 1+2 Filius Patris 1+2	
[“Qui tollis peccata”] Qui tollis peccata mundi 1 miserere nobis 2 qui tollis peccata mundi 1 suscipe deprecationem nostram 1+2 qui sedes 1+2 ad dexteram Patris 1 2 1 miserere nobis 2	[“Qui tollis peccata”] Qui tollis peccata mundi 1 miserere nobis 2 qui tollis peccata mundi 1 suscipe deprecationem nostram 1+2 qui sedes 1+2 ad dexteram Patris 1 2 1 miserere nobis 2	“Qui tollis peccata” Qui tollis peccata mundi 1 miserere nobis 2 qui tollis peccata mundi 1 suscipe deprecationem nostram 1+2
quoniam 1 tu solus Sanctus 2 1 tu solus Dominus 2 1	quoniam 1 tu solus Sanctus 2 1 tu solus Dominus 2 1	“Quoniam tu solus Sanctus” Quoniam tu solus Sanctus 1 2 quoniam 1 tu solus Sanctus 2 1 2 1 1+2
Tu solus 2 1 tu solus Altissimus 2 1	tu solus 2 1 tu solus Altissimus 2 1	“Tu solus Altissimus”: tu solus 2 1 Altissimus 2 1 tu solus Altissimus 2 1 tu solus 2 1 2 1 Altissimus 1 2 tu solus 1 2 1 Altissimus 1 2 tu solus 2 Jesu Christe 1+2
Jesu Christe 1+2 cum Sancto Spiritu 2 1 2 in gloria 1 2 1 2 Dei Patris amen 1 in gloria 2 1 2 Dei Patris amen 1 in gloria 2 1 2 Dei Patris amen 1 2 1 in gloria Dei Patris amen 1+2	Jesu Christe 1+2 cum Sancto Spiritu 2 1 2 in gloria 1 2 1 2 Dei Patris amen 1 in gloria 2 1 2 Dei Patris amen 1 in gloria 2 1 2 Dei Patris amen 1 2 1 in gloria Dei Patris amen 1+2	

[Credo]

["Patrem"]

Patrem omnipotentem 1
Factorem caeli et terrae 2
visibilium omnium 1 2
et invisibilium 1 2 1
Et in unum 2 1
Dominum Jesum Christum 1+2
Filius Dei unigenitus 1+2
Et ex Patre natus 1 2
ante omnia saecula 1
Deum de Deo 2
lumen de lumine 1
Deum verum 2
de Deo vero 1
Genitum 1+2
non factum 2
Genitum 1+2
non factum 1
consubstantialem Patri 2 1 2
per quem omnia 1 2
facta sunt 1+2
Qui propter 1
nos homines 2
qui propter 1
nos homines 2 1
et propter nostram salutem 2
descendit de caelis 1 2 1 2
Et incarnatus est 1 2
de Spiritu Sancto 1
ex Maria Virgine 2
Et homo factus est 1+2

[Credo]

["Crucifixus"]

Crucifixus etiam pro nobis 1
sub Pontio Pilato passus 1
et sepultus est 1
et resurrexit 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1
tertia die 2 1
secundum Scripturas 2 1 2 1 2 1
et ascendit 2 1 2 1
et ascendit in caelum 2 1 2
sedet 1+2
ad dexteram Patris 1
et iterum 2 1 2 1
venturus est 2 1 2 1
cum gloria iudicare 2
vivos 1 2 1 2 1 2
et mortuos 1

cuius regni 2 1 2 1 2
non erit 1 2 1 2
non erit finis 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 1+2

["Et in Spiritum"]

Et in Spiritum 1
et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum 1+2
et vivificantem 1 2 1
qui ex Patre Filioque procedit 2
Qui cum Patre 1 2 1 2
et Filio 1 2 1
simul adoratur 1+2
et conglorificatur 2 1
qui locutus est 2 1
per Prophetas 1
Et unam sanctam catholicam 2 1
et apostolicam Ecclesiam 2 1 2 1
Confiteor 2
unum baptisma 1 2
in remissionem peccatorum 1 2
Et exspecto 1 2 1 2
resurrectionem 1 2 1 2 1
mortuorum 1
Et vitam venturi saeculi 2 1 2
amen 1+2

"Amen"
Amen 1+2

[*Sanctus*]

["Sanctus"]
Sanctus 1 2 1
Dominus Deus Sabaoth 2 1 2 1 1+2
Pleni sunt caeli 1 2 1 2
et terra 1 2 1 2 1
gloria tua 1

Sanctus 1 2
Dominus Deus Sabaoth 2 1 2
Pleni sunt caeli 1 2 1 2
et terra 1 2 1 2 1
gloria tua 1 2 1 1+2
["Hosanna in excelsis"]

Hosanna in excelsis 1 2 1
in excelsis 2 1

hosanna in excelsis 2 1
in excelsis 2 1
hosanna in excelsis 2 1 2 1 1+2

[*Sanctus*]

"Sanctus Primum"
Sanctus 1 2 1+2

"Sanctus Secundum"
Sanctus 1 2
Dominus Deus Sabaoth 2 1 2

"Hosanna in excelsis"
Hosanna 2 1
hosanna in excelsis 2 1 2 1

hosanna 2
hosanna in excelsis 1 2 1
in excelsis 2 1
hosanna in excelsis 2 1
in excelsis 1 2
hosanna in excelsis 1+2

["Benedictus"]

Benedictus, qui venit in nomine Domini 1

[*Agnus Dei*]

["Agnus Dei I"]

Agnus Dei 1 2

qui tollis 1 2

peccata mundi 1 2 1

miserere nobis 2

Agnus Dei 1 2

qui tollis 1 2 1

peccata mundi 2 1

qui tollis 2

peccata mundi 1 2 1 2

miserere nobis 1 2 1+2

[*Agnus Dei*]

"Agnus Dei"

Agnus Dei 1 2

qui tollis 1 2

peccata mundi 1 2 1

miserere nobis 2 1 1+2

["Agnus Dei II"]

Agnus Dei 1 2 1 2

qui tollis peccata mundi 1 2

Agnus Dei 1 2

qui tollis peccata mundi 1 2

dona nobis pacem 1 2 1 2 1 2 1

The above comparison demonstrates that the echo effect clearly dominates in all parts of Marenzio's Mass cycle with the exception of the *Gloria*. However, even here it could be claimed that parts set according to the echo principle take up over half of its course, in spite of the relatively large amount of text which is not alternately repeated by each choir. As has already been mentioned, in order to set the very long text of the *Credo*, the composer employed a variety of procedures and diversified the structure and the distribution of parts, but the greatest amount of space (two-thirds of the measures) has been devoted to the exchanges of repeated sections of the text between two choirs singing separately. In the subsequent parts the echo principle is not only the dominant but – with the exception of the "Benedictus" – the only device. To sum up, there does not seem to be any doubt that a work constructed in this way may be regarded as composed in "echo form".

The author of the setting transmitted in the printed version, Georg Vintz, attempted to break out of this form, and its predominantly homorhythmic character. However, he limited himself in this task to very simple devices, which did not demand either compositional skills or creativity. The musical material of two of the preserved sections of Marenzio's Mass cycle and those from the Vintz anthology is almost identical. Differences shown in exam-

ple 20, concerning mainly the “Christe eleison” and “Kyrie II”, result from the periodic exchange of voices between choirs, which disturbs the homorhythm maintained in these parts of Marenzio’s composition. The musical realisation of the *Gloria* is nearly identical in the two versions which are being compared. The difference in the distribution of text between choirs found in the setting of the text “Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, Filius Patris” is also a result of introducing in the Mass by Marenzio / Vintz an exchange of voices between choirs in which, over the space of a few measures, the alto from the first choir becomes the alto of the second choir and vice versa. Thus in place of choirs singing alternately in a homorhythmic structure there appears a tutti part with an imitative structure.

The contribution of the anonymous composer to the version of the Mass notated in the Pelplin tablature was significantly greater. His purpose was to adapt the extensive Mass cycle, originally meant to be performed during a large-scale prolonged church celebration by a large ensemble, to the liturgical needs of a Cistercian monastery. The duration of the composition was limited by having it performed in the *alternatim* manner, and also by shortening some polyphonic sections. Instead, alien sections were introduced, which show no connection either to Marenzio’s Mass or to his motet (two additional settings of the “Kyrie”), and a number of fragments from the original version of the Mass were expanded to constitute separate sections. The latter solution involves increasing the use of the echo principle in the composition. It was introduced most extensively in the *Gloria*, where, as has been shown, the exchange of text between the choirs in Marenzio’s work is less frequent. In the anonymous version we find multiple repetitions of words which in the Masses of Marenzio and Marenzio / Vintz appear only once (see “glorificamus te”, examples 21 and 22). Reducing the ensemble to four voices of sopranos and altos (as in the “Benedictus” from Marenzio’s cycle) in the initial part of this section of the Pelplin Mass is another device worthy of our appreciation.

In the case of “Tu solus Altissimus” from the *Gloria* (a phrase which, in the Masses by Marenzio and Marenzio / Vintz, appears once in both choirs) the version from the Pelplin tablature is striking not only because of the multiple exchange of choirs repeating the same words, but also because the voice ensembles are introduced after an interval of a half note (semibrevis in the original) – that is, at a distance regarded as characteristic for polychoral Roman compositions from the end of the sixteenth century. Another striking feature of the composition is that there are no literal verbal-musical repetitions and there is a constant variation of harmony so that, in spite of such numerous repetitions, the section does not sound monotonous.

132 Tu so - lus al - tis - si - mus, tu so - lus al - tis - si - mus, tu so - lus, tu so -

Ch. I

Ch. II

8 Tu so - lus al - tis - si - mus, tu so - lus al - tis - si - mus, tu so - lus,

137 - lus, tu so - lus al - tis - si - mus, tu so - lus, tu so - lus al - tis - si - mus,

Ch. I

Ch. II

8 tu so - lus al - tis - si - mus, tu so - lus al - tis - si - mus, tu so - lus

Example 23: Anonym: *Missa a 8 Super Iniquos*, bars 132–141 (*Gloria*)

The formal cohesion of Marenzio's *Missa super Iniquos odio habui* cycle depends to a significant degree on the use in different sections of melodic material and/or harmonic structures from his motet *Iniquos odio habui* reworked in a variety of ways. The exposition of the motet, and the cadences which close the first and second parts of the work, and which constitute the point of departure for a number of internal cadences and all the closing parts of the cycle, are employed most frequently.

56 et sal - vus e - ro, et sal - vus e - ro, et sal - vus e - ro.

Ch. I

Ch. II

e - ro, et sal - vus e - ro, et sal - vus e - ro.

Detailed description: This musical score shows two staves, Ch. I and Ch. II, in a 6/8 time signature. The music is in a minor key. The vocal lines are written in a style characteristic of the late Renaissance, with a focus on rhythmic patterns and melodic contour. The lyrics are 'et sal - vus e - ro, et sal - vus e - ro, et sal - vus e - ro.' The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines.

Example 24: Luca Marenzio: *Iniquos odio habui* [a 8], bars 56–59

142 a - men, in glo - ri - a, in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris, a - men, De - i Pa - tris, a - men.

Ch. I

Ch. II

in glo - ri - a, in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris, a - men, De - i Pa - tris, a - men.

Detailed description: This musical score shows two staves, Ch. I and Ch. II, in a 6/8 time signature. The music is in a minor key. The vocal lines are written in a style characteristic of the late Renaissance, with a focus on rhythmic patterns and melodic contour. The lyrics are 'a - men, in glo - ri - a, in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris, a - men, De - i Pa - tris, a - men.' The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines.

Example 25: Luca Marenzio: *Missa super Iniquos odio habui*, bars 142–146

It is significant that this principle has been adhered to in the Pelplin Mass even in parts which have been changed in relation to the original – either extended or shortened.

199 - bis, mi - se - re - re no - bis, mi - se - re - re no - bis.

Ch. I

Ch. II

Example 26: Anonym: *Missa a 8 Super Iniquos*, bars 199–202 (*Agnus Dei*)

The unknown author of this Mass clearly also appreciated the artistic skill with which Marenzio set the final “amen” of *Credo*. Although in this version the whole text of the creed is to be performed monodically, the original polyphonic version of the final “amen” is to be found in the Pelplin tablature in full and with no changes. This setting repeats the material of the closing cadence of the motet *Iniquos odio habui*, in which the composer employed motifs from the exposition of that work, and by introducing a complementary rhythm created a rhythmic ostinato.

In conclusion, it seems that both an analysis of the complete cycle of the *Missa super Iniquos odio habui* by Luca Marenzio from the manuscript of Silesian provenance now held in Berlin, and the changes made to it when compared to the version of the Mass adapted to the needs of Cistercian liturgy and transmitted anonymously in the Pelplin tablature, demonstrate that the main compositional principle used in this work is the echo device. This device, as its characteristic feature, was taken up by the anonymous author who arranged the Mass for performance at the Cistercian monastery. The fact that the composition has been transmitted through so many seventeenth-century sources written in the area of the Commonwealth of Poland (in Gdansk and in Pelplin) and in neighbouring Silesia, as well as being printed in nearby Saxony,

145 A - - - - - men a - - - - -

Ch. I

Ch. II

148 men a - - - - - men a - - - - - men.

Ch. I

Ch. II

Example 27: Anonym: *Missa a 8 Super Iniquos*, bars 145–151 (*Credo*); see Luca Marenzio: *Missa super Iniquos odio habui*, bars 351–358

provides strong evidence for the hypothesis that it was created during Luca Marenzio's stay at the court of Sigismund III, or at least that it was included in the repertory of the royal cappella at that time. This extensive polychoral Mass cycle numbered 486 measures (after reducing the value by half), and was constructed mainly on the principle of alternate repetition of single words or short phrases by one and then the other choir (this principle is adhered to throughout more than 300 measures). It is highly likely that this was the work which resounded in the collegiate church of St John the Baptist in Warsaw, in the presence of the court of king Sigismund III, the cardinal-legate Enrico Caetani, and his master of ceremonies, Giovanni Paolo Mucante. One cannot exclude the possibility that among the unknown or incomplete Masses

by Luca Marenzio there may have been others composed in a similar manner; however, among those Masses which have come down to us, only the *Missa super Iniquos odio habui* displays the features mentioned in Mucante's description and can be regarded as Marenzio's Warsaw Mass in echo form.

Translated by Zofia Weaver

Summary

Archival searches carried out in recent decades have led to sources which reveal the circumstances surrounding the departure of Luca Marenzio (in October 1595) from Rome for Poland. We are still not certain of the duration of Marenzio's career at the Polish royal court and of the music he produced under the patronage of the king of Poland Sigismund III Vasa.

According to the account of Giovanni Paolo Mucante, master of ceremonies who accompanied cardinal Enrico Caetani in his legation in Poland in 1596–97, during the service at the collegiate church of St John the Baptist in Warsaw on 13 October 1596 the royal chapel under the direction of Marenzio performed his new Mass in echo form. The author of the present article takes into account two manuscript copies of the *Missa super Iniquos odio habui* of Marenzio, not examined until now: one, of Silesian provenance, created in 1602 in Wrocław, held in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin (Slg Bohn Ms. mus. 94 No. 11), the only known complete version of this Mass (containing the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei parts), and another, preserved anonymously in the Pelplin keyboard tablature, dating from 1620–30, held at the Archiwum Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego in Pelplin (Poland), shelf number 306, fols 93v–98r. According to the author's hypothesis, the description in Giovanni Paolo Mucante's diary of the newly composed Mass by Marenzio performed in Warsaw in October 1596 could refer to his *Missa super Iniquos odio habui*.

Marina Toffetti

Structural variants and contrapuntal re-elaboration in the versions for two and three choirs of Luca Marenzio's motet *Jubilate Deo...cantate**

As is well known, the polychoral output of Luca Marenzio raises numerous questions, some of which are still awaiting a satisfactory answer. Some of his polychoral works have, in fact, come down to us in multiple versions and/or with conflicting attributions, giving rise to several problems, including that of establishing the relations between the different versions and the order in which they were written, as well as that of ascertaining their authorship.¹

This article examines the psalm-motet *Jubilate Deo...cantate* (Psalm 97, verses 4–9), which has reached us in two versions, respectively for eight and

* The recent emergence of some manuscript sources of Luca Marenzio's motet *Jubilate Deo...cantate*, until now never taken into account but today more easily accessible thanks to the constantly updated RISM-OPAC data-base, prompted me to repropose, this time translated into English, a revised and adjourned version of the first part of my article "Note a margine del processo compositivo marenziano: i salmi *Jubilate Deo* e *Laudate Dominum* nella duplice versione a otto e a dodici voci", in: *Miscellanea marenziana*, eds. Antonio Delfino – Maria Teresa Rosa Barezzani, Pisa: ETS, 2007 («Diverse voci...», 9), pp. 71–148.

¹ On Marenzio's polychoral motets see Roland JACKSON, "Marenzio's Polish Sojourn and his Polychoral Motets", in: *Musica antiqua. Acta Scientifica*, Bydgoszcz: Filharmonia Pomorska imienia Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego, 1985, vol. 7, pp. 503–526. On Marenzio's works surviving in multiple versions see Ugo GIANI, "I due magnificat VIII toni", in: *Luca Marenzio musicista europeo*, eds. Maria Teresa Rosa Barezzani – Mariella Sala, Brescia: Edizioni di Storia Bresciana, 1990, pp. 217–235. On the works presenting problems of attribution and authenticity see Roland JACKSON, "Two Newly-Found Motets by Marenzio?", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 1971/1, pp. 103–112.

twelve voices.² A comparison between them has highlighted some significant compositional procedures, helping to define the composer's *modus operandi* as a sacred polyphonist and allowing various hypotheses regarding the order of composition of the two versions.

In particular, whereas in the critical notes of the three-choir version of this motet included in the seventh volume of the complete works by Marenzio Roland Jackson states that "This motet represents a reworking for three choirs of the two-choir version",³ the conclusion of the present article is exactly the opposite. As a matter of fact, the elements that emerged would lead us to suppose that the three-choir version of this motet was the first to be conceived; and that at a later moment the same composition was reduced to two choirs (not without some slight imprecisions as far as voice-leading is concerned), so as to allow the piece to be performed also in contexts with smaller choirs.

The fact that both versions are also included in two important musical sources linked to Poland (the version for three choirs in the well-known anthology *Melodiae sacrae*, edited by Vincentius Lilius and printed in Cracow in 1604,⁴ and both versions in the tablature kept at the Library of the Higher Theological Seminary in Pelplin) would seem to suggest that these polychoral

² Marenzio's motet *Jubilate Deo...cantate*, which is the subject of this article, is not to be confused with the motet *Jubilate Deo...servite / Populus eius* of the same Marenzio, of which two distinct versions (both for eight voices) have survived, corresponding to two drafts that diverge in several points and cannot be condensed into a single composition. The motet was used by Marenzio himself as the basis for a parody Mass published in an edition by Oscar Mischiati. The edition contains a preface with a brief analytical comment that points out the main differences between the two versions of the psalm and between the starting material and the Mass, as well as a section dealing with the sources. See MARENZIO, *Messa e mottetto "Jubilate Deo"*; Francesco Rocco Rossi, "Marenzio, la Polonia e un'intavolatura per organo: le due versioni del mottetto *Jubilate Deo...servite*", in: *Miscellanea marenziana*, pp. 149–192. This same motet (*Jubilate Deo a 8 Lucae Marentij*) is quoted in the chapter «De modis musicis» of *Exercitationes musicae Duae* by Sethus Calvisius as being among the «hypomixolydij exempla in regulari systemate» (see Sethus CALVISIUS, *Exercitationes musicae duae*, Leipzig: [Franz Schnellboltz], 1600. Nachdruck der Ausgaben: Hildesheim-New York: Olms, 1971, p. 56). On this matter see Piero GARGIULO, "Marenzio «moderno autore». Fortuna e recezione nei trattati del Seicento", in: *Studi marenziani*, eds. Iain Fenlon – Franco Piperno, Venezia: Fondazione Levi, 2003, p. 98, footnote 26.

³ See Luca MARENZIO, *Opera Omnia. Musica sacra*, ed. Roland Jackson, Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology – Hänssler, 2000 (CMM 72/7), p. XII.

⁴ Two other polychoral motets by Marenzio, i.e. *A solis ortus cardine* for eight voices and *Laudate Dominum* for 12 voices, are included in the same anthology.

works were, if not composed, at least performed (and possibly adapted in their scoring) during Marenzio's stay in Poland.⁵

1. Marenzio's polychoral compositions

As far as his sacred works are concerned, on his death Marenzio appears to have left only a small number of printed compositions: two books of 4-voice motets (both printed in Venice, respectively in 1585⁶ – his first and well-known printed collection of sacred music – and 1588, lost),⁷ an 8-part *Magnificat* included in a miscellaneous collection of 1592 edited by Giovanni Luca Conforti and printed by Francesco Coattino,⁸ and a collection of 6-voice compositions, entitled *Completorium et antiphonae*, printed in 1595 and now lost. All the other sacred work must have remained in manuscript form. Some of these manuscripts could also have acted as antigraphs for the compilation of the two posthumous books of 12-voice motets (1614, lost) and of *Sacrae cantiones* for 5, 6 and 7 voices published in Venice in 1616 (surviving),⁹ and for the printing of single compositions by Marenzio included in miscellaneous publications, whereas others were copied in further manuscripts, or did not lead to any tradition. Altogether, the sacred works that Marenzio presumably left among his manuscripts on his death should therefore be, at least, the following:

- nine motets for 5, 6 and 7 voices, written in his youth and later published in the posthumous individual collection of 1616 (which has survived);

⁵ On this matter see also Roland JACKSON, "Towards a chronology of Marenzio's sacred music", in: *Miscellanea marenziana*, pp. 9–48: p. 29.

⁶ RISM A/I M 494; reprint: 1588 RISM A/I M 495; 1600 RISM A/I M 496; 1603 RISM A/I M 497; 1606 RISM A/I M 498.

⁷ According to Fétis, Marenzio is supposed to have published a second book of 4-voice motets (Venice, Vincenti, 1588; reprinted in 1592), and a collection of 6-voice compositions entitled *Completorium et antiphonae* (printed in 1595), which have been lost. See François-Joseph FÉTIS, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de musique*, 2nd ed., Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1860–1865, under the entry "Marenzio, Luca".

⁸ See *Psalmi, Motecta, Magnificat, et Antiphona, Salve Regina diversorum Auctorum: Octo vocibus concinenda, selecta a Jo. Luca Conforti*, Roma: Franciscus Coattinus, 1592. RISM B/I 1592². See Ugo GIANI, "I due magnificat VIII toni".

⁹ RISM A/I M 499. As in the case of the 4-voice motets, printed while Marenzio was still alive, in this case too, none of the nine motets included in the collection appear in any other printed or manuscript sources.

- twelve 8-voice motets, survived as manuscripts or in anthologies printed after his death;
- an uncertain number of 12-voice motets, later published in the posthumous individual collection of 1614 published in Venice and mentioned by Fétis (lost);¹⁰ and five 12-voice motets, surviving as manuscripts or in anthologies printed after his death (perhaps in their turn included, all or in part, in the posthumous publication today no longer traceable);
- five polychoral Masses (four for two choirs and one for three choirs);
- an 8-voice *Magnificat* (of which a shorter version was published during the composer's life);¹¹
- a 9-voice *Te Deum* (probably performed, perhaps in a version for thirteen voices, during his stay in Poland), passed down in a manuscript kept in Vienna.¹²

It should be noted that, with the sole exception of the *Sacrae cantiones* – highly refined compositions written by Marenzio in the flower of his youth – the sacred compositions that Marenzio left in manuscript form are exclusively polychoral works, in some cases surviving in multiple versions.

The presence of such a large number of sacred works that have remained unpublished gives rise to reflection. On the one hand, Marenzio may simply have intended to publish them (at least in part), and his death prevented him from doing so. On the other hand, it cannot be ruled out that the composer dedicated himself to the sacred repertory solely on particular occasions, perhaps on commission, without foreseeing the publication of works linked to particular circumstances. Moreover, Marenzio may well have viewed his sacred output (or at least part of it) differently from his secular works, as a *corpus* susceptible to modifications, reworkings and re-elaborations depending on

¹⁰ This publication, if it really existed, could also have represented the primary source for the reprints and manuscript copies for at least some of the composer's works for three choirs that have reached us (see Table 1).

¹¹ See Ugo GIANI, "I due magnificat VIII toni", pp. 217–235. A reduction for four voices of the same work can be found in the *collectio minor* kept in Palazzo Altaemps in Rome.

¹² The title of the document reads «a 13 voci». It is possible that the original version (perhaps the one performed in Warsaw) was for three choirs (see Marco BIZZARINI, *Marenzio: la carriera di un musicista tra Rinascimento e Controriforma*, Coccaglio – Rodengo Saiano: Comune di Coccaglio – Promozione Franciacorta, 1998, p. 216). In addition to the works mentioned, there also exist a tablature of the psalm *Laudate Deum*; the bass part of a *Quis revolvat*; an *Exurgat Deus* for six voices (incomplete); a *Christe redemptor* and an *Ex Patre Patris* for five voices; and finally some profane compositions with substitute text.

contingencies.¹³ Such way of working, one might add, should be of no surprise, considering that the task of the sacred polyphonist, at the time, consisted to a large extent in composing music for immediate consumption in a given circumstance, although it could possibly be re-used in other contexts. Reworking, adapting, reducing or enlarging the ensemble or the dimensions of pre-existing works, of one's own or of others, was a rather widespread practice, which Marenzio, as a composer of sacred music, could have assumed in some moments of his life. On this matter, it is worth considering the case of the *Magnificat VIII toni*, of which two distinct versions have survived: a first, shorter version, printed during his life, and a second, longer version conserved in manuscript form. According to Ugo Giani, it is impossible to establish with any certainty the authenticity of the two versions, their reciprocal relationship, the order in which they were composed and the occasions for which they were destined.¹⁴ Moreover, from an *avviso* dated 21 December 1594 we learn that in that period Marenzio was working 'on the revision and simplification of the sacred repertory': «besides the reform of music, already mentioned, signor Marenzio is now giving particular care to reducing motets and hymns with other things that are sung musically in concerted notes and syllables so that they might be very easily understood by the listeners».¹⁵ What exactly this 'reduction' of the motets consisted of, is not totally clear; but it cannot be ruled out that the procedures used to adapt pre-existing works might include reductions

¹³ See Roland Jackson's remark about some of Marenzio's polychoral Masses: "These Masses, on *Laudate Dominum* and the new one on *Jubilate Deo*, allow us further to measure and appraise Marenzio's skill in the revising of previously composed material". See Luca MARENZIO, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 7, p. X.

¹⁴ See the concluding remarks of Giani's essay: «It is possible, for instance, that the long version was the outcome of a specific commission; or that, on the contrary, Marenzio wanted to condense the composition to make it suitable for a particular choir or to satisfy a specific practical need. Furthermore, it cannot be ruled out that the reason for the discussed schematic nature of the melodic and formal structure of the short version lies in the need, expressed by a group of singers particularly skilled in improvisation and in the extemporaneous embellishment of melodic lines, to provide a composition with characteristics that would make it suitable for this purpose. Finally, it could be supposed (I allow myself a last flight of fantasy) that Marenzio wished to prepare a version of this work (the short one) which put into effect the precepts decreed by the Council of Trent, in view of a printed edition» (Ugo GIANI, "I due magnificat VIII toni", pp. 234–235).

¹⁵ «Oltra alla riforma della musica, che si scrisse il signor Marentio ha ora cura particolare di ridurre gli mottetti, et hinni con altre cose che si cantano musicalmente in note et sillabe concertate in modo che facilissimamente si possono intendere da gli auditori». Quoted in Marco BIZZARINI, *Marenzio*, p. 219.

of the scoring and of the dimensions of the compositions, and that the above statement could be referring to the simplified re-elaboration of works previously written for larger forces.

With regards Marenzio's compositions for three choirs, six have come down to us, namely the Mass *Laudate Dominum*, surviving only as an incomplete manuscript,¹⁶ and five motets: *Ave maris stella*, *Jubilate Deo*, *Lamentabatur Jakob*, *Laudate Dominum* and *Super flumina Babylonis*. With regards the motet *Lamentabatur Jakob*, credibly attributed to Teodoro Clinio in a manuscript kept in Trent, Oscar Mischiati proposed removing it from the catalogue of Marenzio's works¹⁷ (and Roland Jackson too, in the seventh volume of the *Opera omnia*, seemed inclined to accept this suggestion).¹⁸ Some sources, moreover, attribute the motet *Super flumina Babylonis* to Giovanni Battista Lucatello (see Table 1),¹⁹ a Roman musician and composer known above all as a madrigalist.²⁰ If we are to trust the attributions given in the accessible sources, there should

¹⁶ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung Ms. 16707.

¹⁷ See Luca MARENZIO, *Messa e mottetto "Jubilate Deo" a otto voci e organo*, ed. Oscar Mischiati, Milano: Suvini Zerboni, 1981 (MMI, 7), p. XVI.

¹⁸ See Luca MARENZIO, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 7.

¹⁹ A copy originally belonging to Fortunato Santini of the 12-voice version of the motet *Super flumina Babylonis* attributed to Luca Marenzio is now kept in the library of the Tchaikovsky Conservatory in Moscow (Naučnaja muzykal'naja biblioteka im. S. I. Taneeva Moskovskoj gosudarstvennoj konservatorii im. P. I. Čajkovskogo, RUS-Mk), under the shelfmark XI-441 (RISM ID No.: 310002424). A further copy of the same motet, again attributed to Marenzio, is part of the Santini collection at the Diocesan Library of Münster (Santini-Bibliothek, Diözesanbibliothek, D MÜs SANT), shelfmark Hs 874 Nr. 3 (RISM ID No.: 451020713). According to the information given in Steven LEDBETTER – James CHATER – Roland JACKSON, "Marenzio, Luca", in: NG2, vol. 15, pp. 835–845, in a manuscript kept in the Regensburg Proskesche Bibliothek seven part-books are said to be attributed to Lucatello (Locatelli) and the remaining five to Luca Marenzio. Furthermore, the 8-part version included in 1614³ is attributed to Giovanni Battista Locatelli. In addition, another setting for eight voices of this psalm, attributed to Lucatello, is included in a manuscript originating from Mantua and datable to between the end of the 16th century and the start of the 17th (see below), now kept in the Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica 'G. Verdi' in Milan, Ris. Mus. C. 135–141, while a further setting for twelve voices is found in the so-called *Collectio minor* of the Ex Bibliotheca Altempsiana. Here the work is attributed to Luca Marenzio in all the part books and in the table of compositions, ordered alphabetically, situated at the end of the books.

²⁰ In addition to the madrigals and canzone included in miscellaneous volumes, mention should also be made of Giovanni Battista Locatello's *Il primo libro de madrigali* for 2–7 voices published Venice in 1628; see Robert EITNER, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Haertel, 1900–1904, vol. 6 (1902), p. 195b; RISM A/I L 2623.

be no doubt about Marenzio's authorship of the other three 12-voice motets. Of these, two have survived in two alternative versions, for eight and twelve voices: the motet *Jubilate Deo* and the motet *Laudate Dominum*, the 8-voice version of which is also attributed to Ruggero Giovannelli (see Table 1).

Table 1: Marenzio's compositions for three choirs

	3-choir compositions / attributions	Additional 2-choir version / attributions
<i>Missa Laudate Dominum</i>	L. Marenzio	–
<i>Ave maris stella</i>	L. Marenzio	–
<i>Jubilate Deo</i>	L. Marenzio	L. Marenzio
<i>Laudate Dominum</i>	L. Marenzio / [anonymous]	L. Marenzio / R. Giovannelli
<i>Super flumina Babylonis</i>	L. Marenzio / G. B. Lucatello	G. B. Locatelli
	3-choir compositions no longer attributed to Marenzio	
<i>Lamentabatur Jakob</i>	T. Clinio / [L. Marenzio]	–

2. The motet *Jubilate Deo...cantate* for twelve voices

The version for twelve voices of Marenzio's motet *Jubilate Deo...cantate* is known to us through the following sources:

A. Prints:

Title	Place of publication	Publisher	Date	RISM	Constitution
<i>Melodiae Sacrae, Quinque, Sex, Septem, Octo, et Duodecim vocum, quatuor celeberrimorum musices moderatorum, Sere^{mi} ac pote^{mi} Poloniae, Suecieque etc. etc. Regis, Sigismundi Tertii, nec non aliquot aliorum praesentis Capellae praestantium musicorum. Opera ac studio Vincentii Lillii Romani, eiusdem florentissimae capellae Regiae Musici, hinc inde collectae.</i>	Cracow	Lazari, Basilius Skalski	1604	B/I 1604 ²	<i>unicum</i> in Regensburg, Proskesche Musikbibliothek (I SA II STB) SAT I

B. Manuscripts:

City	Library	Shelfmark/RISM	Provenance	Dating	Notes
Roma	Biblioteca Nazionale	Mss. Musicali 33–34 RISM ID No.: 850036517 (ATB I SATB II SA III)	Archconfraternity of the Most Holy Trinity of Pilgrims and Convalescents, Rome	End of 16th century	
Pelplin	Archiwum Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego	Ms. 305, vol. 2, 139v–141r, n. 289	Copied in the Cistercian community of Pelplin	1620–1640	German tablature
Dresden	Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitäts- bibliothek (SLUB) D-DI	Mus.1-E–750,11f RISM ID No.: 230009485 (Bc)		1620–1650 [RISM OPAC] 1623 ca [title-page]	<i>Jubilate Deo à 12 Luca Marentii 3. cboris</i>
Waldheim	Pfarrbibliothek	A II, B II			Photographic copy at the Deutsches Musikgeschichtliches Archiv in Kassel, 1453

The manuscript kept at the Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma

The 12-voice version of Marenzio's motet appears in a manuscript currently kept in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome [Figure 1].²¹ According to Noel O'Regan, the manuscript was probably compiled for the confraternity of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini in Rome, where Marenzio was director of music during the Lenten celebrations in 1584 and in 1592.²² If we accept O'Regan's

²¹ See Roma, Biblioteca Nazionale, mus. mss. 33–34, 40–46. In the *Catalogo del fondo musicale della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II di Roma*, Introduzione storica di Arnaldo Morelli, Roma: Consorzio IRIS per la valorizzazione dei beni librari, 1989, pp. 53–57, the dating proposed for this manuscript is the end of the 16th century. The manuscript lacks the part-books for the tenor and bass of the third choir.

²² See Noel O'REGAN, *Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome: Music at Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini 1550–1650*, London: Royal Musical Association, 1995 (Royal Musical Association Monographies, 7), pp. 65; ID., "Palestrina's polychoral works: a forgotten repertory", in: *Palestrina e l'Europa. Atti del III Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Palestrina, 6–9 ottobre 1994)*, eds. Giancarlo Rostirolla – Stefania Soldati – Elena Zomparelli, Palestrina: Fondazione Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, 2006, pp. 341–363: p. 353.

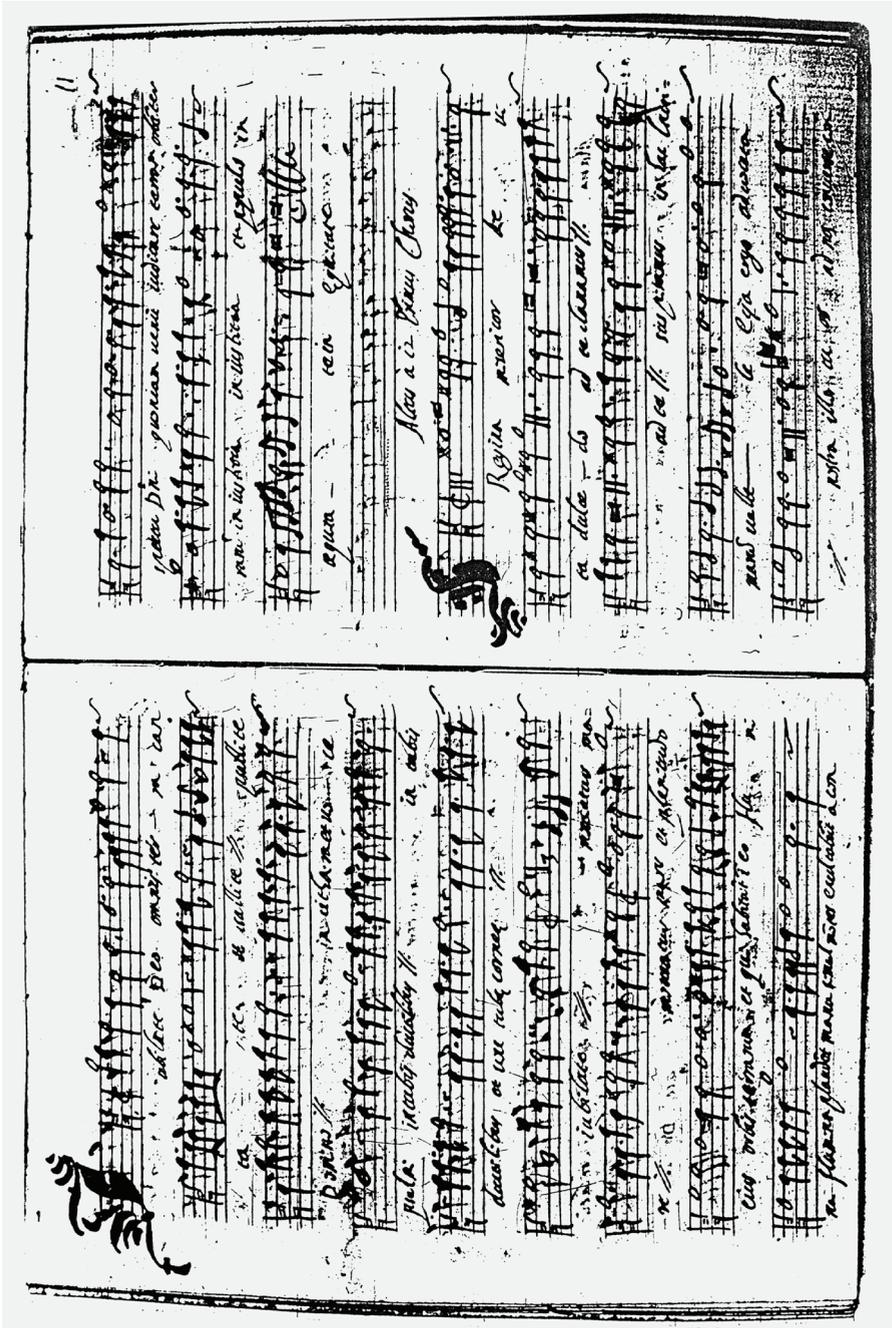


Fig. 1: Luca Marenzio, *Jubilate Deo* for twelve voices (Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, mus. ms. 40, Altus I, fol. 11)

hypothesis, which moreover is supported by numerous convincing arguments, we must conclude that Marenzio had composed this motet *before* his Polish stay, and that he then took it to Poland and had it performed there, maybe also in the reduced version for two choirs. The manuscript includes thirty-five compositions mostly for two choirs (apart from seven pieces for three choirs) by various composers (including Giovanni Battista Locatelli, Giovanni Maria Nanino, Felice Anerio, Giovanni Troiano, Asprilio Pacelli, Ruggero Giovannelli and Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina).²³ In addition to the motet *Jubilate Deo...cantate*, the manuscript also includes another composition attributed to Marenzio, *Egredimini filiae Sion* for two choirs, as well as a *Laudate Dominum in sanctis* for three choirs, here without attribution, but attributed to the composer in the anthology *Melodiae sacrae* edited by Lilius and published in Cracow in 1604.²⁴

The rich anthology represents an important testimony to the early diffusion of the polychoral style in Rome, offering further confirmation to those who have long called for a critical and documented re-reading of the history of Roman polyphony in the late-Renaissance, and definitively dispelling the traditional dichotomous view which contrasts the Venetian musical scene, progressive and modern, with that of Rome, excessively conservative.²⁵

The printed anthology *Melodiae sacrae* (Cracow, 1604)

The version for twelve voices of Marenzio's setting of the psalm *Jubilate Deo...cantate* is also included in the anthology published in Cracow in 1604. Some elements arising from the *collatio* of the two sources would suggest that the Roman manuscript (or a source linked to it, either used as the antigraph for its compilation, or else taken from it) may have been used as the antigraph for the compilation of the anthology printed in Cracow, a hypothesis that is sup-

²³ A complete description of the content of mss. mus. 33–34 / 40–46 is given by Noel O'Regan in his study on music at the confraternity of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini. See Noel O'REGAN, *Institutional Patronage*, p. 67.

²⁴ It seems very unlikely that the composer had approved of the writing of a manuscript that includes one of his compositions without any attribution.

²⁵ On this topic see, among others, the now historic article of Graham Dixon on Roman motets of the early 17th century, in which the author sustains that in Rome the most modern compositional trends can be noted both within the motets for small ensemble, and in the context of polychoral motets. See Graham DIXON, "Progressive Tendencies in the Roman Motet during the Early Seventeenth Century", *Acta Musicologica*, 53, 1981, pp. 105–119: 116.

ported by the presence, in the manuscript, of two of the three compositions by Marenzio that also appear in the printed edition.

In his preface to the collection Vincenzo Gigli states that it includes compositions for five, six, seven, eight and twelve voices written, among others, by Annibale Stabile, Luca Marenzio, Giulio Cesare Gabussi and Asprilio Pacelli, that is to say composers who worked as chapel master at the Polish court of Sigismund III Vasa. In the wake of recent research, we are today able to affirm with relative certainty that Marenzio was in service in Poland between 1595 and 1598.²⁶ In the same anthology we can also find Marenzio's motets *Laudate Dominum* for twelve voices and *A solis ortus cardine* for eight voices. It seems likely, therefore, that Marenzio had his polychoral motets performed at the court of Warsaw, where Sigismund III nurtured the ambition of creating a centre of music able to rival those of Venice and Rome.

The Pelplin tablature

As we have seen, the motet *Jubilate Deo* also appears in the manuscript tablature today kept in the library of the diocesan seminary of Pelplin (Poland), compiled by the friar Felix Trzcinski in the years 1620–1640 [Figure 2]. The monumental Pelplin tablature, which represents the only complete source for the psalm under consideration here, occupies a key place among the Polish sources that include compositions by Marenzio, and so merits a brief digression. Destined for the Cistercian order, it was compiled in the catholic ambience of Pomerania. In keeping with the destination and the contents of the collection,²⁷ its compiler seems to have been more interested in polychoral sacred compositions of a celebrative nature, than in the madrigals written by the 'dolce cigno'. In the tablature there are six works attributed to Luca Marenzio. Of these, two are

²⁶ On the presence of Italian musicians at the Polish court in the 17th century see Anna and Zygmunt SZWEJKOWSCY, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej polskich wazów* [Italians in the Royal Chapel of the Polish Vasa kings], Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1997; and Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *Historia muzyki polskiej*, t. III: *Barok, cz. 1: 1595–1696*, Warszawa: Sutkowski Edition, 2006 (in Engl.: *The History of Music in Poland*, vol. 3, *The Baroque*, part 1: 1595–1696, transl. John Comber, Warsaw: Sutkowski Edition, 2002).

²⁷ See Mirosław PERZ, "La musica sacra lombarda al 'mare protestantarum' (1600 ca.): Osservazioni sul repertorio dell'intavolatura di Pelplin", in: *La musica sacra in Lombardia nella prima metà del Seicento. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi (Como, 31 maggio–2 giugno 1985)*, eds. Alberto Colzani – Andrea Luppi – Maurizio Padoan, Como: AMIS, 1987 (Contributi musicologici del Centro Ricerche AMIS di Como, 4), pp. 359–365.

secular (the madrigals *Non porta ghiaccio aprile* — erroneously marked as *Non è porta* — and *Leggiadrissima eterna primavera*), and four sacred: the motet *Hodie completi sunt* for four voices, the motet on a psalmodic text *Jubilate Deo...servite* for eight voices (with its *secunda pars Populus eius*) and that on the text *Jubilate Deo...cantate* in a dual version for eight and for twelve voices.

The tablature is made up of six volumes. The first includes one hundred and thirty-one sacred works on a Latin text, attributed to thirty-four different composers (Giovanni Battista Cocciola, Cesario Gussago, Orfeo Vecchi and Melchior Vulpus are among the most represented), as well as nineteen anonymous compositions. The volume also contains Marenzio's motet *Hodie completi sunt*, which already appeared in his first book of motets for four voices (Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1585). The second volume of the tablature includes a total of one hundred and twenty-five vocal compositions, mostly in Latin (but also in German and, in three cases, in Italian), by thirty-one different composers, nineteen anonymous works and four of uncertain authorship. It contains three works by Marenzio: the madrigals for six voices *Non porta ghiaccio aprile* and *Leggiadrissima eterna primavera* and the psalm *Jubilate Deo* for twelve voices. Placed one after the other, the madrigals give only the *incipit* of the text. They had already appeared respectively in the fourth (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1587)²⁸ and fifth book of madrigals for six voices (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1591),²⁹ both reprinted several times. In the third and fourth volume of the tablature there are no works attributed to Marenzio. The third volume includes an anonymous *Missa a 8 Super Iniquos*, which is a re-elaboration of Marenzio's Mass preserved in other sources.³⁰ The fifth volume contains one hundred and fifty-seven compositions by forty-eight different composers, as well as eight anonymous works, for a total of two hundred sacred compositions, mostly in Latin. It includes two works attributed to Marenzio: the motet *Jubilate Deo...servite* (with the respective *secunda pars, Populus eius*) for eight voices,³¹ and the motet *Jubilate Deo...cantate* for eight voices, which is a re-elaboration of the motet for twelve voices

²⁸ RISM A/I M 510.

²⁹ RISM A/I M 515.

³⁰ On the *Missa Iniquos odio habui*, appearing in various sources originating from Poland, Silesia and the Czech lands, see the article of Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, "Missa super Iniquos odio habui – warszawska msza w formie echa Luki Marenzia?", *Muzyka*, 2004/3, pp. 3–39, the English version of which, "On the trail of Luca Marenzio's works composed in Poland: *Missa super Iniquos odio habui*", is published in this same volume on pp. 137–172).

³¹ See footnote 2.

contained in the second volume of the tablature [see Table 2]. Various printed and manuscript documents exist of both compositions: the first is contained in three printed anthologies of the period and in some manuscripts;³² whereas the second had already appeared in three anthologies printed in Rome (1614), in Strasbourg (1617) and in Leipzig (1621), and in some manuscripts.³³

The very presence of the compositions of Luca Marenzio in the Pelplin tablature is of particular interest in that it testifies to the composer's reception in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Table 2: Compositions by Luca Marenzio in the Pelplin tablature

Vol.	ff.*	n.	Incipit	Voices
I	69v–70 (154–155)	82	<i>Hodie completi sunt</i>	4
II	58v–59	216	<i>Non è porta</i> (sic) [correct title: <i>Non porta ghiaccio Aprile</i>]	6
II	59v–60	217	<i>Leggiadrissima</i> [second part missing <i>Già le muse</i>]	6
II	139v–141	289	<i>Jubilate Deo...cantate</i>	12
III	95v–98r		<i>Missa a 8 super Iniquos</i> [without attribution]	8
v	84v–85 (87v–88)	675	<i>Jubilate Deo...servite</i>	8
v	85v–86 (88v–89)	676	<i>Populus eius (secunda pars)</i>	8
v	104v–105 (107v–108)	694	<i>Jubilate Deo...cantate</i>	8

*The numbers in brackets indicate the new numbering.

The manuscript kept at the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Dresden

The Sächsische Landesbibliothek – the Saxon State and University Library in Dresden (Saxony) – holds a manuscript, clearly intended for the use of an

³² The version of the motet *Jubilate Deo...servite* included in Pelplin also appears in RISM B/I 1600², 1603¹ (repr. 1618¹) and 1617²⁴ (organ tablature, re-elaboration for four voices), in Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, ms. mus. Grimma 50 (at n. 94 and, in the form of a *contrafactum* with the text of the Mass, at n. 114), in Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, ms. mus. 326 Cim, and in Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. F. IX. 44 (appendix ms. at RISM B/I 1583²⁴) (see Luca MARENZIO, *Messa e mottetto "Jubilate Deo"*, p. XV; Rocco Rossi, "Marenzio, la Polonia", p. 158).

³³ See below.

organist to accompany the vocal performance, containing the basso continuo of four polychoral compositions. The composition by Marenzio, the only Italian composer, comes first, and is followed by two motets, respectively for fourteen and twelve voices, by Michael Altemburg (Alach, 1584 – Erfurt, 1640) and a motet for eight voices by Friedrich Weißensee (Schwerstedt, ca 1560 – Altenweddingen, 1622).³⁴ The title page of the booklet, which comprises a total of 11 pages, bears the indicative date of 1623.³⁵ If this date were to prove correct, it would therefore be a *descriptus*, probably taken from the printed anthology published in Cracow in 1604. Although not significant for the purposes of establishing the date of composition of this motet, the document is nevertheless of interest not only for the history of the reception of the composition, but also because it contains the basso continuo part, which does not appear in any other source. In order to aid the accompanying organist, who, without the score, would have found it difficult to remember the succession of the choral interventions, the episodes assigned to the first choir are marked with the number '1', written directly inside the stave of the basso, while those of the second and third choir are similarly marked with the numbers '2' and '3', again within the stave; and the episodes involving all three choirs are marked with the letter 'T', placed above the stave.

A comparison between the bass parts of the three choirs and the line of the continuo reveals that the writer of the continuo part did not simply transcribe the bass part verbatim at a lower register, but made some slight changes, especially in the rhythm, occasionally adding shorter, consecutive notes of the same pitch within a single longer note, following what was presumably common practice at the time. The manuscript is therefore of interest not only because it shows that in the 1620s this composition was performed with a basso continuo for organ, but also on account of the written indications regarding the improvisational procedures applied in the performance of the continuo line.

³⁴ «1. Luca Marenzio, *Jubilate Deo*, a 12 v.; 2. Mich[ael] Altemburg, *Lobet d[en] Herrn in s[einem] Heiligthum* a 14 v.; 3. [Michael Altemburg], *Hoffe auf den Herrn* a 12 v.; 4. Friedr[ich] Weißensee, *Da antwortet Laban* a 8 v.». The four motets were not copied by the same copyist.

³⁵ «Ms, ca 1623». On the title page we also find: «a) 1 St. in Band VI (Vox 3 <Cap.> zu Nr. 2). b) 1 St. in Band VII (B <Ch 3> zu Nr. 1, bc zu Nr. 2 u. Nr. 3, [T])». The bass part of the third choir, now lost, must therefore have been included in a not better specified 'seventh volume'.

The manuscript kept at the Pfarrbibliothek in Waldheim

Marenzio's motet *Jubilare Deo* that we are dealing with here is also included in a manuscript in separate parts presently kept at the parish library of Waldheim (Saxony). We do not have any further information regarding the origin or date of this manuscript. However, one can not fail to observe that Waldheim, where this manuscript is kept, is only about sixty kilometers from Dresden, where a further manuscript copy of the same twelve-voiced version of the same motet is preserved, which testifies to the reception of this motet in Saxony. The only two surviving part-books of the Waldheim manuscript are those of the alto and bass parts of the second choir of the twelve-voice version of the motet, as rightly indicated in the first volume of Luca Marenzio's *opera omnia*, published in 1978 as part of the series *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* and dedicated specifically to the composer's sacred music.³⁶ Here the version of the motet for twelve voices appears among the works that have survived incomplete. In effect, of the various sources available to us, the only ones taken into consideration for the reconstruction of the text are the alto and bass parts of the second choir in the Waldheim manuscript, and the anthology edited by Vincenzo Gigli (containing the upper voices of the first choir and the canto, tenor and bass of the second), whereas the manuscript kept at the Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome (lacking the canto of the first choir and the tenor and bass parts of the third) and the Pelplin tablature (which, being a tablature, contains all the parts) have not been considered. The result is a transcription lacking six voices out of twelve, with only the upper voices of the first choir, the second choir in its entirety and the third totally lacking. In the seventh volume of the same series, published in 2000 and again edited by Jackson,³⁷ the composition is transcribed in full, and we learn from the critical notes that the sources examined in this case include not only the one edited by Gigli in 1604, but also the Roman manuscript and the Pelplin tablature. No longer included, though, is the Waldheim manuscript, because, according to Jackson, in the meantime the alto and bass parts of the second choir had been discovered to belong to the version of the composition for eight voices, and not to the one for twelve voices, as Jackson had previously (and correctly) thought.

³⁶ See Luca MARENZIO, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1. *Musica sacra*, ed. Roland Jackson, Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology – Hänssler, 1978 (CMM, 72/1).

³⁷ See Luca MARENZIO, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 7.

3. The motet *Jubilate Deo...cantate* for eight voices

Compared to the 12-voice version of the same motet, the version for eight voices has come down to us through a greater number of sources, including three printed anthologies published after Marenzio's death and several manuscripts:³⁸

A. Prints:

Title	Place of publication	Publisher	Date	RISM	Editor
<i>Selectae Cantiones excellentissimorum auctorum Octonis vocibus concinendae a Fabio Constantino Romano urbeveteranae Cathedralis musicae praefecto in lucem editae</i>	Roma	Bartolomeo Zannetti	1614	1614 ³	Fabio Costantino
<i>Promptuarii musici, sacras armonia V, VI, VII et VIII vocum, et diversis clarissimis huius et superioris aetatis authoribus, in Germania nusquam editis, collectas exhibentis. Pars quarta: quae exhibit Conventus varios selectioresque, qui omnibus a SS Trinitatis Dominicis inclusivè inserviunt: cum spiritualibus Canticis, & sylvā harmonica Deiparae Virgini sacra. Collegit vero et basi generali accommodavit Caspar Vincentius S. Andreae wormatiensis organoedus.</i>	Strasbourg	Paul Ledertz	1617	1617 ⁹	Caspar Vincent

³⁸ A careful survey of both versions of the motet *Jubilate Deo...cantate* (naturally limited to the sources known at the time of its writing), already appeared in the critical notes of the edition of the parody Mass *Jubilate Deo...servite* edited by Oscar Mischiati, which put an end to a series of imprecisions that had found their way into numerous publications, including the *opera omnia* of Marenzio. See Luca MARENZIO, *Messa e mottetto "Jubilate Deo"*, pp. XIII–XVI. According to Róbert Murányi, the 8-voice version of Marenzio's *Jubilate Deo...cantate* is supposedly also included in a manuscript dating from the 17th century and preserved in the music collection of Bartfeld-Bártfa, today Bardejov (Ms. mus. Bártfa 21). See Róbert MURÁNYI, *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Musiksammlung von Bartfeld (Bártfa)*, Bonn: Schröder, 1991 (Deutsche Musik im Osten, 2), pp. 112 (n. 1611), 203. However, the incipit given in the thematic catalogue reveals that the copy kept in Bardejov actually refers to the motet *Jubilate Deo...servite*.

<p><i>Florilegi Musici Portensis, Sacras Harmonias sive Motetas V. VI. VII. VIII. X. Vocum e diversis, iisque praestantissimis aetatis nostrae autoribus collectus comprehendentis. Pars Altera. Quae exhibet concentus selectissimas. CL. Qui partim diebus Dominicis in communi: partim vero in specie Festis solemnioribus, per totius anni curriculum inserviunt, cum adjecta Basi Generali ad Organa Musicaque in strumenta accomodata. Collectore & editore M. Erbaro Bodenschatzio, Lichtenbergense, Illustris Gymnasii Portensis olim Cantore, nunc vero temporis Ecclesiae Osterhusanae Pastore. Cum gratia & privilegio Electoris Saxoniae.</i></p>	<p>Leipzig</p>	<p>Abraham Lamberg</p>	<p>1621</p>	<p>1621²</p>	<p>Erhard Bodenschatz</p>
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B. Manuscripts:

City	Library	Shelfmark/RISM	Provenance	Dating	Notes
Milan	Biblioteca del Conservatorio 'G. Verdi'	Ris. Mus. C 139–141 (separate parts)	Mantua, Santa Barbara	Fine XVI–1630	The manuscript is part of a collection that belonged to Claudio Sartori. A manuscript score also exists taken from these separate parts by the Brescian musician Chimeri
Berlin	Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn Archiv	<i>Bohn Sfg.</i> , Mus. ms. 29 (separate parts: C, A, T, B, V, VI, VII, VIII).	Breslau Stadtbibliothek (books belonging to Caspar Reichert and then to Michael Büttner)	1631–33	"Ex libris Caspari Reicherdtts 1631–33"
Pelplin	Archiwum Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego	Ms. 308, vol. V, cc. 104v–105 (107v–108), n. 694	Copied in the Cistercian community of Pelplin	1620–1640	German tablature

The versions for two and three choirs of Luca Marenzio's Jubilate Deo...cantate

Bergamo	Civica Biblioteca – Archivi Storici Angelo Mai I-BGc	B.9.19.11 RISM ID No.: 850006326. Listed in the catalogue of manuscripts of the Ufficio Ricerca Fondi Musicali in Milan. (S II, A II, B II, Org.)	Johann Simon Mayr	1740–1760	<i>Jubilate Deo a otto voci Luca Marenzio. Ricavato dall'Opera intitolata: Fabii Constantini Selecta Cantiones excell. Authorum octonis vocibus Concinenda. Roma 1614.</i>
Münster	Diözesan- bibliothek, Santini- Bibliothek D-MÜs	SANT Hs 2912 (Nr. 2) RISM ID No.: 451015499 Score 3 f.	Santini collection	10.11.1816	[heading]: <i>Stampato Da Bartolomeo Zannetti Roma 1614</i> [at bottom]: <i>Luca Marenzio</i>
München	Bayerische Stadtbibliothek, Musikabteilung D-Mbs	Coll.mus.Max. 248 RISM ID No.: 450054728 (SATB I SATB II Org.)		1800–1833	paper: Toscolano, f.lli Andreoli, Lombardia (antigraph unknown)
Dresden	Landesbibliothek D-Dlb Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitäts- bibliothek (SLUB) (D-Dl)	Mus. 1160–E–1	Private Royal Music Collection, i.e. the private music library of the king of Saxony.	19th century	We learn from the title page that the manuscript was «taken from the work entitled: Fabii Constantini Selectae Cantiones excell. Authorum octonis vocibus concinendae. Romae 1614». Volume in oblong quarto format of 16 pages, water damaged. I thank Karl W. Geck, librarian of the Landesbibliothek in Dresden, for the information about the manuscript.
Vienna	National- bibliothek			20th century	Antigraph unknown

in eternum quia tibi dominus pre-
paravit in eternum preparavit
paravit in eternum
Jubilate deo omnis terra
canta: et psallite
psalite domino in cithara et uoce
psalmi in tubis dulcilibus dulcilibus uoce tubi
cornu et tuba et cetera et cetera
Luca Marenzio a. s.

Fig. 3: Luca Marenzio, *Jubilate Deo* for eight voices. Milano (Biblioteca del Conservatorio «G. Verdi», Ris. Mus. C 135-41, *Cantus I*, fol. 3)

The manuscript kept in the library of the Conservatorio di Musica G. Verdi in Milan

Particular attention is deserved by a manuscript presently kept at the Conservatorio di Musica G. Verdi in Milan [Figure 3], not taken into consideration in Marenzio's complete works. The collection consists of a series of documents formerly belonging to Claudio Sartori, and subsequently donated to the library of the Conservatorio G. Verdi in Milan by Gabriella Gentili Verona.

The manuscript probably comes from the Fondo di Santa Barbara of Mantua, as can be inferred from the silk ribbons in the colours of the Gonzaga family (yellow and light blue) and the hand of the copyist.³⁹ The collection includes compositions by Giovanni Contino, Ruggero Giovannelli, Luca Marenzio, Paolo Tarditi, Paolo Quagliati, Felice Anerio, Giovanni Battista Locatelli and Annibale Stabile. The motivations, times and circumstances pertaining to the compilation of this collection are, for the moment, unknown. It could well be that some personage of importance within the Gonzaga court (perhaps the duke himself) may have commissioned a copyist to compile an anthology of polychoral motets for eight voices to be used in the Santa Barbara chapel. Whatever the reason, it is a collection worthy of more thorough investigation and that represents an important testimony to the diffusion of the Roman polychoral repertory in Mantua. In the current state of research there are no elements allowing us to associate this manuscript from Mantua with Marenzio's repeated attempts to gain the patronage of the Gonzagas, a fact that can be deduced from the dedications found on three books of madrigals published in the last years of the composer's life and addressed to three different members of the Gonzaga family.⁴⁰

As in the case of the manuscript from Chiesa Nuova, the uncertainty of the dating of the manuscript copied in the context of the Gonzagas is of little help in establishing its critical value and its position within the history of the tradition of the composition we are dealing with here.

³⁹ Information about the manuscript was kindly provided by Agostina Zecca Laterza, who was also able to identify the hand of a copyist in the service of the Gonzagas.

⁴⁰ *Il sesto libro de madrigali a sei voci* (1595, dedicated to Margherita Gonzaga d'Este, duchess consort of Ferrara); *Ottavo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (1598, dedicated to Ferrante II Gonzaga, count of Guastalla); *Nono libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (1599, dedicated to duke Vincenzo Gonzaga). See Steven LEDBETTER – James CHATER – Roland JACKSON, "Marenzio, Luca", p. 837.

The manuscript kept at the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin

A copy of Marenzio's 8-voice version of the Psalm *Jubilate...cantate*, until now never taken into consideration, is currently kept in Berlin at the Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn Archiv of the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz. It is a manuscript in separate parts coming from the Stadtbibliothek in Breslau (Silesia), catalogued by Emil Bohn during the 19th century along with all the music manuscripts kept in that library,⁴¹ and bearing the following inscription: "Ex libris Caspari Reicherdt's 1631–33".

Some information about Caspar Reichert has been uncovered by Barbara Wiermann and appears in her book on the development of vocal and instrumental music in protestant Germany until the mid 17th century.⁴² Probably originating from Breslau, Reichert graduated from the University of Frankfurt an der Oder in 1601, and subsequently moved to the University of Wittenberg in January 1603.⁴³ We do not know exactly when he returned to Breslau, but we do know that in the years 1631–1633 he was a cantor in the local church of San Cristoforo, a subsidiary of the protestant church of Santa Maria Maddalena. At least five manuscripts currently kept in Berlin in the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz and coming from the state library of Breslau, must have belonged first to Reichert (whose ex-libris is present) and then to Michael Büttner's.⁴⁴

Regarding the manuscript of interest here, the dating (1631–1633) given on the title page, which does not necessarily coincide with the date when the manuscript itself was copied, tells us only that in those years the manuscript belonged to Reichert. If the manuscript was prepared in that period, one could hypothesize that Marenzio's motet was copied from one of the two anthologies published to the north of the Alps: the one compiled by Caspar Vincent and

⁴¹ See Emil BOHN, *Die musikalischen Handschriften des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau*, Breslau: Heinauer, 1890 (repr. Hildesheim and New York: Olms, 1970).

⁴² See Barbara WIERMANN, *Die Entwicklung vokal-instrumentalen Komponierens im protestantischen Deutschland bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Göttingen: Vandenhöck & Ruprecht, 2005, pp. 343, note 23; 347, 358–359 (Abhandlungen zur Musikgeschichte, Band 14).

⁴³ See Barbara WIERMANN, *Die Entwicklung*, p. 358–359.

⁴⁴ Bohn Slg Mus. ms. 24 (basso II): „Sum ex libris Caspari Reicherdt's Vratislaviae / ad D. Christopher. Cantoris“; Bohn Slg Mus. ms. 29; Bohn Slg Mus. ms. 38; Bohn Slg Mus. ms. 33 (basso continuo) and Bohn Slg Mus. ms. 45 (basso continuo). See Barbara WIERMANN, *Die Entwicklung*, pp. 343, 359.

printed by Paul Ledertz in Strasbourg in 1617, or the one compiled by Erhard Bodenschatz and printed in Leipzig by Abraham Lamberg in 1621.

As far as the modern edition is concerned, in the first volume of the *Opera Omnia* the version for eight voices does not appear – even though it is listed among the works by Marenzio included in printed anthologies of the time, and the list also mentions all three anthologies in which it appears. The seventh volume of the *Opera Omnia* contains a complete transcription of the composition, but in the critical notes of the same volume the editor declares to have taken into account the printed anthologies of Costantino, that of Schadaeus of 1617 (in fact the motet appears in the anthology collected by Caspar Vincent issued in the same year), and the manuscript kept in Waldheim (which, in fact, refers to the 3-choir version of the same motet).

Whatever the case, as things stand, a modern transcription is now available of both versions of the composition, making it possible, having carried out the due amendments to the musical text and the necessary integrations to the critical notes resulting from the collation of all the sources currently accessible, to proceed to a first analysis of the two versions of the composition.⁴⁵

4. Structural variants and contrapuntal re-elaboration in the versions for 8 and 12 voices

The analysis of the dual version of the motet *Jubilate Deo...cantate* can provide a significant contribution to the understanding of the chronology of the compositions: given two distinct versions of the same composition, both attributed to the same composer in nearly all the sources, the primary issue to be tackled is the order of their writing. In fact, it is one thing to compress twelve voices into the polyphonic space imposed by a re-elaboration for double choir, while it is another to expand a work for eight voices in two choirs, by introducing a third choir and also partly revising the structure of the whole composition. A comparison between the two compositions helped to clarify this matter and to understand the compositional procedures adopted by the composer.

⁴⁵ Considering that new research, today made easier thanks to the RISM-OPAC data-base, constantly updated and accessible on-line, has allowed the identification of sources not previously taken into account in the context of the publication of the complete works of Marenzio, a new critical edition of Marenzio's polychoral sacred music would seem more than ever desirable.

With reference to the motet *Jubilate Deo...servite*, Oscar Mischiati held that the version for twelve voices was an expansion of the motet for eight voices.⁴⁶ In the case of the motet *Jubilate Deo...cantate*, however, an examination of the formal and contrapuntal characteristics of the two versions could lead to the opposite conclusion, that is to say that the original version was the one for twelve voices, and that the reworking involved a reduction in the number of voices.

The interventions highlighted by a comparison of the two versions are basically of two types. The first are of a diachronic nature, and consist of the introduction of sporadic cuts, so that the re-elaboration for eight voices has an overall length of seventy bars in the modern transcription, while the version for twelve voices lasts for seventy-four bars. These cuts, although quite minimal, bring about variants in the structure that merit further attention. The interventions of a synchronic type, that is those carried out on the vertical dimension, are instead much more significant and present elements of greater interest. For this reason, it seemed opportune to focus more especially on these aspects.

The vertical dimension has been modified in two different ways. In both versions the sections with alternating choirs remain fundamentally unaltered in terms of synchrony, while presenting a greater number of diachronic variants. On the contrary, the sections originally involving the three choirs simultaneously have obviously undergone more substantial and extensive re-elaboration. In other words, where the choirs alternate, the composer has redistributed the passages originally divided into three choirs between the two choirs of the version for eight voices, occasionally removing some of them. Instead, in the sections where the choirs sing simultaneously, we find not only, as is inevitable, the elimination of some of the voices, but also substantial exchanges, rewritings and modifications with respect to the surviving parts. The examples that follow are intended to illustrate some cases considered in various ways to be exemplary of the procedures so far described.

Take, for instance, the opening episode, built, as is customary in polychoral compositions that play on stereophonic effects, on the criterion of alternation between the different choral blocks (see Examples 1a and 1b).

⁴⁶ See Luca MARENZIO, *Messa e mottetto "Jubilate Deo"*, p. XVI. Of the same opinion too, is Rocco ROSSI, "Marenzio, la Polonia", pp. 149–171.

The three-choir version has three entries, assigned in succession to the first, second and third choir, according to the following scheme:

bb.	1–2	2–3	3–4
choirs	I	II	III
episodes	A	A	A'

The entries of the first and second choir are identical,⁴⁷ while that of the third choir has a different ending. In this case the version for eight voices maintains the number of entries and the physiognomy of the episodes of the twelve-voice version, simply redistributing the material between the two choirs according to the following scheme:

bb.	1–2	2–3	3–4
choirs	I	II	I
episodes	A	A	A'

The first choir in the composition for eight voices reproduces the first choir of the twelve-voice version, at the same time assuming the material presented by the third choir. This criterion is adopted each time there is an odd number of entries and the most usual sequence of entries (I-II-III choir).⁴⁸ When the number of entries is even and two different entries bring about the momentary overlapping of more than one choir, the first choir is clearly unable to simultaneously present the material of both the first and third choir of the twelve-voice version, and is therefore replaced by the second choir⁴⁹

In some cases, however, the number of entries is changed. When the length of the corresponding episodes differs, the two-choir version is usually shorter

⁴⁷ Compared to the reading found in the anthology of Vincenzo Gigli and in the Waldheim manuscript, Pelplin introduces a variant at the end of the entry of the first choir (at I b. 2, I C sharp in place of E).

⁴⁸ See, for example, bb. 64–66 of the three-choir composition, which correspond to bb. 61–62 of the two-choir version.

⁴⁹ This happens, for example, in bb. 26–30 of the three-choir composition, which correspond, apart from some minimal variants, to bb. 23–27 of the two-choir version.

and lacks one or more passages present in the three-choir version.⁵⁰ See, for example, the episode that concludes the section in ♩ and precedes the first episode in triple time (see Examples 2a and 2b).

In this case the version for three choirs has ten entries (spanning five and a half bars in the modern transcription), according to the following scheme:

bb.	17–18	18	18–19	19–20	19–20	20–21	21–22	21	21–22	22
Choirs	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	I	III	I
Episodes	A	a	B	b'	b''	b'''	C	a'	c'	c''

The two-choir version, instead, has only four entries, taking up three bars in the modern transcription:

bb.	17	17–18	18–19	19
choirs	II	I	II	I
episodes	A	B	B	c

Returning to the question of the chronology of composition, if the twelve-voice version had derived from the one for eight voices, the composer would have had to expand the original structure of the composition, adding identical or slightly varied choral episodes following a procedure that can be summarized as follows:

8 voices	II	–	I	II	–	–	–	–	–	I
	a	–	B	B	–	–	–	–	–	c''
12 voices	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	I	III	I
	a	A	B	b'	B''	b'''	C	a'	c'	c''
type of intervention	reused	added	reused	reused	added	added	added	added	added	reused

⁵⁰ Just one exception can be found, namely in the second episode in triple time (bb. 34–40 of the three-choir version, bb. 31–37 of the two-choir version), in which the apparent addition of a choral passage in the eight-voice version seems to be compensated by the elimination of another passage, thus resulting simply as a variant and not involving any modifications to the overall length of the episode.

In this case, the added parts would have been numerous and relatively long, and this would have been quite a demanding task for the composer. If, on the other hand, the opposite procedure is hypothesized, that is the composer had reduced the number of voices used in the original composition, the changes made would have entailed the elimination of some choral episodes, as illustrated by the following scheme:⁵¹

12 voices	II a	III A	I B	II b'	III B''	I b'''	II C	I a'	III c'	I c''
8 voices	II a	–	I B	II B	–	–	–	–	–	I c''
type of intervention	reused	deleted	reused	reused	deleted	deleted	deleted	deleted	deleted	reused
				varied						

The factors arising from such an analysis would therefore lead one to incline towards the hypothesis of a re-elaboration for eight voices of a composition originally conceived for twelve voices. Let us now consider the sections involving the 'tutti', taking as an example a passage (bb. 10–12) in which the choirs present very brief episodes, at times in alternation, at others superimposed. The version for three choirs has four entries, assigned in succession to the third choir, to the first two superimposed, to the second and third superimposed, and to the three choirs all together. The two-choir version has the same number of entries, assigned respectively to the first choir (which takes up the material of the third), the second choir, the first again (once more assuming the material of the third choir), and the two choirs together, as can be seen in the following scheme:

bb.	10	10–11	11	11–12
12-voice version	III	I+II	II+III	I+II+III
8-voice version	I (=III)	II	I (=III)	I+II

What happens at the points when one choir takes the place of two choirs, or two take the place of three? There is no unequivocal answer. In the example

⁵¹ Also at bb. 49–52 of the three-choir version (at bb. 46–48 of the composition for double choir) the third passage (given to the third choir) does not appear in the eight-voice version.

in question, at bar 11 the eight-voice version assumes the material presented by the third choir in the twelve-voice version, by eliminating the parts presented by the second choir. In the following bar, in the eight-voice version we find, condensed and variously shared between the two choirs, parts taken from the three choirs of the twelve-voice version (with some transportations and the elimination of two parts from the second and two from the third choir). The music example shows both versions, indicating in the eight-voice version the correspondences with the twelve-voice version (see Examples 3a and 3b).

In other words, in some cases the reduction in the number of voices has led to the elimination of one of the three choirs of the twelve-voice version; in others it has led to more sophisticated re-elaboration procedures, resulting in a partial reuse, exact or varied, of parts already present in the twelve-voice version, but in new vertical combinations and in a completely new contrapuntal arrangement.⁵²

Alongside these contrapuntal situations, where, even if there is no exact correspondence between the choral sections, the correspondence between single voices can at least be identified, others can be seen, particularly in the concluding section of the motet, where the process of elaboration has led to more substantial interventions. This can be observed, for example, in bars 51–54 of the two-choir version (bb. 54–58 of the twelve-voice version), or again in the concluding episode (see Examples 4a and 4b).

In this case not only is there a lack of any correspondence between the choral sections, but it is also not possible to speak, apart from very short fragments, of any correspondence between the single voices. A large part of the contrapuntal material of the section for eight voices does not appear at all in the version for twelve voices.

A further argument in favour of the priority of the twelve-voice version is the presence of two irregularities in the movement of the parts (no less than two parallel octaves) in the eight-voice version but not in that for twelve voices. The two errors occur at a critical point in which the three choirs are compressed

⁵² A similar procedure involving the compression of voices coming from different choirs within the diastematic space of a single choir can be found in bb. 22–23 of the twelve-voice version (bb. 19–20 of the version for eight voices), where the composition for two choirs takes the two upper voices from the third choir and the two lower ones from the second, and again in bb. 61–64 of the twelve-voice version (bb. 58–60 of the version for eight voices), where the second choir of the version for double choir condenses the second and third choir of the one for three choirs.

into the space of eight voices.⁵³ Given that it is not usual for Marenzio to allow imprecisions of this type to escape him, why should he have committed them in a composition for eight voices and not in the more complex context of one for twelve voices? In any case, while it is unlikely that Marenzio would have made the same mistake twice while composing, it cannot be ruled out that it may have occurred during a hurried work of re-elaboration, perhaps dictated by the circumstances, or that he carried out the re-elaboration in a rough and approximate manner, perhaps intending to come back to it and refine the writing at a later point.

To sum up, the composition for eight voices is a little shorter than the one for twelve voices; in the sections with alternating choirs it is clearly derived from the latter with almost mechanical criteria, whereas the writing in the sections for the 'tutti' is less homogeneous than that of the twelve-voice version, with respect to which the composer has variously combined some voices, and presents some occasional irregularities in the movement of the parts. All this leads one to suppose that Marenzio had turned to a previous composition for three choirs to derive from it – possibly working in a hurry – one for eight voices, running into some problems with the voice-leading that have been taken up and passed down by tradition.

We could, of course, also suppose that the re-elaboration was not by Marenzio. However, it should not be overlooked that all surviving sources attribute the work to Marenzio, and that the composer has also left us other sacred compositions in multiple versions. This very tendency to re-elaborate pre-existing material could, in fact, be said to represent a typical *modus operandi* of Marenzio's polychoral output.

Translated by Michael Webb

⁵³ See bb. 55–56 of the twelve-voice version (bb. 51–53 of the one for eight voices).

The image displays a musical score for the piece 'Jubilate Deo' by Luca Marenzio, arranged for twelve voices. The score is organized into three systems, each containing four staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass). The lyrics 'Ju - bi - la - te De - o' are written below the vocal lines. The first system shows the initial four staves with the lyrics 'Ju - bi - la - te De - o' and 'om -'. The second system shows the next four staves with the lyrics 'Ju - bi - la - te De - o'. The third system shows the final four staves with the lyrics 'Ju - bi - la - te De - o'. The music is written in a common time signature (C) and features a variety of rhythmic values including quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, as well as rests.

Example 1a: Luca Marenzio, *Jubilate Deo* for twelve voices, bb. 1–4

The image displays a musical score for eight voices, organized into two systems of four staves each. The first system contains four staves, each with a vocal line and the lyrics "Ju - bi - la - te De - o, Ju - bi - la - te De - o om -". The second system also contains four staves, with the first three staves having lyrics "Ju - bi - la - te De - o om -" and the fourth staff having lyrics "Ju - bi - la - te De - o om -". The music is written in a common time signature (C) and features a variety of note values including quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, as well as rests. The lyrics are written below the corresponding musical staves.

Example 1b: Luca Marenzio, *Jubilate Deo* for eight voices, bb. 1–4

17

in tu - bis du - cti - li - bus, in tu - bis du - cti - li - bus, in tu - bis du - cti - li - bus, in tu - bis du - cti - li - bus

in tu - bis, in tu - bis du - cti - li - bus, in tu - bis du - cti - li - bus, in tu - bis du - cti - li - bus

in tu - bis, in tu - bis du - cti - li - bus, in tu - bis du - cti - li - bus, in tu - bis du - cti - li - bus

in tu - bis, in tu - bis du - cti - li - bus, in tu - bis du - cti - li - bus, in tu - bis du - cti - li - bus

in tu - bis, in tu - bis du - cti - li - bus, in tu - bis du - cti - li - bus, in tu - bis du - cti - li - bus

in tu - bis, in tu - bis du - cti - li - bus, in tu - bis du - cti - li - bus, in tu - bis du - cti - li - bus

in tu - bis, in tu - bis du - cti - li - bus, in tu - bis du - cti - li - bus, in tu - bis du - cti - li - bus

in tu - bis, in tu - bis du - cti - li - bus, in tu - bis du - cti - li - bus, in tu - bis du - cti - li - bus

Example 2a: Luca Marenzio, *Jubilate Deo* for twelve voices, bb. 17–22

9

et psal - li - te, et psal - li - te

et psal - li - te, et psal - li - te

et psal - li - te, et psal - li - te

et psal - li - te, et psal - li - te

et psal - li - te, et psal - li - te, et psal - li - te,

et psal - li - te, et psal - li - te, et psal - li - te,

et psal - li - te, et psal - li - te, et psal - li - te,

et psal - li - te, et psal - li - te, et psal - li - te,

et psal - li - te, et psal - li - te,

et psal - li - te, et psal - li - te,

et psal - li - te, et psal - li - te,

et psal - li - te, et psal - li - te,

Example 3a: Luca Marenzio, *Jubilate Deo* for twelve voices, bb. 9–11

10

-te, et psal - li - te, et psal - li - te,
-te, et psal - li - te, et psal - li - te,
-te, et psal - li - te, et psal - li - te,
-te, et psal - li - te, et psal - li - te,
et psal - li - te, et psal - li - te,
et psal - li - te, et psal - li - te,
et psal - li - te, et psal - li - te,
et psal - li - te, et psal - li - te,
et psal - li - te, et psal - li - te,
et psal - li - te, et psal - li - te,
et psal - li - te, et psal - li - te,
et psal - li - te, et psal - li - te,

Example 3b: Luca Marenzio, *Jubilate Deo* for eight voices, bb. 10–12

65

- te, in ae qui - ta - - - te.
 - te, in ae qui - ta - - - te.
 - te, in ae qui - ta - - - te.
 in ae qui - ta - - - te.

- te, in ae qui - ta - - - te.
 - te, in ae qui - ta - te.
 in ae qui - ta - - - te.
 - te, in ae qui - ta - - - te.

- te, in ae qui - ta - - - te.
 - te, in ae - - - qui - ta - te.
 ta - te, in ae qui - ta - te.
 - te, in ae qui - ta - - - te.

Example 4a: Luca Marenzio, *Jubilate Deo* for twelve voices, bb. 65–68

59

te, in ae - qui - ta - - - te.
te, in ae - qui - ta - - - te.
te, in ae - qui - ta - - - te.
te, in ae - qui - ta - - - te.

ta - te, in ae - qui - ta - - - te.
te, in ae - qui - ta - - - te.
te, in ae - qui - ta - - - te.
te, in ae - qui - ta - - - te.

Example 4b: Luca Marenzio, *Jubilate Deo* for eight voices, bb. 59–62

Summary

The article aims to re-examine the two versions (respectively for two and three choirs) of Luca Marenzio's motet *Jubilate Deo...cantate*, considering sources that were previously unknown, or in any case not taken into account for the purpose of publishing the complete works of the composer.

With regards the version for three choirs, which also comprises the alto and bass part-books of the second choir conserved in the parish library of Waldheim (once mistakenly believed to be part of the 2-choir version), of particular interest is a manuscript kept in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden, consisting of a part-book, clearly intended for the use of an organist to accompany the vocal performance, whose title page bears the indicative date of 1623. Although not significant for the purposes of establishing the date of composition of this motet, the document is nevertheless interesting for the history of the reception of the composition and because it is the only source which contains a basso continuo part and, in addition, has markings informing the organist of the alternation between the three choirs.

As far as the version for two choirs is concerned, another two manuscripts in separate parts prove to be of interest: the first kept in the library of the Milan Conservatory, but originally from Mantua, dating from between the end of the 16th century and the first three decades of the 17th century; the second, dating from 1631-1633, is conserved in Berlin, although originating from Breslau, and belonged to a cantor working in the church of St Christopher in Breslau.

Both versions of this motet are linked to the composer's Polish period (the 3-choir version appears in the printed anthology *Melodiae Sacrae*, compiled by Vincentius Lilius and published in Cracow in 1604, while both are included in the tablature manuscript kept in Pelplin and dating from 1620-40), which shows that this work was, if not composed, almost certainly performed (and perhaps also rescored) during his stay in Poland (1595-1597/98).

Regarding the question of the order in which the two works were written, the results of a comparison have led to opposite conclusions to what was previously believed, suggesting that the 2-choir version is a later adaptation of the work for three choirs.

Aleksandra Patalas

The polychoral Masses of Giovanni Francesco Anerio: parody technique

By the middle of the 1620s the royal ensemble of the Polish king Sigismund III had been ranked among the best ensembles in the whole of Europe. At the turn of 1624 and 1625 Giovanni Francesco Anerio was appointed as its head. Anerio (1569–1630)¹ belonged to the most renowned and highly regarded composers of the Roman School. In his music, he used the techniques typical of both the *prima practica* and *stile moderno*. Although tending more towards tradition than the avant-garde, Anerio did not shun the novel solutions: they can be found in his religious madrigals and compositions written in the manner of small and large *concertati* or *dialoghi* (the latter genre being a forerunner of the oratorio). Before Anerio's arrival in Warsaw, his *oeuvre* had comprised more than twenty printed collections of musical works. There is some evidence that he remained a prolific artist while working in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In spring 1630 Anerio set out to Italy taking some chests of musical documents that must have been, mainly, the manuscripts of his compositions intended for publication in print. Unfortunately, the musician died on his way to the Apennine Peninsula and was buried in Graz, Austria. The fate of the above musical manuscripts is unknown. They seem to be irreversibly

¹ The exact date of Anerio's birth (7 July 1569) was recently discovered and presented in the article by Fabrizio MASTROIANNI, *Ritrovata la data di nascita di Giovanni Francesco Anerio*, in *Tra musica e storia. Saggi di varia umanità in ricordo di Saverio Franchi*, eds. Giancarlo Rosticciola – Elena Zomparelli, Roma: Ibimus, 2017, pp. 159–166.

lost and therefore little is known about the professional activity of the composer whose contribution to European and Italian music was so significant.²

The traces of the artistic activity of Anerio in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth are nowadays very scanty. As head of the royal ensemble, he must have dealt with the demand for various compositions intended to solemnize religious feasts and public and court celebrations. One can only guess at the genres cultivated by him in Poland. They may have differed little from those mastered in Italy. However, all the known compositions by Anerio whose origins date back to his stay in Poland are Masses: two unique manuscripts contain his music to the *ordinarium missae* and there are some mentions regarding another two compositions of that kind by him. Their analysis in the context of all the extant Masses by Anerio should allow us to determine the path of evolution of his musical language and, consequently, the reconstruction of the possible form of his lost Masses composed in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

1. The Masses by Anerio: review of the sources

Two collections of Anerio's Masses were published in print in 1614 and 1619. They contain relatively few works in comparison with the number of his

² On the biographical issues and polychoral technique of Anerio see: Anna and Zygmunt SZWEJKOWSCY, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej polskich Wazów* [Italians in the Polish royal chapel during the Waza dynasty], Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1998. On the stay of the composer in Poland see Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, "Muzyka i finanse. Nieznane źródła dziejów życia muzycznego na dworze królewskim polskich Wazów (I)" [Music and finances: Unknown sources for the history of musical life at the royal court of the Polish Wazas I], *Muzyka*, 1999/1, pp. 83–100; EAD., "Źródła do dziejów muzyki na dworach polskich Wazów ze zbiorów Zamku Skokloster (Szwecja)" [The sources for research into the history of music at the court of the Polish kings from the Waza dynasty preserved in the archives of the Skokloster castle (Sweden)], *Muzyka*, 2011/2, pp. 3–15. On the stylistics of his late works see Zygmunt SZWEJKOWSKI, "Kilka uwag o twórczości mszalnej G. F. Aneria związanej z Polską" [Some remarks on Giovanni Francesco Anerio's Mass production connected with Poland], *Muzyka*, 1972/4, pp. 53–64, in Italian as: "Le Messe di Giovanni Francesco Anerio ed il loro rapporto con l'attività del compositore in Polonia", *Quadrievium*, 1975/1, pp. 145–152; Aleksandra PATALAS, "Utwory *concertato* w twórczości Giovanniego Francesco Aneria" ['Concertato' compositions by Giovanni Francesco Anerio], in *Affetti musicologici. Księga pamiątkowa z afektem ofiarowana Profesorowi Zygmuntowi Marianowi Szwejkowskiemu w 70. rocznicę urodzin* [Book of essays in honour of professor Zygmunt Marian Szwejkowski on his 70th birthday], ed. Piotr Poźniak, Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1999, pp. 143–151.

compositions belonging to the other genres.³ His *oeuvre* comprises six printed Masses, one adaptation of the Mass by Palestrina⁴ (see Tab. 1 No. 1–7), and another nine Masses that survived in manuscript copies (No. 8–16).

The unique surviving manuscripts of the unpublished Masses by Anerio are today kept in libraries in Rome, Bologna (Italy), Münster (Germany), and Cracow (Poland). Because the sources from Münster, being a part of the collection of bishop Fortunato Santini, were no doubt copied from the Italian manuscripts, they must have been prepared before the arrival of Anerio to Poland.⁵

Tab. 1. Masses composed by G. F. Anerio

I. Printed Masses	Setting
1. <i>Missa pro Defunctis</i> , 1614	CATB
2. <i>Missa Brevis</i> , 1614	CATB, org.
3. <i>Missa Doctor bonus</i> , 1614	CATB, org.
4. <i>Missa Battaglia</i> , 1619 ⁱ	CATB, org.
5. <i>Missa Papae Marcelli</i> (the adaptation of the work by Palestrina)	CATB, org.
6. <i>Missa Circuire possum Domine</i> , 1614 ⁱⁱ	CATTB, org.
7. <i>Missa in te Domine speravi</i> , 1614	CCATTB, org.
II. Masses surviving in manuscript copies	Setting
8. <i>Missa Nuncupata la battaglia</i>	CATB
9. <i>Missa Hic est vere martyr</i>	CATB
10. <i>Missa Là dove par ch'ogn' altro mi conforta</i>	CCATB

³ These consist of the following compositions: *Missarum quatuor, quinque et 6 vocibus, missa quoque pro defunctis una cum Sequentia et Responsorium Libera me Domine quatuor vocibus, liber primus* [...] *cum Basso ad organum*, Roma: Giovanni Battista Robletti, 1614; *Messe a quattro voci. Le tre prime del Palestrina, cioe, Iste confessor, Sine nomine, et di Papa Marcello, ridotta a quattro da Gio. Francesco Anerio et la quarta della Battaglia, dell istesso Gio. Francesco Anerio. Con il basso continuo per sonare*, Roma: Luca Antonio Soldi, 1619.

⁴ The *Missa Papae Marcelli* was included in Anerio's *oeuvre* because he so heavily altered some parts of Palestrina's Mass that it came to be considered his own original composition.

⁵ At least the *Missa Papae Marcelli* and *Missa Battaglia* were performed in Poland. See Zygmunt M. SZWEJKOWSKI, "Kilka uwag o twórczości", p. 54 and others.

11.	<i>Missa Paulina Burghesia Quem dicunt homines</i>	CAATB
12.	<i>Missa Stella quam viderant Magi</i>	CATTB
13.	<i>Missa Quarti toni</i>	CATTB
14.	<i>Missa Pulchra es</i>	CATB; CATB
15.	<i>Missa Surge illuminare</i>	CATB; CATB; bc
16.	<i>Missa Constantia</i>	CATB; CATB; CATB; bc
III.	Lost Masses	Setting
17.	<i>Missa Sigismunda</i>	3 choirs, org.
18.	<i>Missa Celeberrima</i>	8 choirs

ⁱ The nineteenth-century copy of this composition is a part of the collection once belonging to bishop Fortunato Santini. Together with another nine Masses by Anerio, it is now kept in the Diözesanbibliothek Münster (shelfmark SANT Hs 91). According to Santini's inscription, the original manuscript was prepared in 1610.

ⁱⁱ The surviving manuscript of this Mass, bearing the date 1606, is kept in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emmanuele II in Rome (shelfmark Mss musicali 151).

Tab. 2. Sources of G. F. Anerio's Masses surviving only in manuscript copies

Title of the Mass	Source
<i>Missa Nuncupata la battaglia</i>	Diözesanbibliothek, Münster ⁱ
<i>Missa Hic est vere martyr</i>	Diözesanbibliothek, Münster ⁱⁱ
<i>Missa Là dove par ch'ogn' altro mi conforta</i>	Biblioteca dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Rome ⁱⁱⁱ
<i>Missa Paulina Burghesia Quem dicunt homines</i>	Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome Diözesanbibliothek, Münster ^{iv}
<i>Missa Stella quam viderant Magi</i>	Biblioteca Nazionale, Rome Diözesanbibliothek, Münster Naučnaja muzykal'naja biblioteka im. S. I. Taneeva Moskovskoj gosudarstvennoj konservatorii im. P. I. Čajkovskogo, Moscow ^v
<i>Missa Quarti toni</i>	Biblioteca Nazionale, Rome Diözesanbibliothek, Münster ^{vi}
<i>Missa Surge illuminare</i>	Biblioteca musicale governativa del Conservatorio di musica S. Cecilia, Rome Diözesanbibliothek, Münster ^{vii}

<i>Missa Pulchra es</i>	Archiwum i Biblioteka Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej [Archives and Library of the Cathedral Chapter], Cracow
<i>Missa Constantia</i>	Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, Bologna

ⁱ Manuscript shelfmark SANT Hs 87. On the title page: “Ann / 1608 Missa / Francisci Anerii / Alia Missa sub eadem Titulo, sed non eadem est in N.XV. / La Battaglia / N.B. a ragione di baj: 355 il foglio per compenso comprese per il trasporto del libro Corale”.

ⁱⁱ Manuscript shelfmark SANT Hs 1218.

ⁱⁱⁱ Manuscript shelfmark Musica A 18/1. Lacks the voice of the cantus II in the *Kyrie – Christe*.

^{iv} Rome, the Biblioteca Casanatense, manuscript choir book shelfmark MS 6275, on the front endpaper: shelfmark O.I.15. On the title page: *Missa Paulina Burghesia / Ad Canones Quinque vocibus / S.D.N. / Paulo Quinto / Pontifici Maximo Dicata / Auctore Joanne Francisco / Anerio Sacerdote Romano*. On the next page, before *Kyrie: Missa Quem dicunt homines*. On the title page Anerio was referred to as “sacerdote” i.e. priest, and he took holy orders in summer 1616. The dedication to pope Paul V (Camillo Borghese) indicates that the Mass was composed between 1616 and 1621 (the year of Paul V’s death). The library in Münster has two manuscript scores of this Mass (shelfmarks SANT Hs 88 and SANT Hs 89).

^v The Santini collection comprises two manuscript copies of the score of this Mass (shelfmarks SANT Hs 92 and SANT Hs 4224); the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Rome, choir book shelfmark Mss. musicali 131; the Moscow Library has the nineteenth-century manuscript score of the three sections (*Kyrie, Gloria, Credo*), shelfmark RUS Mk XI–354. It has been copied “ex MS in Bibliotheca Vallicelliana Romae”.

^{vi} The Santini collection, manuscript score shelfmark SANT Hs 84. On the title page: *Missae IV Toni / Kyrie et Gloria / quinis vocibus / Joannis Francisci Anerii*; the second copy in the same collection is a manuscript score (shelfmark SANT Hs 4224, No. 3): *IV / Toni / ex Ms. / S. Mariae / in Vallicella / Joannis / Francisci / Anerii*; in Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome: choir book shelfmark Mss. musicali 131.

^{vii} A manuscript in the form of nine parts kept at the Liceo Musicale di S. Cecilia in Rome; a manuscript in the form of score preserved in the Santini Collection in Münster (shelfmark SANT Hs 1215, No. 1).

Two Masses composed by Anerio for the royal ensemble of Sigismund III survived in unique manuscript copies. The first of them is the *Missa Pulchra es* for two choirs, preserved among other musical documents in the Archives and Library of the Cathedral Chapter in Cracow.⁶ The second is the *Missa*

⁶ The description of the manuscript in: Giovanni Francesco ANERIO, *Missa Pulchra es per due cori*, ed. Aleksandra Patalas in the series “Sub Sole Sarmatiae” 3, Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1994.

*Constantia*⁷ for three choirs, whose manuscript is kept in the Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica in Bologna. However, the work was written in praise of Constance of Austria, the second wife of Sigismund III and Polish queen. By contrast, there is no evidence that Anerio composed another multi-choral Mass, the *Missa Surge illuminare*,⁸ in the period of his employment in Poland. The extant manuscript copy of that work belonged to the ensemble of the Chiesa Nuova in Rome. In the early years of the seventeenth century, that church was a thriving musical centre especially focused on the multi-choral repertoire. The *Missa Surge illuminare* is proof that long before his arrival in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth Anerio was interested in composing Masses for multiple choirs.

Another lost work by Anerio, the *Missa Sigismunda*, was mentioned on the title page of the book containing the organ part of the *Missa Constantia*. It was composed in honor of the Polish king and Anerio's employer. The above-mentioned Masses might have been a gift for the royal couple completed before Anerio's arrival in Poland, but they could equally belong to the musical documents sent to Italy in 1630; both were undoubtedly connected with the ensemble of Sigismund III. The organ part of the *Missa Constantia* bears the following note: "Duodecim vocibus Missa Que eodem modo quo Sigismunda decantari potest" (A Mass for twelve voices that can be sung in the same manner as the [Missa] *Sigismunda*). Zygmunt M. Szweykowski formulated a hypothesis⁹ that the above note was written in the organ part of the *Missa Constantia* because it was the same as the organ part of the *Missa Sigismunda*. However, it is more likely that the note in question simply reflected the fact that both works were written for multiple choirs; the notes regarding the manner of performance were typically included in the organ or basso continuo part. One can also speculate that the *Missa Sigismunda* was written for at least three choirs and organ.

In his minor booklet published in Braniewo (German: Braunsberg) in 1647, Hieronimus Ninius mentions the title of Anerio's *Missa Celeberrima* for

⁷ The description of the manuscript in: Giovanni Francesco ANERIO, *Missa Constantia per tre cori*, ed. Zygmunt M. Szweykowski in the series "Sub Sole Sarmatiae" 8, Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1997.

⁸ This was suggested by Zygmunt M. SZWEYKOWSKI in his article "Anerio" in: *Encyklopedia Muzyczna PWM*, vol. 1, Kraków: PWM Edition, 1986.

⁹ See Zygmunt M. SZWEYKOWSKI, "Kilka uwag o twórczości", p. 59.

eight choirs as an example of the perfect use of polychoral technique.¹⁰ This composition was almost undoubtedly connected with the king's court in Warsaw because in the booklet Ninius refers to the musical events taking place there and to several composers working there. The word 'celeberrima' and the substantial musical forces suggest that it was written for an unknown but particularly solemn occasion.

When composing the music to the *ordinarium missae* Anerio made reference to Palestrina's methods, which was in contrast to all other musical genres he dealt with. This is evident in such features as the scoring, the manner of phrase construction, the vocal counterpoint, the use of some specific counterpoint techniques (*cantus firmus*, canon), the treatment of multiple choirs, and the selection of the musical material in *ad imitationem* Masses. However, what Anerio did was not a mere imitation. In fact, his Masses can be rather described as examples of a truly creative transformation of the musical language at that time considered as perfectly suitable for the Catholic liturgy. The collection of Masses published in 1619 containing Anerio's version of the *Missa Papae Marcelli* was reprinted several times (the last edition as late as 1689¹¹), which epitomizes the popularity and longevity of the specific stylistic tradition it stemmed from.

In respect of the scoring, Anerio's Masses can be divided into those written for one choir (see Tab. 1 No. 1–13) and those for multiple choirs (No. 14–18). As regards the use of pre-existing musical material, only one such work was based on *cantus firmus* (No. 1), while the number of *ad imitationem* Masses is significant. Three missae *breves* (Nos. 2, 4, 8) and one Mass written wholly in the technique of canon (No. 11) lack any pre-composition material.

Because four of Anerio's Masses – very likely belonging to his Polish period – were written for multiple choirs, I will focus on the issues of polychoral technique and parody technique in the works of Sigismund III's chapelmaster.

¹⁰ *Examen breue ac modestum Cantilenae sex Chorum A Pavlo Syfertio Editae Gedani Anni M. DC. XLVI. Mense Februario [...] Authore Hieronymo Ninio Discipulo Excellentissimi Domini, Marci Schachii Sacrae Regiae Maiestatis Poloniae et Sveciae etc. Capellae Magistri [...] Brunsbergae, Typis Casparis Weingärtneri, Anno M. DC. XLVII.*, fol. Br: "quem sanè modum docuit nos felicissimae recordationis Reuerendus D. Franciscus Anerius in sua illa Missa celeberrima in octo Choros egregiè distributa".

¹¹ See Zygmunt M. SZWEJKOWSKI, "Kilka uwag o twórczości", p. 53 and footnote 2.

2. Polychoral technique in Anerio's Masses

As director of the Chapel Royal Anerio had at his disposal an ensemble including quite numerous and well-trained musicians. He could also rely on financial support, as Sigismund III was a well known melomaniac. Besides, the rich musical setting was expected to emphasize the majesty of the king's court, especially on solemn occasions. It was Asprillo Pacelli, Anerio's predecessor as the chapel-master of the Polish king (between 1602 and 1623), who engrafted the taste for the overwhelming and powerful character of polychoral composition on Polish ground. In 1608 he published in print the collection of motets for one to five choirs.¹² In 1629, when Anerio was still employed in Poland, Pacelli's polychoral Masses for two to four choirs were published posthumously in Venice,¹³ which proves that the style he adopted was long considered appropriate to be performed at major courts and shrines, both in papal Rome and elsewhere.

Nicola Vicentino and Gioseffo Zarlino, whose studies focused on polychorality in the sixteenth century, gave their attention to two elements of that technique: the leading bass voices in prime and octave intervals of *tutti*, and the manner of joining alternately singing choirs¹⁴. In the early stages of development of polychoral compositions these elements constituted the most notable difference between polychoral and monochoral works, and thus particular emphasis was put on their application. It was typically recommended to introduce the second choir in the middle of the last chord of the first choir because the theorists took into account the fact that the choirs stood in various places of a church. As a result, the key problem was to coordinate the entries of the particular musical sections in order to achieve their desirable correlation in terms of harmony and intonation.

Polychoral Masses by Anerio belonged to the Roman type of polychorality in which *contrapunctus floridus* played an important role. Therefore, the com-

¹² Asprilio PACELLI, *Sacrae Cantiones Quae Quinquae, Sex, Septem, Octo, Novem, Decem, Duodecim, Sexdecim, et Viginti vocibus Concinuntur. Liber Primus*, Venezia: Angelo Gardano et Fratres, 1608.

¹³ Asprilio PACELLI, *Missae [...] Tum octo, tum duodecim, tum sexdecim, tum denique decem, et octo vocibus*, Venezia: Alessandro Vincenti, 1629.

¹⁴ This issue is thoroughly discussed by musicologists in *Muzyka we Włoszech* [Music in Italy], vol. 2: *Technika polichóralna* [Polychoral technique], in the series "Historia muzyki XVII wieku" [History of music in the 17th century], ed. Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2000.

poser adhered very little to the theoretical rules of leading bass voices and connecting choirs together. Instead, he referred to Palestrina's methods and used intervals other than unison and octave between the basses in places where the parts were more lively and conjunct motion was used. This resulted in various transitional dissonances. However, Anerio surely took into account the spatial aspects of the performance of his works. Although his Masses do not contain separate *basso continuo* for each choir, they have a joint organ part in the manner of *basso seguente* that determines the shape of the chain of chords, and, to some extent, alleviates the issue of dissonances between the bass vocal parts.

3. Scoring

As regards the surviving polychoral Masses by Anerio, two of them were written for two four-voice choirs (the *Missa Pulchra es* lacks the organ part), one or two (the *Missa Constantia* and presumably the *Missa Sigismunda*) for three four-voice choirs, and one for eight choirs (the *Missa Celeberrima*). In the case of the earliest of them, the *Missa Surge illuminare*, the scoring was as reduced as possible, but, in the course of time, the number of separate choirs required by the composer was growing, which stemmed, in the first place, from the purpose of the analyzed works.

Anerio's Masses belong to the Roman tradition. Their most visible feature is the lack of melodic instrumental parts and the specific scoring i.e. the use of the same set of clefs for all included choirs. As a result, these works – uniform in tone and bereft of the contrastive consonances typical of the musical centres located in northern Italy, especially Venice – resemble the polychoral Masses by Palestrina. In the *Missa Surge illuminare* Anerio used a set of higher clefs ($G_2C_2C_3F_3$) whereas in the *Missa Constantia* and in the *Missa Pulchra es* he decided to choose a set of *chiavi naturali* ($C_1C_3C_3F_4$). When writing polychoral Masses Palestrina also used the same clefs in both choirs;¹⁵ the only exception being his *Missa Hodie Christus natus est* ($G_2C_2C_3F_3/C_2C_3C_3F_3$) in which the

¹⁵ This can be seen in the works included in the following collection of Palestrina's compositions: Giovanni Pierluigi da PALESTRINA, *Missae Quattuor Octonis Vocibus Concinendae. Nunc primum in lucem editae*, Venezia: Ricciardo Amadino, 1601. The collection comprises: *Missa Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*, *Missa Hodie Christus natus est*, *Missa Fratres ego enim accepi*, *Missa Confiteor tibi Domine*, in: *Pierluigi da Palestrina's Werke*, ed. Franz Xaver Haberl, vol. 22, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1890, reprint Farnborough: Gregg International Publishers, 1968.

contrast in pitch is evident. It was, however, typical of him to use higher clefs (with the notable exception of the *Missa Laudate* for two choirs where *chiavi naturali* are used). In the case of Anerio's *Missa Surge illuminare* the use of higher clefs is accompanied by the transposition of the entire work down a fourth. Therefore, the organ part bears the note *Sonate alla 4a Bassa*. If we take this transposition into account, the range of the vocal parts in the analyzed composition is between *E* and *d*²; in the *Missa Pulchra es* it spans from *E* to *e*² whereas in the *Missa Constantia* from *F* to *e*^b². Anerio did not differentiate the range of pitches depending on the monochoral or polychoral nature of the particular composition, which was in conformity with the Roman musical tradition but very much against the Venetian one.

4. Polychoral technique and the formal division of the Holy Mass

The alternative use of multiple choirs was closely connected with the division of the text of the Holy Mass consisting of five main parts; almost all of them were further subdivided. Let us compare Anerio's works with the collection of Palestrina's polychoral Masses published in 1601.¹⁶ In the latter compositions – in particular fragments of the text of the Mass – Palestrina reduces the scoring to four voices by means of the elimination of one choir (of two).¹⁷ It is hardly surprising that in his Masses Anerio applied the same reduction at almost the same places. However, their manner of elimination was not the same. Anerio differentiated the choirs a little more boldly than Palestrina. In his *Missa Surge illuminare* this is still barely notable and the simple falling of one choir into silence prevails. But in the *Crucifixus* the composer broke this rule. In the *Et iterum* he introduced ATB voices (in the manuscript described as *a4 2o Choro*). The surviving Masses by Anerio lack the solutions used in his earlier *concertato* motets where monody and polychoral sections alternate.¹⁸

¹⁶ See footnote 15.

¹⁷ This occurs in the following places: *Christe eleison* (Masses: *Laudate, Hodie*), *Crucifixus* (*Laudate, Hodie, Fratres, Confitebor*), *Et ascendit in caelum* [...] *Prophetas* (*Confitebor*), *Et iterum* [...] *Prophetas* (*Hodie, Fratres*), *Et in Spiritum* [...] *Prophetas* (*Laudate*), *Pleni sunt caeli* (*Hodie, Confitebor*), *Benedictus* (*Fratres*). The concealed reduction can also be found in the *Benedictus* of the *Missa Laudate* that lacks the section in which two choirs sing *tutti* or overlap each other. A similar device is used in the *Benedictus* of the *Missa Hodie*.

¹⁸ For more on this issue see Aleksandra PATALAS, "Utwory *concertato*".

Tab. 3. Sections with reduced scoring in the surviving polychoral Masses by Anerio

<i>Missa Surge illuminare</i>	<i>Missa Pulchra es</i>	<i>Missa Constantia</i>
<i>Christe eleison</i> : choir I		<i>Christe eleison</i> : I: CA + II: CT
<i>Crucifixus</i> : I : CAB + II : C	<i>Crucifixus</i> : choir I	<i>Crucifixus</i> : I: CA + II: CT
		<i>Et ascendit</i> : I: TB + II: A + III: T
<i>Et iterum</i> : II: ATB		
<i>Benedictus</i> : choir I	<i>Benedictus</i> : I: CT + II: CA	<i>Benedictus</i> : choir I

In the *Missa Pulchra es* the composer reduced the scoring only in two sections, but in the *Benedictus* four voices were clearly divided into two sub-ensembles, which is evident in the first point of imitation (bar 37)¹⁹ containing two thematic phrases (one phrase for each duet). The *Missa Constantia* is, in many respects, the most interesting Mass of those mentioned above. In this work, Anerio did not limit himself to the mere removal of one choir in the sections with reduced scoring. Instead, each time he applied more sophisticated combinations of selected voices appearing in two or three choirs. These were, of course, combinations commonly encountered in monochoral works and not atypical in four-voice sets of performing musicians (e.g., TBBB). On the other hand, the spatial arrangement of the choirs surely affected the final sound of the composition, which makes Anerio, in comparison to Palestrina, more innovative in the application of techniques emphasizing acoustic and colour effects in his Masses. Some sections of the *Missa Constantia* (see *Christe eleison*) are sung by just two or three voices, yet all the fragments with reduced scoring are provided with exactly the same quasi polyphonic melodic patterns as the multi-choral sections. Therefore, the contrast in scoring does not result in the typical concertato texture easy to find in the works by Giovanni Gabrieli or even in the polychoral motets by Anerio himself.

The distribution of musical material between the choirs certainly mirrored the division of the text of the Holy Mass into particular sentences and their lesser fragments. In most cases, the consecutive sections of the composition were performed by the choirs alternately (in the *Missa Constantia* the first choir was usually followed by the second one and that by the third). The

¹⁹ The provided bar numbers were taken from Anerio's Masses published in the series "Sub Sole Sarmatiae". See footnotes 5 and 6.

words requiring an emphasis (“Jesu Christe”, “Gratias agimus”, “Et homo factus est”) or introducing an imploration (“Suscipe deprecationem nostram”)²⁰ were accompanied by *tutti* or choral climaxes. However, the use of full scoring was more often intended not to underscore the semantic aspects of the sung text, but to serve as a device differentiating the colour of the work – applied with particular frequency in Anerio’s *Missa Constantia* (sometimes together with a change of meter from duple to triple). In some parts of the *Credo* and *Gloria* – especially in the *Missa Pulchra es* – Anerio tried to achieve a certain succinctness and reduced the number of repetitions of verbal-musical phrases in all choirs so as to avoid monotony and enfeeblement of the work’s internal consistency. Of course, there are many parts of the Holy Mass in which verbal repetition is a structural dominant (e.g., *Kyrie*, *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei*). But in such cases Anerio rarely demanded a strict repetition of the music material. More often he introduced minor changes to the repeated phrases (e.g., in the *Christe eleison* of the *Missa Pulchra es*, bars 35–42) preserving the shape of the phrase in the lowest voice (sometimes in the highest one) and simultaneously transposing the phrase up or down a certain interval, usually a fourth, fifth or octave. From time to time, when the particular sections of the text had a parallel structure, Anerio linked them with the same bass line.²¹

In the analyzed compositions, musical phrases mirroring the semantic units of the Mass text are quite elaborate and usually consist of several bars. Much less frequent is the situation in which a sequence of short phrases – e.g., “Laudamus te, benedicimus te, adoramus te, glorificamus te” (*Missa Pulchra es, Gloria*, bars 9–16) – forces the choirs to change slightly more briskly. As it positively affected the dynamism of the work, Anerio strove to achieve the same effect elsewhere by fragmenting the text of the Mass to a far greater extent than in the original. In this respect, the best example is his *Missa Constantia* where, for instance, the section “Qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur” (bars 227–242) is sung in the following manner: “qui cum Patre” (choir I – choir II – choir III); “qui cum Patre et Filio” (choir I + choir

²⁰ In two Masses by Palestrina (*Laudate* and *Hodie*) both choirs homorhythmically chant a text that had a strong Counter-Reformation subtext important at that time i.e. “Et unam sanctam, catholicam” (*Missa Laudate*) and “et apostolicam Ecclesiam” (*Missa Hodie*). Anerio did not give such prominence to these sections, although they are accompanied by homorhythms in his *Missa Surge illuminare*.

²¹ For instance in *Missa Constantia: Domine Deus, Rex caelestis, Deus Pater omnipotens; Deum de Deo, Lumen de Lumine: qui propter nos homines, et propter nostram salutem*.

II); “simul adoratur” (tutti); “et conglorificatur” (choir I – choir II – choir III). Such dynamization of the musical line is one of the most characteristic features of the analyzed composition and an innovation in comparison to the techniques used by Palestrina. By drawing extensively on polychorality, Anerio made his *Missa Constantia* much more powerful than the *Missa Surge illuminare* and the *Missa Pulchra es*.

5. Types of choral texture

It was typical of the main sections of Anerio’s Masses to begin with imitation. Perhaps the best example of this can be seen at the beginning of his *Missa Surge illuminare* where the first phrase is transferred from one voice to another, and listeners may have a feeling that they are hearing not a polychoral but a truly eight-voice work. All three surviving Masses by Anerio are opened with a long phrase initially performed only by the first choir. The composer used such long, imitated phrases to open his polychoral motets, too (for example in *Ego quasi vitis*²² the opening phrase consists of eleven bars, whereas in *Quem dicunt homines*²³ it consists of thirteen). One of the most characteristic features of Anerio’s technique is the tendency to avoid homorhythmy in those sections of polychoral compositions where the scoring is not reduced. Besides, only some shorter phrases of the single choir may contain *contra notam* counterpoint.

Anerio’s Masses are similar in terms of texture, but each of them has its own peculiarity. For instance, in his *Missa Surge illuminare* there are very few purely homorhythmic sections, and they can be found in the places with triple rhythm; their scarcity is, nevertheless, evident in comparison with Palestrina’s *Missa Hodie*. Instead, Anerio has an unconcealed preference for quasi-homorhythmic structures consisting of syllabically led voices, even in such parts of the Holy Mass that are traditionally considered as requiring melismatic rendition (such as the *Kyrie*). The same solution was applied by the composer in the *Kyrie* of the *Missa Pulchra es*, although purely homorhythmic fragments in that

²² The composition was included in the collection entitled: Giovanni Francesco ANERIO, *Litaniae Deiparae Virginis. Maiores de Ea Antiphonae temporales, et Motecta Septem, Octonisq[ue] vocibus Una cum alijs Sacris Cantionibus variè modulatis Nusquam impressis*, Roma: Paolo Massignoli, 1626.

²³ The composition survived in several manuscript copies together with the *Missa Paulina Burghesia* by Anerio.

work are slightly more frequent (see the *Kyrie* II, some parts of the *Gloria* and *Et in Spiritum*).

If we compare the texture of the *Missa Surge illuminare* and the motet by Palestrina from which Anerio derived the musical material for his Mass, we can see his efforts to avoid the production of strictly homorhythmic textures. Sigismund III's chapelmaster modified all the parts of Palestrina's motet written *nota contra notam* so that at least one voice of the entering choir significantly overlaps with the previously one. This tendency is present in all polychoral Masses by Anerio. However, in the *Missa Constantia* it assumed the proportions of the main rule governing the entire work. The choral texture of this latter Mass is extremely diverse. Apart from the long imitative *exordia*, it comprises sections which are purely homorhythmic, or in which a single voice anticipates the entry of the choir. Written for as many as three choirs, the *Missa Constantia* contains the highest share of homorhythmy in comparison to the others. Anerio used almost purely homorhythmic structures to achieve an effect of sound accumulation consisting in the continual overlapping of performing choirs. For example, in the *Gloria* (bars 170–183) he did so in a masterly way by means of exposing the parallel fragments of the text (“tu solus sanctus, tu solus Dominus, tu solus Altissimus” – there is an element of gradation there) seven times in small time intervals.

The final sections of the analyzed polychoral Masses are all *tutti*, and the reluctance of the composer for pure homorhythmy is evident (except for the *Kyrie* II and the *Osanna* I and II). In the *Missa Pulchra es*. Anerio seems to have abstained from the use of strict homorhythmy in the longer sections in order to avoid the production of a static and hardly diverse texture, similar to the *Missa Tu es Petrus* ascribed to Palestrina. The texture of Anerio's *Missa Constantia* has become much lighter due to the dynamization of the rhythmic motion of twelve voices.

Imitation is particularly present in those parts of Anerio's Masses in which the scoring is reduced to four voices. In the *Crucifixus* from his *Missa Surge illuminare* the contrast between homorhythmic and imitative texture was used to put emphasis on the phrases “et resurrexit” and “et ascendit in caelum”. The latter phrase was illustrated with the rise of the melodic line (anabasis), which was customary at that time. In the *Benedictus*, the above-mentioned reduction allowed Anerio to lead the voices, in a short section, in parallel thirds between the alto and tenor, which was more typical of compositions for few voices. The

imitative character of the texture in the four-voice *Crucifixus* from the *Missa Pulchra es* resulted from the fact that in that case the composer borrowed a significant part of Palestrina's motet for five voices, but could not directly quote it because of the difference in the number of voices. Therefore, he drew from the pre-composing material mainly the germs of polychoral technique i.e. the rule of contrasting the voices in terms of their pitch height. The *Christe* from the *Missa Constantia* is a section full of long phrases and based on two themes exposed at its very beginning in the simultaneous entry of two voices (choir I: CA, bars 67–80). The musical material in the *Christe* consists almost exclusively of multiple repetitions of these themes conducted by means of variation or changes in the polyphonic techniques. By contrast, the melismatic parts of the *Missa Surge illuminare* and *Missa Pulchra es* were composed in a more traditional manner, as they were based on only one theme. For instance, in the *Crucifixus* from the *Missa Constantia* each section of the text of the Holy Mass is provided with a new musical phrase led imitatively through all voices (“*crucifixus etiam pro nobis*”), or presented by the pairs of voices as if by two choirs (“*sub Pontio Pilato*”), or is homorhythmic (“*sedet ad dexteram*” immediately after “*et ascendit in caelum*”).

6. Parody technique in Anerio's Masses

The most important difference between the proper *ad imitationem* Mass and the ‘tenor’ or ‘paraphrase’ Mass lies in the character of the musical material acting as the point of departure for a composer. While the former requires the parody technique, i.e. the use of material belonging to an existing polyphonic work, the latter may draw on a single melody. Hence, the parody technique allows for the use of the particular melodic lines (including entire polyphonic structures) or just the selected series of harmonic sequences. In the second half of the sixteenth century, many composers – among them Palestrina²⁴ and Victoria²⁵ (one should also mention the Masses by Gombert who lived a little

²⁴ See Johannes KLASSEN, “Das Parodieverfahren in der Messe Palestrinas” [Parody technique in the Masses by Palestrina], *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 38, 1954, pp. 24–54.

²⁵ See Thomas N. RIVE, “An examination of Victoria's technique of adaptation and reworking in his parody masses – with particular attention to harmonic and cadential procedure”, *Anuario Musical*, 24, 1969, pp. 133–152.

earlier²⁶) – used to quote large fragments of polyphonic structures of the work they borrowed from. These fragments were typically put at the beginning of the composition and less frequently in the other parts of a Mass.²⁷

The statistics prove that in the second half of the sixteenth century the parody technique was in common use. Half of the Masses composed by Palestrina (fifty-four) were written on the basis of pre-existing polyphonic works. Twenty-three of them were his own works whereas thirty-one usually came out of the hands of older composers whose musical language hardly differed from Palestrina's.²⁸ The next generation of Roman composers, including Francesco Soriano, who published a collection of Masses in 1609, Giovanni Francesco Anerio (1614), Antonio Cifra (1621), Vincenzo Ugolini (1622) and Paolo Agostini (1627), did not abstain from parody, drawing either on their own works or on stylistically convergent compositions by their contemporaries.

Among the sixteen surviving Masses by Anerio seven are undoubtedly *ad imitationem*. They were almost exclusively derived from motets by Palestrina (*Doctor bonus* and *Hic est vere martyr* published in 1563; *Stella quam viderant Magi* and *Surge illuminare* published in 1575; *Pulchra es* published in 1583). Furthermore, in his *Missa Là dove par ch'ogn'altro mi conforta* Anerio used a madrigal by Giovanni Maria Nanino (published in 1596). The *Missa Circuire possum Domine* was, in turn, based on a motet by Angelo Pierluigi (published in 1584). In some cases, there are premises to recognize his work as *ad imitationem*, although its musical source remains unknown. For instance, in the case of the *Missa In te Domine speravi* it is the title that suggests the use of the parody technique; as regards the *Missa IV toni* and the *Missa Constantia*, the evidence lies in the manner of composing similar to the other Masses by Anerio. Nyal Williams, whose Ph.D. dissertation was dedicated to Anerio's Masses,²⁹ stated

²⁶ René B. LENAERTS, "The 16th-Century Parody Mass in the Netherlands", *The Musical Quarterly*, 36, 1950, pp. 410–421.

²⁷ A description of parody technique can be found in Aleksandra PATALAS, "Missa parodia w twórczości Monteverdiego i Scacchiego w świetle teorii Angela Berardiego" [Missa parodia in the output of Monteverdi and Scacchi in Angelo Berardi's theoretical opinion], *Muzyka*, 1998/2, pp. 47–64.

²⁸ See Quentin Wolcott QUEREAU, *Palestrina and the „Motteti del Fiore” of Jacques Moderne: A Study of Borrowing Procedures in Fourteen Parody Masses*, New Haven: Yale University, 1974 (PhD dissertation).

²⁹ Nyal Z. WILLIAMS, *The Masses of Giovanni Francesco Anerio: A Historical and Analytical Study with a Supplementary Critical Edition*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1971 (PhD dissertation).

that also the rendition of the *Missa Papae Marcelli* was a musical parody. However, there are two reasons to disprove his claim. First of all, that particular composition was published as a work by Palestrina.³⁰ Besides, the manner of parodying adopted by its author differs from that found in all his other Masses (but this could be an issue for a separate study).

Because Anerio took the pre-existing material from works written by Palestrina and two younger representatives of the Roman school, it was quite easy for him to blend his own polyphony together with the borrowed musical stylistics. He put together new Masses using almost the entire material present in the selected compositions by his predecessors, which perfectly met the criteria for parody found in the theoretical treatises of his era.³¹ Anerio changed neither their key nor the number of voices, except for the madrigal by Nanino. In comparison to the original, the *Missa Là dove* was transposed a fifth down and provided with an additional voice (the second cantus). The tempo, in fact, remained intact because Anerio lengthened the notes, but simultaneously replaced *tempus imperfectum* with *imperfectum diminutum*. Perhaps he wanted but to stick to the traditional manner of notation considered as more appropriate for a Mass.

The above pre-composing material can be divided into multiple sections either according to the divisions of the text or according to the caesuras marking the ends of the particular imitations. The number of such sections varies from six (in *Stella quam viderant Magi*) to twenty-nine (in *Surge illuminare*). Only in two Masses did Anerio decide to omit one such fragment, introducing instead elements derived from all the others.³² According to the superficial and thus inaccurate analyses conducted by Williams, Anerio took from each model composition only three to five sections and used to present all the borrowed material as early as in the *Kyrie*. This statement needs to be corrected.

³⁰ This is indicated in the title of the publication: *Messe a quattro voci*. Le tre prime del Palestrina, cioè, *Iste confessor*, *Sine nomine*, et di Papa Marcello, ridotta a quattro da Gio. Francesco Anerio [words not written in italics are for emphasis – A.P.].

³¹ The most detailed description of parody can be found in Pedro Cerone's *El melopeo y maestro. Tractado de musica theórica y práctica*, Naples: Iuan Bautista Gargano, Lucrecio Nucci, 1613, pp. 572–573. According to Cerone, the more material was borrowed from the model, the better the resulting work.

³² Anerio did not take the musical material from all the sections of the *Hic est vere Martyr*. Because only the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* survived of this motet, one can only guess how much he borrowed.

Unlike Palestrina, Anerio used to engraft the borrowed material into diverse places of the new composition, hardly taking into account the original distribution of sections within the model; only the initial and final sections of the main parts of the *ordinarium missae* reflect, to some extent, the original layout; the exceptional tendency to preserve it can be observed also in the *Missa Surge illuminare*. Generally, the first phrase of each model opens the following parts of Anerio's Masses: *Kyrie I*, *Gloria*, *Credo*, *Crucifixus* (except in the *Missa Surge illuminare*), *Sanctus*, *Benedictus* (except in the *Missa In te Domine speravi*), and *Agnus Dei I* and *II*. Several opening bars of each Mass (up to eighteen in the *Missa Stella quam viderant magi*) are a quotation from the whole initial structure of the selected model. This quotation includes some minor changes by Anerio such as 1) adding embellishments (i.e. filling the leaps with second intervals); 2) merging two notes of the same pitch together into one longer note; 3) removal of some embellishments; 4) changing the rhythm in order to prevent all voices from heading simultaneously in the same direction when it was against the rules of counterpoint; 5) filling long rests that in the model reflect the reduction of the number of performing voices; 6) removal of the rests originally separating two phrases and adding notes instead. The opening bars of the other parts of Anerio's Masses are always altered in comparison to the initial phrases of the *Kyrie I* because the composer changed: 1) the order in which the voices enter; 2) the rhythm, which in each part is adjusted to the other text. There are two exceptions to that rule: in the *Agnus Dei* from the *Missa Là dove* Anerio decided to directly quote the entire *Kyrie I*; in the *Agnus Dei* from the *Missa Constantia*, he quoted as many as thirty bars from it. Sometimes he introduced only the leading theme and not in all voices. Despite these alternations, all the borrowed phrases are quite easy to find due to the preservation of their leading themes. Because Anerio knew how to seamlessly blend the musical style present in the model with his own, in many places it is hard to distinguish between the structures he borrowed and those he created.

As for the musical material derived from the final sections of the model, Anerio usually inserted it in the final sections of the parts of his Masses but not at their very end. In most cases, the borrowed material appears only in one voice if it is quoted immediately before cadences. For instance, in the finale of the *Missa Là dove*, only the bassline resembles the phrase taken from the model. Anerio has never quoted the endings of his models in an unaltered form. The relationship between the model and the new composition is most

evident in the case of Palestrina's motet *Doctor bonus* and the subsequent Mass by Anerio – despite the fact that Anerio replaced the IV-I cadence, typical of Palestrina's work, with a V-I one; in his *Missa Papae Marcelli* he applied a similar solution. In three Masses by Anerio (*Missa Doctor bonus*, *Missa Circuire* and *Missa in te Domine*) the final *Agnus Dei* contains a two-voice canon. As a result, the pre-composing material is less prominent and consists mainly of initial motifs. The final phrases of the *Missa Doctor bonus* and its source differ from one another. Anerio decided to conclude the *Gloria*, *Credo*, *Kyrie* II, and *Agnus Dei* I using the fourth (middle) phrase of Palestrina's motet for obvious reasons – it was simply much more flowing and developed than the last one. While the model concluded with the chord sequence IV-I, Anerio used the same, fourth, phrase to create a polyphonic structure concluding with the simultaneous cadence in all voices (V-I).

Regarding the middle parts of the Mass, the manner of borrowing structures, phrases, and motifs was the same. Anerio sometimes quoted the entire polyphonic structures; depending on the particular text, he modified them to varying extents. On another occasion, he derived only the melodic material of the particular voices or just the initial motifs. In his Masses, a derived single phrase or motif often become themes for a new imitation. In longer parts of the Masses-parodies (*Gloria*, *Credo*) the composer also introduced homorhythmic sections, but to a much lesser extent than in the case of his *missae breves*. Anerio mainly chose between an imitative and quasi-imitative texture. As the pre-composing material he selected rarely contained *nota contra notam* fragments, it could hardly be transferred to the strictly homorhythmic sections of a new work; so they are typically lacking.

Williams put Anerio's *ad imitationem* Masses in a specific order intended to reflect the ascending degree of mutual relationship between the particular model and final composition. However, the actual amount of pre-composing musical material present in the above-mentioned Masses was far beyond the amount Williams was able to discover and his analysis was therefore imprecise. Williams suggested that every development borrowed from the model was quoted by Anerio as a polyphonic structure at least once in the Mass (usually in the *Kyrie*). This is not true. Some sections surely taken from models were quoted only in one voice, and some structures appear as late as in the *Gloria* or *Credo*. In fact, all the analyzed Masses were so dependent on the pre-composing material that any attempt at their classification based on Williams'

criterion may be misleading. Perhaps the connection between the model and final composition is most elusive in the case of the *Missa Là dove*, and this work could well have started his list. Instead, Williams put the *Missa Surge illuminare* in first place, since he was able to find only three phrases from the model (nos. I, III and IX). In reality, in that Mass, Anerio quoted twenty-three out of twenty-eight phrases present in the model (he omitted only five of them – nos. XXI–XXV).³³

The *Missa Surge illuminare* is an interesting example of a work whose model motet could be performed by two choirs. Therefore, we are able to compare how Anerio applied the technique of parody to the compositions written for one and two choirs. In the former case, he took, in the first place, motifs, less frequently the particular voices and, finally, modified the polyphonic structures. In the *Missa Surge illuminare* he used, above all, entire polyphonic sections, sequences of chords and textural devices.

In Palestrina's motet *Surge illuminare* both the *prima* and *secunda pars* are concluded with the same imitative section. The work opens with the point of imitation in the first choir, but as early as in the second phrase the texture becomes almost homorhythmic and turns into a dialogue between the choirs. Palestrina introduced the phrase in both choirs with the second choir repeating the material performed by the first one, which was sometimes accompanied by the transposition. As a result, in his work, there is hardly any contrast between the choirs, and the *tutti* is an accumulation of the two overlapping choirs that do not enter simultaneously. Apart from the *et gloria eius* section, there is no dynamic alternation between the performing choirs.

The opening sections of the main parts of the *Missa Surge illuminare* (see Tab. 4) and of the *Christe, Benedictus*, and *Et iterum* imitate the imitative opening of the motet and quote its first phrase. In the *Kyrie* (I) the first eight bars of the model motet are quoted directly, but, on the other hand, the imitation concerns both choirs. In the *Christe*, Anerio used the sixth phrase of Palestrina's

³³ This resulted, among other things, from the fact that Williams used Casimiri's edition of Palestrina's works to compare his motet *Surge illuminare* and the subsequent Mass by Anerio. In that edition the source for Palestrina's motet was the publication of 1575 lacking its entire second part. As late as in 1981 another volume of the same edition (*Opera omnia*, vol. 33: *Composizioni latine: a 8 e 9 voci*, ed. Lino Bianchi, Roma: Istituto italiano per la Storia della Musica) was published containing the second part of *Surge illuminare*, which survived in the manuscript belonging to the Roman ensemble Cappella Giulia. Anerio based his Mass on the complete version of Palestrina's motet.

motet, whose original texture is almost homorhythmic, as the theme of imitation. In the *Sanctus*, he used the second phrase of the model as counterpoint to the first one thus obtaining a two-theme development. The last phrase of the motet concludes the *Kyrie* (II), *Osanna* (I), and *Osanna* (II) and is present in the bass voice (Anerio very often quotes the musical material from the last phrase of the model in the bass voice; as a result, he borrows the chord sequence). In the *Credo* and *Agnus Dei*, the last phrase is performed by the canto primo and the two canto voices. The whole polyphonic structure concluding Palestrina's motet also appears in the *Kyrie* (II) and in the middle and final section of the *Credo*.

Anerio also took some textural devices from Palestrina's motet. After the imitative opening of the analyzed Mass its texture shifts towards homorhythmy, which was unusual in comparison to his earlier compositions. The *Gloria*, comprising the majority of sections of the model (except for the phrases XXI–XXV) is the part most closely related to it. Here, the pre-composing material, including numerous polyphonic structures, is quoted very precisely: its original order, and the order and quality of many cadences have been preserved. In most cases, Anerio prevented both choirs from repeating the same section of the text, except for “Benedicimus te, Adoramus te, Glorificamus te” where he made use of the textual enumeration and applied the single musical structure (taken from fragment III of the motet) quoted without any change at the first exposition. The *Gratias* is based on the fourth section of the same model which, seemed to be appropriate as written in an odd ‘dance’ meter. Due to the difference in length between the text of the motet and Anerio's Mass, the composer was forced to insert three bars of his own in the middle of the quoted polyphonic structure. In this case, the parody procedure is limited mainly to the borrowing of the chord sequence, as only the canto primo is quoted literally. While in the first part of the *Gloria* Anerio uses the material taken from the *pars prima* of the model, in the second part (from the words “Qui tollis peccata mundi”) he has inserted the material from the *pars secunda*. By contrast, the *Credo* is more loosely connected with the referred motet. Instead of quoted polyphonic structures, it comprises more borrowed melodic lines or motifs, but their order still reflects the original one. Interestingly enough, Palestrina divided the second phrase of *Surge illuminare* into two parts (three and four-voice part) and Anerio used that division to contrast some sections of his *Credo* (“factorem caeli / et terrae” and “visibilium omnium” / “et invisibilium”). The rendition of the section “Et resurrexit” resembles the

fourth phrase of Palestrina's work solely because of the use of the same meter and several similar consonances. In "et ascendit in caelum" there are no direct references to the model, yet the shape of the melodic line of the canto and basso, led in a parallel manner, show some similarity to its eighth phrase. Quite perversely, Anerio took the phrase from the last four bars of the model only to use it as the imitation theme on the words "non erit finis".

Tab. 4. Distribution of the pre-composing material
in Anerio's *Missa Surge illuminare* and *Missa Pulchra es*³⁴

Text of the Holy Mass	Pre-composing material in <i>Missa Surge illuminare</i>	Pre-composing material in <i>Missa Pulchra es</i>
<i>Kyrie eleison</i>	structure I; phrases II, III,	structure I; phrases I', II
<i>Christe eleison</i>	VI	structure II'
<i>Kyrie eleison</i>	IX, structure IX	VI, VI'; structures: VII, VIII and VIII'
<i>Et in terra</i>	I	I
<i>pax hominibus bonae voluntatis</i>	II	
<i>benedicimus te</i>	structure III	
<i>adoramus te glorificamus te</i>	III	
<i>magnam gloriam tuam</i>	IV	
<i>Domine Deus Rex</i>	V	I
<i>Deus Pater omnipotens</i>	structure VI	
<i>Domine Fili</i>	structure VII	
<i>unigenite</i>	structure VIII	
<i>Domine Deus Agnus Dei</i>	IX	IV, IV'
<i>Filius Patris</i>		V
<i>Qui tollis peccata mundi</i>	X, structure X	VI
<i>miserere nobis</i>	XI, structure XI	VI'
<i>Qui tollis peccata mundi</i>	XII	VI
<i>suscipe</i>	XIII	
<i>nostram</i>	XV	
<i>qui sedes</i>		IV
<i>ad dexteram Patris</i>	structure XVI	
<i>miserere nobis</i>	structure XVII	
<i>quoniam tu solus sanctus</i>	structure XVIII	IV'
<i>tu solus Dominus</i>	XIX	IV'
<i>tu solus altissimus</i>	structure XX	
<i>cum Sancto Spiritu</i>	XXVI	elements of structure VII'
<i>in gloria</i>	structure XXVII	structures: VIII, VIII'
<i>Dei Patris amen</i>	XXVIII [=IX]	

³⁴ The term 'structure' stands for the quotation of a polyphonic musical structure. Roman numerals indicate the melodic phrases.

The polychoral Masses of Giovanni Francesco Anerio

<i>Patrem omnipotentem</i>	I	I
<i>factorem caeli et terrae</i>	II	
<i>visibilium omnium et invisibilium</i>	II	
<i>et in unum Dominum Iesum Christum</i>	XIV	
<i>Filium Dei unigenitum</i>	XIV	structure II'
<i>et ex Patre natum</i>	structure V	
<i>Deum de Deo lumen de lumine</i>	VI	
<i>Deum verum</i>	VII	
<i>de Deo vero</i>	structure VII	
<i>genitum non factum</i>	VIII	
<i>per quem omnia facta sunt</i>	IX	
<i>qui propter nos homines</i>		I
<i>Et incarnatus est</i>		structure II'
<i>Crucifixus etiam pro nobis</i>	III	structure I
<i>sub Pontio Pilato</i>		structure I
<i>passus et sepultus est</i>		structure II
<i>et resurrexit tertia die secundum</i>	IV	structure II' and II''
<i>scripturas</i>		
<i>et ascendit in caelum</i>	VIII	III'
<i>sedet ad dexteram Patris</i>	IX	
<i>et iterum venturus est cum gloria</i>		IV, IV, IV'
<i>iudicare</i>		
<i>vivos et mortuos</i>	structure IX	V
<i>cuius regni non erit finis</i>	IX	structure VIII
<i>Et in Spiritum Sanctum Dominum et</i>	IV, IV	I'
<i>vivificantem</i>		
<i>qui ex Patre Filioque procedit</i>	IV	
<i>simul adoratur et conglorificatur</i>	X	
<i>qui locutus est per Prophetas</i>	XII, structure XII	
<i>Confiteor unum baptisma</i>	IV	IV
<i>in remissionem peccatorum</i>		IV'
<i>et expecto</i>	structure XXVII	V
<i>resurrectionem mortuorum</i>		VI
<i>et vitam</i>	VIII	structures VIII; VIII'
<i>venturi saeculi</i>	structure XXVIII [=IX]	
<i>Amen</i>	IX	
<i>Sanctus</i>	I + II	I, I
<i>Dominus Deus Sabaoth</i>	III	structure II
<i>pleni sunt caeli et terra</i>	V	II'
<i>Osanna in excelsis I</i>	VI, IX	structures VIII' and VIII
<i>Benedictus qui venit</i>	I	I
<i>in nomine Domini</i>		II'
<i>Osanna in excelsis II</i>	IX	VIII'
<i>Agnus Dei</i>	I	structure II'
<i>qui tollis peccata mundi</i>	II	VIII'
<i>miserere nobis</i>	IX [=XXVIII]	

The *Missa Surge illuminare* is a masterpiece in terms of the development and transformation of the pre-composing material, including phrases, motifs, polyphonic structures, harmonic and textural devices and the treatment of the choirs. Anerio knew perfectly well how to merge Palestrina's musical ideas with his own ones, which is especially visible in those places where he more freely entwined the motifs present in the model into the Mass. The above-mentioned analysis also proves how close – mainly in terms of melodic patterns – their musical languages were.

In the *Missa Pulchra es* Anerio used the pre-composing material as in the *Missa Surge illuminare*. This time the model for a Mass for two choirs was a motet by Palestrina for five voices. Therefore, the strongest relationship between both works is visible in the *Crucifixus* (*Credo* bars 60–105) where the scoring was reduced to one choir and the structures I to V and VIII were quoted.

7. *Missa Constantia*: is it an *ad imitationem* Mass at all?

The composition acting as a model for Anerio's *Missa Constantia* is still to be found.³⁵ However, it seems to be an *ad imitationem* Mass, because of the musical material recurring in its course (its distribution is presented in Tab. 5). Thanks to my analysis I was able to extract nine melodic phrases from the *Missa Constantia* whose recurrent nature may stem from the fact that they once belonged to a model composition. Of course, the referred Mass may contain more borrowed material, but one cannot trace it without the knowledge of the exact model. The distribution of the nine phrases is regular and resembles the parody procedures used by Anerio in his other *ad imitationem* Masses. For instance, phrase I and its melodic variant I' is introduced at the beginning of each main part of the Mass. In the final sections of the *Gloria* and *Sanctus*, the two-theme structure is used containing phrases VII and VIII. The *Kyrie* and *Agnus Dei* have the same ending. Apart from these facts, everything is much more hypothetical. The order of the introduction of phrases is hardly strict in comparison to the order applied in the *Kyrie* which, perhaps, reflected that of the model. The *Missa Constantia* is more similar to the *Missa Pulchra es* than to the *Missa Surge illuminare* because in that composition the *Kyrie* comprises

³⁵ The musical material present in the Mass by Anerio was compared with the works included in F. X. Haberl's edition of PALESTRINA'S *Opera omnia*.

all the phrases repeated in the consecutive parts of the *ordinarium missae*. The unknown model might have been a source for the entire polyphonic structure: there are slight traces of such processes, such as the fact that in several places two-theme sections consisting of phrases V+VI and VII+VIII appear at the same time. Even this brief and, for obvious reasons, barely complete analysis seems to suggest the existence of a close relationship between the *Missa Constantia* and some pre-composing material. Therefore, in this study, in terms of the use of parody techniques, the above work was analyzed in the same manner as the other surviving polychoral Masses by Anerio.

Tab. 5. Distribution of the hypothetical pre-composing material in Anerio's *Missa Constantia*

Text of the Mass	Pre-composing material
<i>Kyrie eleison I</i>	I, I', II, I', III, IV, I'
<i>Christe eleison</i>	V+VI
<i>Kyrie eleison II</i>	VII+VIII, VIII', IX
<i>Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis</i>	I, I' IV
<i>Laudamus te</i>	II
<i>Domine Deus, Rex caelestis unigenite</i>	V VII+VIII'
<i>Domine Deus, Agnus Dei</i>	VII+VIII, VII+VIII'
<i>Qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis</i>	V+VI V
[ad dexteram Patris] <i>miserere nobis</i>	VII+VIII'
<i>tu solus sanctus</i>	IV
<i>cum Sancto Spiritu in gloria Dei Patris</i>	I, I' VII+VIII
<i>Patrem omnipotentem factorem caeli et terrae visibilium omnium et invisibilium</i>	I, I'
<i>Qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem Crucifixus etiam pro nobis</i>	VII+VIII'
<i>sedet ad dexteram Patris</i>	VII
<i>Et iterum venturus est cum gloria iudicare in remissionem peccatorum resurrectionem mortuorum venturi saeculi Amen</i>	I V VII+VIII' VII I, I', II, III

<i>Sanctus</i>	I, I'
<i>pleni sunt</i>	III, I
<i>Osanna in excelsis I</i> [partially = <i>Kyrie II</i>]	VII+VIII
<i>in nomine Domini</i>	VII
<i>Osanna in excelsis II</i> [= <i>Osanna I</i>]	VII+VIII
<i>Agnus Dei</i> [= <i>Kyrie I</i> bars 1–29, 48–66]	I, I', II, I', IV, I'
<i>qui tollis peccata mundi</i>	VIII'
<i>miserere nobis</i>	VII
<i>miserere nobis</i> [from bar 79 = <i>Kyrie II</i> from bar 176]	IX



Conclusion

Within Anerio's output, his Masses were the works most closely related to the stylistics typical of Palestrina's renditions of the *ordinarium missae*. Throughout the years, Anerio barely changed his composing style. He wrote mainly *ad imitationem* Masses, whose characteristic feature was the application of the set of parody techniques developed in the sixteenth century to the borrowed pre-composing musical material. During his stay in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth Anerio continued the current in musical life initiated at the Vasa court by Asprilio Pacelli, although he was more inclined to write compositions for more choirs and to develop the so called monumental style. On the other hand, he strove for a stronger differentiation in the texture of his works. He introduced shorter, homorhythmic structures, creating favourable conditions for a faster dialogue between multiple choirs, also allowing a better use of their spatial arrangement and a dynamization of the composition. As regards pitch, in his polychoral works Anerio used choirs consisting of the same set of vocal voices (either *chiavi naturali* or *chiavette*); in that respect, the fragments of his compositions written for few voices – especially in the *Missa Constantia* – are more diverse and intriguing.

Translated by Piotr Plichta

Summary

The Mass compositions of G. F. Anerio, chapelmaster at king Sigismund III's court, constitute the part of his musical achievements most closely connected with the stylistics of Palestrina present in his renditions of the *ordinarium missae*. Amongst the Masses by Anerio one can find pieces using pre-compositional material and thus belonging to the *missae ad imitationem* type and the Mass with *cantus firmus*. A set of three *missae breves* is formally and structurally distinctive. His overall achievement in the area of Masses can be divided into monochoral and polychoral pieces. The essential elements of the music techniques of the composer of the *Missa Constantia* did not change during the whole period of his artistic activity. Predominant in his achievements was the *ad imitationem* type of Masses (they also included the *Missa Constantia*, based on an unknown model, composed to honour Sigismund III's wife) where the method of the use of pre-composition material is in conformity with the practice of parodying, developed in the sixteenth century. The Masses by the royal chapelmaster composed during the period of his activities in Poland are a specific continuation of the trend started in the Vasa court by Asprilio Pacelli, although they reveal a tendency to increase the number of choirs, which is a move towards the so-called monumental style. At the same time one can observe a tendency towards an ever-increasing formal diversity, in particular to introduce shorter sections employing a homorhythmic texture, conducive to a rapid dialogue between the choirs, an emphasis on the effect of their spatial arrangement, and a dynamizing of the musical course. As regards the tone of the sound of the choir, he retained the tendency to use choirs not differentiated in terms of their composition, devoid of instrumental melodic voices, whereas far more varied and tonally more interesting – especially in the *Missa Constantia* – were the low-voice passages.

Part three

POETIC DISSEMINATION
AND MUSIC RECEPTION

Ennio Stipčević

The poet Ludovico Paschale, Martia Grisogono, and some Italian Renaissance composers*

Renaissance Europe, as also reflected in its music, was culturally multilingual. Along with the national languages the educated classes chose Latin as their *lingua franca*. However, in those turbulent times, owing to the logic of warfare or dynastic supremacy, the political map of Europe was changed frequently and so was the use of its languages. For example the Renaissance of the western Slavonic peoples of Europe, Poles, Czechs and Slovenes who bordered with Germanic lands, was marked by trilingualism. In the kingdom of Hungary, Hungarian was spoken and written along with Italian and Latin. (Let me recall here that Croatian artists and writers made a considerable contribution to the Hungarian Renaissance).¹ In this article I will try to explain the strong impact of multilinguality in the European Renaissance, as reflected in the culture of the Croats settled on the Eastern Adriatic coast.

* My article “Kotorski pjesnik Ludovik Paskalić (Ludovico Paschale), Zadranka Martia Grisogono i nekoliko talijanskih skladatelja’ (The Kotor Poet Ludovik Paskalić / Ludovico Paschale/. Martia Grisogono from Zadar and a Few Italian Renaissance Composers), *Arti musices*, 43/1 (2012), pp. 65–87) has been slightly altered and brushed up for this occasion. In my book *Renaissance Music and Culture in Croatia* (translated by Sonja Bašić) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016) I have written at greater length about Croatian Renaissance Petrarchists who wrote in Italian, and about the reception of that poetry by contemporary composers.

¹ See Marianna D. BIRNBAUM, *Croatian and Hungarian Latinity in the Sixteenth Century*, Zagreb – Dubrovnik: The Bridge, 1993.

One of the outstanding features of Croatian Renaissance culture is its relation with the Italian language. Since the Middle Ages the curriculum of the religious schools was taught as a rule in the Latin language. The situation changed when in the middle of his dynastic struggles in 1409, Ladislaus king of Naples, the future king Ladislaus I. of Hungary and Croatia, was involved in financial difficulties and sold Dalmatia to the Republic of Venice at the price of 100.000 ducats. After this financial transaction a considerable stretch of the Croatian Adriatic coast became the *domini da mar* of Venice until the Serenissima's fall. In the antiquity this had been the territory of the Roman Province of Dalmatia, stretching from the hinterland of the city of Zadar (Zara) in the north, to Boka Kotorska (Bocche di Cattaro) in the south (today in the state of Montenegro). In the period from the 16th to the 18th century significant trilingual literacy and literature in Croatian, Latin and Italian language developed in this region.²

Both in Venetian coastal Dalmatia and the independent and free Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) the public school curriculum was taught mostly in Italian and Latin. The literacy of the local language spoken by the population was taken care of by Glagolitic priests who since the Middle Ages were authorized to conduct religious services in the Croatian language. It is well known that the numerous Italian teachers employed in Dalmatian schools made a significant contribution to the spreading of humanist ideas in the urban centres of the eastern Adriatic coast. This explains why the Croatian writers, apart from writing in Croatian, wrote books in Italian and Latin, differing in subject matter and genre, and including history, law, economy, theology, philosophy, poetry etc., contributing to the development of the Italian Renaissance.

The poetry in Italian language produced in Dalmatia, Dubrovnik and Boka Kotorska (which continued to flourish in the 17th and 18th centuries) has been a subject of comparative studies and research of Italian and Croatian scholars

² Sante GRACIOTTI, "Per una tipologia del trilinguismo letterario in Dalmazia nei secoli XVI–XVIII", in: *Barocco in Italia e nei paesi slavi del sud*, eds. Vittore Branca – Sante Graciotti, Firenze: Olschki, 1983, pp. 321–346. See polemic introduction study in Frano ČALE, *Pjesme talijanke Saba Bobaljevića Gluška* [Sabo Bobaljević Glušac: Italian poems], Zagreb: SNL, 1988, pp. 7–90. Also see Smiljka MALINAR, *Hodočasnici, pjesnici, hvastavci. Hrvatsko-talijanske studije* [Pilgrims, poets, boasters. Croatian-Italian studies], Zagreb: Konzor, 2008.

for quite a while.³ However, the diffusion of that poetry in music collections of the Italian composers of the time has been totally ignored. The next few pages are a tentative and modest anticipation of further scholarly efforts.

It seems that the poetry collection of the majority of Croatian Renaissance poets, who published their poetry in the Italian language, was mostly ignored on the Italian and other European music markets. The expression “it seems” is not a rhetorical figure of the author, but his reminder that recently scholarly bibliographical research on the internet may always bring unexpected fresh data.

There is hardly a Croatian Renaissance poet who has not tried to write in Italian, but only a few of them published independent poetry collections.⁴ The best Croatian Renaissance poets writing in Italian came from Dubrovnik and Kotor. Some of these poets published exclusively in Italian, such as Juraj (Giorgio) Bizanti (*Rime amorose di Georgio Bizantio Catharense*, In Vinegia: per Jacob dal Borgo, 1532) and Miho (Michele) Monaldi (*Rime del sig. Michele Monaldi*, In Venetia: presso Altobello Salicato, 1599; 1604).⁵ Others, however, wrote their poems in their native language, and resorted to Italian only occasionally, such as Sabo Bobaljević Glušac (*Rime amorose e pastorali e satire del*

³ For earlier studies see Đuro KÖRBLER, “Talijansko pjesništvo u Dalmaciji 16. vijeka, napose u Kotoru i u Dubrovniku” [Italian poetry in Dalmatia in the 16th century, especially in Kotor and Dubrovnik], *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, 212, 1916, pp. 3–109. Irredentist ideas have been used in the writing of Bacotich S irendentističkih pozicija pisao je Arnolfo BACOTICH, “Rimatori Dalmati nel Cinquecento”, *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia*, 11, 1936, 21/124, pp. 127–131; 21/125, pp. 177–182; 21/126, pp. 24–29. The established comparatist vision was offered by Josip TORBARINA, “Renaissance Poetry of Dubrovnik and Dalmatia in the Concert of European Petrarchism”, *Revue de littérature comparée*, 43/2, 1969, pp. 252–263. Also see Slobodan Prosperov NOVAK, *Slaveni u renesansi* [Slavs in the Renaissance], Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2009.

⁴ For this research I owe a lot to the bibliographical sources: <http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it> (Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo) and <http://repim.muspe.unibo.it> (Repertorio della Poesia Italiana in Musica, 1500–1700, base dati a cura di Angelo Pompilio, consultabile nell’Università di Bologna, Dipartimento di Musica e Spettacolo). Both bibliographies are a sort of *work in progress* and are regularly updated.

⁵ With regards the history of music the most interesting is Monaldi’s treatise on beauty *Irene, ovvero della bellezza*, In Venetia: presso Francesco Bariletto, 1599. See Stanislav TUKSAR, *Croatian Renaissance Music Theorists*, Zagreb: MIC, 1980; Ivano CAVALLINI, *I due volti di Nettuno. Studi su teatro e musica a Venezia e in Dalmazia dal Cinquecento al Settecento*, Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1994 (chapter “Le muse in Illiria: l’Accademia dei Concordi a Ragusa (Dubrovnik) e i ragionamenti sulla musica di Nicolò Vito di Gozze e Michele Monaldi”, pp. 45–80).

Mag. Savino de Bobali Sordo, gentil'huomo Raguseo, In Venetia: presso Aldo, 1589) and Dinko Ranjina (Domenico Ragnina). Future research could reveal whether some of the 27 Italian poems by Dinko Ranjina, published in *Il secondo volume delle rime scelte da diversi eccellenti autori, novamente mandato in luce* (In Vinegia: appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1564), were inserted into the contemporary collections of polyphonic madrigals. It should be mentioned that the French poet Philippe Desportes translated a few Italian sonnets by Dinko Ranjina published by Giolito in 1564, without indicating their sources.⁶

However, it seems that they were not recognized by the composers of the time. Recent bibliographies have registered only few of their poems set to music. This lack of interest remains rather confusing, more so because these collections of poems were published in Venice, where in the 16th century prints were distributed by a well-organized network. The present state of research allows only tentative guesses and open questions.

In another text I wrote more extensively about a few Croatian poets, some of whose Italian verses were set to music; in addition I mentioned a few Italian poets who spent some years on the Eastern Adriatic coast and were in close contact with Croatian culture for a considerable stretch of time. These complex Croatian- Italian relations in the field of literature and music have been discovered only recently, revealing rather unknown aspects of cultural contacts between the eastern and western side of the Adriatic coast.⁷

On this occasion I would like to concentrate on the poems of Ludovik Paskalić (Ludovico Pascale) from Cattaro (Kotor, c. 1500–1551), who was defined “the best Renaissance poet produced by Venetian Dalmatia and Albania”

⁶ Milan REŠETAR, “Talijanske pjesme Dinka Ranjine” [Dinko Ranjina, Italian Poems], *Građa za povijest hrvatske književnosti*, 4 (1904), pp. 135–149.; Carlo VECCE, “Petrarchismo mediato tra Italia e Dalmazia, le poesie di Dinko Ranjina”, *Petrarca i petrarkizam u hrvatskoj književnosti* [Petrarca and Petrarchism in Croatian literature], eds. Bratislav LUČIN – Mirko TOMASOVIĆ, Split: Književni krug, 2006, pp. 69–74; Mirko TOMASOVIĆ, *Dinko Ranjina / Philippe Desportes. An adventure story*, Zagreb: The Bridge, 1994. A couple of Giolito's poetical anthologies, one of which is the 1564 anthology with Ranjina's songs, can be viewed at the webpage <http://rasta.univp.it> (Antologie della lirica italiana. Raccolte a stampa). I also mention here, because I think it is fairly unknown, that Giovanni Giolito de' Ferrari dedicated to Ranjina one of the numerous editions of Dolce's free version of Homer's *Odyssey* (see Lodovico DOLCE, *Ulisse*, Venetia: appresso Giovanni Giolito de' Ferrari, 1573). French Renaissance and Baroque composers set to music a lot of Desportes' petrarchan verses, but I could not identify a version of any of Ranjina's songs in Italian.

⁷ See the first footnote of the present article.

by some recent critics.⁸ One volume of poetry in Italian was published during his life (*Rime volgari di M. Ludovico Paschale Da Catharo Dalmatino. Non più date in luce*, In Vinegia: appresso Battista et Stephano cognati, Al Segno di S. Moise, 1549) and another posthumously edited by Lodovico Dolce in Latin (*Ludovici Paschalis, Iulii Camilli, Molsae, et aliorum illustrium poetarum carmina*, Venetiis: apud Gabrielum Iolitum et fratres de' Ferrariis, 1551), while he does not seem to have written in Croatian. "One is aware of the poet's deep familiarity with Latin and Italian, and the great similarity of his Latin and Italian poems, showing innumerable contacts, suggesting that the poet made no distinctions between the function and nature of these two languages. The poet's Latin and Italian models were the Roman classics Tibullus and Virgil, combined with his contemporaries Pietro Bembo and Jacopo Sannazaro."⁹ The collection of *Rime volgari* was dedicated by Paskalić "Alla molto nobile e gentile Madonna Martia Chrisogona Gentildonna Zaratina", a lady from the noble Grisogono family, to which the physician and polymath Federik Grisogono also belonged. In his book *Speculum astronomicum terminans intellectum humanum in omnia scientia* (Venetiis: per Lazarum de Soardis, 1507) the chapter entitled *De musica integritate* "is the oldest significant document by a Croatian author [...] dealing with the theory and philosophy of music."¹⁰

The first part of the *Rime volgari* is dedicated by Paskalić to his Muse and the unrequited love which was not to be, Silvia from Cattaro. To her he wrote several elegiacally intoned Latin poems issued in his collection of poems *Carmina*. The few lines in Latin we are quoting will allow us to appreciate the poet's ability to create a fusion of classical and contemporary patterns, revealing his direct, highly personal and modern sensibility:

De Sylvia

Dum mihi se facilem nuper mea Sylvia praebat,
Implicat et niveas per mea colla manus,
Mutuaquae apprehensis coniungimus oscula labris,
Oscula, quae Paphiae vix imitentur aves.

⁸ Slobodan Prosperov NOVAK, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti, II. knjiga: Od humanističkih početaka do Kašićeve ilirske gramatike 1604* [History of Croatian literature. II. From the beginnings of Humanism to Kašić's grammar], Zagreb: Antibarbarus, 1997, pp. 347; Stanislav TUKSAR, *Croatian Renaissance Music Theorists*, p. 347.

⁹ Stanislav TUKSAR, *Croatian Renaissance Music Theorists*, p. 34.

¹⁰ Stanislav TUKSAR, *Croatian Renaissance Music Theorists*.

Of Sylvia

As my Sylvia recently shows herself to be in the mood,
And twined her snow white hands around my neck
As we joined in mutual kisses, fastening lips to lips,
Kisses hardly to be imitated by turtle doves.¹¹

The second part of Paskalić's collection *Rime volgari*, dedicated "Al. Mag. M. Vincenzo Quirini" (p. 67), comprises poetic addresses to various contemporaries at home and in Venice, to political dignitaries and his writer friends, such as Juraj Bizanti and the brothers Vicko and Frano Buća (Vincenzo e Francesco Bucchia), Hanibal Lucić (Annibale Lucio) from Hvar (Lesina), and Martia Grisogono. The reader is truly struck by the number of Paskalić's dedications and poems addressed to the political establishment of Venice. The last poem in the collection ends with the lines "Et tu Canzon al mio pregar rispondi / Et gridi, Viva Viva / VINEGIA senza par, VINEGIA viva". Such transport and love for Venice ("Sacro Leon") is rarely found among the Dalmatian writers of the time, who in their works mostly expressed enmity for the Ottoman military power and the administration of Venice. This negative feeling was widely shared in the territory of the free city-state of Dubrovnik by the writers and intellectuals who were Paskalić's friends and correspondents.¹²

We know today that the "noble and learned" lady from Zadar, who also often stayed in Venice, allegedly also wrote poems.¹³ Bernardino Chrisolpho dedicated to her his translation of Isocrates' oration *La prima oration d'Isocrate a' Demonico, tradotta dal Greco idioma nel italico per Bernardino Chrisolpho* (In Vinegia: appresso Battista et Stephano compagni, Al Segno di S. Moise, 1548); he also dedicated to her the translation of *De laudibus Herculi*, with the full title *Dialogo di Marco Marulo. Delle eccellenti virtù, et meravigliosi fatti di Hercole* (Vinegia: appresso Battista et Stephano cognati, Al Segno di S. Moise, 1549), a highly appreciated figure of Croatian Humanism. In the dedication to Isocrates' oration Chrisolpho says of Martia Grisogono that she

¹¹ *The Croatian Muses in Latin. A Trilingual Anthology Latin-English-Croatian*, ed. Vladimir Vratović, Zagreb: The Bridge, 1998, pp. 120–121.

¹² Robin HARRIS, *Dubrovnik. A History*, London: SAQI, 2003.

¹³ Arnolfo BACOTICH, "Rimatori Dalmati nel Cinquecento", *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia*, 11, 1936, 21/126, p. 233.

was proficient in the Latin and Italian languages,¹⁴ and in the dedication a year later recalls her as “saggia et dottissima Donna, Madonna Martia Grisogono nobile Zaratina”. She was buried in the Church of St Dominic in Zadar, while her cousin Jerolim (Girolamo) Grisogono, known as the author of a tetrameter poem in Croatian language, commissioned a tombstone with an inscription to be placed on her resting place.¹⁵

Paskalić’s dedication to Miss Grisogono was marked by vacuous rhetoric. Of his own verses he says they are “sterile and horrid gifts, like the place where they were produced, in the farthest corner of Dalmatia” (“doni sterili e horridi, simil al loco dove sono stati prodotti, nell’estremo angolo della Dalmatia”). From a few courteous general phrases about learned women, we learn nothing more precise about the relation of the poet from Kotor and his Zadar Muse. One can suppose that Martia Grisogono sustained the printing costs for Paskalić’s poetry collection.

We know that a few poems from the *Rime volgari* were translated into English by the Elisabethan poet and playwright Thomas Lodge,¹⁶ and that Paskalić’s solid reputation in Italy led to the inclusion of his poetry in the four-volume anthology *Scelta di sonetti e canzoni de’ più eccellenti rimatori d’ogni secolo* (Bologna: per Costantino Pisarri sotto le Scuole, 1718). Five poems by Paskalić were set to music by some less known Italian Renaissance composers. Camillo Perego, who in his one and only printed collection of four-part madrigals dating from 1555 set to music Paskalić’s poem *Io vegg’apertamente* and the sonnet *S’io fuss’in cielo fra l’anime beate* (“prima parte”, the quatrain) and *Perché*

¹⁴ “Alla Gentilissima, e castissima madona Martia Grisogono, nobile zaratina, Bernardo Chrisolpho, s. [...] Et hora à V. S. la quale nel latino, et italico idiomate è dotta, e sopra le altre castissima, la dedico”. See *La prima oratione d’Isocrate a Demonico*, Edizione e introduzione a cura di Lucio PUTTIN, Schio: Menin, 1972. I thank Bratislav Lučin for alerting me to Chrisolpho’s translation dedicated to Martia Grisogono, and allowing me to publish his data.

¹⁵ On Martia Grisogono see information and literature from Stjepan ANTOLJAK, “Artium et medicinae doctor. Federik Grisogono, njegova obitelj i javno djelovanje u Zadru’ [Artium et medicinae doctor. Federik Grisogono, his family and his public work in Zadar], *Zbornik radova o Federiku Grisogonu (1472–1538)*, Zadar: Filozofski fakultet u Zadru, Institut za povijest znanosti u Zagrebu, 1974, pp. 45–46; Marija SALZMANN ČELAN, “Nepoznata pjesma Jerolima Grisogona’ [An unknown poem by Jerolim Grisogono], *Filologija*, 13, 1985, pp. 223–230.

¹⁶ It would be interesting to research whether any one of Paskalić’s songs in Lodge’s version was set to music in Elizabethan England; in any case Lodge’s expertise in music is well known. See Thomas LODGE, *A Defence of Poetry, Music, and Stage-Plays [...] An Alarum against Usurers; and the Delectable History of Forbonius and Prisceria*, London: Shakespeare Society, 1853.

sol contemplando il vostro viso (“seconda parte”, the sestina). I have so far had no opportunity to give serious attention to Perego’s collections. This composer, better known for his *La regola del canto fermo ambrosiano* (Milano: per l’her. di Pacifico Pontio, et Gio. Battista Piccaglia stampatori archiepiscopali, 1622), seems to have had some fixed poetic preferences. Apart from Paskalić, he set to music a few poems by Bernardo Tasso and the inevitable Petrarca, while the greater part of Perego’s collection was inspired by the “minor” poet Luigi Cassola (see *Madrigali del magnifico cavalier Luigi Cassola* piacentino, Venetia: appresso Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1544; 2nd ed. 1545).¹⁷

Two poems by Paskalić, the *canzona Due grazie alme* and the sonnet *Vidi Madonna*, were set to music by Francesco Menta (Brussels, c. 1540; active 1560–1577).¹⁸ Judging from the inscriptions in Menta’s collection of madrigals (1560 and 1564) it can be deduced that this Flemish composer moved to Italy in his youth and was active in Naples for some time. Both four-part madrigals came from a collection printed in Rome 1560. Their structure is clearly homophonic, similar to that of the *villanella*.¹⁹

Paskalić’s sestina *Amor fra boschi* was set to music by Giovanni Battista Pace (active 1585 – 1591).²⁰ He belonged to the circle of musicians brought together by Stefano Felis (Bari, c. 1550 – Bari?, 1603) while he was the “maestro di cappella” in the cathedral in Bari. Felis was a fertile and inventive madrigal composer, one of the best southern Italian composers at the end of the 16th century, and his ability was recognized at the famous court of king Rudolf II in Prague. In his own collections he gladly published compositions by his friends and students, among them Giovanni Battista Pace, Giovanni Donato Vopa and Pomponio Nenna, who contributed, each with one composition, to the

¹⁷ Nowadays Cassola is a practically unknown poet, but we can say that he achieved quite a reputation among Italian contemporary composers (see <http://repim.muspe.unibo.it>). [28/07/2017].

¹⁸ Pier Paolo SCATTOLIN, “Menta, Francesco”, in: NG2, vol. 16, p. 35.

¹⁹ The original of Menta’s *Madrigali a quattro voci* (Roma, per Antonio Barré, 1560) can be consulted on the webpage: <http://imslp.org/wiki> (Petrucci Music Library) [27/07/2017].

²⁰ Iain FENLON, “Pace, Giovanni Battista”, NG2, vol. 18, p. 843; Id., “Vopa, Giovanni Donato”, NG2, vol. 26, p. 985.

edition of Felis' collection of five-part madrigals published in 1585, which has not survived.²¹

In the same year Pace and Vopa published a joint collection (*Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci*) which seems to have been their first and last print. Not only does the title of their volume remind us of the aforementioned book of Felis' madrigals, but thanks to their teacher, the authors were lucky to enter the circle of musicians financially supported by Paolo Grillo, a nobleman from Genoa who lived in Bari. Pace and Vopa published the greatest part of their quite modest number of compositions in this joint collection.²² Their madrigals are simpler in style, resembling the *canzonetta*, and the inscriptions tell us that they were performed in the home of Paolo Grillo, who "was indeed the home and hostel of musicians" ("veramente casa, et albergo de virtuosi"). And while the activity of this private academy still remains unresearched, one wonders whether Paolo Grillo was in contact with the renowned poet Angelo Grillo, also from Genoa, whose activity at the cultural and musical life at the Court of Ferrara has been thoroughly researched,²³ and who knew several Ragusans in person.²⁴ It can be mentioned in passing that Angelo Grillo is the author of the

²¹ Patricia Ann MAYERS, "Felis, Stefano", NG2, vol. 8, pp. 656–657. For a description of the lost book of madrigals by Felis see Emil VOGEL, *Bibliothek der Gedruckten Weltlichen Vocalmusik Italiens, aus den Jahren 1500–1700 (mit Nachträgen von prof. Alfred Einstein)*, Hildesheim: Olms, 1962, I, pp. 222–223: IL PRIMO LIBRO DE MADRIGALI / A CINQUE VOCI DI STEFANO FELIS DA BARI / MAESTRO DI CAPELLA DEL DUOMO DI BARI / Ristampati con aggiozione de alcuni Madrigali noui. / ALL'ILLVSTRE S. PAOLO GRILLO GENTIL / HVOMO GENOVESE. / In Venetia Appresso Angelo Gardano / M.D.LXXXV. (Ded. Bari, 10.V.1585).

²² For an online edition of the whole collection see Giovanni Battista PACE – Giandomenico VOPPA, *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci da Gio. Battista Pace, et Giovandonato Vopa, Discepoli di Stefano Felis da Bari. Nuovamente composti. Et dati in luce*, Venetia: Angelo Gardano, 1585, eds. Francesco Pezzi – Ennio Stipčević, Tours: Centre d'études supérieures de la Renaissance, forthcoming.

²³ Elio DURANTE – Anna MARTELOTTI, *Don Angelo Grillo O.S.B. alias Livio Celiano poeta per musica del secolo dicimosesto*, Firenze: SPES Studio Per Edizioni Scelte, 1989.

²⁴ The connection between Angelo Grillo and Dubrovnik is mentioned by Josip TORBARINA, "Tassovi soneti i madrigali u čast Cvijete Zuzorić Dubrovkinje. Uz nove prijevode Vladimira Nazora [Tasso's sonnets and madrigals in honor of Cvijeta Zuzorić in Dubrovnik. A note along with new translations by Vladimir Nazor]", *Hrvatsko Kolo*, 21, 1940, pp. 69–96 (reprinted in Josip TORBARINA, *Kroatističke rasprave* [Croatian studies], ed. Slobodan Prosperov Novak, Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1997, p. 233). Among the citizens of Dubrovnik who exchanged letters with Grillo was Nikola Vitov Gučetić (Nicolò Vito di Gozze), the Dubrovnik philosopher (see the above mentioned studies by S. Tuksar and I. Cavallini cited in footnote 5).

poem *Son sì belle le rose*,²⁵ set to music by Carlo Gesualdo da Venosa (*Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci*, Ferrara: Vittorio Baldini, 1594) and translated into Croatian by the prominent Baroque poet Dživo Bunić Vučić (*Plandovanja / Times of Leisure*).²⁶ It remains a matter of conjecture whether Bunić came across Grillo's verses in one of the above mentioned poetry collections or in Gesualdo's book of madrigals.

Special consideration is due to "Signor Matteo di Bona", to whom Pace and Vopa dedicated their collection. Of this Matija Bunić we know only that in 1584 he was the Consul of the Dubrovnik Republic in Bari. Now we can add to the biography of the little known Ragusan Consul the fact that Giovanni Battista Pace and Giovanni Donato Vopa dedicated to him their first book of madrigals, published in 1585 and in all probability financed by Bunić.

I would like to draw attention to two aspects of Pace and Vopa's collection. The first regards the performance of music at the time. Namely, all the singing parts (Canto, Alto, Tenore, Basso) are printed in high clefs, so-called *chiavette*.²⁷ This kind of notation has been very rarely sustained from beginning to end of a collection. It is difficult to offer an interpretation of this procedure: perhaps in our case the *chiavette* reflect some special feature of the vocal practice in Bari.

Also of interest is the aforementioned fact that Pace's and Vopa's collection was dedicated to the Ragusan Consul Matej Bunić. It is well known that the Dubrovnik Republic had very good trading contacts with Bari.²⁸ The musical contacts still have to be studied. It seems quite obvious that Bunić funded the

²⁵ The poem was published in the anthologies *Rime di diversi celebri poeti dell'età nostra*, Bergamo: Comino Ventura et Compagni, 1587, and in *Ghirlanda dell'aurora. Scelta di madrigali*, Venezia: Bernardo Giunti e Giovanni Battista Ciotti, 1609. See also *Don Angelo Grillo, alias Livio Celiano* (n. 24).

²⁶ Željka ČORAK, "Pjesništvo princa Gesualda", *Lanjski snjezi, eseji i prepjevi* [The poetry of prince Gesualdo, essays and translations], Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 1979, pp. 57–78; Dživo BUNIĆ VUČIĆ, *Djela* [Works], ed. Dunja Fališevac, Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1995 (Stoljeća hrvatske književnosti, 7).

²⁷ See the basic study by Patrizio BARBIERI, "Chiavette and modal transposition in Italian practice (c. 1500–1837)", *Ricerchare*, 1991/3, pp. 5–80.

²⁸ Nenad, VEKARIĆ, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika. Svezak 4: Odabrane biografije (A–D)* [Patricians of Dubrovnik city. Vol. 4: Selected biographies], Zagreb: Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, 2013.

printing of the anthology *Primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* dating from 1585.²⁹

The collection *Rime volgari* was published in 1549, hence all the verses by Paskalić which were set to music appeared after his death in 1551. While the compositions included in Perego's (1555) and Menta's (1560) collection were a relatively prompt reaction, one should believe that the inclusion of a poem by Paskalić in Pace's and Vopa's print (1585) occurred with the help of the Ragusan consul Matej Bunić. There is no doubt that Paskalić's poetry was still read and appreciated in Dubrovnik at the end of the 16th century. At this moment it would be premature to judge what the *Rime volgari* could have meant to the readers of Zadar at that time. The enigmatic figure of Martia Grisogono could be clarified by well-aimed archive research. As yet we can also presume that the *Gentildonna Zaratina* had an inclination for patronage shown in action in the case of Chrisolpho's translations of Isocrates' speeches and Marulić's treatise, or the editing of *Rime volgari*. Summing up, there is no doubt that his poems set to music open many questions. These as yet unformulated questions about the necessary research on Renaissance poetry in the Italian language written in the Eastern Adriatic regions, and the diffusion of this poetry through music, indicate that we find ourselves at its very beginning.

Translated by Sonja Bašić

²⁹ In the same year Stefano Felis dedicated to Dubrovnik's consul Matija Bunić (Matteo di Bona) his collection *Liber secundus motectorum quinis, senis octonisque vocibus compositorum*, Venetia: Angelo Gardano, 1585 (see <http://ricercar.gesualdo-online.univtours.fr/items/show/5875>). This fact came to my attention after the text of this paper was written.

Appendix 1

Ludovik Paskalić (Ludovico Paschale), *Rime volgari* (1549)

1) (p. 17) Due gratie alme divine in ciel gradite
Ch'i spirti eletti d'i celesti chori
Honoran più che tutti gl'altri honori
Bellezza e Honestate insieme unite
Senza contrasto alcun e senza lite
Con la sua vaga vista
Di tal dolcezza mista
Che par ch'ognun a rallegrar invite
Acceso m'han sì fieramente il petto,
Che sol m'appaga il lor divin'aspetto.

Francesco Menta: *Madrigali a quattro voci*, Antonio Barrè, Roma 1569.
I Bc (SATB)
Italia, Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale (SATB)
NVogel 1807; RISM A/I M 2276

2) (p. 18) Io veggio apertamente
Ch'io mi consumo e struggo a poco a poco,
Sento la fiamma ardente
Che m'arde il cor con invisibil foco,
Ma bench'io ponga mente
Trovar non so di questo ardor il loco,
O meraviglia eterna
Ch'io arda in foco, e'l foco mio non scerna.

Camillo Perego: *Madrigali a quattro voci, novamente da lui composti, corretti et posti in luce*, Girolamo Scotto, Venezia 1555.
E V (SATB); H SY (B)
Espagna, Valladoid, Archivo musico de la Catedral (SATB);
Hungary, Szombathely, Puspoki Konyvtar (Bishop Library) (B)
NVogel 2178; RISM A/I P 1320

3) (p. 36) Udi Madonna in voci afflitte e meste
Dirmi piangendo: hor rallegrar ti puoi
Ch'è giunto il fin di lunghi affanni tuoi
Con mie ruine, et doglie manifeste.

Francesco Menta, *op. cit.*

4) (p. 47) Amor fra boschi, e solitarie selve

Mostrommi una leggiadra e bella Fiera

Che con la luce d'i suoi chiari rai

M'accese tutto, e poi tra fiori et herbe

Mi tese un laccio, e con mirabil arte

M'avvinse l'alma e "l cor di mille nodi.

Giovanni Battista Pace: *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci di Gio. Battista Pace, et Giovandonato Vopa, discepoli di Stefano Felis da Bari: nuovamente composti et dati in luce*, Ang[elo] Gardano, Venezia 1585.

GB Lbm (SATB inc., 5); LI (SATB inc., 5)

Great Britain, London, British Museum (SATB inc., 5);

Lincoln, Cathedral Library (SATB inc., 5)

NVogel 2073; RISM B/I 1585³⁰

5) (pp. 48v–49) S'io fussi in ciel fra l'anime beate

Nelle parti più belle e più serene

Non havrei colmo né perfetto bene

Senza la vostra Angelica beltade,

Et se la giù fra l'anime dannate

Io fussi in parti di tormento piene

I pianti e stridi, e quell'eterne pene

Vedendo voi mi sarien dolci e grate.

6) (p. 49) (seconda parte)

Perché sol contemplando il vostro viso

Più che le stelle è "l Sol lucido e chiaro

Io provo in terra il ben de "l paradiso,

Ogni mio Assentio, e ogni Fel' amaro

Un dolce sguardo, un vostro dolce riso

Puo far d'Ambrosia più soave e chiaro.

Camillo Perego, *op. cit.*

Appendix 2

Giovanni Battista Pace – Giovandonato Vopa, *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci (1585): front page, dedication, content*

(CANTO) IL PRIMO LIBRO DE MADRIGALI / A CINQUE VOCI DI GIO. BATTISTA PACE / ET GIOVANDONATO VOPA, / Discepoli di Stefano Felis da Bari. / Notamente Composti, & dati in luce. / In Venetia Appresso Angelo Gardano / M.D.LXXXV.

AL MOLTO ECCELLENTE SIG. MIO OSSERVANDISSIMO / IL SIGNOR MATTEO DI BONA.

Fra le altre virtù che in questa Città di Bari si essercitano, la Musica non mediocrementemente vi fiorisce (mercé dell'affetto, che li porta Monsig. Illustriss. & Reverendiss. nostro Arcivescovo) il quale zelantissimo del culto divino, vuole che con essa giornalmente si rendano a N. S. in la sua Arcivescovil Chiesa le debite lodi, & essendone Maestro di Cappella il Reverendo Don Stefano Felis Musico così Eccellente, come al mondo è manifesto, si vedono di continuo da lui opere così rare, che appena uscite in luce riempiono con gli armoniosi concetti, ogn'uno di maraviglia. Noi, che per buona nostra fortuna, siamo discepoli di così principal'huomo, desiderosi quanto possono le nostre fatiche d'imitarlo: havemo composto questi Madrigali, & alquanti de' suoi raccoltone, quali havendoli più volte in compagnia di V. Sig. cantati in casa del Sig. Paolo Grillo suo carissimo Amico (veramente casa, & albergo de' virtuosi) è parso al detto Sig. Paolo, & ad altri, che si debbano mandar alla Stampa, giudicandoneli forse più degni per la leggiadria del cantar di V. S. & essendo in compagnia dell'opere del Maestro, che perché all'effetto li nostri, ne siano meritevoli, pero quali essi siano, saran tanto più degni di scusa, quanto che sono le prime nostre fatiche, lequali hauemo voluto a V. Sig. dedicare, per mostrarli in parte l'osservanza, che li portiamo. Si degnerà riguardando alla grandezza dell'animo nostro, & al desiderio, che sa esser in noi co'l continuo studio, & con gli anni più maturi di dar fuori opere più degne, accettar questo picciol dono, con mantenerci in sua gratia, che nostro Signore la conservi, e guardi.

Di Bari il dì 15. Aprile 1585.

Di V. S. Molto Eccellente

Affettionatis[simi] Servitori

Gio. Battista Pace. &

Gio. Donato Vopa.

TAVOLA DELLI MADRIGALI

È veramente fra le stelle un sole	1
Mille amorosi baci	2
Mentre scherzava Amor	3
Ben sei felice Amore	4
Sotto finti d'Amor	5
Ne v'inganna il mirar	6
Et io benché infelice	7

Se le lagrime tue	8
Deh fammi degno haverle	9
Spiriti celesti, e puri	10
A' pianti amari	11
Hoimè dolce ben mio	12
Vostra beltà	13
Felice Primavera	14
Danzan le Ninfe	15
Amor fra boschi	16
Corran d'argenti i fiumi	17
Ahi trascorso cuor	18
Mentre ch'io vo	19
Mentre piango i miei falli	20
O come è bella	21

IL FINE.

3. Giovanni Battista Pace – Giovandonato Vopa, *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (1585): authors of the poetic texts

Incipit	Author of the poetic text	Composer
È veramente fra le stelle un sole	Francesco Petrarca	Vopa
Mille amorosi baci	Francesco Pocopagni: <i>Rime di diversi eccellenti [sic] bresciani</i> , Venetia: Plinio Pietrasanta, 1553.	Vopa
Mentre scherzava Amor		Pace
Ben sei felice Amore (seconda parte)		Pace
Sotto finti d'Amor		Felis
Ne v'inganna il mirar (seconda parte)		Felis
Et io benché infelice (terza parte)		Felis
Se le lagrime tue		Vopa
Deh fammi degno haverle (seconda parte)		Vopa
Spiriti celesti, e puri	Gabriele Fiamma: <i>Rime spirituali</i> , Vinegia: Francesco de' Franceschi, 1573.	Vopa
A' pianti amari		Pace
Hoimè dolce ben mio (seconda parte)		Pace

Sotto finti d'Amor		Felis
Ne v'inganna il mirar (seconda parte)		Felis
Et io benché infelice (terza parte)		Felis
Se le lagrime tue		Pace
Deh fammi degno haverle (seconda parte)		Pace
Vostra beltà (terza parte)		Pace
Felice Primavera	Torquato Tasso: <i>Rime</i>	Vopa
Danzan le Ninfe	Torquato Tasso: <i>op. cit.</i>	Vopa
Amor fra boschi	Ludovico Paschale: <i>Rime volgari</i> , Vinegia: Battista e Steffano cognati, 1549.	Pace

Corran d'argenti i fiumi		Pace
Ahi trascorso cuor		Vopa
Mentre ch'io		Vopa
Mentre piango i miei falli		Pace
O come è bella		Pace

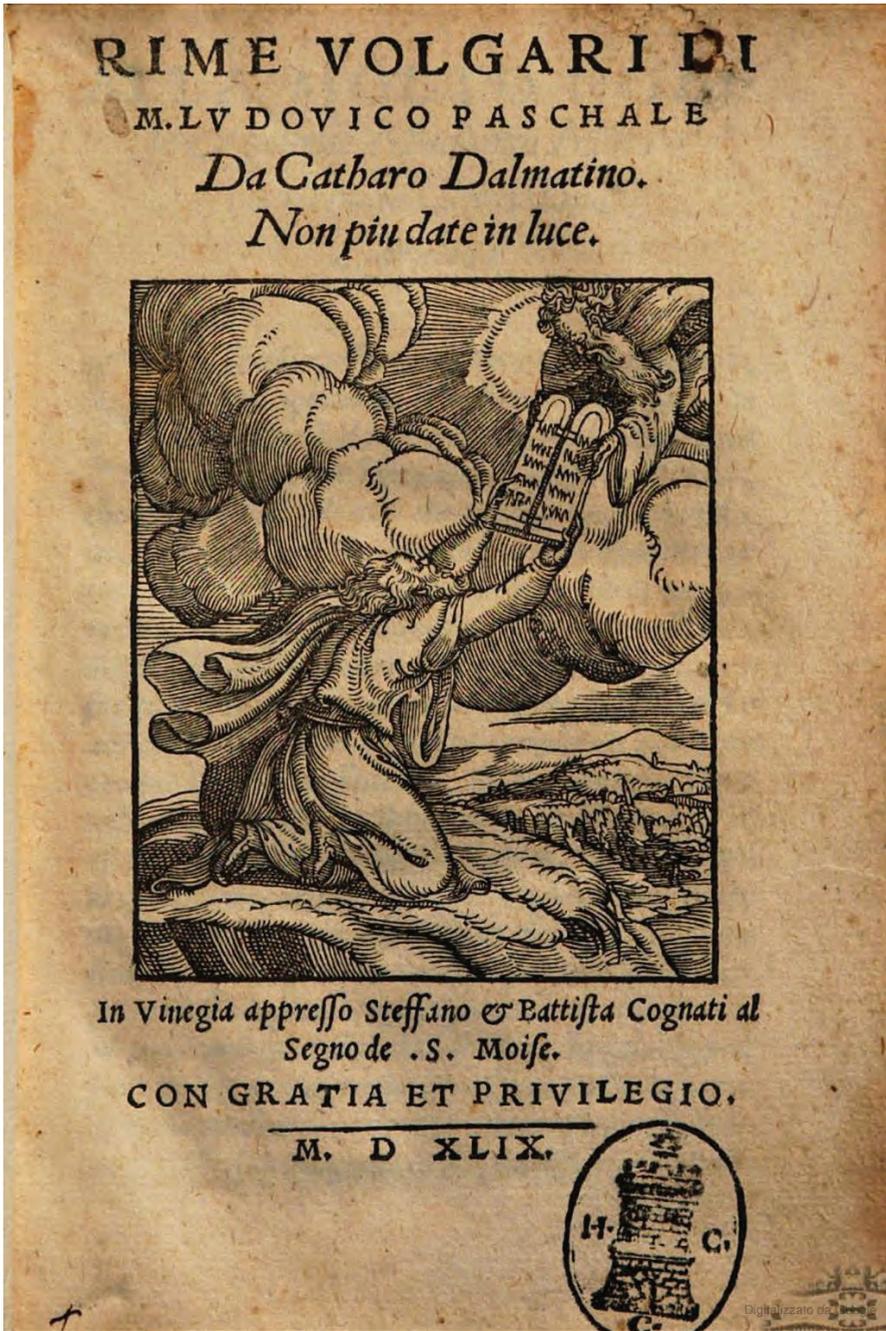


Fig. 1: *Rime volgari di m. Ludovico Paschale*, in Vinegia, appresso Steffano & Battista cognati, 1549: frontispiece (Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, r.XX.20)

Amor fra boschi

Giovanni Battista Pace

*Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci di
Gio. Battista Pace et Giovandonato Vopa
Venezia 1585.*

transcr. Tomislav Bužić

First system of the musical score for 'Amor fra boschi'. It features five vocal parts: Canto (Soprano), Quinto (Alto), Alto, Tenore (Tenor), and Basso (Bass). The music is in a 4/4 time signature with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics for the Soprano and Tenor parts are: "A - mor fra bo - schi e so - li - ta - rie," and "A - mor fra bos - chi e so - li - ta - rie, sel -".

Second system of the musical score, starting at measure 4. The lyrics continue: Soprano: "sel - ve,"; Alto: "A - mor fra"; Tenor: "A - mor fra bos - chi e so - li - ta - rie, sel - ve, e so - li - te - rie sel -"; Bass: "A - mor fra bos - chi e so - li - ta - rie, sel - ve,".

Third system of the musical score, starting at measure 7. The lyrics continue: Soprano: "a - mor fra bo - - schi e so -"; Quinto: "bos - chi e so - li - ta - rie sel - - ve, e so - li - ta - rie, sel -"; Alto: "a - mor fra bos - chi e so - li - ta - rie sel - ve e so - li - ta - rie, sel - ve, e"; Tenor: "ve, e so - li - ta - rie"; Bass: "ve, e so - li - ta - rie".

10

C. *- li - ta - ri - e, e so li - ta - rie, sel - - - ve*

Q. *- ve, e so - li - ta - rie sel - ve, e so - li - ta - rie, sel - ve,*

A. *so - li - ta - rie, sel - ve, e so - li - ta - rie, sel - ve Mo strò -*

T. *sel - ve, e so - li - ta - rie sel - ve Mo - strò - m'u-na leg -*

B. *e so - li - ta - rie, sel - - - ve Mo - strò - m'u-*

14

C. *Che con la lu - ce de suoi chia - ri ra - - -*

Q. *Che con la lu - ce de suoi chia - ri -*

A. *- m'u - na leg - gia - dra e bel - la Fie - ra Che con la lu - ce de suoi chia -*

T. *gia - dra e bel - la Fie - ra, Fie - ra Che con la lu - ce de suoi chia - ri ra -*

B. *na leg - gia - dra e bel - la Fie - ra Che con la lu - ce de suoi chia - ri*

18

C. *- i Tut - to m'ac - ce - se, tut - to m'ac - ce - se poi tra fio - ri et her - be Mi te - s'un*

Q. *- ra - - i Tut - to m'ac - ce - se, tut - to m'ac - ce - se, Mi te - s'un lac -*

A. *- ri ra - i Tut - to m'ac - ce - se, e poi tra fio - ri et her - be mi te - s'un lac -*

T. *- - i Tut - to m'ac - ce - se poi tra fio - ri et her - be mi te - s'un*

B. *ra - i Tut - to m'ac - ce - se,*

34

C. - ma è'l cor di mil - le no - -

Q. - ma è'l cor di mil - - le

A. l'al - m'e'l cor di mil - -

T. è'l cor di mil - le

B. è'l cor di mil - - le no - -

37

C. - di, di mil - le no - - di.

Q. no - - - - di.

A. le no - - - - di.

T. no - - - - di.

B. di, di mil - le no - - - - di.

Giovanni Battista Pace, *Amor fra boschi* (*Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci*)
(transcr. Tomislav Bužić)

Notes on the transcription:

In the transcription the principle of *integer valor* is kept; the text is given in a modern orthography. Although this piece is not notated in *chiavette*, one should notice the rather high range of all voices.

NB This music example was previously published in my article “Kotorski pjesnik Ludovik Paskalić (Ludovico Paschale), Zadranka Martia Grisogono i nekoliko talijanskih skladatelja” [The Kotor Poet Ludovik Paskalić (Ludovico Paschale), Martia Grisogono from Zadar and a Few Italian Renaissance Composers]. *Arti musices* 2012/1, pp. 65–87: 83–86.

It also appears in my *Renaissance Music and Culture in Croatia*, pp. 210–213.

Summary

The poet Ludovik Paskalić (Ludovico Paschale) (1500–1551), born in the city of Kotor (the Republic of Montenegro) was one of leading writers of poetry in Italian and Latin languages from the area of Venetian Dalmatia. His collection *Rime volgari* (Venice, 1549) was dedicated to Martia Grisogono, a noblewoman from the city of Zadar. In this essay, new light is cast on the dissemination of Paskalić's verses among the Italian Renaissance composers. According to recent bibliographical data it seems that *Rime volgari* attracted the attention of three Italian Renaissance composers: Camillo Perego incorporated two of Paskalić's poems in his collection *Marigali a quattro voci* (1555), Francesco Menta, another two, in *Madrigali a quattro voci* (1569), while the last one was inserted by Giovanni Battista Pace in his *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (1585), dedicated to Matija Bunić (Matteo di Bona), consul of the Dubrovnik Republic in the city of Bari. At the end of the essay a transcription of Pace's madrigal *Amor fra boschi* is added.

Richard Rybarič

Judicium Salomonis:

Samuel Capricornus and Giacomo Carissimi

1.

Up to the 19th century, musical culture was concentrated in relatively independent and self-sufficient centres. In the Middle Ages these included monasteries, capitular churches, and later, courts, aristocratic residences and towns. However, independence does not mean isolation and self-sufficient autarky. Similar to European music, European culture existed even in the times of such privileges and limited possibilities for communication. Very lively relationships existed among the music ensembles of towns, monasteries and castles; musicians, composers, singers and chapelmasters were very mobile and covered a relatively wide stretch of the continent for those times. Curious cases, complicated situations and peculiar incidents also occurred in the mysterious beehive of history. This paper focuses on one episode from the voluminous and still unfinished chapter of the book of European musical and cultural relationships. It is a relatively little known case, but we believe it deserves attention. In terms of national history and geography, it warrants inspection just because certain traces lead to old Bratislava (Posonium, Pressburg, Pozsonyi, Prešporok at the time), from the purely musicological aspect, but also because the results may provoke, in the form of critique or polemics, a response which will raise awareness of the complexity and horizontal and vertical multiformity of the musical life of the Baroque era.

2.

The vast collections of the musical department of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris hide many surprises, including many works by Samuel Capricornus, the chapelmaster in Bratislava and later Stuttgart, under the shelf-mark Vm¹ 990, as well as a unique print of his work entitled *Continuatio Theatri Musici Seu Sacrarum Cantionum* of 1669. The document is composed of ten part books (C₁, C₂, A, T, B, V₁, V₂, V₃, V₄, Tromb. and Org.) and contains eight sacred compositions for various settings,¹ and presumably represents the second part of *Theatrum Musicum*, also by Capricornus, published in the same year by the same publisher.² However, despite the fact that Capricornus has been acknowledged as one of the most influential Baroque composers in Austria and South Germany from the beginning of the second half of the 17th century, none of these bibliographies and encyclopedias of well-known prints has been researched. Furthermore, the only monograph about Capricornus, written around 1920, has remained in manuscript form.³ The author's transcriptions of the works of Capricornus indicate that the composer is one of the unjustly forgotten masters of early music who deserves more attention. Unfortunately the scope of this study does not allow a discussion of more than one issue, albeit a special but attractive one, the solution of which may *pars pro toto* illustrate the climate in which the music of the 17th century was created and shed light on some of the agents participating in the formation of this musical tradition. The question goes something like this: the famous oratorio *Judicium Salomonis*, which is usually attributed to Giacomo Carissimi, appears as composition No. 4 in the *Continuatio*, which naturally results in a collision between two significant figures. This situation is even more interesting because it concerns on the one hand a staunch and devoted Protestant and son of an exiled pastor, and on the other hand the pope's favorite and long-term servant of the Jesuits, i.e., two individuals who according to all of the laws of historical probability factoring in the categories of religious intolerance of those times should never have met or

¹ The exact title of the collection is *Continuatio (Theatri Musici) (Seu Sacrarum Cantionum) Pars Secunda (Quas aperuit) Samuel Capricornus (Sereniss. Wirtemberg. Chori Musici) Director [...] Herbipoli. Apud Johannem Bencard, Bibliop. Acad. M.DC.LXIX.*

² Paris Bibl. Nat. Vm¹ 989.

³ Hans Buchner, "Samuel Friedrich Capricornus (1629–1665) Sein Leben und seine Werke" (München 1922), ms., 157 pp., see Richard SCHAAL, *Verzeichnis deutschsprachiger musikwissenschaftlicher Dissertationen 1861–1960*, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963, no. 288.

become close. How is it possible that two people who are so different are mentioned as the authors of the same work? Who is the actual composer of *Judicium* and – finally – which factors had a mutual impact on the background?

3.

To tell the truth, this issue is not new. The composition was appraised and admired in the 18th century,⁴ but in 1726, Sébastien de Brossard, the famous French theoretician, composer and bibliophile wrote about it in his list of books and music sheets, which in 1724 he donated to the royal library in Paris. He stated that *Judicium* included in the *Continuatio* was “attribué communement quoyque fausement a Carissimi,”⁵ which cannot be underestimated, because these words were spoken by a man who was well acquainted with the music of Capricornus and Carissimi.⁶ But it is most certainly a pity that Brossard, like Fétis later, in connection with *Judicium* mentioned Cesti,⁷ and narrowed down the information to a laconic statement which he did not feel necessary to justify or support with arguments. The only other author who tackled the question of *Judicium* (but only marginally) was Michel Brenet at the end of the 19th century. His *Les ‘Oratorios’ de Carissimi* of 1897⁸ is practically unknown in our country. When examining certain documents of Capricornus cited in

⁴ Jean Laurent LECERT DE LA VIEVILLE in his *Comparaison de la musique Italienne et de la musique Francoise III*, published anonymously in *Histoire de la musique et de ses effets IV* (1715) by Bourdelot-Bonnet, wrote that Carissimi is “le moins indigne adversaire que les Taliens ayent à opposer a Lulli” and that *Judicium* “avait touché davantage” him from all his compositions. Compare *Die grossen Darstellungen der Musikgeschichte in Barock und Aufklärung*, ed. Othmar Wessely, Graz 1966, vol. 2, p. 114. This statement is cited word for word by Johann MATTHESON, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, Hamburg: Mattheson, 1740, Facsimile ed. Berlin: Schneider, 1910, 35, but without indicating the source.

⁵ *Catalogue des livres de musique théorique et pratique, vocalle et instrumentalle, tant imprimée, que manuscrite qui son [sic !] dans le cabinet du Sr Sebastien de Brossard*, ms., Paris, Bibl. Nat. Rés. Vm⁸ 21, p. XXXVIII [on-line: http://data.bnf.fr/12364220/sebastien_de_brossard/ (accessed 3 September 2017)].

⁶ Sébastien de Brossard transcribed into scores two compositions from *Theatrum Musicum*, namely ‘Dulcissime amantissime’ (Vm¹ 1173) and ‘O felix jucunditas’ (Vm¹ 1189). In addition, the entire set of the *Paris manuscripts of Carissimi’s oratorios*, about which we will talk later in detail, comes from his unique collection.

⁷ François-Joseph FÉTIS, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, Bruxelles: Leroux-Mayence: Les fils de B. Schott, 1835; 2nd ed.: Paris: Firmin Didot, 1875-83, vol. 2, p. 190.

⁸ *Rivista Musicale Italiana*, 4, 1897, pp. 460–483.

Josef Sittard's monograph on music and theatre history at the Württemberg court,⁹ he pointed out that in spite of it all some contacts indeed occurred between Capricornus and Carissimi, and thus determined a certain direction and baseline for future research. But for us, the most important fact is that the alleged contacts are dated during the time when Capricornus worked in Bratislava, where this young but successful master held the position of chapelmaster (*director musicae*) from 1651 to 1657 of the first stone Evangelical church (consecrated in 1638) with a very busy and even excellent musical life. Therefore, in order to ensure that our interpretation has some logic, we must start right here and try to ascertain information about Capricornus himself and his human and artistic qualities and interests with special consideration for his teaching activities in our city on the Danube.

4.

The life story of Capricornus up to his arrival in Bratislava is not completely known. He was born on December 21, 1628 in Žerčice in Bohemia,¹⁰ and after some turbulent and rambling years he settled in Vienna, where he became a member of the imperial chapel of Ferdinand III; between 1650 and 1651 (allegedly on the advice of his mother) he moved to the less hectic city of Bratislava, where he first worked as a private tutor in the family of physician Wilhelm Rayger. Although there are still enough gaps or even contradictions¹¹ in his biography, we believe that Capricornus, whose works were disseminated throughout Europe from Brasov and Sibiu in Transylvania to London, Paris, Berlin and Västerås, was considered to be a well-known and prominent, if not famous, musician who had acquired great skill by the time he reached Vienna "durch Communication mit den vortreflichsten Componisten."¹² Although he did not devote a separate chapter to Capricornus in his *Ehrenpforte*, the legendary Mattheson mentioned Valentin Haussmann Jr., Johann Philipp

⁹ Josef SITTARD, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Württembergischen Hofe*, vol. 1, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1890-1891, pp. 56-57.

¹⁰ Joseph BACHMAIR, "Leichenpredigten auf Gastorius, Capricornus und Joh. Beer", *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 13, 1930-1931, pp. 45-46.

¹¹ Other documents and literature indicate Reutlingen, Stuttgart and even Košice as the previous place of work of Samuel Capricornus.

¹² (through communication with the most excellent composers). Joseph BACHMAIR, "Leichenpredigten auf Gastorius", p. 45.

Krieger and Johann Fischer in addition to others, as his students.¹³ Ernst Ludwig Gerber (perhaps based on the older dates) writes in his *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler* of 1812 that in Stuttgart, where Capricornus moved from Bratislava in the spring of 1657 “vermehrte sich sein Ruhm so sehr und verbeitete sich so weit, dass es sich jeder talentvolle Künstler zur Ehre anderechnete den Capricornus [...] kennen gelernt haben”.¹⁴

However, it is Samuel Capricornus himself who perhaps left us the most important and authentic evidence. It is the so called ‘memorial’, which he submitted to the prince of Württemberg Eberhard III around 1659. In this work he unscrupulously but openly, and based on his knowledge of extensive theoretical and musical literature, confutes the allegations of Philip Friedrich Böddecker, a considerably more experienced municipal organ player in Stuttgart, who in his futile aspiration for the better and more profitable position of court chapelmaster did what any artist should never do – he defamed and denigrated a more successful and obviously more capable artist. We do not know much of the background behind this dispute, yet despite the fact that it was characterized by hatred and insults from both sides, a document, with the title Samuel Capricornus versus Philipp Friedrich Böddecker in extensor, which was published in 1901 by the previously mentioned J. Sittard,¹⁵ remains valuable evidence – the ostentatious surface hides the composer’s aesthetic, compositional and technical and theoretical views and convictions as well as information, references and notes illustrating the situation in the musical community of which we will speak more precisely later. The document was already used by Brenet at the time (he knew it from a passage from the monograph cited in footnote 9), where Capricornus, while protecting his name as an artist and composer, appealed to the opinion of Heinrich Schütz and Giovanni Carissimi, who allegedly recommended that the works of Capricornus be published, but also that they be performed publicly in Rome in the basilica of St. Apollinare:

Bin beynebenst versichert, dass verständige, Wahrheit liebende Leute viel anders von meinen Sachen urtheylen, gestaltsam mir der Chursächs. Capellmeister auf mein ihme überschicktes opus also zugeschrieben: Dess Herrn opera virtuosa ist

¹³ Johann MATTHESON, *Grundlage*, pp. 61, 103, 147.

¹⁴ (his fame rose so much and reached so far that every talented artist, to the honor of others, have got to know Capricornus). Vol. 1, p. 633.

¹⁵ “Samuel Capricornus contra Philipp Friedrich Böddecker”, *Sammelbände der Internationale Musikgesellschaft*, 3, 1901–1902, pp. 87–128 (hereinafter referred to as “IMG”).

mir zu recht eingehändiget worden, hat mich sehr delectirt, der Herr fahre fort, noch ferner Gott und seiner Kirchen also zu dienen. Der vortreffliche Virtuos Jacobus Carissimi hat die von mir ihme vor ungefähr 4 Jahren durch Zillingern Medic. doctorem u. Practicum zu Pressburg ad iudicandum überschickte Musicalische Stücke, nicht alleine höchlich gerühmet, mit Vermelden, dass sie gar wol wert seyen, dass man sie in den Druck befördere, sondern auch gewürdiget in der Kirchen bey St. Apollinar zu probiren, und aufzuführen, wie solches vorgemeldter Dr. Zillinger annoch bezeugen wird.¹⁶

In reality, there is no absolute certainty or direct evidence that everything was said here with such confidence. The memorial has not undergone any critical analysis, but although the letters of Schütz and Carissimi to Capricornus have not been found, the researchers-specialists do not discuss at all the great value of this document which is unique in its way. The reference to Heinrich Schütz, who is mentioned here only through his title (*Chursächs. Capellmeister*), is accepted and quoted quite commonly. Erich H. Müller published it in 1931 in the collected edition of Schütz's correspondence.¹⁷ It also appeared in the monograph by Hans Joachim Moser.¹⁸ Both agree that the works which Schütz classified as *opera virtuosa* were compositions from Capricornus's first fruit entitled *Opus musicum* (Nurnberg 1655) dedicated to Andreas Segner, the Mayor of Bratislava.

But what Capricornus writes about Carissimi is only partially acceptable. It is highly probable and perhaps even certain that the ambitious Capricornus indeed sent him compositions *ad iudicandum*; Dr. Zillinger, whom Capricornus calls as a witness, is a real person – Georg Gottfried Zillinger, Medicinae Doctor,¹⁹ a member of an active Protestant family of Austrian origin,²⁰ indeed

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 112: (I am now convinced, that sensible, loving truth people quite differently evaluate my things, as the Kapellmeister of the Elector of Saxony attributed to my opus sent to him: *opera virtuosa* was entrusted to me, with great success, and I continue to serve God and his churches yet further. An excellent virtuoso, Jacobus Carissimi, not only praised the musical pieces I gave him about four years ago through Dr. Zillinger of Pressburg, but also stated that they are worth printing and that they are worth performing at the church of Sant'Apollinare, as said earlier mentioned Dr. Zillinger.)

¹⁷ Erich H. MÜLLER, *Heinrich Schütz – Gesammelte Briefe und Schriften*, Regensburg: Bosse, 1931; compare pp. 265 (No. 98), 315, 349–350.

¹⁸ Hans Joachim MOSER, *Heinrich – Schütz Sein Leben und Werk. Zweite durchgesehene Auflage*, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1954, p. 179.

¹⁹ Bratislava, Municipal Archives, Burger Buch der Stadt Pressburg ab Anno 1630, shelfmark 10670 2 e 1, f. 77.

²⁰ Compare *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchengemeinde A. B. zu Poszony-Pressburg*, vol. 1, *Der äussere Entwicklungsgang der Gemeinde von Josef Schrödl*, Poszony, 1906, p. 129.

existed. The document related to his trip to Italy was not preserved, so we are unable to verify that it truly happened – as Elisabeth Noack mentions, unfortunately without any reference – in 1653.²¹ However it is at the best disputable if Capricornus's music was ever actually played in Rome, although we must admit that Carissimi was instantly convinced of its quality – because it is hard to imagine that the art of a hardcore 'heretic' and 'misbeliever', no matter how beautiful and fascinating, could find recognition in the church of St. Apollinare which belonged to the Jesuits' *Collegium Germanicum* (i.e., the institution which trained priests for the re-Catholicizing of those countries from which Capricornus hailed and in which he worked). This is simply unrealistic and barely possible historically; therefore, this section of the memorial should be understood as *licentia poetica*, naïvete and muscle-flexing sophistry: 'look, my music which was besmeared by some subordinate *Stiftsorganist*, was acknowledged not only by Heinrich Schütz and Giacomo Carissimi, *Princeps Musicorum nostri saeculi*, but also by the Jesuits, the chief enemies of the Reformation.'

The story has a rational core under a layer of fiction and wishful thinking, and thus along with Brenet, we can summarize: theoretically, the author of *Judicium* could be Capricornus; an anonymous copy of this oratory was found in the Carissimi estate which automatically became the intellectual ownership of the Roman composer. However, there is another alternative: *Judicium Salomonis* was found by an unknown editor among the possessions of Samuel Capricornus and justifiably or due to a lack of knowledge concerning the actual author, he included it in the *Continuatio Theatri Musici*.²² Only newly uncovered sources or the composition itself, i.e., by observing the preserved period records of *Judicium* and the comparison of the musical expressions of both composers could help us to determine which of these two options is authentic or if there is even another solution.

5.

The *Continuatio Theatri Musici* is the only source in which *Judicium Salomonis* is presented as the work of Samuel Capricornus. All others, namely the manu-

²¹ Elisabeth NOACK, "Capricornus (Bockshorn), Samuel Friedrich", in MGG1, vol. 2, coll. 818–821.

²² Michel BRENET, "Les 'Oratorios' de Carissimi", *Rivista Musicale Italiana*, 4, 1897/3, pp. 460–483: pp. 477–478.

scripts from the 17th century, newer copies and naturally all editions, bear the name of Giacomo Carissimi. The scales of tradition are definitively tipped in favour of the chapelmaster of St. Apollinare. On the other hand, neither Carissimi's original manuscript nor any printed version of *Judicium* authorized by him exist. Carissimi, whose manuscripts were lost, published very little; his compositions (if they were even printed at the time)²³ were mostly included within comprehensive prints, collections of spiritual compositions along with the works of other, frequently inferior composers.

We still lack a modern critical edition based on a collation of several sources. *Judicium Salomonis* is not even included in the most recent comprehensive edition of Carissimi's oeuvre which was prepared by the *Istituto Italiano per la Storia della Musica*, and where a total of 11 of 35 works of oratorical type were published in 8 volumes from 1951 to 1964. Because a complete, scientifically-based heuristics is not available, our task is hindered; however we know that if we eliminate later manuscripts which are of little value as sources, only two basic repertoires of Carissimi's oratorios can in fact be taken into account. According to experts, during Carissimi's life and from among all the others, they are quite close in terms of their affiliation to the lost original manuscripts.

First of all, mention has already been briefly made in footnote 6 of a set of manuscripts preserved in Paris, which contain eight oratorios, currently bound in one collection. They originally constituted separate units and in *Bibl. Nat.* they were shelf-marked as V m¹ 1468–1475. *Judicium Salomonis*, formerly manuscript V m¹ 1471 (*II Giudicio Di Salomone*), is now on f. 33–46 of the aforementioned convolute. All of the Paris manuscripts are small but legible scores.

In our opinion, the provenance of the Paris manuscripts is problematic. Word has been passed down from generation to generation that they are Italian because the thesis of Friedrich Chrysander was accepted that if a soprano part in a 17th century score is notated in a C¹ clef, it is an Italian custom and if in a g² clef (now the treble clef) for the same voice, it is a French practice.²⁴ The second argument is the conviction that all French notes, inserts and text and

²³ To date, we only know of the following two collections published partially during the composer's life where no other authors aside from Carissimi are included: *Missa a quinque et a novem vocum*, Colonia 1666 and *Sacri Concerti Musicali*, Roma, 1675.

²⁴ *Allgemeine Musicalische Zeitung*, 13, 1878, p. 370.

music interpolations, which in addition to others occur also in *Judicium*, were not originated by the sheet music notator, but are later supplements.

Not a single one of these pieces of evidence can stand the test of sterner criticism; Chrysander's opinion is obsolete – in the 17th century, the usage of C-clefs for vocal parts with a C¹ clef for soprano was quite common even outside Italy, while the French notes already by their own existence indicate that the scribe used at least two models. Although they are clearly different from the copy itself, in our opinion these dissimilarities were due to the replacement of the writing tool, because the basic strokes and shapes of certain letters in the oratorios and French supplements are identical. If this were confirmed by a thorough paleographic analysis, it would be necessary to look for the origin of the Paris manuscripts in France. In any case, it is suspicious that manuscript V m¹ 1473 (now f. 73 – 80^v) also includes *Historia Davidis et Jonathae*, which is not the work of Giacomo Carissimi, a theory that was eventually also presaged by Sébastien de Brossard, who added on the front page of this history “*Je doute fort que cette histoire soit de Carissimi la stille [sic] est tout a fait François.*”

The second source of Carissimi's oratorios from the 17th century was also created outside the composer's country of origin. The original owner of the model of this volume deposited today at *Staats und Universitätsbibliothek* in Hamburg with the shelf-mark Md. ND. VI Mus. No. 2425, was Joseph Marie Terray, a French aristocrat and general controller of funds, and its copy from the collection of a certain Aristide Farrence was acquired by Friedrich Chrysander, who later published it in 1866.²⁵ The French origin of this collection (comprising 392 pages and representing the copy made “*d'après un modèle conforme a un original italien*”²⁶ is quite apparent, so we do not have to deal with it in greater detail. The fact that four of Carissimi's 11 works which this manuscript contains – *Jepthe*, *Judicium Salomonis*, *Baltazar* and *Jonas* – were already published,²⁷ is very welcome information for us.

Thus, we can see that the most significant sources from the 17th century which claim that *Judicium Salomonis* is the work of Giacomo Carissimi origi-

²⁵ Federico GHISI, “The Oratorios of Giacomo Carissimi in Marburg Staatsbibliothek”, Lüneburg, Kongress-Bericht Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, 1950, p. 103.

²⁶ Michel BRENET, *Les 'Oratorios' de Carissimi*, p. 461.

²⁷ *Carissimi's Werke, Este Abtheilung, Oratorien*, ed. Friedrich Chrysander, Bergedorf bei Hamburg: Weissenborn, 1869 (Denkmäler der Tonkunst, 2), pp. 30–47.

nated in France. The number of intermediaries between them and the originals is unknown. Heuristically, Carissimi's authorship cannot be proven, and because an external description of sources does not provide the answer to our question, we need to proceed further and compare all three versions of *Judicium* and try to determine the value of individual copies.

6.

Judicium Salomonis does not in any way contain the dimensions of Late Baroque oratorios which were composed by Bach or Händel. On the contrary, it is a relatively short composition of a markedly soloist or chamber character for two sopranos, tenor and bass, two violins, and continuo. The instrumental accompaniment is significantly reduced. Violins, except for the introductory sonata and final tutti sound only in short 2–3 bars – so called *sinfonias*. The theme of this composition is from the Old Testament (Regum lib. III. 3; 15–28); the author of the text is unknown. Based on his study of Andreas Steinhuber, Günther Massenkeil believes that we should look for the writer of the text of Carissimi's oratorios, most probably among the teachers of rhetoric at *Collegium Germanicum*, and in this connection he mentions Luigi Albrizio, who was the school rector from 1637–1645.²⁸

The work itself is drawn up as a sequel of closed but organically contiguous parts according to the plan of the plot (the Judgment of Solomon – the dispute of two mothers over one child, etc.). In addition to the dispute between two women (*Non est ita, ut tu dicis, tuus est qui caret vita*) and quasi-tutti closing section (*O Populi venite*), *Judicium Salomonis* is an inventively variegated, ingeniously adapted kaleidoscope of recitatives and ariosos, overlapped by very brief instrumental insertions, which in later versions are even omitted.²⁹

The variations in the three copies of this composition from the 17th century, i.e., the Paris manuscript, the Hamburg manuscript and the version in the *Continuatio*, which we cannot present in detail, are not considerable. If

²⁸ Andreas STEINHUBER, "Die Wiederholungsfiguren in den Oratorien Giacomo Carissimi", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 13, 1956, pp. 42–60: 48.

²⁹ For example, in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. F. 934c; see also the relevant entry in Robert EITNER, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Haertel, 1900–1904, vol. 2 (1900), pp. 332–335.

we disregard the details (for example, the small variations in the declamation of certain words, and differences in melody and rhythm), whose enumeration belongs in the revision report, we can observe that the Paris and Hamburg manuscripts are notated at a pitch higher than the *Continuatio*. Furthermore, in the Paris manuscript the violin parts are switched in the introductory *sinfonia* and the usual and non-melodious heptachordal jumps appear; these do not appear in the Hamburg manuscript or the *Continuatio*, from which we can infer that the version in the Paris manuscript is not very close to the author's will. Finally, the C₁ and C₂ voices in the Paris repertoire are also switched in certain sections at the end of the composition and in the part *Deus in iudicium tuum a coloratura* is missing on the word *discernere*. The words *ut possit discernere* are repeated once more in order not to shorten this section (9 bars), thus they are voiced a total of three times.

Regarding the Hamburg manuscript, suffice it to say that as opposed to the Paris manuscript and the *Continuatio*, the Generalbass is not numbered at all, which must be considered as a serious failing of this source. Because after 1600 an unfigured bass was an increasingly greater rarity; it even disappeared from tablature scores where the symbols are redundant, since this is where the harmonic facture is designated by simultaneously notated upper voices. The Hamburg manuscript even lacks the marking of accompanying instruments; thus, even this source is not ideal in terms of its authenticity.

Based on these brief notes, it seems that we must rank the *Continuatio* in first place. It is the only source that is dated, even though only in the sense of *ante quem* (*Judicium* was created before 1669; but we do not know when), and since it was designated for the needs of performers, i.e., since *Judicium* is published here in the form of printed parts, it is at the same time the most complete source. Interfering language changes in the final section, especially in part C₁ (bar 35 and the subsequent *Regi plaudite Salomoni*) and in the basso continuo, where two bars are omitted from bar 34, are very serious shortcomings of the version notated in the *Continuatio*. We think that these defects should be classified as ordinary typographical errors; their emendation on the principle of comparison with other versions is not problematic. If for now we rule out the possibility that *Judicium* is the composition of Samuel Capricornus, we must admit that the model from which *Judicium* was published in the collection of Capricornus was a 'sound' manuscript or that it was prepared for print by a solid musician.

7.

The comparison of *Judicium* with the work of Samuel Capricornus and the conclusions which we will reach here are limited by the fact that we know very little of his music. Our reflections are based on the study of Capricornus's oeuvre from the period of his Bratislava stay, i.e., from 1651 to 1657. The time period which we have limited in this way is certainly narrow and does not correspond with the date of publication of *Judicium*, which occurred 12 to 18 years later. It is true that the *Continuatio* was published posthumously in 1669; because on November 10, 1665 Capricornus died in Stuttgart. Therefore, the difference is reduced by at least four years. The choice of the Bratislava period of Capricornus's life and work is also justified because this is the period in which contact between these two artists was established – it is a pity that we do not know how this relationship developed – especially considering the fact that we know that several compositions which Capricornus later published appeared in manuscripts even before 1657, i.e. before his departure from Bratislava. According to the undated *Index Operum Musicorum Samuelis Capricorni*,³⁰ the extent of the work of the young chapelmaster was truly respectable – it comprised 112 compositions, in addition to 18 Masses, 10 Magnificats, several adaptations of psalms and other compositions; it also included 24 compositions from the *Jubilus Bernhardi* cycle which were published in 1660 in Nurnberg in print. The truth is that the instrumentation of the *Jubilus Bernhardi* in this list differs somewhat from the actual one (for example, in the index the instrumental accompaniment indicates 2 violins, while in reality it is 4 violas, etc.). But this discrepancy does little to detract from the fact that Capricornus evidently composed many more compositions than he managed to publish.

Unfortunately, most of the compositions listed in the index were lost, but a selection which was published in the collection *Opus Musicum ab. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. Vocibus concertantibus et variis Instrumentis, adjunct Choro pleniori, sive, ut vocant, in Ripieno, concinnatum [...], Norimbergae, Typis Christophori Gerhardi [...] M.DC.LV.*,³¹ may be considered as a truly representative sample of Capricornus's art and mastery. Although only 22 works are presented here

³⁰ Bratislava, Archives of the Evangelical church of Augsburg Confession (former Lyceálna knižnica (Lyceum library), now Ústredná knižnica SAV (Central Library of the Slovak Academy of Sciences), shelf-mark 581. Kg 3.sz.

³¹ Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek-Musikabtheilung, shelf-mark S. A. 76. A. 28.

from the aforementioned (presented in the Index) 112 works, (i.e., not even one fifth), the selection is very useful and illustrative. 14 of them are compositions for large instrumentation, i.e., for 4 to 8 solo voices and the same number of choral voices and smaller (for example 2 violins) or larger accompaniment (for example, 2 violins, 2 clarinis, 3 trombones, or 2 violins and 4 clarinis) with a general bass (basso continuo); the others (8 compositions) feature *solo basso continuo songs* for one solo voice and several voices, or arias. We can find 2 cyclical Masses consisting of all 6 parts of the ordinary, 2 Magnificats, several psalms (2 *Miserere*, *Dixit Dominus*, *Cor mundum*, etc.) and gospel passages, i.e., roughly those compositions which were mentioned in our Index, i.e., music composed for the needs of the liturgical practice of Bratislava's Protestants.

Capricornus sought his teachers, models and inspirations in Italy, in Italianate composers working in Austria, and in creators of the South German *stile concertato* based on the impulses of Roman polychoral music.³² He belonged to the group of composers including Johann Stadlmayr, Christoph Strauss, Giovanni Valentini, Antonio Bertali and others, whom – in his own words – he esteemed highly and even imitated.³³ Capricornus's music lacks the muffled internal pathos of Heinrich Schütz, the Brahms of the 17th century, or the Manneristic syncretism of the cold rationality and pathetic rhapsodic nature of the concertos by Michael Praetorius; instead, it is full of southern brightness, the temperament of Giovanni Gabrieli and the warmth of Claudio Monteverdi. Within the context of the musical culture of Slovakia in the 17th century, Capricornus stands on the completely opposite pole from Šimbracký [Schimrack], his older and more conservative contemporary who was an embodiment of cold Nordic orthodoxy anchored in the older motet setting of the 16th century.

His relationship with the word, i.e., the manner in which he approached and worked with a given text, is exactly the same as the technique of Giacomo Carissimi; Capricornus's melodics show no traces of compactness or continuity; in a strict sense it is a composed formation, an organism refined from musical rhetorical figures as basic semantic-syntactic cores which carry an emotional and ideological charge, i.e., the 'content' of the text. They are also an important agent in the implementation of the entire plan of the work. The

³² Alfred OREL, *Die Katholische Kirchenmusik von 1600–1750*, ed. Guido Adler (Handbuch der Musikgeschichte), 1st edition, vol. 1, Tutzing: Keller, 1961, 518.

³³ See Elisabeth NOACK, "Capricornus".

manner in which he assigns these figures to each other, the attitude, especially to *repetition figures*, i.e., those which express groups of words that are important in terms of meaning and function (palilogia, epizeuxis, climax, paronomasia, fuga), is so distinctively Italian and Carissimi-like that *Judicium Salomonis* could be a creation of one or the other.³⁴ Similarly, in the instrumentation Capricornus proceeds exactly according to the Italian formula and taste: instead of wind instruments used in Baroque Germany, he prefers string instruments.³⁵ In *Opus musicum* – except for the introductory symphony in *Cor mundum* (2 bassoons and basso continuo and further with 2 solo basses) – he does not expose the wind instruments in any longer section. At most, he requires a set of violas (3–4 in various positions) or 2 violins. This type of instrumental accompaniment is also used in *Judicium* and appears in *Opus Musicum* eight times and in other compositions in combination with other instruments; thus we can consider this as a certain norm.

There are many contact areas and links between the music of Samuel Capricornus and Giacomo Carissimi. Capricornus (as we will show later) was familiar with and in fact inspired by the work of Carissimi. We can even consider him to be one of the emissaries of Italian music in Central Europe. Yet despite the great similarity (which we pointed out and which will be discovered by researchers when more of the oeuvres of both composers are known), Capricornus is unlikely to be the author of *Judicium*. For example, in his entire *Opus musicum* there is not a single stylistic-musical element typical of Carissimi, who was famous for his soloistic-recitative melody spread across a large range exceeding an octave and consisting of decomposed or broken triads, such as at the beginning of *Judicium*, where in b. 1–3 c minor covers the range of c-g¹, or in the line of the two women at *nec mihi nec tibi*, where we find g²-e²-c²-c²-a¹-f¹, etc.:

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 820.

³⁵ Wilibald GURLITT, *Die Wandlungen des Klangideals der Orgel im Lichte des Musikgeschichte*, in *Musikgeschichte und Gegenwart. Eine Aufsatzfolge*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, Teil II: *Orgel und Orgelmusik. Zur Geschichte der Musikgeschichtsschreibung. Forschung und Lehre* (Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft [2]), Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1966, pp. 4–.

Judicium Salomonis: Samuel Capricornus and Giacomo Carissimi



A so - lis or - tu et ab oc - ca - su



Rec - tum ju - di - ci - um tu - um o Rex nec mi - hi nec ti - bi nec mi - hi nec ti - bi



Va - de I - sa - i - a va - de ad re - gem Is - ra - el E - ze - chi - am



non po - tu - e - runt nec scrip - tu - ram le - ge - re nec e - am in - ter - pre - ta - re



de coe - lo ca - dent, ca - dent si - de - ra



In - ge - mi - sci - tae sil - vae fon - tes et flu - mi - na

Although the melody of Capricornus features fragments of triads, his melodic line is predominantly of a stepwise and narrow nature and lacks that great flight in tonal space which we can feel in the oratorios of Giacomo Carissimi.



Tu e - nim ex ni - mi - a cha - ri - ta - te ex ni - mi - a cha - ri - ta - te



se - cun - dum or - di - nem Mel - chi - se - dech



se - cun - dum or - di - nem Mel - chi - se - dech

The main difference is, among others, that figures of the same kind, literally and functionally similar, such as those used in Carissimi's fugue in correspondence to the words *ecce nos* and the ones employed by Capricornus on the words *super vos*, in the first case present themselves as a common chord, in the second as an arpeggiate trichord.³⁶

su - per vos su - per vos et

me - um su - per vos et dis...

Ec - ce nos

Ec - ce nos Ec - ce nos

Ec - ce nos

The virtual absence of this element on the one hand, i.e., where even the most expressive parlando-recitative melody of Capricornus only rarely exceeds an octave, and its fundamental character on the other hand, taking into account Carissimi's oratorical compositions in general,³⁷ leads to the conclusion that *Judicium Salomonis* is such a Carissimi-like work that the complex of problems set out in the introduction of this article will be likely reduced to just one, the attempt to clarify the reasons why this work was ascribed to a different composer and made its way into the collection of works of Samuel Capricornus.

We are arriving at the most interesting, but also the most problematic stage of our research: the reconstruction of the aforementioned context and cultural-historical background.

³⁶ See the quoted study of Günther Massenkeil (see footnote 28), where Carissimi's use of repeated motifs is described in detail. This motif is from page 49.

³⁷ There are only a few places in the oratorios of Carissimi published to date where the fanfare-triad melody does not occur.

8.

Let's start with the fact that the *Continuatio* was printed only four years after the death of Capricornus. It is not very likely that Capricornus himself prepared the manuscript and it seems that his son Samuel, a court musician in Ansbach³⁸ (previously mentioned in connection with the publication *Examen auri* [Tübingen 1673]),³⁹ must also be ruled out, not to mention Capricornus himself, whose musical education was perfect. Not even Samuel Jr., who was also a professional musician, would have committed such a basic mistake. Of Capricornus's three other children, only his daughter, about whom we know very little, survived her famous father,⁴⁰ but even she could not be taken into consideration as the posthumous editor. It is possible that a very thorough research of the life of the last years of Samuel Capricornus would help lift the veil of secrecy related to *Judicium* and that the Württemberg archives in Ludwigsburg will bear some witness; however until this happens, we propose to begin to resolve this matter from the other end – with Giacomo Carissimi.

In Part 5 of this article we suggested that Carissimi published very little and that the majority of his compositions remained in manuscripts or were published in anthologies. Considering the boom of Italian music and score reproduction in the 17th century, this circumstance is too conspicuous and would be difficult to understand or explain. There can only be one explanation: either Carissimi himself renounced publishing, or was prevented from doing so, most probably by one of his superiors, i.e., church authorities or even the pope himself. An official document related to such a ban has yet to come to light, but based on a remark in a letter from one René Ouvrard to Abbot Nicasio di Digione of February 24, 1665 (it is pity that the source is not indicated precisely⁴¹), Federico Ghisi is convinced of the existence of some perhaps even formal statement in this sense. Be that as it may, we would be wrong to surmise

³⁸ See Elisabeth NOACK, "Capricornus".

³⁹ *Régi Magyar Könyvtár*, eds. Károly Szabó – Árpád Hellebrant, Budapest: M. Tud. akadémia Könyvtár Hivatala, 1898, vol. 3, no. 2597 and *Magyar írók élete munkái*, eds. József Sziniyei – Pál Gulyás, Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor akadémiai könyvkereskedése, 1942, vol. 4, p. 370

⁴⁰ Bratislava, Municipal Archives, *Kniba konceptov 1654–1657* sign. 2202, 2 c 35, f. 233' Geburstbrief für Herrn Sam. Capricornus Kind. Samuel Jr. was born on July 31, 1654 and Maria-Elisabeth was born on December 1, 1655.

⁴¹ Federico GHISI, "Carissimi", in: *La musica. Sotto la direzione di Guido M. Gatti*, ed. Alberto Basso, Part 1, Torino: UTET, 1966, p. 797.

that the decision of a curia was motivated by ideological censorship, reservations regarding the text, the concept of the material of oratories or even their musical component; the truth is that the main force was a kind of jealousy and the possessive desire of the Church to have exclusive ownership of Carissimi's music which should have remained clerical, Roman and Jesuitical to such an extent that Clement X – allegedly based on the request of the consistory of *Collegium Germanicum* – banned even the lending and removal of Carissimi's manuscripts for the purpose of its copying and public presentation.⁴² Thus, we have before us a strange, incomprehensibly farcical, but not unheard of form of regulation of art (the same happened to Allegri's *Miserere*), the effort to prevent its dissemination.

If this is true, if Carissimi indeed could not publish his works, although it is possible that either he or one of his close friends may have published them under a 'pseudonym' or the name of another artist. This wouldn't have been a difficult step, and could have happened quite easily; the concept of copyright was far from developed, as later, contrafacta, parodies, Biblical apocrypha, forgeries and mystifications occurred almost daily. Thus, we wonder why it fell to the lot of Samuel Capricornus and not that of someone else from among the many composers and composing chapelmasters of the 17th century. Why didn't the publisher simply make up a name?

There had to be other reasons, including those that will be hard to discover today or motives determined by the psychosis of the period that we would not be able to understand or accept. In any case, it surely could not be an inferior, unknown, second class or third-rate composer; an unknown or insignificant name itself depreciates and, even worse, does not attract attention. On the other hand, a person completely congenial and equal to Carissimi could not

⁴² Andreas STEINHUBER, *Geschichte des Collegium Germanicum Hungaricum in Rom*, vol. 1, Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder'sche Verlagshandlung, 1895, p. 122: "Als er [Carissimi] im Jahre 1673 starb, hinterliess der fromme Meister seine zahlreichen Compositionen zum Zeichen seiner dankbaren Anhänglichkeit dem Collegium Germanicum, welches dieselben so hoch schätzte, dass es von Clemens X ein Breve erwirkte durch welches der Papst unter Strafe der Excommunication verbot, irgend etwas von den genannten Musikalien dem Collegium, sei es auch nur leihweise zu entfremden." (When he [Carissimi] died in 1673, the devout master left numerous compositions as an expression of his gratitude to the Collegium Germanicum, which were so highly esteemed that they received a *Breve* from Clement X, by which the pope prohibited the expulsion under penalty of excommunication to get rid of any of the Collegium's musical materials mentioned above).

have come into consideration. Our Capricornus complied with both these conditions, i.e., the requirement “to be somebody”, but yet not quite Carissimi. He occupied a high, respected position – but Stuttgart was no Rome; it was only one of the numerous German princely residences. Rome was unique in the world. Furthermore it had to be a composer who took a similar path to Carissimi, an artist who in essence composed in the Italian style; to palm off Carissimi’s oeuvre on Heinrich Schütz, Andreas Hammerschmidt or Dietrich Buxtehude would have been absurd. Capricornus also complied with this condition. Moreover, convincing arguments suggest that he was familiar with Carissimi’s music and that he even analyzed it and commented on it. On April 18, 1652, he purchased for the choir of the Evangelical church in Bratislava five collections of spiritual compositions which were compiled from 1643 to 1649 in Rome and published by canonic Floridus de Silvestris, and two volumes of the *Scelta di Motetti* (1647) of Antonio Poggioli, where, in addition to others, more than ten of Carissimi’s works are found.⁴³ In his memorial, he quoted with relevant commentary a passage from *Jepthe*⁴⁴ that is coincidentally identical to the fragment presented in *Musurgia universalis* by Athanasius Kircher (1650)⁴⁵, with whom Capricornus corresponded from Bratislava.⁴⁶ Finally, the fact that Capricornus was Protestant, who worked beyond the reach of the Catholic Church and who when *Judicium* was published had already played out his role on this earth, could also have been a factor.

Several authors who study the life and work of Carissimi complain that his sources are in bad shape, his works are lost, that it requires lots of work to collect them and that many are still missing, etc. Therefore, we must ask: is it possible that *Judicium Salomonis* in the *Continuatio Theatri Musici* is Giacomo Carissimi’s only work in this collection and that all of the compositions in the other posthumously published collections attributed to Samuel Capricornus could be his? The Bratislava Masses, whose manuscripts are now in

⁴³ See the document *Verzeichniss derer Auctorum die ich Sam. Capricornus [...] empfangen habe [...] in Bratislava*, Archives of the Evangelical church of Augsburg Confession (former Lyceálna knižnica (Lyceum library), presently Ústredná knižnica SAV (Central Library of the Slovak Academy of Sciences), sign. 685 kg. 15 sz.

⁴⁴ IMG, p. 110.

⁴⁵ *Atanasii Kircheri Fuldensis e Soc. Iesu presbyteri Musurgia Universalis sive Ars magna consoni et dissoni in X. libros digesta*, Roma 1650. Facsimile ed.: Hildesheim – New York: Scharlau, 1970, p. 604

⁴⁶ IMG, pp. 102–103.

Darmstadt,⁴⁷ were allegedly published in *Opus Aureum Missarum* (Frankfurt 1670), but in addition to the *Continuatio* and *Theatrum Musicum* (20 compositions in total) there is the strange and mysterious *Scelta Musicale o La Prima Opera d'eccellenti Motetti* (Bolzano – Frankfurt 1669) containing eight compositions with an Italian title – this was never found in any of Capricornus's works. Therefore, an Italian (South Tyrolian) publisher (Samuel Capricornus published all his compositions in Germany) and the fact that it is his first work must raise mistrust and suspicion that the document is not genuine or that there is something wrong with it. Who thought it was a good idea to revive the early work of a deceased master at a time when the most sought after music featured the freshest and latest compositions and the “old” music had little or no value? And why? Will Capricornus's posthumous editions be found to contain other works of Carissimi or other artists?

Our article is strongly hypothetical in many aspects and poses questions rather than resolving them. It is based on circumstantial evidence, on probability rather than evidence. But in order to transform conjecture into truth, we must return to the works; only conscientious and patient research of specific material can provide the foundation for reaching acceptable answers to the questions that have been raised here. We believe that that it will be necessary to create a modern and precise catalogue of Capricornus's works and to begin with the preparation of a critical edition. The music of Capricornus is interesting not only as a historical fact, but because of its artistic value.

Translated by Paul McCullough

⁴⁷ See Elisabeth NOACK, “Capricornus”.

Summary

This study addresses the issues related to the authorship of *Judicium Salomonis*, which appeared in the posthumously published collection entitled *Theatrum musicum* (1669) under the name Samuel Capricornus (1628–1665). Based on a comparison of the musical styles of the composers and a critical analysis of the sources, the author reached the conclusion that this was the work of Giacomo Carissimi and thus opened the issue of the incorrect identification of the composer of certain posthumously published works of Capricornus. The study also provides information regarding the biography of Samuel Capricornus during his stay in Bratislava (Pressburg at the time) and deliberations regarding the possible forms of his contact with Carissimi. The principal conclusions of the study were generally accepted and even decades after its publication there was no need to essentially revise them based on newer research.

NOTE

Richard Rybář (1930–1989) is one of the founders of Slovak music historiography and a pioneer in researching musical culture of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance and Baroque periods in the territory of Slovakia. His numerous publications also include important articles and monographs presenting for the first time the sources and work of composers active in this region. His study on Samuel Capricornus's biography and work was concentrated on the period of Capricornus's stay in Bratislava. He published the monograph concerning the first printed collection of Capricornus entitled *Opus musicum* from 1655 (Richard RYBARIČ, "Opus musicum Samuela Capricorna", *Musicologica Slovaca*, 5, 1974, pp. 7–49) and a critical edition with a selection of compositions from this collection (in 2 volumes, Bratislava: Opus, 1976 and 1979). The presented study opened the issue related to the authorship of his posthumously published compositions, which is still relevant, because it also concerns other works of Capricornus, although the question concerning the authorship of *Judicium Salomonis* published under his name in the second volume of the collection entitled *Theatrum musicum* has been resolved thanks to Rybář. This study is also valuable because of its critical analysis of the reality of the relationships between Capricornus and Giacomo Carissimi, whom Capricornus referred to in his Memorial. Rybář did not have opportunity to research in the *Collegia Germanica et Hungarica* archives in Rome, but his deliberations and assumptions presented here cannot be revised or complemented. Last year I visited this institution, but my efforts to find sources confirming any personal relations between these musicians were not successful. Since the publication of Rybář's study, research on the life and work of both composers has progressed in several aspects. The issue related to the authorship of the posthumously published work of Capricornus is still being addressed (Ladislav KAČIC, "Ein Raubdruck aus den Jahren 1671–1672 – S. Capricornus oder A. Bertali?", in: *Musik des 17. Jahrhunderts und Pavel Vejvanovský*, ed. Jiří Sehnal, Brno: Österreichisches Ost und Südeuropainstitut, 1994, pp. 237–240); other selected printed collections are also

analyzed (Steven Paul SAMETZ, *Jubilus Bernhardi of Samuel Capricornus (Bocksborn). A performing edition of 10 sections with commentary and critical notes*, Diss. University of Wisconsin, Madison/Wisconsin 1980); Timothy NEWTON, *A Study and critical edition of Samuel Capricornus's Theatrum musicum (1669, 1670) and Continuatio theatri musici (1669)*, Diss. Illinois 2004); Jean-Luc GESTER, "La Scelta Musicale (1669) de Samuel Capricornus", in: *Zagreb i glazba 1094–1994 / Zagreb and Music 1094–1994*, ed. Stanislav Tuksar, Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo / Croatian Musicological Society, 1998, pp. 149–165), and efforts at a synthetizing study of the work of Samuel Capricornus also continue (Doris BLAICH, *Samuel Friedrich Capricornus. Untersuchungen zu seinen vokal-instrumentalen geistlichen Konzerten und Verzeichnis seiner Werke*, Diss. Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, 2010) while the possibilities of a more in-depth study and its revival have increased in the past decades with the publication of new source-critical editions of complete collections (*Geistliche Harmonien III*. Ed. Paul Walker. Collegium Musicum: Yale University. Second Series, Bd. 13, Madison/Wisconsin, A-R Editions, 1997; *Jubilus Bernhardi*. Ed. Paul L. Ranzini. Denkmäler der Musik in Baden-Württemberg, Band 14, München: Strube, 2003).

The Carissimi research is even more extensive. Information concerning the sources of his work, the circumstances and context of their creation (e.g. Andrew V. JONES, "Carissimi Manuscripts in Paris and Bologna: problems of Authenticity and Dating", *Music and Letters*, 62/2, 1981, pp. 176–188; Wolfgang WITZENMANN, "Sébastien de Brossard als Carissimi-Sammler", *Musikforschung*, 35, 1982, pp. 255–262; Andrew V. Jones, "Carissimi's «Arion Romanus»: a Source Study", *Music and Letters*, 69, 1988, pp. 151–210; Domenico STATUTO, "Il Judicium Salomonis di Giacomo Carissimi: le relazioni genealogiche fra i testimoni della «famiglia inglese»", *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, 29/1, 1994, pp. 89–138), his biography and work at the Collegium Germanicum (particularly the studies and the monograph by T. CULLEY, *Jesuits and music. I. A study of the musicians connected with the German College in Rome during the 17th century and their activities in Northern Europe*, Roma – St. Louis (Missouri): Jesuit Historical Institute, 1970, and Lino BIANCHI, "Giacomo Carissimi: nuovi documenti nell'archivio del Collegio Germanico-Ungarico di Roma", *Nuova rivista musicale italiana*, 8, 1974/1, pp. 107–124; 1974/2, pp. 254–262) have been extended. Numerous historical and analytical views of his sacred and secular work with a special emphasis on oratorios have been added (e.g. Howard E. SMITHER, *A History of the Oratorio*, vol. 1: *The Oratorio in the Baroque Era: Italy, Vienna, Paris*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, 1977). Catalogues of his work are also available (Claudio SARTORI, *Giacomo Carissimi. Catalogo delle opere attribuite*, Milano: Finarte, 1975 and Iva M. BUFF, *A Thematic Catalog of the Sacred Works of Giacomo Carissimi*, Clifton, 1979). Carissimi's theoretical work was recently published (Giacomo CARISSIMI, *Ars Cantandi di Giacomo Carissimi*, eds. Michela Marconi – Aurea Nicosia, bibliografia a cura di Ugo Onorati, nota musicale di Maria Celina Angelini, Marino: Associazione musicale Digitalia, 2005, online pub.: Youcaprint Self Publishing, 2016). Part of his work was published in source critical editions (e.g. Andrew V. JONES, *The Motets of Carissimi*, Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), although the complete edition of his *oeuvre* is still under preparation.

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- Jiří Sehnal, "Hudební inventář kostela v Moravské Třebové z konce třicetileté války", *Hudební věda*, 2015, pp. 5–28 (translated by Judith Fieler).
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- Richard Rybarič, "Judicium Salomonis – Samuel Capricornus a Giacomo Carissimi", *Musicologica Slovaca*, 1971/3, pp. 161–179 (translated by Paul McCullough).

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