

MUZIKOLOŠKI INŠTITUT
ZNANSTVENORAZISKOVALNI CENTER SAZU

De musica disserenda

Letnik / Year III

Št. / No. 2

2007

LJUBLJANA 2007

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Izdajatelj / Publisher: Muzikološki inštitut ZRC SAZU

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Revija izhaja s podporo Ministrstva za kulturo RS in Agencije za raziskovalno dejavnost RS
The journal is sponsored by the Ministry of Culture RS and by the Slovenian Research Agency

Cena posamezne številke / Single issue price: 6 €
Letna naročnina / Annual subscription: 10 €

Naročila sprejema / Orders should be sent to:
Založba ZRC, p. p. 306, 1001 Ljubljana, Slovenija
E-pošta / E-mail: zalozba@zrc-sazu.si
Tel. / Phone: +386 1 470 64 64

Tisk / Printed by: Collegium graphicum d. o. o., Ljubljana
Naklada / Prinrun: 300

De musica disserenda je muzikološka znanstvena revija, ki objavlja znanstvene razprave s področja muzikologije ter z muzikologijo povezanih interdisciplinarnih področij. Izhaja dvakrat letno. Vsi prispevki so anonimno recenzirani. Navodila avtorjem so dostopna na spletni strani Muzikološkega inštituta ZRC SAZU: <http://mi.zrc-sazu.si>

De musica disserenda is a journal of musical scholarship, publishing musicological as well as interdisciplinary articles regarding music. It is published twice a year. All articles are anonymously reviewed. Notes to contributors are available on the website of the Institute of Musicology ZRC SAZU: <http://mi.zrc-sazu.si>

VSEBINA / CONTENTS

Uredniško pojasnilo / Editorial	5
---------------------------------------	---

De Jacobo Gallo Carniolo dissertationes

Predgovor	9
Foreword	10

Marc Desmet

“Typographicum robur fractum”: Jacob Handl’s relationship with the printing press ...	11
»Typographicum robur fractum«: odnos Jacobusa Handla do tiskarstva	

Paweł Gancarczyk

The mystery of <i>Sacrae cantiones</i> (Nuremberg 1597): remarks on Jacob Handl and 16th-century printing practice	25
Uganka zbirke <i>Sacrae cantiones</i> (Nürnberg 1597): pojasnila o Jacobusu Handlu in tiskarski praksi v 16. stoletju	

Tomasz Jeż

The motets of Jacob Handl in inter-confessional Silesian liturgical practice	35
Moteti Jacobusa Handla v medkonfesionalni liturgični praksi v Šleziji	

Thomas Napp

Frühneuzeitliche Transferprozesse in der Oberlausitz am Beispiel von Jacob Handl	47
Primer Jacobusa Handla v zgodnjenovoveških procesih transferja v Zgornji Lužici	

Marko Motnik

Die Überlieferung der Motette <i>Surge, propera, amica mea</i> von Jacob Handl – Gallus und ihre Bearbeitungen von Sixtus Kargel und Blasius Amon: Ein Beitrag zur Gallus-Rezeption	57
Razširjenost moteta <i>Surge, propera, amica mea</i> Jacobusa Handla – Gallusa ter predelavi skladbe Sixtusa Kargla in Blasiusa Amona: prispevek k recepciji Gallusovih del	

Ivan Florjanc	
<i>Gallus – der Humanist amat Venerem, cur?</i>	69
<i>Gallus – humanist amat Venerem, cur?</i>	

Studia varia

Katarina Šter	
»Pojoča cerkev v samoti«: kartuzijani in njihova glasba.....	93
“A singing church in the solitude”: Carthusians and their music	

Metoda Kokole	
“Servitore affetionatissimo Fra Gabriello Puliti” and the dedicatees of his published music works (1600–1635).....	107
»Servitore affetionatissimo Fra Gabriello Puliti« in osebe, ki so jim posvečena njegova tiskana dela (1600–1635)	

Dinko Fabris	
<i>Didone</i> by Cavalli and Busenello: from the sources to modern productions	135
Cavallijeva in Busenellova opera <i>Didone</i> : od virov do modernih izvedb	

Uredniško pojasnilo

Pričujoča številka revije je razdeljena na dva dela. Prvi je v celoti posvečen najnovejšim študijam o najpomembnejšem slovenskem renesančnem skladatelju Jacobusu Handlu – Gallusu. Vseh šest razprav je objavljenih v dveh večjih evropskih jezikih, angleščini in nemščini, da bi tako dosegli čim širši krog bralcev po vsem svetu. Po drugi strani pa je pomembno, da rezultati najnovejših raziskav o tem skladatelju, ki simbolizira starejšo slovensko glasbeno dediščino, izidejo v eni od osrednjih nacionalnih muzikoloških revij. Uredniški odbor revije *De musica disserenda* je še posebno hvaležen enemu trenutno vodilnih strokovnjakov za Gallusa, Marcu Desmetu, da je sprejel souredništvo tega dela revije. Drugi del člankov obsega tri razprave o raznih vidikih tematik iz historične muzikologije, od vloge glasbe pri kartuzijanih, analize vsebin posvetilnih pisem k vsem ohranjenim glasbenim tiskom skladatelja Gabriella Pulitija (zgodnje sedemnajsto stoletje), do izsledkov najnovejših raziskav o operi *Didone* Francesca Cavallija, ki popravljajo nekatere dosedanje nesporzume o njenih prvih uprizoritvah.

Editorial

The present issue of the journal is divided into two sections. The first one is dedicated to the most recent studies on the foremost Slovenian Renaissance composer, Jacob Handl – Gallus. The six articles are published in two of the major European languages, English and German, so as to cater for a wider range of readers worldwide. It is, however, important that the results of new research into this composer – a symbol of our older Slovenian musical heritage – should initially be published in one of the main Slovenian national musicological journals. The editorial board of *De musica disserenda* is especially grateful to one of the foremost living Gallus scholars, Marc Desmet, for accepting our invitation to collaborate as a co-editor for this part of the volume. The second section comprises three articles on various aspects of themes connected with historical musicology: the role of music in the Carthusian monastic order; an analysis of the letters of dedication for all the preserved prints containing music by the early-seventeenth-century composer Gabriello Puliti; and new research findings on Francesco Cavalli's opera *Didone*, correcting some past misunderstandings concerning its early performances.

De Jacobo Gallo Carniolo

DISSERTATIONES



Predgovor

V pričujoči številki revije *De musica disserenda* se z veseljem vračamo k osebnosti Jacobusa Handla – Gallusa (1550–1591). Preteklo je že kar nekaj let od zadnjega širšega muzikološkega zanimanja za tega pomembnega renesančnega skladatelja. Mednarodna simpozija, ki sta potekala v Ljubljani v letih 1985 in 1991, zadnja monografija Dragotina Cvetka leta 1991 in dragocena dokumentacijska dela Eda Škulja, ki so izhajala v letih med 1991 in 2000, so dopolnjevali zvezki sedaj celotnega skladateljevega glasbenega opusa v znanstvenokritičnih izdajah zbirke *Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae* (1985–1997).

Zunaj slovenskega prostora je ta leta zaznamovalo tudi ponovno zanimanje za skladateljske tehnike, prisotne v Gallusovih delih, kot je na primer pokazala monografija Stefana Pontza o motetih (München 1996). Čeprav je čas, ki je pretekel od omenjenih prizadevanj sorazmerno kratek, so ga vendarle zaznamovale spremembe in novosti, pomembne za nadaljnje raziskave. Odločilni dejavniki pri odpiranju novih raziskovalnih možnosti in spreminjanju obstoječih raziskovalnih pogledov so bili večja povezanost srednjeevropskih držav v združeni Evropi, razvoj in posodobljenje zbirk javnih knjižnic in arhivov, da ne govorimo o metodološki revoluciji, ki so jo sprožile tehnološke možnosti, ki jih nudi svetovni splet.

Sledečih šest razprav prinaša spoznanja, ki izhajajo iz nekaterih novih področij raziskav o Jacobusu Handlu – Gallusu. Mednarodna skupina avtorjev se je posvetila manj raziskanim vidikom recepcije skladateljevih del, tako s pomočjo prostorskih študij, v smislu lokalno ohranjenega gradiva v krajih, kjer je skladatelj deloval (Tomasz Jeż: Šlezija in Thomas Napp: Zgornja Lužica), prehajanja humanistične (Ivan Florjanc) in glasbene dediščine (Marko Motnik) ali sredstev širitve njegovih tiskanih del, kot se kažejo iz ekonomske perspektive (Marc Desmet in Paweł Gancarczyk).

Pet tu objavljenih prispevkov (Marc Desmet, Ivan Florjanc, Tomasz Jeż, Marko Motnik in Thomas Napp) je bilo prvič predstavljenih v obliki simpozijских referatov na letnem mednarodnem simpoziju za srednjeveško in renesančno glasbo (Medieval and Renaissance Conference), ki ga je leta 2007, med 7. in 11. avgustom, priredil Muzikološki inštitut dunajske univerze. Referati so bili prebrani v okviru posebne sekcije, ki je bila v celoti posvečena Jacobusu Handlu – Gallusu, koordiniral pa jo je Thomas Napp.

Raznolikost vsebin in dosežkov, ki jih prinašajo naslednji članki, kaže na obnovljeno zanimanje za Jacobusa Handla – Gallusa, za katero je upati, da se bo nadaljevalo in privedlo do nadaljnjih raziskav in novih odkritij.

Marc Desmet

Foreword

With this new issue of *De musica disserenda*, we are proud to turn back to the figure of Jacob Handl – Gallus (1550–1591). A few years have passed since this major composer of the Renaissance was last the subject of wide musicological attention. The international conferences held in Ljubljana in 1985 and 1991, the final monograph by Dragotin Cvetko (1991) and the volumes containing precious information assembled by Edo Škulj between 1991 and 2000 have been paralleled by the completion, in 1997, of the modern edition as part of the series *Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae*.

Outside Slovenia these years were marked also by a renewed interest in the compositional techniques displayed in Gallus's music, as exemplified by Stefan Pontz's monograph on the motets (Munich 1996). Although short, the period that has elapsed between these recent achievements and the present day has witnessed events of importance for further research. A closer integration of the Central European countries within a united Europe and the development and modernization of public library collections and archives – not to mention the methodological revolution induced by internet technologies – are some of the most decisive elements that have served to change the landscape now opened up to scholars and researchers.

The following six contributions represent some of the fields in which research on Jacob Handl – Gallus has recently shed new light. International in its composition, the team of contributors addresses some of the less studied aspects of the composer's reception: either by reference to geographical areas as they concern sources relevant to, or the activity of, the composer (Tomasz Jeż: Silesia, and Thomas Napp: Upper Lusatia); or by reference to the transmission of a humanist (Ivan Florjanc) or musical (Marko Motnik) heritage; or in connection with the dissemination of the printed output, considered in its economic dimensions (Marc Desmet, Paweł Gancarczyk).

Five of these contributions (Marc Desmet, Ivan Florjanc, Tomasz Jeż, Marko Motnik and Thomas Napp) originally took the form of papers read to the international Medieval and Renaissance Conference organized between 7 and 11 August 2007 by the Institute of Musicology of the University of Vienna. The papers were presented within a special panel session entirely devoted to Jacob Handl – Gallus and coordinated by Thomas Napp.

The variety of topics and the scope of the following essays evidence a renewed interest in Jacobus Handl – Gallus, which, we hope, will continue so as to engender further research and new discoveries.

Marc Desmet

“TYPOGRAPHICUM ROBUR FRACTUM” JACOB HANDL’S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PRINTING PRESS

MARC DESMET

Université de Saint-Etienne*

Izveček: V članku je razvita nova hipoteza o povezavi med skladateljem Jacobusom Handlom in tedanjim tiskarskim svetom, predvsem prek vpliva in dejavnosti tiskarja Georga Handla, skladateljevega brata. Pregledani tiskarjev opus postavlja v novo luč ugled in okoliščine glasbenih tiskov Jacobusa Handla – Gallusa.

Ključne besede: Jacobus Handl – Gallus, Georg Handl, Olomouc, glasbena tipografija.

Abstract: This article develops a new hypothesis concerning the link between the composer Jacob Handl and the sphere of typography, notably through the influence and activity as a printer of Georg Handl, Jacob’s brother. The production of Georg Handl the printer is examined; this can shed light on the reputation and make-up of Jacob’s own printed output.

Keywords: Jacob Handl – Gallus, Georg Handl, Olomouc, musical typography.

In 1596 the Nuremberg printer Alexander Philipp Dietrich put on to the market a collection of polyphonic Latin secular pieces composed by Jacob Handl: the *Moralia*.¹ The composer, deceased in 1591, had already published three books of similar compositions in the *Harmoniae morales* printed in Prague by Georg Nigrin in 1589 and in 1590.² The *Moralia* thus comprised all secular compositions by Jacob Handl that had not previously been presented to the public. On this occasion, Jacob’s brother Georg wrote a foreword explaining that he was in this way fulfilling the wish of his beloved brother. Jacob could hardly cope with the high number of texts proposed to him for musical elaboration, and thus many compositions remained unpublished. In musicological studies, this text is the only document of any length to suggest that Georg Handl was a person of importance in the biography of Jacob.³ Nothing of him seems to be known, nor mentioned, after this date.

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¹ RISM A/I: H 1988 and HH 1988. The latest modern edition is by Edo Škulj in the series *Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae* XXVII, Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, 1995.

² RISM A/I: H 1983 and HH 1983 (book I), H 1986 (book II), and H 1987 (book III). The most recent modern edition is by Edo Škulj in the series *Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae* XXVI, Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, 1995.

³ This foreword has been translated and commented upon by Allen E. Skei in his edition of the *Moralia* in the series *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance* VII, Madison, A-R

In 1596 a printer also called Georg Handl⁴ bought from Valentin Kheil in Olomouc a printing workshop, and settled in the city to become the most important printer known up to that date in the former capital of Moravia, with a sustained production that began in 1597 and lasted until the printer's death in 1616.⁵ After that date the printing house was taken over first by Georg's widow Barbora, and then by their son Matthias until 1623. In studies of typography the year 1596 is always given as the first known reference to this Georg Handl, of whom nothing seems to be known from previous years.

The main point of this article is to argue that Georg Handl, the Carniolan born brother of Jacob Handl – Gallus,⁶ and the Olomouc printer Georg Handl might well be one and the same person. This assumption may rightly seem risky at first. And the very large number of Handl families documented in Olomouc in the 1580s does not conspire to make it an easy task, either.⁷ The Handl family name is present in all strata of Olomouc society of the time, from modest cloth traders⁸ to one “purkmeister” of the city.⁹ The number of “hits” increases dramatically if we include the spelling “Handel” in the enquiry, even extending to a poet, Andreas Handel, who composed a Latin *panegyricum* for emperor Rudolf II during the latter's visit to the city in 1577.¹⁰ However, none of these Handls or Handels seems to correspond so well as Georg Handl the printer does to what we know of Jacob the musician, who was active in the same Moravian city between 1579 and 1585. Despite the lack of interaction between musicological and typographical studies,¹¹ a surprising continuity between the two persons can be observed. Moreover, the printed production of Georg Handl offers many a late echo to Jacob Handl's musical output.

The printed production of Georg Handl in Olomouc

When Georg Handl settled in Olomouc the city was already a printing centre of some importance, the first of its kind in the duchy of Moravia.¹² Although the first printing

Editions, 1970, pp. 9–14. It has also been edited and translated into Slovenian by Edo Škulj in *Gallusovi predgovori in drugi dokumenti*, Ljubljana, Družina, 1991, pp. 102–107.

⁴ Spellings of the name found on title-pages or colophons depend on the language used in the publication: *Georgius Handelius* or *Typis Handelianis* (Latin), *Giřík Handl* (Czech), *Georg Handl* (German).

⁵ General information and bibliography about Georg Handl can be found in Petr Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy, starší knihtisk a příbuzné obory mezi polovinou 15. a 19. století*, Praha, Nakladatelství Libri ve spolupráci s královskou kanonií premonstratů na Strahově, 2006, p. 341.

⁶ Georg Handl signs his foreword as “Georgius Handelius, Carniolus”.

⁷ On the numerous Handl families in Olomouc, see the useful indices in Wilhelm Nather, *Die Olmützer Häuserchronik*, Olomouc, Univerzita Palackého, 2005.

⁸ Including the two brothers Jakob and Georg Handl (!), weavers, mentioned in 1607–1608 as active in the vicinity of the present-day Sokolská street.

⁹ Sebastian Handl.

¹⁰ See Peter Wörster, *Olmütz in der Zeit Rudolfs II. Zu Fragen des Späthumanismus in Mähren, Humanismus in der Krone Böhmen*, ed. Hand-Bernd Harder and Hans Rothe, Dresden, Dresden University Press, 1998 (*Studien zum Humanismus in den böhmischen Ländern* IV), pp. 279–305.

¹¹ With the notable exception of the Mantuani articles; see also note 30, below.

¹² For details on the beginnings of printing in Olomouc, see Josef Volf, *Geschichte des Buchdrucks in Böhmen und Mähren bis 1848*, Weimar, Straubing & Müller, 1928, pp. 174–176.

workshop is documented already in the early 1500s, it was not until 1538 that a printing house was functioning in Olomouc. Printers identified in the city worked in two different printing workshops, often in parallel:

- the one belonging to the founders, the Olivetský family, active from 1538 onwards,
- the one belonging to the Günther family, founded in 1551 and later (in 1571) purchased by the Milchtaler family.

The importance of the Handl press in Olomouc was first of all commercial: in that Handl managed to buy in succession the two printing presses of the city in order to unite them with his own printing workshop: first, the Olivetský press, after Valentin Kheil failed to take possession of it in 1596; then, in 1612, the Milchtaler press, which Handl purchased from the heirs.

Moreover, Handl’s production is important in that it reflects in the variety of its contents the situation of the city itself. Olomouc became at the end of the 16th century the stage for an opposition between the municipality, which was mostly controlled by Protestant citizens, and the Church, represented by the powerful bishop of Olomouc, whose deep involvement in the Counter-Reformation made of the city one of the leading Catholic centres in the Czech lands.¹³

Although no complete source list of Handl prints has ever been made, it is easy to observe that these publications were aimed at both Catholic and Protestant readers. A preliminary idea of this catalogue can be gained by collating information gleaned from a variety of bibliographical sources and archival materials.¹⁴ All prints to which reference is made accessible bear *millesima* datable between 1597 and 1616, to which may be added a few prints bearing the name of Handl’s heirs, or of Matthias Handl, Georg Handl’s son, up to the year 1623.¹⁵ The total number of references hardly reaches a hundred, a number probably representing only a small percentage of the total quantity of books printed by Handl.¹⁶

¹³ Of primary importance in this context is the foundation in 1566 of a Jesuit College, granted university rights in 1573, and of a literary circle or *sodalitas* attached to it, the Sodalitas Partheniae Visitantis. On the political importance of re-Catholicization in Olomouc, see Ondřej Jakubec, “Sebekonfesionalizace” a manifestace katolicismu jako projev utváření konfesní uniformity na předběllohorské Moravě, *Acta Universitatis Palackianae Olomucensis, Facultas Philosophica-Historica* 31 (2002), pp. 101–119.

¹⁴ In addition to the library catalogues consulted on the spot or through the internet, and the general tools of research currently available online, the sources used for this study are P. Voit, op. cit.; Christian d’Elvert, *Geschichte des Bücher- und Steindruckes [...] in Mähren und Österreichisch-Schlesien*, Brno, R. Rohrer’s Erben, 1854; the online database Knihopis digital – <http://db.knihopis.org>; the scanned catalogue of bibliography of Bohemical documents in foreign languages, including an index of printers available on CD-Rom at the National Library of the Czech Republic; and the City Archive of Olomouc today held on the premises of the Zemský Archiv v Opavě, pobocka Olomouc.

¹⁵ Matthias Handl emigrated from Moravia in 1623, and all subsequent traces of him are thereafter lost. Some scholars believe, but without quoting any sources, that although he had converted to Catholicism, he fled with Czech emigrants and died during the Thirty Years War. See Richard Martinčík, *Olomouc v dějinách Moravského Knihtisku 1440–1940*, Olomouc, Josef Špaček, 1940, p. 13.

¹⁶ One thousand prints (!), if we give credit to the assertions of Martinčík. R. Martinčík, op. cit.

Five different categories can be observed in the known production according to the present state of research.

1. We find first a Latin poetic Catholic repertory, reflecting for the most part the needs of the Jesuit University. Though most often consisting of short booklets of a celebratory nature, this part of the production is the most numerous both in the number of prints and in that of preserved copies. At least 30 prints were produced in this context, among which are numerous poetic compositions by the students of the Jesuit University – tributes paid to ecclesiastical patrons, celebrations of successful *disputationes*, homage to colleagues from the same graduation, greetings to newcomers to the university or to the *sodalitas* ...¹⁷
2. In the second category, we find works associated with the Counter-Reformation, and emanating from the Catholic authorities of Olomouc. In this group we find at least ten prints of importance such as the monumental Catholic *kancionál* by Rozenplut z Schwarzenbachu, published in 1601,¹⁸ which contains strophic compositions for the whole year according to the liturgical calendar, entirely printed in elaborate music notation and with magnificent illustrated engravings. This print is an important one, since the idea of a Catholic *kancionál* was at that time completely new.¹⁹ In this category of prints come also Czech translations of Flemish or English Jesuits such as Frans Coster, Petrus Canisius and Johannes Pistorius. Figure 1, below, showing the title-page of a prayer book for the rosary of the Virgin Mary, clearly belongs to this category.
3. The third category consists of Czech prints of a political or secular nature. The informative records of municipal meetings held in Brno, Olomouc, Vyškov and Ivančice belong to this category. But we find additionally publications obviously aimed at the ordinary burgher, such as a life of Aesop,²⁰ a German Czech primer,²¹ forecasts or descriptions of natural disasters, and a voluminous description of the Duchy of Moravia published in 1604, which is the most complete of its kind published at the time.²²

¹⁷ These prints are of special interest for the reconstruction of rolls of students at the Olomouc college, notably during the years 1597 and 1598.

¹⁸ “Kancyonál To gest: Sebránij Spěwůw Pobožných kterých k Duchownijmu potěšenij každý weřegný Křestian na Weyročnij Swátky a giných Swatých Památky y časy, vžijwati může [...] W Holomaucy wytlačeníjm Giřijka Handle wůbec wydané. Léta M. DCI [=1601].” Knihopis no. 14907. The copy held by the National Library of the Czech Republic (shelf-mark: 54 C 36) has been entirely digitalized and can be seen online (payment access) via Manuscriptorium, the website of the Czech National Library devoted to digitalized items: www.manuscriptorium.cz.

¹⁹ This was the first large-scale Catholic *kancionál* ever published. The idea of a *kancionál*, a book of canticles, previously confined to the Union of Brethren and Utraquist confessions in the Czech lands was adopted for Catholic use in the publications of Simon Lomnický z Budče (1580, 1595). See Jiří Sehnal, *Cantional 1. The Czech Kancionál*, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 5, 2nd edition, London, Macmillan Publishers, 2001, p. 61.

²⁰ *Žiwot Ezopa*, Olomouc, Georg Handl, 1613. See <http://db.knihopis.org/1.dll?c11~44>.

²¹ Ondřej Klatovský z Dalmanhorstu, *Knijžka w Českém a Německém Yazyku složená*, Olomouc, Georg Handl, 1614. See <http://db.knihopis.org/1.dll?c11~3991>.

²² *Zřijzenij Zemské Margkrabstwj Morawského*, Olomouc, Georg Handl, 1604. See <http://db.knihopis.org/1.dll?c11~17920>.

4. Paralleling the first category are some volumes of Latin poetic compositions of a Humanistic nature, such as *epithalamia* or deplorations, but this time addressed to the wealthy Protestant patricians of the Olomouc town Council or of the surrounding cities.²³
5. Finally, Georg Handl also published spiritual texts for the devout meditations of non-Catholic Christians: one for the Union of Brethren, one for the Lutherans and three for the Utraquists have survived up to the present day, which does not mean that such publications were not more numerous at the time.

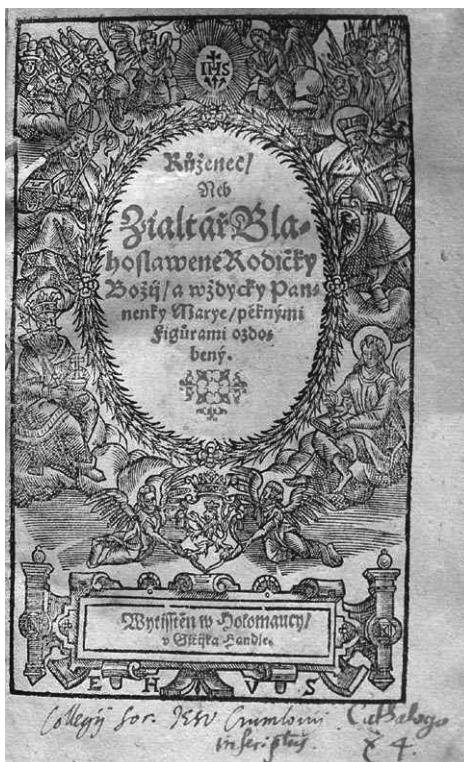


Figure 1

The title-page of *Růženec Neb Zialtář Blahoslavené Rodičky Božij a vždycky Pannenky Marye* [...], Olomouc, Georg Handl, 1604 (Národní knihovna Český republiky, shelfmark 54 E 131 [the original size of the book is 18.3 × 10.9 cm]; with permission).

Varied as it is, Georg Handl’s production can be seen as unique in many ways. The Handl press innovates in technical matters, such as the use of copper engravings, which it is the first to exhibit in Moravia.²⁴ In terms of content, it comes second only to the production of the great Prague printers of the time. Indeed, with texts published in Latin, German, Czech and Hebrew, with music and engravings, with a catalogue devoted to the different confessions of the city, Handl is revealed as a master printer of his time in Moravia, and one whose production seems to offer us, on a reduced scale, the scope of production achieved only by Nigrin during the same period.

²³ Most important in this category are six funeral orations by the Lutheran priest Martin Svornicius Rychnovský, published by Handl between 1612 and 1615.

²⁴ See P. Voit, op. cit., p. 341.

More important for our purpose is the fact that Georg Handl was himself a Protestant. Evidence of this is provided by two facts:

1. his son Matthias had to convert to Catholicism in 1618 in order to take over his father's printing workshop;²⁵ and
2. Handl received, together with the printer Milchtaler, a reprimand from the bishop of Olomouc, Franz von Dietrichstein, in 1610 on the grounds of having printed Protestant texts.²⁶

It is easy to link this dispute to the evolution of Handl's prints: 1610 coincides exactly with the first year in which Handl printed a book for the Union of Brethren.²⁷ The fact that in 1616, which is Georg Handl's last year of activity, the prints had resumed the exclusively Catholic nature that they had exhibited at the beginning seems to coincide, on the other hand, with the growing re-Catholicization of the province, prior to the prohibition of all printing activity in Moravia in 1623.²⁸

Georg Handl's prints in relation to the biography of the composer Jacob Handl

A possible link for this Georg Handl to Jacob Handl's brother is not difficult to establish. First of all, there is a perfect coincidence of dates. 1596 is the year both of the *Moralia* and of the purchase of the printing workshop in Olomouc by Handl. Although the *Moralia* were printed in Nuremberg, their foreword is signed at Prague. If the two men named Georg Handl are indeed one and the same person, we can imagine that, starting out from Nuremberg, Georg was in Prague for the dedication of the *Moralia* to the Prague Senators, but already then *en route* for Olomouc.²⁹

The second point may be even more decisive. We know that Jacob's brother was himself a printer. In musicological studies he is referred to as an assistant to Nigrin in Prague. Evidence for this claim is, however, scant. Josef Mantuani was the first to mention the fact in 1895,³⁰ but neither he nor Dragotin Cvetko³¹ quoted the source of information;

²⁵ See P. Voit, op. cit.

²⁶ See the City Archive in Olomouc *Knihy*, inv. n° 3, f. 123 r. For a transcription of the text and a detailed account of this incident, see Beda Dudík osb, *Geschichtliche Entwicklung des Buchdruckes in Mähren vom Jahre 1486 bis 1621*, Brno, Rudolf Rohrer, 1879, pp. 41–42; and Čeněk Zibrt, *Z dějin českého knihtiskařství k novému vydání upravil Dr. Ant. Dolenský*, Mladá Boleslav, Hejda & Zbroj, 1939, pp. 120–124.

²⁷ The *Zrcadlo poctivé a sšlechtné ženy a Hospodyně* by Jiřík Strejc Zábřežský. See *knihopis* digital <http://db.knihopis.org/l.dll?cll~16091>.

²⁸ See Josef Jireček, *Rukověť k dějinám literatury české do konce XVIII. věku*, Praha, I. B. Tempský, 1875–1876, p. 109.

²⁹ The fact that Georg declares in the foreword that his brother died “four years ago” confirms the fact he had already left Nuremberg by the time of the publication, since he could have written this text from Prague already in 1595.

³⁰ Josip Mantuani, Biblijografičen “unicum” Gallusovih del, *Cerkveni glasbenik* 18 (1895), p. 65. For a modern edition, see Edo Škulj, *Gallusov zbornik*, Ljubljana, Družina, 1991, p. 87.

³¹ Dragotin Cvetko, *Iacobus Hándl Gallus vocatus Carniolanus*, Ljubljana, SAZU, 1991, p. 100.

nor did Waltraud Strnad in the entry for Nigrin in the penultimate edition of MGG.³² If we nevertheless decide to follow these scholars’ assertions and take it as fact that Jacob’s brother worked first at the printing workshop of Nigrin (the most important printer in Prague at the end of the 16th century), and subsequently at that of Dietrich (whose printing workshop specialized in the edition of some of the most beautiful polyglot Bibles and New Testaments of the time, the so called “Nuremberg Bibles”) in Nuremberg, we cannot but conclude that Georg Handl must have acquired an outstanding capability for printing books of the most varied kind in a technically impeccable manner. And in fact, this is exactly what distinguishes the Handl prints produced in Olomouc: variety of content, polylingualism and technical mastery, while including – perhaps the most decisive argument – at least one music print.³³

The fact that Georg Handl was involved in music printing is evidenced also by materials preserved in Olomouc archives. In an inventory established in 1619 we find a detailed list of typographical material of the Handl printing workshop that was sold by Matthias Handl to settle debts.³⁴ Among this material, a global figure of 179 pounds weight of “Nurnberger Noten” is mentioned; this could well refer to what Georg had brought to his Olomouc printing workshop from his previous site of activity and constitutes therefore a decisive pointer towards identifying the printer Georg Handl with Jacob Handl’s brother.

Proceeding with the enquiry, we have next to note that this relocation of a printer from Nuremberg to Olomouc provides in itself another clue towards identifying Gallus’s brother with the Moravian printer. We have here to take into account that other leading printers active in Olomouc in the 16th century, such as Johannes Günther and Friedrich Milchtaler, had likewise been active in Nuremberg prior to their settlement in the Moravian city.³⁵ The assumption that the Georg Handl mentioned in the *Moralia* is the same as the Olomouc printer is therefore made easier by the fact that this route Nuremberg–Olomouc constituted nothing surprising or unusual. It had already been travelled by two other Olomouc printers before Georg Handl.

Of course, the place Olomouc itself is rather significant in connection with a possible link to the composer Jacob Handl. It is perhaps of limited relevance to recall the fact that Gallus spent five years in Olomouc and Kroměříž as organist and Kapellmeister in the service of bishop Stanislav Pavlovský. But it seems at least interesting to observe that the Georg Handl prints mention Pavlovský as well as some other people known to Jacob Handl, such as the bishop of Prague Martin Medek and the poet Gregorius Tarco.³⁶ Even if further research proved that the Olomouc printer was in fact not Gallus’s brother,

³² Waltraud Strnad, Nigrin, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* IX, Kassel [...], Bärenreiter, 1961, col. 1531.

³³ The already mentioned Rozenplut *kancionál*; see note 18, above.

³⁴ See City Archives in Olomouc, *Knihy*, inv. no. 122, f. 604r–608r.

³⁵ See R. Martinčík, op. cit., p. 13; and Č. Zibrt, op. cit., p. 125.

³⁶ Gregorius Tarco was probably related to Georgius Tarco, organist at the school of Saint Mauritius in Olomouc in 1581 and mentioned by Jiřina Holinková in *Čtyři kapitoly z dějin městské školy u Sv. Mořice v Olomouci, Dvě studie z dějin městské školy na Moravě v předbělohorském období*, Olomouc, Univerzita Palackého, 2005, p. 188.

the production of this Georg Handl would nevertheless remain useful for a study of the Olomouc environment of the composer during his sojourn in the city. As a matter of fact, the contents of Georg Handl printed books do evidence some relevant connections to the Gallus environment. We find in them:

- a) the only known portrait of bishop Pavlovský made during his lifetime;³⁷



Figure 2

The portrait of Stanislas Pavlovský, bishop of Olomouc, reproduced in: Laurentius Bruyckherius, *Theses ex universa philosophia*, Olomouc, Georg Handl, 1597, f. [A1]v (detail) (Národní Knihovna Český Republiky, shelf-mark 49 C 96 (n. 2) [the original size of the illustration (portrait with frame) is 14.8 × 12.3 cm]; with permission).

- b) the musical source for a number of motets in the *Opus Musicum*, namely the *Rozenplut Catholic kancionál*;³⁸
- c) and, finally, numerous texts whose contents unmistakably evoke the world of the *Harmoniae Morales* or the *Moralia*, such as Latin description of the gardens of the Muses and evocative animal noises.³⁹

³⁷ Published in at least two prints in 1597 originating from Philippus Auerbacher and Laurentius Bruyckherius.

³⁸ See the source lists included in the *Revisionsbericht* sections at the end of each volume of the *Opus musicum* edition published in the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* by Josef Mantuani and Emil Bezcny, Wien, Artaria, 1899–1919.

³⁹ Of particular relevance in this context are three works composed by Jan Cautus, the *sacelli custos* of Bishop Pavlovský, all published by Handl in 1597 and 1598. In *Orpheus* (1597) Dryads appear to the poet in a wonderful garden; in *Novem heroïdes* (1597) the rivers of Moravia sing; meanwhile, the *Strenae Natalitiae* (1598) – specially offered by Cautus to Pavlovský – contain a picturesque depiction of the Christmas crib in which the ox, the goat, the donkey [...] and the cock (*gallus*) speak.

Jacob Handl’s relationship with the printing press: the decisive years 1589–1591

What could have been the nature of the relationship of Jacob Handl himself to such an important printer, supposing that this man was the composer’s brother? If we regard our first assumption as valid, then the Georg Handl who signed the foreword to the *Moralia* was no mere modest assistant of Nigrin or Dietrich: he was a businessman of great ability, on his way to becoming one of the leading printers of the age. It is doubtful that his merit remained unnoticed prior to his settlement in Olomouc; therefore, he was most likely sought after among printers.

But we have now to consider Jacob’s point of view. Jacob mentions the printing process at least twice in some detail in his texts. First in the foreword of book II of *Opus musicum* (1587),⁴⁰ and subsequently in the foreword to book I of the *Harmoniae morales* (1589). This second text contains a strange sentence indeed:

I produced a few compositions that are sung and which one can hear almost every day. There would be more, if this task were not at present beyond my strength. Art is not deficient, but the strength of the printing press and the robustness of the type are broken.⁴¹

In musicological studies, this sentence has generally been interpreted as a statement that the composer experienced problems with the printing process.⁴² This interpretation is not completely convincing, however, since the expression used by Gallus is obviously too forceful and too definite for such a vague meaning. But in association with a masterful Georg Handl as regards the printing process, and in the knowledge that the *Moralia* were indeed printed not in Prague but in Nuremberg, the sentence suddenly acquires another meaning. Could it be that this “broken” strength of the printing press is a way of alluding to Georg’s departure from Prague, thereby depriving Jacob of one of his main supports at Nigrin’s printing workshop?

This point, new as it might seem, is indeed worth considering. Gallus often refers, in his forewords, to the “Zoil”, or jealous critics who assail his reputation.⁴³ Even if this reference is an absolute *topos* of forewords, this statement becomes all the more understandable when we consider the context surrounding Handl at the Nigrin printing workshop, and especially the demand for print emanating from other composers in the late 1580s. At the time when Gallus wrote the sentence, 1589, his musical compositions were still far from being printed in their entirety. Not only the end of the *Moralia* was still unpublished, but also that of the *Opus musicum*, of which book IV had not yet appeared. Referring, significantly, at the end of this foreword to the “impatiently jealous”, Gallus was probably

⁴⁰ The author declares his will “not to make the typographer wait” for his compositions; see E. Škulj, *Gallusovi predgovori*, op. cit., 1991, pp. 66–67.

⁴¹ “[...] dedi nonnulla, quae cantantur et audiuntur propč quotidie: adderem plura, ni viribus essent hoc tempore imparia meis. Ars integra est, sed nervus praeli et typographicum robur fractum.” Text ed. in E. Škulj, *Gallusovi predgovori*, op. cit., 1991, p. 94.

⁴² This interpretation is given notably in D. Cvetko, op. cit., 1991, p. 34.

⁴³ At the end of the foreword to *Harmoniae Morales*, the last sentence clearly states: “There is no lack of these, whose raucous voice is heard while the cock (*gallus*) crows”.

expressing the mere fact that Nigrin was under pressure from requests coming from other composers. Were these requests delayed because of the still uncompleted printing of the vast *Opus musicum* collection? This question appears worthy of mention if we consider that immediately after the completion of the *Opus musicum* Nigrin devoted his musical presses to ambitious publications, often concerned with a cyclic aspect according to the calendar.⁴⁴ In the list of titles given below the mentions referring to a cyclic aspect, or to the fact that the work was being printed for the first time, are indicated with expanded character spacing:

1590

Gallus [*Opus musicum* IV]

Gallus [*Harmoniae morales* II–III]

1591

Crinitus z Hlávačová, *Psalmi regii vatis in odas a Davide Crinito redacti*

Nucius, *Modulationes sacrae, modis musicis, quinque, et sex vocum compositae*

1592

Knöfel, *Novae melodiae, octo septem, sec et quinque harmonicis vocum numeris distinctae nec vocali solum, sed instrumentali pariter musicae accommodatae*

Massaino, *Liber primus cantionum ecclesiasticorum ut vulgo motecta vocant, quatuor vocum*

1593

Sale, *Sacrarum cantionum, omnis generis instrumentis musicis, et vivae voci accommodatarum, hactenusque non editarum, I*

1594

Sale, *Officiorum missalium, quibus introitus, alleluia et communiones de omnibus omnium sanctorum, et per totum anni circulum diebus festis et solennibus quinque, et sex vocum continentur, II*

1595

Lomnický Z Budče, *Kancionál, a neb: Písň nové historické na dni obzvláštní sváteční přes celý rok*

1596

Sale, *Tripertiti operis officiorum missalium, quibus introitus [...] II*

Sale, *Officiorum missalium, quibus Introitus [...] III et ultimus*

Now we have to establish a link between this situation and what happened in Nuremberg, which apparently was Georg Handl's next site of activity after Prague. In 1596 and 1597 two volumes of Handl's music were issued by Alexander Dietrich: the

⁴⁴ On Nigrin's musical prints, see Petr Daněk, Nototiskařská činnost Jiřího Nigrina, *Hudební věda* 24 (1987), pp. 121–136.

posthumous *Moralia* and Nigrin’s edition of *Opus musicum* book IV under a new title,⁴⁵ that is, precisely the two volumes left unpublished when Jacob complained of his recent typographical weakness. It is thus easy to imagine that the departure of Georg from Prague to Nuremberg had been carefully engineered between the two brothers. It seems that Georg took constant care of his brother’s work,⁴⁶ bringing with him to Nuremberg both the still unpublished secular compositions that would form the *Moralia* and a large portion of the unsold copies of *Opus musicum*, book IV⁴⁷.

If the anxiety expressed by Jacob Handl concerning the printing process in his forewords thus becomes fully explainable, this does not necessarily help us to understand why Georg Handl left Prague for Nuremberg. An element of an answer is probably to be found in the reasons why someone like Dietrich would have needed a printer who was a former colleague of Nigrin. We have just mentioned above that Dietrich specialized in the publication of polyglot Bibles and New Testaments known as “Nuremberg Polyglot Bibles” and elaborated by Elias Hutter. These large-scale volumes were issued for the most part in 1599,⁴⁸ but were, of course, prepared during the previous decade. Among the several Bibles of Hutter and New Testaments published by Dietrich at the very end of the 16th century, one is a sexilingual work⁴⁹ that announces on its title-page that it is published [...] *Ebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, Latine, Germanice, Sclavonice*.⁵⁰ This *sclavonice* version of the Bible is nothing but a reprint from the Slovenian translation elaborated by Jurij Dalmatin that was published in Wittenberg in 1584⁵¹ as the first

⁴⁵ That is, with a new title-page, bearing Dietrich’s own address in Nuremberg. On the complicated history of this Dietrich/Nigrin edition, see the article by Paweł Gancarczyk in this volume, pp. 25–33. I express my warmest thanks to Paweł Gancarczyk for having shared his research results with me.

⁴⁶ Either just after Jacob died or even during his last year.

⁴⁷ And for which Jacob was responsible, as shown by the inventory drawn up after his death. For a detailed transcription and Slovenian translation of this document, see E. Škulj, *Gallusovi predgovori*, op. cit., 1991, pp. 140–145. It would be interesting to know if the *Nürnberger Noten* material mentioned in the Olomouc Handl printing workshop in 1619 was still referring to examples of the Gallus compositions.

⁴⁸ These Bibles were the work of the professor of Hebrew in Leipzig, Elias Hutter (1553–1602?). On Hutter’s expensive but commercially unsuccessful contract with Dietrich for the printing of the Bibles in Nuremberg, see Stephen G. Burnett, Christian Hebrew printing in the 16th century, *Helmantica: Revista de Filología Clásica y Hebrea* 154 (2000), p. 29.

⁴⁹ *BIBLIA SACRA, Ebraice, Chaldaice. Graece, Latine, Germanice, Sclavonice. Studio & Labore Eliae Hutteri Germani*. Nürnberg, [Dietrich], 1599. Examples of the original print can be found in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, under the shelf-mark 2”BF 1824, and in Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, shelf-mark 41/50033. A microfiche version of the print (München, Saur, 1994) is widely available in public libraries.

⁵⁰ This polyglot Bible, with its imperial privilege, was a failure: it is incomplete and does not proceed further than the book of Ruth. It exists in four variants distinguished by the choice of the last of the six languages, the *sclavonice* text being replaced in the other versions by an *italice*, *saxonice* and *gallice* text, respectively. See T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, *Historical catalogue of the printed editions of the Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, London, Bible House, 1903; and a facsimile edition printed in New York (Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1963), vol. II.1, pp. 14–15 (n. 1426).

⁵¹ *Biblia, tu je, vse Svetu Pismu, Stariga inu Noviga Testamenta, Slovenski tolmažena, skusi Iuria*

complete “Slovenian Bible” ever printed. Who else but a gifted *Carniolus*, i. e. Carniolan printer, could have done the proofreading necessary for the correction of this version of the Bible? Might this person have been Georg Handl Carniolus, as he signs himself in the foreword of his brother’s *Moralia*? Even if no precise document proving this has been found,⁵² we have to admit that the coincidence is at least striking.

Attractive as Georg’s new situation might have been, it did not prevent the Protestant printer and the Catholic composer from keeping in touch, as is documented on both sides: we already mentioned that Georg gave to Dietrich in Nuremberg copies of the *Moralia*: that is, the volume that was still unpublished when he left Prague. He was probably also responsible for the transfer to the Dietrich printing workshop of a number of unsold copies of *Opus musicum* book IV as mentioned in the inventory. Conversely, Jacob received from his brother a large quantity of music prints from Nuremberg. Scholars have already noticed that all the printed music listed in the inventory of Jacob’s belongings bore a Nuremberg address.⁵³ This fact seems to coincide exactly with the presence of Georg in the Franconian city at a time when Jacob was still alive. Georg having left Prague before the printing of the Gallus’ *œuvre* was completed, his musician brother could not but bewail his “broken” typographical strength.

Conclusion

A Protestant printer named Georg Handl achieved in Olomouc great fame and craftsmanship by developing the largest-scale printing business the city had ever known and would know for a long time. In quality, quantity, and variety Handl’s production is surpassed in the Czech lands only by that of the foremost Prague printers of the time.

We have to consider the hypothesis according to which this important printer was the brother of the composer Jacob Handl a very fruitful one. At the time when Jacob was living in Prague, his brother Georg was still an assistant to Nigrin. In the light of how important the role of such a gifted assistant would have been, this helps to explain how greatly Jacob Handl depended on Georg to publish his own work at the Nigrin printing workshop. Jacob was facing a shortage of money and his possessions were in a very poor state.⁵⁴ Confronted around 1588–1589 by the departure of this more than helpful brother from Prague to another, probably more rewarding site of activity, Nuremberg, he alluded to the event with a frank expression, “typographicum robur fractum”, that expressed his bitter anxiety or worse about his immediate future.

Dalmatina [...], Wittemberg, Hans Krafft’s Erben, 1584. See T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, op. cit., vol. II. 3, p. 1419 (n. 8429).

⁵² Archival documents relating to Nuremberg printers have been published in the extended study by Manfred H. Grieb, *Das Nürnberger Buchgewerbe: Buch- und Zeitungsdrucker, Verleger und Druckhändler vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Michael Diefenbacher, Nürnberg, Stadt Nürnberg, 2003. But the section concerning Alexander Dietrich (p. 74) does not mention the presence of a Georg Handl in the printing workshop, nor do the indexes of the same study.

⁵³ See E. Škulj, *Gallusovi predgovori*, op. cit., 1991, p. 149.

⁵⁴ As revealed by the inventory; see E. Škulj, *Gallusovi predgovori*, op. cit., 1991, pp. 140–145.

Supported financially by a powerful Catholic bishop, but at the same time having close relations with the Protestant milieu which at that time dominated the printing trade and included his own brother, Jacob Handl seems to have lived between the two worlds that were facing each other in Prague before their direct confrontation. Through his anxious allusions to the printing press, the composer expresses with lucidity his consciousness of how fragile his situation actually was. If his harmonious musical creation manifested so transparent a capacity to respond to the musical demands of both Catholic liturgy and the Protestant rite, it is probably because those different aspects of Christian spirituality were deeply and simultaneously active in the very context in which this music was conceived.

»TYPOGRAPHICUM ROBUR FRACTUM«
ODNOS JACOBUSA HANDLA DO TISKARSTVA

Povzetek

Protestantski tiskar Georg Handl se je naselil v Olomucu leta 1597. Do leta 1616 je postal vodilni tiskar na Moravskem. V dosedanjih muzikoloških razpravah je njegovo delo ostajalo neopaženo, čeprav vrsta stvarnih podatkov potrjuje dejstvu, da je bil tiskar dejansko brat še slavnjšega skladatelja Jacobusa Handla, imenovanega Gallus s Kranjskega. Knjige, ki jih je Georg (Jurij) Handl natisnil, so visokokakovostne, po vsebini pa so ustrezale tako potrebam jezuitske univerze in mogočnih olomuških škofov kot tudi nekatoliških bralcev (luteranov, utrakvistov in članov bratovščin) v mestu in okoliških središčih. Med Handlovimi tiski so tudi posvetni teksti za razvedrilne potrebe takratne izobražene družbe. Predpostavka, da je brat Jacobusa Handla – Gallusa istoveten z olomuškim tiskarjem, temelji tako na popolnem ujemanju datumov kot tudi na nekaterih sledih, ki jih razkrivajo najrazličnejši arhivski dokumenti v Olomucu. Zadnji povsem jasno dokazujejo to, na kar je doslej muzikološka literatura le namigovala, namreč da je bil skladateljev brat tiskar. V luči spoznanja, da je bil skladateljev brat tako pomemben tiskarski poslovnež, se lahko povsem spremeni pogled na Jacobusov odnos do tiska. Povsem jasno postane skladateljevo tarnanje o »zlomljeni« moči tiska, ki ga zasledimo v uvodu v zbirko posvetnih latinskih pesmi *Harmoniae morales*. Namig zelo verjetno govori o odhodu brata tiskarja iz Prage v Nürnberg v času, ko sta četrta knjiga motetov zbirke *Opus musicum* in posvetne *Moralia* še vedno čakali na natis. Predpostavko morda potrjuje tudi razmeroma visoko število nürnberških tiskov, ki jih je skladatelj posedoval in so bili skupaj z njegovo drugo lastnino popisani po njegovi smrti. Na neposredno povezavo z imenovanim mestom pa kažejo ne nazadnje tudi posmrtni izdaje skladateljevih del, ki jih je natisnil nürnberški tiskar Alexander Philip Dietrich.

THE MYSTERY OF *SACRAE CANTIONES* (NUREMBERG 1597): REMARKS ON JACOB HANDL AND 16TH-CENTURY PRINTING PRACTICE*

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Izveleček: Zbirka skladb Jacobusa Handla – Gallusa z naslovom *Sacrae cantiones* se je ohranila samo v enem izvodu, in to v Gdansk in Varšavi. To ni bila nova izdaja, temveč le ponatis četrtega zvezka skladateljevega monumentalnega dela *Opus musicum*, tiskanega v Pragi leta 1590, s spremenjeno naslovnico. Avtor razprave navaja razloge, ki kažejo na to, da je delo *Sacrae cantiones* nastalo na pobudo Georga Handla, skladateljevega brata in tiskarja, ki je na ta način upal povečati možnosti prodaje preostalih izvodov zbirke *Opus musicum*, ki so po skladateljevi smrti ostali še neprodani.

Ključne besede: Jacobus Handl – Gallus, glasbeno tiskarstvo, Georg Handl.

Abstract: A copy of *Sacrae cantiones*, a collection of compositions by Jacob Handl – Gallus published in 1597 in Nuremberg, is preserved as a unicum in Gdańsk and in Warsaw. However, this is not a new edition but merely a copy of the fourth volume of the composer's *Opus musicum*, printed in Prague in 1590, with a changed title-page. The author presents arguments to show that the *Sacrae cantiones* were created on the initiative of Georg Handl, the composer's brother and printer, who in this way hoped to increase the chance of selling the rest of the examples of the *Opus musicum* that remained in stock after Jacob's death.

Keywords: Jacob Handl – Gallus, music printing, Georg Handl.

In 1895 Josip Mantuani published in *Cerkveni glasbenik* an article in which he announced the discovery, at the Library of St Mary's Church in Gdańsk, of a bibliographical *unicum* among the works of Jacob Handl – Gallus.¹ Even then he noticed that the *Sacrae cantiones*, published in Nuremberg in 1597 by Alexander Philipp Dietrich (Theodoricus), which he had discovered, were not in fact a new edition of the composer's works but only a different edition of the fourth volume of the *Opus musicum*, printed in Prague in 1590. The two editions differ only in their title-page, whereas their content is identical. Mantuani repeated his conclusions in his bibliography of Gallus's works from 1905, referring to the *Sacrae cantiones* as "eine Bastardausgabe des IV Teiles vom *Opus musicum*".²

* This article was written as part of research project No. N105 011 31/0971, financed during the years 2006–2009 by the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education.

¹ [Josip] Mantuani, Biblijografičen "unicum" Gallus-ovih del, *Cerkveni glasbenik* 18 (1895), pp. 65–67.

² Josef Mantuani, Bibliographie der Werke von Gallus, in: Jacob Handl (Gallus), *Opus musicum*.

In the twentieth century the ownership of the *Sacrae cantiones* changed a number of times: in 1912 the collection of St Mary's Church (then Protestant) was deposited with the Municipal Library of Gdańsk; it was then dispersed during the Second World War. Before the war the library held six out of the eight part-books of Gallus's print, but in 1951, after the wartime dispersal only three of these books were returned (cantus, altus and tenor). This state of affairs is reflected in the RISM catalogue.³ Recently, it transpired that the missing voices (bassus, quinta vox, septima vox) were held at the National Museum in Warsaw, together with single part-books from other music prints dating from the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, and originating from the valuable collection of St Mary's Church in Gdańsk.⁴ It thus became possible, more than 60 years after the end of the Second World War, to recreate the state of affairs that existed prior to 1939, the difference being that the part-books belonging to the same set are kept at two different locations: in Gdańsk and in Warsaw.⁵ This is by no means an isolated case – many music prints affected by the war and post-war turmoil suffered a similarly absurd fate. Sometimes, it is even the case that the part-books from the same set are preserved not only in different libraries but even in different countries.⁶

The rediscovery of the missing *Sacrae cantiones* volumes provides us with a good reason for examining afresh this peculiar edition, which since the days of Mantuani has existed only as a faceless bibliographical entry. Although the *unicum* from Gdańsk and Warsaw does not contain any unknown works by Gallus, or even new versions of them, it provides an interesting example of printing practice from the end of the sixteenth century. It also supplies us with a number of new suggestions regarding the biographies of Jacob Handl – Gallus and his brother Georg.⁷

Motettenwerk für ganze Kirchenjahr, vol. 2, ed. Emil Bezečny and Josef Mantuani, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* XII/1, Wien, Artaria, 1905, p. IX.

³ Cf. RISM A/I: H 1990. In 1955 the library was renamed the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences (Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk).

⁴ Paweł Gancarczyk, Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Music Prints at the National Museum Library in Warsaw, *Musicology Today* 4 (2007), in press. On the matter of the St Mary collection and its relation to the bibliophilic activities of Georg Knoffius, see Martin Morell, Georg Knoff: Bibliophile and Devotee of Italian Music in Late Sixteenth-Century Danzig, *Music in the German Renaissance. Sources, Styles, and Contexts*, ed. John Kmetz, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 103–126; 116–117 and 125–126.

⁵ Gdańsk, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Bibl.Mar.q.98–100; Warszawa, Muzeum Narodowe, Biblioteka, SD 728–730.

⁶ Elżbieta Wojnowska discusses this problem in a number of her articles (see in particular: Die Auslagerung und Zerstreuung alter Musiksammlungen im 20. Jahrhundert – Polen und seine Nachbarstaaten, *Wissenschaftliche und technische Herausforderung der musikhistorischen Quellenforschung im internationalen Rahmen [Internationaler Kongress RISM 2002]*, the volume is in preparation).

⁷ At this point, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Marc Desmet, who shared with me the results of his research into the career of Georg Handl during the preparation of this contribution, as well as his knowledge about Jacob Handl – Gallus. See Marc Desmet, “Typographicum robor fractum”: Jacob Handl's relationship with the printing press, *De musica disserenda* III/2 (2007), pp. 11–24 (in this volume).



Figure 1

Jacob Handl, *Quartus tomus musici operis*, Praga 1590 (Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, shelf-mark Mus.ant.pract. H 275/4 [olim Preussische Staatsbibliothek]; with permission).

A comparison of the extant examples provides convincing evidence for the claim that the *Sacrae cantiones* are in fact nothing less than the fourth volume of the *Opus musicum*. They are identical both in terms of content and of typographical details. The *Sacrae cantiones* are printed on the same paper as the *Opus musicum* – this feature finally confirms that the *unicum* is only another copy of the earlier edition from Prague. In Dietrich's printing house the first folios of the print, which contained the title-page and the abbreviated imperial privilege (on the *verso* side), were changed: the old sheets were cut out and the new ones glued in their place, which is very clearly visible in the extant part-books. The layout of the page and the information it contains (see illustrations) testify that the procedure was carried out for a specific purpose. The new title-page is laid out in the style encountered in other music prints from Dietrich's firm (e.g. the *Moralia* by Jacob Handl from 1596); it also gives the changed title ("Sacrae cantiones"), the date of publication (1597) and – obviously – information on the place of publication ("Norimbergae. In officina Typhographica Alexandri Theodori"). The aim was thus unambiguously

to produce, in a not very sophisticated manner, a “simulated” new edition which, so far as I know, is a practice without precedent in sixteenth-century printed music.

In order to understand the reasons for such an unusual change we need to go back to Prague, to the days when Jacob Handl was publishing successive collections of his compositions at the printing house of Georg Nigrin (Jiří Černý). We know very little about the relationship between the Slovenian composer and the Czech printer, although there is no doubt that the composer had a great deal of influence over the publication of his works.⁸ This impression is reinforced by the information, repeated in much of the literature, about Jacob’s brother, Georg Handl, who was a printer at Nigrin’s workshop. It is highly probable that the composer–printer relationship must in this case have been regulated by some form of legal agreement. A number of sixteenth-century contracts relating to the publishing of music have survived to this day, and this gives us some insight into the business procedures operating in the printing market. In the context of editions of Jacob Handl’s works, of particular significance are two of these: a contract, dated 2 January 1531, for the printing of four volumes of liturgical compositions by Carpentras (Elzéar Genet), and a contract dated 10 February 1543, for printing masses by Cristóbal de Morales. Both contracts relate to large projects in which the composers themselves played an important, perhaps even a leading, role.

In the first contract, Carpentras was not only the composer of the works being printed, but also their publisher. This meant that he himself was responsible for all the printing costs, for providing the paper, and for remunerating the labour involved. The printer – Jean de Channey – was only a contractor performing the work; the document describes clearly the requirements to be met (the notes must be well located on the staves), and the penalties resulting from non-compliance. After finishing the work, the printer was obliged to sell the typeset to the composer, and was not allowed to print other music for a period of three years. Channey also had to transfer to Carpentras the whole edition (500 examples), keeping only four examples for himself. However, it transpired that the printer was unable to cope with the difficulties involved in printing music. Thus towards the end of 1531 another agreement was signed, bringing into the project one Stephan Bellon, whose job it was to help with the printing of the music as written in the original manuscript. The new partner was to be responsible for a quarter of the costs, for which he would receive a quarter of the edition or its equivalent in cash. Carpentras and Bellon also agreed the conditions of sale: for example, one partner could not transfer his portion of the merchandise without the consent of the others.⁹

In the second contract, the composer (Cristóbal de Morales) shared the cost of printing with two publishers (Antonio de Salamanca and Giovanni Della Gatta). Morales was obliged to supply a manuscript of his works in a state ready for printing, to provide proofreading, and to cover the cost of the printing (inclusive of paper) of 250 examples

⁸ It was probably the composer’s idea to include 144 works in the fourth volume of *Opus musicum*. This needs to be interpreted within the context of number symbolism: the number 144 (12 x 12) may be regarded here as a symbol of fulfilment and perfection (this was the length of the walls of the city of Jerusalem).

⁹ Daniel Heartz, *Pierre Attaignant, Royal Printer of Music: A Historical Study and Bibliographical Catalogue*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1969, pp. 110–117.



Figure 2

Jacob Handl, *Sacrae cantiones*, Nürnberg 1597 (Gdańsk, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, shelf-mark Bibl.Mar.q.100; with permission).

(the print run comprising 525 examples). In return, he was to receive 275 examples, of which he could sell only 50 in Italy, so long as the transaction was independent of any merchant or bookstore. The two remaining partners covered the cost of production of 275 examples, for which they received 250 examples, with the proviso that they were not to distribute them in Spain. The printer – as in the contract from 1531 – was only a contractor: he was obliged to print books of appropriate quality on the paper provided, for which he received a remuneration of 80 *scudi*. According to the contract, it was the composer himself who initiated the publication, and who had to obtain the licence for printing and a ten-year privilege to include the Kingdom of Naples, the Republic of Venice and the Papal States.¹⁰

An inventory, written a few days after the death of Jacob Handl, provides evidence that the composer must have worked under legal conditions similar to those that applied

¹⁰ Suzanne Cusick, *Valerio Dorico, Music Printer in Sixteenth-Century Rome*, *Studies in Musicology* 43, Ann Arbor, Mich., UMI Research Press, 1981, pp. 93–103.

to Carpentras and Morales in an earlier period. It tells us that he had in his possession a significant number of examples of successive volumes of the *Opus musicum*: 25 copies of the first volume, 60 copies of the second volume, 100 copies of the third, and 250 of the fourth volume.¹¹ One may thus conclude that the composer financed the publication of his works to some extent, in return receiving a share of the edition. Financial resources to cover the cost of printing would have come from the donations of the sponsors and patrons to whom he dedicated his works, and perhaps also from the income earned by earlier publications. Musical manuscripts also formed a part of Gallus's contribution, and he would probably have received a share of the edition by way of an honorarium, as was the case with the Masses by Morales.¹²

Taking into account the fragmentary nature of the data regarding sixteenth-century music prints, one can assume that Jacob Handl did not act alone in the enterprise of publishing his compositions. At that time, music book editions had print runs of 500 to 1500 examples, liturgical music being printed in a smaller edition size, while secular (including instrumental) music came in a larger one.¹³ Today, in the most favourable instance, only 5.3% of the edition is extant, and usually less than 1% of the printed examples is available to us.¹⁴ There are about 20 examples of each of the volumes of the *Opus musicum* surviving today. Clearly, it is difficult to draw conclusions about the size of the edition on that basis, but it does seem highly improbable that Nigrin would have printed fewer than 500 examples of Handl's music. Less than a year after the publication of the fourth volume of the *Opus musicum*, i.e., at the time of composer's death, he still had 250 examples in his possession.¹⁵ It is doubtful whether in such a short space of time, and already nearing the end of his life, he would have sold the greater part of his share. We can thus be certain that Gallus published his work in partnership with someone, sharing the publication costs and the printed examples. We do not know whether that person was Georg Nigrin, or the composer's brother, or some other person.

Let us return to Nuremberg, a city with a great printing tradition, where one of the music publishing firms was that of Alexander Dietrich. One has to admit that its achievements in that field were not spectacular: only four music prints (including Handl's *Moralia* and the "simulated" edition of the *Sacrae cantiones*) appeared under Dietrich's name during the years 1596–97, while eight prints appeared under the name of his wife Katharina during the years 1600–02. The majority of them are German prints of fairly low typographical quality,

¹¹ Jiří Pešek, Z pražské hudební kultury měšťanského soukromí před Bílou Horou, *Hudební věda* 20/3 (1983) pp. 242–256: 255.

¹² On the matter of the financial conditions under which composers printed their works, see Jane A. Bernstein, Financial Arrangements and the Role of Printer and Composer in Sixteenth-Century Italian Music Printing, *Acta musicologica* 63/1 (1991), pp. 39–56.

¹³ Richard J. Agee, A Venetian Music Printing Contract and Edition Size in the Sixteenth Century, *Studi musicali* 15/1 (1986), pp. 59–65.

¹⁴ Paweł Gancarczyk, W sprawie wysokości nakładów XVI-wiecznych druków muzycznych [On Edition Size of Sixteenth-Century Music Prints], *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny* 4 (2005), pp. 77–87: 86.

¹⁵ The fourth volume of *Opus musicum* was published toward the end of 1590 (see Dragotin Cvetko, *Iacobus Händl Gallus vocatus Carniolanus*, Ljubljana, SAZU, 1991, p. 96). The composer died on 18 July 1591.

containing works by local composers, such as Georg Körber, Johann Christoph Demantius, Melchior Franck and Christoph Thomas Walliser. The *Moralia* by Jacob Handl, published by his brother at the beginning of 1596, are undoubtedly one of the firm's greatest achievements in terms of music printing. Typographically, only the later *Motetae* by Christoph Johann Agricola, known as Noricus (1601) are comparable with the Gallus print.

Undoubtedly, Alexander Dietrich would not have made an appearance in the composer's biography had it not been for Jacob Handl's brother, Georg. According to the latest research by Marc Desmet, Georg Handl, initially active in Prague, probably moved to Nuremberg as early as the late 1580s. It is likely that he associated himself with Dietrich's printing house because of the multilingual editions of the Bible and the New Testament being prepared there, which included a Slovenian version.¹⁶ In July 1591 Georg returned to Prague in connection with the death of his brother Jacob; we know this from the inventory referred to earlier, made in Georg's presence.¹⁷ One may assume that the latter inherited the composer's estate, including the unsold examples of the successive volumes of the *Opus musicum*. This seems clear, for Jacob Handl died a childless bachelor so his brother was probably his only heir. Georg Handl thus found himself in the possession of 250 examples of the fourth volume of the *Opus musicum*, which he took to Nuremberg.¹⁸ A number of these examples were given a new title-page in 1597, undoubtedly on Georg's initiative or with his permission. However, what might have been the reason for changing the title *Quartus tomus musici operis* to *Sacrae cantiones*?

Firstly, we must remember that we do not know the legal framework relating to the publication of Jacob Handl's works by Georg Nigrin. It may be the case that the contract for printing these compositions specified precisely the conditions under which the composer was entitled to sell his share of the edition, as was the case in the quoted contracts from 1531 and 1543. Jacob Handl may, for example, have been prevented from distributing his prints in a particular area. In such a case the change of the title-page would have been an attempt to bypass the law, but this seems unlikely. The position of the composer in any contract would undoubtedly not have been weak or restrictive. As has already been mentioned, he was also a publisher (or, more precisely, a co-publisher) of his compositions, and he had a privilege from Emperor Rudolph II dating from 1588 that gave him unlimited power over his works.¹⁹ This privilege – analogous to the one granted by the Emperor to Orlando di Lasso in 1581 – shows that by the second half of the sixteenth century the concept of authorial copyright was already taking shape.²⁰ Regardless of this, one is struck by the disproportion between the numbers of extant examples of the fourth volume of the *Opus musicum* (23 examples)²¹ compared with those

¹⁶ M. Desmet, op. cit., p. 22.

¹⁷ J. Pešek, op. cit., p. 255.

¹⁸ This possibility had already been indicated by Josef Mantuani; see notes 1 and 2, above.

¹⁹ The abbreviated privilege was printed in the fourth volume of the *Opus musicum* on the verso of the title-page. See Hansjörg Pohlmann, *Die Frühgeschichte des musikalischen Urheberrechts (ca. 1400–1800)*, Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1962, pp. 272–273; D. Cvetko, op. cit., pp. 96–97.

²⁰ H. Pohlmann, op. cit., passim.

²¹ See RISM A/I: H 1985 and RISM A/I: HH 1985. The RISM catalogue does not list the copy from the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków, Mus.ant.pract. H 275/4 [olim Preussische Staatsbibliothek].

of the *Sacrae cantiones* (one copy). Until 1597 Georg Handl had been selling the books with the original title-pages, and therefore the new pages must have appeared only in a small part of the edition.

The solution to this puzzle may be provided by an analysis of the title-pages from sixteenth-century music prints. In the earliest prints, for example those of Ottaviano Petrucci, they contained only a short title and the name of the author, which facilitated the identification of particular books. With the availability of single impression printing, production of music books became commercialized, and the title-pages began to fulfil another important function, that of providing attractive packaging for the merchandise to entice buyers. Hence the appearance on them of beautiful wood engravings, while the titles, often very long, praised the quality of the compositions and their usefulness, as well as the fame of the composers. The guarantee of high quality of the repertoire contained therein was supposed to be provided by the phrase “cum gratia et privilegio”,²² although today in the majority of cases we are unable to establish who granted the privilege and whether it did exist in reality. The titles also often claimed that the volume contained newly composed, newly published or corrected works. The book market prospered by selling the latest offerings in music, especially those written by well-known composers.

It seems that Dietrich's firm did not break the law, and that the *Sacrae cantiones* were by no means a pirated edition, “eine Bastardausgabe”. The intention, most likely, was to refresh an edition, then a few years old, by adding a new title-page; and Georg Handl was the edition's full legal owner and administrator. In this manner, the book market gained an old product in new packaging, which improved its chances of selling, especially a year after the publication of Jacob Handl's *Moralia*, which finally established his fame. According to Desmet's research, in 1597 Georg Handl bought a printing house in Olomouc from Valentin Kheil.²³ When starting his own business, he must have needed capital, and the *Sacrae cantiones* may have helped him to obtain the necessary finance. As early as the spring of that year, a collection of religious works by Jacob Handl – Gallus, the *Sacrae cantiones* published in Nuremberg by Alexander Dietrich, appeared at book fairs in Frankfurt and Leipzig.²⁴ Probably only a few people realized that this was not a new title but only a reprint of the *Quartus tomus musici operis* published in 1590 in Prague.*

²² Richard J. Agee, The Venetian Privilege and Music-Printing in the Sixteenth Century, *Early Music History* 3 (1983) pp. 1–42: 13–15.

²³ M. Desmet, op. cit., p. 12.

²⁴ See Albert Göhler, *Verzeichnis der in den Frankfurter und Leipziger Messkatalogen der Jahre 1564 bis 1769 angezeigten Musikalien*, Leipzig, in Kommission bei C. F. Kahnts Nachfolger, 1902 (reprinted by Hilversum: Knuf, 1965), p. 16 (Göhler 1), no. 324.

* Translated into English by Zofia Weaver.

UGANKA ZBIRKE *SACRAE CANTIONES* (NÜRNBERG 1597):
POJASNILA O JACOBUSU HANDLU IN TISKARSKI PRAKSI V 16. STOLETJU

Povzetek

Leta 1597 je nürnbergski tiskar Alexander Philipp Dietrich natisnil posmrtno zbirko Jacobusa Handla – Gallusa *Sacrae cantiones*. Danes edini znani izvod tega tiska se nahaja na Poljskem: trije glasovni zvezki v Gdansku (cantus, altus, tenor), trije pa so bili pred kratkim najdeni v Varšavi (bassus, quinta vox, septima vox). Dva glasova sta še vedno pogrešana, tako da z glasbenega stališča zbirka ni popolnoma ohranjena. *Sacrae cantiones* ne prinašajo nič novega, saj gre za že znani, leta 1590 v Pragi natisnjeni, četrti del monumentalne zbirke motetov *Opus musicum* z novo naslovnico. Avtor pričujoče razprave navaja vrsto razlogov, ki podpirajo njegovo predpostavko, da je delo izšlo na pobudo tiskarja Georga Handla, skladateljevega brata, ki je s to potezo hotel povečati prodajo preostalih zvezkov monumentalne zbirke *Opus musicum*, ki so po bratovi smrti neprodani obležali v skladišču. Georg je v obravnavanem obdobju dejansko delal v Dietrichovi tiskarski delavnici, od leta 1597 pa je kupil hišo v Olomucu in ustvaril svoje lastno podjetje, za kar je nedvomno potreboval kapital.

Razrešena uganka zbirke *Sacrae cantiones* predstavlja začetek novega pogleda na pravni položaj, v okviru katerega je skladatelj Jacobus Handl svoja dela objavljaj pri praškem tiskarju Georgu Nigrinu. Zelo verjetno je tudi, da je razmerje med skladateljem in tiskarjem urejalo neka oblika pogodbe. Zdi se, da je imel skladatelj sorazmerno velik vpliv na izdaje svojih del in da je sredstva za tisk deloma prispeval tudi sam, zaradi česar je prejel tudi delež dobička od prodaje svojih del. Število izvodov zbirke *Opus musicum*, ki so bili zabeleženi v inventarju po smrti Jacobusa Handla, kaže na to, da je imel za tisk svojih del poslovnega partnerja. Sklepamo lahko, da so v Pragi Gallusova glasbena dela tiskali v nakladi vsaj 500 izvodov.

THE MOTETS OF JACOB HANDL IN INTER-CONFESSIONAL SILESIAN LITURGICAL PRACTICE

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Izvleček: Številna dela Jacobusa Handla – Gallusa (še posebno rokopisna, iz časa preden so njegova dela tiskali v Pragi) so neposredno povezana z nekaterimi mesti v Šleziji, kjer je bival v mladosti. Te skladbe jasno odražajo liturgično prakso svojega časa. Prav zaradi značilnosti skladateljevega sloga so prišle v kategorijo »klasičnega« repertoarja, ki so ga v liturgični praksi v Šleziji – tako v katoliških kot v protestantskih krogih – zelo cenili. Handlovi moteti so se uporabljali na najrazličnejše načine in so zaradi svoje priljubljenosti postali ključni v institucionalno sprejetem repertoarju figuralne renesančne glasbe.

Ključne besede: Jacobus Handl – Gallus, glasbeni rokopisi, liturgična praksa, Šlezija.

Abstract: Numerous works by Jacob Handl – Gallus, especially manuscripts dating from before his music was printed in Prague, are connected with certain Silesian towns where he spent time in his youth. These compositions clearly reflect liturgical practice of the time. Thanks to characteristics of the composer's style they fell into into a category of "classic" repertory that was much valued in the liturgical practice of the period in Silesia, in Catholic as well as in Protestant circles. Handl's motets found many uses, and because of their popularity came to form a cornerstone of the institutionally accepted Renaissance repertory of figural music.

Keywords: Jacob Handl – Gallus, music manuscripts, liturgical practice, Silesia.

There can be no doubt that Jacob Handl is to be numbered among the most important central European composers of the Renaissance. Despite the multitude of musicological studies, monographs and collected editions dedicated to that great heir of Orlando di Lasso, there remain many questions connected with his huge and varied musical production. More than 100 years of Handl scholarship¹ have not come to an end with the recently published catalogue of his compositions by Edo Škulj,² for scholars are still adding to that list, discussing the repertory already attributed to him and addressing new, important questions regarding this master.

¹ Running from the early editions by Emil Bezecny, Josef Mantuani and Paul Amadeus Pisk in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, volumes 12 (1899), 24 (1905), 30 (1908), 40 (1913), 48 (1917), 51/52 (1919), 94/95 (1959), reprinted in Graz, Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, to the more recent monographs by Dragotin Cvetko. Dragotin Cvetko, *Jacobus Gallus. Sein Leben und Werk*, München, Trofenik, 1972; Dragotin Cvetko, *Jacobus Händl Gallus vocatus Carniolanus*, Ljubljana, SAZU, 1991.

² Edo Škulj, *Gallusov katalog. Seznam Gallusovih skladb*, Ljubljana, Družina, 1992.

In my study, in recent years, of the rich musical repertory of the so-called Emil Bohn collection,³ I was astonished at the large number, within this repertory of essentially Protestant provenance, of works by Jacob Handl and by many other composers more commonly associated with the post-Tridentine Catholic repertory. In recent contributions I have tried to account for the prominent place of Handl's music in Protestant Silesian music culture of this time⁴ and to show why this musical oeuvre (and aesthetically similar works composed by other imitators of Lasso) gained its long-lasting currency in those specific confessional circles.⁵ In this paper I would like to bring together the main theses of these articles and to connect them to some new ideas. I think that repertory studies, which have grown so fashionable in the musicology of recent years, have to consider the functionality of music in concrete social institutions. And the case of Handl's music raises us some important questions about the context of music during this time: the status of late-Renaissance *musica figurata* in the various forms of liturgy according to Martin Luther and Carlo Borromeo, respectively.

As the stage for this drama we will take the duchy of Silesia, which at the time of the dissemination of Jacob Handl's music, was sharply polarized between the two main confessions. These two camps – Protestant and Catholic – were in this region, as elsewhere, deeply committed to the two great churchmen just mentioned, who – once more, not by chance – had both made many pronouncements about the role of music in the reformed liturgy. In such a climate of confessional confrontation, one would expect our topic to provide a classic illustration of the sociological notion of a “clash of cultures”. But before we attempt any kind of interpretation, we should distance ourselves from common opinions and prejudices and listen to what the sources tell us.

As already stated, a large proportion of Jacob Handl's surviving music is connected to certain Silesian cities where the composer spent part of his youth. Out of the approximately 100 Handl compositions copied into manuscripts of Silesian provenance, almost 70 predate the well-known volumes printed by Georg Nigrinus in Prague, which could suggest they were composed during Handl's youth (1575–1580), when the composer travelled between the major musical centres of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia: Louka (Ger. Klosterbruck), Brno (Ger. Brünn), Zábřovice (Ger. Obrowitz), Olomouc (Ger. Olmütz), Kroměříž (Ger. Kremsier), Praha (Ger. Prag), Rakovník (Ger. Rakonitz), Wrocław (Ger. Breslau), Zgorzelec (Ger. Görlitz)⁶, Nysa (Ger. Neisse) and Legnica (Ger. Liegnitz) – the

³ Today preserved in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, earlier in Wrocław (Ger. Breslau), Stadtbibliothek.

⁴ Tomasz Jeż, Twórczość Jacoba Handla w źródłach proveniencji śląskiej, *Muzyka* 49 (2004), pp. 27–62.

⁵ Tomasz Jeż, Łacińska twórczość muzyczna w ewangelickim Wrocławiu. Problem trwałości tradycji w czasach przemian konfesyjnych, *Barok* 11 (2004), pp. 185–205.

⁶ Thomas Napp, Das Görlitzer Musikleben zwischen 1570 und 1650. Eine institutionsgeschichtliche Fallstudie der bürgerlichen Musikkultur im Oberlausitzer Sechsstädtebund, *Musikgeschichte im Zeichen der Reformation. Magdeburg – ein kulturelles Zentrum in der mitteldeutschen Musiklandschaft (Ständige Konferenz Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik in Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt und Thüringen, Jahrbuch 2005)*, ed. Peter Wollny, Beeskow, Ortus Musikverlag, 2005, pp. 333–336.

cities listed by him in the preface to the third volume of his motets.⁷ Clearer traces of Handl's active presence in Silesian music culture emerge from compositions of his copied into manuscripts of local provenance but not subsequently published, and of which survive uniquely in these sources. The sixteen compositions in question – among which one encounters three pieces not listed in Škulj's *Gallusov katalog*⁸ – occur in part-books and German tablatures of Silesian provenance: they originate above all from Wrocław,⁹ but also from Legnica¹⁰ and Brzeg (Ger. Brieg)¹¹ – all of these are manuscripts originating from Protestant church archives.

From trustworthy biographical sources we know that during his Silesian period Jacob Handl was close to Andreas Jerin, from 1585 bishop of Wrocław, to whom he dedicated his first book of motets, published in 1586 in Prague.¹² Probably also in the capital of Silesia, Handl made acquaintance with another important personality, Stanislas Pavlovský, from 1572 a canon at Wrocław cathedral and later Bishop of Olomouc and a patron of our composer. Both bishops were very active promoters of the Tridentine reforms; the second was also the instigator of a new liturgical order known as the *Agenda* created by Hieronim Powodowski in 1591.¹³ The liturgy reformed according to the instructions of the Council of Trent as presented in this book was made compulsory in the dioceses of Włocławek, Lwów and Gniezno; in fact, the *Agenda* of Powodowski was accepted all over Poland and also in Silesia, which was in this period subordinate to the archdiocese of Gniezno.¹⁴

In most of the subsequent editions of this book, alongside the predominant reformed

⁷ *Tertius tomus, musici operis, harmoniarum quatuor; quinque, sex, octo, et plurium vocum [...]*, Praga, G. Nigrinus, 1587 (RISM A/I/4: H 1982).

⁸ *Der Ehrlich stand durch Gottes Hand* a 6, *Hodie natus est salvator mundi* a 8 and *Jubilare Deo omnis terra* a 6.

⁹ Part-books with shelf-marks: Slg. Bohn Ms. mus. 10, 12, 15, 30, 96, 98, 100 and 357; and tablatures with shelf-marks Slg. Bohn Ms. mus. 20, 21 and 357. See also Emil Bohn, *Die musikalischen Handschriften des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau*, Breslau, Hainauer, 1890.

¹⁰ Part-books preserved today in Warsaw, National Library, shelf-mark Mus. 2101, and Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, shelf-mark 60201 Muz., formerly (complete) in Liegnitz, Biblioteca Rudolfini, shelf-mark Libr. Mus. 58.

¹¹ Two handwritten supplements to two published collections, both today preserved in Wrocław, University Library: 1. shelf-mark 51353 Muz. [olim Bibliothek des Königlichen Gymnasium zu Brieg, shelf-mark Br. Mus. K. 34], and 2. shelf-mark 51418 Muz [olim Bibliothek des Königlichen Gymnasium zu Brieg, shelf-mark Br. Mus. K. 51].

¹² *Tomus primus operis musici, cantionum quatuor; quinque, sex, octo et plurium vocum [...]*, Praga, G. Nigrinus, 1586 (RISM A/I: H 1980).

¹³ *Agenda Seu Ritus Sacramentorum Ecclesiasticorum ad uniformem Ecclesiarum per universas provincias Regni Poloniae usum, officio Romano conformati, ex decreto Synodi Provincialis Petricoviensis, denuo conscripti et editi studio et opera Hieronymi Povodovij [...]*, Cracoviae: in Architypographii Lazari 1591. In addition to Stanislas Pavlovský there were also the Polish bishops Stanisław Hozjusz, Marcin Kromer, Stanisław Karnkowski and Hieronim Powodowski.

¹⁴ Joachim Köhler, *Das Ringen um die tridentinische Erneuerung im Bistum Breslau. Vom Abschluß des Konzils bis zur Schlacht am Weissen Berg. 1564–1620*, Köln and Wien, Böhlau Verlag, 1973; Józef Mandziuk, *Historia Kościoła katolickiego na Śląsku: czasy reformacji protestanckiej, reformy katolickiej i kontrreformacji: 1520–1742*, Warszawa, Wydawnictwa Akademii Teologii Katolickiej, 1995.

choral plainsong, there appeared two polyphonic works by Jacob Handl from his second book of motets, dating from 1587: *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus*, based on the well-known prophecy of Isaiah (57, 1–2) and *Sepulto Domino* from the Gospel of St Matthew (27, 62–64, 66).¹⁵ They appear immediately after the choral plainsong responsories for the Good Friday procession to the Lord's Sepulchre with the written annotation: "vel si videbitur in cantu figurali ut sequitur". The same two pieces by Handl were published in another post-Tridentine instructional liturgical book in 1631: the *Rituale Sacramentorum* by Andreas Piotrkowczyk,¹⁶ which was still being used in some Polish churches even into the 20th century. However, those two pieces were only suggested for performance and not prescribed, because of the variable conditions for professional music in different centres; their continued presence in successive service books seems to hold a special significance for the history and reception of figural music as a whole. In my opinion, such an institutionally promoted appreciation of those two motets by Jacob Handl is a rare instance of the endorsement of individual compositions by the Church authorities. While these authorities sought to exercise control over the music used for the liturgy, their pronouncements, much quoted in commentaries on music history, were ordinarily limited to general indications of the desired aesthetic qualities of liturgical music.

Indeed, these two motets are similar in style: very simple, homophonic, declamatory and homogeneous; but is it by chance that they are by the same composer? If so, we may suspect that these motets reflect the post-Tridentine ideal for its new, reformed music, epitomized during the next few centuries by the deliberately archaic musical structure of the so-called *falsobordone* technique.¹⁷ This ideal can be traced back to the well-known decree of the Fathers of the Council in its 24th session (1563) that liturgical polyphonic music should be intelligible ("omnia clare matureque prolata") and "soft" both to the ear and to the heart of the listener.¹⁸ So do these two Passion motets of Gallus constitute a fresh attempt to attain the post-Tridentine ideal of intelligible music, as did previously the works of Pierluigi da Palestrina and Vincenzo Ruffo, or do they represent a kind of

¹⁵ *Secundus tomus musici operis harmoniarum quatuor, quinque, sex, octo et plurium vocum [...]*, Praga, G. Nigrinus, 1587. See also Elżbieta Zwolińska, Einige Bemerkungen zur Verbreitung der Werke des Jacobus Gallus in Polen, *Jacobus Gallus and His Time*, ed. Dragotin Cvetko and Danilo Pokorn, Ljubljana, SAZU, 1985, pp. 145–147; Kurt von Fischer, Die Passions-Motetten des Jacobus Gallus und ihre Beziehung zur Passion des Antoine de Longeval, *Gallus Carniolus in evropska renesansa*, vol. 1, ed. Dragotin Cvetko and Danilo Pokorn, Ljubljana, SAZU, 1991, pp. 63–69; Werner Braun, "Ecce, quomodo moritur justus" und der "rühende Zug" in der Kirchenmusik, *Gallus Carniolus in evropska renesansa*, op. cit., pp. 71–80.

¹⁶ *Rituale Sacramentorum Ac aliarum Ecclesiae Caeremoniarum ex decreto Synodi Provinc. Petricovien. Ad uniformem Ecclesiarum Regni Polon. Usus recens editum. Cracoviae in Offic. Andreas Petricovii, 1631.*

¹⁷ Murray C. Bradshaw, The Falsobordone as an Expression of Humanism and Ritual, *Musica Antiqua, VIII. Acta Musicologica*, Bydgoszcz, Filharmonia Pomorska, 1988, pp. 135–157.

¹⁸ Karl Weinmann, *Das Konzil von Trient und die Kirchenmusik: eine historisch-kritische Untersuchung*, Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1919; Karl Gustav Fellerer, *Das Konzil von Trient und die Kirchenmusik, Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik*, Nachdr. d. Ausg. Leipzig 1919, Hildesheim, Olms, 1980, p. 7.

Catholic reaction against the rich, elaborate musical settings of the Protestant Good Friday liturgy?

Such an straightforward interpretation is at variance with the facts as we know them from the history of the reception of Jacob Handl's work on the other side of the confessional barricade. On 23 January 1587, the year of publication of the second volume of Handl's *Opus musicum* and four years before the publication of Powodowski's *Agenda*, the motet *Ecce quomodo moritur justus* was sung at the burial of Joachim Meister, the rector of the Protestant school of St Peter in Görlitz¹⁹. The same motet is encountered a short time later in four Silesian manuscripts: two sets of part-books and a tablature from Wrocław²⁰ and also in part-books from Legnica.²¹ Further sources shed more light on the practical use of this piece: in the *Directorium chori* (1650) of the Protestant church of St Mary Magdalene in Wrocław²² the responsory *Tenebrae factae sunt*, traditionally sung since pre-Reformation times on Good Friday,²³ was enriched by the motet *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus*²⁴ by Jacob Handl, sung with an instrumental accompaniment for viols.

Towards the end of the 17th century this Latin motet was replaced by German Lieder. The first traceable example occurs in the *Cantional* (1682) of Gottfried Vopelius,²⁵ where in a group of Passion songs a textually exact German *contrafactum* of Handl's *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus* was published as *Siehe, wie dahin stirbt der Gerechte*. In the liturgical books from the beginning of the 18th century for the church of St Bernard in Wrocław we find as replacements for Handl's Latin motet the new German Lieder *Da der Herr Christ zu Tische saß, Umb sechs ward eine Finsternüß* and *Jesu Leiden, Pein und Todt*.²⁶ We should here mention that this very motet penetrated into the Catholic *cantional* repertory: its text was published in 1719 in Hradec Králové in the *Slaviček rajský* of Jan Josef Božan, which remained very popular in southern Silesia (around the cities of Opava, Ostrava and Frýdek-Místek) up until the 20th century!²⁷

How did this music manage to reach instructional books for the Protestant liturgy

¹⁹ In the quoted article by Werner Braun (W. Brown, op. cit., p. 74) there is more documentation on the performing practice of that motet on the occasion of many burial ceremonies for Protestants.

²⁰ Slg. Bohn Ms. mus. 12, 30A and 46.

²¹ Warsaw, National Library, shelf-mark Mus. 2106 [olim Liegnitz, Biblioteca Rudolfini, Libr. Mus. 18].

²² Today lost [olim Breslau, Stadtbibliothek, shelf-mark Hs. R. 2572].

²³ Gustav Bauch, *Geschichte des Breslauer Schulwesens in der Zeit der Reformation (Codex diplomaticus Silesiae*, vol. 26), Breslau, Hirt, 1911, p. 86, 98; Hans Adolf Sander, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des lutherischen Gottesdienstes und der Kirchenmusik in Breslau. Die lateinischen Haupt- und Nebengottesdienste im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Breslauer Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 1, Breslau, Priebatsch, 1937, pp. 29–31.

²⁴ Wrocław, State Archive, P. 79m, for the year 1691.

²⁵ *Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch, von den schönsten und besten Liedern verfasset [...] mit 4. 5. und 6. Stimmen, deren Melodeyen Theils aus Johann Hermann Scheins Cantional, und anderm guten Autoribus zusammen getragen, theils aber selbst componiret [...]*, Leipzig, Christoph Klinger, Gallus Niemann, 1682. (Wrocław, University Library, shelf-mark 304844.)

²⁶ Wrocław, State Archive, Lose Akten der St. Bernhardin-Kirche, S. IIb, IXa.

²⁷ Bohumil Pavlok, Jiřina Veselská, Jan Josef Božan a jeho *Slaviček rajský*, *Knihy a dějiny* 2/1 (1995), pp. 25–30.

of this time? When we learn that in the library of the church of St Mary Magdalene (and perhaps not only there) there is preserved an example of the *Agenda* of Powodowski²⁸ everything becomes clearer. In the archives of the churches of St Mary Magdalene and St Elisabeth in Wrocław, kept today in the State Archive in Wrocław,²⁹ we find many original Catholic missals, even ones published in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, which were used liturgically in these Protestant centres. But those printed books are adapted to suit the new style of liturgy in two main ways: the first comprises the various forms of simplification of the ancient liturgy: its shortening, and also a reduction in the number of items; the second constitutes the so-called “christliche Besserung” in those cases where the texts do not conform to Lutheran dogma and practice (this is true of most of the Marian responses and antiphons of the *Proprium Missae*). For example, in the first-mentioned source deletions in red ink have been applied to such elements of traditional Advent liturgy as:

Day of the Advent liturgy	part of the Liturgy of the Hours	Liturgical genre	Incipits of deleted portions of the liturgy
1. Domenica	Ad Matutinas preces	Responsorium 2.	Missus est Angelus Gabriel ad Mariam
		Responsorium 3.	Ave Maria gratia plena
	Ad Vesperas II	Responsorium	Missus est Angelus Gabriel
		Ant. ad Magnificat	Ne timeas invenisti gratiam
Feria 3tia	Ad Laudes	Ant. ad Benedictus	Antequam conveniret inventa est Maria
Feria 4ta	Ad Laudes	Responsorium	Ecce Virgo concipet et pariet filium
Feria 5ta	Ad Laudes	Ant. ad Benedictus	Benedicta tu in mulieribus
2. Domenica	Ad Vesperas I	Ant. ad Magnificat	Beata es Maria quae crededisti
3. Domenica	Ad Vesperas I	Responsorium 2.	Bethlehem civitas Dei summi
		Responsorium 3.	Suscipe venum tuum Virga Maria
Feria 2.	Ad Laudes	Ant. ad Benedictus	Egredietur virga de radice Jesse
	Ad Vesperas	Ant. ad Magnificat	Beatam me dicent omnes generationes
Feria 4.	Ad Laudes	Ant. ad Benedictus	Missus est Gabriel Angelus ad Mariam
	Ad Vesperas	Ant. ad Magnificat	Quomodo fiet istud Angele Dei
Feria 5.	Ad Vesperas	Ant. ad Magnificat	Ecce ancilla Domini, fiat mihi
Feria 6.	Ad Vesperas	Ant. ad Magnificat	Quomodo fiet istud Angele Dei
4. Domenica	Ad Vesperas II	Responsorium	Missus est Gabriel angelus
etc.			

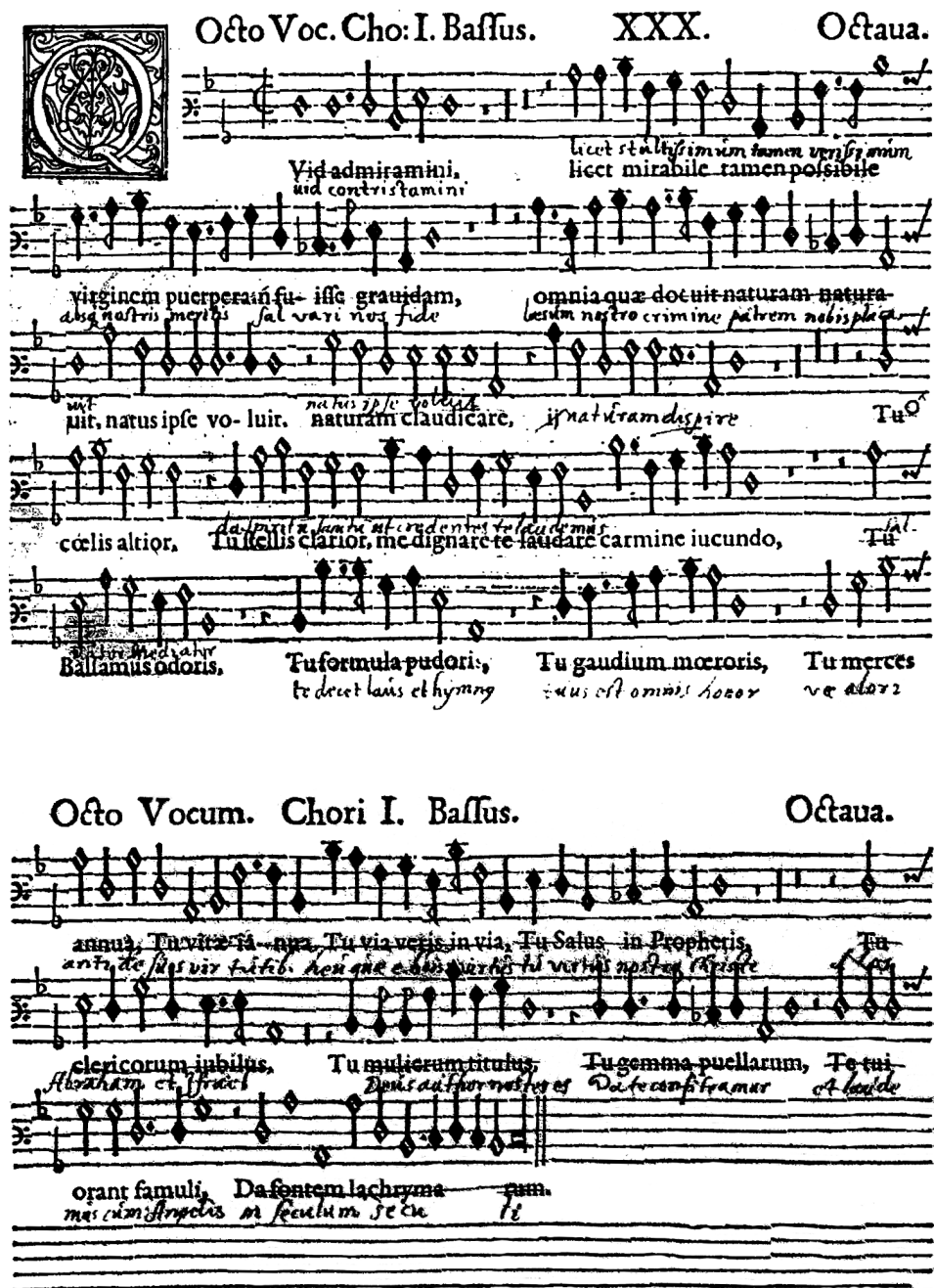
The same practice of admitting trans-confessional *contrafacta* of the music used in the liturgy – but here in the context of a polyphonic setting by Jacob Handl – is encountered in a manuscript supplement to three of his published motet collections (H 1980, H 1981, H 1982):³⁰ this is a copy of his Marian motet *Quid admiramini* (from his first book of motets) supplied with a new text, *Quid contrastimini* (see Figure 1):

²⁸ Wrocław, University Library, shelf-mark 370.912.

²⁹ Wrocław, State Archive, shelf-mark 4341 [olim: P 79a, 2]: *Chorbuch der Kirchen zu Breslau bey S. Maria Magdalena 1598 scribebat in sui memoriam Michäel Kittelius Signator apud D. Mariam Magdalenam Anno a C. N. 1608.*

³⁰ Wrocław, University Library, shelf-mark 50513 Muz., parts for Bassus primus and Altus secundus only.

Octo Voc. Cho: I. Bassus. XXX. Octaua.



Quid admiramini,
uid contrastimini

licet stultissimum tamen verissimum
licet mirabile tamen possibile

virginem puerperam fu-isse gravidam,
ad nostris meritis salvari nos fide

omnia quae docuit naturam natura-
lem nostro crimine patrem nobis plac-

uit, natus ipse vo-luit. naturam claudicare, ipse naturam dispere

cœlis altior, Tu lucis clarior, me dignare te laudare carmine iucundo,

Tu formula pudori, Tu gaudium mœroris, Tu merces
te decet laus et hymnus, laus est omni honor ve alior

Octo Vocum. Chori I. Bassus. Octaua.

annus, Tu vitæ fā-cta, Tu via veris in via, Tu Salus in Prophetis, Tu
ante de-um vir fidei. Aen que e-ant quæ tu vertis nos-ros in iude

clericorum iubilus, Tu mulierum titulus, Tu gemma puellarum, Te tui
Abraham et Isaac, Deus aut horum testes De te confirmamur et laude

orant famuli, Da fontem lachryma- rum
mei cum Angelis in seculum se cu te

Figure 1

Contrafactum of Jacob Handl's motet *Quid admiramini* as *Quid contrastimini* (Wrocław, University Library, shelf-mark 50513 Muz., Bassus primus; with permission).

The original text	The replacement text
[I Bassus:] Quid admiramini licet mirabile tamen possibile virginem puerperam fuisse gravidam, omnia quae docuit naturam naturavit, natus ipse voluit, naturam claudicare. Tu coelis altior, Tu stellis clarior, me dignare te laudare carmine iucundo, Tu Balsamus odoris, Tu formula pudoris, Tu gaudium moeroris, Tu merces annua, Tu vitae ianua, Tu via veris in via, Tu Salus in Prophetis, Tu clericorum iubilus Tu mulierum titulus, Tu gemma puellarum, Te tui orant famuli da fontem lachrymarum.	[I Bassus:] Quid contristamini licet stultissimum tamen verissimum absque nostris meritis salvari nos fide lassum nostro crimine patrem nobis placavit, natus ipse voluit, naturam disperire. Tu coelis altior, da Spiritu Sanctu, ut credentes te laudemus carmine iucundo, Salvator Mediator, Te decet laus et hymnus, Tuus est omnis honor, va glorianti de suis virtutibus neque est hoc virtus, Tu virtus nostra, Christe. Nos Abraham et Israel Deus author noster es. Da Te confiteamur Et laudemus cum Angelis in saeculum saeculi.
[II Altus:] Quid opinamini fa diae Ierusalem de partu novitatis, omnia que voluit ex nihilo creavit, natus ipse voluit naturam claudicare, Miremur amplius quid illo dignius, Qui de terra, coelum fecit mundus de immundo Tu omnis boni praecium, Tu lilium convalium, Tu coeli sanctuarium, Tu gaudium moeroris, Tu coecis oculus, Tu claudis baculus, Tu sitient rivulus, Tu quies inquietis, Tu merce viduarum, Tu gemma puellarum, Te tui orant famuli da fontem lachrimarum.	[II Altus:] Quid conturbamini filii peccatorum ob lapsum Patris Adae. Quicam Adam redidit ut Christum auravit, natus ipse voluit naturam disparire, dignatus propter nos caelo descendere ut terrenus coeli secum faceret heredes. Dulcis Christe bone Iesu, et intercessor unice, O vae tacentibus de te victoria triumphus, Tu coecis oculus, Tu claudis baculus, Tu sitient rivulus, Tu quies inquietis, Ignorant Patriarcho cum Patre Spiritusque, Et laudemus cum Angelis in saeculum saeculi.

As we can see, the Marian subject of the original motet text has been replaced by a Christocentric *contrafactum*; all the poetic metaphors connected primarily with the Blessed Virgin Mary have been readdressed to Christ, the “intercessor unicus”. In this way, the new version of Handl’s motet has been made to conform strictly to the Lutheran doctrine of *sola fides* and focuses on the soteriological perspective of justification by faith. Incidentally, the elaborately rhetorical character of the prototype did not survive these modifications, crumbling in the face of the demands imposed by the new text.

An even more complex testimony to the functional use of Gallus’s music within the Protestant liturgy in Silesia is provided by the manuscript part-books from Legnica,³¹ where one discovers a unique record of the entire liturgical order for the Mass as practised in one of the Protestant churches of this city in first half of the 17th century (see Figure 2). The work, entitled *Missa super Jerusalem gaude. Deutsch a 6 Handelij*, is a so-called *deutsche Messe*, compiled probably by Paul Hallman from Legnica (1600–1650),

³¹ Today Warsaw, National Library, shelf-mark Mus. 2102, Mus. 2103, Mus. 2104; and Legnica, Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, shelf-mark S/41, S/21 [olim Liegnitz, Biblioteca Rudolfini, shelf-mark Libr. Mus. 69].



Figure 2

Missa super Jerusalem gaude. Deutsch a 6 Handelij (Warsaw, National Library, shelf-mark Mus. 2102, Tenor; with permission).

a musician, poet and counsellor to a prince.³² The choice of title is well justified, because within the structure of this order we find five parodies of three motets by Gallus, inserted as follows:

In place of:	there is a parody of the motet:	published earlier in:	with the new text:
<i>Kyrie eleison</i>	<i>Hierusalem gaude gaudio magno</i>	H 1980	<i>Kyrie eleison</i>
<i>Gloria</i>	<i>Hierusalem gaude gaudio magno</i>	H 1980	<i>Und Friede auf Erden</i>
<i>Nach dem Evangelio</i>	<i>Hierusalem gaude gaudio magno</i>	H 1980	<i>Jerusalem jauchze mit grosser freude</i>
<i>Nach dem Hymno</i> (after <i>Sanctus</i>)	<i>Gloria tibi Trinitas</i>	H 1982	<i>Ehre sey dir Dreyfaltigkeit</i>
<i>Pro Conclusionem</i>	<i>Laus et perennis gloria</i>	H 1982	<i>Lob Ehr preiss und herrlichkeit</i>

³² Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, vol. 5, Graz, Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1959, p. 4. The attribution of this compilation to Paul Hallman is not secure but is suggested by the use of the same title for a manuscript of the same provenance (part-books held in Liegnitz, Biblioteca Rudolphina, shelf-mark Libr. Mus. 11), today lost.

This interesting instance of a Mass cycle based on music by Handl is not an isolated case in Silesian liturgical sources. In a lost organ tablature of 1653 from the church of St Mary Magdalene in Breslau,³³ which provides the organist's music for the accompaniment of the liturgy, the Latin *Credo* is replaced by two doxological motets by him: *Laus et perennis gloria* and *Deo Patri et Filio, sancto simul Paraclito*.

These examples have been selected from the much larger repertory of Latin motets by Handl copied into the abundant Protestant music manuscripts from Silesia.³⁴ However, in the present state of research we do not know their exact place and function in the liturgy. Alongside the rich motet collections, we find in these tablatures and part-books also most of his Masses – reduced, naturally, to Kyrie-Gloria pairs. Many of them are written in an organ tablature of 1599 from the church of St Christopher church in Wrocław.³⁵ At this point, we should mention also some German-language sacred songs attributed to Jacob Handl in Silesian music sources that are apparent *unica*. The first, *Der Ehrlich stand durch Gottes Hand*, was written down by Georg Gotthard, organist at the church of St Elizabeth in Wrocław, in the manuscript shelf-marked Bohn 357³⁶ (reproduced as Figure 3); this does not appear to be a *contrafactum* of any of the known Latin motets.³⁷ The other two come from the handwritten supplement to a set of parts originating from the city of Brzeg,³⁸ *Gott wolt ir thun verleihen, Schöns lib was hab ich Dir gethan – Aber mein schatz*.

Returning to the main problem addressed by our paper: what was the role of Jacob Handl's music in the liturgy of 17th-century Silesia? It was almost the same on both sides of the confessional divide: this music became a kind of "classic" repertory, much esteemed in the liturgical practice of Catholic and Protestant musical centres alike within this region. Handl's motets were used in various ways, and because of their popularity came to form a cornerstone of the institutionally adopted *musica figurata* repertory, which survived for a long time as an important component of the enduring Renaissance

³³ Olim: Library of the Musicological Institute, Breslau University, shelf-mark Mf. 2040; Hans Adolf Sander, *Ein Orgelbuch der Breslauer Magdalenen-Kirche. Ein Beitrag zum Aufführungsgebrauch des späten 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, *Festschrift Max Schneider zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Hans Joachim Zingel, Halle, Schneider, 1935, pp. 74–83.

³⁴ For the complete list, see my paper: *Twórczość Jacoba Handla* [...], op. cit.

³⁵ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz [olim Breslau, Stadtbibliothek, shelf-mark Slg. Bohn 101]. Tomasz Jeż, *Muzyczne opracowania psalmów w tabulaturze z Biblioteki Miejskiej we Wrocławiu* (sygn. 101), *Materiały z XXIX Ogólnopolskiej Konferencji Muzykologicznej Związku Kompozytorów Polskich. Muzykologia u progu trzeciego tysiąclecia. Teoria i praktyka, Akademia Muzyczna im. F. Chopina w Warszawie, 14-15 kwietnia 2000*, ed. Ludwik Bielawski [...], Warszawa, Argraf, 2000, pp. 61–73.

³⁶ Rudolf Starke, *Kantoren und Organisten der St. Elisabethkirche zu Breslau*, *Monatshefte für Musikwissenschaft* 35/3 (1903), p. 45. Richard Charteris, *Newly Discovered Music Manuscript from the Private Collection of Emil Bohn*, *Musicalological Studies and Documents* 53, American Institute of Musicology, Holzgerlingen, Hänssler, 1999.

³⁷ A text similar to this German one occurs in *Iustorum animae in manu Dei sunt* from Jacob Handl's second volume of motets (RISM A/I: H 1981); this music setting, however, is different.

³⁸ Wrocław, University Library, shelf-mark 51418 Muz. [olim Bibliothek des Königlichen Gymnasium zu Brieg, shelf-mark Br. Mus. K. 51].

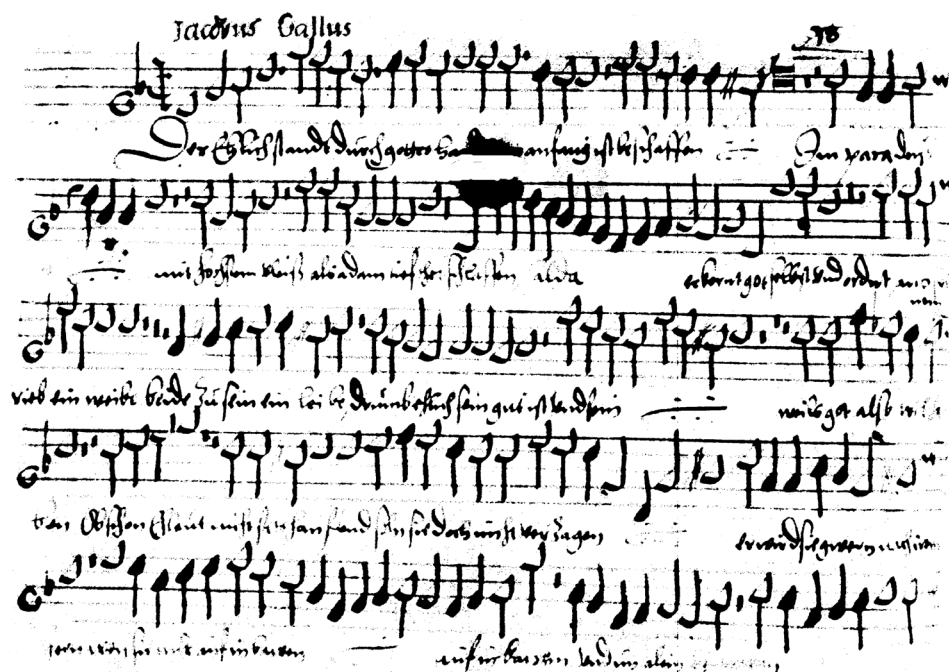


Figure 3

Jacob Handl, *Der Ehrlich stand durch Gottes Hand* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, shelf-mark Slg. Bohn Ms. mus. Bohn 357, Cantus; with permission).

tradition. In that context, one may speculate on how such a special treatment of this composer's musical production influenced the real cultural relationships between the various confessions of 17th-century Silesia, and also on what justification there is for the preference of musicologists today to reconstruct the musical culture of this age along mono-confessional lines. Perhaps we ought to speak more about the common roots of these two different traditions? Perhaps the two have more common than we suspect? Perhaps a common factor is the highly valued relation of the music to the literary text, which is clearly visible in the humanistic treatment of the music as a vehicle of meaning – a medium that has to be not only intelligible but also instructive (*docere*), delightful (*delectare*) and stimulating (*movere*).

MOTETI JACOBUSA HANDLA V MEDKONFESIONALNI LITURGIČNI PRAKSI V ŠLEZIJI

Povzetek

Kljub veliki pozornosti, ki jo je bil Jacobus Handl – Gallus, eden najpomembnejših srednjeevropskih renesančnih skladateljev, deležen v 20. stoletju, ostaja neodgovorjenih še veliko vprašanj, povezanih z njegovim obsežnim in raznolikim glasbenim delom. Po več kot sto letih raziskav, različnih izdaj njegovih zbranih del, seznam njegovih del še vedno ni popoln, saj raziskovalci še vedno odkrivajo nova ali pa na novo vrednotijo že znana dela.

Mnoga danes znana dela Jacobusa Handla so povezana z nekaterimi šlezijskimi mesti, v katerih je skladatelj preživel del svoje mladosti. Med številnimi sledmi njegove prisotnosti v glasbeni kulturi tega geografskega prostora so predvsem v rokopisih ohranjene skladbe, ki so nastale v času, preden je Nigrin začel tiskati njegova dela v Pragi. Še posebno so zanimiva dela, ki so jih prepisali v krajevnih glasbenih zbirkah, vendar pozneje niso bila objavljena v znanih tiskih. Nekatera od teh so celo edino znana iz omenjenih virov. Takih je predvsem šestnajst skladb šlezijskega izvora v menzuralni notaciji in orgelskih tabulaturah, ki izhajajo iz protestantskih cerkvenih arhivov v Vroclavu, Legnici in Brzegu.

O recepciji Handlove glasbe v Šleziji govorijo predvsem dela, ki globoko odražajo liturgično prakso svojega časa in so prav zaradi posebnih značilnosti skladateljevega osebnega sloga postala del »klasičnega« repertoarja, visoko cenjenega tako v katoliških kot tudi v protestantskih središčih po Šleziji. Handlove motete so uporabljali na najrazličnejše načine in so bili tako priljubljeni, da so postali ključni del uradno sprejetega repertoarja renesančne figuralne glasbe, ki je nato še dolgo živela kot pomemben sestavni del renesančne glasbene tradicije.

FRÜHNEUZEITLICHE TRANSFERPROZESSE IN DER OBERLAUSITZ AM BEISPIEL VON JACOB HANDL

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Izvleček: Članek prinaša rezultate raziskav o »Jacobusu Handlu, imenovanemu Gallus, s Kranjskega«, ki temeljijo na povezavi trenutnih metodoloških konceptov »kulturnega transferja« in »prostorske sociologije«. Že Josip Mantuani, Dragotin Cvetko in drugi muzikologi so poznali Görlitz, kjer so bila dela Jacobusa Handla sicer znana (Händl v lužiških virih), vendar še nihče ni izpostavil pomena transkulturne pokrajine Zgornja Lužica. Številni moteti iz Handlove tiskane zbirke Opus musicum so se ohranili tudi v rokopisnih prepisih, ki so nastali v Görlitzu, Löbau in Kamenzu.

Ključne besede: Jacobus Handl – Gallus, kulturni transfer, prostorska sociologija, Zgornja Lužica (nem. Oberlausitz), moteti.

Abstract: The article combines the current methodical concepts of "cultural transfer" and "spatial sociology" in research into "Iacobus Handl Gallus dictus Carniolus". Josef Mantuani, Dragotin Cvetko and other musicologists have mentioned Görlitz as a site for the reception of works by Jacob Handl (Händl in Lusatian sources), but no one has hitherto discussed the transcultural region of Upper Lusatia. Beside the printed motets a number of pieces from Handl's Opus musicum have been preserved in manuscripts that originate from Görlitz, Löbau and Kamenz.

Keywords: Jacobus Handl – Gallus, cultural transfer, spatial sociology, Upper Lusatia (Ger. Oberlausitz), motets.

Die Verbindung des Komponisten Jacob Handl zur Oberlausitz stellt ein bislang weitgehend ungeschriebenes Kapitel in der Forschung zum Komponisten dar. „Iacobus Händl Gallus dictus Carniolus“, so auf dem sein Porträt rahmenden Schriftoval im Erstdruck seines vierten Motettenbandes 1590 benannt, ist in der bisherigen Forschung zum Komponisten mit zahlreichen, aber bislang uneinheitlich verwendeten Namensbezeichnungen versehen worden.¹ In den von mir untersuchten Handschriften der Region Oberlausitz kommt auffallend häufig die Variante *Jac[ob]. Händl* vor.²

¹ Im Proposal für die Sitzung *Iacobus Handl Gallus Dictus* im Rahmen der *Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference* 2007 in Wien war als Vorschlag des Verfassers eine die differierenden Verwendungen in den deutsch- und englischsprachigen Lexika zusammenführende Vereinheitlichung in Jacob Handl – Gallus angedacht gewesen, die es weiterhin zu diskutieren gilt, ohne dabei die augenscheinlich sprachliche Dopplung Handl = Hähnel = Galliculus ≠ Gallus zu vernachlässigen.

² Folgend wird die als Vereinheitlichung innerhalb dieses Bandes vorgesehene Form Jacob Handl verwendet.

Lediglich Josef Mantuani und Dragotin Cvetko nannten die Stadt Görlitz in ihren Artikeln als Ort der Rezeption seiner Werke,³ dabei diese Stadt aber stillschweigend entweder zum Herzogtum Schlesien oder zum Königreich Böhmen zählend. Wurde bislang von den Reisejahren Handls zwischen seiner keineswegs gesicherten Ausbildung am Wiener Kaiserhof und seiner Tätigkeit in Mähren und Prag berichtet, war stets von seinem Wirken in Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien die Rede, nie aber vom Markgraftum Oberlausitz, was sicherlich einerseits an den bislang fehlenden Quellen lag, andererseits an der ungenauen regionalen Kenntnis der Beschreibenden. Zur Zeit Mantuanis – also um 1900 – gehörten Görlitz und der östliche Teil der Oberlausitz, als historische Region in ihrer Gänze betrachtet für nur kurze Zeit, als westliche Ausläufer der damaligen Provinz Schlesien zum Königreich Preußen;⁴ und zur Zeit von Cvetkos Publikation spielte durch die Oder-Neiße-Grenze, die Polen von der damaligen Deutschen Demokratischen Republik und dem heutigen Deutschland trennt, die Oberlausitz als Region selbst in der innerdeutschen Wahrnehmung kaum eine Rolle mehr, was demnach die bisherige Absenz der Oberlausitz in der Betrachtung zum Komponisten allenfalls entschuldigt, aber keinesfalls erklärt.

Die zentrale Scharnierstellung des böhmischen Markgraftums Oberlausitz als Handelskreuz, im Schnittpunkt der *via regia* von Kiev nach Santiago de Compostela und der Nord-Süd-Verbindung von Brandenburg nach Böhmen liegend, führte früh zu Spannungen zwischen der aristokratischen Landbevölkerung und den Bürgern in der Stadt. Deshalb schlossen sich 1346 Görlitz, Bautzen, Zittau, Kamenz, Löbau und Lauban (das heutige Luban in der polnischen Woiwodschaft Dolnośląski) zum Sechsstädtebund als Schutz- und Trutzbündnis zusammen,⁵ welcher bis zum Wiener Kongress 1815 Bestand haben sollte. Der bereits durch den „Dresdner Accord“ von 1621 eingeleitete und im „Immissionsrezeß“ von 1623 forcierte Prager Frieden führte 1635 zur Aufteilung der zuvor eng miteinander verknüpften Kulturregionen Oberlausitz und Schlesien zwischen dem sächsischen Kurfürsten Johann Georg I. und Kaiser Ferdinand II. Das Herzogtum Schlesien gehörte demnach fortwährend zum böhmischen Königreich, wohingegen das Markgraftum Oberlausitz dem sächsischen Kurfürstentum eingegliedert wurde. Trotz der seit 1319 andauernden Zugehörigkeit zum Königreich Böhmen erkämpften sich die

³ Vgl. Jacob Handl (Gallus), *Opus musicum* I, hrsg. Emil Bezecny und Josef Mantuani, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* 12., Wien, Artaria, 1899/1959, S. XVI; Dragotin Cvetko, *Iacobus Händl Gallus vocatus Carniolanus*, Ljubljana, SAZU, 1991, S. 20. Diese englischsprachige Herausgabe basiert auf der slowenischen Erstausgabe von 1965 und unterscheidet sich in einigen Punkten von der deutschen Übersetzung, welche 1972 in München erschien. Neben Görlitz werden noch die Städte Louka (Klosterbruck), Brno (Brünn), Zábřovice (Obrowitz), Olomouc (Olmütz), Kroměříž (Kremsier), Prag, Rakovník (Rakonitz) westlich von Prag, Wrocław (Breslau), Nisa (Neiße) und Legnica (Liegnitz) explizit aufgezählt.

⁴ Vgl. Leszek Belzyt und Hans-Werner Rautenberg, Die Oberlausitz vom Wiener Kongress bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkriegs (1815–1918), *Geschichte der Oberlausitz*, hrsg. von Joachim Bahlcke, Leipzig, Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2001, S. 181–220: S. 183f.

⁵ Vgl. Norbert Kersken, Die Oberlausitz von der Gründung des Sechsstädtebundes bis zum Übergang an das Kurfürstentum Sachsen (1346–1635), *Geschichte der Oberlausitz*, hrsg. von Joachim Bahlcke, Leipzig, Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2001, S. 99–141.

Oberlausitzer Sechsstädte vor allem mittels wirtschaftlich sich ausprägender Privilegien einen zu den freien Reichsstädten vergleichbaren, selbstbewussten Status.

Die um 1520 weitgehend gleichzeitig in der Oberlausitz einsetzende Reformation hatte neben der auch in Ostmitteleuropa diffundierenden Bewegung des Humanismus eine Rhetorisierung des Schul- und Universitätswesens zur Folge.⁶ Die Ratsherren, die Repräsentanten der Städte, erhielten ihre humanistische Ausbildung zunehmend an den protestantischen Universitäten Mitteldeutschlands, anfangs in Wittenberg und Leipzig, im ausgehenden 16. Jahrhundert zunehmend auch an der *Viadrina* in Frankfurt an der Oder.

Das aus dem Studium der *septem artes liberales* und zunehmend der *studia humanitatis* erlangte Bildungsideal wurde bei der Rückkehr der Oberlausitzer Bürger wieder in das städtische Leben eingebracht, wovon die Gründung der Gymnasien in Bautzen, Görlitz und Zittau zwischen 1556 und 1586 ebenso beredtes Zeugnis ablegen⁷ wie die spätestens seit 1570 nachzuweisende Initiative für die erste bürgerliche Musikvereinigung Böhmens durch den Görlitzer Universalgelehrten Bartholomäus Scultetus.⁸

Möchte man Leben und Wirken von Jacob Handl unter Perspektive des aktuellen geisteswissenschaftlichen Diskurses adäquat nachzeichnen, bietet sich das vor mittlerweile reichlich 20 Jahren von Michel Espagne und Michael Werner eingeführte Konzept des Kulturtransfers⁹ in Verbindung mit dem jüngst wiederentdeckten Raumkonzept geradezu an. Zwischen 1574 und 1585 reiste der, aus heutiger Perspektive als Kosmopolit zu bezeichnende Komponist Jacob Handl durch Ostmitteleuropa. Er komponierte, musizierte und legte besonderen Wert auf die Verbreitung seiner Werke, welche sich bereits bei seinen Zeitgenossen großer Beliebtheit erfreuten. Der gleichzeitig gerade auch in Ostmitteleuropa im Ausgang des 16. Jahrhunderts einsetzende Prozess der Nationenbildung überdeckte die vordergründig partikularisierte Aufteilung der Territorien in sprachlich, konfessionell und kulturell zusammenhängende Regionen. Diese zunehmend nationale Kartierung, welche im 20. Jahrhundert unter verschiedenen nationalistischen Positionen nach jeweiliger Interessenlage ausgelegt wurde, liest sich wie ein Spiegelbild des aktuellen Europadiskurses, wo sich sowohl die derzeitigen EU-Mitglieder als auch potentiell zukünftige Mitgliedstaaten über die als Ergebnis des Zweiten Weltkrieges gezogenen Staatsgrenzen hinweg in grenzüberschreitende Euro-Regionen konstituieren. Karl Schlögel beschreibt diesen Prozess des bewussten Rückgreifens auf prä-nationale Erinnerungs-

⁶ Vgl. Thomas Napp, Johannes Nucius in Görlitz – Johannes Nucius w Zgorzelcu. Eine Annäherung an die Herkunft des Komponisten und Musiktheoretikers, *Tagungsband der Wissenschaftlichen Sitzung zu Ehren des Musiktheoretikers und Komponisten anlässlich seines 450. Geburtstages in Kamień Śląski*, 11. 10. 2006, Opole, 2007 (im Druck).

⁷ Bautzen 1556, Görlitz 1565, Zittau 1586. Vgl. N. Kersken, op. cit., S. 132. Siehe auch Christian Knauthen, *Das Gymnasivm Avgvstvm zu Görlitz*, Görlitz, Fickelscherer, 1765.

⁸ Vgl. Thomas Napp, Das Görlitzer Musikleben zwischen 1570 und 1650. Eine institutionsgeschichtliche Fallstudie der bürgerlichen Musikkultur im Oberlausitzer Sechsstädtebund, *Musikgeschichte im Zeichen der Reformation. Magdeburg – ein kulturelles Zentrum in der mitteldeutschen Musiklandschaft (Jahrbuch der Ständigen Konferenz Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik 2005)*, hrsg. von Peter Wollny, Beeskow, Ortus, 2006, S. 327–337: 331–335.

⁹ Vgl. den wegweisenden Beitrag zum Konzept des Kulturtransfers von Michel Espagne und Michael Werner, *Deutsch-Französischer Kulturtransfer im 18. und 19. Jh. Zu einem neuen interdisziplinären Forschungsprogramm des C.N.R.S., Francia* 13 (1985), S. 502–510.

kulturen sehr treffend: „Provinzen, die auf die Rückseite Europas geraten waren, stehen wieder offen. Überall kommt der Verkehr in Schwung, besonders zwischen lange vernachlässigten Metropolen, während andere abgekoppelt werden und nicht wissen, wie es weitergehen soll. Der europäische Raum wird neu geordnet. Die Regionen folgen ihrer natürlichen Schwerkraft und alten Kraftlinien.“¹⁰

Es ist somit nach der politischen Wende von 1989/90 die scheinbar paradoxe Situation entstanden, dass im kulturwissenschaftlichen Diskurs parallel zur Globalisierung und Medialisierung, und damit zur „Ausweitung und Intensivierung von Kommunikationsbeziehungen“¹¹ über nationale Grenzen hinweg, ein Erstarken in der Beschäftigung mit dem Raum zu konstatieren ist. Der von Schlögel formulierte *spatial turn*¹² führte 2006 mit den beiden wissenschaftlichen Publikationen von Markus Schroer sowie von Jörg Dünne und Stephan Günzel zu einer neuartigen, die nationalen Grenzen thematisierenden, aber in der Betrachtung von transregionalen Kulturräumen über diese hinausreichenden Raumsoziologie.¹³ Den Ausführungen von Schroer folgend, fördert gerade diese Erfahrung der „Entgrenzung, der weltweiten kommunikativen Erreichbarkeit und der damit einhergehenden Herausbildung einer Nahwelt, die eine Suche nach Möglichkeiten der Abstandsvergrößerung und der Abschottung nach sich zieht“ eine „Reterritorialisierung“ – auf die „Enträumlichung“ folgt eine „erneute Verräumlichung“.¹⁴ Diese zuvorderst noch soziologisch-historische Sichtweise soll für die Musikwissenschaft nutzbar gemacht werden, um gerade in der Betrachtung der transregionalen Räume Ostmitteleuropas im allgemeinen sowie der Oberlausitz und Schlesiens im besonderen die nach 1945 von der deutschen Musikwissenschaft tradierte und von der polnischen Musikwissenschaft installierte nationale Vereinnahmung des Gegenstandes historiographisch reflektieren sowie unter aktuellen musik- und kulturwissenschaftlichen Fragestellungen bearbeiten zu können.

Dass sich Jacob Handl im beschriebenen Raum Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien bewegte, ist in der bisherigen Forschung zum Komponisten ausführlich dokumentiert und unter verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten kommentiert worden.¹⁵ Auf welchen Wegen er jedoch mit wem kommunizierte und welche Rolle hierbei die Oberlausitz sowie seine wohl zuerst handschriftlich festgehaltenen Kompositionen spielten, die anschließend – weitaus

¹⁰ Karl Schlögel, *Im Raume lesen wir die Zeit. Über Zivilisationsgeschichte und Geopolitik*, München, Hanser, 2003, S. 28.

¹¹ Markus Schroer, *Räume, Orte, Grenzen. Auf dem Weg zu einer Soziologie des Raumes*, Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp, 2006, S. 195.

¹² Vgl. K. Schlögel, op. cit., 2003; Karl Schlögel, Kartenlesen, Augenarbeit. Über die Fälligkeit des spatial turn in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften, *Was sind Kulturwissenschaften? 13 Antworten*, hrsg. von Heinz Dieter Kittsteiner, München, Fink, 2004, S. 261–283. Siehe für eine generelle Diskussion Doris Bachmann-Medick, *Cultural Turns. Neuorientierungen in den Kulturwissenschaften*, Reinbek bei Hamburg, Rowohlt, 2006, S. 284–328.

¹³ M. Schroer, op. cit.; *Raumtheorie*, hrsg. von Jörg Dünne und Stephan Günzel, Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp, 2006.

¹⁴ M. Schroer, op. cit., S. 207. Die Hervorhebungen sind von Schroer übernommen worden.

¹⁵ Vgl. neben J. Mantuani und D. Cvetko, op. cit.; insbesondere auch *Jacobus Gallus and His Time*, hrsg. von Dragotin Cvetko und Danilo Pokorn, Ljubljana, SAZU, 1985; sowie *Gallus Carniolus in evropska renesansa*, hrsg. von Dragotin Cvetko und Danilo Pokorn, 2 Bde., Ljubljana, SAZU, 1991 und 1992.

später¹⁶ – nahezu vollständig in Prag bei Jiří Nigrin vom Komponisten selbst in Druck gegeben wurden, gilt es in der künftigen Forschung zu Handl noch genauer herauszuarbeiten und wissenschaftlich einzuordnen.

Einem dieser von Schlögl als Kraftlinien bezeichneten Wege folgte bereits 1985 Elżbieta Zwolińska in ihrem Referat und späteren Aufsatz *Einige Bemerkungen zur Verbreitung der Werke des Jacobus Gallus in Polen* anlässlich des Symposiums *Jacobus Gallus and His Time* 1985 in Ljubljana.¹⁷ Dort beleuchtete sie die Rezeption ausgewählter Motetten und Messen von Jacob Handl in den beiden heute zu Nordpolen gehörenden neuen deutschen Orgel-Tabulaturen von Toruń und Pelpin, worin sich auch die beiden nach meinen bisherigen Quellenbefunden am weitesten verbreiteten Werke des Komponisten wiederfinden lassen. Es handelt sich dabei um die vierstimmige Funeralmotette *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus* und um die sechsstimmige, die Geburt Johannes des Täufers thematisierende Motette *Elisabeth Zachariae*.

Der Begräbnisgesang *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus*, der auch in der aktuellen Rezeption noch die bekannteste Komposition des Jacob Handl darstellen dürfte, erschien gegen Ende des Passionsmotettenteiles *De Passione Domini Nostri Iesu Christi* als Nr. 13 im zweiten Band des *Opus musicum* 1587.¹⁸ 1545 wird im sogenannten *Bapst'schen Gesangbuch*, den von Martin Luther mit einem neuen Vorwort versehenen *Geystlichen Liedern*,¹⁹ ein gleichlautender Text als Nr. II aufgeführt. Nach den Ausführungen von Markus Jenny in der Neuedition der Weimarer Ausgabe findet sich dieser bereits unter den Begräbnisgesängen Martin Luthers von 1542, ebenfalls als Nr. II.²⁰

Wie bereits 1991 Werner Braun feststellte, ist die Komposition Handls im Jahr des Erscheinens als Funeralgesang erstmals in der Oberlausitzer Sechsstadt Görlitz nachgewiesen.²¹ Anlass für diese erste überlieferte Aufführung der Komposition Handls war die Totenfeier des vormaligen Rektors am Görlitzer Gymnasium, Joachim Meister, in der Peterskirche von 1587, wo neben dem Gesang dieser vierstimmigen Motette die *Lautung aller Glocken* das traurige Ereignis den Bewohnern der Stadt verkündete.²²

Bemerkenswerterweise begann Meister die *Annales Goerlicenses*, welche vom späteren Rektor am Görlitzer Gymnasium Martin Mylius fortgesetzt werden sollten. In dieser Dokumentation ist der entscheidende Nachweis für die nicht nur materielle Anwesenheit der Kompositionen des Jacob Handl in Drucken und handschriftlichen Abschriften der

¹⁶ Vgl. Tomasz Jeż, *Twórczość Jacoba Handla w źródłach proveniencji śląskiej*, *Muzyka* 49/4 (2004), S. 27–62.

¹⁷ Elżbieta Zwolińska, *Einige Bemerkungen zur Verbreitung der Werke des Jacobus Gallus in Polen*, *Jacobus Gallus and His Time*, hrsg. von Dragotin Cvetko und Danilo Pokorn, Ljubljana, SAZU, 1985, S. 142–148.

¹⁸ *Jacobus Händl, Secvndvs Tomvs Mysici Operis [...]*, Praga, G. Nigrinus, 1587.

¹⁹ Martin Luther, *Geystliche Lieder: mit einer newen Vorrhede D. Mart. Luth.*, Leipzig, Bapst, 1545.

²⁰ Markus Jenny, *Luthers Geistliche Lieder und Kirchengesänge*, Archiv zur Weimarer Ausgabe 4, Köln und Wien, Böhlau, 1985, S. 341.

²¹ Werner Braun, „*Ecce quomodo moritur iustus*“ und der „rührende Zug“ in der Kirchenmusik, *Gallus Carniolus in evropska renesansa*, Bd. 1, hrsg. von Dragotin Cvetko und Danilo Pokorn, Ljubljana, SAZU, 1991, S. 74. Dort finden sich auch weiterführende Hinweise zur Textprovenienz.

²² Vgl. Ch. Knauthen, op. cit., S. 49.

Oberlausitz verzeichnet, sondern für die dort bevorzugte praktische Aufführung seiner Werke. So vermerkte Mylius in seinen *Annales Goerlicenses*.²³

4. Jul. moritur Pragae praestantissimus nostri seculi & svavissimus Musicus Jac. Händl Carniolus. Ejus facio mentionem in his annalibus Gorlicensibus propter laudabile convivium nostrum Musicum, quod solis fere hujus cantionibus personat, & cujus nomini propterea a nobis memoria debetur perpetua.

„Am 4. Juli (1591) starb zu Prag der hervorragendste und lieblichste Musiker unseres Jahrhunderts, Jac. Händl Carniolus. Seiner tue ich in diesen Görlitzer Jahrbüchern Erwähnung wegen unseres löblichen Musikvereins (*Convivium musicum*), welcher fast allein seine Gesänge vorträgt, und dessen Namen deswegen von uns dauernde Erinnerung geschuldet wird.“

Diese einem hymnischen Nachruf gleichende Aussage des Stadtchronisten und Mitglieds im *Convivium musicum*, der ersten bürgerlichen Musikvereinigung nicht nur der Oberlausitz, sondern Böhmens, anlässlich der plötzlichen Todesnachricht des in Böhmen, Mähren, Schlesien und in der Oberlausitz gleichermaßen gefeierten Musikers findet seine faktische Bestätigung in den durch Dedikationszahlungen noch heute nachweisbaren Widmungen an den Görlitzer Rat. Unter dem Eintrag vom 23. Januar 1587 ist in den Ratsrechnungen der Stadt Görlitz das Folgende festgehalten: „Jacob Händel wegen der zugeschickten Partes verehret 6 Sechziger = 5 sch. 28 gr.“ Bereits ein reichliches halbes Jahr später erfolgte am 18. September eine entsprechende Zahlung an denselben Komponisten: „Jacob Händl Musicum wegen der zugeschickten Partes verehret 5 sch. 10 kr.“²⁴ Für die erste Sendung hat sich sogar ein Dankschreiben der Görlitzer Ratsherren an Jacob Handl erhalten:

An Jacob Händl Musicum. Unsere freundlichen und willigen Dienste zuvor. Ehrenwerter und Kunstreicher besonders günstiger und gutter Freund und Gönner! Euer unlenkst an uns gethan Schreiben haben wir samt den überschickten operi Musico entpfahen und solches von Euch zu Dank und Gefallen angenommen, Verehren Euch hierbey wiederumb mit Sechs fl. Thaler freundlich bittende, solche geringe Verehrung in erwungene itziger gemeiner Stadt Zustands und grossen und vielfeltigen Ausgaben für lieb und willen anzunehmen Und sein Euch sonsten und in ander gelegenheit unsers vermögens zu dienen willig und geflissen.²⁵

²³ Ratsarchiv Görlitz (= im Folgenden RAG), Christian Hoffmann, *Scriptores rerum Lusaticarum*, Leipzig, Bautzen, 1719, Teil I.2, S. 51. Zitiert aus Martin Mylius, *Annales Goerlicenses, Scriptores Lusatae*. Diese Quelle aus dem RAG ist in den beiden folgenden Artikeln abgedruckt: Th. Napp, Das Görlitzer Musikleben zwischen 1570 und 1650, op. cit.; Thomas Napp, Musikalische Transferprozesse zwischen Prag und der Oberlausitz um 1600 – mit einer Rückdatierung der *Newen Deutschen Lieder* des Christoph Demantius, *Tagungsband Musical Culture of the Czech Lands and Central Europe before 1620*, hrsg. Lenka Mráčková, Praha, 2007 (im Druck). Die von mir mit kleinen Änderungen versehene deutsche Übersetzung basiert auf Max Gondolatsch, Das *Convivium musicum* (1570–1602) und das Collegium musicum (um 1649) in Görlitz, *Sonderabdruck aus der Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 3 (1921), S. 593.

²⁴ RAG, *Ratsrechnungen* 1587/88.

²⁵ RAG, *Briefbuch 1586–1591*, Bl. 28b. Siehe auch Max Gondolatsch, Ein alter Musikalienkatalog der Peterskirche in Görlitz, *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 11 (1929), S. 509.

Diese sehr vertraulich klingenden und im Vergleich mit zeitgenössischen Briefen sehr direkt und abseits unpersönlicher Höflichkeitsfloskeln formulierten Zeilen vom 16. Januar 1587,²⁶ welchem die Eintragung über die Dedikationszahlung vom 23. Januar 1587 entspricht, sowie der direkte Bezug auf eine schon zuvor geleistete Anerkennung der musikalischen Leistung – „wiederumb“ – lassen auf ein persönliches Verhältnis zu Jacob Handl als auch auf ein explizit diesem Komponisten gewährtes bürgerliches Mäzenatentum schließen. Auch wenn es bisher keinen direkten Nachweis über einen Besuch des Komponisten in der Oberlausitz oder gar im Görlitzer *Convivium musicum* gibt, so besteht durchaus die Möglichkeit, dass er persönlich zumindest während seiner Reisen im seinen Werken wohlgesinnten Oberlausitzer Sechsstädtebund weilte.

Im Gegensatz zum bürgerlichen Musikleben in Görlitz lassen sich über die an der Hauptkirche St. Peter und Paul aufgeführte Kirchenmusik im ausgehenden 16. und im 17. Jahrhundert aufgrund eines Kirchenbrandes von 1691, bei welchem alle Kirchen- und Gesangbücher vernichtet wurden, kaum Quellen eruieren. Einzig überliefert ist ein Musikalienkatalog, der sich noch heute unter den losen Urkunden im Ratsarchiv Görlitz befindet und auf den 19. September 1593 datiert ist.²⁷ Die aufgelisteten 47 Werke geben einen repräsentativen Einblick in die reformierte Kirchenmusik des ausgehenden 16. Jahrhunderts im deutschsprachigen Ostmitteleuropa. Neben vier- bis sechsstimmigen Messen Handls sind ebenso seine vier Bücher der Motettensammlung *Opus musicum* in diesem Musikalienkatalog verzeichnet. Somit bestätigt diese fragmentarisch das Görlitzer Kirchenmusikrepertoire um 1600 überliefernde Quelle nochmals die bevorzugte Verbreitung der Werke des Komponisten in der Oberlausitz.

Dieses Ergebnis wird ferner durch das in der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden aufbewahrte Depositum der Löbauer Kantorei bekräftigt. Dieses Musikalien-Konvolut kam 1890 aus der 1630 gegründeten „Rathsbibliothek zu Löbau“ in die damalige Königliche Landesbibliothek zur Katalogisierung nach Dresden.²⁸ Die zumeist in Stimmbüchern aufgeteilten Sammeldrucke enthalten zusätzlich zu den käuflich erworbenen Drucken als Einbindungen hinzugefügte handschriftliche Kompositionen. So sind hinter den Drucken der Signatur Mus. Löb 4, z. B. Friedrich Weißensees *Opus melicum methodicum et plane novum* (Magdeburg 1602), neben Kompositionen von Orlando di Lasso, Melchior Vulpus u. a. insgesamt 68 Kompositionen von Jacob Handl aus seinem *Opus musicum* mit Angabe seines Namens handschriftlich hinzugefügt worden.²⁹ Unter der Signatur Mus. Löb 15, Nr. 2 findet sich der Funeralgesang *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus* mit einer zweiten, deutschen Textunterlegung: „Sihe[!] wie stirbet der gerechte“ sowie der *2da pars* „In pace factus est“ mit der deutschen

²⁶ Das bei Gondolatsch vermerkte Datum, 16. Januar 1586, ist ein Schreibfehler; es muss 1587 heißen.

²⁷ RAG, *Lose Urkunden* 860c/687. Vgl. auch M. Gondolatsch, op. cit., 1929, S. 507 f. Gondolatsch datierte diesen Katalog irrtümlich auf den 14. September 1593.

²⁸ D-Dl: *Acta der Königlichen Privat-Musikaliensammlung*, III G 646, 1890, ohne Seitenangabe, „2. fol. verso“.

²⁹ D-Dl, Mus. Löb 4, Nr. 1–25, Nr. 63–105. Siehe zu den Löbauer Musikhandschriften auch Wolfram Steude, *Die Musiksammelhandschriften des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek zu Dresden*, Wilhelmshaven, Heinrichshafen, 1974, S. 5–8 und S. 107–179.

Prosaübersetzung „Sein leib ist nu gebracht“.³⁰ Unter den Signaturen Mus. Löb 30, Nr. 11; Mus. Löb 33, Nr. 1 und Mus. Löb 42, Nr. 1 sind weitere Abschriften mit ausschließlich lateinischem Text überliefert. Bemerkenswert bleibt jedoch das Hinzufügen des deutschen Textes direkt unter den lateinischen, was eine eigenständige Akkulturationsleistung und damit eine höhere Stufe als das blinde bzw. „taube“ Kopieren darstellt.

Über diese Löbauer und Görlitzer Bestände hinaus beinhalten die fragmentarisch überlieferten Stimmbücher einer spätestens im April 1598 angelegten und von Thomas Lochau fortgeführten Kamenzer Sammelhandschrift im dortigen Stadtarchiv zehn nachweisbare vier- bis sechsstimmige Kompositionen von Jacob Handl, worunter auch eine sechsstimmige Motette mit ausschließlich deutscher Textierung nach Luthers Übersetzung *Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist* verzeichnet ist.³¹ Ähnlich wie schon bei der zweisprachigen Überlieferung des *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus* aus der Löbauer Handschrift kann man nun insbesondere bei der Übernahme eines kompositorischen Tonsatzes bei ausschließlich deutscher Textierung von einer Akkulturation dieser Komposition Handls in den sprachlichen und mentalen Kontext der Region Oberlausitz sprechen. Weiterhin sind auch in der Kamenzer Handschrift die oben als am weitesten verbreitet eingeführten Werke des Komponisten kopiert worden, als Nr. 71 *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus* und als Nr. 105 *Elisabeth Zachariae*.

Diese beiden im zweiten und vierten Band der Motettensammlung *Opus musicum* 1587 bzw. 1590 veröffentlichten Kompositionen lassen sich in verschiedenen weiteren überlieferten gedruckten und handschriftlichen Sammlungen des ausgehenden 16. und beginnenden 17. Jahrhunderts finden. 1618 und 1621 gab Erhard Bodenschatz den zweiteiligen Sammeldruck *Florilegium Portense* heraus, welcher ebenfalls die Funeralmotette *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus* enthält,³² wonach deren Verbreitung nochmals außerhalb der eigenständigen Drucke von Jacob Handl in einen mitteldeutschen Kontext transferiert wurde, zunehmend aber auch als vielgestaltige Grundlage für Arrangements, Kontrafakturen oder gar Parodien dienen konnte.

Weitere handschriftliche Nachweise enthalten die *Codices Guelferbytae*, die heute in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel aufbewahrten Sammelhandschriften der vormaligen Kantorei St. Stephani in Helmstedt. Unter der Signatur Cod. Guelf. Mus. Hdschr. 324 ist als Nr. 443 das sechsstimmige *Elisabeth Zachariae* mit der *2da pars: Ioannes est nomen eius* in vier einer ursprünglich 1618 mit acht Stimmbüchern angelegten Sammelhandschrift überliefert.³³ Diese sechsstimmige Komposition findet sich nochmals in der gleichermaßen achttimmig angelegten Sammelhandschrift Cod. Guelf. Mus. Hdschr. 322.³⁴ Auch auf den Begräbnisgesang von Handl wollte man in der Helm-

³⁰ D-D1, Mus. Löb 15, Nr. 2.

³¹ Stadtarchiv Kamenitz, Rara 14185.1–5, Nr. 98.

³² Erhard Bodenschatz, *Florilegium Portense*, 1. Teil, Leipzig, Lamberg und Closemann, 1618, Nr. 64.

³³ D-W, Cod. Guelf. Mus. Hdschr. 324, Nr. 443. RISM verzeichnet diese Handschrift noch mit Nr. 438.

³⁴ D-W, Cod. Guelf. Mus. Hdschr. 322, Nr. 3.

stedter Kantorei nicht verzichten. *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus* wurde als Nr. 33 in die Handschrift Cod. Guelf. Mus. Hdschr. 327 eingetragen.³⁵

Außerhalb dieser beiden Kompositionen lassen sich bislang aber weder zwischen Löbau und Wolfenbüttel, noch zwischen Kamenz und Löbau gemeinsame Kompositionen von Jacob Handl in den Sammelhandschriften ausfindig machen. Dieser Umstand verweist im Gegensatz zu den wahrscheinlich in allen genannten Städten vormals vorhandenen Drucken auf eine dezidiert den jeweiligen Interessen und Obliegenheiten erfolgte Kopier- und Schreibpraxis, welche es zukünftig noch detaillierter zu untersuchen gilt.

³⁵ D-W, Cod. Guelf. Mus. Hdschr. 327, Nr. 33.

PRIMER JACOBUSA HANDLA V ZGODNJEHOVOVEŠKIH PROCESIH TRANSFERJA V ZGORNJI LUŽICI

Povzetek

Ob Josipu Mantuaniju in Dragotinu Cvetku, ki sta v svojih člankih omenjala Görlitz kot kraj recepcije skladb Jacobusa Handla – Gallusa, so tudi drugi raziskovalci omenjali skladateljevo delovanje na Češkem, Moravskem in v Šleziji.

Pisno pričevanje o izvedbi pogrebne moteta *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus* ob smrti rektorja gimnazije v Görlitzu Joachima Meistra, poklon umrlemu skladatelju in priznanje njegovega pomena za prvo meščansko glasbeno združenje na Češkem v *Annales Goerlicenses* nedvomno kažejo tudi na Handlovo delovanje v mejni grofiji Zgornja Lužica (nem. Oberlausitz). Povezava Handla – Gallusa z Zgornjo Lužico v dosedanjih raziskavah ni bila izpostavljena, kar je gotovo posledica pomanjkanja virov in nenatančnega poznavanja geografije.

S pomočjo Handlovih skladb lahko proces repertoarnega transferja prenesemo z ožjega področja znotraj Zgornje Lužice tudi na druge nadnacionalne kulturne pokrajine vzhodno- in srednjevropskega prostora. Avtor položaj razlaga na osnovi svojih raziskav, predvsem primera dveh najodmevnejših motetov *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus* in *Elisabeth Zachariae magnum virum*. Ti skladbi sta se ohranili med dokumenti iz protestantske cerkvene občine v kraju Löbau, ki so danes vključeni v fond Saške deželne, državne in univerzitetne knjižnice (Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek) v Dresdnu. Podobni so tudi dokumenti iz Mestnega arhiva v kraju Kamenz in iz zbirke rokopisov cerkve sv. Štefana, ki jih danes kot *Codices Guelferbytanae* hrani Knjižnica vojvode Augusta v Wolfenbüttlu.

Izročilo pogrebne speva *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus / Sihe [!] wie stribt der gerechte s 2da pars: In pace factus est est / Sein leib ist nu gebracht* (D-Dl, Mus. Löb 15, Nr. 2) kot tudi izključno nemško besedilo v skladbi *Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist* (Mestni arhiv Kamenz, *Rara* 14185.1–5, Nr. 98) priča o osebnem slogu Jacobusa Handla, ki odseva poznavanje jezikovnega in duhovnega konteksta takratne pokrajine Zgornja Lužica.

DIE ÜBERLIEFERUNG DER MOTETTE *SURGE, PROPERA, AMICA MEA* VON JACOB HANDL – GALLUS UND IHRE BEARBEITUNGEN VON SIXTUS KARGEL UND BLASIUS AMON: EIN BEITRAG ZUR GALLUS-REZEPTION

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Izleček: Prispevek se ukvarja z razširjenostjo štiriglasnega moteta *Surge, propera, amica mea Jacobusa Handla – Gallusa*. Jedro razprave predstavljata doslej v strokovnih krogih komaj opaženi predelavi te skladbe Sixta Kargla in Blasiusa Amona. Obe deli sta nastali pred nastopom Gallusovega moteta.

Ključne besede: *Jacobus Handl – Gallus, Surge, propera, amica mea, Sixtus Kargel, intabulacija za lutnjo, Blasius Amon, Missa super Surge propera.*

Abstract: In the present article, the transmission history of the four-voice motet *Surge, propera, amica mea* by Jacob Handl Gallus is discussed. Little noted in the scholarly literature, the transcriptions by Sixtus Kargel and Blasius Amon, which predate the appearance of this motet in print, stand at the centre of this discussion.

Keywords: *Jacob Handl Gallus, Surge, propera, amica mea, Sixtus Kargel, lute intabulation, Blasius Amon, Missa super Surge propera.*

Dass zumindest einige Werke von Gallus mehrere Jahre vor ihrer Drucklegung entstanden sind, lässt sich aus verschiedenen Beobachtungen zur Überlieferungssituation ableiten. Vier Messen des Komponisten, denen seine eigenen Motetten als Modell dienen, nämlich *Missa ad imitationem Pater noster*, *Missa ad imitationem Elisabethae impletum est*, *Missa super Elisabeth Zachariae* und *Missa super Locutus est Dominus ad Moysen* publizierte der Komponist im Jahr 1580,¹ während ihre Vorlagen erst zwischen 1586 und 1590 veröffentlicht wurden.² Tomasz Jeż machte in seinen Studien ebenso auf die handschriftlichen Quellen schlesischer Provenienz aufmerksam, die etliche Werke von Jacob Handl Gallus enthalten und noch vor der Drucklegung der einbezogenen Kompositionen niedergeschrieben wurden.³

¹ Iacobus Handl, *Missarum VII. & VIII. vocom, liber I. SELECTIORES QVAEDAM MISSAE*, [...], Praga, G. Nigrinus, 1580 (RISM A/I: H 1976); sowie ders. *Missarum VI. vocom, liber I. SELECTIORES QVAEDAM MISSAE*, [...], Praga, G. Nigrinus, 1580 (RISM A/I: H 1977).

² Die Motetten *Pater noster* und *Locutus est Dominus* sind im Jahr 1586, *Elisabethae [vero] impletum est* 1587 und das Werk *Elisabeth Zachariae* im Jahr 1590 erschienen.

³ Vgl. Tomasz Jeż, The motets of Jacob Handl in inter-confessional Silesian liturgical practice, im vorliegenden Heft *De musica disserenda*, S. 35–46; sowie ders. Twórczość Jakoba Handla

Zugleich zeugen die Lautenintavolierung der Motette *Surge, propera* von Sixtus Kargel (1586) und die *Missa super Surge propera* von Blasius Amon (1588) von einer frühen handschriftlichen Verbreitung eines Werkes von Gallus und dies weit über die Grenzen seines Wirkungsbereichs hinaus.

Die vierstimmige Motette *Surge, propera, amica mea* von Jacob Handl Gallus erschien 1590 im *QVARTVS TOMVS MVSICI OPERIS* (RISM A/I: H 1985). Diesen letzten und umfangreichsten Teil der Motettensammlung, der mit einem kaiserlichen Privileg in Prag bei Georg Nigrin in acht Stimmheften aufgelegt wurde, hatte Gallus für die Heiligenfeste bestimmt. Das Werk ist Ambrosius, dem Abt des Prämonstratenserklosters Zábřdovice (Obrowitz) gewidmet und die Dedikation ist auf den 1. Januar 1591 datiert. Es wird angenommen, dass das Werk dessen ungeachtet noch im Jahr 1590 gedruckt wurde. Gallus wollte wahrscheinlich mit der Widmung des zweiten Todestages des ihm nahe stehenden Abtes Caspar Schönauer, des Vorgängers von Ambrosius, gedenken.

Im Jahr 1590 druckte auch Adam Berg in München ein von Stephan Schormann herausgegebenes Sammelwerk mit dem Titel *Suavissimorum modulorum selectissimae cantiones sacrae [...]* (RISM A/I: 1590/6). An vierter Stelle ist darin die Motette *Surge, propera* enthalten; wie die übrigen Werke ohne Angabe des Autors. Außerdem schließt die Sammlung auch die Motette *Elizabeth Zachariae* (Nr. 23) und *Missa super Elizabeth Zachariae* (Nr. 24) von Gallus mit ein. Die kunstvolle Ordinariusvertonung wird sogar am Titelblatt erwähnt: „His adjuncta est missa eleganti artificio composita [...]“. ⁴⁴ Die sechsstimmige Motette *Elizabeth Zacharie* ist ebenfalls erst im vierten Teil von *Opus musicum* 1590 erschienen und wurde, wie erwähnt, bereits zehn Jahre davor von Gallus in der Messe verarbeitet und 1580 im zweiten Buch der Messen veröffentlicht. Da der Münchner Sammeldruck auf den 1. März 1590 datiert ist und der vierte Teil des *Opus musicum* wahrscheinlich erst gegen Ende des Jahres erscheinen sollte, griff Schormann zumindest bei der Herausgabe der zwei Motetten sicherlich auf die handschriftlichen Quellen und nicht auf den Druck zurück.

Der vierte Teil des *Opus musicum* bezieht neben der vierstimmigen Fassung von *Surge, propera, amica mea* (Nr. 54) auch eine doppelchörige Parallelvertonung des Textes zu acht Stimmen (Nr. 1) ein. Während die vierstimmige Motette in zwei Teilen die Verse 10 bis 14 des zweiten Hohenliedes umfasst, beschränkt sich das achtstimmige Werk auf die Verse 13 und 14 und entspricht somit der *secunda pars* der vierstimmigen Fassung. In den beiden für die Marienfeste bestimmten Werken wird von Gallus ein ähnliches, zum Teil identisches motivisches Material verwendet und bearbeitet.

In der vierstimmigen Motette charakterisiert Gallus in der Regel jeden neuen Vers auch mit einem neuen *sogetto*. Die Anfänge der Verse werden mit einem sukzessiven Eintritt der Stimmen eingeleitet, kurz nach dem imitatorischen Beginn ist jedoch eine für den Komponisten charakteristische Tendenz zur Homophonie zu konstatieren. Ähnlich wie in zahlreichen anderen vierstimmigen Werken von Gallus beobachten wir auch hier

v źródłach proveniencji Śląskiej. *Muzyka, Kwartalnik Instytutu Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk*, Bd. 4, Warszawa, Instytut Sztuki, Polska Akademia Nauk, 2004, S. 27–62.

⁴⁴ *Suavissimorum Modulorum Selectissimae Cantiones Sacrae*, München, 1590, Titelblatt, Exemplar der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, Mikrofiche Ausgabe, Erlangen, Harald Fischer Verlag, 1999.

stellenweise eine Vorliebe für die Führung der Stimmen in Paaren. Das *sogetto*, das den Charakter der Motette am stärksten prägt, ist der aufsteigende Quintsprung im ersten Vers der *prima pars*. Das Motiv findet sein Gegenstück im Quintfall des ersten Verses der *secunda pars*, das den auffordernden Ausruf „Surge“ geradezu negiert. Ein weiteres Charakteristikum des Werkes ist die in zahlreichen Zusammenhängen auftretende stufenweise absteigende Quarte (z. B. Vers 2 in der *prima*, oder Vers 5 in der *secunda pars*).⁵

Die im *Lautenbuch* von Sixtus Kargel enthaltene Intavolierung der Motette *Surge, propera* wurde bereits 1901 im *Biographisch-Bibliographischen Quellen-Lexikon* von Robert Eitner im Abschnitt über Jakob Handl⁶ und 1905 in der *Bibliographie der Werke von Gallus* von Josef Mantuani aufgelistet.⁷ Das Werk wurde bisher allerdings, abgesehen von einigen flüchtigen Erwähnungen in der Fachliteratur, nicht näher untersucht.

Die biographischen Daten von Sixtus Kargel sind derart lückenhaft überliefert, dass keinerlei Vermutungen und Hypothesen aufgestellt werden können, auf welchem Weg er mit der Komposition von Gallus in Berührung kam. Die Herkunft des seinerzeit berühmten Lautenisten liegt im Dunkeln. Jedenfalls ist Kargel vor 1545 geboren, hielt sich um 1569 vermutlich in Mainz auf und arbeitete später als Herausgeber in der Druckwerkstatt von Bernhard Jobin in Strassburg. In den Jahren 1569 bis 1586 machte er mit einer Reihe gedruckter Bücher für Laute und Zither auf sich aufmerksam, deren Großteil heute verschollen ist.⁸ Spätestens seit 1574 stand Kargel als Lautenist im Dienst des Erzbischofs Johann von Manderscheid-Blankenheim, des Landgrafen von Elsass.⁹ Ähnlich wie Melchior Neusiedler war Sixtus Kargel zunächst einem virtuosen Lautenstil verpflichtet und von der italienischen Diminutionspraxis beeinflusst. In seiner letzten und umfangreichsten Sammlung von 1586, also auch in der Intavolierung von *Surge, propera*, ist dagegen geradezu eine Zurückhaltung in der Anwendung des Verzierungswerks zu beobachten.

Das *Lautenbuch* / *viler Newerlesenen fleissiger / schöner Lautenstück von artlichen Fantaseien / künstlichen Musicartlichen Lateinischen Muteten / mit fünff vnd sechs stimmen allerhand lieblichen Teutschen / Frantzösischen vnd Italienischen Liedern / auch lustigen Passomezzen [...]* ist 1586 bei Bernhard Jobin in Strassburg erschienen (RISM A/I: 1586/23). Die Widmung an den Bischof zu Strassburg ist auf den 2. September des Jahres datiert. Es handelt sich um die einzige Publikation von Kargel in deutscher Lauten-

⁵ Vgl. Iacobus Gallus, *Opus Musicum IV/1: Harmoniae octo vocum*, hrsg. von Edo Škulj, *Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae* XIV, Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, 1989, S. 1–6; sowie Iacobus Gallus, *Opus Musicum IV/4: Harmoniae quatuor vocum*, hrsg. von Edo Škulj, *Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae* XVII, Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, 1990, S. 5–11.

⁶ Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Bd. 5, Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1901, S. 15.

⁷ Josef Mantuani, *Bibliographie der Werke von Gallus, Jacob Handl (Gallus)*, *Opus musicum* II, hrsg. von Emil Bezecny und Joseph Mantuani, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* 12, Wien, Artaria, 1905, S. XI.

⁸ Siehe Publikationen von Sixtus Kargel, aufgelistet in Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600, A Bibliography*, Cambridge, London, Harvard University Press, 1965, S. 239–344.

⁹ Vgl. Christian Bettels, Kargel, Sixtus, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Personenteil* 9, 2. Auflage, Kassel [...], Bärenreiter, 2003, Sp. 1498–1499.

tabulatur und ist laut Autor hauptsächlich für diejenigen bestimmt, die „der Italienischen und Frantzösischen Tabulatur unerfahren“ sind. Sie sei ferner „auffs verständlichst und richtigst zusammengetragen und geordnet“ worden.¹⁰ Die Sammlung enthält außer sechs eigenständig komponierten Fantasien und einigen Tanzsätzen hauptsächlich intavolierte Werke verschiedener Komponisten (überwiegend von Orlando di Lasso), darunter als Nr. 25 „SVRGE PROPERa, 4. vocom. [...] Iacobo Gallo.“ Das Werk kann auf einer sechs-saitigen Laute realisiert werden.

Notenbeispiel 1

Sixtus Kargel, Intavolierung *SVRGE PROPERa*, 4. vocom, Beginn, T. 1–4 (oben) im Vergleich

mit Jacob Handl, *Surge, propera, amica mea* (unten).¹¹

Das Arrangement einer sprachgebundenen Vorlagenkomposition emanzipiert sich als ein eigenständiges Instrumentalwerk am auffälligsten in der Hinzufügung von instrumentalen Spielformeln, also in der Figuration. Diese sind in der Lautenfassung *Surge propera* selten und schwach ausgeprägt. Der Beitrag Kargels ist in den zur Vorlage hinzugefügten Spielfiguren und etwaigen Bearbeitungen der Textur dermaßen gering, dass der Anspruch einer lautenidiomatischen Fassung kaum erfüllt wird. Einige wenige ausgeschriebene Diminutionen sind lediglich in den Kadenzen zu finden, beziehungsweise an jenen Stellen, an denen die Satzstruktur der Vorlage weniger dicht ist (siehe Notenbeispiel 2). Es handelt sich dabei allerdings um keine kunstvollen Wendungen, sondern bloß um kurze Umspielungen herkömmlicher Art. Im gesamten Werk werden lediglich acht kurze Stellen verziert, davon sechsmal in der *prima pars*.

¹⁰ Sixtus Kargel, *Lautenbuch / viler Newerlesenen fleissiger / schöner Lautenstück [...]*, Straßburg, Bernhard Jobin, 1586, Titelblatt.

¹¹ Transkribiert nach dem Exemplar der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Signatur SA.76.A.26. Mus 31.

Notenbeispiel 2

Sixtus Kargel, *SVRGE PROPERa*, T. 50–52

Die Unterschiede zur 1590 in Prag gedruckten Fassung sind in der Intavolierung trotzdem erheblich. Sie bestehen jedoch nicht im Gebrauch von etwaigen instrumentalen Mitteln, sondern in der hohen Fehlerhaftigkeit der Textur und eigenwilligen Setzung der Akzidentien. Wir beobachten zahlreiche willkürliche Veränderungen der Satzstruktur, Unklarheiten in den Rhythmuszeichen, ein Auslassen einer gesamten Mensur (Takt 12) oder auch unschlüssige Verschiebungen der Stimmen. Das Werk ist als äußerst fehlerhaft und korrupt zu bezeichnen. Seine Hauptproblematik kann in der Beharrung auf der relativ dichten Satzstruktur und ihrer Vierstimmigkeit gesehen werden. Indem die Stimmen nicht in ausreichendem Maße reduziert werden, entstand folglich kein Raum für die weiteren instrumentenidiomatischen Figuren und Wendungen. Da jedoch die ursprüngliche Abschrift der Motette, die dem Bearbeiter vorlag, nicht mehr zu eruieren ist, kann auch nicht beurteilt werden, welche Abweichungen von Kargel vorgenommen und welche gegebenenfalls auf eine fehlerhafte Quellenvorlage zurück zu führen sind. Obwohl die Lautenintavolierung aus musikalischer Sicht anspruchslos und künstlerisch unbefriedigend ist, bleibt die Bedeutung dieses Werkes als Zeugnis von Verbreitung und Rezeption der Werke von Jacob Handl Gallus nach wie vor ungeschmälert.

An dieser Stelle sollte noch kurz die Problematik der Akzidentien in den überlieferten Fassungen der Motette erläutert werden. In der Intavolierung von Kargel gibt es im Vergleich mit dem autorisierten Druck über 30 Abweichungen in der Bezeichnung der alterierten Töne. Eine wiederum unterschiedliche Tradierung der Akzidentien beobachten wir im oben genannten Sammeldruck *Suavissimorum modularum* von Stephan Schormann. Es ist daher anzunehmen, dass in der ursprünglichen von Gallus niedergeschriebenen Quelle und in den frühen Abschriften der Motette wenige Alterationen eingetragen gewesen waren und die Fassungen von Kargel und Schormann nunmehr verschiedene zeitgenössische Aufführungspraktiken widerspiegeln. Umso strikter setzte Gallus die Alterationen im Druck von 1590, womöglich um die willkürlichen Lesarten und Interpretationen auszuschließen.

Einem weitaus souveräneren Aneignungsprozess der Motette begegnen wir in der *Missa super Surge propera* von Blasius Amon. In der bis heute einzigen umfangreichen Studie über das Leben und Werk diesen österreichischen Komponisten konstatierte der Autor Caecilianus Huigens im Jahr 1914: „Viele Komponisten haben eine Motette ‚Surge propera‘ wie Palestrina, Lassus, Gallus, Regnard, Praetorius, Merulo und andere. Die Motette, welche Amon benützt hat, habe ich nicht gefunden.“¹² Die Provenienz des Modells erkannte schließlich Walter Senn, der in den *Veröffentlichungen des Tiroler Landesmuseums Ferdinandeum* 1976 einen Beitrag zur Lebensgeschichte Amons veröffentlichte.¹³

Blasius Amon, um 1560 in Tirol geboren, wird ab 1568 als Sängerknabe in der Hofkapelle Erzherzogs Ferdinands II. in Innsbruck angeführt, die zeitweise der Leitung von Alexander Utendal unterlag. Im Jahr 1577 trat er in Brixen in den Franziskanerorden ein und blieb bis etwa 1580 im Franziskanerkloster in Innsbruck. Kurz danach ist ein Aufenthalt im Stift Zwettl belegt, das zu dieser Zeit von Abt Johannes Rueff geleitet wurde. Nach zwischenzeitlichen Studien in Venedig (etwa 1582 bis 1585) bekleidete Amon das Kantorenamt im Stift Heiligenkreuz, wohin Rueff im gleichen Jahr als Abt berufen wurde. Amon trat 1587 in das Franziskanerkloster in Wien ein, empfang hier die Priesterweihe, leitete den Chor und verstarb bereits im Juni 1590.¹⁴

Blasius Amon dankte in der Dedikation seines ersten gedruckten Werkes aus dem Jahr 1582, genannt *LIBER SACRATISSIMARUM (QVAS VVLGO INTROITUS APPELLANT) CANTIONUM SACRUM SELECTISSIMUS*, Johannes Rueff für seine Gönnerschaft: „Dann stütze ich mich bei ihrer Veröffentlichung [der Introita] auf den Klang und das Ansehen deines Namens, da ich aus Erfahrung weiß, dass Eure Herrlichkeit fast allen Musikern gegenüber die Gesinnungen eines Gönners hegen, und dass dieselben an mir fürwahr die allergrößten Verdienste sich erworben haben [...]“.¹⁵ Die berufliche und freundschaftliche Beziehung des Komponisten zu Johannes Rueff, zunächst in Zwettl und später in Heiligenkreuz, lässt diesen als Vermittler zwischen Gallus und Amon vermuten. Die Bekanntschaft zwischen Rueff und Gallus ist in der Forschung bereits bekannt. Gallus widmete ihm seinen vierten Band der Messen und dankte im Vorwort für das Wohlwollen und die – vermutlich im Stift Melk – miteinander verbrachte Zeit.¹⁶

¹² Caecilianus Huigens O.F.M., *Fr. Blasius Amon (ca 1560–1590). Sein Leben und seine Werke. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik in Österreich*, Wien, 1914, S. 435. (Universität Wien, Dissertation). Hervorhebung nicht original.

¹³ Walter Senn, Zur Lebensgeschichte des Tiroler Komponisten Blasius Amon (um 1560–1590). Mit einem Werkverzeichnis. In: *Veröffentlichungen des Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum*, Bd. 56, München, Salzburg, Katzbichler, 1976, S. 145–168. Eine praktische Ausgabe der Messe besorgte Wolfgang Furlinger 1993 beim Musikverlag Alfred Cöpppenrath, Altötting. Eine weitere Transkription von Thomas Engel befindet sich in elektronischer Form unter: <http://www.musikland-tirol.at/html/musikedition/komponisten/amon/opusmissae/missae.html> (20. August 2007).

¹⁴ Vgl. Bettina Schwemer / (Arnold Geering), Amon, Ammon, Blasius, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Personenteil* 1, 2. Auflage, Kassel [...], Bärenreiter, 1999, Sp. 614–615.

¹⁵ Blasius Amon, Widmung an Johannes Rueff, *LIBER SACRATISSIMARUM [...]*, Wien, Stephan Creuzer, 1582, (RISM A/I: A 940); deutsch von C. Huigens, op. cit., S. 150 f.; vgl. auch lateinischen Originaltext, ebd., S. 144.

¹⁶ Johannes Rueff war zwischen 1572 und 1580 in Melk tätig.

Während Gallus von den Förderungen, Ermutigungen und einem stets freundschaftlichen Zusprechen vonseiten Rueffs berichtet,¹⁷ dürfen wir annehmen, dass dieser auf gleiche Art auch seinen Kantor Blasius Amon im Komponieren bestärkte. Es liegt nahe, dass er ihn auch mit dem Werk von Gallus bekannt machte. Ob sich allerdings die Komponisten persönlich begegneten und zwischen beiden ein direkter Austausch stattfand, konnte bisher nicht nachgewiesen werden.

Die *MISSAE QVATVOR, VOCIBUS QVATERNIS IN DIVINO DEI [...]* von Blasius Amon wurden 1588 mit einem kaiserlichen Privileg bei Michael Apffl in Wien gedruckt (RISM A/I: A 941). Die dem Abt des Zisterzienserstiftes Lilienfeld Laurentius Reyß gewidmete Sammlung enthält vier vierstimmige Ordinariumsvertonungen und eine *Missa pro defunctis*. An dritter Stelle steht darin die *Missa super Surge propera*. Vom genannten Druck sind lediglich zwei unvollständige Exemplare erhalten, das eine in der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala und das zweite in der Stadtbibliothek Wien (Musiksammlung). Verbreiteter ist dagegen eine neue Auflage des Werkes, die 1591 posthum in der Druckwerkstatt von Adam Berg in München erfolgte. Berg nahm das Werk in seine Reihe *Patrocinium musices* auf, veränderte den Titel in *MISSAE CVM BREVES TVM QVATVOR VOCVM laudatissime concinnatae* (RISM A/I: A 942) und höchstwahrscheinlich aufgrund des kaiserlichen Privilegs auch die gesamte Anlage. Die Messen sind hier in einem großformatigen Chorbuch in Folio erschienen. Der Drucker pries in der Widmung an Kardinal Andreas, Bischof von Konstanz und Brixen, die „[...] anerkannt feine Art der Zusammenstellung als auch in allen menschlichen Handlungen erwünschte und lobenswerte Kürze [...]“¹⁸ dieser Messen. Dass Amon, bekanntlich ein Meister der kleinen Form,¹⁹ auch in seinen Messen Bündigkeit und Kürze anstrebte, ist deutlich erkennbar. Die Länge der Vorlage mit ihren 71 Takten wird in der *Missa super Surge propera* lediglich vom 108 Takte umfassenden *Credo* übertroffen.

Die Vorgehensweise Amons in der Bearbeitung der Motette kann anhand des dritten *Kyrie* veranschaulicht werden (siehe Notenbeispiel 3). Im zehn Takte umfassenden Satz zitiert Amon zunächst, abgesehen von einer Veränderung im *Tenor*, den Beginn der *secunda pars* der Motette von Handl (A). Danach greift er in die Satzstruktur ein (B) und vertauscht die Stimmen: im *Cantus* erklingt das Motiv des *Altus*, im *Tenor* das des *Bassus* und im *Bassus* die Melodiewendung des *Cantus*. Die Klausel (C) wurde vom Komponisten hinzugefügt. Der letzte Teil des dritten *Kyrie* (D) ist als mehrstimmiger Komplex dem abschließenden ersten Vers der *secunda pars* von Gallus entnommen und in einer rhythmisch veränderter Form eingesetzt worden. Dieses Verfahren, das primär aus der Übernahme, Verkürzung und Modifizierung der Vorlage unter gelegentlicher Hinzufügung von Neuem besteht, wird zum Kompositionsprinzip erhoben und ist auch für alle übrigen Messsätze bestimmend.²⁰

¹⁷ Edo Škulj, *Gallusovi predgovori in drugi dokumenti*, Ljubljana, Družina, 1991, S. 44.

¹⁸ Adam Berg, Vorrede zu *MISSAE CVM BREVES TVM QVATVOR VOCVM [...]*, München, Adam Berg, 1591; deutsch von C. Huigens, op. cit., S. 226.

¹⁹ W. Senn, op. cit., S. 165.

²⁰ In Rahmen von diesem Beitrag kann nur auf die wesentlichsten Charakteristika der Messe von Blasius Amon hingewiesen werden. Eine eingehende Analyse des Werkes steht noch bevor.

C

17 lei - son,) e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei-son, (Ky-ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri -

D

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

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

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

33 pro-pe-ra, a-mi-ca me - a,

pro-pe-ra, a-mi-ca me - a, pro-pe-ra, a-mi-ca me - a,

65

ser Textstelle ansonsten keine besondere Beachtung. Die Regel wird jedoch eindeutig im homophonen *Et incarnatus* erfüllt, dessen musikalisches Material auch nicht der Vorlage entnommen ist. Im Widerspruch mit der Anweisung Ceronos steht das imitativ gesetzte *Crucifixus*, das erneut auf dem Quintfallmotiv basiert. Der Satzteil ist entsprechend den Empfehlungen zu drei Stimmen gesetzt. Im weitgehend frei ersonnenen dreistimmigen *Benedictus* werden die Motive der stufenweise auf- und absteigenden Quartan miteinander kombiniert. Die Motive kommen in der Vorlage von Gallus zwar häufig vor, einer bestimmten Textstelle können sie jedoch nicht ausdrücklich zugeordnet werden.

Die Ausgewogenheit und Abwechslung zwischen dem Übernommenen und aus der Thematik des Modells eigenständig Erschaffenem bei Blasius Amon ist beachtlich. Ein schablonenartiges Vorgehen liegt ihm fern. Amon entnahm der Vorlage nur sorgfältig ausgewählte und als geeignet erachtete Satzgruppen oder charakteristische Motive, die von verschiedensten Stellen der Motette stammen können. Eine gewisse Zurückhaltung vor einer allzu wörtlichen Übernahme macht sich deutlich bemerkbar. Manchen Satzteilen von Gallus wird zwar der Messtext direkt unterlegt, diese Zitate sind allerdings jeweils verkürzt und geringfügig verändert worden. Oft werden aus der Motette auch bloß einzelne Motive übernommen, die wiederum erweitert, vereinfacht oder in ihrem Wesen mannigfaltig verändert wurden. In manchen Teilen entfernt sich Amon auch ziemlich weit von der Vorlage und schafft – vor allem an Kadenzstellen – völlig neu konzipierte Passagen. Stellenweise übernimmt er nur die Kompositionsweise von Gallus, beispielsweise die Stimmführung in Stimpfaaren bei „Et ex Patrem natum“, nicht jedoch die Thematik dieser Stelle.

Nach welchem Prinzip die Motive für die jeweiligen Textsegmente ausgewählt werden, kann nicht eindeutig geklärt werden. Das Bestreben nach bloßer Abwechslung spielte bestimmt eine gewisse Rolle. Bei manchen Stellen ist allerdings auch eine Intention nach Textausdeutung sowie einfache Tonmalerei zu erkennen. So wird beispielsweise für die Worte „descendit de coelis“ der absteigende Dreiklang aus dem vierten Vers der *secunda pars* („sonet vox tua“) gewählt. Auf eine ähnliche Weise wird die Textstelle „Et resurrexit“ mit einem Quintsprung oder „Et ascendit in coelum“ durch die stufenweise aufsteigende Tonfolge aus dem vierten Vers der *prima pars* („Tempus putationis“) charakterisiert.

Zusammenfassend kann gesagt werden, dass sich die *Missa super Surge prope-ra* durch einen großen Abwechslungsreichtum auszeichnet. Die homophonen und polyphonen Abschnitte, syllabischen und melismatischen Textpassagen, sowie zwei- bis vierstimmigen Satzteile kontrastieren miteinander und bilden trotzdem ein Gesamtwerk von beachtenswerter Geschlossenheit. In der Vorgehensweise Amons ist eine derartige Freiheit und künstlerische Souveränität festzustellen, dass diese bisher kaum beachtete Messe unter die hervorragendsten Zeugnisse der Gallus-Rezeption eingeordnet werden muss.

Ob Jacob Handl Gallus die beiden Bearbeitungen der Motette kannte, ist ungewiss. Im Hinterlassenschaftsprotokoll des verstorbenen Komponisten, das (abgesehen von seinen eigenen Drucken) interessanterweise ohnehin nur Musikalien aus den Nürnberger Druckwerkstätten beinhaltet, sind weder die Sammlungen von Kargel und Amon noch

die von Stephan Schormann aufgelistet.²³ Dass Gallus auf einer seiner zahlreichen Reisen mit diesen Drucken in Berührung kam²⁴ oder dass ihm Johannes Rueff über die Messe von Amon berichtete, ist denkbar, keineswegs jedoch belegt. Anhand dieser Werke dürfen wir jedenfalls auf eine frühe und weite handschriftliche Verbreitung der Motette schließen. Die beiden Bearbeitungen zeugen von der Beliebtheit und Wertschätzung der Musik von Jacob Handl Gallus und sind noch zu den Lebzeiten des Komponisten wertvolle Zeugnisse einer regen Rezeption.

²³ Vgl. E. Škulj, op. cit., S. 141–149.

²⁴ Ein Exemplar des Lautenbuchs von Sixtus Kargel befand sich beispielsweise in Breslau. Vgl. Emil Bohn, *Bibliographie der Musik-Druckwerke bis 1700 welche in der Stadtbibliothek, der Bibliothek des Academischen Instituts fuer Kirchenmusik und der Koeniglichen und Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Breslau aufbewahrt werden. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Musik im XV., XVI. und XVII. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, Albert Cohn, 1883, S. 225.

RAZŠIRJENOST MOTETA
SURGE, PROPERA, AMICA MEA JACOBUSA HANDLA – GALLUSA
 TER PREDELAVI SKLADBE SIXTUSA KARGELA IN BLASIUSA AMONA:
 PRISPEVEK K RECEPCIJI GALLUSOVIH DEL

Povzetek

Ob koncu leta 1590 je praški tiskar Georg Nigrin natisnil četrti, zadnji in najboljšejši del *Glasbenega dela* (*Opus musicum*) Jacobusa Handla – Gallusa. Zbirka motetov za praznike svetnikov vključuje dve uglasbitvi druge pesmi po biblični Visoki pesmi, *Surge, propera, amica mea*. Skladatelj je v obeh delih uporabil sorodno, deloma enako motivno gradivo. Štiriglasni motet *Surge, propera* je bil že pred objavo nedvomno dolgo časa poznan in razširjen po Evropi. Nekaj mesecev pred Gallusovim avtoriziranim tiskom je skladbo objavil Stephan Schormann v zbirki *Suavissimorum modularum selectissimae cantiones sacrae* v Münchnu. Kar štiri leta pred tem pa motet zasledimo v knjigi za lutnjo *Lautenbuch viler Newerlesenen fleissiger schöner Lautenstück* (1586) škofovskega lutnarja Sixta Kargla iz Strasbourga. Tudi tirolski skladatelj Blasius Amon je skladbo uporabil kot model za svojo *Missa super Surge propera*. To delo je bilo objavljeno leta 1588 v zbirki *Missae quatuor* pri tiskarju Michaelu Apfflu na Dunaju ter 1591 ponatisnjeno pri Adamu Bergu v Münchnu. Pri skladbi Sixta Kargla gre za eno izmed redkih ohranjenih intabulacij Gallusovih del za lutnjo. Žal je delo le bolj ali manj natančen prepis moteta, v katerem pogrešamo več inštrumentalnih figur. Vrstijo se napake v notnem zapisu, obravnavanje kromatičnih tonov je samovoljno in skladba je umetniško manj zanimiva. Povsem drugače in precej bolj suvereno se je motetu približal Blasius Amon. V posameznih mašnih stavkih Amon uporablja zgolj skrbno izbrane dele moteta, ki jih deloma natančno navaja, deloma preoblikuje ter dodaja iz tematike skladbe samostojno komponirane odstavke. *Missa super Surge propera* sodi med najodličnejše predelave Gallusovih del in Blasius Amon za svojim precej bolj poznanim sodobnikom v ničemer ne zaostaja. Predelavi moteta ne izpričujeta le zgodnje razširjenosti Gallusovega dela, temveč že za časa skladateljevega življenja dokazujeta priljubljenost njegove glasbe po vsej Evropi.

**GALLUS – DER HUMANIST AMAT VENEREM, CUR?
EINIGE KRITISCHE ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZUR
HARMONIAE MORALES NR. 6***

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Izvleček: Slovenski renesančni skladatelj Jacobus Handl, Gallus dictus, Carniol(an)us je bil prefinjen humanist z izborno latinščino. Mitološka in teološka semantika pojma Gallus, preučevanje skladateljeve močne samo-identifikacije s petelinom (Ares med živalmi!), madrigal Gallus amat Venerem, cur? ipd. pokaže in dokaže, kako se je skladatelj kot humanist, umetnik in človek identificiral edino z imenom Gallus. Kot umetnik in kot humanist je zatorej Jacobus Gallus.

Ključne besede: Jacobus Handl, Gallus-petelin, Harmonia, Domina musica, glasbena analiza.

Abstract: The Slovenian Renaissance composer Jacobus Handl, Gallus dictus, Carniol(an)us was a refined humanist with an exquisite command of Latin. A mythological and theological semantic conception of Gallus, research into the composer's strong self-identification with a cock (the rooster being an Ares among animals), the madrigal Gallus amat Venerem, cur? etc. clarify and demonstrate the way in which the composer as a humanist, artist and human being, found his identification precisely in his name Gallus. As artist and humanist he is therefore Jacobus Gallus.

Key words: Jacobus Handl, Gallus-rooster, Harmonia, Domina musica, musical analysis.

Heute hegt keiner mehr Zweifel daran, dass der slowenische Komponist der Renaissancezeit *Jacobus Handl, Gallus dictus, Carniol(an)us*¹ – wie er sich selbst nannte – ein großer und äußerst sensibler Komponist war, der auf seine Art und Weise fest Seite an Seite mit Orlando di Lasso, Palestrina und anderen Musikriesen aus dem Renaissancezeitalter

* Der vorliegende Artikel ist ein stark gekürzter Teil meiner umfangreichen monographischen Studie über die Bedeutung des Künstlernamens Gallus. Die gesamte Monographie, die sich zur Zeit noch in Manuskriptform befindet, wird an einer anderen Stelle veröffentlicht.

¹ Nebst dem latinisierten Vor- und Zunamen *Jacobus Handl* fügt er seinen Unterschriften regelmäßig seinen (humanistischen) Künstlernamen *Gallus dictus* bzw. *Gallus vocatus* und seine nationale Abstammung *Carniolus* bzw. *Carniolanus* an. Die Herkunft des Künstlernamens *Gallus* ist noch nicht zur Gänze geklärt. Worüber kein Zweifel (mehr) herrscht, ist die Feststellung, dass es sich um den Komponisten Jakob aus Krain (*Carniolus*) handelt, was heute gleichbedeutend mit *Slowene* ist. Deutungsversuche anderer Art aus der Vergangenheit haben nicht standgehalten. Mehr darüber in: Edo Škulj, *Gallusovi predgovori in drugi dokumenti*, Ljubljana, Družina, 1991, S. 8–11.

stand. Unter den Komponisten des späten 16. Jahrhunderts gilt Gallus² in den Augen seriöser Forscher der letzten Jahre „als einer der modernsten, als einer jener Meister, die auf den verschiedensten Gebieten des Tonsatzes das Tor in die stilistische Zukunft weit aufstießen.“³ Da er bis unlängst – auch wegen seiner kompositorischen Eigenart – beinahe totgeschwiegen bzw. ziemlich falsch bewertet und interpretiert wurde, ist und bleibt er immer noch und in Vielem eine geheimnisvolle Persönlichkeit, sowohl als Mensch als auch als Kuschtschaffender. Kurzum: Gallus ist ein Komponist, der sich Forschern und Wiedergabekünstlern trotz fünfhundertjähriger Entfernung immer noch als reiches und in so mancher Hinsicht unentdecktes Neuland anbietet. Der Wahrheitsgehalt dieser Behauptungen kann bereits mittels eines einzigen (sorgfältig ausgewählten) – und wiederum – eigenen und einzigartigen Madrigals *Gallus amat Venerem, cur? cucuricurrit ad illam* bewiesen werden, das Veranlassung, Gelegenheit und zugleich Gegenstand dieser Abhandlung ist.

Tatsache ist, dass uns die persönliche Gedankenwelt von Gallus zugänglicher ist, als es die anagraphischen Angaben über ihn z.B. sind.⁴ Einblick in das ausnehmend hohe humanistische Bildungsniveau des Komponisten Gallus gewähren uns in erster Linie seine Behauptungen in den Vorreden zu seinen Werken, ferner die sprachliche und stilistische Perfektion jener Texte in lateinischer Sprache, die mit Sicherheit seiner Feder entstammen. Ein verlässiger Indikator ist – wie wir sehen werden – auch die Art und Weise, wie er die lateinischen Texte als Komponist zu drehen und zu wenden verstand und dergleichen. Aber auch verschiedene sekundäre Quellen sind ein Hinweis auf die Ebene und die Schicht des intellektuellen Personenkreises, in dem Gallus verkehrte. Hier denke ich vor allem an den gesamten humanistischen Kreis auf oder um den Hof des Kaisers Rudolf II. aus Prag in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts, mit dem Gallus enge Kontakte pflegte.⁵ Sein Werk verrät uns, wie Gallus auf dieses gesellschaftliche Umfeld reagierte. Auch darin ist unser musikalisches Beispiel paradigmatisch.

² Ich werde für den Komponisten diese Form der Namensbezeichnung verwenden. Auch erselbst hatte den Künstlernamen bei weitem am liebsten. Darüber später etwas mehr.

³ Hartmut Krones, Iacobus Gallus, *Harmoniae morales* und *Moralia*, *Jacobus Handl – Gallus: Moralia – Harmoniae morales* (=CD), Hrsg. von Tomaž Faganel, Ljubljana und Freiburg, Založba ZRC und Freiburger Musik Forum – Ars Musici, 2000, S. 230.

⁴ Persönliche und familiäre anagraphische Angaben sind trotz erledigter gründlicher Forschungsarbeiten immer noch lückenhaft und offen für künftige neue Entdeckungen. Der Geburtsort und das genaue Geburtsdatum bleiben weiterhin ein Geheimnis, da während den Türkenbelagerungen viele Archive in Flammen aufgegangen sind.

⁵ Jitka Snížková, Iacobus Hándl Gallus und Prag in drei Dokumenten, *Jacobus Gallus and his Time*, Hrsg. von Dragotin Cvetko und Danilo Pokorn, Ljubljana, SAZU, 1985, S. 134–141; Robert Lindell, Music at the Court of Rudolf II, *Gallus Carniolus in evropska renesansa*, Bd. 2, Hrsg. von Dragotin Cvetko und Danilo Pokorn, Ljubljana, SAZU, 1992, S. 155–170; Robert J. W. Evans, *Rudolf II. Ohnmacht und Einsamkeit*, Graz, Styria, 1980; Robert J. W. Evans, *Rudolf II and his world – a study in intellectual history 1576-1612*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1997; Josef Janáček, *Rudolf II. a jeho doba*, Praha, Svoboda, 1987; *Rudolf II. und Prag. Kaiserlicher Hof und Residenzstadt als kulturelles und geistliches Zentrum Mitteleuropas*, Hrsg. von Eliška Fučíková, Ausstellungskatalog, Prag [...], Prager-Burg [...], 1997.

Jede kompositorisch-analytische Betrachtung der Beziehung zwischen dem Wort und der Musik bei Gallus muss bei Gallus nicht nur von seiner – noch immer völlig modal denkenden – kompositorischen Vollkommenheit des Musikstücks ausgehen, sondern hat auch ernsthaft vor allem mit einer reichhaltigen und artefiziellen Symbolik zu rechnen, welcher sich Musik- und Wortbedeutungen mit dem Mythos, der Bibel, der Theologie, der (pythagoräisch-neoplatonischen) Philosophie, der Anthropologie, der antiken und christlichen Symbolik usw. vermengen. Kurzum: diese oder jene Sinnverknüpfung in dieser oder jenen semantischen Verkleidung, die sich – wie wir an unserem musikalischen Beispiel sehen werden – in jede Musiknote eingravieren kann, darf uns nicht in Erstaunen versetzen. Es ist sehr dienlich im voraus zu wissen, dass die Musik in den Händen des Komponisten Gallus ein künstlerisch höchst vollendeter und mehrschichtiger Wegweiser ins Land der Ideen eines Denkers ist, der voller Staunen und Bewunderung seine Augen an das immer wieder neue Sonnensystem des menschlichen Herzens heftet. Darum sind, mehr als die Messen und Motetten, ausgerechnet seine so eigenartigen „Madrigale“ *summa* seiner persönlichen Anstrengungen, *summa* des Musikers, Denkers, wenn sie wollen auch Mystikers und sensiblen Humanisten, insbesondere aber Menschen Gallus.

Für den deutschsprachigen Raum muss an dieser Stelle auf eine wichtige sprachliche Besonderheit der deutschen Sprache verwiesen werden. Das Bild des „singenden Hahnes“ – *Gallo cantanti*, das von Gallus des öfteren verwendet wird, ist für deutschsprachige Leser schwerverständlich und irreführend. In Latein, Slowenisch und vielen anderen Sprachen wird für das Krähen des Hahnes der Ausdruck „der Hahn singt“ verwendet. In Deutsch aber wird dieselbe Handlung als „der Hahn *kräht* oder *schreit*“ bezeichnet. Gallus und selbstverständlich auch wir verwenden die lateinische und slowenische Bedeutung. Das Kikerikien des Hahnes ist darum ein echter Gesang, echtes Singen und steht mit der Musik in engster Verbindung. Die Metaphern und Analogien, die Gallus verwendet, können nur auf diesem Weg einen Sinn ergeben, verständlich und semantisch bedeutsam sein.

I. Gallus und *Domina Musica* – *Harmonia*

„*Liberalis Musica nulli unquam negavit facile operam suam liberali*“ hielt Gallus in der Einleitung zur *Harmoniae morales* fest: „Die freie Musik hat niemals einem Freiheitswürdigen leichtfertig ihre Hilfe verweigert.“ Gallus weist hier entschieden auf die zentrale Rolle der Musik innerhalb des Systems *artes liberales* hin, was er in all seinen Vorreden immer wieder – direkt oder indirekt – stark hervorhob.⁶

Die Musik – als *Domina Musica* bzw. *Musica* – genoss innerhalb der sieben freien Künste einen besonderen Status, wofür sie sich in erster Linie bei Pythagoras zu bedanken

⁶ Die Musik als Bestandteil des Systems *Artes liberales* wird ausdrücklich noch im *Secundus tomus Musici operis*, Pragae 1587, im *Tertius t. M. o.*, Pragae 1587 und im Dienstentlassungsschein des S. Pavlovský *Testimonium fidelis servitij et dimissionis ex Aula Jacobi Handelij Carnioli Musici* vom 26. Juli 1585 erwähnt. Indirekt wird *Musica* in der Ode *Musica loquitur* (Wolfgangus Pyrringer) aus der Einleitung zum *Selectiores q. m., lib. I*, Pragae 1580 erwähnt.

hat. Sie diene als zentrales Bindeglied, als Angelpunkt für die übrigen Segmente im *Trivium – Quadrivium*, als eigenartige Seele innerhalb der Gemeinschaft derjenigen, die sich beruflich der Weisheitspflege widmeten.⁷ Sie stand zwischen zwei dreigliedrigen Hauptbereichen. Der erste Hauptbereich gehörte zur Ordnung im Mikrokosmos – d.h. im Menschen – der zweite hingegen zur Ordnung im Makrokosmos – d.h. in der Welt und im Weltall. Der erste Bereich lehrte (1) geordnetes Denken (Grammatik); (2) ein in formaler und affektiver Hinsicht geordnetes In-Gedanken-Kleiden von Botschaften, damit sie auch für andere klar, fassbar und annehmbar werden (Rhetorik); (3) sowie eine geordnete wechselseitige Wiedergabe von Gedanken in zwischenmenschlicher verbaler Verständigung (Dialektik). Der zweite Hauptbereich – er gehörte zur materiellen Welt des Makrokosmoses – brachte analog zur ersten Ordnung der Gedankenabläufe in der Natur (1) ausgedrückt in Form von aufgereihten Zahlen (Arithmetik); (2) ausgedrückt in Form von Bruchzahlen unter den Flächen der Eins (Geometrie); (3) und in die Gedankenabläufe im wechselseitig voneinander abhängigen Himmelsraum (Astronomie). Das dreigliedrige Ordnungssystem im Mikrokosmos des Menschen steht im engen Zusammenhang mit der Dreifachordnung, die im Makrokosmos der Schöpfung herrscht. Es besteht also eine enge und tiefe Analogie zwischen der Grammatik und der Arithmetik, zwischen der Rhetorik und der Geometrie sowie zwischen der Dialektik und der Astronomie. Beide Welten stehen in einem Spiegelverhältnis zueinander. Und wenn der Makrokosmos der Spiegel des Mikrokosmos-Mensch ist, so hat er folglich dieselben Eigenschaften: Er hört, sieht, fühlt und versteht, und er spricht (*logos*) und singt (*musica mundana*) ebenso.⁸ Kurzum: Der Kosmos ist – wie der Mensch – ein Wesen.

Die Musik als tragende Säule der beiden dreischenkeligen Flügelseiten dieses Gedankengebäudes war in beiden Hauptbereichen und deren Teilbereichen bewusst auf ganz besondere und wertvolle Art präsent. Der gebildete Mensch konnte sich keinen Teilbereich der *artes liberales* ohne Musik und umgekehrt vorstellen. Die Musik war jene Disziplin, die das gesamte Gebäude der Wissenschaft und Weisheitslehre (Philosophie) beseelte. Die Musik – als Wissenschaft, *scientia*, und zugleich auch als *ars practica* – war deshalb die passendste Brücke im Ineinanderfließen von Fachbereichen, die von den dem Anschein nach so mannigfachen Wissenschaften des Systems *artes liberales* gepflegt wurden. Von hier stammt das allgemeine Bedürfnis nach dem, was die alten Griechen mehr als sechs Jahrhunderte v. Chr. *harmonia* – bzw. mit dem Eigennamen sogar *Harmonia* – nannten, also das Bedürfnis nach Gleichklang zwischen den vielfältigen und

⁷ „Musica sum lat(a)e – doctrix artis variat(a)e.“, „Ich bin die Frau Musik (Domina Musica) und lehre eine umfassende und mannigfache Wissenschaft“ können wir auf dem berühmten Bild des Manuskripts *Hortus deliciarum* der Äbtissin Herrard aus Landsberg lesen. Das Manuskript entstand in der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhundert und verbrannte im Jahre 1870. Es existiert eine Photographie, wahrscheinlich nach dem aus dem Jahr 1818 gemacht Faksimile, in: Hans Georg Rott und Georg Wild, Hsg., *Hortus deliciarum*, Mulhouse / Mühlhausen (Elsaß), Braun, 1944, S. 19.

⁸ Unter anderen spricht davon auch Johannes Ciconia (1370?–1412ca.) im musiktheoretischen Werk *Nova Musica*, Lib. prim., cap. 47, *De musica septem planetarum*. Im (selbstständig bearbeiteten) Lib. ter., *De proportionibus* fordert Cicconia, die gesamte Ausgestaltung der Musikstücke nach den Gesetzen des Proportzes auszurichten. Diesen Grundsatz eignete sich später Guillaume du Fay an und verwirklichte ihn in seiner Motette *Nuper rosarum flores*.

voneinander getrennten Teilchen, die von der Musik am schönsten theoretisch zum Ausdruck gebracht, real möglich gemacht und verwirklicht werden. Noch mehr: Die Musik als *Domina Musica* und *Harmonia* sind in dieser Anschauung zwei Synonyme, ja sogar zwei Eigennamen.

Gallus, ein ausgezeichnete Kenner dieser pythagoräisch-(neo)platonischen Anschauung, arbeitete diese in seine *melopoeia* ein und brachte sie in seinen Schriften nachdrücklich zum Ausdruck. Er legte in der Vorrede zu seinen vierstimmigen Messen (1580) untermauert mit der rhetorischen Frage geradezu ein Bekenntnis über seine Zugehörigkeit zum pythagoräischen Neoplatonismus ab: „Quid Pythagoras senserit an est qui ignoret? Mundum ipsum Musica ratione concinnatum prodit.“⁹ Alle Begriffe sind so sorgfältig aus den an Bedeutungen reichen lateinischen Wörtern ausgewählt, dass sich jede Übersetzung lediglich ängstlich an diesen auf juristische Art herausgemeißelten Gedanken des Komponisten Gallus annähert: „Wer will nicht wissen, was Pythagoras erkannte? Er verkündete, dass selbst die Welt im Einklang mit der Vernunft der Musik gemacht (geordnet, geregelt) ist.“ Das Wort *ratione* hat seine Wurzeln im Verb *rerī, reor*, was vernünftig denken, urteilen, rechnen bedeutet. Das Wort *ratio-onis* mit der Nachsilbe der Aktion *-tio* beinhaltet auch den Begriff *logos*, also ein vernünftiges, kluges, bedeutsames Segment der Dinge. Die Stoiker verstanden *ratio* als vernünftige Struktur des Weltalls. Gallus verwendet hier äußerst raffiniert auch das lateinische Verb *concinno, -are*,¹⁰ das die fortwährende Handlung der harmonischen Berührung bzw. Verschmelzung von ungleichen Teilen zum Ausdruck bringt. Es drückt folglich vollkommen dasselbe aus, wie das griechische Verb *harmotto, harmozo* (zusammenfügen, verbinden, stimmen, sich verloben, heiraten usw.), das die Wortwurzel des Begriffs *harmonia* bildet. Das griechische *harmotto*, danach aber auch das lateinische *concinno* drücken somit das ursprüngliche Bedürfnis nach geordneter Verschmelzung im Bereich des Sehens und Hörens, der Zeit und des Raumes aus. Das ist der Grund, warum jenes, das als Unordnung und Unstimmigkeit zum Ausdruck kommt, einen bestimmten inneren Rhythmus enthält, der zum Ordnungs- und Übereinstimmungsfaktor wird. Die Bedingung für die Harmonie ist nicht die Gleichheit, sondern die Ungleichheit, wie es schon Boethius so schön sagte: „In jenen Klängen, die sich wegen der Ungleichheit trotz allem nicht widersprechen, gibt es keinen Zusammenklang. Zusammenklang (*consonantia*) ist nämlich die Übereinstimmung zwischen Klängen, die untereinander verschieden sind, der Einklang (*concordia*), der in die Einheitlichkeit führt.“¹¹ Der Ausdruck *Musica* ist bei Gallus im Sinne seiner präzisen Wortwahl demnach das Synonym für *harmonia*. (Nur eine Anmerkung nebenbei: Schon darin zeigt sich deutlich die hervorragende humanistische Bildung des Komponisten

⁹ Vorwort zum *Selectiores quaedam missae, IIII vocom, Liber I*, Prag, Nigrinus, 1580. Für den Kenner des pythagoräischen Gedankens ist die Verwendung der Schreibform der römischen Zahl IIII anstatt IV von Bedeutung.

¹⁰ Und nicht *concino, -ere* (gemeinsam, einstimmig, harmonisch vor-singen oder einzeln oder im Chor), wie von einigen übersetzt wird, weil sie sich von diesem ausgesprochen musikbezogenen Ausdruck verleiten lassen.

¹¹ „Sed in his vocibus, quae nulla inaequalitate discordant, nulla omnino consonantia est. Est enim consonantia dissimilium inter se vocom in unum redacta concordia.“ Severini Boethii, *De Institutione Musica*, I, Roma, Istituto per la Storia della Musica, 1990, S. 3.

Gallus, die von nur durchschnittlichen Lateinkenntnissen schwer erfasst und darum nicht geschätzt wird.) Zu einem ähnlichen Resultat kommen wir, wenn wir alle Stellen durchsuchen, an denen Gallus Begriffe verwendet wie *harmonia/Harmonia*, *musica/Musica*, oder wo er die Rolle der Musik oder seinen Beruf als Musiker und dgl. beschreibt.

Gott war für Gallus – ich zitiere Ausschnitte aus seinem Vorwort zur *Harmoniae morales – honestissimarum Artium Artifex*, „der Urgrund aller ehrwürdigen Künste.“¹² Und es ist sehr dienlich die künstlerische und alle geistigen Anstrengungen von Gallus als Resonanz mit der Glut des *Artifex* zu verstehen. Noch mehr: Gallus identifiziert sich mit dem *Artifex* im Sinne des neuentstandenen Begriffs des Künstlers als kleiner Schöpfer an der Seite des Gott-Schöpfers. Auf diese Weise ist auch der Künstler zugleich Schöpfer seiner Werke. Diese Auffassung, die für den Humanismus charakteristisch war, bildete sich ausgerechnet in dieser Zeit unter dem Einfluss des neuen und auf dem Christentum beruhenden Personalismus heraus: Der Mensch verstanden als *persona* (bei-sich, lat. Maske, Persönlichkeit) und gleichzeitig als *in-dividuum* (unteilbar), als einzigartiges Wesen. Weil der Mensch als solcher „nach dem Ebenbild Gottes“¹³ erschaffen ist, kann er innerhalb seiner Ordnung Schöpfer sein. Unter dem Einfluss dieser gedanklichen Wende wird zum ersten Mal in der Geschichte für künstlerische Werke die Bezeichnung *Opus* verwendet, was ausdrücklich auf den sechstägigen Schöpfungsakt Gottes hinweist, also auf das Schaffen aus dem Nichts, *ex nihilo*. Das Wort selbst insbesondere aber die von den Komponisten verwendete Bezeichnung *Opus* (!) für seine Werke, hat hier seinen Ursprung und ihre Bedeutung. Als Beweis für das Gesagte dient unter anderem die unüber-sichtliche Vielzahl an Sammlungen von Musikstücken, die bis hin in die Zeit der späten Romantik nach dem Schlüssel der Zahl sechs geordnet sind. Mehrere Gründe deuten darauf hin, dass auch die von Gallus verwendete Benennung seiner Motettensammlung als *Opus musicum* mit dieser Denkart in engster Verbindung steht.

Der *Artifex* der gesamten Musik von Gallus – *ars musica* bedeutet sowohl die sakrale als auch die profane Musik – war ein und derselbe. „E(x) Choro ad forum“, vom Kirchenchor ins Forum herabzusteigen bedeutete für Gallus somit nicht aus dem Sakralen ins Profane zu treten.¹⁴ Lediglich wohlgesinnte Freunde konnten ihn überzeugen

¹² *Artifex* ist nicht nur Künstler, sondern er ist auch Begründer, Verursacher, in unserem Fall also der Ursprung, der Urgrund für alles, was auf der Welt existiert, er ist also Schöpfer. Dieser Ausdruck birgt bereits eine neue Ästhetik der Ausdrucksweise in sich, die sich ausgerechnet unter Einwirkung des Begriffs *Artifex*-Schöpfer gerade in dieser Zeit sehr stark herausbildet und die alte griechisch-mittelalterliche Reflexionsästhetik. Mehr darüber: Ivan Florjanc, Gallusov odnos do koralne melodiške, *Gallus Carniolus in evropska renesansa*, Bd. 2, Hrsg. von Dragotin Cvetko und Danilo Pokorn, Ljubljana, SAZU, 1992, S. 45–46.

¹³ Gen. 1, 27.

¹⁴ So drückt sich Gallus nämlich wortgetreu in seiner Einleitung zur *Harmoniae morales* (Prag 1589) aus: „Interim succlamant amicali, interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis & magnis vocibus e(x) Choro ad forum, [...] me suos invitant.“ Es ist wahr, dass an derselben Stelle unterschieden wird zwischen „a sacris & serijs, ad iocum, focum, caenulasque ludosque me suos inuitant.“ Gallus spricht hier jedoch nicht vom Inhalt und von der Form seiner Musik und auch nicht vom Stil der Musikstücke, sondern von gesellschaftlich-geselligen Aufforderungsverhältnissen seiner Freunde, Madrigale zu komponieren. Aber schon zu Beginn und in der gesamten Fortsetzung des Textes erklärt er ausführlich zahlreiche Gründe, warum er sich für diesen und nicht einen anderen

und er gab mit Wohlwollen nach. Er gab ihnen das Geschenk der ganzheitlichen Kunst, „Ars integra est“, ¹⁵ die – wie er selbst sagt – „den Freunden zur Belehrung und für gute Stimmung“ dienen bzw. sorgen soll, „Demus aliquid studio“ ¹⁶ animoque Amicorum“. *Ars integra* hat es auf die Kraft und die Einheitlichkeit der gesamten Kunst abgesehen, jener auf dem Kirchenchor und jener im Forum.

Domina Musica ist – wenn wir unsere bisherigen Überlegungen zusammenfassen – die göttliche Weisheit zugleich aber auch *Domina Harmonia*, oder zumindest ihre Tochter, denn der Urgrund der beiden ist derselbe *honestissimarum Artium Artifex*. *Domina Musica* als *Harmonia* ist (wenn wir das Geheimnis unserer Abhandlung im Voraus lüften) aber auch jene Dame, der sich der „singende“ Gallus-Hahn als der einzigen Auserwählten mit all seinen Kräften widmete. „Sed, omnia vincit amor Musicae & nos cedamus amori“ hielt er in der Einleitung zu seinen *Harmonien morales* mit dem bedeutungsvoll ergänzten Vers von Vergil am ersten Vorfastensonntag, dem 29. Januar des Jahres 1589 fest, also in reifen Jahren, zwei Jahre vor seinem Tod. Denselben Text von Vergil vertonte er auch in seinem sechsstimmigen Madrigal mit dem bedeutungsvollen zweifachen Tenor und Cantus.

Das mehrmals erwähnte Selbstbild des Komponisten Gallus als Mensch mit besonderer Mission ist die natürliche Weiterführung der Überlegung, die wir hier verfolgen. Die metaphorische Bedeutung des Begriffs *Gallus* – sofern wir das überhaupt so sagen dürfen – verlangt allerdings eine eigenständige Betrachtung und Beweise. Diesem Thema ist das nachfolgende Kapitel gewidmet.

II. Gallus – der Humanist: Einige Überlegungen zur *Harmoniae morales* Nr. 6

Das Werk *Harmonices mundi* von Kepler mit dem Werk *Harmoniae morales* von Gallus zu vergleichen, ist gerechtfertigt und sinnvoll – mehr als es uns erscheinen mag. Wir wissen, dass *harmonia* der Schlüsselgedanke der gesamten schöpferischen Bemühungen sowohl bei Gallus als auch bei Kepler war. Beide Werke haben unter denselben huma-

Inhalt, für diese und nicht eine andere Form seiner Madrigale entschieden hat und das einschließ-
lich der bewussten sowie für Madrigale vollkommen unkonventionellen Wahl der lateinischen
Sprache.

¹⁵ Der vollständige Satz klingt folgendermaßen: „Ars integra est, sed nervus praeli & typhographi-
cum robur fractum.“ Die Fortsetzung des Satzes „die Macht des Geldes und des Buchdruckes
sind gebrochen“, widerspricht nicht dem ersten Teil des Satzes, da es sich offensichtlich um zwei
völlig getrennte Aussagen handelt: Die erste spricht von der unberührten Kraft der Komponi-
steninspiration, der zweite Teil des Satzes hingegen deutet auf die finanziellen Schwierigkeiten
des Buchdrucks hin, die er dem Anschein nach aus dem eigenen deckt. Beide Behauptungen sind
innerhalb der gleichrangigen Sätze voneinander unabhängig.

¹⁶ *Studium* würde auf deutsch folgendes bedeuten: (1) Strebsamkeit, Eifer, Fleiß, lebendiger
Wunsch, Sehnsucht, Interesse; (2) Hingabe, Ergebenheit, Parteilichkeit, Liebe zu etwas; (3) das
liebste Geschäft, Leidenschaft, besondere Freude an etwas, Neigung für etwas; (4) wissenschaft-
liches Bestreben oder Arbeit, Studium, Wissenschaft oder wissenschaftliche Disziplin. Alleine
dieses Panorama von Bedeutungen gibt uns deutlich zu verstehen, worauf es Gallus mit seinen
Madrigalen abgesehen hatte.

nistischen „klimatischen“ Bedingungen zu keimen begonnen. Trotz unterschiedlicher Früchte ist ihr Baum derselbe – nämlich der in Mitteleuropa beheimatete Humanismus des späten 16. Jahrhunderts. Wie Jacobus Gallus vor allem als Humanist mit den Ohren des Geistes der Harmonie des menschlichen Sonnensystems lauschte und das Gehörte in der Sprache der Musik zu Papier brachte, ebenso hörte Kepler ein gutes Jahrzehnt später – auch hauptsächlich als Humanist – mit den Ohren der Vernunft der Harmonie unseres Sonnensystems zu und schrieb das Gehörte mit den Schriftzeichen der Mathematik nieder, suchte aber – merkwürdigerweise – Zuflucht bei den Begriffen und Ausdrücken (also der Sprache!) der Musik.¹⁷ Für uns ist das heute unerhört. Für die Humanisten der Renaissance, die in wissenschaftlicher und künstlerischer Hinsicht in der Schmiedewerkstatt *artes liberales* heranwuchsen, aber war die Verbindung von *musica speculativa* und *musica instrumentalis* etwas Alltägliches. Die Parallele Gallus-Kepler, beide fanden sich nun mal beinahe zur selben Zeit am selben Ort, stellt keine Ausnahme dar, sondern war zur damaligen Zeit ein generelles kulturelles Muster in ganz Europa.

Gallus ist in erster Linie ein Humanist, zugleich aber auch Komponist. Das ist die These, mit der wir die musikalisch analytische Abhandlung des auserwählten Madrigals *Gallus amat Venerem, cur?* beginnen wollen. Die kompositorische Invention und die Stichhaltigkeit seines Tonsatzes sind Mittel zur Überbringung von scharfsinnigen Ideen, die mit der Musik dem Anschein nach – wie wir sie heute verstehen – in keinem unmittelbaren Zusammenhang stehen. Das humanistische Porträt von Gallus und viele andere Segmente seiner Persönlichkeit sind in den bisherigen Abhandlungen weitgehend unauffällig und im Hintergrund geblieben. Sein Porträt als Komponist stand – zwar begründeterweise –, weil es sich am meisten abhob, weit mehr im Vordergrund. Es gibt daher wenige Studien, denen es bisher gelang anhand der kompositorischen Früchte des Komponisten auf beides hinzuweisen. Nämlich, dass Gallus nicht nur ein hervorragender Komponist, sondern vor allem ein äußerst raffinierter Humanist war und sich mittels Musik als feinfühligster Denker zu Wort meldete.¹⁸

Das Madrigal *Gallus amat Venerem, cur?* wählte ich – aus mehreren möglichen – als am besten geeignete paradigmatische Veranschaulichung und als Beweis für das bisher Gesagte. Anhand verschiedenster kompositorischer Mittel werden wir uns den Komponisten durch eine andere – humanistische – Brille ansehen. Gleich mehrere triftige und größtenteils außermusikalische Beweggründe standen bei dieser Auswahl Pate. Das Madrigal ist – nicht aus Zufall – an sechster (sic!) Stelle des ersten Buches *Harmoniae morales*, das vom Komponisten selbst herausgegeben und im Jahre 1589 veröffentlicht

¹⁷ Das beweisen der ideelle Ansatz und all die Zitate aus seinem Hauptwerk *Kepleri Johannis, Harmonices Mundi, Libri V, Lincii Austriae, sumptibus Godofredi Tampachii Bibl. Francocof. Excudebat ionnes Plancus, Anno MDCXIX (1619)*. Paradigmatisch ist z.B. schon die Überschrift des VII. Kapitels.

¹⁸ Unter ihnen heben sich die Abhandlungen von H. Krones stark ab, weil sie eine wertvolle Verbindung von musikalischer, literarischer sowie rhetorischer Analyse von Texten bzw. Musikstücken des Komponisten zum Inhalt haben. Vgl. Hartmut Krones, Jacobus Gallus – Ein Meister der Verbindung von Inhalt und Form, *Gallus in mi*, Hrsg. von Primož Kuret, Ljubljana, Festival Ljubljana, 1991, S. 23–41; Hartmut Krones, Musik und Humanismus in Prag des Rudolf II. am Beispiel der *Moralia* des Jacobus Gallus, *Wiener humanistische Blätter* 33 (1992), S. 57–74.

wurde. Der elegante Elegievers, den Gallus mit Sicherheit selbst verfasste, lässt eine ganze Fülle von versteckten Bedeutungen erahnen, die der Komponist ganz nach Heraklit-scher Art¹⁹ hinter die geschickt gestellte äußere Erscheinung der Banalität versteckt. Die Auswahl stellte sich im Hinblick auf all das, was wir beweisen wollen, in jedem Schritt der mehrschichtigen Forschungsarbeit als richtig und sehr gelungen heraus.

Der Text des Madrigals lautet folgendermaßen: „Gallus amat Venerem, cur? cucuri curit ad illam, / & post confectum cucuri curit opus.“ Eine erste vorläufige Übersetzung könnte sich so anhören: „Warum liebt der Hahn die Venus? Mit ‚Kikeriki‘ läuft er zu ihr, / und sobald er fertig ist – ‚Kikeriki‘ und schon ist er weg.“ Diese wortgetreue Übersetzung, der wir im Normalfall in dieser Form überall begegnen, wo dieses Madrigal vorkommt, ist zugleich der Ausgangspunkt unserer spiralförmig angelegten Abhandlung: Vom Bekannten und Einfachen zum Unbekannten und Komplizierteren. Da Gallus gleichzeitig der Autor des Textes ist, stellt das Madrigal im Gesamten und in jedem einzelnen Detail auch eine unmittelbare Ausdrucksform seines schöpferischen Willens und seiner Entscheidung dar. Das Madrigal ist also sowohl was den Text als auch die Musik anbelangt ein eigenartiges „Gesamtkunstwerk“ von Gallus.

Die erste Feststellung ist schlicht und einfach und textbezogen. Wir sehen, dass es sich um eine sehr kurze Dichtung handelt, die einen einzigen doppelzeiligen Vers in Form eines vorbildlichen klassischen Elegiedistichons umfasst. Was wollte Gallus zum Ausdruck bringen, indem er nur einen Vers eines genau bestimmten Verssystems wählte? Es ist bekannt, dass bei Gallus das Elegiedistichon äußerst beliebt war.²⁰ In unserem Fall aber hat seine Auswahl noch zusätzliche Gründe. Das Verssystem des Elegiedistichons besteht aus der Einheit von zwei Zeilen – genaugenommen – mit jeweils sechs Versfüßen,²¹ die unter Berücksichtigung der Zäsuren nach innen in vier mehr oder weniger ungleiche Teile zerfallen. Als Verssystem bildet es ein unteilbares Ganzes, eine eigenständige Einheit, stellt die pythagoräische „Eins“ dar, verhält sich so, wie die Formen in der Geometrie, die einzig und allein nach innen teilbare Einheiten darstellen. Als Elegiedistichon aber stellt es – wegen der nach innen geteilten Doppelheit – das elementarste aller Zahlenverhältnisse dar: Das Verhältnis 1:2, einschließlich der Zäsuren aber auch alle anderen Zahlenverhältnisse 1:2:3:4 der *tetractys*. In der Musik, die für die Pythagoräer der wirklichkeitstreueste Spiegel aller Zahlenverhältnisse ist, erklingt das Elegiedistichon als Oktavenintervall – also als die vollkommenste Konsonanz zwischen zwei verschiedenen Elementen. Die Eins ist der Ursprung aller Zahlen. Auch die Zwei stellt noch keine Zahlenreihe dar, sondern ist der Anfang von geraden Zahlen, sie ist die Zahl der Weiblichkeit,

¹⁹ Heraklit erwähnte nämlich gerne die Verborgeneheit insbesondere jener Harmonie, die für die Natur am wesentlichsten ist. Heraklit, *Fragment* 24, 26, 27, 28, 69.

²⁰ Gleich 32 von insgesamt 53 Texten aus *Harmoniae Morales* und gleich 33 von insgesamt 47 Texten aus *Moralia* sind bei Gallus in Form des Elegiedistichons geschrieben; das sind also 65 von insgesamt 100 Texten bzw. genau 65 % aller Texte seiner Madrigale.

²¹ Der zweite Halbvers des *Elegiedistichons* wird auch *Elegievers* bzw. *daktylischer Pentameter* genannt. In Wahrheit handelt es sich nicht um eine *Pentapodie* (wie es die Bezeichnung falscher Weise andeutet), sondern um eine daktylische *Hexapodie* dikatalektisch *in sillabam* im dritten und sechsten Versfuß. Der Vers tritt nie alleine auf, sondern immer paarweise mit dem daktylischen Hexameter, der in der Regel – wie auch in unserem Fall – der erste Halbvers des Distichons ist.

wie alle geraden Zahlen, denn man kann sie teilen und durch das Hinzurechnen unteilbare (männliche) Zahlen entstehen lassen. Der Himmel und die Erde, der Tag und die Nacht im Makrokosmos sind das, was im Mikrokosmos das männliche und das weibliche Prinzip ist. Erst die Zahl Zwei bedeutet somit den Beginn der Zahlenreihe, den Ursprung der elementarsten Harmonie. Wir wissen, dass nicht die Gleichheit die Bedingung für die Harmonie ist, sondern die aufeinander abgestimmte Ungleichheit, ja sogar das Zusammenwirken der Gegensätze, wie es schon Boethius so schön sagte. Und all das kommt in einem einzigen Elegievers vor. Aus diesen Gründen kam Gallus auch aus symbolischer Sicht gerade das Elegiedistichon so handlich vor, was wir im Laufe der Abhandlung besser verstehen werden. Dass Gallus ein hervorragender Latinist war, beweist er auch hier und nicht nur als Verfasser von Vorreden, wo er seinen raffinierten Stil an den Tag legt und seltene und erlesene lateinische Ausdrücke verwendet.²² Hier bewundern wir ihn als Dichter, als Musiker und als Denker.

Das Elegiedistichon erklingt in der eleganten Prosodie des Dichters und Komponisten Gallus folgendermaßen: „**Gallus a/mat Vene/rem, cur? // cu/curi / curit ad / illam, & post / confe/ctum^ // cucuri / curit o/pus^.**“ Die Versfüße des Daktylus (–uu) bringen lebendige Beweglichkeit und Entspanntheit zum Ausdruck, was Licht in den Elegievers bringt. Möglich ist aber auch der sogenannte *rationale* Austausch des Daktylus durch den Spondeus (– –), was dem Vers Gewicht, Bedächtigkeit, Feierlichkeit und Ernsthaftigkeit verleiht. Die Austauschbarkeit ist geregelt durch bestimmte Regeln und kann nicht beliebig angewendet werden. Im ersten Halbvers ist das Austauschen des Daktylus durch den Spondeus in allen Versfüßen möglich außer im fünften Versfuß (*quinta sedes*), welcher ein vollständiger Daktylus sein muss (um dem Versnamen gerecht zu werden!). Die Farbe und der Ausdruck jedes einzelnen Verses sind so sehr vielfältig. In Ausnahmefällen kann der Spondeus auch an fünfter Stelle stehen, wobei in diesem Fall der Daktylus im Versfuß an vierter Stelle (*quarta sedes*) sein muss. Im zweiten Halbvers des Elegiedistichons ist das Austauschen der Regel nach nur im ersten Teil möglich, d.h. in der *pentapodie*, nach der Zäsur im zweiten Halbvers jedoch nicht. Gallus verwendet nach der Zäsur des zweiten Halbverses eine *diastole* (eine von Natur aus kurze Silbe weitet er in eine lange aus), um aus dem Wort „*cucuri*“, das ein *amphibrachys* ist, einen richtig gestellten glattfließenden Daktylus zu machen. Auch in solchen Details zeigt sich Gallus als raffinierter Latinist bzw. Humanist. Im ersten Halbvers greift Gallus nach dem Spondeus nur einmal und das sofort nach der Zäsur „*cu/curi*“, was dem gesamten Halbvers Geschmeidigkeit und Glanz verleiht. Mit diesem sorgfältig erstellten metrischen Schema deutete Gallus auf die Gesamtform des Textes als auch des Musikstücks hin.

Trotz offensichtlich geistreich scherzhaftem und sogar fröhlich heiterem Anschein ist der Text des Madrigals durchsetzt mit inhaltsreichen und höchst ernsthaften Bedeutungen. Gallus stellt das für das Renaissancezeitalter so erhabene und bedeutsame Thema von der Harmonie der Himmelsphären und – als Abglanz dessen – auch das Thema von der *harmonia* in der Musik im pythagoräischen Sinne, also das Thema der dreifachen Musik – *musica mundana, humana* und *instrumentalis* –, ins alltägliche Geschehen mitten auf den Hof (so sieht es dem ersten Anschein nach aus und das sind die ersten

²² Kajetan Gantar, Humanist Gallus in latinščina, *Cerkveni glasbenik* 86 (1993), S. 11–17: 16.

Bewertungen, wie sie von den bisherigen Forschern vorgenommen und vermittelt worden sind) und das zwischen das gewöhnlichste Federvieh. In Wirklichkeit aber spielt sich die Geschichte auf völlig anderem Niveau ab.

In der Renaissance war die antike Sage von der Liebesbeziehung der Göttin der sinnlichen Schönheit namens Venus bzw. Aphrodite – ansonsten der Frau des Vulkans, – mit dem mutigen Kriegsgott namens Mars bzw. Ares in allen Gattungen der Kunst und der Philosophie sehr stark vertreten. Es ist bekannt, dass aus der Liebesaffäre zwischen Mars und Venus die gemeinsame Tochter namens *Harmonia* entstammte. Sie verkörpert Tugenden beider Elternteile: Tapferkeit, Standfestigkeit und Stärke sowie unermessliche sinnliche Schönheit. Um Bedenken auszuschließen, muss erwähnt werden, dass es sich bei dieser Komposition von Gallus um den Eigennamen der Venus und nicht um den generischen Begriff handelt, dem wir sonst in anderen Musikwerken von Gallus begegnen. In allen vier Bänden (für CATB) des gedruckten Originals, die Gallus selbst mit dem Text versehen hat, schreibt er den Eigennamen der Venus mit großem Anfangsbuchstaben. Auch mit dem Namen Gallus ist hier er selbst gemeint. Seine starke Selbstidentifikation mit dem Hahn ist an dieser Stelle nämlich klar ersichtlich. Diese dem Anschein nach höchst witzige Motette stellt schon gleich am Anfang die rhetorische Frage: *Gallus amat Venerem, cur?* – Warum liebt Gallus die Venus? Diese Frage, wie alle rhetorischen Fragen, bedarf keiner inhaltlichen Antwort, da sie auf den emotionalen Konsens appelliert, der intellektuelle ist ohnehin schon von sich aus eindeutig. In unserem Fall aber ist nicht einmal der emotionale Konsens fraglich. Der geistreich niedliche Inhalt der Zurufe onomatopoeischer Natur lässt mittels äußerst kunstvoll verflechtener Kontrapunkte – und gerade das galt damals als Harmonie in der Musik – all das entstehen, was in der Himmelskugel seit Ewigkeit und für alle Ewigkeit geschrieben steht: *Harmonia* der Himmelssphären, Zusammenklang in der Natur, in der Schöpfung. Die Melodielinien einzelner Themen werden in den Musikwerken in stets unterschiedlicher Entfernung nachgebildet – bzw. *imitiert*, um es mit dem bekannten musiktechnischen Begriff auszudrücken – obwohl sie der Form nach in ihrer Natur unverändert bleiben. An entscheidenden Stellen der Imitation antworten treten einzelne Stimmen im Verhältnis 1:2:3:4 der *tetractys* auf, d.h. im Verhältnis der Oktave, Quinte oder Quarte, aber auch der Dezime. Einzelne Themen, wenn wir sie als sogenannte *voces musicales* bestimmter Hexachorde lesen, sehen sich folglich zum Verwechseln ähnlich. (Notenbeispiel: Jacobus Gallus, *Gallus amat Venerem, cur?*)

Als Heraklit über den Kosmos nachdachte, sagte er, dass dort, wo es keinen Anfang gibt, auch kein Ende sein kann. Das nahezu ununterbrochene Imitieren von kurzen Melodielinien onomatopoeischer Natur erzeugt dieselbe Wirkung: Es geht um das ewige Jetzt des ursprünglichen kreisförmigen kosmischen Geschehens, wo es zwar ähnliche Worte gibt, die jedoch von anderer und unhörbarer Natur sind. Der dahinfliegende Augenblick hielt an, denn aus der Liebe zwischen Gallus und der Venus ist die *Harmonia* geboren worden und das zu Hause, auf fast banale einfache Weise, wie es an der Oberfläche und dem Anschein nach scheint.

Wenn wir hier noch die Bedeutung in Erwägung ziehen, die Venus für die christliche Überlieferung hatte – es kann nicht übersehen werden, dass Gallus dem katholischen Glauben zutiefst ergeben war –, kommen wir mit unheimlich gewagten Botschaften in Berührung: Die Venus als Morgenstern (*Stella matutina* bzw. *Stella maris*) ist seit

jeher das Sinnbild für Maria, die Gottesgebälerin.²³ Eine gründliche Untersuchung des Kompositionssatzes des Madrigals zeigt deutlich, dass Gallus zumindest in der ursprünglichen Bedeutung Maria nicht im Sinn hatte. Als Beweis dienen zahlreiche und absichtlich gesetzte Tritoni (*mi contra fa*) in jenen Takten, die auf kompositorische Weise *Harmonia* zum Ausdruck bringen. Am offensichtlichsten ist das im Takt 8, wo die Altstimme die Noten *f–h* anstimmt. Wenn wir aber an derselben Stelle das *h* in ein *b* umändern (Regel *nota super la*), erscheint zwischen dem Alt, Bass und dem Tenor eine ebenso falsche verkürzte Quinte *b – e*. Diese kompositorisch verbotenen *mi contra fa* Querstände können wir also auf keinen Fall umgehen. Folglich ist klar, dass alle diese *mi contra fa* Querstände willentlich und absichtlich aufgestellt worden sind. Gallus fügt also bewusst Elemente der Sünde in die Komposition ein, um es klar zu sagen, an welche Venus er denkt. Er hat also eindeutig lediglich die Venus der Griechen, d.h. die Göttin Aphrodite, im Sinn. Ist in diesem Madrigal auch der Gedanke an die Venus als christliche *Stella matutina – Maria* – präsent, so ist das bei ihm – einem aufrichtigen Gläubigen – durchaus möglich, jedoch bleibt so ein Gedanke im Hintergrund, auf zweiter, dritter oder noch tieferer Ebene. Der Inhalt des humanistischen Begriffs *harmonia* (als alles durchglühende Schönheit des Gleichklangs und zugleich als Quelle makro- und mikrokosmischer Standfestigkeit) widerspricht dem nicht.²⁴

Auch die Wahl des Modus, die von Gallus immer sorgfältig vorgenommen wurde, erhärtet unsere Behauptungen, trotz der noch immer ungelösten Frage, wohin die Musikwerke von Gallus mit dem *finalis* auf dem *C* zuzuordnen sind. Möglich wäre die Zuordnung zum hypoionischen Modus, bei dem sich um einen Modus fröhlichen Charakters mit ernsthaftem Hintergrund handelt. Eine andere Zuordnungsmöglichkeit – für Gallus in diesem Fall auch die wahrscheinlichste – aber ist die Zuordnung zum nach oben(!) transponierten hypoionischen Modus auf dem *C*, der als Modus der Andächtigkeit, des Gebets und auch der Anbetung galt, passend auch für Musikstücke mit traurigem, klagendem und auch liebesbekundendem Inhalt. In beiden Fällen geht es um die Wahl eines ernsthaften Charakters mit dennoch heiterer Miene.

²³ In der Lauretanischen Litanei wird sie *Stella matutina* genannt. Eine ähnliche Bezeichnung für Maria finden wir auch in der Antiphone *Ave stella matutina peccatorum medicina mundi princeps et regina [...]*, Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms 2800, fol. 130v. Als *Stella maris* wird sie im Responsorium desselben Kodexes bezeichnet *Virgo parens christi paritura deum genuisti fulgida stella maris [...]*.

²⁴ Das ist auch aus der reichhaltigen patristischen und mittelalterlichen Literatur, der christlichen Hymnologie und Ikonographie ersichtlich. Solch ein Gedankenaufrschwung beruht auf der Ursymbolik, der wir seit jeher auf dem gesamten Gebiet des fruchtbaren Halbmondes und im Mittelmeerraum begegnen. Auf eine schöne synkretistische Beschreibung, die eine Bedeutungsbrücke zwischen der Urzeit der Ägypter, Griechen und Latiner sowie der Spätantike herstellt, stoßen wir unter anderem bei Apuleius (um 125–180 u. Z.; *Metamorphoseon – Asinus aureus*), vgl. auch Heinrich und Margarete Schmidt, *Die Vergessene Bildersprache christlicher Kunst*, München, Beck, 1981; it. Übersetzung *Linguaggio delle immagini*, Roma, Città Nuova Editrice, 1988, S. 218–219; Othmar Keel, *Die Welt der altorientalischen Bildsymbolik und das Alte Testament*, Zürich [...], Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1972; Kurt Hübner, *Die Wahrheit des Mythos*, München, Beck, 1985.

Die paradigmatische Parallele zwischen Kepler und Gallus, mit der wir unsere Überlegungen begonnen haben, dürfte uns folglich an dieser Stelle noch verständlicher sein. Die Vierstimmigkeit (*cantus, altus, tenor, bassus*) – als Abglanz der vier Grundelemente der Schöpfung (Feuer, Luft, Wasser, Erde) – bedeutete die Vollheit und Ganzheit. *A voce piena*, die Vollstimmigkeit, war die damalige Bezeichnung der Stimm-lagen Sopran (Feuer), Alt (Luft), Tenor (Wasser) und Bass (Erde). Aus dieser Sicht ist interessant, dass die Sammlung *Harmoniae morales* zur Gänze nur vierstimmig ist. Die Mehrstimmigkeiten (z.B. in der Sammlung *Moralia*) stellten eine Verdoppelung von einigen der vier grundlegenden Stimmen dar, was aber nichts an der Rolle der einzelnen Stimmen änderte. Die Zahl der Stimmen in einem bestimmten Musikstück bzw. die Zahl der augenblicklich auftretenden Stimmen in einem Einzelstück hatte daher immer eine bestimmte Bedeutung, die an die Harmonie im Raum – an die Fülle oder den Mangel an Gleichklang, an die Positivität oder Negativität, an das Licht oder die Finsternis – gebunden war. Wir können getrost behaupten, dass die einzelnen Stimmen die kosmischen Laufbahnen und die Rotationen der Planeten am Himmelszelt veranschaulichten. Die Vermeidung bzw. Untersagung von Dissonanzen bei strukturell wichtigen Noten des Musikstücks, die für den Aufbau des Stücks tragend waren, war auch so begründet. Ähnlich wie der Kosmos infolge der Zerstörung von aufeinander abgestimmten Zahlenverhältnissen unter den Planeten einstürzen würde, würde auch die Komposition – als Spiegelbild der kosmischen Ordnung – aus denselben Gründen zusammenbrechen. Auch die Partitur bestand lediglich aus waagrechten Notenlinien, die in gesonderten Abschnitten die einzelnen und voneinander getrennten Melodielinien andeuteten. Im Fall Gallus verfügen wir über vier kleinformatige voneinander getrennte gedruckte Partenbände – Stimmbücher – *Harmoniarum moralium* aus dem Jahre 1589 und sechs ebenso großformatige Partenbände von *Moralien* aus dem Jahre 1596.

Alles was erwähnt wurde, finden wir auch in unserem Fallbeispiel. Gallus goss seine Identifikation mit dem griechischen Gott Mars, der mit Venus der gemeinsamen Tochter *Harmonia* das Leben schenkte, in seine Komposition, die eine Länge von 19 Brevis-Einheiten hat. Weil es sich um *tactus alla breve* handelt, stimmen sie mit den Takten der Komposition überein. Die Form des ausgesprochen imitativen Kompositionsaufbaues (die Ausnahme ist das *noema* in den ersten anderthalb Takten, *exordium*) zerbricht in zwei größere ungleiche Teile, die mit der Form des Elegiedistichons übereinstimmen (Takte 1–7 und 7–16 bzw. 7–19). Der Takt 16 bedeutet faktisch das Ende unseres Madrigals, dem nur eine dreitaktige Bestätigung des Modus bzw. der *finis* (*peroratio*) der rhetorischen Aufgliederung folgt. Unter Berücksichtigung der Zäsuren in beiden Halbversen des Elegiedistichons erhalten wir Einsicht in vier Episoden bzw. musikalische Gedankenabschnitte des Madrigals (Takte 1–2, 2–7, 7–10 und 10–16 bzw. 10–19). Die Kompositionsform des gesamten Madrigals steht also im vollkommenen Gleichklang mit dem metrischen Aufbau des Distichons. *Musica instrumentalis* ist aber auch eine Rede. Die Aufgliederung unseres Madrigals in *exordium* – *medium* – *finis* (Takte 1–2, 2–16 in 16–19), nämlich die Aufgliederung einer Rede, lässt eine Anlehnung an die Rhetorik deutlich erkennen.

Die musikalische Form eines jeden Musikstücks aus der Renaissancezeit ist am schönsten ersichtlich, wenn wir unsere Aufmerksamkeit auf die *clausulae* bzw. Kandenzen lenken, die an der *clavis clausularum* stehen (das sind *finalis* und *ripercussa*

eines bestimmten Modus). Im ersten Teil des Madrigals *Gallus amat Venerem, cur?* steht die *clausula* vollkommen richtig auf dem *finalis C-FaUt* im Takt 7 (also 6+1 Brevis-Einheiten). Der zweite Teil geht mit einer ebenfalls richtig gestellten *clausula* auch auf dem *finalis C-FaUt* im Takt 16 zu Ende (mit einer Länge von 10 Brevis-Einheiten), dem noch die drei (3!) bereits erwähnten Takte zur Bestätigung der Tonalität mit einem etwas anders angeordneten Kadenzabschluss der Stimmen folgen: z.B. der Bass endet mit einem Quartsprung nach oben eine Oktave höher, also im Verhältnis 1:2 unter Berücksichtigung der eigenen Note im Takt 16. Ebenso kadenzieren auch die anderen Stimmen auf höheren Tonlagen, jedoch mit dem Unterschied, dass die Altstimme die Rolle der *clausula cantizans* auf *c'-FaUt* übernimmt und der *cantus* hingegen mit der *clausula tenorizans* auf *ripercussa e'LaMi* nach oben biegt. Die vollständige und richtig gebaute *clausula* ist an einer ganz bestimmten Stelle noch zusätzlich von Bedeutung. Das geschieht am Ende des ersten Halbverses im Takt 7 und am Ende des zweiten Halbverses im Takt 16. Beide Male befinden sich die *clausulae* an ihren richtigen Stellen: *cantizans* im Sopran, *tenorizans* im Tenor, *basizans* im Bass und *altizans* im Alt. Im Takt 7 ist wegen des konsequent richtigen Kadenzschrittes des Tenors (*clausula tenorizans*) der Schlussakkord sogar ohne Terz (wichtig!). Es kommen (laut Zarlino) nur einfache Zahlenverhältnisse vor 1:2, 2:4, 2:3 und 1:4 (d.h. zwei Oktaven, eine Duodezime und eine zweifache Oktave). Gallus hat mit diesem pythagoräisch musikalischen Siegel die Empfängnis, die Geburt der *Harmonia* in ihrer vollkommensten Form verbildlicht.

Es gibt aber auch noch andere Kunstgriffe, die von Gallus ebenso gekonnt verwendet werden. Im Takt 9 hinterlässt er seine Unterschrift in Form der musikalischen Figur *apotomia*: Dezidiert und im offensichtlichen Querstand mit dem Sopran tauscht Gallus innerhalb der *clausula cantizans* das *semitonium minus* (*f'*) in das *semitonium maius* (*fis'*) um. Dass sich das an derselben Stelle und an der Stelle derselben Wortsilbe abspielt, an der er kurz davor den Ambitus des Modus (*a''*) übertreten hat, deutet auf die Relevanz der Bedeutungen hin, die der Text an dieser Stelle beinhaltet: „et post confectum“. Im selben, d.h. im dritten Abschnitt des Musikwerkes (vom Takt 7–10) verwendet er an derselben Textstelle die *suspiratio* (gr. auch *stenasmus* genannt), um damit die leidenschaftliche Liebessehnsucht des *Gallus*-Hahn nach der *Venus* zum Ausdruck zu bringen, die hier vollkommen angebracht ist. Für die Sopran-Venus verwendet er selbstverständlich an derselben Stelle zum ersten Mal den Spondeus und antwortet erst zum zweiten Mal mit der musikalischen *suspiratio*-Figur: Die *Venus* erwärmte sich für *Gallus* bzw. erwiderte dieselben Gefühle eben ein bisschen später. Dieselbe rhetorische Figur plazierte aber den metrischen Ausrutscher, der scheinbar vom Komponisten Gallus begangen wird, wieder an die richtige Stelle: Der Anfang des zweiten Halbverses „et post [...]“ besteht aus lauter Spondeen, in seiner Vertonung aber erklingen auf den ersten Blick Jamben. Es ist bekannt, dass die Figur *suspirantis animi affectus* den Notenwert um die Hälfte verkürzt. Der fehlende erste Teil aber wird durch das entsprechende Pausenzeichen ersetzt.²⁵ Denselben

²⁵ Johann Gottlieb Walter, *Musicalisches Lexicon*, Leipzig 1732, behauptet folgendes: „Figura suspirans ist eben was Figura corta, nur daß sie, an statt der vordern längern Noten, eine halb so grosse Pause, und drauf eine den andern beyden gleiche Note hat.“; dieselbe Behauptung finden wir in: Wolfgang Caspar Printz, *Phrynys Mytilenaeus oder satyrischer Componist*, Dresden und Leipzig 1696, II, S. 60.

Charakter – *suspiratio/stenasmus* – haben auch alle Pausen vor „*cucuri curit ad illam*“ am Ende des ersten Halbverses in den Takten 2–5.²⁶ Gallus verbindet diese musikalische Figur gekonnt noch mit der – beinahe kanonartig klingenden – imitationsdurchsetzten (Fuge!) *auxesis/incrementum*, die als musikalische Figur noch am ehesten an die Rhetorik anknüpft, in welcher Bilder des Wachstums, der Vermehrung und des Aufwärtstrebens zum Ausdruck kommen. Dass all dieser vielfältige Formenreichtum vollkommen am Platz ist, muss nicht besonders betont werden. Gallus als Poet und Musicus, als Metriker und Komponist, kurzum als Humanist durch und durch erstrahlt in vollem Maße.

Wenn wir die Form des Madrigals noch anhand der Zahlensymbolik überprüfen, die ebenfalls im Madrigal ersichtlich ist, offenbart sich folgendes:

- Die *Regularis*-Kadenz im Takt 7 beendet das Werk (*opus!*) in der Tat, denn der zweite Vers spricht lediglich vom „danach“ (& *post confectum*). Es geht also um die Ruhe, was $6+1$ andeutet, bzw. um das *opus* in Zahlen ausgedrückt, bzw. um es mit noch deutlicheren Worten zu beschreiben, um das göttliche Sechstageswerk bei der Erschaffung der Welt, was *opus* in der ursprünglichen Wortbedeutung bedeutet, am siebenten Tag aber begab sich Gott zur Ruhe.
- Die Kadenz des zweiten Teiles tritt nach den 10 Brevis-Einheiten (Takt 7–16) des strengen Imitationsgeschehens auf, was in pythagoräischer Auffassung eine Einheit darstellt, denn es geht um die Summe der „heiligen *tetractys*“ bzw. $1+2+3+4=10$, was auf höherem Niveau die Eins (*Unum*) bedeutet. Es ist interessant, dass die erste Einheit des zweiten Teiles, die mit der Zäsur des zweiten Halbverses übereinstimmt ebenso und mit derselben Zahlensymbolik im Takt 10 endet. Sie wird durch die bedeutungsvoll gesetzte Tenorklausel auf *g-SolUt* hervorgehoben. Und auch die Anzahl der Brevis-Einheiten der gesamten Komposition trägt dieselbe Bedeutung: $19 \text{ Takte}=1+9=10$, also *opus* einwenig anders ausgedrückt.
- Im Takt 14 erscheint die *clausula* auf dem *G-sol*, das zum ersten Mal den Gesamtgedanken des Madrigals (*cucuri curit opus*) abschließt. Und diese Stelle zerbricht wiederum in die bereits bekannte Symbolik: $14=2 \times 7$. Derselbe Takt kann wieder durch 7 geteilt werden, wenn man den reinen Wert der sieben Brevis-Einheiten des zweiten Halbverses zusammenzählt, den diese hier in der Mensuralnotation aufweisen, und man bekommt $14:7=2$, also eine Zahl, die den Anfang der geraden Zahlen bzw. die Zahl der Weiblichkeit, aber auch das Symbol des umgedrehten Oktavenverhältnisses $14:7=2:1$ darstellt, wo dem weiblichen Prinzip (d.h. der 2) eine höhere Wertigkeit zuteil wird als dem männlichen (d.h. der 1). Wir erhalten auf ähnliche Weise dieselbe Symbolik: *opus* + Ruhe = Vollkommenheit, *harmonia* im Takt 16, wo das Musikstück tatsächlich zu Ende ist, denn die Zahl 16 birgt in sich wiederum die Zahl 7 ($1+6=7$). Andererseits ist 16 gleich 4×4 , stellt also wieder einmal die uns bereits bekannte pythagoräische *harmonia* dar oder aber $16:2=8$, was auf die Doppelheit des christlichen „achten Tages“ hindeutet, was die endgültige Erlösung des Pasha verbildlicht.

²⁶ Wir dürfen die *suspiratio/stenasmus* nicht mit der musikalischen Figur *tnesi* verwechseln, der Figur des Schluchzens bzw. des verborgenen Weinens.

Ich habe nur auf einige der meist ersichtlichen Zahlenbedeutungen hingewiesen, die in der metrischen insbesondere aber in der musikalischen Form des Madrigals *Gallus amat Venerem, cur?* beinhaltet sind. Aber schon die reichen aus, dass der zweite Halbvers des Elegiedistichons²⁷ ganz anders in unseren Ohren erklingt, wie wir das zu Beginn in der sogenannten vorläufigen Übersetzung andeuteten. Natürlich werden wir bei der nachfolgenden Übersetzung auch all das im Sinn behalten, was wir in unserer Studie behandelt haben. Den zweiten Halbvers des von Gallus verfassten Elegiedistichons „& post / **confe/ctum** // **cucuri** / **curit** o/**pus**.“ könnten wir jetzt auch folgendermaßen übersetzen (das lässt die lateinische Sprache durchaus auch zu): „Und sobald er fertig ist – mit ‚Kikeriki‘ (d.h. singend, erklingend) rotiert (oder kreist) das *opus* (das Erzeugnis, das Werk, d.h. die *Harmonia*).“ Ein bisschen freier und unter dem Eindruck der griechischen Mythologie, aber noch immer völlig im Sinne des lateinischen *curro*, -ere könnte man den Halbvers auch auf folgende Weise übersetzen: „Und sobald er fertig ist, ergießt sich das *opus* (= *Harmonia*) kikerikiend ins Weltall“ bzw. „durchdringt das *opus* (= *Harmonia*) kikerikiend das Weltall.“

Es wäre auch interessant, sich die gematrischen Analysen von Tine Kurent anzusehen.²⁸ Doch der vorgegebene Rahmen erlaubt es nicht. Wir würden auch auf diesem Wege zu denselben Ergebnissen und demselben Schluss gelangen. Nehmen wir nur den Unterschied des Doppelkonsonanten *rr* bzw. des Konsonanten *r* im Inhaltsverzeichnis („*cucurricurrit*“) und in den Notenaufzeichnungen („*cucuri curit*“) genauer unter die Lupe. Es ist nicht notwendig ausdrücklich zu betonen, dass es sich hierbei nicht um einen ungewollt eingeschlichenen Fehler handelt, sondern dass Gallus das mit einer ganz bestimmten Absicht und in allen vier Bänden konsequent in gleicher Weise so niederschrieb. (Abbildung: Jacobus Gallus, *Index Harmoniarum moralium*.)

Zusammenfassend wissen wir jetzt, dass der Künstlername Gallus – in der Bedeutung von „Hahn“ – für unseren Komponisten kein bloßes Sinnbild ist, deren übersinnliches Sein sich im geistigen Schauen (wie im Mittelalter) äußert. Es ist auch kein reiner Einfall, denn Gallus fühlt sich darin als Persönlichkeit aus Fleisch und Blut. Seine Identifikation mit dem kämpferisch mutigen und stets wachsamen „Hahn“ drückt die Kraft des Künstlers aus, der das Leben in all seinen Erfahrungstiefen und -nuancen erfährt – er kennt sowohl die Ereignisse des Tages als auch die Geheimnisse der Nächte – und seine Handlungen – den Gesang – in die Welt der realen Erfahrung einbezieht. Darin zeigt sich Gallus als vollblütiger Humanist. Gallus erlebt den Beinamen „Hahn“ – figürlich ausgedrückt – beinahe auf der Ebene des Totem. Ein „Hahn“ zu sein, ist für ihn der grundlegende Beruf des Lebens, es ist der ganzheitliche Ausdruck der eigenen Person. Gerade in diesem – sogenannten – Totemebenbild sind Religiosität und Weltlichkeit aufs äußerste in der naturhaften Menschlichkeit vereinheitlicht, wie er es auf Schritt und Tritt hervorhebt. Insbesondere durch die Identifikation mit dem „Hahn“ lebt in Gallus vor unseren

²⁷ Der Halbvers wird unberechtigtweise als Elegiepentameter bezeichnet. In Wahrheit ist es eine daktylische *Hexapodie* dikatalektisch in *sillabam* im dritten und sechsten Versfuß und ist demnach – zwar ein klein wenig insgeheim – ein richtiger auf der Zahl 6 begründeter *Hexameter*.

²⁸ Tine Kurent, Gallusova gematrična predstavitev, *Gallus Carniolus in evropska renesansa*, Bd. 2, Hrsg. von Dragotin Cvetko und Danilo Pokorn, Ljubljana, SAZU, 1992, S. 133–153.

Index Harmoniarum Moralium.

PRIMI LIBRI.

- I. Dij tibi si qua pios respiciant numina
- II. O Fortuna potens quam variabilis:
- III. Currit parvus lepulus. fa, mi, re, clamant:
- IIII. Qui fugat intrepidus, magis ille fugat fugientes:
- V. Gallus nouenarum iacet aula iubaeta sororum:
- VI. Gallus amat Venerem, cur? cucurricurrit ad illam:
- VII. Quam Gallina suum parit ovum, glöccinat ante:
- VIII. Ergo mihi uxorem qualem ducam? an nē puellam?
- IX. Anna soror, soror Anna meæ male conscia culpæ:
- X. Heu crucior certe quia iam fraus regnat in orbe:
- XI. Nusquam tuta fides, fraudis sunt omnia plena:
- XII. Herocs, pugnate Viri fortissimi, ad arma ascete!
- XIII. Proditor cūcūt Hypocrita:
- XIIII. Cogitate miseri, qui uel quales estis:

Abbildung

Jacobus Gallus, *Index*

Harmoniarum moralium

aus *Harmoniae morales*,

Praga 1589.



Augen eine mutige, gerechte und mit Kraft ausgestattete Person auf, die unermüdlich Tag und Nacht über dem ununterbrochenen Fluss der Zeit wacht, der geheimnisvoll mit dem Pulsschlag der Schöpfung und der Ereignisse verquickt ist. Mit dem Gesang vertreibt sich Gallus der „Hahn“ die Zeit des Wachens, vor allem in den Nachtstunden, die ethisch besonders gefährlich sind, weil sie durch dunkle dämonische Wesen mit Leben ausgestattet werden und weil sie eine so starke Ähnlichkeit mit dem ewigen Schlaf haben. Nur der einsame, aber kämpferische Gallus – der „Hahn“ – wacht wachsam über der Moral und singt, denn das ist sein Beruf. Wir können also sagen, dass Gallus in der Rolle des „Hahns“ nicht singt, sondern das Singen dazu verwendet, um als Leiter von wichtigen Lebenswahrheiten wertvolle Sinngehalte in Form von sinnlich wahrnehmbaren Botschaften auf geheimnisvolle Art und Weise mitzuteilen. Darum können seine eigenartigen „Madrigale“ nichts anderes sein – und wiederum sind wir gezwungen denselben Schluss zu ziehen – als *Harmoniae morales* und *Moralia*, d.h. der Zusammenklang, *harmonia* der goldenen Lehren des neuen Lebens, die erneuernde und erneuerte Ethik in der Musik.

Das Künstlerprofil des Komponisten Gallus als Kuschschaffender und Schöpfer ist – demnach – unmöglich von seinem intellektuellen, humanistischen, persönlich ethischen, weltanschaulichen und ganz intim menschlichen Profil zu trennen, obwohl es möglich ist, alle diese einzelnen Bausteine klar auseinanderzuhalten. Nach all den Erkenntnissen, die wir bei der Erforschung der Identifikation unseres Komponisten mit dem Hahn gewinnen konnten, können wir nun den Schluss ziehen, dass im Grunde genommen zwei – ansonsten schon stark eingebürgerte – Namen ohne dem Familiennamen im Spiel sind, nämlich *Jacobus Gallus* – der Tauf- und der (humanistische!) Künstlernamen. Eine derartige Namengebung ist auch in streng wissenschaftlichen Kreisen schon lange Zeit üblich, wie das aus der öffentlichen Sammlung seiner Werke ersichtlich ist, die von dem Musikwissenschaftlichen Institut des Wissenschaftlichen Forschungszentrum der Slowenischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste herausgegeben wird. Und auch hier dominiert der Name *Gallus* stark vor dem Namen *Jacobus*. Die Analyse des Madrigals *Gallus amat Venerem, cur?* hat hier gezeigt und bewiesen, dass eine solche Benennung

vollkommen der Persönlichkeit und dem Wollen unseres Komponisten entspricht: Gallus war ein reiner Vorname, ein Name ohne Zusätze, wie es *Mars*, *Venus* oder auch *Christus*, *Maria*, *Deus* sind. Die Frage, ob sich Gallus mit seinem Künstlernamen vor allem als Humanist identifizierte, ist am Ende dieses Kapitels nur noch von rhetorischer Natur: Es wird keine Antwort, sondern ein Konsens erwartet. Ist dieser Name auch sein richtiger humanistischer Name? Trotz Fehlen einer ausdrücklichen schriftlichen Aussage des Komponisten drängen uns unsere Forschungsergebnisse zu einer bejahenden Antwort. Auf jeden Fall aber sind alle vorliegenden Ergebnisse ein ausgezeichnetes Sprungbrett für kompositorische und ästhetische Bewertungen von Musikwerken unseres Komponisten, die bei ihm als die einzigen zählen.

Nicht nur die retorisch gestellte Ausgangsfrage *Gallus* – der Humanist *amat Venerem, cur?* ist an diesem Punkt beantwortet, sondern auch der emotional-rationale Konsens, so hoffe ich, steht nun außer Zweifel.*

* Übersetzt von Christiana Gotthardt.

Notenbeispiel

VI. Gallus amat Venerem

Iacobus Gallus

Cantus

Altus

Tenor

Bassus

Gal - lus a - mat Ve - ne - rem, cur? cu - cu - ri cur -

Gal - lus a - mat Ve - ne - rem, cur? cu - cu - ri cur -

Gal - lus a - mat Ve - ne - rem, cur? cu - cu - ri

Gal - lus a - mat Ve - ne - rem, cur? cu -

3

rit, cu - cu - ri cur - rit, (cu - cu - ri cur - rit,) cu - cu - ri cur - rit, (cu - cu - ri

rit, cu - cu - ri cur - rit, (cu - cu - ri cur - rit,) cu - cu - ri cur - rit, cu - cu - ri cur - rit ad

cur - rit, cur? cu - cu - ri cur - rit, cu - cu - ri cur - rit, (cu - cu - ri cur -

cu - ri cur - rit, cu - cu - ri cur - rit, cu - cu - ri cur - rit, cu - cu - ri

6

cur - rit,) cu - cu - ri cur - rit ad il - lam, et post con - fe - ctum,

il - lam, (cu - cu - ri cur - rit ad il - lam,) et post con - fe - ctum, (et

rit,) cu - cu - ri cur - rit ad il - lam, et post con - fe - ctum, (et post con -

cur - rit ad il - lam, et post con - fe - ctum, et post

Jacobus Gallus, *Gallus amat Venerem, cur?* (*Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae* XXVI, Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, 1995, S. 23–24; mit der Genehmigung des Verlegers).

9

(et post con - fe - ctum) cu-cu-ri cur-rit, o - pus (cu-cu-ri cur - rit o -
 post con - fe - ctum,) con - fe - ctum cu-cu-ri cur-rit o - pus, cu-cu-ri cur -
 fe - ctum,) et post con - fe - ctum cu-cu-ri cur-rit o - pus, (cu-cu-ri
 con - fe - ctum, con - fe - ctum cu-cu-ri cur - rit o - pus,

13

pus,) cu - cu-ri cur - rit o - pus, (cu - cu-ri cur - rit o - pus,) cu - cu-ri cur - rit o -
 rit o - pus, o - pus, cu - cu-ri cur - rit o - pus, cu - cu-ri cur - rit, cu - cu-ri
 cur - rit o - pus,) o - pus, cu - cu-ri cur - rit o - pus, (cu - cu-ri cur - rit
 cu - cu-ri cur - rit o - pus, cu - cu-ri cur - rit o - pus, cu - cu-ri

16

- pus, cu - cu-ri cur - rit o - pus, cu - cu-ri cur - rit o - pus.
 cur - rit o - pus, (cu - cu-ri cur - rit o - pus,) cu - cu-ri cur - rit o - pus.
 o - pus,) cu - cu-ri cur - rit o - pus, cu - cu-ri cur - rit o - pus.
 cur - rit o - pus, (cu - cu-ri cur - rit o - pus,) cu - cu-ri cur - rit o - pus.

GALLUS – HUMANIST AMAT VENEREM, CUR?
NEKAJ KRITIČNIH PREMISLEKOV O ŠESTI SKLADBI ZBIRKE
HARMONIAE MORALES

Povzetek

Slovenski renesančni skladatelj *Jacobus Handl, Gallus dictus, Carniol(an)us* je bil prefinjen humanist. Prvi snovni pokazatelj in dokaz za to trditev so jedrnata, vsebinsko bogata in v izborni latinščini napisana besedila, ki so zagotovo izšla izpod njegovega peresa. Analiza in izsledki analize le-teh so bili izhodišče in smerokaz nadaljnjega preučevanja. Drugi nivo izsledkov in dokazov pa nudi vsestransko in večplastno preučevanje nekaterih za Gallusa bistvenih pojmovnih segmentov, kot so npr.: njegovo pojmovanje glasbe kot *Ars* oz. *Domina musica* znotraj takratnega univerzalnega sistema *artes liberales*; kakšen pomen pripisuje za Gallusa izjemno pomembnemu pitagorejsko-neoplatonskemu pojmu *harmonia*; Gallusovo enovito pojmovanje kozmologije, združeno s subtilnim občutkom za etiko ter posledice; Gallusov odnos do pojmov sakralno-profano in vpliv na njegov kompozicijski slog (vprašanje zakaj *moralia* in ne *madrigali*); pojmovanje mitološke in teološke semantike, ki jo polaga v besedo/umetniško ime *Gallus*; vprašanje zakaj in od kje skladateljeva predominantna samoidentifikacija s petelinom (*Ares* / Mars med živalmi!) in celo s Feniksom ter posledice; zelo poučna je tudi večplastna kompozicijsko hermenevitično-analitična obravnava (metrika, besedilo, modus, retorične figure, številčna simbolika ipd.) bogate artificalne simbolike, ki je prisotna v madrigalu *Gallus amat Venerem, cur?* ipd. Umetniški profil skladatelja Gallusa kot ustvarjalca je nemogoče ločiti od njegovega intelektualnega, humanističnega, osebno etičnega, svetovnonazorskega in povsem intimno človeškega profila, čeprav je mogoče vse te posamezne sestavine jasno razlikovati. Vsi izsledki (večina jih v tem članku zaradi zelo omejenega prostora ni objavljenih) pokažejo in dokažejo, kako močno in na kakšen način se je skladatelj kot humanist, umetnik in človek identificiral (edino!) z umetniškim imenom *Gallus*. Na temelju vseh izsledkov lahko postavimo vsestransko utemeljeno trditev, ki ima moč aristotelovske razvidnosti, da si je naš skladatelj *Jacobus Handl* izbral in nadel ime *Gallus* predvsem kot humanist. Obe imeni *Jacobus Gallus* (*Jacobus* kot oseba krstno in *Gallus* kot humanist umetnik), vzeti v tem paru, sta zato popolnoma legitimni. Avtor pojasni s tem tudi pravilnost (sicer netočnega) poimenovanja skladatelja kot *Jacobus Gallus*, ki je zadnja desetletja običajna tudi v strogo znanstvenih krogih, prisotna pa je tudi v naslovnicaх uradne izdaje skladateljevih zbranih del, ki jih izdaja Muzikološki inštitut Znanstveno raziskovalnega centra Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti.

STUDIA VARIA

»POJOČA CERKEV V SAMOTI«:¹ KARTUZIJANI IN NJIHOVA GLASBA

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Izvleček: Kartuzijanski red se v svoji dolgi zgodovini odlikuje po dejstvu, da ni nikoli doživel večje reforme in da je kljub dopolnitvam ves čas ostajal zvest načelom Consuetudines (Običajev) priorja Guiga. Članek na kratko oriše zgodovino reda in nekatere značilnosti kartuzijske liturgije, ustavi pa se tudi ob vlogi in pomenu gregorijanskega koral, ki je vse do danes ostal njihova liturgična glasba.

Ključne besede: kartuzijani, liturgija, gregorijanski koral.

Abstract: In all its long history, the Carthusian Order has never been reformed and has always remained true to the principles of the Consuetudines (Customs), written by the Order's fifth prior, Guigo. The article discusses the history of the Order and some characteristics of the Carthusian liturgy to discover, finally, the role and meaning of its liturgical music – which has remained Gregorian chant up to the present day.

Keywords: Carthusians, liturgy, plainchant.

Red kartuzijanov že devet stoletij živi in deluje v velikem delu krščanskega sveta, čeprav se zdi od aktualnega dogajanja povsem odmaknjen.² Življenje kartuzijanov zaznamuje popolna predanost kontemplaciji v tišini, molitvi, uboštvu in spokornosti.³ Ustanovitelj Bruno iz Kölna oz. sv. Bruno (ok. 1032–1101), kanonik in profesor katedralne šole v Reimsu, sodobnik reforme papeža Gregorja VII. ter eden od nosilcev gibanja *pro vita evangelica et apostolica*, je leta 1084 s šestimi tovariši uresničil dolgoletno željo, da bi zapustil »minljivo senco sveta, začel iskati večno bogastvo in sprejel redovno obleko«.⁴ V samotni dolini Chartreuse blizu Grenobla (po kateri je red dobil ime) je skupinica puščavniške ideale združila z ideali monastičnega življenja, kar ji je omogočilo preživetje

¹ Navedek po: Kartuzijani, *To je rod tistih, ki iščejo Boga*, Redovne skupnosti na Slovenskem, ur. Amalija Kuri, Ljubljana, Salve, 1996, str. 22.

² Kratek in zanimiv pregled zgodovine kartuzijskega reda v: Jože Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiže in Jurkloster*, Maribor, Obzorja, 1991, str. 7–23.

³ *Duhovnost*, <http://www.kartuzija-pleterje.si> (16. julij 2007). Uradna spletna stran pleterške kartuzije je v veliki meri prirejena po uradni spletni strani kartuzijskega reda <http://www.chartreux.org> (16. julij 2007).

⁴ André Ravier D. J., *Sveti Bruno*, Pleterje, Kartuzija Pleterje, 1968, str. 55; gl. tudi *Letter of St. Bruno to Raoul le Verd*, <http://www.chartreux.org> (16. julij 2007).

v neprijaznih krajih.⁵ Zgodnji kartuzijani niso predstavljali kritike benediktinskega monasticizma in so bili tesno povezani tako s Clunyjem kot s cistercijanskim redom. Poskušali so obnoviti to, kar so pojmovali kot temeljne prvine izvirnega benediktinskega ideala: popolno pokorščino in predanost, kombinacijo eremitizma in revščine z urejenim monastičnim življenjem. Zaradi strogosti pa njihov način življenja ni bil tako privlačen in ni predstavljal konkurence drugim redovom.⁶

Decembra 1086 je grenobelski škof Hugo uradno odobril podaritev zemljišča Chartreuse kartuzijanom. Že nekaj let kasneje (1089 ali 1090) pa je papež Urban II. poklical Bruna, svojega nekdanjega profesorja iz Reimsa, v Rim, da bi mu pomagal pri vodstvu Cerkve. Po Brunovem odhodu so se njegovi tovariši v veliki zmedi razšli. Čez nekaj časa so se ponovno zbrali v Chartreuse, kjer jim je Bruno za priorja določil Landuina. Sam Bruno ni dolgo ostal v Rimu. Odklonil je škofijo Reggio v Kalabriji, kjer so ga na papeževo posebno željo izvolili za škofa, in si prizadeval za vrnitev v Chartreuse. Papež je pristal le na to, da se Bruno umakne v manj oddaljeno Kalabrijo, kjer je ustanovil drugo »kartuzijo«: Santa Maria della Torre; tam je umrl 6. oktobra 1101.⁷

Bruno svojim tovarišem ni zapustil nikakršnih pisanih vodil ali pravil. Redovno življenje je potekalo po ustnem izročilu in ustaljenih navadah. Grenobelski škof Hugo in več novih puščavniških naselbin je Guiga (ok. 1083–1137),⁸ petega priorja Chartreuse, prosilo za pisani zakonik puščavniškega življenja po Brunovem zgledu. Guigo je tako ok. leta 1127 ali 1128 napisal *Consuetudines domus Cartusiae* (*Običaje kartuzijanske hiše* oz. *Običaje*), v katerih je uzakonil tisto, kar so delali v Chartreuse.⁹ Tako je bil sv. Bruno ustanovitelj, škof sv. Hugo organizator in Guigo zakonodajalec kartuzijanskega reda.¹⁰

Do dejanske ustanovitve reda je prišlo leta 1140, ko so uvedli generalni kapitelj kot osrednjo oblast v redu in opolnomočja priorjev posameznih samostanov prenesli na priorja Velike kartuzije (fr. Grande Chartreuse), ki je s tem postal generalni prior. Red je leta 1176 potrdil papež Aleksander III. in vse redovne hiše ter njihove člane sprejel pod svojo zaščito. Edinost reda in enotnost redovne observance naj bi zagotovila tudi izvzetost iz jurisdikcije krajevnih škofov. Na generalnem kapitlju, na katerega so bili dolžni prihajati vsi priorji in vizitatorji, je šest volivcev redno izbralo zbor osmih definatorjev, najvišjo upravno oblast, ki je skupaj z generalnim priorjem sprejemala za vse samostane obvezne

⁵ »[...] ravnotežje med samoto in skupnim življenjem je omogočalo, da je naš red mogel ohraniti ideal samotarskega življenja skozi stoletja«. *Skupnost* na <http://www.kartuzija-pleterje.si> (16. julij 2007).

⁶ Brenda M. Bolton, Carthusian Order, *Grove Art Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://www.groveart.com.nukweb.nuk.uni-lj.si> (16. julij 2007).

⁷ Metod Benedik, Zgodovinski oris kartuzijanskega reda, *Benediktinci, kartuzijani, cistercijani*, Redovništvo na Slovenskem 1, ur. France M. Dolinar, Ljubljana, Kartuzija Pleterje in Cisterca Stična, 1984, str. 87–106: 93–94.

⁸ Najdemo ga tudi pod imeni Guigo I. ali Guigo iz Kastela (Guigues du Chastel, Guigo de Castro). Prim. Raymund Webster, Guigues du Chastel (Guigo de Castro), *Catholic encyclopedia*, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/> (16. julij 2007). Prim. tudi James Hogg, Guigo von Kastel, Kartäuser, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, <http://www.bautz.de/bbkl> (13. julij 2007).

⁹ V nadaljevanju uporabljam samo izraz *Consuetudines*.

¹⁰ M. Benedik, nav. delo, str. 94.

sklepe. Prav tako je definitorij redno določal vizitatorje, ki so vsaki dve leti obiskali samostane.¹¹ Na generalnem kapitlju se priorji kartuzij še danes sestajajo vsaki dve leti. Generalni prior ima izvršno, generalni kapitelj pa zakonodajno oblast. Tudi skupnosti v posameznih hišah si same izvolijo priorja.¹²

Kartuzijanski red je – glede na svojo izrazito kontemplativno usmerjenost – rasel razmeroma hitro. Leta 1150 je štel 15 naselbin, leta 1200 je bilo 37 kartuzij, med njimi dva ženska samostana, leta 1300 je bilo vseh redovnih hiš 65. V 12. in 13. stoletju se je kartuzijanski red še vedno širil pretežno po francoskem ozemlju, z ustanovama Žiče (ok. 1160) kot devetnajsto in Jurkloster (ok. 1170) kot štiriindvajseto v vrsti kartuzij pa se je razmahnil daleč proti vzhodu. Kartuzija v Žičah je bila obenem tudi prva redovna naselbina v Srednji Evropi ter v vseh nemških in slovanskih deželah.¹³

Red se je zlasti razmahnil v 14. in 15. stoletju z razcvetom mistike – samo v prvi polovici 14. stoletja je nastalo 54 novih redovnih hiš, k čemur je zlasti pripomoglo širjenje reda na nemških tleh. Vseh kartuzij Velika kartuzija sama ni mogla več nadzirati in vizitirati, zato je redovne postojanke razdelila v province. Območje le-teh se je večkrat spreminjalo; slovenske kartuzije so tako sprva pripadale lombardski, po letu 1355 pa zgornjenemški provinci (*Germania superior*).¹⁴ Kartuzijanski red je najprej nadvse prizadela zahodna shizma (1378–1417), v kateri je prišlo do razcepa v redu, kasneje pa protiredovniško usmerjena reformacija; v tem obdobju je propadlo okoli 40 redovnih hiš. Slovenske kartuzije so takrat trpele tudi zaradi turških vpadov.¹⁵

V 17. stoletju se je kartuzijanski red zlasti na Francoskem spet okrepil; nastalo je kar 12 novih kartuzij. Vendar je španska zakonodaja od leta 1784 vse redovne hiše na španskem ozemlju ločila od Velike kartuzije. Razsvetljeni habsburški cesar Jožef II. je leta 1782 razpustil 24 kartuzij, med njimi tudi Žiče in Bistvo. Pred francosko revolucijo je ostalo še 126 redovnih hiš – od tega 65 v Franciji –, ki so jih razpustili skupaj z drugimi samostani leta 1792. Drugod so propadale v napoleonskih vojnah in s sekularizacijo. Kartuzijanski red je ponovno zaživel v 19. stoletju in v tej obliki svoje redovno življenje večinoma nadaljuje še danes.¹⁶ Čeprav so posamezniki pogosto odstopali od redovnih načel in pravil, se je red v zgodovini pri poglavitnih stvareh vedno držal prvotnih načel gibanja *pro vita evangelica et apostolica*, iz katerega je izšel, ter ohranjal zvestobo Guigovim *Consuetudines*. Prav to je imel v mislih papež Inocenc XI. (1676–1689), ko je izjavil: »Cartusia nunquam reformata, quia nunquam deformata«.¹⁷

Da Kartuzija nikoli ni bila *deformata* in posledično tudi ne *reformata*, je predvsem zasluga kartuzijskega »zakonodajalca« Guiga, ki je v že omenjene *Consuetudines* vnesel duhovno dediščino sv. Bruna ter se oprl še na redovna pravila sv. Benedikta, misli sv.

¹¹ J. Mlinarič, nav. delo, 1991, str. 9.

¹² *Struktura kartuzijskega reda*, <http://www.kartuzija-pleterje.si> (16. julij 2007) in *Carthusian monks and nuns: Who are they, The Order Today*, <http://www.chartreux.org> (16. julij 2007).

¹³ M. Benedik, nav. delo, str. 95.

¹⁴ Pregled razdelitve na province ima J. Mlinarič, nav. delo, 1991, str. 10 in 13–15.

¹⁵ M. Benedik, nav. delo, str. 98, 102.

¹⁶ M. Benedik, nav. delo, str. 95–96.

¹⁷ M. Benedik, nav. delo, str. 104.

Hieronima, Janeza Kasijana in druge spise.¹⁸ Čeprav *Consuetudines* niso bile pravila v pravem pomenu besede, so vendar predstavljale prvi zakonodajni dokument reda in ostale temelj vsake nadaljnje kartuzijanske zakonodaje. V 80 poglavjih je Guigo razložil mnogo praktičnih podrobnosti in prav zaradi svoje jasnosti, prav tako pa tudi občutljivosti za duha in črko pokorščine, so *Consuetudines* pripomogle k uspehu – če ne že kar obstoju – kartuzijanskega reda. Guigo je uredil razmerje med menihi (patri) in brati laiki. V prvih 41 poglavjih je spregovoril o menihih, v sledečih 38 pa o laičnih bratih – konverzijah (*conversi*). Brez slednjih se kartuzijanska vizija ne bi mogla uresničiti, saj so opravljali posebne naloge, s katerimi so omogočali preživetje skupine v najtrših razmerah in varovali menihe pred vsemi posvetnimi skrbmi, obenem pa so bili z njimi tesno duhovno povezani. Konverzi, ki so živeli v posebni zgradbi (spodnja hiša oz. spodnji dom), so imeli tako kot menihi ločene celice in so se prav tako zaobljubili. Odnosi med obema hišama so bili strogo urejeni. Vsako drugo nedeljo so se konverzi udeležili skupnega bogoslužja v zgornji hiši, medtem ko je prior vsak peti teden preživel v spodnji hiši. V zadnjem poglavju je Guigo zaključil *Consuetudines* s slavospevom življenju v samoti in tišini. Tu je opisal edinstveni kontemplativni počitek (*quies*) kartuzijana, ki se mu v samoti celice ob študiju *Svetega pisma* razodevajo največje in najgloblje skrivnosti (*Consuetudines*, 80).¹⁹

Struktura kartuzijanskega reda se vse od prvih zapisanih Guigovih *Consuetudines* (v veliki meri prav zaradi jasnih smernic v njih) ni veliko spremenila. Nanje so se vedno sklicevala tudi kasnejša *Statuta*.²⁰ *Consuetudines* je leta 1133 in 1137 potrdil papež Inocenc II., na generalnem kapitlju leta 1140 pa jih je sprejelo vseh pet prisotnih kartuzij. Prior Antelm (1139–1151) jih je dopolnil z nekaterimi liturgičnimi podrobnostmi. Dobrih sto let kasneje (1258 ali 1259) je Riffier (1257–1267) zbral vso tedanjo zakonodajo in jo združil s *Consuetudines*, tako da je nastal nov korpus redovnih pravil, znan kot *Statuta antiqua* (1271). S sklepi generalnih kapitljev v letih 1259–1367 so nastajala *Statuta nova* (1368), v nadaljnjem obdobju pa so generalni kapitlji obe zbirki *Statuta* še dopolnjevali in tako je nastala *Tertia compilatio statutorum* (1509). Celotno zbirko, *Consuetudines et statuta*, ki so jo dotlej vedno ročno prepisovali, je generalni prior Dupuy prvič dal natisniti leta 1510 v Baslu. Po tridentinskem koncilu je bilo treba pravila urediti na novo. Ta redakcija, v kateri so bile združene vse tri zbirke, je izšla leta 1582 v Parizu kot *Nova collectio statutorum*; z malenkostnimi popravki jo je leta 1688 potrdil papež Inocenc XI. V novejšem času so bili kartuzijanski statuti na temelju Zakonika cerkvenega prava potrjeni leta 1924, po drugem vatikanskem cerkvenem zboru pa je generalni kapitelj leta 1971 potrdil *Statuta renovata*, *Obnovljena pravila*, razdeljena v dve knjigi.²¹ Da bi se ujemala

¹⁸ Mary Berry, Carthusian monks, *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.grovemusic.com.nukweb.nuk.uni-lj.si> (16. julij 2007).

¹⁹ B. M. Bolton, nav. spletna stran. Prim. tudi *Pravila*, <http://www.kartuzija-pleterje.si> (16. julij 2007).

²⁰ *Pravila*, nav. spletna stran, in *Carthusian Monks and Carthusian Nuns*, nav. spletna stran.

²¹ M. Benedik, nav. delo, str. 94–95. *Pravila*, nav. spletna stran, in *Carthusian Monks and Carthusian Nuns*, nav. spletna stran. V tipkopisu sta izšla dva latinsko-slovenska zvezka: *Obnovljena pravila kartuzijanskega reda*, 1.–4. knjiga, Odobrena od generalnega kapitlja leta 1971, Pleterje, Kartuzija Pleterje, 1980 ter *Obnovljena pravila kartuzijanskega reda*, 5.–8. knjiga, Odobrena od generalnega kapitlja leta 1975, Pleterje, Kartuzija Pleterje, 1982.

z Zakonikom cerkvenega prava, so bila ta pravila pod generalnim priorjem Andrejem leta 1989 ponovno revidirana.²²

Kakor je razvidno že iz *Obnovljenih pravil*, jedro kartuzijanske skupnosti predstavlja liturgija: »najbolj nas družijo v skupnost vsakdanja sveta liturgija«. ²³ V njej ima glasba posebno mesto, zato je tudi za življenje kartuzijanov velikega pomena. Morda je izpostavljena še toliko bolj, ker je kartuzijanski red strogo kontemplativen in zapoveduje tišino. Kartuzijan naj ne bi izgovoril nobene besede brez potrebe.²⁴ Največ besed tako izgovori pri liturgičnem obredju, veliko pa jih je celo petih. Lahko rečemo, da se glasbeno življenje kartuzijana odvija predvsem v povezavi z liturgijo.

Kako se je razvijala kartuzijanska liturgija, s katero je bila povezana glasba, in kakšna je bila? V skladu z organiziranjem (zlasti latinskega) meništvja je nastajala tudi meniška (monastična) liturgija, ki se je glede na svojsko obliko in poudarke razlikovala od katedralne (kanonične). Slednja je bila usmerjena bolj pastoralno, medtem ko sta bili prevladujoči prvini monastične liturgije adoracija in meditacija. Monastičnemu molitvenemu bogoslužju je dalo zunanjo obliko *Pravilo* sv. Benedikta. V primeru sv. Bruna gre za vprašanje, ali je hotel ustanoviti meniški samostan ali pa je bil le vodja neke skupine puščavnikov brez občestvenih vezi. Verjetno je s prvimi tovariši še molil kanonično opravilo (saj so prihajali iz katedralnih cerkva). V Guigovem času naj bi bil razvoj iz kanonične v monastično liturgijo v veliki meri že končan;²⁵ liturgični predpisi pa so bili najbrž določeni šele pod njegovim predhodnikom, priorjem Janezom iz Toskane (1101–1109).²⁶

Prve kartuzijanske liturgične knjige so se najbrž naslonile na prakso verskih ustanov v večjih središčih, povezanih s sv. Brunom in njegovimi tovariši, kot so bila Cluny, Reims, St-Ruf, Sèche-Fontaine, Vienne, Grenoble in Lyon.²⁷ Vplive različnih središč so raziskovalci poskušali najti tudi v glasbenih liturgičnih virih. Kartuzijanski nizi gradualov in aleluj za binkoštni čas se v veliki meri ujemajo s tistimi iz Grenobla.²⁸ Antifonar je

²² Zadnja različica pravil kartuzijanskega reda (1989) je v slovenskem jeziku dostopna na spletni strani *Pravila*, nav. spletna stran, in *Carthusian Monks and Carthusian Nuns*, nav. spletna stran. Najnovejša *Pravila* imajo drugačno razporeditev knjig in poglavij kot *Obnovljena pravila*, vsebinsko od njih ponekod odstopajo zelo malo (npr. v poglavjih o liturgičnem petju), v nekaterih poglavjih pa so razlike večje.

²³ *Obnovljena pravila*, 1.–4. knjiga, 25. poglavje, 1. odstavek (3.25.1), str. 97–98.

²⁴ *Pravila* (1.4), nav. spletna stran.

²⁵ Jean Marie Hollenstein, Kartuzijanska duhovnost, *Benediktinci, kartuzijani, cistercijani*, Redovništvo na Slovenskem 1, ur. France M. Dolinar, Ljubljana, Kartuzija Pleterje in Cisterca Stična, 1984, str. 107–123; 110–111.

²⁶ J. Hogg, nav. delo.

²⁷ John A. Emerson, Plainchant: 7. Chant in the religious orders, *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.grovemusic.com.nukweb.nuk.uni-lj.si> (16. julij 2007). Emerson v svojem članku tudi izrecno zavrača »kategorično trditev«, da je bil »predominantni in ekskluzivni vpliv v formaciji kartuzijanske liturgije obredje nadškofijske stolice v Lyonu«, ki jo je zasledil v *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 3, New York, 1967, str. 167. Prim. tudi M. Berry, nav. spletna stran. Glasbeno prakso kartuzijanov je s Clunijem in Lyonom povezal tudi Hüsch. Prim. Heinrich Hüsch, Kartäuser, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 7, Kassel [...], Bärenreiter, 1958, stolp. 706–714; 709–710.

²⁸ Vzporednice med kartuzijanskimi gradualni ter alelujami za binkoštni čas z liturgijo Grenobla je našel Lambres (1970). Navedeno po: J. A. Emerson, nav. spletna stran. Tudi Berryjeva meni, da je gradual soroden grenobelskemu ali lyonskemu. M. Berry, nav. spletna stran.

soroden antifonarjem iz Clunyja, Vienna in Lyona (najbrž zaradi posredovanja Grenobla in St-Rufa).²⁹ Na oblikovanje kartuzijanskega oficija pa je imela velik vpliv tudi kanonična liturgija Grandmonta.³⁰

Liturgija, ki se je uveljavila pri kartuzijanih, je tako vsebovala monastične in kanonične prvine, oblikovala pa se je predvsem pod vplivom verskih središč jugovzhodne Francije. Kako veliko vlogo je v njej igrala glasba in kakšna je bila? V nasprotju z živahno glasbeno dejavnostjo drugih redovnih skupnosti Rimskokatoliške cerkve so kartuzijani vedno gojili izključno in samo koralno petje.³¹ V njem vidijo celo »lastni izraz svojega bogoslužja«.³² Koral je bil in ostal eden glavnih temeljev kartuzijanske liturgije, ki na poseben način osmišlja življenje menihov. Razlog za to pa najbrž ni samo stroga tradicija, ki se je v različnih reformah le malo preoblikovala.³³ Drzno bi bilo sicer trditi, da se skozi stoletja glasba kartuzijanov ni prav nič spreminjala; kljub odmaknjenosti od sveta je menihe nedvomno zaznamoval tudi čas, v katerem so živeli. Pogosto navajanega dejstva, da kartuzijanski red ni bil nikoli reformiran, ni mogoče kar tako preprosto prenesti na njegovo petje.³⁴

Iz formativnega obdobja štiridesetih let med ustanovitvijo reda in Guigovimi *Consuetudines* ni bilo identificiranih glasbenih rokopisov, zato z glasbenozgodovinskega vidika o tem vemo zelo malo. Temeljni vprašanji, na kateri so se osredotočali raziskovalci zgodnjega kartuzijanskega koral, sta bili izvor le-tega in značaj prvobitne kartuzijanske liturgije.³⁵ Koralno petje je najbrž imelo pomembno vlogo že v življenju prvih kartuzijanov.³⁶ Izvirni kartuzijanski brevir in antifonar sta z 9 lekcijami in 9 responzoriji za matutin sledila rimskemu (sekularnemu oz. kanoničnemu) obredju; do Guigovega časa pa je kartuzijanski oficij postal »monasticiran« – z normativnimi 12 antifonami, 12 lekcijami in 12 responzoriji.³⁷ Prototip kartuzijanskega antifonarja naj bi bil kompiliran

²⁹ M. Berry, nav. spletna stran.

³⁰ Vplive liturgije Grandmonta na kartuzijansko liturgijo je dokazal Hansjakob Becker leta 1975. Navedeno po: J. A. Emerson, nav. spletna stran.

³¹ H. Hüsch, nav. delo, 1958, stolp. 708.

³² *Pravila* (52.1), nav. spletna stran.

³³ Prav odločitev kartuzijanov za konzervativno smer na področju glasbe in skupnega petja je v zadnji reformi v osemdesetih letih 20. stoletja odigrala pomembno vlogo. Hansjakob Becker, *Die Kartause: Liturgisches Erbe und konziliare Reform: Untersuchungen und Dokumente*, Analecta Cartusiana 116/5, Salzburg, Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1990, str. 10–19.

³⁴ Rudolf Flotzinger, *Die notierten mittelalterlichen Handschriften aus der Kartause Seiz, Srednjeveška glasba na Slovenskem in njene evropske vzporednice*, ur. Jurij Snoj, Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, 1998, str. 51–65: 65.

³⁵ J. A. Emerson, Plainchant, nav. spletna stran.

³⁶ J. A. Emerson, Plainchant, nav. spletna stran. Nasprotno je Hüsch v člankih v *MGG*-ju leta 1958 in 1996 pisal, da prvi Brunovi učenci gregorijanskega koral niso poznali. Namesto koral naj bi imeli samo psalmodijo na enem tonu, *recto tono*. Petje koral so po Hüschenovem mnenju vpeljali šele po smrti priorja Guiga, zakonodajalca reda. Prim. H. Hüsch, nav. delo, 1958, stolp. 709–710. Prim. tudi Heinrich Hüsch, Kartäuser, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, *Sachteil* 4, 2. izdaja, Kassel [...], Bärenreiter, 1996, stolp. 1804–1810: 1805–1806.

³⁷ Te domneve je leta 1971 potrdila raziskava Hansjakoba Beckerja. Navedeno po: J. A. Emerson, nav. spletna stran.

že med Landuinovim priorstvom (1090–1100), ne poznamo pa niti avtorja te redakcije niti časa njenega nastanka.³⁸

Pred letom 1132 je bil sestavljen tudi prolog kartuzijanskemu atifonarju, *Institutio-nis heremitice gravitas*, ki se običajno pripisuje Guigu, čeprav veliko avtorjev tej hipotezi nasprotuje. Prolog je zelo kratek in nespecifičen, vendar se od Bernardovega *Prologu-sa* cistercijanskemu antifonarju razlikuje v tem, da razlaga temeljna izhodišča posebne kartuzijanske reforme koral, ki je obstoječe bogoslužne knjige prilagodila posebni eremitsko-monastični rabi kartuzijanov. »Ker resnost eremitskega življenja ne dovoljuje veliko časa za študij koral«, so kompilatorji najprej skrčili in poenotili celoten repertoar. Ta poenostavitev je puščavnikom pomagala pri pomnjenju pravil in koralnih melodij.³⁹ Odstranili so besedila, ki niso bila avtentično biblična (npr. apokrifna besedila, tekste na podlagi svetniških legend, besedila osebnega pesniškega navdiha).⁴⁰ Edino besede *Sve-tega pisma* so se zdele vredne, da bi bile péte; besedila dvomljive avtentičnosti – ki so bila, kar zadeva koral, pravzaprav vsa nebiblična besedila – naj bi močno zamejili ali celo prepovedali.⁴¹ O bibliciranju besedil antifon in responzorijev ter o zavračanju spevov z nebibličnimi besedili poroča benediktinec Radulphus de Rivo (um. 1403): »Cartusienses autem nec antiphonas nec responsoria admittunt nisi sumpta de sacra scriptura«.⁴² Kljub temu so kartuzijani izjemoma ohranili introite *Gaudeamus* ter niz obsežnih adventnih antifon *Magnificata*, ki se začenjajo z vzklikom »O« (t. i. »O antifone«).⁴³ Melodije so v tej reformi največkrat ostale nedotaknjene, čeprav so bili iz določenih responzorijev matutina odstranjeni daljši melizmi in nevme, ki so zahtevale specializirano izvajanje (npr. kvilizma).⁴⁴

Od generalnega kapitlja leta 1142 imajo kartuzijani enoten oficij in od leta 1222 dnevno obhajajo konventno mašo; kljub lokalnim različicam so imele kartuzijanske redovne postojanke bolj ali manj isto liturgijo (in s tem tudi glasbo). Pred tem časom je imela vsaka kartuzija svoj lastni oficij, konventno mašo pa so ponavadi obhajali le na nedelje in praznike. V liturgičnih knjigah reda je péti oficij označen kot *officium cum cantu vel cum nota*, govorjeni pa *officium sine cantu vel sine nota*. *Ordinarium missae* ima za razliko od *Editio Vaticana* le tri *Kyrie*, dve *Glorii*, en *Credo*, dva *Sanctusa*, dva *Benedictusa* in dva *Agnusa*. Vsi spevi so – v skladu z redovnimi predpisi – brez orgelske spremljave.⁴⁵

Kartuzijani nimajo sekvenc, izvorno tudi ne himen. Šele leta 1182 so dopustili nekatere himne; njihovo število je v 15. stoletju naraslo na okrog 25, v 16. stoletju na približno

³⁸ Tako meni Hansjakob Becker. Navedeno po: J. A. Emerson, nav. spletna stran.

³⁹ J. A. Emerson, nav. spletna stran. Da je bil glavni razlog za simplifikacijo prav potreba po poznavanju repertoarja na pamet, meni tudi Berryjeva. M. Berry, nav. spletna stran.

⁴⁰ J. A. Emerson, nav. spletna stran.

⁴¹ Ta misel je bila dolga stoletja karakteristika koral kartuzijanov (in je še danes). Prim. David Hiley, Neo-Gallican chant, *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.grovemusic.com.nukweb.nuk.unilj.si> (16. julij 2007).

⁴² Citirano po: H. Hüsch, nav. delo, 1958, stolp. 706–714: 710.

⁴³ M. Berry, nav. spletna stran.

⁴⁴ J. A. Emerson, nav. spletna stran.

⁴⁵ J. A. Emerson, nav. spletna stran.

50.⁴⁶ Raba ali izločitev b-ja pa v kartuzijanskem koralu ni bila enotna.⁴⁷ Za psalmodijo kartuzijanov je zelo značilno, da v njej nikjer ne naletimo na *tonus peregrinus*.⁴⁸ Značilno je tudi, da ima liturgija kartuzijskega reda zelo malo lastnih praznikov.⁴⁹

V samem glasbenem delovanju kartuzijanov sicer lahko zasledimo več različnih dejavnosti. Na prvem mestu je praktično udejstvovanje v vsakdanji liturgiji – liturgično petje. O tem – ker je stik z živo prakso zaradi samotarskega življenja kartuzijanov laikom praktično nedostopen – veliko izvemo iz napotkov, ki so zapisani v *Consuetudines* in nadaljnjih *Statuta*. V preteklosti je bila pomembna izdelava glasbenoliturgičnih knjig, ki je bila del živahne prepisovalske dejavnosti kartuzijanov. Posamezni kartuzijanski avtorji (predvsem izobraženi priorji) so v zgodovini izstopali tudi kot glasbeni teoretiki in zgodovinarji, pri čemer so se ukvarjali predvsem s koralom. Slednjega so vedno znova potrjevali kot svojo liturgično glasbo, čeprav so mnogi od njih poznali tudi aktualno glasbeno življenje svojega časa. Misel o glasbi lahko zasledimo še na različnih mestih v posameznih delih kartuzijanskih avtorjev, kjer nastopa v drugih (prvenstveno neliturgičnih) kontekstih, velikokrat kot prispodoba idealnega življenja (v) skupnosti.

Merodajne smernice za liturgično koralno petje kartuzijanov se nahajajo tako v Guigovih *Consuetudines* kot njihovih naslednikih, ki so jih sprejemali generalni kapitlji (*Statuta*). V delu *Consuetudines* je Guigo opisal redovno življenje menihov v Veliki kartuziji, kar je postalo merilo za vse kartuzije. Med drugim je vključil tudi opise glasbenega udejstvovanja kartuzijanov. *Consuetudines* oz. pravila so kartuzijani sproti dopolnjevali in ohranjali, vendar lahko še danes iz *Obnovljenih pravil* razberemo Guigovo osnovno idejo o vlogi in pomenu glasbe v redovnem življenju.⁵⁰ 46. poglavje iz šeste knjige *Obnovljenih pravil kartuzijskega reda* se ukvarja izključno z bogoslužnim petjem in ga lahko za predstavbo današnjega bralca tudi najbolje prikaže.⁵¹ Govori o petju in psalmodiranju pri kartuzijanih ter o nekaterih značilnostih spevov. Najnovejša *Pravila* poudarjajo predvsem zbranost in resnost pri petju, pozornost na besedila in razpoloženje posameznih psalmov. Petje je stvar skupnosti: ideal kartuzijskega petja je, da bi vsi glasovi zveneli kot en sam. Pevci pri psalmodiranju ne bi smeli preveč hiteti, prav tako se tudi ne bi smeli obotavljati, temveč bi se morali med seboj poslušati in se prilagajati drug drugemu. Vodje so dolžni tiste pevce, ki se ne morejo dobro vključiti v petje, na to opozoriti in jih korigirati. Vsak pevec ima natanko določene dolžnosti in vlogo v koru. Petje menihov naj bi prihajalo iz ponižnosti srca in se odlikovalo po preprostosti izvedbe. To poglavje našteje še liturgične priložnosti, pri katerih se uporabljajo različni spevi, opredeli pa tudi, kdaj je mogoča uporaba domačega jezika.⁵²

⁴⁶ H. Hüschén, nav. delo, 1958, stolp. 710–711.

⁴⁷ J. A. Emerson, nav. spletna stran.

⁴⁸ Prim. H. Hüschén, nav. delo, 1958, stolp. 711.

⁴⁹ H. Hüschén, nav. delo, 1958, stolp. 711.

⁵⁰ *Pravila*, nav. spletna stran.

⁵¹ *Obnovljena pravila kartuzijskega reda*, nav. delo, 2. knjiga, str. 56–62. V zadnjem času je tudi že dostopen prevod, ki je revidirana različica ali vsaj izboljššan prevod 46. poglavja *Obnovljenih pravil*: *Pravila*, 7. knjiga, 52. poglavje, <http://www.kartuzija-pleterje.si> (16. julij 2007).

⁵² *Pravila*, 7. knjiga, 52. poglavje, nav. spletna stran. Petje v domačem jeziku je pod pogojem, da se strinja ves konvent, dovolil generalni kapitelj leta 1971. Hj. Becker, nav. delo, str. 11.

Nekaj drobcev o kartuzijanskem petju lahko zasledimo tudi na drugih mestih v *Obnovljenih pravilih* in njihovi reviziji. Tako v Guigovi hvalnici samotarskega življenja⁵³ zasledimo misel, da »samota najbolj pospešuje uživanje ob psalmodiji« in vnmemo za kontemplacijo ter premišljevanje. Poglavlje, ki zapoveduje složnost med menihi, govori, naj bodo vsi skupaj »res enega srca in bodo skupaj slavili Boga«; v latinskem izvirniku se zadnje glasi »uno ore honorificent Deum« (z enimi ustnicami, enoglasno), kar sugerira misel, da vse besede, ki jih menihi bodisi izgovarjajo bodisi pojejo, gradijo duha skupnosti, čemur se bliža tudi novejša različica slovenskih pravil – »enodušno in soglasno«.⁵⁴ V nočnem bedenju ima psalmodija posebno mesto, saj »hrani notranjo pobožnost« menihov in jih ohranja budne.⁵⁵ Posluh za petje je tudi pogoj za vstop v red kartuzijanov.⁵⁶

Zanimivo je, da se z rabo glasbil v kontekstu preprostosti in zavestne odpovedi glasbenemu okrasju ukvarja poglavje o uboštvu. »Draga orodja smejo uporabljati le tisti, ki jih po priorjevi sodbi potrebujejo. Glasbeni instrumenti in razne igre niso v skladu z našim poklicem. Le za vaje v petju lahko uporabljamo instrumente in tudi magnetofon. Radijski aparati pa k nam sploh ne spadajo.«⁵⁷

Liturgično petje *Obnovljena pravila* omenjajo tudi na tistih mestih, kjer govorijo o evharističnem bogoslužju in različnih obredih, kakršen je npr. sprejem kandidata med novince. Ti obredi so opisani zelo natančno, prav tako pa tudi pevske vloge posameznikov v njih (kdo začenja posamezne speve, kako je pri tem postavljen, kako mu odgovarja zbor ...). Tako si lahko že iz napotkov kartuzijanskih pravilnikov predstavljamo mesto, ki ga ima glasba v liturgiji in s tem v življenju kartuzijanov.

Del glasbenega življenja kartuzijanov je bilo zagotovo tudi prepisovanje glasbenih rokopisov, saj je bil vsak kartuzijan potencialni pisec in vsaka celica skriptorij v malem. Skoraj vsi menihi so bili pismeni. Ker so toliko časa preživeli v pisanju, so kartuzijani trdili, da oznanjajo božjo besedo bolj z rokami kot z usti. Guigo, peti prior Velike kartuzije, je vztrajal pri posebni skrbi za knjige in nadvse cenil prepisovanje rokopisov, ki naj bi se ga po možnosti naučili vsi menihi (*Consuetudines*, 27). Delo s knjigami je bilo tako cenjeno, da se knjigovezom ni bilo treba držati zapovedi molka.⁵⁸ Za prve menihe je clunyski opat Peter Častitljivi ok. leta 1150 dejal: »[...] neprestano molče in bero, premišlujejo in tudi delajo, predvsem prepisujejo knjige.«⁵⁹ Že po opisovanjih Guiberta de Nogenta v letu 1114 so imeli kartuzijani v Veliki kartuziji kljub uboštvu veliko število knjig.⁶⁰ Ogromnemu številu knjig se je v Žički kartuziji mnogo let pozneje (1487) čudil

⁵³ *Pravila*, Uvodna knjiga, 2. poglavje, nav. spletna stran.

⁵⁴ *Obnovljena pravila*, nav. delo, 1. knjiga: 1.3.4, str. 8–9. Prim. tudi *Pravila*, nav. spletna stran.

⁵⁵ *Obnovljena pravila*, nav. delo, 1.–4. knjiga: 1.3.4, str. 10–11.

⁵⁶ *Obnovljena pravila*, nav. delo, 1.–4. knjiga: 1.8.4, str. 27–28.

⁵⁷ *Obnovljena pravila*, nav. delo, 1.–4. knjiga: 3.27.10, str. 105–106.

⁵⁸ *Consuetudines*, XXVIII, 2, navedeno po: Nataša Golob, *Srednjeveški rokopisi iz Žičke kartuzije (1160–1560)*, Ljubljana, Narodna galerija, 2006, str. 31. Avtorica v svojem delu sicer obravnava le žičke rokopise, vendar se zdi, da je marsikatero dejstvo mogoče posplošiti tudi na rokopise drugih kartuzij.

⁵⁹ Pierre le Vénérable, *De miraculis*, II. knjiga, 28. poglavje, citirano po: A. Ravier D. J., nav. delo, str. 82–83.

⁶⁰ »Čeprav so siromašni, imajo vendar bogato knjižnico: človek bi dejal, da se s tem večjo vnmemo

Paolo Santonino: »V knjižnici vidiš nad dva tisoč knjig iz vseh ved, večinoma na pergamentu, tudi prav starih in s trsom pisanih, ne tiskanih, kakor je danes v navadi.«⁶¹

Vsak menih si je lahko v svojo celico izposodil dve knjigi za branje in dve dodatni za študij, v samotni celice pa je potekalo tudi prepisovanje.⁶² *Consuetudines* popisujejo opremo celice, prav tako pa tudi kopistove rekvizite. Za pisanje je menih potreboval pisalno ploščo, peresa, kreda, dva plovca, dva roga, en nožič (za umiritev pergamenta in prirezovanje peres), dva nožiča za strganje pergamenta, šestilo, eno šilo, vrv z utežjo (svinčnico), ravnilo, merilo za poravnavo (vrst), ploščo in svinčnik.⁶³

Med kartuzijani je tako nastalo tudi znatno število glasbenih liturgičnih knjig. Rokopisi največkrat izdajajo izredno natančno skrbnost pisarja. Za nevmatške rokopise 12. stoletja je značilno predvsem, da nimajo nobenih likvescentnih nevm.⁶⁴ Kartuzijanski srednjeveški glasbeni kodeksi sodijo med najlepše in najdragocenejše rokopise reda; pogosto so bili okrašeni tudi z bogatimi in kakovostnimi inicialami.⁶⁵

V začetku 16. stoletja so se pojavile prve tiskane koralne knjige reda. Kartuzijani so imeli kasneje lastne tiskarne, v katerih so večinoma tiskali brevirje, misale in druge liturgične knjige.⁶⁶ V skladu s cerkvenimi liturgičnimi reformami, ki so zadevale glasbo, so nemalokrat »predelovali« tudi starejše glasbene kodekse.⁶⁷

Svoje knjige so kartuzijani večkrat posojali drugim samostanom in zunanjim uporabnikom, nemalokrat celo za »neomejeno dobo«, ali pa jih menjali za druga dela. Mnoge rokopise so podarili hčerinskim samostanom, ki so iz njih izšli. Na ta način so svojo kulturo in božjo besedo z delom svojih rok lahko oznanjali (po) svetu.⁶⁸

Obstajala pa je še ena, nekoliko zahtevnejša pot – nekateri kartuzijani so knjige pisali tudi sami. Od sveta odmaknjeno asketsko-kontemplativno življenje jim je za znanstveno in umetniško dejavnost dopuščalo le malo časa. Glede razširjanja svoje učenosti so bili vedno precej zadržani: »Samotar nima dolžnosti biti javni učenik.«⁶⁹ *Obnovljena pravila* jim knjige in razprave prepovedujejo tiskati brez dovoljenja generalnega kapitlja. Kljub temu so v znanosti in umetnosti kar nekajkrat izstopali – predvsem v teologiji in zgodovinopisju, v nekaj primerih tudi v poeziji in arhitekturi, slovenske kartuzije pa so v preteklosti razvijale izredno živahno literarno dejavnost.⁷⁰ Razumljivo je, da je v teku

trudijo, da bi nabrali večno hrano, čim manj zauživajo zemeljsko.« Navedeno po: A. Ravier D. J., nav. delo, str. 81–82.

⁶¹ Gl. Paolo Santonino, *Popotni dnevniki*, prev. Primož Simoniti, Celovec, Mohorjeva založba, 1991, str. 87.

⁶² N. Golob, nav. delo, str. 19.

⁶³ *Consuetudines*, XXVIII, 2 in VII, 9, navedeno po: N. Golob, nav. delo, str. 37. Prim. tudi Jože Mlinarič, Odnos kartuzijanov do knjige in naše slovenske kartuzije, *Knjižnica* 26/1–2 (1982), str. 23–46: 26.

⁶⁴ Prim. H. Hüsch, nav. delo, 1958, stolp. 711–712.

⁶⁵ N. Golob, nav. delo, str. 33, 45, 55.

⁶⁶ Prim. H. Hüsch, nav. delo, 1958, stolp. 711–712.

⁶⁷ N. Golob, nav. delo, str. 33.

⁶⁸ N. Golob, nav. delo, str. 20, 26.

⁶⁹ *Obnovljena pravila kartuzijskega reda*, nav. delo, (1.6.12), 1–4. knjiga, str. 20–21.

⁷⁰ Jože Mlinarič, Kartuziji Žiže in Jurklošter skozi stoletja, *Katalogi* 5, Maribor, Pokrajinski arhiv, 1991, str. 25–26, 32–33, 35–36.

stoletij iz kartuzijanskega reda izšlo le malo širše poznanih glasbenikov. Pri teh gre skoraj izključno za teoretike in zgodovinarje koral, pri nekaterih pa se misli o glasbi prepletajo z idejo poslanstva kartuzijanov v svetu.⁷¹ Značilno je, da se najpomembnejša glasbeno-teoretska dela kartuzijanov v srednjem veku posvečajo zlasti srednjeveški glasbeni teoriji (s praktičnim glasbenim življenjem kartuzijanov se ne ukvarjajo), pri novoveških pa so postopoma vse bolj poudarjene pedagoške in raziskovalne težnje. Najbrž je bila tudi potreba po tovrstnem pristopu večja, saj so pedagoško vodstvo v petju koral potrebovali samostanski novici, ki so se navajali na strogo življenje kartuzijanov. V glasbenem in liturgičnem življenju zunanjega sveta je namreč koral postajal vse bolj oddaljen in neznan.

Ob napotku iz *Pravil*, da je kartuzijanova dolžnost bolj »žalovati kot peti«, se ne moremo čuditi, da je bil slog pevske izvedbe kartuzijanov nadvse umirjen. *Statuta antiqua* so prepovedovala »spreminjanje glasu, prekipevanje glasu in podaljševanje kadenc«. Kasnejše prepovedi (*Statuta nova* XXXIV.20) so izobčile večglasno petje ter vse glasbene instrumente, celo orgle in monokord.⁷²

V 16. stoletju je Erasmus Desiderius (1466–1536), ki je imel tudi sam nekaj dobrih prijateljev med kartuzijani, v razpravi *De recta latini graecique sermonis pronuntiatione* njihovo petje psalmov navedel kot primer počasnosti: »kratek zlog kartuzijanovega petja psalma na praznik je daljši kot dolg zlog drznega jezika hitrega govorca«.⁷³ Ni jasno, ali se prisposoda nanaša na siceršnjo počasno izvedbo psalmov pri kartuzijanih ali pa ima avtor v mislih slovesne razširjene melizmatske speve. Vsekakor se mu je zdela glasba kartuzijanov počasna. Podobe počasnosti, resnobnosti in (v nekaterih literarnih delih)⁷⁴ celo grozljivosti pa najbrž niso tiste, ki bi razložile, kako in zakaj se je v liturgiji kartuzijanskega reda skozi stoletja ohranjal gregorijanski koral. Prej nasprotno: v njih bi kvečjemu lahko našli razloge, ki govorijo proti koralnemu petju. Tovrstne predstave o njem kažejo predvsem na dejstvo, da je »kartuzijanski« koral novoveškemu človeku največkrat tuj in težko razumljiv.

V *Pravilih* namreč lahko zasledimo tudi popolnoma drug pogled na petje kartuzijanov.⁷⁵ Ta menihe sicer spodbujajo, naj prepevajo preprosto in resnobno, a tudi »razigrano, ne pa leno in zaspano«. Pri tem naj bi bilo psalmodiranje »zaokroženo, živahno in gibko«, obenem pa čustveno doživeto, kajti: »Najbolje bomo prepevali, če se navzamemo tistega čustvovanja, s katerim so bili psalmi in spevi napisani.« Namen

⁷¹ Osnovni pregledu kartuzijanskih glasbenih teoretikov lahko najdemo v Hüschenovih člankih v *MGG*-ju. Hüschen med za glasbo pomembne kartuzijane uvršča sv. Bruna, Guiga, Walterja Hiltona, Heinricha Egerja, Anonymusa 16, Johannes Gallicusa, Heinricha Arnoldija von Ahlfelda, dva Anonymusa iz 15. stoletja, Jacobusa Louberja, Gregorja Reischiusa, Thomasa Kressija, Anonymusa iz 17. st. in Anonymusa iz 19. stoletja ter nazadnje še Amanda Deganda, raziskovalca koral in liturgika 20. stoletja. H. Hüschen, nav. delo, 1958, stolp. 713–714.

⁷² Prim. M. Berry, nav. spletna stran.

⁷³ »[...] syllaba brevis sic pronuntiantis ut Cartusiani pronuntiant psalmos festis diebus productior est longa uolobili lingua pronuntiantis [...]«, navedeno po: George Hinge, *Linguistic Consciousness in Erasmus Desiderius' De conscribendis epistolis and De recta latini graecique sermonis pronuntiatione*, <http://www.georgehinge.com/erasm.html> (9. julij 2007).

⁷⁴ Dva značilna literarna odlomka najdemo v H. Hüschen, nav. delo, 1958, stolp. 708.

⁷⁵ *Pravila*, (7.52.1–3, 25), nav. spletna stran.

prepevanja je, da se misel ob tem, kar menihi opevajo, dviga k Bogu, medtem ko mu »ubrani glasovi radostno pojejo hvalnico«.

To je pogled od znotraj, ki je za razumevanje glasbe kartuzijanov potreben prav tako – če ne še bolj – kot pogled od zunaj. Navidezni paradoksi postanejo razumljivi, če jih gledamo v kontekstu kontemplativnega življenja kartuzijanov. »Tukaj praznujejo v razgibanem mirovanju in počivajo v umirjenem delovanju.«⁷⁶ Tako je tudi glasba koral zanje lahko razgibano mirovanje ali umirjeni počitek.

Cilj kartuzijanov je »v tihoti in samoti najti Boga«.⁷⁷ Njihovo koralno petje na prvi pogled nima dosti skupnega ne s tišino ne s samoto: v prepevanju se tišina umika glasbi in samota skupnosti. Vendar je to za kartuzijane obenem svojevrstna meditacija, ki obenem povezuje skupnost eremitov, ter zanje še danes uteleša ravnovesje med puščavniškim in samostanskim načinom življenja.⁷⁸ Kartuzijanski koral ima odločilno vlogo pri dejstvu, da so kartuzijani bili in ostali »pojoča Cerkev v samoti« vse do današnjih dni.

⁷⁶ Sv. Bruno [Iz pisma Raoulu le Verdu], *Duhovnost*, <http://www.kartuzija-pleterje.si> (16. julij 2007).

⁷⁷ *Pravila*, nav. spletna stran.

⁷⁸ Pleterski prior Janez Hollenstein je v predgovoru *Malega misala kartuzijskega reda* zapisal: »Naše bogoslužje je – enako kot naše meniško življenje – prvotno zahvaljevanje in češčenje ter ima bolj meditativni kot pastoralni značaj. To prihaja do izraza v obredih, v pogostnem ponavljanju istih besedil, v trenutkih tišine, posebno pa v koralnem petju. Le-to ni samo neka duhovna in kulturna vrednota, temveč tudi način meditacije (ali »meditativna tehnika«, če hočete), ki močno, trajno pa diskretno, takorekoč nezavestno, vpliva na naše celotno kontemplativno življenje. Menih, ki je odkril in zna izkušati ter okušati to vrednoto, jo bo vključeval v osebno meditacijo v celici. Koral je povezan z latinskim jezikom. To je sicer resničen problem za današnjega meniha, toda mislim, da sta duhovna vrednost in bogastvo vredna naporov pevske in jezikovne priprave.« Gl. *Mali misal kartuzijskega reda*, str. II–III.

“A SINGING CHURCH IN THE SOLITUDE”:
CARTHUSIANS AND THEIR MUSIC

Summary

Although it seems to be entirely separated from everyday life, the Carthusian Order has existed for more than nine centuries over a large part of the Christian world. The life of a Carthusian is marked by a complete surrender to contemplation in an atmosphere of silence, prayer, poverty and penitence, and this is therefore one of the strictest contemplative Orders.

The Order was founded by St Bruno of Cologne in 1084 and named after the valley of La Grande Chartreuse in the French Alps. Even after Bruno's departure (in order to serve Pope Urban II) the Order has continued to develop and spread. The Carthusian Order was formally institutionalized in 1140 and confirmed by Pope Alexander III in 1176. But it was largely due to Guigo, the fifth prior of the Chartreuse, that the Order survived – at the request of St Hugo, the bishop of Grenoble, and of some new Charterhouses Guigo wrote *Consuetudines domus Cartusiae* (*Customs of the Carthusian house*). The precise descriptions of the customs in the first Carthusian house have remained a basis for all the further supplements and new rules, and have great merit as shown by the fact that the “Charterhouse has never been reformed, since it has never been deformed,” in the words of Pope Innocent XI.

Bruno and the first Carthusians came from churches where the canonical service was customary, and this form of liturgy was probably the one they used in the original Charterhouse. Only later was the secular *cursus* transformed in large part into a monastic one. The Carthusian liturgy was therefore a mixture of secular and monastic elements, and it was greatly influenced by the large centres of south-east France (Lyon, Grenoble, Vienne, Saint-Ruf, Cluny, Reims). Via this connection we may also seek the roots of Carthusian liturgical music, which was a vital part of the Order's life in the Charterhouse. Some scholars have expressed the opinion that the first Carthusians already used plainchant as they knew it before. But later – at the time of Guigo – Carthusian plainchant acquired its own characteristics in consequence of a reform stemming from the peculiarity of this severe Order. The majority of non-Biblical texts were removed (no other words than the holy ones of Scripture were deemed worthy to become a part of the liturgy), the repertory was severely reduced and some lengthy melismas were curtailed (elaborate melodies did not accord with the strict rules of the Order). The Carthusians did not simply take over what was there but made plainchant their own; therefore, it is not surprising that they see their “own expression of the liturgy” in it (*The Statutes*). Their chant was closely connected with the liturgy, and so was their musical life in all its aspects: singing practice (in some of its manifestations already described in the *Consuetudines* and in later *Statuta*); theoretical views on music; and even the copying of the music codices, which belong to the richest and most beautiful of Carthusian manuscripts.

The duty of the Carthusian is more “to lament than to sing”, and Carthusians' singing was judged calm, slow and even morbid by some later literary sources. But their rules, on the other hand, say that it has to be joyful, animated, vivid and emotionally

sincere. The intention of their singing is to lift up their thoughts to God in a “joyful hymn of harmonious voices”. This is their own view of their music, which arises from a peculiarly Carthusian kind of spirituality treating plainchant as a special liturgical meditation that links the whole community in simultaneous activity. This view is necessary for an understanding of their music, and it can perhaps also explain why plainchant – like the Order itself – has survived for such a long period almost unvaried up to the present day.

**“SERVITORE AFFETIONATISSIMO FRA GABRIELLO PULITI”
AND THE DEDICATEES OF HIS PUBLISHED MUSIC WORKS
(1600–1635): FROM INSTITUTIONAL COMMISSION
VIA A SEARCH FOR PROTECTION TO AN
EXPRESSION OF AFFECTION**

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Izleček: Gabriello Puliti (ok. 1583–1644) je ustvaril vsaj 36 glasbenih del, od katerih je preživela slaba polovica. Analiza vsebin 16 glasbenih del in 15 ohranjenih posvetilnih pism je omogočila rekonstrukcijo mreže Pulitijevih verskih, kulturnih, glasbenih in drugih stikov. Prek posvetil je skladatelj bolj kot finančno nagrado pričakoval in želel pridobiti zaščito pri svojih vsakodnevnih in poklicnih dejavnostih.

Ključne besede: Gabriello Puliti, tipologija posvetil, glasbeno zaščitništvo.

Abstract: Gabriello Puliti (c. 1583–1644) composed at least 36 musical works of which survived less than one half. The contents of 16 musical works and 15 preserved letters of dedication were analysed in an attempt to reconstruct the network of Puliti's religious, cultural, musical, and other connections. Through his dedications the composer sought not so much financial gain as protection in all daily and professional activities.

Keywords: Gabriello Puliti, types of dedications, music patronage.

MADRIGALE

DEL SIG. GIO: BATTISTA BRATI

A Fra Gabriello Puliti.

Dalla Musica Sfera
Puliti, il canto Angelico apprendesti:
Onde di Gabriello il nome havesti.
Ma se del Ciel, l'angelica armonia
Emular t'insegnò dotta Thalia;
Meraviglia non è, s'hor a le genti
Formi, divino Orfeo celesti ACCENTI.¹

Who, indeed, was this “Fratr Gabriello Puliti” whom Giovanni Battista Brati, “accademico Desioso”, a member of the literary Accademia Palladia of Koper (It. Capodistria), praised as a divine musician: this Orpheus who learned, under Thalia's tutelage, the angelic

¹ Madrigal published in: Gabriello Puliti, *Sacri accenti*, Ventia, Alessandro Vincenti, 1620.

music of the spheres?² Even though the short madrigal quoted above is only a customary form of tribute to Puliti following a humanist tradition *par excellence* of his time – being written in florid language laden with mythological references and extravagant description of the composer's music abilities – it can also be understood as a significant testimony to the social circumstances of Puliti's most productive years as a composer in Istria, spent both in the "divine" setting of churches in Koper, Trieste and Labin (It. Albona) and in the "secular", humanist ambience of the literary academy in Koper. Gabriello Puliti was, indeed, an interesting and intriguing person, producing sacred music for practical use in churches and convents as well as composing secular songs that included madrigals of an overtly erotic nature.³

In this contribution I have attempted a brief analysis of Puliti's dedications, reconstructing the network of his dedicatees – patrons, associates, superiors, musical colleagues, etc. – which, located in the social and cultural milieu of its time, contributes a few details to the still very incomplete biography of Gabriello Puliti, this relatively little known Italian composer who spent most of his life in Istria within territory belonging today variously to Croatia, Slovenia and Italy.⁴ But before I pass to the documents themselves, let me, however briefly, summarise his currently known biography.⁵

² In a number of poetic texts accompanying his music, Puliti's name Gabriello is conveniently related to "angelic", alluding to the Angel Gabriel and thus to "angelic music".

³ Especially the collection of five-part madrigals *Baci ardenti* of 1609, but also some of the *mascherate* of *Ghirlanda odorifera*, published in 1612.

⁴ Puliti's career in Istria and some aspects of his musical work have already aroused the curiosity of Slovenian, Croatian, and especially Italian scholars: notably Janez Höfler, Ennio Stipčević, in the latest time also Nikola Lovrinić, Giuseppe Radole and, especially, Ivano Cavallini. However, no attempt has so far been made to review systematically the fifteen preserved letters of dedication and complimentary poetry published in his musical works.

⁵ For Puliti's biography, see Giuseppe Radole, *Musici a Trieste sul finire del Cinquecento e nei primi del Seicento*, *Archeografo triestino* 22 (1959), pp. 133–151; Giuseppe Radole, *Musica e musicisti in Istria nel Cinque e Seicento*, *Atti e memorie della Società istriana di archeologia e storia patria* 65 (1965), pp. 147–214; Ennio Stipčević, *Uvodna razmatranja o umjetnosti Gabriella Pulitija*, *Arti musices* 14 (1983), pp. 33–50; Giuseppe Radole, *La Civica Cappella di San Giusto: 450 anni di musica a Trieste*, Trieste, Comitato "Cappella Civica 450", 1989, pp. 29–38; Ivano Cavallini, *Musica, cultura e spettacolo in Istria tra '500 e '600*, Firenze, Olschki, 1990, pp. 33–41; Giuseppe Radole, *La musica a Capodistria*, Trieste, Centro studi storico-religiosi Friuli-Venezia Giulia, 1990, pp. 33–42; Ennio Stipčević, *Gabriello Puliti, ranobarokni skladatelj u Istri*, *Musica incognita: Ivan Lukačić i njegova doba*, Šibenik, Gradska Knjižnica Juraj Sizgorić, 1998, pp. 21–42; Ljudevit Anton Maračić, *Maleni i veliki Franjevci konventualci u Istri*, Zagreb, Provincijalat Franjeva konventualca, 2001, pp. 132–137; Metoda Kokole, Introduction, in: Gabriello Puliti, *Sacri concentus (1614), Pungenti dardi spirituali (1618)*, ed. Metoda Kokole, *Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae* XL, Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, 2001, pp. XXV–XXVII; Nikola Lovrinić, *Gabriello Puliti: Baci ardenti (1609.) i Armonici accenti (1621.) – transkripcija, analiza i kontekst nastanka. Prilog proučavanju povjesti madrigala u Hrvatskoj*, Zagreb, 2003 (Muzička akademija Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, BA thesis); Metoda Kokole, Sacred music in "Capo d'Istria" in the 17th century, *Barocco Padano* 4, ed. Alberto Colzani [...], *Contributi musicologici del Centro Ricerche dell'A.M.I.S.* 16, Como, A. M.I.S., 2006, pp. 225–261: 228–240; and Nikola Lovrinić, *Gabriello Puliti: Sacrae cantiones (1600.) – transkripcija, analiza i kontekst nastanka. Primjer zbirke moteta sjevernotalijanskoga*

Gabriello Puliti was born in the Tuscan town of Montepulciano in 1583 (?).⁶ He took holy orders before 1600, when he also received his musical education, probably in Florence under the fathers of the monastery of Santa Croce in their educational institution called “Lo Studio”.⁷ He then spent short periods in the monasteries of Pontremoli and Piacenza, fulfilling the positions of “maestro di coro” (Lat. “in alma terra Pontremuli in Choro Magistri”) in 1600 and organist of the monastery in Piacenza in 1602. From these two towns he committed to print his earliest surviving publications, which were two collections of traditional four- and five-part motets and psalms suitable for the use of his own institutions: the *Sacrae modulationes, quae vulgo motecta nuncupantur [...]* of 1600 and the *Integra omnium solemnitarum vespertina psalmodia [...]* of 1602.⁸ From January 1604, when “frater Gabriel de Monte Puliciano” is recorded as being attached to one of the houses of his order in Pula (It. Pola), he apparently remained in the Minorite province of *San Girolamo* for Istria and Dalmatia until his death in 1644.⁹

kruga s kraja 16. stoljeća, Zagreb, 2007 (Muzička akademija Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, MA thesis).

⁶ The year of his birth can be deduced from the note in the *Necrologium dei frati Minori Conventuali. Provincia di S Antonio di Padova*, Padova, ms., 1926: “19 aprile 1644: P. Gabriele Puliti, Maestro di musica, morto a 62 anni di età, 44 di Professione.” In the Archivio Vescovile e Capitolare in Montepulciano; Libri di Battesimo; Battesimi de Maschi dalli 1562 all’1592, Cattedrale, fol. 80r, there is indeed a note on a boy Gabriello “figliuolo di Pietro di Simone Pandolfini da Castiglione e di Lucretia sua moglie”, baptised on 26 March 1583. The composer’s second name, Puliti, was probably the name he adopted when he entered the Franciscan order of the *Frati Minori Conventuali* around the turn of the century. The name “Puliti” may in fact derive from the name of his native town, which is called in Latin “Monte Politiano”; in a document from 1633 Puliti was, indeed, recorded as “Gabriel Politus a Monte Politiano”. See [Stefano Rinaldi], *Musicisti dell’Ordine Franciscano dei Minori Conventuali dei sec. XVI–XVIII, Note d’archivio per la storia musicale* 16 (1939), p. 194.

⁷ This information can be deduced from the dedication of Puliti’s first book of monodic motets, the *Pungenti dardi spirituali* of 1618. The following phrase hints, in my opinion, at a stay, or possibly a period of study, at the famous educational institution “Lo Studio di Santa Croce”: “[...] mentre m’hanno honorato in prendermi, et annoverarmi per Padre di cotesto nobilissimo Conuento di Santa Croce.” For more on the history of Santa Croce, see Massimiliano G. Rosito (ed.), *Santa Croce nel solco della storia*, Firenze, Edizioni Città di Vita, 1996.

⁸ *Sacrae modulationes, quae vulgo motecta nuncupantur, quatuor, et quinis vocibus concinendae*, Parma, Erasmo Vioti, 1600; and *Integra omnium solemnitarum vespertina psalmodia quinis vocibus concinenda*, Milano, Simone Tini and Giovanni Francesco Besuti, 1602. The psalms of the 1602 volume also contain a part for the “Basso continuato”. Both collections are preserved complete (copies exist in Bologna, Lucca – only the 1600 volume, and Piacenza – only the 1602 psalms). Puliti’s formative years in Tuscany and his early musical career are the least well known periods of his life and have only recently become the subject of serious musicological research. *Sacrae modulationes* of 1600 are now published in a modern edition by Nikola Lovrinić in the series of *Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae* L, Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, 2006. This collection of motets was researched as part of a MA thesis by Nikola Lovrinić (N. Lovrinić, op. cit., 2007). The same author is currently preparing the edition of *Integra [...]* that will be published as volume LIV of the same series.

⁹ His death is also recorded in the acts of the Minorite province (Acta. Prov. s. Hieronimi) as having occurred on 19 June 1644 in Trieste. See also note 6, above; and L. A. Maračić, op. cit., p. 136.

In 1605 Puliti moved to Muggia near Trieste, where he was “maestro di cappella” and organist. In this capacity he published in Venice a collection of *Scherzi capricci et fantasie per cantar à due voci*, of which only a copy of the Canto part-book is preserved.¹⁰ Since the pieces have no text, it can be assumed that they were actually musical exercises for solfeggio or instrumental performance. Interestingly enough, Puliti named some of the pieces after north Istrian towns closely connected with his life: *La Muglesana*, *La Triestina*, etc.¹¹ He dedicated the volume to Pietro dell’Argento, a member of a powerful Triestine family, apparently seeking, as we shall see later, this patron’s protection against slander and envy.

From 1606 to 1609 Puliti lived in Koper, the capital city and administrative centre of Venetian Istria. He composed there his second collection of five-part madrigals, *Baci ardenti* [...], which appeared in print in early 1609.¹² The first volume of Puliti’s madrigals, the *Madrigali pastorali* of 1604, is, unfortunately, not preserved.¹³ On the title-page of the 1609 volume, which is dedicated to Archduke Ferdinand II of Inner Austria, at that time resident in Graz, Puliti is styled for the first time “Accademico armonico detto l’Allegro”, which indicates that he was a member of an academy, most likely the Accademia Palladia of Koper.¹⁴

On 31 May 1609 Puliti was engaged by the Bishop of Trieste (then part of the Habsburg domains), Ursino de Bertis, for five years as organist at the Cathedral of San Giusto.¹⁵ From this period dates his collection of *mascherate* for three voices, *Ghirlanda*

¹⁰ *Scherzi, capricci et fantasie. Per cantar a due voci*, Venetia, Giacomo Vincenti, 1605. The sole extant copy is preserved in Bologna. The reconstructed scores of three fantasias (*La Triestina*, *L’isolana* and *La Piranese*) were published by Irena Pahor in 1994: Gabriello Puliti, *Tre fantasie per flauti dolci* (S, T), Basel, Pizzicato, 1994.

¹¹ Together with a later collection, the *Lunario armonico* of 1615, this publication is comparable with Lodovico Viadana’s set of instrumental *Sinfonie musicali*, which the Venetian printer Giacomo Vincenti dedicated in 1610 to Archduke Ferdinand of Inner Austria, who was also the dedicatee of Puliti’s *Baci ardenti* of 1609. See also James Ladewig, Introduction, in: Lodovico Viadana, *Sinfonie musicali a otto voci* [...](Venice, 1610), ed. James Ladewig, *Italian instrumental music of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries* 21, New York, Garland, 1994, pp. XI–XIV. The editor argues that in Viadana’s case the *sinfonie* were inspired by popular tunes or dances associated with the named city. In Puliti’s case, no attempt has yet been made to identify possible pre-existing melodies.

¹² *Baci ardenti. Secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci*, Venetia, Giacomo Vincenti, 1609. Examples of this publication are preserved in Florence, London and Naples. See also the critical edition by Bojan Bujić: Gabriello Puliti, *Baci ardenti* (1609), *Armonici accenti* (1621), ed. Bojan Bujić and Ennio Stipčević, *Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae* XLIV, Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, 2003. On Puliti’s madrigals, see also Ivano Cavallini, La diffusione del madrigale in Istria: i Casentini e Gabriello Puliti, *Muzikološki zbornik* 23 (1987), pp. 39–69: 62–65.

¹³ Oscar Mischiati, *Indici, catalogi e avvisi degli editori e librai italiani dal 1591 al 1798*, Firenze, Olschki, 1984, p. 121.

¹⁴ The musical and philosophical activities of this academy have been closely studied by Ivano Cavallini, *Musica e filosofia nell’Accademia Palladia di Capodistria: Considerazioni sul dialogo Dieci de’ cento dubbi amorosi* (1621), *Studi musicali* 16 (1987), pp. 229–245.

¹⁵ On Puliti’s activity in Trieste and the archival documentation relating to this period, see especially G. Radole, op. cit., 1989, 29–31.



Figure 1

Title-page of Puliti's *Baci ardenti* dedicated to Archduke Ferdinand of Inner Austria in 1609 (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, shelf-mark Mus. Ant. 16; after *Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae* XLIV, Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, 2003; with permission).

odorifera, printed in Venice in 1612.¹⁶ In Puliti's own words, the pieces were composed for his own recreation and pleasure in playing the lute, the "cetra" and other instruments, outside his working hours, and he decided to offer them to the nobleman Tranquillo Negri of Labin and his family as a token of gratitude for their past hospitality. Nine years later, he dedicated to the members of the same family a further collection of secular songs, *Armoniciaccenti*. Puliti returned to Koper in 1614 for the feast of the local patron saint San Nazario and remained there until 1620 as organist at the Cathedral. This was his most productive period, and the one when he began to add the newly fashionable sacred monody to his repertory of genres.¹⁷

¹⁶ *Ghirlanda odorifera di varij fior tessuta, cioè mascherate a tre voci. Libro primo*, Venetia, Giacomo Vincenti, 1612. The collection survives in a single example, today kept in Vienna. A modern critical edition was published by Ivano Cavallini. Gabriello Puliti, *Ghirlanda odorifera* (1612), ed. Ivano Cavallini, *Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae* XLVI, Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, 2004. On Puliti's *mascherate*, see also Ennio Stipčević, *Maskerate Gabriella Pulitija*, *Sveta Cecilija* 53/3 (1983), pp. 60–62; 53/4 (1983), pp. 83–85; and 54/1 (1984), pp. 9–10; Ivano Cavallini, *Feste e spettacoli in Istria tra Cinque e Seicento e le mascherate a tre voci di Gabriello Puliti*, *Flauto dolce* 14–15 (1986), pp. 3–15; and Gianmario Merizzi, *Le fonti poetiche delle mascherate di Gabriello Puliti*, *Muzikološki zbornik* 36 (2000), pp. 17–40.

¹⁷ All collections of Puliti's music relating to the period he spent in Koper are published in three volumes as critical editions with introductory texts belonging to the series *Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae*: Gabriello Puliti, *Sacri concentus* (1614), *Pungenti dardi spirituali* (1618), ed. Metoda Kokole, *Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae* XL, Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, 2001; Gabriello Puliti, *Lilia convallium* (1620), *Sacri accenti* (1620), ed. Metoda Kokole. *Monumenta*

As early as 1614 he had published two collections of sacred music. His *Psalmodia vespertina* was printed with the opus number 13, which indicates that over half of his earlier printed collections are now lost.¹⁸ This volume, which, interestingly enough, is dedicated to the Abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Stična in the neighbouring Inner-Austrian province of Carniola (Ger. Sittich, It. Sítico), contains twenty four-part psalms for equal voices and organ continuo, adapted for the use of the monks, but also convenient for the needs of the cappella musicale of the Cathedral in Koper or for devotions in the churches of Puliti's order.¹⁹ Puliti's other print of 1614 is a volume of motets for one to three voices and organ entitled *Sacri concentus* and dedicated to the Bishop of Krk (It. Veglia).²⁰

To this volume the editor and printer Giacomo Vincenti added a short note addressed to singers in which he reminded them that Puliti could have added ornaments to his motets but chose instead to leave them to the singers themselves "con tirate di gorgia far Passaggi". To leave the choice of embellishments to the performer was not an unusual practice at the time. In 1608 Ottavio Durante, then active in Rome, explained in his *Arie divote* the way to write down ornaments ("passaggi ed altri affetti"), and in 1615 Francesco Severi published his *Salmi passagiatti per tutte le voci alla maniera che si cantano in Roma*. This systematic ornamental practice, termed by Vincenti "alla Romana", was also explicitly practised by Bartolomeo Barbarino, who in 1614 published his *Secondo libro de motetti* in both a simple and an ornate version. We should note here that Puliti definitely knew Barbarino's works, since in his own *Pungenti dardi spirituali* of 1618 he went so far as to include a slightly simplified version of one of Barbarino's motets of 1610.²¹

artis musicae Sloveniae XLII, Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, 2002; and Gabriello Puliti, *Il secondo libro delle messe* (1624), ed. Ennio Stipčević, *Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae* XLVI, Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, 2006. See also Ivano Cavallini, Quelques remarques sur la musique sacrée en Istrie au XVII s. et les premiers essais monodiques de Gabriello Puliti, *Musica antiqua* 8, Bydgoszcz, Filharmonia Pomorska im. Ignacego Paderewskiego, 1988, pp. 235–248; and Metoda Kokole, III. Gabriello Puliti – primo monodista istriano, *La Musica Veneziana nell'Istria Settentrionale*, Ljubljana, Založba ZRC, 2004, pp. 17–19.

¹⁸ *Psalmodia vespertina omnium solemnitarum totius anni iuxta ritum Sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, quatuor vocibus paribus concinenda. Una cum parte organica. Opera XIII*, Venetia, Giacomo Vincenti, 1614. Of this collection only one part-book is preserved, so it is impossible to make any assumptions about the musical characteristics of Puliti's psalms. The solitary Cantus part is now kept in Modena. In his *Psalmodia vespertina* of 1614 Puliti in fact used the same set of psalm texts as in his earlier collection *Integra omnium solemnitarum vespertina psalmodia*, dating from 1602, but with totally different music.

¹⁹ The first person to draw attention to Puliti's connections with the abbot of Stična in Carniola was Janez Höfler. Janez Höfler, Glasbeniki koprské stolnice v 17. in 18. stoletju, *Kronika* 16 (1968), pp. 140–144; and Janez Höfler, *Glasbena umetnost pozne renesanse in baroka na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana, Partizanska knjiga, 1978, p. 48.

²⁰ *Sacri concentus, unis, binis, ternisque vocibus, una cum parte organica. Opera XIII*, Venetia, Giacomo Vincenti, 1614. The sole extant example of this collection, which is not preserved in its entirety (the Tenor part-book is missing), is kept in Florence. See also M. Kokole (ed.), op. cit., 2001.

²¹ On Puliti's connections with Barbarino, see also Ivano Cavallini, Un riferimento "padano": Bartolomeo Barbarino dopo il 1607, *La musica sacra in Lombardia nella prima metà del Seicento*, ed. Alberto Colzani [...], Contributi musicologici del Centro Ricerche dell'A.M.I.S. 4, Como,

1615 saw the publication of Puliti's next volume of secular music, *Lunario armonico perpetuo, calculato al meridiano, et clima delle principali città d'Italia*, Op. 16, which was a volume of three-part instrumental pieces with illustrative titles referring to major Italian cities, such as *Roma santa* and *Venetia vergine* – and, last but not least, *Capo d'Istria unica*.²² These pieces were dedicated to the nobleman Michiele Bonzi from Koper and written for his son Mario, who was a pupil of Puliti. To the same Mario Bonzi the composer later dedicated a volume of *Fantasie scherzi et capricci da sonarsi in forma di canzone con un violino solo overo cornetto*, printed originally in 1618 as Op. 19 and reprinted in 1624.²³

The next preserved collection is Op. 20 from 1618, which is the earliest of Puliti's five volumes of monodic motets. This is entitled *Pungenti dardi spirituali a una voce sola, Canto ò Tenore, con il Basso sotto da sonare in qual si voglia strumento chorista*.²⁴ These motets were dedicated, as I have already mentioned, to the “Molto Reverendi Padri del Convento di Santa Croce di Fiorenza” in recognition of the composer's gratitude for having in the past been given hospitality by this monastery. Nine of the pieces – as we shall see in some detail later – bear separate dedications to local nobles in Koper, to members of the Accademia Palladia, or to his musical colleagues or superiors, among whom only his colleague and fellow composer Giacomo Finetti, *maestro di cappella* at the Frari in Venice, requires mention at this point.²⁵

A.M.I.S., 1988, pp. 223–243; and Bojan Bujić, Patronage, taste and style in early 17th-century music, *Glasbeni barok na Slovenskem in evropska glasba*, ed. Ivan Klemenčič, Ljubljana, Založba ZRC, 1997, pp. 61–70: 64–67.

²² The *Lunario* was printed by Giacomo Vincenti in Venice. An incomplete example (the Canto part-book is lost) survives in Bologna. A reconstructed score of the *Capo d'Istria unica* was published by Irena Pahor in 1994: Gabriello Puliti, *Capo d'Istria Unica a Tre Voci (flauti dolci S, A, T)*, Basel, Pizzicato, 1994. Puliti inserted into this collection a piece, *Verona vere una*, by a local lutenist, Celio Porro. *Il Secondo Lunario, composto a 2. 3. et 4. voci* was also published and offered for sale in Vincenti's catalogues, but not even a single example of this collection survived. See O. Mischiati, op. cit., (Indice [...] 1621), p. 6; (Indice [...] 1649 and 1662), p. 8.

²³ *Fantasie scherzi et capricci. Da sonarsi in forma di Canzone, con un Violino solo ò vero Cornetto. Con il Basso principale accommodato in dua[sic] modi, uno al suo luoco, l'altro alla quinta alta, overo quarta bassa come più piacerà al perito Organista, et comporterà lo strumento. Opera decimanona*, Venetia, Alessandro Vincenti, 1624. Of this collection only an incomplete example of the 1624 reprint is preserved (the Basso continuo part-book is missing) in Trieste.

²⁴ The *Pungenti dardi spirituali* were printed by Giacomo Vincenti in Venice. There are two surviving examples of this work, one in London and another in Wrocław. For more information, see M. Kokole (ed.), op. cit., 2001, pp. XVIII–XIX.

²⁵ Gerome Roche, Finetti, Giacomo, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 8, 2nd edition, London [...], Macmillan Publishers, 2001, pp. 828–829. On Finetti's close relationship with musicians of the same order active within the Minorite province of *San Girolamo* for Istria and Dalmatia, especially Lukačić in Split (It. Spalato), to whom he wrote the letter of dedication of the collection *Sacrae cantiones* of 1620, see Ennio Stipčević, Ivan Lukačić e la sua raccolta di mottetti sacri *Sacrae cantiones*, Venezia, 1620, in: Ivan Lukačić, *Sacrae cantiones. Venezia, 1620*, ed. Ennio Stipčević, *Corpus Musicum Franciscanum*, Padova, Centro Studi Antoniani, 1986, pp. V–XIII: VIII–X.

Another collection dating from 1618, is *Integra omnium solemnitarum vespertina psalmodia Beatae Mariae Virginis*, Op. 21, for five voices and basso continuo,²⁶ that can be now safely identified with *Salmi e litanie della Madonna a 5 voci* recorded in 1732 by Johann Gottfried Walther²⁷ and till recently thought to be lost. The volume contains only seven Vesper psalms, litanies and one motet; the later is the exact reprint of an earlier composition, *En dilectus meus* from his *Sacrae modulationes* of 1600, obviously with an added continuo part. The psalms are, however, set to completely new music and do not seem to be connected either to the 1602 *Integra*, or to the *Psalmody vespertina* of 1614, or even much later *Salmi dominicali* of 1635. The Op. 21 calls in its dedicatory letter to the Triestine nobleman Benvenuto Petazzi, great protector and patron of Puliti's order, a high-ranking Habsburg military official, and literary man.²⁸

Opp. 22 and 23 are *Lilia convallium Beatae Mariae Virginis. Libro terzo delli concerti a una voce* and *Sacri accenti. Libro quarto delli concerti a una voce*.²⁹ They were dedicated to two nobles of Koper, fresh from the honour of becoming Cavalieri di San Marco; the two letters of dedication were signed within the space of only a few days. In these collections Puliti came closest to the popular early-Baroque style of sacred monody. In the case of the second volume, it is worth noting in addition that the motets all bear a strict relation to the liturgical calendar of the Bishopry of Koper, such as the motet *Protector noster* "In festo Sancti Nazzarii Protectoris Iustinopoli" and *O quam pulchra est* "in festo Sancte Ursule" (Santa Ursula being in importance second only to San Nazzario). The latter motet was dedicated expressly to the Inquisitor General for Istria, Gregorio Dionisi da Cagli (1615–1635), who was, in fact, a member of Puliti's own order and was living at the time in the composer's monastery of San Francesco in Koper. The last of Puliti's known volumes of sacred monodies is known only from Vincenti's catalogue, where it appears as *Celesti ardori. Libro quinto delli concerti a una voce sola di tenore*, Op. 26.³⁰ It was printed by Alessandro Vincenti in Venice in 1622 and dedicated to the then Bishop of Pula, Umberto Testa. Puliti was at the time "Maestro di Cappella della nobilissima Terra d'Albona".

²⁶ The original title reads: "Integra omnium solemnitarum vespertina psalmodia Beatae Mariae Virginis. Juxta Ritum S. R. Ecclesiae Quinque Vocibus decantandis. Auctore F. Gabriele de Pulitis Odrinis Min: Con: S. Francisci, Et in Cathedrali Ecclesia Iustinopolitana Organista. Cum Basso pro Organo. Opus vigesimum primum cum privilegio. Venetiis, Apud Iacobum Vincentium 1618." There are only two part-books preserved in the Archives of the Cathedral in Kraków. See Marta Pielech, *Do repertuaru kapel wawelskich. Sarodruki muzyczne zachowane w archiwum Katedraly Wawelskiej*, *Muzyka* 46/2 (2001), pp. 59–91: 75.

²⁷ Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musikalisches Lexikon oder musikalische Bibliothek*, Documenta Musicologica – Faksimiles 3, Kassel and Basel, Bärenreiter, 1953, p. 504.

²⁸ See also note 42, below.

²⁹ Both collections were printed by Alessandro Vincenti in Venice and are preserved in London; another volume of *Lilia convallium* is reported to survive in a private collection in Oxford. See M. Kokole (ed.), op. cit., 2002.

³⁰ The collection known to us from Alessandro Vincenti's catalogues as "libro quinto" (originally on p. 32), was also recorded under its full title in Bologna as being preserved in Carpi, but the print is now apparently lost.

Gabriello Puliti moved in 1621 to the south-eastern Istrian town of Labin, following an invitation from the above-mentioned noble family of Negri. He served there as “maestro di cappella” and organist at the town Cathedral. For Orazio Negri, Tranquillo’s brother, Puliti composed in 1621 a collection of strophic *canzonette* for solo bass and instrumental basso continuo – *Armonici accenti. Voce sola per cantar nel chitarrone, et in altri strumenti musicali*, Op. 24 – which were followed by two three-part *a cappella* madrigals, composed especially for the wedding of Agnesina Negri to a Venetian nobleman, Antonio Bragadino.³¹ However, Puliti returned to Koper in 1622 in search of better opportunities and remained there until at least 1624, when he published two Masses dedicated to Franciscus Corelius (Francesco Corelli), a “giurista capodistriano”: *Il secondo libro delle messe a quattro voci, una concertata, e l’altra da choro*, Op. 30.³²

From 1630 to 1638 Puliti’s presence is recorded in Trieste. From this period dates his last-known printed collection, *Salmi dominicali, concertati con il Magnificat a 4. voci, et Basso per l’organo*, Op. 36, of 1635, commissioned by the Bishop of Trieste, Count Pompeo Coronini.³³ Puliti is recorded also as having composed a *Te Deum* in 1630.³⁴ Very late in his career, on 27 February 1633, he was promoted in Venice to the rank of “magister musices”, while still belonging in formal terms to the Franciscan province of Tuscany.³⁵ He was elected a full member of the Dalmatian province only at its General Chapter held in 1636 in Cres (It. Cerso). Two years later, Puliti became “discretus” at the monastery of his order on the island of Pag (It. Pago). His death occurred in Trieste on 19 June 1644.³⁶

Following a model proposed in 1993 by Claudio Annibaldi in his introductory essay to a volume of studies of patronage and the commissioning of music in Italy from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century,³⁷ I shall now attempt to analyse the dedications that

³¹ The *Armonici accenti* were printed by Alessandro Vincenti in Venice. The sole surviving example is kept in Bologna. There exists a facsimile edition by Ennio Stipčević with introductory text: Gabriello Puliti, *Armonici accenti*, ed. Ennio Stipčević, Grožnjan, Muzička omladina Hrvatske, 1989; and also a modern critical edition. B. Bujić and E. Stipčević (ed.), op. cit., 2003. See also I. Cavallini, op. cit., 1987, pp. 66–70; and Boris Šinigoj, Sledovi pitagorejskega izročila v Pulitijevi zbirki *Armonici accenti* (1621), *Glasbeni barok na Slovenskem in evropska glasba*, ed. Ivan Klemenčič, Ljubljana, Založba ZRC, 1997, pp. 95–126.

³² The volume was printed by Alessandro Vincenti in Venice. There is a complete example preserved in London and a single part in Kraków. A modern critical edition is edited by Ennio Stipčević, op. cit., 2006. For the analysis of the two Masses, see Ivano Cavallini, Četiri parodije Gabriella Pulitija i problem mise u Istri u prvoj polovici 17. stoljeća, *Muzikološki zbornik* 27 (1991), pp. 39–47.

³³ Puliti’s *Salmi* were printed by Bartolomeo Magni in Venice. Only a single Tenor part is preserved in Trento, so a reconstruction of the music is impossible.

³⁴ See G. Radole, op. cit., 1989, p. 31. It seems possible that this composition was commissioned by the Bishop of Trieste, Count Pompeo Coronini, for the solemn liturgical services that accompanied the state visit of the new sovereign, Ferdinand III, in Trieste and Gorizia fixed for June 1731. The Bishop in fact “cantò la messa solenne” for the *Erbhuldigung* ceremony in Gorizia. See Carlo Morelli, *Istoria della Contea di Gorizia*, vol. 2, Gorizia, Paternolli, 1855, p. 56.

³⁵ [S. Renaldi], op. cit., p. 194.

³⁶ See note 9, above.

³⁷ Claudio Annibaldi, Introduzione, *La musica e il mondo. Mecenatismo e committenza musicale in Italia tra Quattro e Settecento*, ed. Claudio Annibaldi, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1993, pp. 9–43.

appear in the collections of music by Puliti published between 1600 and 1635, in order to distinguish different categories of dedicatee, and to shed some light on the composer's social environment and on the cultural circles in which he moved, especially in Istria.

Annibaldi proposes three major types of patronage or reasons for seeking a certain type of a dedicatee within a triad, as he terms it, of relationships between a musician-composer, his dedicatee and society ("il mondo"), where social context is the prime cause of relations between the first two. The first type is represented by the commissioning of a work for concrete practical use, as was indeed – at least partly – the case for Puliti's first two works, which were collections of motets and psalms apparently intended for practical use at his monasteries in Pontremoli and Piacenza, while he was engaged there first as choirmaster and later as organist. Second, dedications can be a composer's way of seeking the protection of a socially higher-ranking patron either in order to secure his own social status or to improve his standing through the status of the dedicatee himself and his benevolence in deigning to accept the dedicated work. Clear examples of such an intention are seen in Puliti's dedication of *Baci ardenti* to Archduke Ferdinand, later Holy Roman Emperor, and his dedication of *Psalmodia vespertina* to the Abbot Reinprecht of Stična. The third type, according to Annibaldi, is a dedication to honour a friendship or show gratitude for past and present favours such as hospitality. Such were Puliti's dedications to the family Petazzi of Trieste, the Negri family from Labin and to the Bonzis of Koper. To this category probably belongs also the dedication of *Pungenti dardi spirituali* to the Fathers of Santa Croce in Florence.

Most of Puliti's reasons for his choice of a dedicatee can, indeed, be gleaned directly from his letters of dedication. Two telling examples are the letters accompanying the collection of motets, *Sacri concentus*, of 1614, addressed to the Bishop of Krk,³⁸ and the *Sacri accenti* of 1620, dedicated to Pietro Pola. In the introductory paragraph to the first letter, signed in Venice on 10 July 1614, Puliti writes openly of "two principal reasons" for a dedication. The first is "the splendour and magnificence of the dedicatee's name", and the second is his (the composer's) "quest for his useful protection". Puliti adds immediately that he is offering this work to the Bishop for both of these reasons.³⁹

³⁸ Count Giovanni Turriani (from 1589 to 1623, Bishop of Krk) was a well-known patron of the arts. See I. Cavallini, op. cit., 1990, p. 62. The dedication in Latin is accompanied by a Latin epigram in Turrini's honour by Alessandro Bruti, a member of a noble family from Koper and probably a relative of Barnaba Bruti, the dedicatee of Puliti's *Lilia convallium* of 1620 and a man also known for his cultural interests. On Alessandro Bruti, see Pietro Stankovich, *Biografia degli uomini distinti dell'Istria*, Capodistria, Carlo Priora Tipografo Editore, 1888, p. 240; and Domenico Venturini, *La famiglia albanese dei conti Bruti, Atti e memorie della società istriana di archeologia e storia patria* 20 (1904), pp. 346–408. The epigram is followed by the same *exasticon* published earlier in Puliti's collection of psalms from 1602.

³⁹ From the dedicatory letter of the *Sacri concentus* of 1614. The dedication on the title-page: "Ad Illustrissimum, et Reverendissimum Comitem Ioannem Turrianum Episcopum Veglensem, etc." Dedicatory letter: "Illustrissimo, ac Reverendissimo Comiti Ioanni Turriano Veglensi Episcopo, etc. Qui opus aliquod edere constituunt, duabus potissimum causis principibus viris illud dicare consueverunt, altera ut ex eorum nominum amplitudine splendorem, altera ut illi tutelam mutentur, iisdem ego causis adductus operis huius frontem praeclara tui nominis praescriptione hominum oculis spectandam subicio, nam utrumque, dum tibi, Illustrissime Antistes, has sacras



MOLTO ILLVSTRE SIG. MIO COLENDISSIMO



Presenti, che si fanno a Patroni, sogliono sempre da essi esser ricevuti di buona voglia, & se autene, che grandi siano, accettano volentieri per la grandezza loro, & se piccioli sono, si ricevono altresì con lieto viso, & si aggradiscono per l'affetto di chi gli dona; il dono, che hora io faccio a V. S. Molto Illustre di queste mie Musicali compositioni, e nel secondo numero, poi che è per se stesso, e per l'Autore egli è di poca stima; ma comunque si sia, quello io bene, ch'ella non mirerà la picciolezza di lui, mal' affetto, con cui io (che molti anni sono viuo ammiratore, & affettuato delle sue segnalate virtudi) gli l'apresento. Musicali compositioni in dedico a V. S. perche à persona intenditissima di Musica, quale è lei; la cui Cesàrj può dir anco, che sia vna Accademia di Musica; da vn Musico, delle cui opere ella hà mostrato sempre per sua bonà compiacersi, altre che Opere musicalli non si deuono opresentare; Ma se altri Opere, d'altre, scienzè basterà pubblicare, quelle ancora si douerebbono à lei, merçè la molta cognitione, ch'ella hà di tutte le scienze, che Liberali sono chiamate, le quali à guisa di tante Stelle, ornano il Cielo del nobilissimo animo suo. Ricordo, adunque, V. S. questa dimostrazione, che fa il poco: ch'io vaglia al molto de' suoi meriti, quale non se stima secondo il suo ualente, ma secondo la stima, che ne farà V. S. alla cui buona gratia mi dono per sempre, & gli bacio la mano. Di Venetia li 24. Febraro 1620.

Di P. S. Molto Illustre

Servitore affezionatissimo

Fra Gabriello Puliti.

AL MEDEMO.

N on h' Gemma nel fen l'indico Mare,
Ch'è re d'illustre pregio luogi con ceda
Pietro, Gemma d'honor, da cui (ol ebiare
Flammelle) il mondo fia che splender veda.
Natura, & altre mille virtutà rare
Infuse: il Cielo a te fia che conceda
(Oltre tante virtù, che non han pare)
Grande da far de cor amabili preda
Quell, da ingegno human forma, e figura
Ricuerdo di hor; te formar volle
L'aristotele del Cielo, di Natura.
Peronar quelle in luci d'OR. l'inauile,
Ma per abilitate, la gran fattura
Da quella eterna luce, l'imponno tolle

MADRIGALE

DEL SIG. GIO: BATTISTA BRATI

A Fra Gabriello Puliti.

D alla Musica Sfera
Puliti, il canto Angelico apprendisti
Onde di Gabriello il nome baselli.
Ma le del Ciel, angelica armonia
Emular l'ingegno dotta l'hulpi,
Mensuglia non va poi a le genti
Forni, diuino Orfeo cetisti ACCENT.

Figure 2

Title-page and dedicatory letter of Puliti's *Sacri accenti* dedicated to Pietro Pola of Koper in 1620 (Bologna, Civico museo Bibliografico Musicale, shelf-mark BB 199; with permission).

The second general reference by Puliti to the type of offering appears at the beginning of his letter of dedication to Pietro Pola⁴⁰ in 1620, which reads: “The presents offered to patrons, as is commonly said, always tend to be received with good will and if it happens that they are great, they are willingly accepted for their greatness; but if it happens that they are small, they are hoped to be accepted nevertheless with a happy face, since they deserve to win favour on account of the affection of the person who is offering them [...]” Puliti goes on to explain that his offering to the nobleman falls into the second category, although it is also a sign of affection by the composer towards Pola, a person much inclined to the art of music.⁴¹

nuncupo cantiones, me assecuturum certo scio. [...]” Unlike the dedication, written in erudite Latin, the instructions for the singers are written in Italian in order to make sure that they could be well understood by potential performers.

⁴⁰ On Pietro Pola, see note 52, below.

⁴¹ From the letter of dedication of the *Sacri accenti*, 1614 (on the title-page: “Dedicati Al Molto Illustre Signor il Signor Cavaliere Pietro Pola”): “Molto illustre Sig. mio collendissimo. I presenti, che si fanno a Patroni, sogliono sempre da essi esser ricevuti di buona voglia, et se auiene, che grandi siano, s'accettano volentieri per la grandezza loro, et se piccioli sono, si ricevono altresì con lieto viso, e si aggradiscono per l'affetto di chi gli dona; il dono, che hora io faccio a V. S. Molto Illustre di queste mie Musicali compositioni, e nel secondo numero, poi che è per se

Another example of a text that clearly quotes the reasons for the dedication is the letter to the Triestine nobleman Benvenuto Petazzi⁴² from 1 August 1618 that accompanies a small collection of Vesper psalms *Integra omnium solemnitaturn vespertina psalmodia Beatae mariae Virginis*.⁴³ Puliti clearly states that he dedicates the psalms to Petazzi for two reasons, first, because the dedicatee's father, a devoted worshiper of Mary, left large alms to different churches in Trieste and especially to the convent of St Francis (i.e. Puliti's home in Trieste). The second reason, however, is not as clearly expressed as the first one, but it seems to allude to Petazzi's military renown, his heroic virtues of a "true Christian Knight" known in Italy and Germany, on the borders of which he possessed three castles: Sfortenech (Ger. Schwarzenegg), Castel nuovo (Ger. Neuhaus), and S. Seruolo (Ger. S. Serff, Slov. Socerb).⁴⁴

Before we examine Puliti's other dedications, let me first present some statistical details that may aid the later discussion. From the list in the Appendix, it is clear that there are altogether sixteen printed musical collections by Puliti that have survived wholly or in part. One of them is a reprint that omits the letter of dedication and mentions the dedicatee, Mario Bonzi, only on its title-page (*Fantasie scherzi et capricci [...] of 1618, known only through the 1624 reprint*). Another dedicatee, Umberto Testa, Bishop of Pula,⁴⁵ is

stesso, e per l'Autore egli è di poca stima; ma comunque si sia, questo sò bene, ch'ella non mirerà la picciolezza di lui, ma l'affetto, con cui io (che molti anni sono vivo ammiratore, et asservatore delle suo segnalate vitrudi) gle l'apresento. Musicali componimenti io dedico a V. S. perche à persona intendentissima di Musica, quale è lei; la cui Casa si può dir anco, che sia una Accademia di Musica; da un Musico, delle cui opere ella hà mostrato sempre per sua bontà compiacersi, altre che Opere musicali non si devono apresentare [...]"

⁴² Benvenuto (Baldassare) Petazzi (1593–1643) was a member of a powerful family from Trieste. His salt-fields in Zaule near Trieste were the immediate cause for the second Venetian war between Venice and the Habsburgs that ended with a treaty on "status quo ante bellum" right in 1618. It might be that the signed treaty actually gave free way to Puliti to address himself from the Venetian Koper to the Triestine patron. Puliti alludes to the "heroism" of Petazzi, who was indeed personally involved in military actions during the war. Benvenuto Petazzi was later raised by the Emperor to Baron and Imperial Count. In 1632 he was Mayer of Trieste and Imperial Councillor. On Petazzi see also Sergio Sghedoni, *Le tredici casate di Trieste. Storia della confraternità dei nobili di San Francesco delle "Genealogie" di Luigi de Jenner*, Trieste, Parnaso, 2000, pp. 98–99.

⁴³ See note 26, above.

⁴⁴ From the letter of dedication of the *Integra [...]*, 1618 (on the title-page: "Al molto Illustre Sig. or patron mio colendissimo il Sig. Benvenuto Petazzo, Signor di Sfortzenech, Castel nuovo, e S. Seruolo, etc."): "[...] dedicarla à V. S. per dua [sic] rispetti, l'uno perche, e figlio del Sig. Giovanni Petazzo, che mentre visse, fù devotissimo della Beata Vergine Maria, come per lasciar indietro le grosse elemosine lasciate à diverse Chiese di Trieste sua patria, et in particolare al Monastero di S. Francesco, dimostrò riconoscendo di riguardevole lasciata la Santissima Casa de Loreto. Ed il secondo rispetto, perche lei unitando le paterne vestigie, e similmente devotissima della istessa Madre di Dio, e per aggiunta, e dotata di tutte quelle Heroiche virtù, che rendono adorno un vero Christiano Cavaliero, le quali virtù tacer alle per brevità in questo soglio, ma non sono però ne taciute, ne sconosciute in Italia, ed in Germania, frà i confini delle quali, ella possiede à soui tre nobilissimi Castelli."

⁴⁵ Umberto Testa was Bishop of Pula from 1618 to 1623. See also G. Radole, op. cit., 1990, p. 39.

known to us only from a mention in the catalogue of the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale di Bologna, where his name is recorded in the title of Puliti’s fifth (lost) volume of monodic motets, the *Celesti ardori* of 1622.

Among the fifteen preserved letters of dedication, all three types defined by Annibaldi can be found, as already noted. Puliti’s letters of dedication can be divided further into different subgroups according to language and genre. There are altogether six texts in Latin, all of which introduce sacred works by Puliti: the Vesper psalms of 1602, 1614 and 1635; the motets of 1600 and 1614; and the two Masses published in 1624. At least three of the dedicatees concerned – the Abbot of Stična, and the Bishops of Krk and of Trieste – can be safely identified as high church dignitaries and, in relation to Puliti, as superiors from whom he expected protection.

Similar to them was possibly Scipione Zambeccari of Pontremoli (c. 1570–1632), the dedicatee of Puliti’s *Sacrae modulationes* of 1600.⁴⁶ He was advised to the young – he was apparently not even twenty years old in 1600 – composer by a high ecclesiastical dignitary, the vicar foraine (Lat. *vicarius foraneus*) of the Sarzana Bishop, Girolamo Dodi. It is possible to deduce from the letter that Puliti had been asked to supply this collection some years previously and was offering it now as an act of reverence to his protector and superior.⁴⁷ He was overtly hoping to gain glory to his motets by publishing them under the illustrious name of Zambeccari. It is also worth pointing out that even though this is the earliest known preserved collection by Puliti, the composer is already described by a poet of the dedicatory epigram as “most skilled in music”, which, apart of being a coded phrase, could suggest that this was perhaps not the first work Puliti had written.

It is also not clear what was the nature of the relationship between Puliti and Alberico d’Aragona Appiani (d.1628), the dedicatee of the 1602 Vesper psalms, and, according to the composer, an excellent musician himself as well as a protector of musicians and host of musical gatherings, whose home was a gathering place for them. Puliti was calling upon this powerful and important nobleman to help him in a difficult situation.⁴⁸ The

⁴⁶ The name of the dedicatee is not mentioned on the title-page itself, but only in the letter: “Illustri, ac admodum excellenti I. V. C. D. Scipioni Zambeccario Pontremulensi”. The letter is followed by a six-line poem (*hexasticon*) in praise of Puliti (“Ad F. Gabriellem Pulitum virum musicae peritissimum”) by another “Iuris Utriusque Consultus” in Pontremoli, Antonio Bononi (or Bononio). On Scipione Zambeccari, Girolamo Dodo (1534–1625) and Antonio Bononi (or Bologna (?–1649)) see N. Lovrinić, op. cit., 2007, pp. 68–70 and 157–161.

⁴⁷ According to the title preceding his name (I. V. C. = Iuris Utriusque Consultus), Scipione Zambeccari was a highly educated man, who could offer good protection to the young musician. He was especially known in legal circles in Pontremoli. The passage in the letter reads: “Cogitanti mihi, vir integerrime, quo meam erga te benevolentiam, vel potius observantiam patefacere possem, in mentem venerunt meae sacrae cantiones, quae vulgo motecta appellantur; quas iamdiu typis praelum; committere mihi certum est, et tuo praeclaro nomini, pene dixi, numini, ut his aliquid splendoris, accedat, dedicare.”

⁴⁸ This Alberico Aragona Appiani can probably be identified with the noble citizen of Piacenza Alberigo Appiani d’Aragona (1580–1628), later to become Palatine Count of the Holy Roman Empire. Alberigo was a grandson of Girolamo, the founder of Appianai d’Aragona family wing in Piacenza, and pretender to the throne of the independent Tuscan state of Piombino, ruled



Figure 3

Title-page and dedicatory letter of Puliti's *Integra omnium solemnitaturn vespertina psalmodia* dedicated to Alberico Aragona Appiani from Piacenza in 1602 (Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, shelf-mark BB196/5 – Bassus; with permission).

ILLVSTRISSIMO
ALBERICO ARAGONIO
APPIANO.

FRATER GABRIEL PVLITVS. S. P. D.

PLACENTIAM vix pedem intuleram, Alberice Aragoñi Appiane, cum tuæ nobilitatis, eximijq; virtutis, qua reliquis omnibus ordinis tui viris antecellis, ita meas impleuit aures, vt quemadmodum magnetis vi quadam abdita ferrum trahitur, ita ego ad te, licet mihi de facie minus cognitum, colendum fuerim compulsus, & observandum. Hanc vero animi mei erga te propensionem, vt aliquo tibi argumento significarem, has meas vigilias (psalmodia vespertina dicuntur) sub tui nominis clypeo praelo subiciendas curavi, vt fidentius in publicum prodirent, interq; hominum verarentur manus, nec obreptatorem lañatus, quibus est aliena carpere, quàm quidquam de suo promere, tutius extimefcerent. Quem enim potius mihi patronum deligerem, quam eum qui non modo musicam optime calleat, sed & eius artis peritorum conventus domi perlibenter haberi velit, eorumque difficultates muneribus, ac liberalitate sustentet? Apud te musicorum esse portum per hanc urbem fama pervulgavit, in hunc quietis causa meae te recipiunt modulationes. Tu si ea fronte ferentate, qua tibi deferantur, illas meq; tuo patrocinio tuendum fulceperis, in perpetuum me tuo tibi beneficio deuinxeris, meoq; preclarissimè actum arbitror. Vale quecuq; optas, tibi largiatur Deus.

F. P. P. De Auctore.

*Faller? an angelico resonans modulamine cantus?
Quid dubitem? Gabriel concinit arte melos.*

Ad Illustrissimum

ALBERICVM ARAGONIVM
APPIANVM.

I. M. P. Hexastichon.

Ad eundem. I. F. M.

*Vt pendens maremque ipsa vallibus ab Indis
Ethereum aggregetur superba domus Indus
Sic inuicti aduocem protulit parua puellula
Qui rorant riuula sua sequere parentem
Huc riuus, cui superest indolens, apertis carillis
Drebit, apertissimum tunc ducatur ripam.*

*Quid non Petris resonans angelica sonant
Tulit, quid domos, quibus usque amat
Hic tibi, cuius domus laus tua vultu amata,
Iure quod harmonica manat ab arte, datur
Sic meritis, nec datus illi tantum ab omni
Si qua clare pargant, vnde dicit ille flet.*

by the Appiani dynasty. For the genealogy of the family see: http://www.infol.it/piombino_dintorni/genealogia.htm (26 October 2007) and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Principate_of_Piombino#Lords_of_Piombino_-_Appiani_dynasty (26 October 2007). From the letter of dedication of the *Integra omnium solemnitaturn vespertina psalmodia*, 1602: “Placentiam vix pedem intuleram, Alberice Aragoni Appiane, cum tuæ nobilitatis, eximiaeque virtutis, qua reliquis omnibus ordinis tui viris antecellis, ita meas implevit aures, ut quemadmodum magnetis vi quadam abdita ferrum trahitur, ita ego ad te, licet mihi de facie minus cognitum, colendum fuerim compulsus, et observandum. [...] has meas vigilias (psalmodia vespertina dicuntur) sub tui nominis clypeo praelo subiciendas curavi [...] Quem enim potius mihi patronum deligerem, quam eum qui non modo musicam optime calleat, sed et eius artis peritorum conventus domi suae perlibenter haberi velit, eorumque difficultates muneribus, ac liberalitate sustentet? Apud te musicorum esse portum per hanc urbem fama pervulgavit, in hunc quietis causa meae te recipiunt modulationes. [...]” The dedication is followed by a couplet in honour of Puliti (“Faller [?] an angelico resonans modulamine cantus, / Quid dubitem? Gabriel concinit arte melos.”) and two sestets in honour of Alberico Aragona Appiani. The example today preserved in Bologna contains a manuscript annotation informing us that it was originally given to a certain Fra Corradini from Cremona: “Ad illustre [Priore di] Petris Bacc.vi Fratris Michelis Angeli Corradini ordinis Minori Conv. Cremonensis”.

very formal structure of this letter, as well as the fact that Puliti stresses at the beginning of the letter that he had only just arrived in Piacenza (which would imply that he knew the nobleman more by reputation than through personal contact, or that he knew Appiani from before he came to Piacenza), support the hypothesis that this dedication is addressed to a wished-for (rather than actual) patron, from whom the composer seeks protection and the prestige of association.

On the other hand, it is safe to assume that Puliti was personally acquainted with Franciscus Corelius, “utriusque legis doctore”, on whom we possess only the information given in the letter of 1624, which is laid out in a conventionally formal manner but reveals that the dedicatee was, in fact, a proficient musician (“the first among music teachers”), to whom Puliti felt grateful and obligated.⁴⁹

Interestingly, Puliti addressed himself to amateur musicians, some possibly very proficient, on several other occasions. He refers to a number of his dedicatees from Koper in their role as musicians. These include his pupil Mario Bonzi (in 1615 and in 1618),⁵⁰

⁴⁹ From the letter of dedication of *Il secondo libro delle messe*, dated 10 August (IV. Idus Augusti) 1624 at Venice, “Per illustri, ac eccellentissimo Viro D. Francisco Corelio utriusque legis Doctore etc.”: “Hasce meas modulationes eo venerabilis sacras, quo Sacratissimas missas ipsis modulandas suscepi, tibi (praestantissime Domine) prae omnibus volui iure merito consecratas, quibuscum vel gratia, vel servitute familiariter versor, et quorum humanitate, atque benignitate modestissime utor, tum quia es omnium virtutum genere perornatus, tum quia maxime, et vocum, et instrumentorum, quae ad musicam artem pertinere videntur, non vulgarem quidem intelligentiam calles, quin adeo musicorum per studiosum ipsam Apollinis armonicam facultatem apud te pollere certo scio, ut in te uno Musarum Chorus, tot, quotquot sunt, Caelorum orbes, Apolloque ipse nedum gloriari fatentur reperiri melos, sed uno omnium consensum cuncti tibi primum inter musices Professores concedunt locum: imo et Musarum Chorus, et Caelorum orbes, et Apollo isdem tuis manibus, et tybias, et Organa, et Cytharas, et quemcunque alia instrumenta concrepantibus bene convenire; et adaptari profecto prae caeteris aliis, et excellentius (auderem dicere) quam sibi ipsis profantur. [...] Proinde ego inter musicos, tametsi perexilis, cum in theatrum, ac in omnium aures meas compositiones apparere constituerim, molitus pro mei ingenii parte attingere musicorum, nisi prima, saltem propiora fastigia, eas tibi uno dedere, atque dono dare opere pretium duxi. [...]” The dedicatee is, interestingly, not mentioned on the title-page of this publication.

⁵⁰ The 1615 collection was in fact dedicated to Mario’s father Michiele, but on behalf of Mario, Puliti’s pupil, to whom was dedicated also the lost volume of *Fantasie* from 1618 (from the title-page: “Dedicate al Molto Magnifico Signor Mario Bonzi”). From the letter of dedication of the *Lunario armonico perpetuo*, dated 3 March 1615 at Venice, “Al Mag.co S.or Michiele Bonzi mio Sig. Honorando”: “Viverà eterna in me la memoria delle gratie, e favori dalla molto sua cortesia largamante ricevuti la qual stimolandomi del continuo à ricompensa, e guiderdone, fà ch’io non tralassi punto alla giornata, ch’al mio debito si conviene. Il che parmi d’ottenere in parte, disciplinando, così nel suono, come nel canto Mario suo uno et unico Figliuolo; fanciullo veramente di rilevato ingegno, e d’indole nobilissima: Pure non m’appago tanto di questa opera che io sempre non desidero nuova occasione ond’io maggiormente facci palese al Mondo la gratitudine, egli obblighi; che li devo: sì come parmi à punto di conseguire con la dedicatione che fò à V. S. della presente mia Operetta fatta solo, e composta in gratia del suo gentilissimo Figliuolo. La gradirà volentieri, come derivantiva d’amore, e animo grato. [...]” The name of the dedicatee was, however, not printed on the title-page of this work.

Barnaba Bruti (1620),⁵¹ and, last but not least, Pietro Pola (1620),⁵² whose house Puliti goes so far as to call “an Academy of Music”. Another musician was Orazio Negri from Labin, the dedicatee of Puliti’s 1621 volume,⁵³ and we must not forget Puliti’s secondary

⁵¹ Barnaba Bruti (1583–1660), to whom the prefatory text of Puliti’s *Lilia convallium* is addressed, was an important member of a family, based at the time in Koper but originating from Albania, which had distinguished itself through diplomatic and military service to the Venetian Republic. In August 1619 Barnaba Bruti was raised to a knighthood for his exceptional services by the Venetian Doge Antonio Priuli. See also P. Stankovich, op. cit., p. 434; and D. Venturini, op. cit., pp. 384–385. From the letter of dedication of the *Lilia convallium*, dated 20 February 1620 at Venice and addressed “Al Molto Illustre Signor il Signor Cavaliere Barnabà Bruti”: “[...] Hora havendo la bassa Vite del mio debil ingegno (nel mezzo della mia quiete) partorito questo picciol frutto, in honore della Madre di Dio, mi è parso acciò non perda il frutto, et il gusto, appoggiarlo all’albero, et protettione di V. S. Molto Illustre sapendo io molto bene, ch’ella prende sommo diletto della Musica, [...] ma solo dirò, che V. S. si degni d’acccettar questa picciola dimostrazione dell’interno mio affetto [...]” The dedication is followed by two poems, one addressed to Bruti and the other to the “book” itself: the volume of Marian motets. The latter was from the pen of one of the foremost members of the Accademia Palladia of Koper, Giovanni Battista Brati.

⁵² Pietro Pola (1545–1630), the dedicatee of Puliti’s *Sacri accenti*, was an erudite man of letters, poet and musician, and one of the leading members of the Koper Academy. See also P. Stankovich, op. cit., pp. 240–241; and Baccio Ziliotto, *Accademie ed accademici di Capodistria, Archeografo triestino* 7 (1944), p. 131. The letter of dedication of the *Sacri accenti*, dated 24 February 1620 at Venice, was addressed “Al Molto Illustre Signor il Signor Caualiere Pietro Pola”. The dedication (see note 41, above), is accompanied by two poems: a madrigal addressed to Puliti by Giovanni Battista Brati (reproduced as an introduction to this article) and a madrigal addressed to Pietro Pola. *O quam pulchra est* from the *Sacri accenti* was dedicated to the Inquisitor General of Istria, Gregorio Dionisi da Cagli (“Ad instantia del molto R. P. Maestro Gregorio Dionisi da Cagli Inquisitor Generale in Istria. In festo Sancte Ursule.”).

⁵³ On Orazio Negri, see E. Stipčević, Introduction, in: Gabriello Puliti, *Baci ardenti*, op. cit., 2003, XL–XLI. From the letter of dedication of *Armonici accenti*, dated 2 January 1621 at Venice and addressed “Al Molto Illustre Sig. il Sig. Cavaliere Oratio Negri d’Albona”: “[...] Di qui è ch’andando io fra me stesso considerando il gentilissimo, et ben composto animo di V. S. Molto Illustre, et quanto gusto, et diletatione, ella prende della Musica, per più ragioni mi son mosso à dedicargli questa picciola faticha, di queste mie Ariette; la prima per il gusto ch’ella ne piglia, la seconda per l’animo generoso (ch’io già molt’anni ne resto ammiratore) et l’altra essendo io alla servitù di Maestro di Capella, et Organista nella Chiesa maggiore di questa Nobil Terra vostra d’Albona, era dunque il dovere ch’io l’appoggiassi lo Scudo, et protettione di V. S. Molto Illustre [...] et potrà con la forza de suoi splendori, disgombrare qualche maligna impressione che suole partorire spesso l’invidia. [...]” There is also a second dedication preceding the madrigals that celebrates the wedding of the Venetian noble Antonio Bragadino with Agnesina Negri, probably Orazio’s daughter. The texts were by two members of the Accademia Palladia of Koper: Otonello de’Bello and Giovanni Battista Brati. There is also a panegyric addressed to Puliti by Don Lelio Peregrini from Split (It. Spalato), who wrote a similar one in honour of Tomaso Cecchini for the latter’s *Canti spirituali* of 1613. Orazio Negri is mentioned again in an earlier dedication by Puliti to the Negri family contained within the dedication of his *mascherate* titled *Ghirlanda odorifera* “Al molto Illustre, et Eccellentissimo Signor Tranquillo Negri d’Albona”, dated 10 January 1612 at Venice. This dedication stresses the composer’s indebtedness to the family: “Questa Ghirlanda, che di varij fior quest’anni passati da Scherzo tessei, solo per mia ricreatione, e diletto, sonandola tal volta nel Liuto, nella Cetra, et in altri strumenti, hor da davvero, per compiacere à chi debbo, sono sforzato di darla in luce. [...] Io con lo splendor

dedications of separate pieces within his collections of monodic motets of 1618 and 1620 (both sets), which, included under the guise of being printed by special request, were inscribed to leading musicians such as Giacomo Finetti, “maestro di cappella” at the Cà Grande in Venice.⁵⁴ All these dedications, signed by a “most affectionate servant” (“*Servitore Affezionatissimo*”), or even a “Servant with all his heart” (“*Servitore di cuore*”) in Bonzi’s case, would fit perfectly into Annibaldi’s third category of dedications: that honouring friendship and showing gratitude.

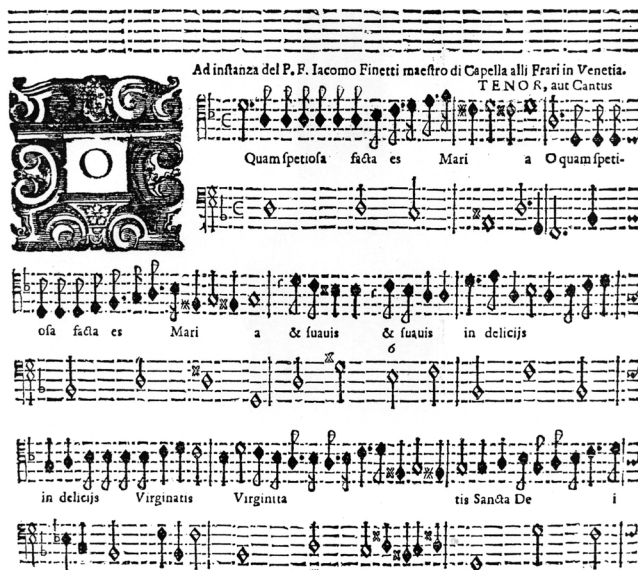


Figure 4

Beginning of the motet *O quam speciosa*, dedicated to Giacomo Finetti, from the *Lilia convallium* of 1620. (London, The British Library, shelf-mark K. 8h 30, p. 2; with permission of the BL Board).

One of Puliti’s Latin dedications of 1614 undoubtedly deserves special attention. The dedication of his *Psalmodia vespertina* of 1614 to Giacomo Reinprecht, Abbot of Stična,⁵⁵ testifies to the composer’s strong interest in gaining the protection of the highest

vivace del nome di V. S. tento d’abbellire questi pochi fogli [...] poiche è chiarissimo quanto lei si diletta di poesia, di filosofia, et quanto sia amatore de’ Virtuosi. Et per le cortesie ch’io in casa sua hò ricevuto, e da lei, e dalli Signori Marchio, et Horatio, suoi fratelli, de quali s’io volessi dir i meriti, et l’heroiche qualità, com’anco quelle del Signor suo Padre, e del Signor Capitan Gio. Battista suo Zio. [...] E facendo per adesso fine allo scrivere, non farò fine però in estender queste picciole mie forze in servizio di V. S. che già le dedikai per debito di gratitudine, et per decreto di volontà. [...]” On Tranquillo and Orazio Negri, see also Baccio Ziliotto, *Tranquillo Negri rimatore albonese del secolo XVII, Atti e memorie della Società istriana di archeologia e storia patria* 25 (1910), pp. 285–316.

⁵⁴ The *O quam speciosa* of the *Lilia convallium* was written at the request of Giacomo Finetti (“Ad istanza del P. F. Iacomo Finetti maestro di Capella alli Frari in Venetia”). See note 25, above, and also B. Bujčić, op. cit., 1997, p. 69.

⁵⁵ Abate Iacobo (Giacomo Reinprecht, Abbot from 1603 to 1636). On Reinprecht, see Metod Mikuž, *Vrsta stiških opatov*, Ljubljana, Jože Kramarič, 1944, p. 65; Jože Gregorič, *Cistercijani v Stični*, Ljubljana, Cistercijanski samostan v Stični, 1980, pp. 81–83; Jože Mlinarič, *Stiška opatija 1136–1784*, Novo mesto, Dolenjska založba, 1995, pp. 496–524.

authorities of the Counter-Reformation movement, not only within Italian territory but also further afield, in the Inner-Austrian lands, where the Abbot Reinprecht was one of the most zealous propagators of Counter-Reformation ideas, a principal Inquisitor in Carniola, and, not least, a fervent promoter of the Roman liturgy that was, after the General Council of 1599, to replace the older Aquilean and other indigenous rites. Puliti, who stressed the fact that his *Psalmodia* was composed “iuxta ritum Sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae”, was advised to seek Reinprecht’s patronage and protection by the Bishop of Trieste, Ursino de Bertis, another partisan of the Counter-Reformation and a friend of the Abbot.⁵⁶ In his letter of dedication Puliti mentions Reinprecht’s connections and good friends in Italy, on whom we do not possess further information.⁵⁷

Incontestable, however, is the Abbot’s inclination towards the arts in general; he contributed greatly to the new outlook of the monastery, whose leader he was from 1603 until his death in 1626. Worth mentioning are the ornamental baroque *stuccature* in the monastery’s east tower, which contain, among other things, a scene of the Last Judgment depicting the Jaws of Hell, towards which, very significantly, a Protestant preacher is being led.⁵⁸ What kind of protection Puliti expected from Reinprecht is not quite clear,

⁵⁶ Ursino de Bertis (1559–1620) was until 1589 a high-ranking official at the Inner-Austrian Court in Graz, where he served as a secretary to Archduke Karl. In 1597 he was appointed Bishop of Trieste by Archduke Ferdinand. He was one of the main promoters of the Roman liturgy that was imposed in place of the older Aquilean rite. All his life, he was closely connected with the Franciscan Order of Conventuals (Fratelli Minori Conventuali). See C. Morelli, op. cit., vol. 3, 1855, pp. 259–264; and Luigi Tavano, Bertis, Ursino de, *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reichs 1448 bis 1648*, ed. Erwin Gatz, Berlin, Duncker & Humboldt, 1996, pp. 49–51.

⁵⁷ From the letter of dedication of the *Psalmodia vespertina*, dated 15 January 1614 at Venice and addressed to “Illustri ac Reverendissimo in Christo Patri D. Iacobo celeberrimi monasteri Siticensis Ordinis Cisterciensis Abbati benemerito, ac Serenissimi Principis D. D. Ferdinandi Archiducis Austriae, et a Consiliis, etc.”: “[...] et iam maximo in honore inter provinciae Carniolanae primarios proceres constitutum, suo gremio retinet; sed et in Italia propemodum universa, ut doctissimi quique, amicitiae et benignitati tuae, omnibus nervis sese insinuare contendunt; scientes a virtutis et doctrinae nitore amicitiam et benevolentiam proficisci et confoveri, et gratiam hinc semel cohortam, utpote quae a virescenti promanaris principio, nunquam fere, neque senio, neque squalore marcescere. Ne igitur mirere, cur haec mea Cantica Vespertina quatuor vocibus paribus cantanda, tibi nomine et fama solummodo mihi noto, dedicanda consueverim, cum ego quoque aperto pectore, sed summa interim reverentia, non dicam amicitiam tecum inire (neque hoc tua patitur dignitas) sed sub clientelae tuae umbra conquiescere cupiam, quod fieri nolui absque literario qualicunque commercio, cum literarum et virtutum studiosos, (et musicae precipue, qua Dei nomen extollitur,) maximo favore prosequaris, liberalitate demeraris, comitate allicias, et eorum studia pro virili foveas, ac tuearis. Quibus rebus mihi hactenus allecto Illustrissimus et Reverendissimus D. Ursinus de Bertis, Episcopus et Comes Tergestinus, qui non raro de praeclaris tui animi dotibus loqui solet, et cuius tam propensus est in te amor quam patris in fillium, animum dedit, et currenti (quod aiunt) calcarea addidit [...]” The letter is accompanied by a poem by Puliti on the subject of the volume and by a panegyric addressed to Puliti by Alessandro Bettoni Scotto, who in 1609 was a teacher in Trieste, probably attached to the public school that operated in the Minorite convent. It is possible therefore, that Puliti and Scotto were personally acquainted. See also Attilio Tamaro, *Storia di Trieste*, vol. 2, Roma, Alberto Stock, 1989, p. 139.

⁵⁸ Marijan Zadnikar, *Samostan Stična in njegove znamenitosti*, Ljubljana, Družina, 2001, pp. 238–244.

Illustri ac Reuerendissimo in Christo Patri
D IACOBO CELEBERRIMI
MONASTERII SITICENSIS.
 ORDINIS CISTERCIENSIS.

Abbati benemerito, ac Serenissimi Principis D. D. Ferdinandi
 Archiducis Austriae, &c. à Consilijs, &c.

F. Gabriel Pulitus. S. P. D.

Antiquaeque Illustris est tua summa, & vitae celebritas Reuerendissime Presul non in Germania modo, quae te in lucem ex patris parentibus edidit, in familia Cisterciensi educavit, & iam maximo in honore, inter prouinciae Carniolanae primarios proceres constitutum, suo gremio retinet; sed & in Italia propemodum vniuersa, ut doctissimi quique, amicitia & benignitati tuae, omnibus neruis se se insinuare contendunt; scientes à virtutis & doctrinae nitore amicitiam & beneuolentiam proficisci & conseruari, & gratiam hinc semel cohortam, ut potè quae à virefcenti pronariarum principio, nunquam ferè, neque senio, neque squalore marcescere. Ne igitur mihi, cur haec mea Cantica Vespertina quatuor vocibus paribus cantanda; tibi nomine & fama solummodo mihi notio, adiacenda consueuerim, cum ego quoque aperto pectore, sed summa interim reuerentia, non dicam amicitiam tecum inire (neque hoc tua patitur dignitas) sed sub clientela tuae umbra coquiescere cupiam, quod fieri nolui absque literario qualicumque commercio, cum literarum, & virtutum studiosos, (& musicae precipuè, qua Dei nomen extollitur,) maximo favore prosequaris, liberalitate demercaris, comitate alicias, & eorum studia pro vigilis foueas, ac tuearis. Quibus rebus mihi haecenus allecto Illustrissimus & Reuerendissimus D. Ursinus de Bertis, Episcopus & Comes Tergestinus, qui non raro de praclaris tui animi dotibus loqui solet, & cuius tam propensum est in te amor quam patris in filium, animum dedit, & currenti (quod auius) calcarea addidit. Hos igitur meos labores (Reuerendissime Presul) hilari fronte accipe, qui licet sint tuae dignitati inferiores, sunt tamen iuxta meos non inaequales, & in quibus si ingenium & sapientiam non laudabis, voluntatem saltem, ac animi studium commendabis. Vale Deus Opt. Max. A. T. longo tempore sospitem & incolumem conseruet. Venetijs die. 3. Januarij. 1614.

Eiusdem ad Librum.

I Liber in lucem, tamda tamen aspice mente,
 Ne nobis noceat perniciofa lues.
 Perniciofa lues quae lumine videt iniquo,
 Rideo, namque sub hoc lumine tutus eris.

D. Alexandri Bethonii Nobilis Scoti
Ad F. Gabrielem Pulitum.

T Emporibus praeclis non cedent tempora nostra,
 Nam veteres Gabriel anteis ingenio.
 Si spectro harmonicas voces, videris Iubal,
 Si Citharam, tangis apud Apollo Chelym.

Figure 5

Letter of dedication to the Abbot Giacomo Reinprecht of Stična from Puliti's *Psalmodia vespertina* of 1614. (From the original now kept in Modena, Duomo, Biblioteca e Archivio Capitolare; with permission).

unless he was simply eager to prove the "correct" orientation of his faith – or even to rebut the imputations of heresy directed during those years towards some of his brother Franciscans, Italians as well as Slavs. Puliti composed the psalms for four equal voices in direct response to the specific needs of the Cistercian monks in Stična, where Vesper psalms were a compulsory part of daily devotions.

The fact that Puliti was experiencing problems of some kind can be deduced from two of the dedications written during his first years in his new host province, Istria. The first is the 1605 collection of *Scherzi capricci et fantasie* that he dedicated as “a sign of affection and respect” to Pietro dell’Argento, his “Signor et Patron”, a member of one of the thirteen most important noble families in Trieste and later a Court Councillor in Graz.⁵⁹ The tone of the letter is altogether more familiar, and Puliti openly speaks in it of slanderousness. He repeats the statement that he is hoping for protection against the offence caused by wicked tongues in the dedication of his *Baci ardenti*, which is inscribed to Archduke Ferdinand of Inner Austria (1578–1637). Resident in Graz, Ferdinand was one of the most ardent patrons of the arts and especially of Italian musicians.⁶⁰ With this dedication Puliti was seeking nothing less than the protection of the “Great Eagle”, a traditional defender of Trieste.⁶¹ Two madrigals were in fact dedicated to Ferdinand’s younger brother Archduke Maximilian Ernst (1583–1616), whom Puliti possibly met in Trieste, when the young Archduke stopped there on his way to Rome.⁶² Quite possibly, his secular works, such as the madrigals on amorous and even erotic subjects, having been deemed none too suitable for a monk and man of the Church, had provoked some adverse comments that he wished to counteract by adorning his latest opus with the name of such an important protector.

Throughout his life Puliti sought important patrons among high ecclesiastical dignitaries, possibly in order to balance his secular interests. To this category belongs the dedication of his last known printed collection, the collection of Vesper psalms, *Salmi*

⁵⁹ From the letter of dedication of *Scherzi capricci et fantasie*, dated 16 September 1605 at Venice and addressed “Al Nobile et molto Magnifico Sig. et Patron mio collendissimo, il Sig. Pietro dell’Argento da Trieste”: “Piaccia adunque a V. Sig. d’aggradire questa piccola mia fatica, in segno dell’Affetto, e reverenza che li porto; essendomeli il di già del tutto dedicato fin da quel tempo, che per suo diporto venne à Muglia. Da denti delli invidiosi non temo, perche l’invidia, non mira così basso: et sò che sotto tal scudo farò sicuro da morsi de calunniatori: quali certamente à torito offendono coloro, che cercano porgere diletto senza offesa d’altri, con le loro fatiche. [...]” On Argento, see also P. Stankovich, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 435; and on the family also S. Sghedoni, op. cit., pp. 15–25: 19.

⁶⁰ Hellmut Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker am Grazer Habsburgerhof der Erzherzöge Karl und Ferdinand von Innerösterreich (1564–1619)*, Mainz, B. Schott’s Söhne, 1967, pp. 46–47; Steven Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre. Sacred Music at the Imperial Court of Ferdinand II of Habsburg (1619–1637)*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1995, pp. 3–9; and B. Bujić, op. cit., 1997, pp. 63–64.

⁶¹ From the letter of dedication of *Baci ardenti*, dated 25 February 1609 at Venice and addressed “Al Sereniss. Principe Ferdinando Arciduca d’Austria, etc.”: “Perilche stando in me stesso un giorno frà gli altri, mi venne in pensiero (havendo già inteso quanto sia vaga dell’arte, et numeri armonici) di comporre li presenti Madrigali, intitolati BACI ARDENTI, atti per avventura ad esprimere la mia devota servitù, et l’animo mio affettuoso verso il merito di V. Altezza Serenissima, la quale non sdegnarà, che restino segnati nella fronte del suo temuto, et riverito nome, per assicurarli sotto l’ali di sì grand’AQVILA da gli oltraggi del tempo, et del’ingiuria delle male lingue. [...]” Unfortunately, the letter of dedication offers no further information about the manner in which the collection was put together; nor does it comment on its content. For more details, see B. Bujić, Introduction, in: Gabriello Puliti, *Baci ardenti*, op. cit., 2003, pp. XXIII–XXIV.

⁶² See B. Bujić, Introduction, in: Gabriello Puliti, *Baci ardenti*, op. cit., 2003, p. XXIV.

dominicali concertati, dated 1 January 1635 at Venice⁶³ and dedicated to the Bishop of Trieste, Count Pompeo Coronini,⁶⁴ to whom, as he put it, he owed a debt of gratitude. The collection is followed by an epigram in honour of Puliti, in which an unknown author compares the composer to a swan, alluding to the white colour of his beard.⁶⁵

Another interesting dedication, filled with information on the social circles within which the composer moved, was signed on 15 March 1618 in Koper. He dedicated his first collection of sacred monodies, “concerti a una voce sola, canto overo tenore con il basso sotto da sunare in qual si voglia strumento chorista”, entitled *Pungenti dardi spirituali*, to the Conventuals of the monastery of Santa Croce in Florence. From his letter we learn that he felt obliged to them for having enjoyed their hospitality at some time in the past and now wished to repay them by offering the fruits of the labour of their humble servant.⁶⁶ Of greater significance, however, is that Puliti made also nine secondary dedications in this same collection, inscribing individual monodies to friends from Koper, and above all to local nobles from the circle of the Accademia Palladia,⁶⁷ who included

⁶³ In the original “Kalendae Januariis”. From the letter of dedication of *Salmi dominicali*: “Oppugnavit me Illustrissime et Reverendissime Domine, uno, eodemque tempore duplex adversarius, pudor scilicet, ac debitum: quorum tanta fuit vis, ac pertinacia, ut uterque de me victoriam facile reportarit; pudor quidem merito de me triumphat, quia hac mea tenui ad numeros musicos psalmorum compositione Illustrissimae Dominationi tuae umbram potius, qua eidem decus, lucemque videor allaturus. A debito autem tum gratitudinis, tum observantiae ita me victum, immortalique nexu Illustrissimae Dominationis tuae constrictum fateor, ut neque me expedire, neque par in referenda gratia ullo modo esse possim [...]”

⁶⁴ Pompeo Coronini (ca. 1581–1646) was a member of an old noble family from Gorizia. He belonged to Puliti’s order and occupied high positions at the Court in Graz. Before being appointed Bishop of Trieste in 1631, he occupied the same post in Ljubljana and Pićan (It. Peden in Istria). He is known to have had personal literary ambitions and was also a poet. On Coronini, see C. Morelli, op. cit., vol. 3, 1855, pp. 288–289; and France M. Dolinar, Coronini (Caronino, Coroninus), Pompeo, *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reichs 1448 bis 1648*, ed. Erwin Gatz, Berlin, Duncker & Humbolt, 1996, pp. 112–113.

⁶⁵ The epigram (“Epigramma in laudem Auctoris”) runs as follows: “Angelus es Gabriel, Gabriel cum carminas cantas, Cum pangis psalmos, Angelus es Gabriel. Iam tua Cygnaeas imitantur tempora plumas, Iam cadit in Barbam nix veneranda tuam; Candidus es Gabriel, cani instar candida Cygni Barba, at Apollineis aemula forma genis; Albus olor Gabriel, es pulcher Apollo Puliti, Sed merito psalmis vincis utrumque tuis.”

⁶⁶ From the letter of dedication of *Pungenti dardi spirituali*, dated 15 March 1618 at Koper and addressed to the “Molto Reverendi Padri et Patroni in Christo Osservandissimi”: “[...] Qual legge, quando di prima intesi, tanto mi piacque che io, non Barbaro, o Partho; ma Toscano, Christiano; et per gratia particolare di Giesu Christo Franciscano Conventuale, deliberai servirne di lei, qualunque volta mi occorresse comparire avanti à miei Maggiori, come apunto intendo far di presente; [...] apresento ad elle queste mie Musicali fatighe, che l mio natural ingegno, aiutato dalla gratia di Dio, hà novellamente prodotto. Et perche due sorte di persone frà l’altre sogliono far presenti; cioè i Patroni à Servitori in segno della cortese loro affetione, et Servitori à Patroni in tributo della lor servitù; Havendomi le PP. Vostre donato segno sì raro del non finto amor loro; mentre m’hanno honorato in prendermi, et annoverarmi per Padre di cotesto nobilissimo Conuento di Santa Croce: (favore tanto più stimato da me, quanto cagionato solo dal nobile, et reale animo loro.) Ogni ragione voleva, che anch’io apresentasse loro qualche segno della mia servitù. [...]”

⁶⁷ It should be noted that Puliti was apparently well connected with this academy, of which, as

Raimondo Fini, the nephew of Tranquillo and Orazio Negri of Labin,⁶⁸ Girolamo Zarotti, Gavardo Gavardi and Ludovico Daini,⁶⁹ not forgetting such musicians as his pupil Mario Bonzi and the bass singer at the Cathedral Iseppo Albanese. One interesting person to whom Puliti dedicated two motets, and who was also close to the Accademia Palladia, was Gregorio Dionisi Da Cagli. The composer knew him personally from Koper as well as from Labin, where Da Cagli received hospitality from the Negri family at the same time as Puliti. Tranquillo Negri even composed a madrigal to celebrate the strictness of the Inquisitor in religious matters.⁷⁰

MAIN DEDICATION OF THE *Pungenti dardi spirituali*

“alli Molto reuerendi Padri del couento [sic] di Santa Croce di Fiorenza”

SECONDARY DEDICATIONS

Stella splendida et matutina

“Ad istantia del Molto R. P. Maestro Gregorio da Cagli Inquisitor Generale dell’Istria”

Gaudebunt labia mea

“Ad istantia del : R. Pre Ludouico Daini Canonico della Catedrale di Capo d’Istria”

Ego flos campi

“Ad istantia del Signor Raimondo Fino”

O Felix Anima

“Ad istantia del Signor Mario Bonzi”

Exulta et laetare terra

“Ad istantia del Molto R. P. Maestro Iacomo Finetti Maestro di Capella della Cà Grande di Venetia”

Confitemini Domino

“Ad istantia del Signor Gauardo Gauardi”

Versa est in luctum Citara

“Ad istantia del Molto R. Pre Iseppo Albanese canonico et Basso nella Catedrale di Capo d’Istria”

Anima mea liquefacta est

“Ristampato et accomodato ad istantia del Signor Girolamo Zarotti”

O bone Iesu

“Da cantar con Chitarone ouero Teorba o Liuto”

O quam dulcis est nomen Iesu

“Del Sig. Bartolomeo da Fabriano detto il Pesarino. Ristampato ad istantia d’un suo seruitore”

already argued, he was possibly even a member. Many of its members are commemorated in his musical publications: for example, Giovanni Battista Brati (“accademico Desioso”), who contributed dedicatory sonnets and madrigals to Puliti’s collections of monodic motets issued in 1620 and some texts to his volume of secular monodies entitled *Armonici accenti* of 1621. On the Accademia Palladia, see also I. Cavallini, *Musica e filosofia*, op. cit., 1987.

⁶⁸ Raimondo Fini later became the author of *Raccolta d’applausi* in honour of the *podestà* of Koper, Andrea Morosini (1643). See P. Stankovich, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 253. On Negis, see also note 53, above.

⁶⁹ Ludovico Daini was a collaborator on *Rime e prose*, a collective act of homage by the members of the Accademia Palladia to the *podestà*, later doge, Nicolò Donato. See B. Ziliotto, op. cit., 1944, p. 141 and p. 148.

⁷⁰ See G. Radole, op. cit., 1990, p. 39. Da Cagli was probably also a musician.

One of the motets is addressed to Giacomo Finetti,⁷¹ “maestro di cappella” at the Frari in Venice, who was apparently directly connected with Puliti not only as a member of the same religious order, a musician, a lute player and a composer but also as a friend and even, possibly, a pupil. In this connection, it is interesting that Puliti, who on the title-page of the collection advises the use of “any kind of instrument” for the basso continuo, explicitly prescribes the theorbo or lute for one of the pieces, the motet *O bone Jesu*. The practice of singing motets with the chitarrone was in fact especially common among the Minorite friars in Venice. Interestingly, the volume in question also contains one of a few compositions by Bartolomeo Barbarino (from his 1610 collection) published in a volume containing music by another composer. The motet was reproduced by Puliti in its simple form, with the expectation that the performer would add improvised ornamentation.

A further observation to be made about Puliti’s collection *Pungenti dardi spirituali* is that, together with *Lilia convallium* and *Sacri accenti* of 1620, it appears in Alessandro Vincenti’s catalogue of music in a section containing music to be sung and played on plucked string instruments, most of which is secular in type, rather than under the heading “Motets”, as one would have expected.⁷² Interesting, too, is the fact that all three dedications were written in Italian and not in erudite Latin, which in Puliti’s time was still customary for sacred works. Perhaps the conclusion to draw is that the pieces were intended for private devotional (or even recreational) use rather than for insertion, as paraliturgical items, into a religious service.

All Puliti’s dedications from the 1620s were addressed to members of the secular Istrian nobility, each recently promoted to the rank of cavaliere: Barnaba Bruti and Pietro Pola, both from Koper, and Orazio Negri from Labin. This was apparently an act of congratulation by Puliti on their social promotion, as well as an expression of his need for protection and a token of his friendship. It is indicative that all three dedicatees are singled out by Puliti as musicians.

Yet another type of a dedication – an offering of gratitude – is a small collection of Marian Vespers of 1618, interestingly addressed to a secular dignitary, Benvenuto Petazzi. The volume would seem to be committed by the composer’s order, to express gratitude for large donations. From the letter it is not clear at all if Puliti was personally acquainted with the dedicatee or not, as at the time the composer was residing in Koper. Petazzi was, in his advanced age, known to act as a promoter of a revival of a literary academy “degli Arrischiati” in Trieste, and was also a dedicatee of other literary and scientific works.⁷³ Therefore, he could well fall into a category of Puliti’s literary acquaintances.

⁷¹ On Finetti see notes 25 and 54, above.

⁷² “Musiche per cantar e suonar nel chitaron tiorba arpicordo”. See *Indice di tutte le opere di musica che si trovano nella stampa della pigna di Alessandro Vincenti, Venezia 1621*, in: *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 14–15 (1882–1883), p. 40 [original page no. 31], and O. Mischiati, op. cit., pp. 135–153 (*Pungenti dardi*, *Lilia coualio* [sic], and *Sacri accenti* are listed on the original pp. 22–23).

⁷³ In 1636 the Italian Rabbi, born in Trieste, Emmanuel Porto or Menahem Zion Porto Cohen, astronomer and mathematician, dedicated to the Count Benvenuto Petazzi his *Porto astronomico* in four volumes. See web-site: <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/view.jsp?artid=460&letter=P> (29 October 2007).

To conclude this discussion, I would like to touch on the financial aspect of the dedications. First, I may point out that Puliti, who, as a monk occupying a regular post as organist of the local Cathedral and, on occasion, as a choirmaster, always with a fixed salary, had no overriding need to earn extra money through his dedications. In this respect, one may concur absolutely with Claudio Annibaldi, who argues that “it is clear at this point that the financial implications of the relation between a patron and a musician were secondary: not only for a patron, to whom, obviously, prestige was more important than lucre, but also for a musician, who often needed to seek out a high-ranking protector not so much for financial gain as for the sake of non-monetary benefits arising from the feeling of being ‘secure and well protected’ in all daily and professional circumstances.”⁷⁴

Nevertheless, we learn from the sonnet written by Puliti’s friend and patron Tranquillo Negri of Labin upon the composer’s return from Labin to Koper (Capris was one of the old names for this town) in 1622, that our composer was not altogether insensitive to the monetary side of his artistic endeavours and in fact “expected all to recompense him” for his musical endeavours in their honour:

“L’Archimuseo Magistro Amphioneo
D’ogni erudition cantica predito
Qui è picto, con le Muse, a’ quali è dedito,
Come Rector dell’Equo Pegaseo;

Hora ch’il Plectro suo (ch’a Mastro Orpheo
Toglie del canto, e suon la fama, e ’l credito)
Spiega in Albona, loda ogn’un per debito
L’ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la suo Cithereo.

U’mentre le suo note udransi pangere,
Huopo è, ch’ogn’un li servi l’*aes* pollicito;
Acciò vi fermi un lungo domicilio;

Che senza mai stancar il supercilio,
Farà gran lucro, e havrà ogni piacer licito
Lasciando ai Caprariensi il core frangere.”
(Tranquillo Negri)⁷⁵

⁷⁴ C. Annibaldi, op. cit., p. 20: “A questo punto è chiaro che i risvolti economici del rapporto mecenatesco-musicale diventano del tutto secondari. E non solo nei confronti del mecenate, a cui sono ovviamente da attribuirsi ambizioni di prestigio e non fini di lucro, bensì anche nei confronti del musicista, che spesso deve aver cercato una protezione altolocata non tanto per i relativi vantaggi economici, quanto per i vantaggi non monetizzabili derivanti dal sentirsi ‘sicuro e ben difeso’ in ogni contingenza quotidiana e professionale [...]”

⁷⁵ B. Ziliotto, op. cit., 1910, p. 307.

I should like to express my special thanks to Professor Michael Talbot for precious help and revising of my text in English. I am also indebted to Dr Miran Špelič O.F.M. for revising my transcriptions of dedications in Latin and to Dr Dinko Fabris for his generous help and revising of my transcriptions of dedicatory letters in Italian.

Appendix
Gabriello Puliti: WORKS AND DEDICATES

	GENRE SA = Sacred music SE = Secular music	TITLE of the collection PLACE AND DATE of publication	TOWN quoted on the title-page or in the dedication	DEDICATEE	DATE ¹ and PLACE of dedication	LANGUAGE of the dedication	TYPE C = Commission P = Protection or Prestige G = Gratitude
1.	SA–voc.	<i>Sacrae modulationes</i> , Parma 1600	Pontremoli	* Scipione Zambecari from Pontremoli ²	Parma, (10. Kal. Dec.) = 22 November 1600	Latin	C or P
2.	SA–voc.	<i>Integra omnium solemnitatium vespertina psalmodia</i> , Milan 1602	Piacenza	Alberico d’Aragona Appiani from Piacenza	Milan, 7 July 1602 <i>only on the Basso continuo part</i>	Latin	C
**	SE–voc.	<i>Madrigali pastorali</i> , [Venice] 1604					
3.	SE–“per cantare” but without texts	<i>Scherzi, capricci et fantasie</i> , Venice 1605	Muggia	* Pietro dell’Argento from Trieste	Venice, 16 September 1605	Italian	P
4	SE–voc.	<i>Baci ardenti, secondo libro de madrigali</i> , Venice 1609	Capodistria (=Koper)	Ferdinand II, Archduke of Inner Austria; Graz ³	Venice, 25 February 1609	Italian	P
5.	SE–voc.	<i>Ghirlanda odorifera, Mascherate a tre voci</i> , Venice 1612	Trieste	Tranquillo Negri from Labin	Venice, 10 January 1612	Italian	G
6.	SA–voc.	<i>Psalmodia vespertina</i> , Op. 13, Venice 1614	Capodistria	* Abate Iacobo (Jakob Reinprecht), Abbot of Stična ⁴	Venice, 15 January 1614	Latin	P
7.	SA–voc.	<i>Sacri concentus</i> , Op. 14, Venice 1614	Capodistria	Giovanni Turriano, Bishop of Krk ⁵	Venice, 20 July 1614	Latin	P or C?
8.	SE–instr.	<i>Lunario armonico</i> , Op. 16, Venice 1615	Capodistria	* Michele Bonzi from Koper ⁶	Venice, 3 March 1616	Italian	G
9.	SE–instr.	<i>Fantasie, scherzi et capricci</i> , Op. 19, Venice 1618? (R1624)	Capodistria	Mario Bonzi from Koper	<i>there is no letter of dedication, since this was a reprint of an earlier work</i>		G
10.	SA–voc.	<i>Pungenti dardi spirituali</i> , Op. 20, Venice 1618	Capodistria	“Padri del Convento di Santa Croce” in Florence ⁷	Koper, 15 March 1618	Italian	G
11.	SA–voc.	<i>Integra omnium solemnitatium vespertina psalmodia</i> , Op. 21, Venice 1618 ⁸	Capodistria	* Benvenuto Petazzi from Trieste	Venice, 1 August 1618	Italian	G

GENRE	TITLE of the collection PLACE AND DATE of publication	TOWN	DEDICATEE	DATE ¹ and PLACE of dedication	LANGUAGE	TYPE
12. SA–voc.	<i>Lilia convallium</i> , Op. 22, Venice 1620	Capodistria	Barnaba Bruti from Koper ⁹	Venice, 20 February 1620	Italian	P and G?
13. SA–voc.	<i>Sacri accenti</i> , Op. 23, Venice 1620	Capodistria	Pietro Pola from Koper ¹⁰	Venice, 24 February 1620	Italian	P and G?
14. SE–voc.	<i>Armonici accenti</i> , Op. 24, Venice 1621	Albona	• Oratio Negri • Antonio Bragadino and Agnesina Negri from Labin ¹¹	Venice, 2 January 1621	Italian	G and C
** SE–voc.	<i>Celesti ardori, libro quinto delli concerti</i> , Op. 26, Venice 1622	Albona	Umberto Testa, Bishop of Pula			P?
15. SA–voc.	<i>Il secondo libro delle messe a 4</i> , Op. 30, Venice 1624	Capodistria	* Francesco Corelli from Trieste, “utriusque legis dottore”	Venice, (IV. Idus Augusti) = 10 August 1624	Latin	G?
16. SA–voc.	<i>Salmi dominicali</i> , Op. 36, Venice 1635	Trieste	* Pompeo Coronini, Bishop of Trieste ¹²	Venice, (Kal. Jan.) = 1 January 1635	Latin	C

* The name of the dedicatee is not indicated on the title-page.

¹ Caution is in place with regard to the dating of Puliti's works printed in Venice, since in the Venetian style (*mos venetus*) the year advanced on March 1 and documents from January and February would be dated a year later in modern style. The Venetian style was used for preference in official documents (except notarial ones) and manuscript sources. With regard to the Venetian prints, it would appear that some of Puliti's music collections are dated according to the modern style.

² With a hexastichon by Antonio Bononi from Pontremoli I.V.C..

³ Two madrigals are dedicated “al Serenissimo Principe Massimiliano Ernesto Arciduca d’Austria”, younger brother of the main dedicatee, Ferdinand. With a poem by Alessandro Bettoni de Scotto, public teacher in Trieste.

⁵ With an epigram by Alessandro Bruti.

⁶ One piece, *Verona vere una*, is by Celio Porro, an “eccellentissimo sonator di liuto” from Koper.

⁷ A number of pieces have individual dedications headed “ad instantia di”:

- Gregorio Dionisi da Cagli, Inquisitor General of Istria (1615–1635).
- Ludovico Daini, in 1618 a “canonico” of the Cathedral in Koper and a member of the Accademia Palladia.
- Raimondo Fini, a noble from Koper and a nephew of Tranquillo Negri from Labin.
- Mario Bonzi from Koper.
- Giacomo Finetti, “Maestro di cappella di Ca’ Grande” in Venice.

- Gavardo Gavardi, a noble from Koper, at the time member of the town-council.
 - Iseppo Albanese, a "canonico e basso" of the cathedral of Koper.
 - Girolamo Zarotti, nobleman from Koper and member of the town-council (the motet *Anima mea* was taken from Puliti's earlier *Sacri concentus* of 1614 and adapted for his friend Zarotti).
 - The motet *O quam dulcis est nomen Jesu* is by "Bartolomeo da Fabriano detto il Pesarino ad istantia d'un suo servitore".
- ⁸ Identified with the *Salmi e Litaniae della Madonna a 5 voci*, recorded in Johann Gottfried Walther's *Musikalisches Lexikon* of 1732.
- ⁹ With a madrigal addressed to "Fra Gabrielle Puliti" by Giovanni Battista Brati. There is also an individual dedication to "P. F. Giacomo Finetti, maestro di cappella alli Frari in Venezia".
- ¹⁰ With a poem in honour of the "volume" by Giovanni Battista Brati. There is also an individual dedication to "R. P. Maestro Gregorio Dionisi da Cagli, inquisitore generale dell'Istria".
- ¹¹ The texts of the madrigals are by Ottonello de' Bello and Giovanni Battista Brati, both active members of the Accademia Palladia of Koper.
- ¹² With an epigram by an unknown author in honour of Puliti.

»SERVITORE AFFETIONATISSIMO FRA GABRIELLO PULITI«
IN OSEBE, KI SO JIM POSVEČENA NJEGOVA TISKANA DELA (1600–1635)
OD INSTITUCIONALNEGA NAROČNIŠTVA, ŽELJE PO ZAŠČITI, DO IZRAZA
OSEBNE HVALEŽNOSTI IN PRIJATELJSTVA

Povzetek

Šestnajst v celoti ali deloma ohranjenih glasbenih tiskov Gabriella Pulitija (ok. 1583–1644) po svoji bogati glasbeni in tudi neglasbeni vsebini nudi poseben vpogled v kulturno in družabno življenje krajev, v katerih je po rodu toskanski skladatelj deloval in zanje prispeval svoja umetniška dela in dejavnosti. Sistematični pregled vsebine, predvsem pa spremljevalnih besedil – posvetilnih pisem, hvalnih pesmi itd. –, v vsej njihovi kompleksnosti razkriva razvejane odnose med umetnikom skladateljem, naročniki njegovih glasbenih del, dejanskimi zaščitniki glasbe in skladatelja, želenih oz. mogočih zaščitnikov (tako cerkvenih kot tudi posvetnih), pa finančnih podpornikov (osebnih ali takih, ki so podpirali skladateljev cerkveni red), prijateljev iz kulturnih, predvsem literarnih in akademskih krogov.

Pulitijeva posvetila (ohranjenih je petnajst pisem v italijanščini in latinščini, znano pa je še eno ime posvečenca) se (z izjemo treh) obračajo na vplivne in mogočne zaščitnike v krajih, povezanih s skladateljevim delovanjem v Istri: v Kopru, Labinu, Pulju itd. Ta posvetila kažejo, da je po eni strani iskal zaščito oz. morda tudi finančno podporo, po drugi pa je z njimi izkazoval zahvalo za že prejete milosti in pristno prijateljstvo. Ta zadnji tip je na primer veljal za dela, ki jih je poklonil svojim učencem ali glasbenim družinam, kot so bile Bonzi, Pola in Bruti v Kopru ali pa Negriji iz Labina, Argento iz Trsta. Tem je posvečal svoja posvetna ali paraduhovna dela (enoglasne motete), medtem ko je funkcionalna liturgična glasbena dela (pri nekaterih je celo izpostavil dejstvo, da so

napisana po »pravi liturgiji« svete rimske cerkve) večinoma posvetil visokim cerkvenim dostojanstvenikom, npr. puljskemu, koprskemu in tržaškemu škofu.

Med zanimivejšimi posvečenci je tudi opat stiškega samostana na Kranjskem, Jakob Reinprecht, ki mu je Puliti na nasvet takratnega tržaškega škofa Ursina de Bertisa posvetil zbirko devetnajstih večernih psalmov za štiri enake moške glasove – očitno napisanih prav za rabo pri samostanskem bogoslužju. Zdi se, da si je od tega posvetila obetal predvsem »zaščito« pod imenom visokega protireformacijskega dostojanstvenika, saj bi lahko iz nekaterih drugih posvetilnih besedil (predvsem leta 1605 Pietru dell'Argentu in 1609 nadvojvodi Ferdinandu) lahko sklepali, da je imel nekakšne »težave« in so ga nekateri zlobni jeziki obrekovali.

Od tistih, katerim je namenil posvetila v svojih najzgodnejših znanih delih (npr. Scipione Zambecari leta 1600 in Alberico d'Aragona Appiani dve leti pozneje), je zaščito šele pričakoval, medtem ko se drugim v svojih posvetilih zahvaljuje za že prejeto milost, najsi je bila ta naslovljena nanj ali pa na njegov red (kot v primeru posvetila Benvenuto Petazziju leta 1618). Naknadno se je zahvaljeval tudi očetom samostana Santa Croce v Firencah, ker so ga v preteklosti milostno sprejeli medse.

Puliti je vse življenje iskal podporo mogočnih cerkvenih zaščitnikov, morda tudi zato, da bi tako uravnovesil pomen liturgičnih del s svojo posvetno glasbeno produkcijo, ki ne nazadnje vsebuje tudi dela z nekoliko spotakljivejšimi vsebinami, kot na primer ljubezenski, celo erotični madrigali zbirke *Baci ardenti* in nekatere maskerate zbirke *Ghirlanda odorifera*. Iz celote njegovih skladb in posvetil lahko dejansko sklepamo, da se je najbolje počutil v družbi glasbenikov in literatov, predvsem članov humanističnih akademij, v prvi vrsti koprške Palladie. Zdi se tudi, da je bil finančni vidik pri njegovih posvetilih drugotnega pomena, saj je bil kot redno zaposleni glasbenik verjetno tovrstno preskrbljen, prav zato pa je toliko bolj potreboval moralno zaščito, po kateri kličejo verjetno prav vsa posvetilna pisma Gabriella Pulitija.

DIDONE BY CAVALLI AND BUSENELLO: FROM THE SOURCES TO MODERN PRODUCTIONS

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Izvleček: Opera *Didone* je bila drugi pomembnejši skupni projekt libretista Busenella in skladatelja Cavallija. Pomen te opere je bil vse do sedaj podcenjen. Med številne nesporazume v zvezi s to opero sodi tudi zmota glede edine preživele partiture, ki je bila napačno povezana z beneško premiero te opere leta 1641. Po primerjavi vseh znanih virov – vključno z doslej neznanim izvodom libreta, tiskanega v Neaplju leta 1650 – lahko sedaj beneško partituro povežemo z neapelsko izvedbo v letu 1650.

Ključne besede: Francesco Cavalli, Pierfrancesco Busenello, *Didone*, beneška opera, Neapelj.

Abstract: *Didone* was the second operatic project carried out by the librettist Busenello and the composer Cavalli. However, its importance has until recently been underestimated. One of several misunderstandings is that the only extant score has erroneously been considered to be related to the Venetian première of the opera in 1641. Following the comparison of all surviving sources – including a previously unknown exemplar of the libretto printed in Naples – it is now possible to relate the Venetian score to the Neapolitan performance in 1650.

Keywords: Francesco Cavalli, Pierfrancesco Busenello, *Didone*, Venetian opera, Naples.

Didone was the third opera that Francesco Cavalli composed for Venice, in 1641. In terms of the current interest in musical theatre from the Baroque age it is of special significance for a variety of reasons. It was the first opera to be performed in Naples (in 1650), inaugurating a tradition that was destined to become one of the most glorious in the whole of Europe. It was also the first of Cavalli's operas to be revived in modern times (as long ago as 1952). It featured the second libretto by Busenello, appearing two years before *L'incoronazione di Poppea*. We shall have more to say about the relationship of *Didone* to Monteverdi's two Venetian masterpieces, *Ulisse* and *Nerone*; here, we may simply recall that the Cremonese composer had already drawn on the Virgilian myth for his interlude of *Didone ed Enea* that featured in the performance of *Aminta* for the famous wedding celebrations held in Parma in 1628.¹ Again, the influence of the *Didone* of Cavalli and Busenello can be traced throughout most of the 17th century, extending as far as Henry Purcell's masterpiece, *Dido and Aeneas*, written in the 1680s.

¹ Tim Carter, *Intriguing Laments: Sigismondo d'India, Claudio Monteverdi and Dido alla parmigiana* (1628), *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 49 (1996), pp. 32–69.

It is striking that an opera of such significance should have so persistently been the object of misconceptions and wrong-headed interpretations, denying it its rightful position in the history of 17th century opera. The catalogue of misrepresentations started early: towards the first half of the 19th century, in his series of *Concerts historiques*, François-Joseph Fétis presented an aria that he declared to be taken from *Didone* entitled *Rio destin*. Yet the aria does not feature in the opera, and in all likelihood was not even by Cavalli.²

Up to September 2006 all modern productions of Cavalli and Busenello's *Didone* were in fact either a selection of "highlights" from the opera or arrangements, with varying degrees of authenticity, of the only known score, which was invariably presented as representing the opera's first performance at Venice in 1641 (see Table, below).

The only recording made to date, under the baton of Thomas Hengelbrock, is a clear example of this performing practice: recitatives and entire scenes are drastically cut, ensuring a performance that is not unduly long and above all marketable on two CDs; the characters considered superfluous, including the opening chorus of the Trojans, are simply eliminated, the chorus's music being played by instruments alone; the happy ending, judged inappropriate, is likewise abolished, and so on.³ Nor did the most prudent and responsible performances in the decade prior to 2006 really contribute to the opera's rediscovery: using old instruments and directed by Christoph Rousset and Gabriel Garrido, these were not issued on disc and have not left a lasting impression apart from reviews in specialized journals.⁴ In contrast, one fundamental milestone was the production of *Didone* that featured in the operatic season of the Fondazione Teatro La Fenice di Venezia. It opened in Venice at the Teatro Malibran (the former Teatro S. Giovanni Grisostomo) in September 2006, with the instrumental ensemble Europa Galante directed by Fabio Biondi and a cast of actor-singers fresh from an experimental workshop run by Teatro Due in Parma.⁵ This innovative project, conceived and coordinated by Carlo

² I thank Margaret Murata for bringing to my notice this and other mistaken attributions to Cavalli of arias used by Fétis and Parisotti. *Rio destin* exists in a manuscript copy made by Fétis himself in Ms. Fétis 7328 C MUS, Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels.

³ Cavalli, *La Didone*, 2 CDs, [München], Deutsche Harmonia Mundi (DHM 05472 77354 2), 1998. Cast: Yvonne Kenny, Judith Howarth, Hilary Summers, Alexander Plust, Katharina Kammerloher, Uta Schwabe, Laurence Dale, Hermann Oswald, Hans Jörg Mammel, Wessela Zlateva, Peter-Jürgen Schmidt, Kwangchul Youn, Leonore von Falkenshausen, Bernhard Landauer, Balthazar-Neumann-Ensemble, conducted by Thomas Hengelbrock.

⁴ *Didone* was staged with Christophe Rousset conducting at the Festival of Ambronay (Académie Baroque Européenne) in October 1997, and repeated at the Opéra comique, Paris (December), Avignon and Besançon. Rousset performed *Didone* again, in a different production and with his own ensemble, Les Talents Lyriques, at the Lausanne opera house (December 2000–January 2001) and the Montpellier opera house (January 2002). In May 2004 Gabriel Garrido, with his Ensemble Elyma, gave a new version in Amsterdam, launching in the following year a "Busenello cycle" at the Kaitheater, Brussels (Kunstenfestivaldesarts) that included a production of *Didone* in May 2007.

⁵ See the description of the project by Carlo Majer entitled *Il ritorno di Didone in patria* and included in the programme booklet for the Venetian production in 2006: Carlo Mayer, *Il ritorno di Didone in patria, Francesco Cavalli. La Didone* (La Fenice prima dell'Opera 7), Venezia, Edizioni Fondazione Teatro La Fenice, 2006, pp. 67–70. The programme also describes the methodological procedures of the conductor, Fabio Biondi: Fabio Biondi, *L'universo in una scatola*,

Majer, probably constituted the first production in modern times of an Italian baroque opera that fully reflected the phonetic expression and profound meaning of the words in their musical setting. At the same time, the musical component was also subjected to an accurate and painstaking appraisal by a specialist of the calibre of Biondi, who employed instrumental forces as close as possible to those used in Venetian theatres in the first half of the 17th century. The only departure was the inclusion of a brass section in order to alleviate what to modern ears risked becoming the monotony of an instrumental timbre based merely on strings, making for greater dynamic contrasts. Nonetheless, even this meritorious performance, presented as a reconstruction of the Venetian premiere in 1641, did not actually succeed in adhering to historical reality as this emerges from the sources available to us.

There are now a number of studies investigating the currency of the Dido myth in 17th century Venice and Europe, and these duly emphasize the crucial role played by Cavalli and Busenello's opera.⁶ To cite only the works in the musical sphere, scholars such as Jane Glover,⁷ Ellen Rosand,⁸ Beth Glixon⁹ and Hendrik Schulze¹⁰ have thus far

Francesco Cavalli. *La Didone* (La Fenice prima dell'Opera 7), Venezia, Edizioni Fondazione Teatro La Fenice, 2006, pp. 63–66.

⁶ The most complete summary is given by Paola Bono and Maria Vittoria Tessitore, *Il mito di Didone. Avventure di una regina tra secoli e culture*, Milano, Bruno Mondadori, 1998, with a most useful bibliography, updatable with the most recent repertoire via: *Dido-Didon-Didone. Eine kommentierte Bibliographie zum Dido-Mythos in Literatur und Musik*, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 2005. Very useful for preliminary research is the website www.queendido.org. Numerous references to music are contained in the excellent miscellany *A Woman Scorn'd. Responses to the Dido Myth*, ed. Michael Burden, London, Faber and Faber, 1998 (musicological contributions by Roger Savage, Wendy Heller and Michael Burden). On Busenello's language, see François Decroisette, *Réécriture et écriture dans La Didone de Giovan Francesco Busenello, Les langues néo-latines* 256 (1986), pp. 57–86.

⁷ Jane Glover, *Cavalli*, London, Batsford, 1978; or an American edition, published in New York, St Martin's Press, 1978.

⁸ Ellen Rosand, *Aria in the Early Operas of Francesco Cavalli*, New York, 1971 (New York University, PhD thesis). See also the same author's classic *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice. The Creation of a Genre*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1991.

⁹ Beth Lise Glixon, *Recitative in Seventeenth-Century Venetian Opera: Its Dramatic Function and Musical Language*, New Jersey, 1985 (Rutgers University, PhD thesis). Although it does not mention *Didone*, the recent volume by Beth and Jonathan Glixon is fundamental for understanding the world of Venetian opera at the time of Cavalli. Beth and Jonathan Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera. The Impresario and His World in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, Oxford [...], Oxford University Press, 2006.

¹⁰ Hendrik Schulze, *Odysseus in Venedig. Sujetwahl und Rollenkonzeption in der venezianischen Oper des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 2004. A passing citation of the Sinfonia from *Didone* is contained in Axel Teich Geertinger, *Die Opernsinfonien Francesco Cavallis, Schütz Jahrbuch* 23 (2003), pp. 105–143. See also texts and documents included in the programme booklet for *Didone* in Venice in 2006. See the following contributions from *Francesco Cavalli. La Didone* (La Fenice prima dell'Opera 7), Venezia, Edizioni Fondazione Teatro La Fenice, 2006: Michele Girardi, *Vada la castità co'suoi compassi a misurar le voglie ai freddi sassi*, pp. 7–12; Stefano La Via, *Ai limiti dell'impossibile. 'Modernità' veneziana di una tragicommedia in musica*, pp. 13–38; Francesca Gualandri, *Spettacoli, luoghi e interpreti a Venezia*

hypothesized, rather than demonstrated, the importance of *Didone* as a fundamental stepping stone in the operatic career of Cavalli (and of course Busenello). The brief citations they give point up in turn the remarkable quality of the laments, arias, recitatives and instrumental interludes in a succinct comparison with other works of Cavalli. The one scholar to have undertaken a specific discussion of the relationship between text and music in *Didone* is Wendy Heller. On two occasions she has offered convincing interpretations of the multiple significance of the character of Dido, “infoelice Regina”, in the context of Virgil’s status in Venice in the first half of the 17th century.¹¹ The fact remains, however, that all the works quoted proceed from the assumption that the main available sources relate to the original performance of *Didone* in Venice in 1641.

This essay sets out to reconsider all the available sources of *Didone* in order to establish a chronology and coherent pattern concerning the true origins of the score that has come down to us.

The sources for the *Didone* of Cavalli and Busenello are the following:

- a. A single manuscript score, not autograph but copied under the personal supervision of Cavalli, containing some very significant additions in his own hand: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice (=I Vnm), Contarini IV, 355 (=9879);
- b. the literary text, published under the supervision of Busenello at Venice in 1656, as the first part of his anthology *Le Hore Ociose* (various copies recorded in Sartori);¹²
- c. the *Argomento e Scenario* published in Venice in 1641 on the occasion of the opera’s first performance (*unicum* in I Vnm; Sartori 2526);
- d. the libretto published in Naples for the production staged there in 1650;¹³
- e. the libretto published in Genoa for the production staged there in 1652.¹⁴

There is no trace of any libretto related to the opera’s first performance (Venice 1641), and this was probably never published. Mention of it still circulates like a spectre

all’epoca della *Didone*, pp. 39–62; Maria Martino (ed.), *La Didone*: libretto e guida dell’opera, pp. 71–144.

¹¹ Wendy Heller, *O castità bugiarda: Cavalli’s Didone and the Question of Chastity, A Woman Scorn’d. Responses to the Dido Myth*, ed. Michael Burden, London, Faber and Faber, 1998, pp. 169–226; Wendy Heller, *Emblems of Eloquence. Opera and Women’s Voices in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, Berkeley [...], University of California Press, 2003, pp. 136–177 (Chapter 4: “Disprezzata regina”. *Woman and Empire*).

¹² Claudio Sartori, *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800. Catalogo analitico con 16 indici*, 5 vols and 2 vols of *Indici*, Cuneo, Bertola e Locatelli, 1991(=Sartori), nos. 7723–7724.

¹³ Two copies indicated in Sartori 7725: I PLn and I Rvat (Allacci). For a new copy, unknown to Sartori, see later in my essay.

¹⁴ *Unicum* in I MOe (Sartori 7726). The libretto is analysed in Armando Fabio Ivaldi, *Il Teatro del Falcone di Genova: un carrefour dell’opera barocca, Francesco Cavalli. La circolazione dell’opera veneziana nel Seicento*, Atti del Convegno di Napoli 2002, ed. Dinko Fabris, Naples, Turchini Edizioni, 2005, pp. 239–292: 245–259. There are at least two other libretti relating to performances of *Didone* up to 1756: Piacenza 1655 (Sartori 7727, *unicum* in I Rc) and Bologna 1656 (Sartori 7726, examples in I Mb, MOe, Rc, Rn, Vgc, F Pn, US Wc). Since Bologna 1656 is attributed to a different composer (Mattioli) and Piacenza 1655 is derived from Genova 1652 (A. F. Ivaldi, op. cit., p. 249), these libretti are not taken into consideration in the present essay.

in the literature, on the strength of a mistaken reference in the Sartori Catalogue, which speaks of five copies of a Venetian edition dated 1641.¹⁵ In fact, this is the first part of the edition overseen by Busenello in Venice in 1656, which is often divided up into its five component parts, giving the false impression of an independent opera libretto both on account of the page numbering and because the title page gives the place and date of the first performance (“Opera rappresentata In Musica nel Teatro di San Casciano nell’Anno 1641”). Nonetheless, this title page also clearly bears the date of publication: “In Venetia MDCLVI. Appresso Andrea Giuliani”.

The Venetian Scenario of 1641

In the *Catalogo generale* of the operas performed in Venice included in the appendix of *Memorie teatrali* in Cristoforo Ivanovich’s anthology *Minerva al tavolino* the opera is correctly recorded under the year 1641: “A San Cassiano. La Didone del Businello, Musica del Cavalli”.¹⁶ As we have seen, the only direct source we have for information on the production in the Venetian theatre of San Cassiano in 1641 is the booklet printed in the same year under the title *Argomento e Scenario della Didone*.¹⁷

As was often the case for such booklets, intended for theatre-goers and serving in lieu of a libretto, we find a meticulous description of the plot and scene changes for each of the opera’s three acts. This is the description of the opening (see also Figure 1):

SCENE

Si rappresenta essere Troia ardente nella ultima desolatione, & ruina sua, doppo estinti Hettore, Paride, Priamo, e tutti quegl’altri più famosi Heroi.¹⁸

¹⁵ Sartori 7724. The examples bearing the indication 1641 are found in four Italian libraries (I Bc, Mb, RVI, Vnm) and in the USA (US Wc). Hendrik Schulze (H. Schulze, op. cit.) does not cite among the sources for *Didone* the Naples 1650 libretto. Conversely, in the article Cavalli, Francesco in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (vol. 4, 2000), mention is made of a non-existent libretto published in Florence 1650 (confused with Naples 1650).

¹⁶ Cristoforo Ivanovich, *Memorie teatrali di Venezia*, Venezia, 1681 (reprinted in Venice in 1688), p. 433. Facsimile edition by Norbert Dubowy, Lucca, LIM, 1993. We may note that Ivanovich in the same year includes other information that is either imprecise or mistaken, from the staging of *Il ritorno d’Ulisse in Patria* by Monteverdi (which was actually performed in both 1640 and 1641) to the attribution of both the *Nozze d’Enea con Lavinia* (actually by Monteverdi) and the *Finta pazza* (actually by Saccati) to Cavalli. See Thomas Walker, *Gli errori di “Minerva al tavolino”, Venezia e il melodramma nel Seicento*, ed. Maria Teresa Muraro, Florence, Olschki, 1976, pp. 7–20.

¹⁷ “ARGOMENTO / E SCENNARIO [sic] / DELLA / DIDONE. / IN VENETIA, / MDCXXXXXI. [sic] / Presso Pietro Miloco. *Con Licenza de’ Superiori*.” No scholar has commented on the strange misprint in the frontispiece, where the Roman numerals give the date as 1651. I thank Jean-François Lattarico for procuring for me a microfilm of the *unicum*, which I then inspected in person in Venice.

¹⁸ Eng. translation: “Troy is represented in flames, plunged into desolation and ruin, after the deaths of Hector, Paris, Priam and all the other famous Heroes.”

The arrangement of the scenes act by act, compared with Busenello's definitive edition of 1656, is as follows:

	Scenario 1641	Busenello, Venice 1656
	PROLOGUE	PROLOGUE
ACT I:	1–10	1–10
ACT II:	1–9	1–13
ACT III:	1–8	1–12

There is no mention whatsoever in the 1641 booklet of the most spectacular high-points such as the choruses, the passage of the Trojan Army in flight at the end of Act I (1656, p. 30), and the ballet closing Act II (1656): “Doppo un Ballo de Mori Affricani, finisce il Secondo Atto” (p. 54). Even these brief observations give the impression that the Venetian production of 1641 must have been shorter and scenically less complex than what subsequent sources have construed.

The Neapolitan libretto of 1650

Once it has been established that there was no libretto for the Venetian premiere in 1641, the oldest libretto of *Didone* we have is the one published in Naples in 1650. Not only is this the source that has been most neglected by scholars and musicians, but it seems also to have been particularly ill-fated. In modern times no one has taken an interest in the revivals of this and other operas outside Venice; moreover, the two copies of the Neapolitan libretto of *Didone* recorded by Sartori have for years been unavailable to scholars.¹⁹ My own chance discovery of a third, previously unknown copy has made it possible to consider what is clearly an indispensable source in any reconsideration of the opera as a whole. This new copy is in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, where it arrived as an item in the private Roman library belonging to Prince Gabrielli.²⁰ A first element of considerable interest concerning this source is the presence of hand-written annotations suggesting that it was used either for study purposes or even perhaps for a private spoken performance of the drama decades after its year of publication, 1650. This is borne out by the following annotations in pencil (see also Figure 2):²¹

¹⁹ Sartori 7725. The two copies relating to Naples 1650 are reportedly in I PAr and I Rvat (Allacci). When I applied for permission to consult the originals, the Biblioteca Regionale di Palermo cited insurmountable difficulties, while in 2005 the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana stated that the volume was temporarily unavailable for reasons of restoration. The closure of the latter library for three years as from summer 2007 makes it impossible to ascertain the volume's existence following its restoration. The place of publication and authors are given in Leone Allacci, *Drammaturgia*, Venice 1755, col. 251.

²⁰ I Rn, p4A'D8E6. On the title page, which contains no typography except the title (*LA / DIDONE / DRAMA / MUSICALE*) there are handwritten marks of ownership: “Gio. Andrea Carignani”[?], “Biblioteca del Principe Gabrielli Roma 1804” and “poi di Gaspare Servi”[?].

²¹ This handwritten annotation occurs next to the final part of the Prologo rather than the beginning

- “P” or “P°” [First scene: palace]
- “Tem” [Finale of scene I: temple]
- “2° Bosc.” [Second scene: wood]
- “2° Cortile” [Second scene: court of Dido]
- “Giardino” [Penultimate scene for Dido’s attempted suicide]

These annotations appear to refer to a production or else to a personal study of the scenes of the opera, which are precisely four in number: the city of Troy in flames (with the temple); a royal palace (first in Troy, then of Dido); a wood close to Carthage; and an external courtyard in Dido’s palace.

While the only record we have of the Venetian premiere of 1641 is the *Scenario* described above, the revival in Naples produced in autumn 1650 is recorded not only by the published libretto but also in some reports in contemporary newspapers.

Naples, 27 September 1650²²

Una compagnia di musici di diverse parti d’Italia, che fa molti mesi si ritrovono qui ad istanza del signor conte d’Ognatte, viceré, e marchese Tassis dopo haver recitato diverse commedie in musica, in questo real Palazzo ne preparano un’altra intitolata Troia distrutta che si deve rappresentare in questa settimana, havendo fatto fare a loro spese sontuoso teatro, con spesa di ducati 2500 [...] ²³

Naples, 18 October 1650²⁴

La compagnia di musici comici, che si ritrova in questa città, recitò mercordì [12 ottobre] per la prima volta nella stanza del Pallonetto di Palazzo, la scritta opera intitolata Didone et incendio di Troia in musica, che riuscì di sodisfazione di tutti gli ascoltanti sì per il bel dire, e varietà d’habiti, di personaggi, come per la ben ordinata scena con molte apparenze di più maniere, il tutto a spese di detta compagnia che perciò fecero pagare cinque carlini a testa alla porta, chi volesse entrare a vederla, 2. altri carlini per la seggia e quattro ducati per ogni palchetto, uno de’ quali fu occupato dal signor Vice Re con haverlo pagato [...] ²⁵

of the Prima Scena that follows, where we find “2°”: this might mean that, in the owner’s view, a different stage setting was intended for the Prologo from that of the opera’s opening.

²² Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, *Dalla Finta pazza alla Veremonda: storie di Febiarmónici*, *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 10 (1975), p. 379; Domenico Antonio D’Alessandro, *L’opera in musica a Napoli dal 1650 al 1670, Seicento napoletano*, ed. Roberto Pane, Milano, Edizioni di Comunità, 1984, p. 412.

²³ Eng. translation: “A company of musicians from various parts of Italy, which have been here for many months at the instigation of the Conte d’Ognatte, Viceroy, and Marchese Tassis, after giving various *commedie in musica*, in this Royal Palace, are preparing another entitled *Troia distrutta* which is to be performed this week, providing at their own expense a sumptuous production for an outlay of 2500 ducats [...]”

²⁴ L. Bianconi and T. Walker, op. cit, p. 379; D. A. D’Alessandro, op. cit., p. 412.

²⁵ Eng. translation: “The company of comic musicians who are in the city performed last Wednesday [12 October] for the first time in the Stanza del Pallonetto in the Palace the previously mentioned opera entitled *Didone et incendio di Troia* in music, which pleased all listeners by its fine diction and variety of costumes and characters, as well as by the well-ordered staging with its many different scenic transformations, all at the expense of the aforesaid company, which

Naples, 8 November 1650²⁶

Nel Pallonetto di Palazzo domenica sera [6 novembre] fu di nuovo recitata la settima volta in musica la scritta opera intitolata *Didone*, con l'intervento del signor Viceré, e di questo monsignor Nuntio invitatovi da S. E., dopo finita di rappresentare detta opera partì per Roma con una di queste galere il Sig. marchese Tassis capitano della Guardia di S.E. dal quale viene spedito dicono per compiere in nome dell'E. S. col novello cardinal Panfilio per la sua essaltatione [...]²⁷

Finally, on 15 November 1650, the Viceroy gave orders for the erection in the Palace, in the area of the Park, of "un gran teatro da rappresentar tragedie più commodo assai alli ascoltanti di quello del Pallonetto" (Eng. translation: "a great theatre for staging tragedies, much more convenient for listeners than that of the Pallonetto"); here, indeed, we stand at the well-spring of opera in Naples, and of a history that begins, following *Didone*, with *Giasone*, *Egisto* and *Nerone* in 1651.²⁸

The libretto published in Naples on 10 October 1650 was dedicated by the architect-impresario Curzio Manara to the Marchese Antonio De Tassis, Captain of the Guard to the Viceroy of Naples Inigo de Guevara y Tassis, Conte d'Oñate y Villamediana. The Viceroy was also the dedicatee of the fourth libretto in this first phase of opera production in Naples, Monteverdi's *Nerone overo L'Incoronazione di Poppea*, published a year later, whereas the Neapolitan libretto of Cavalli's *Giasone*, dated 6 September 1651, was dedicated to his daughter, Caterina de Guevara e Tassis, Vicereine of Sardinia. This appears to confirm Bianconi and Walker's observation that the Conte d'Oñate set out quite consciously to pursue a policy of self-promotion.²⁹ It would surely be no coincidence if the team of Busenello and Cavalli was involved in both of the earliest two Venetian operas to be revived in Naples: in the case of *Nerone*, Cavalli had in his possession, and probably personally revised, the only two musical sources that have come down to us.³⁰

accordingly charged five *carlini* a head at the door to everyone who wished to enter and see it, and 2 more *carlini* for a chair and 4 ducats for a box, one of the same being occupied by the Viceroy, who paid for it [...]"

²⁶ D. A. D'Alessandro, op. cit., p. 412.

²⁷ Eng. translation: "In the Pallonetto in the Palace on Sunday evening [6 November] there was another performance in music, the seventh, of the previously mentioned opera entitled *Didone*, the Viceroy being present, together with Monsignor Nuntio invited by His Excellency, and after the aforesaid opera the Marchese Tassis, Captain of His Excellency's Guard, left for Rome by ship, despatched, it is said, for the purpose of presenting H. E.'s compliments to the new Cardinal Pamphilij on his elevation [...]"

²⁸ See Lorenzo Bianconi, *Funktionen des Operntheaters in Neapel bis 1700 und die Rolle Alessandro Scarlatti's*, *Colloquium A. Scarlatti Würzburg 1975*, ed. W. Osthoff and J. Ruile-Dronke, Tutzing, Schneider, 1979, pp. 13–111; see also D. A. D'Alessandro, op. cit., p. 412.

²⁹ L. Bianconi and T. Walker, op. cit., p. 391: "L'Ognatone non aveva quindi atteso che i Febiarmonici, o Curzio Manara introducessero a Napoli 'le commedie in musica all'uso di Venezia', e già nel 1649 era ben cosciente dell'efficacia propagandistica del meraviglioso scenotecnico e scenico-musicale. Pare dunque davvero intenzionale la sua istituzione di regolari spettacoli accessibili a un pubblico purchessia (pagante o di corte) fin dalla *Didone* del 1650."

³⁰ See Ellen Rosand, *L'Incoronazione di Poppea* di Francesco Cavalli, *Francesco Cavalli. La circo-*

We do not intend here to dwell on the complex and still largely obscure “prehistory” of opera in Naples. All too little is known, for example, about the role played by Curzio Manara and the importance of the Viceroy’s desire to celebrate his rule.³¹ We cannot, however, fail to note the significant presence of the Venetian pair, and the composer in particular, at the outset of the glorious tradition of musical theatre in Naples: Cavalli was responsible for no fewer than ten of the thirty operas put on in theatres in the city in the decade following 1650.³²

Once we had grasped the significance of the libretto published in Naples in 1650 as the closest surviving literary source for the Venetian score, we proceeded to make a comparative analysis of the texts contained in all the known sources of *Didone* in order to establish to which of the productions on record the surviving score relates. The results of our analysis were quite unequivocal.

The libretto published in Genoa in 1652 can be set aside for two reasons: on one hand, it clearly derives from the 1650 Naples production, while, on the other, it features sections and characters that do not exist in the Venetian score. One example is the comic role of Trinano “the stutterer”, an exact counterpart of the only comic character in Busenello’s 1656 libretto, Sinone. We may also note that, as in Naples 1650, Genoa 1652 brings forward the monologue of Sinone from the eighth to the fourth scene in Act I, and adds many elements not found in the 1656 text. The textual variants could well be the work of the Genoese poet Vincenzo Della Rena.³³

As a matter of fact, the source that is furthest removed in time from the performances of the opera is Busenello’s text published in 1656. When we summarize the findings that emerge from the comparative analysis of the sources, we can affirm that the manuscript score has many more points in common with the Neapolitan libretto of 1650 than with the official one produced by Busenello in Venice in 1656. But at the same time it cannot be said that the musical source derives directly from the Neapolitan production in view of the numerous divergences.

lazione dell’opera veneziana nel Seicento, Atti del Convegno di Napoli 2002, ed. Dinko Fabris, Naples, Turchini Edizioni, 2005, pp. 119–146.

³¹ About this Cremonese priest, who led various companies of “Febi Armonici” in the north of Italy from at least 1645 to his arrival in Naples in 1649, see L. Bianconi and T. Walker, op. cit., pp. 399–402; and Nicola Michelassi, *Musici di fortuna tra Venezia e l’Europa. I viaggi teatrali di Giovan Battista Balbi*, Firenze, 2001/2002 (Università di Firenze, PhD thesis). For an overall reconstruction of the beginnings of opera in Naples, see Dinko Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-century Naples. Francesco Provenzale (1624–1704)*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2007, pp. 154–155.

³² See L. Bianconi, op. cit., 1979, pp. 46–47.

³³ As Armando Fabio Ivaldi (A. F. Ivaldi, op. cit., p. 247) has pointed out, the libretto of Genoa 1652, as well as modifying and extending the monologue of “Sinon Greco” and bringing it forward to scene IV as in Naples 1650, creates the comic character of the stammering Trinano and substitutes the *buffa* pair Sinone–Trinano for the divine couples in the other known sources: Venere–Enea (I, 5) and Giove–Mercurio (III, 4). The new comic scenes were in fact printed separately from the official text, as an appendix to the Genoese libretto described as *Scene AGGIUNTE AL DRAME DELLA DIDONE*. It is possible that the libretto of Naples 1650 may also have had additional scenes and comic characters, but the surviving examples contain no evidence of this.

The Venetian score

In 2004 Hendrik Schulze maintained that the score of *Didone* in the Contarini collection in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, was one of the late copies that Cavalli made prior to 1667.³⁴ This document clearly had a complex history. Jane Glover, followed by Peter Jeffery, has identified three distinct writing styles:³⁵

C1) A “strange hand” (unknown in Cavalli’s works), responsible for most of the manuscript, using the same paper otherwise used by “hand D” (see Figure 3);

C2) “hand D”, responsible for at least two other scores in the Contarini collection – namely *Doriclea* and *Muzio Scevola* – whose contribution here was limited to four gatherings in different ink apparently inserted in collaboration with the main copyist (see Figure 4);³⁶

C3) autograph interventions by Cavalli himself (see Figure 5).

After careful scrutiny of the score in Venice we can substantially agree with Jane Glover’s reconstruction of the copying process: the main copyist (C1 or “strange hand”) was charged with preparing a new score from an “original manuscript” but “he evidently had some difficulty in decyphering Cavalli’s handwriting, for he had to leave many gaps, the most crucial of which were filled by Cavalli himself.” What is not clear is the rationale for the insertions by “hand D” (C2), “as if tidying up the difficult passages left by both Cavalli and the foreign scribe”.³⁷

Glover is right to point out how *Didone*, composed just a year after *Gli amori di Apollo e Dafne*, is completely different in terms of division into scenes, length and indeed psychological treatment of the characters. Bianconi and Glover were the first scholars to maintain that the copy of the score of *Didone* now in the Contarini collection is not related to the premiere of 1641 but to one of the subsequent productions mounted in other cities, the only two known to us being Naples 1650 and Genoa 1652, as we have seen.³⁸

From a comparison of the sources it becomes clear that the score does not correspond to the *Scenario* illustrating the opera as it was staged for the first time in Venice in 1641, on account of the order of the scenes, the cast and even missing sections.³⁹ There

³⁴ H. Schulze, op. cit., p. 86.

³⁵ J. Glover, op. cit., p. 69 and 72; Peter Grant Jeffery, *The Autograph Manuscripts of Francesco Cavalli*, Princeton, NY, 1980, pp. 125–126 (Princeton University, PhD thesis).

³⁶ As noted by P. G. Jeffery, op. cit., p. 125–126. We may add that the two hands differ not only in the type of ink they use but also in the form of the clefs and of the brackets prefacing the systems, which are looped for C1, straight for C2.

³⁷ J. Glover, op. cit., p. 72.

³⁸ Lorenzo Bianconi, Caletti (Caletti–Bruni), Pietro Francesco, detto Cavalli, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 16, Roma, Istituto per l’Enciclopedia Italiana, 1973, pp. 686–696: 691; J. Glover, op. cit., p. 72.

³⁹ However, some of the operatic scenes should, according to Ellen Rosand, be omitted from the scenario, but they were probably added to the Venice production because they were mad scenes for Iarba. Ellen Rosand, *The Opera Scenario, 1638–1655: A Preliminary Survey*, *In Cantu et in*

can be no doubt that the two sources refer to different productions. But as we have said, there is no proper match to the score in any of the extant libretti. At some points the score includes portions of text that do not occur in the libretti; more commonly, in the score single words are altered or their position in the line is changed, possibly so as to fit the music better. At all events, the score corresponds more closely to the Naples 1650 libretto than to Busenello's 1656 text. Moreover, the differences between the order of scenes in the score and in the 1650 libretto (the bringing forward of Sinone's monologue to Act I scene 4, the frequent omissions and the changes of words) are such that the two sources cannot be associated with the same performance. The most convincing supposition for the parts of these sources which do correspond is that both derive from an original belonging to Cavalli that has not come down to us. The 1650 libretto is so full of misprints as to suggest not only that Neapolitan proof readers were lamentably incompetent but, more significantly, that it was printed in great haste. We can advance the hypothesis that an original text, unknown to us, was submitted to the advance censorship of the Viceroy, obliging the printers to make a hasty revision in time for the performance. Almost all the words and phrases to have been altered with respect to the score (and to the subsequent text of 1656) concern situations of dalliance or reference to pagan topics.⁴⁰ While the published libretto may have had to succumb to imperious curtailments of Busenello's customary exuberance, this does not necessarily mean that the parts as they were sung in Naples were similarly expurgated.

The corrections (wrong notes erased or replaced) and superfluous repetitions of clefs at the beginning of staves that occur frequently in the Venetian score of *Didone* provide tangible proof of the existence of an original from which the copy was made by the two copyists under the supervision of Cavalli. Other signs ("x", "+", "┐" and on one occasion "qui"), that appear in the first act of the score only can be connected to an early modern performance.⁴¹ (See Figure 6.)

Conclusions

As Ellen Rosand was the first to observe in 2002:⁴²

Invero, il fatto che nel libretto napoletano molti dei tagli di ampie dimensioni (comprendenti cioè parecchi versi) concordino con quelli presenti nell'unica partitura

Sermone. For Nino Pirrotta on his 80th Birthday, ed. Franco Piperno and Fabrizio Della Seta, Firenze, Olschki, 1996, pp. 335–346.

⁴⁰ On the possible influence of censorship in the revival in Naples of the subsequent opera by Monteverdi and Busenello (with some involvement by Cavalli), *L'Incoronazione di Poppea*, see the illuminating observations of Ellen Rosand in E. Rosand, op. cit., 2005, pp. 125–126. L. Bianconi and T. Walker (in: op. cit., pp. 380–381) had already attributed the significant changes with respect to the Venetian text to Neapolitan censorship: "qualche spostamento nell'ordine delle scene e la sistematica soppressione delle scene di evocazione oltretombale (I.7 e 9 e III.8) e di qualche brano di dialogo troppo licenziosamente pagano o lascivo."

⁴¹ The use of the pencil was unknown before 1664. I am tempted to connect these signs with Riccardo Nielsen's first revival of the score in 1952.

⁴² E. Rosand, op. cit., 2005, p. 126.

della *Didone* (I-Vnm It.IV.355 [=9879]) fa supporre che tale fonte possa riflettere la rappresentazione napoletana [...]

We can sum up the process by which the score and Busenello's definitive text of *Didone* were produced almost twenty years after the Venetian premiere as follows. Late in 1649 the troupe called Febi Armonici under Curzio Manara arrived in Naples to give the first performances of operas *alla veneziana* as part of a cycle of festivities entitled *Partenope liberata*, clearly inspired by political and celebratory motives. The only documentary evidence we have for the musicians' arrival in Naples as early as 1649 comes in the dedication of the Neapolitan libretto of *Didone*, where Manara declares that the opera (produced in 1650) was to be performed by:

[...] una compagnia di musici di diverse parti d'Italia, che fa molti mesi si ritrov-
arono qui ad istanza del viceré [...]⁴³

In fact, the Conte d'Oñate organized a programme of celebrations with an overtly political and symbolic intent in the years immediately following the Spanish victory over Masaniello (1648). The choice of *Didone* to follow the cycle *Partenope liberata* is itself astute: Partenope obviously represented the city of Naples "liberated" from the revolutionary hotheads led by Masaniello, but the libretto of *Didone* similarly has strong symbolic connotations. The burning of Troy, which takes up the whole of the first act, is an allusion to the city of Naples during the revolt; Aeneas could represent the ambiguous figure of Don Juan de Austria, the heroic conqueror of Masaniello, who went on from Naples to attend to more lofty matters (founding Rome, seat of the power of both the Church and the Catholic monarch);⁴⁴ Dido could represent the city of Naples with all her wiles and fickleness, abandoned by the hero (Giovanni-Aeneas) but finding consolation in the happy ending with her new husband Iarba, a rather bold figure to choose for the Spanish monarchy, briefly repulsed by a city in the throes of revolutionary madness. Such an interpretation is clearly a modern distortion of elements that are no more than hints, and relies on the most recent historiographical evaluation of the figure of Don Juan de Austria. We believe that Oñate's celebratory programme – a sort of spectacular statement of his reconciliation with the city – probably featured a third title, *Nerone* by Monteverdi and Busenello (1651).⁴⁵ This likewise presented a character who loomed large in the Neapolitan cultural tradition, for whereas Virgil, the source for *Didone*, was associated with

⁴³ Eng. translation: "[...] a company of musicians from various parts of Italy, which have been here for many months at the instigation of the Viceroy [...]"

⁴⁴ Prince Juan José de Austria (Madrid, April 1629 – 17 September 1679), italianized as "Don Giovanni d'Austria", should not be confused with the 16th-century figure of the same name, an illegitimate son of Charles V, victor of Lepanto, who died quite young in 1578. The former, too, was an illegitimate son – of Philip IV. As Viceroy of Naples in 1648 he defeated Masaniello, but got on the wrong side of his father on account of envy and jealousy. After a term in the Low Countries, likewise under Spanish dominion, as governor until 1659, he fell into disgrace.

⁴⁵ Nevertheless the repertory in Naples was limited to operas created in Venice in the previous decade, imported by the Febi Armonici troupe and adapted to local taste.

the mythology of medieval Naples, being turned into a wizard by the name of Partenope (i.e. “the Virgin”), Nero was enamoured of the Neapolitan populace for guaranteeing warm-hearted ovations whenever he performed songs, accompanying himself on the lyre. According to Tacitus, Nero with his cithara was singing of “the conflagration of Troy” while Rome burned, giving rise to the first persecutions of the Christians in 65 AD.⁴⁶

It is no coincidence that the Neapolitan newspaper reports made much of the fire scene in Act I of *Didone*, almost as if *L’incendio di Troia* were the title of the opera itself. This surely points to the ideological connection in the Viceroy’s political design between the sacked Troy and Naples, linking Dido with Nero. One further element in this association may have been the folk memory of Nero singing in the Odeon of the Graeco-Roman city during his holidays in Naples, as recorded in Suetonius.⁴⁷

Once he had established a direct link with Venice and Cavalli, the Viceroy had no further need for Curzio Manara as intermediary, and, in fact, Giambattista Balbi, a close associate of Cavalli,⁴⁸ arrived in Naples to replace him. *Didone* inaugurated a policy of mounting Venetian operas in Naples that were suitably adapted to entertain local audiences. Over the next few years Cavalli’s Venetian team produced numerous scores that were reworked to this end, perhaps with the assistance of a Neapolitan musician.⁴⁹ If we return for a moment to the 1650 libretto and accept the hypothesis that it had to be rushed through the printers following its submission to the censor, it does not in fact reflect the production as it was put on in Naples that year but is merely an approximation. It is likely

⁴⁶ “Eo in tempore Nero Anti agens non ante in urbem regressus est, quam domui eius, qua Palantium et Maecenatis hortos continuaverat, ignis propinquaret. Neque tamen sisti potuit, quin et Palatium et domus et cuncta circum haurirentur. Sed solacium populo exturbato ac profugo campum Martis ac monumenta Agrippae, hortos quin etiam suos patefacit et subitaria aedificia extruxit, quae multitudinem inopem acciperent; subvectaque utensilia ab Ostia et propinquis municipiis, pretiumque frumenti minutum usque ad ternos nummos. quae quamquam popularia in inritum cadebant, quia pervaserat rumor ipso tempore flagrantis urbis inisse eum domesticam scaenam et cecinisse Troianum excidium, praesentia mala vetustis cladibus adsimulantem (C. Cornelio Taciti, *Annales*, XV, 38–44: 39).” On “Virgilio Mago” in Naples, see Roberto De Simone, *Il segno di Virgilio*, Pozzuoli, Puteoli editore, 1982.

⁴⁷ “Et prodit Neapoli primum ac ne concusso quidem repente motu terrae theatro ante cantare destitit, quam incohatum absolveret nomen, Ibidem saepius et per complures cantavit dies; sumpto etiam ad reficiendam vocem brevi tempore, impatiens secreti a balineis in theatrum, transiit mediaque in orchestra frequente populo epulatus [...] Captus autem modulatis Alexandrinorum laudationibus, qui de novo commeatu Neapolim confluxerant, plures Alexandria evocavit [...] operamque navarent cantanti sibi [...]” (Suetonius, *Liber Sextus. Nero*, 20). Before Nero, Augustus had attended games given in his honour in Naples (Suetonius, *Liber Secundus. Divus Augustus*, 98).

⁴⁸ On the extraordinary figure of dancer, architect and impresario Giovan Battista Balbi, see L. Bianconi and T. Walker, op. cit., pp. 401–402 and later; Nicola Michelassi, *Musici di fortuna tra Venezia e l’Europa. I viaggi teatrali di Giovan Battista Balbi*; Michela Rollo, *Giovan Battista Balbi, ballerino scenografo e impresario alle origini dell’opera a Napoli (1652–1654)*, Potenza, 2006/2007 (Università della Basilicata, BA thesis).

⁴⁹ In the cited volume *Music in Seventeenth-century Naples* I argue that the Neapolitan who regularly collaborated with Cavalli on the revision of his operas for performance in Southern Italy may have been Francesco Provenzale.

that one or more comic characters were added, as became the case shortly afterwards in Genoa.

The score in the Contarini collection is not directly linked to the Naples production of 1650 but may have been written out, much later, on the basis of the original score with the modifications that Cavalli made for this production. The author's autograph interventions show that the main copyist was not always able to decipher the composer's problematic handwriting. This "strange" hand, unique in the Contarini collection of Cavalli's works, may be that of a Neapolitan copyist, for it is quite similar in style to some of the contemporary manuscripts written out for the Real Cappella in Naples.⁵⁰

The text of Busenello as published in the Venetian collection of 1656 could have taken into account some of the changes made during performances in Naples and Genoa (and possibly others of which we have no knowledge), since the structure does not correspond to the *Scenario* published in 1641 despite the reference in the title page to the Venetian premiere given fifteen years previously. In the context of Busenello's dramaturgical output, it is essential to bear in mind his readiness to modify his texts in accordance with the modifications introduced by Cavalli, as we have shown in the case of *Statira*.⁵¹

The reconstruction we have outlined of the process by which *Didone* came to be preserved for posterity has clear implications for contemporary performing practice. Once the idea that the score reflects the Venetian premiere of 1641 is abandoned, and it is recognized that it derives in one way or another from the version put on in Naples in 1650, the whole approach to scoring must be changed. The forces employed in the Real Cappella of Naples, then under the direction of Andrea Falconieri (who wrote some of the music for the festivities of *Partenope liberata*), were considerably larger and more varied than those usually available in a Venetian theatre such as San Cassiano.⁵² The signs of five-part

⁵⁰ The hand of the mysterious copyist "C1", unique in the Contarini collection, recalls the writing of a group of manuscripts of sacred music, copied in the years 1630–1640 and certainly intended for use in the Royal Chapel in Naples, now preserved in the Archivio Musicale dei Padri Gerolamini in Naples (I Nf), with pieces by the *maestro di cappella* Giovan Maria Trabaci, three members of the Sabino family, and Andrea Falconieri. The Neapolitan score of *Orontea* by Cesti arranged for Naples by Francesco Cirillo in 1654 (I Nc Rari 6.7.11), as played through on the piano by the late lamented Thomas Walker, prompted me to compare its style with that of the dances published in the *Primo libro di canzone* of Andrea Falconieri (Naples 1650). In fact, the Royal Chapel took part in almost all the opera productions in those years in the Teatro San Bartolomeo, and it is quite likely that the *maestro di cappella* was responsible for some of the music, for example the instrumental ritornelli.

⁵¹ See Dinko Fabris, *Statira da Venezia a Napoli, Francesco Cavalli. La circolazione dell'opera veneziana nel Seicento*, Atti del Convegno di Napoli 2002, ed. Dinko Fabris, Naples, Turchini Edizioni, 2005, pp. 165–194.

⁵² At the time of *Didone* the Royal Chapel of the Viceroy of Naples comprised the following musicians: *maestro di cappella* (Andrea Falconieri), 6 sopranos (castrati or boys), 2 contraltos, 4 tenors, 2 basses, plus 5–6 other singers who were not part of the permanent choir; 1 sackbut, 2 wind instruments, 6 violins (1 also "viola"), 1 harp, 3 organs, 1 harpsichord and 1 organ maker. Data given in Dinko Fabris, *Andrea Falconieri Napoletano. Un liutista compositore del Seicento*, Roma, Torre d'Orfeo, 1986, pp. 66–67. The first opera given in Venice, *L'Andromeda* by Manelli and Ferrari in 1637, involved only six *musici*, as we learn from the Printer's dedication "A' Lettori" of the libretto. The orchestra that accompanied operas in Venetian theatres such as the

writing for instrumental components in the Venetian score rather than the three parts that were customary in Venice is further clue of this Neapolitan dimension. So, too, is Cavalli's unusual instruction "Tutti qui entrano, col raddopio di voci et instrumenti" (f. 99v, see also Figure 5b), which would seem to indicate a doubling up of strings and woodwind—which is out of the question in relation to the scant forces then available in Venice.

Table

Modern productions of the *Didone* of Cavalli and Busenello

1952	Florence, Palazzo Pitti	Orchestra Maggio Musicale Fiorentino cond. by C. M. Giulini
1958	Milan, RAI	Orchestra RAI di Milano
1990	Augsburg, Stättische Bühnen	performers not identified
1997	Ambronay, Festival Besançon, Opéra Avignon, Opéra Paris, Opéra Comique	Orchestre de l'Académie Baroque Européenne d'Ambronay cond. by C. Rousset
1997	Glasgow, International Early Music Festival	Scottish Early Music Consort cond. not identified
1997	Schwetzingen Festspiele; Berlin, Deutsche Staatsoper	Balthazar-Neumann-Ensemble cond. by T. Hengelbrock
2000–2001	Lausanne, Opéra	Les Talents Lyriques cond. by C. Rousset
2002	Montpellier, Opéra	Les Talents Lyriques cond. by C. Rousset
2003	Munich, Prinzregententheater	Theater Orchestra cond. by C. Hammer
2004	Amsterdam, Concertgebouw	Ensemble Elyma cond. by G. Garrido
2006	Venice, Teatro Malibran Turin, Teatro Regio	Europa Galante cond. by F. Biondi
2007	Brussels, Kaaithheater (Kunstenfestivaldesarts) Edinburgh, Royal Lyceum Theatre	The Wooster Group, cond. by B. Odland
2008	Milan, Scala	Europa Galante cond. by F. Biondi

Teatro Aponal (1651–1656) and San Cassiano (1657–1658) was made up of 2 or 3 harpsichordists (one the composer himself), 1 or 2 theorbos, 2 violins, viola, violone, and a tuner: data given in Appendix Six of the cited volume by Beth L. Glixon and Jonathan E. Glixon. B. L. and J. Glixon, op. cit., pp. 350–351. See also Giovanni Morelli and Thomas Walker, Tre controversie intorno al San Cassiano, *Venezia e il melodramma nel Seicento*, ed. Maria Teresa Muraro, Firenze, Olschki, 1976, pp. 97–120; Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, Production, Consumption and Political Function of Seventeenth-Century Opera, *Early Music History* 4 (1984), pp. 209–296.

All these factors will have to be borne in mind when preparing the critical edition of Cavalli and Busenello's *Didone*, currently in progress,⁵³ as indeed in all future performances of this fascinating early opera that make any claim to "authenticity".*

ARGOMENTO E SCENARIO DELLA DIDONE.



IN VENETIA,
MDCXXXI.

Presso Pietro Miloco.
Con Licenza de' Superiori.



LA SCENA

Srappresenta essere Troia
ardente nella vltima deso-
latione, & ruina sua; doppo
estinti Hettore, Paride,
Priamo, e tutti quegl'altri
più famosi Heròi.

PROLOGO.

Q Vello sarà rappresenta-
to da Iride, ancella di
Giunone: Dirà, che nella ru-
uina di Troia restano piena-
mente vindicate, le offese ri-
cepute da Giunone medesima
nel giuditio del pomo d'oro.
Apparirà essa Iride in machi-
na sopra l'arco suo.

A 3 AT-

Figure 1 a-b

Title-page and description of the *Scena* from *Argomento e Scenario della Didone*, Venice 1641 (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, shelf-mark Dramm. 908.4; with permission).

⁵³ July 2007 saw the official constitution of the International Musicological Society Study group dedicated to "Francesco Cavalli and seventeenth-century Venetian opera", coordinated by Ellen Rosand, which is to undertake the edition of Cavalli's most representative works for Bärenreiter: among the first titles, I am responsible, together with Pietro Moretti, for the critical edition of *Didone*.

* I wish to take this opportunity to thank Ellen Rosand and Lorenzo Bianconi for their invaluable suggestions concerning the first version of this essay as well as Mark Weir for the English translation and Michael Talbot for the revision of the final version of my English text.

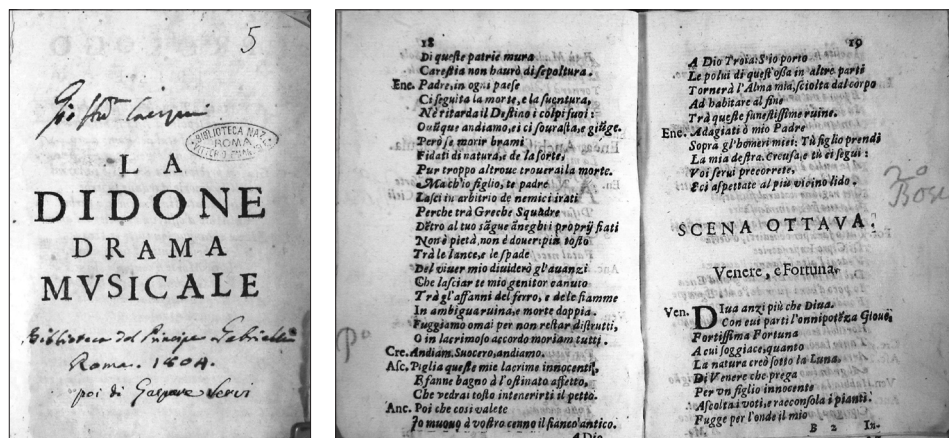


Figure 2 a-b

Title-page and act 1 – end of scene VII and beginning of scene VIII from *La Didone Drama Musicale*, Naples 1650, pp. 18–19: additions in pencil “Po” and “2o Bosco” (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome, shelf-mark p4A-D8E6; with permission).

Figure 3

Example of a “hand C1” – “strange hand” with autograph addition of “hand C3” in the score of *Didone*, f. 4v (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, shelf-mark Contarini IV, 355 = 9879; with permission; free download of the full score available on www.internetculturale.it).

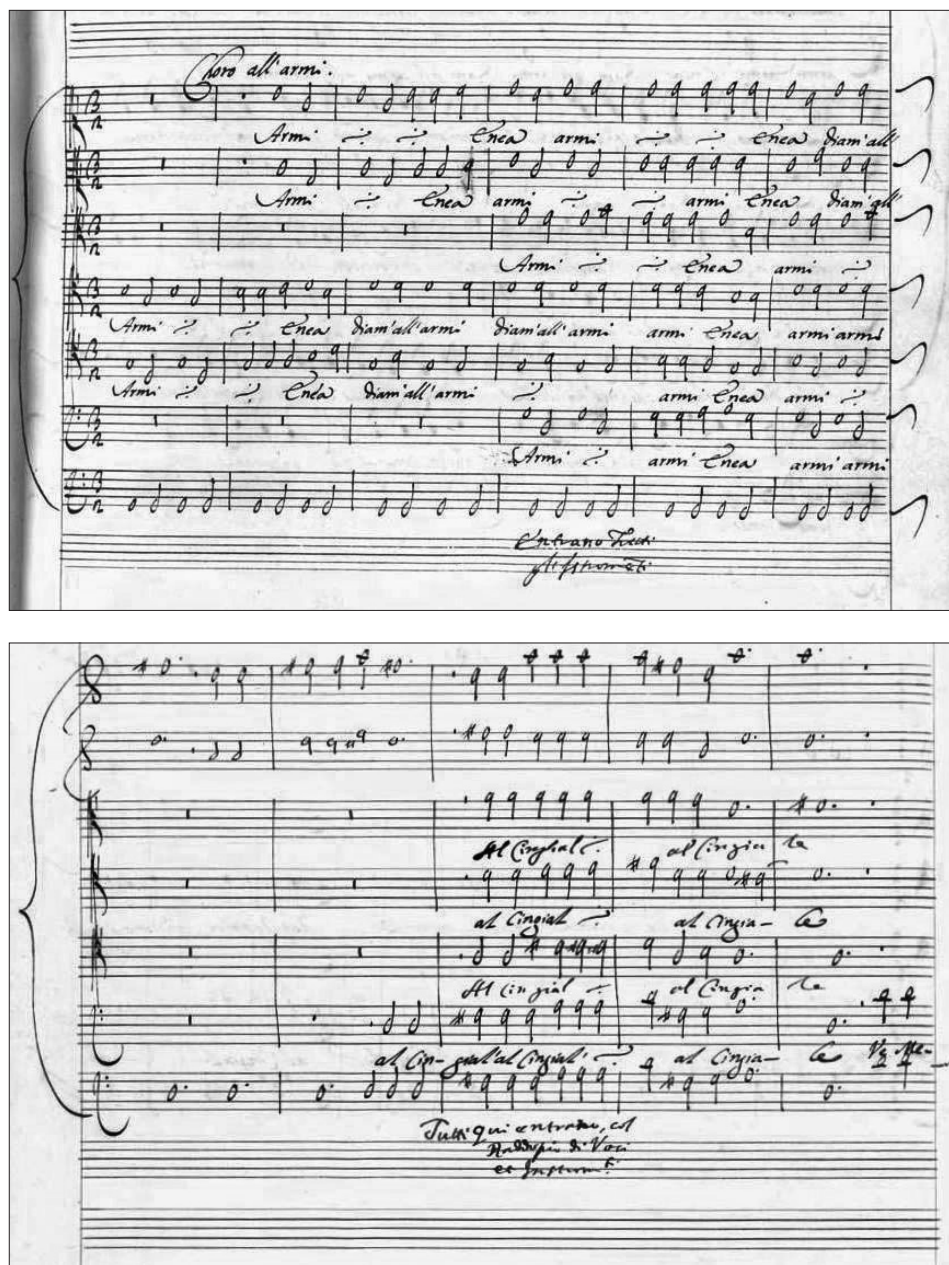


Figure 5 a-b

"Entrano tutti / gli Istrumenti", act 1, 1 Coro "All'armi", and "Tutti qui entrano, col / Radoppio di Voci / et Instrumenti" in "hand C3": examples of autograph additions by Cavalli in the score of *Didone*, f. 13 and f. 99v (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, shelf-mark Contarini IV, 355 = 9879; with permission; free download of the full score available on www.internetculturale.it).

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation from a score. It consists of five staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are in Italian. Modern signs 'x' and '+' are placed above certain notes on the staves. The lyrics are as follows:

fa' mio la mia morte con gaudio l'ira - ma mandami all'altra
 vita di gloria cum - lato non fara' longo uita l'anima mia
 per gir in Para - diso mentre mie' i' l'aggreto il tuo il tuo del uiso
 l'anima mia a - mico si' amata et aggreto prendilo
 se ne so libero dono uirgi - nale honore l'anima perdo - no

Figure 6

Modern signs “x” and “+” on the staves in the score of *Didone*, f. 21v (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, shelf-mark Contarini IV, 355 = 9879; with permission; free download of the full score available on www.internetculturale.it).

CAVALLIJEVA IN BUSENELLOVA OPERA *DIDONE*:
OD VIROV DO MODERNIH IZVEDB

Povzetek

Opera *Didone*, ki je bila prvič izvedena v Benetkah leta 1641, je drugi pomembnejši plod sodelovanja med libretistom Pierfrancescom Busenellom (pred *Kronanjem Papeže*, ki jo je uglasbil Monteverdi) in skladateljem Francescom Cavallijem. Kljub številnim razlagam simbolnega pomena te opere njen pomen za razvoj operne dramaturgije v 17. stoletju doslej še nikoli ni bil v celoti predstavljen. Tako so sodobni izvajalci nadaljevali s prakso delnih ali celo neverjetnih rekonstrukcij, ki naj bi se načeloma nanašale na domnevno beneško premiero leta 1641. Pa vendar je na voljo veliko verodostojnih virov za obnovitev izvirne predstave opere *Didone*: ena partitura z rokopisnimi zaznamki skladatelja, besedilo opere, ki je bilo natisnjeno pod nadzorom libretista Busenella leta 1656, brošura *Scenario e Argomento della Didone* (*Scenarij in zgodba Didone*), natisnjena za beneško izvedbo leta 1641, nekaj izvirnih libretov, natisnjenih za predstave, ki so po beneški sledile tudi v drugih mestih (v Neapelju, Genovi itd.).

Ta študija se opira na vse omenjene vire, posebej pa poudarja pomen predstave v Neaplju leta 1650 (na željo španskega podkralja, vojvode Ognatskega), za katero je bil natisnjen poseben libreto. Ohranil se je en sam izvod, ki doslej še ni bil zabeležen v ustreznih popisih. Vse kaže, da je prav ta libreto tesno povezan z edino ohranjeno partituro, ki zagotovo ni bila prepisana za beneško premiero leta 1641. Tudi besedilo, ki ga je dal leta 1656 v Benetkah natisniti Busenello, se ne nanaša na premiero, temveč predstavlja dokončno obliko, ki je sledila vrsti predelav, ki so bile pripravljene v prejšnjih petnajstih letih. Partitura je bila verjetno prepisana iz Cavallijevega izvirnika, rokopis prepisovalca pa je znan samo iz tega vira in ga ne najdemo v drugih virih iste Contarinijeve zbirke v Benetkah. Rokopisne opombe v skladateljevi pisavi kažejo na to, da je sam nadzoroval prepis ali predstavo, čeprav je partitura v Contarinijevo zbirko prišla sorazmerno pozno.

Kritična izdaja te opere, ki jo pripravlja avtor tega besedila in bo izšla v novi zbirki Cavallijevih del pri založbi Bärenreiter, bo upoštevala vsa nova dognanja, ki sledijo iz primerjave vseh znanih virov, in bo združevala glasbo in besedilo, ki sledi neapeljski uprizoritvi leta 1650.

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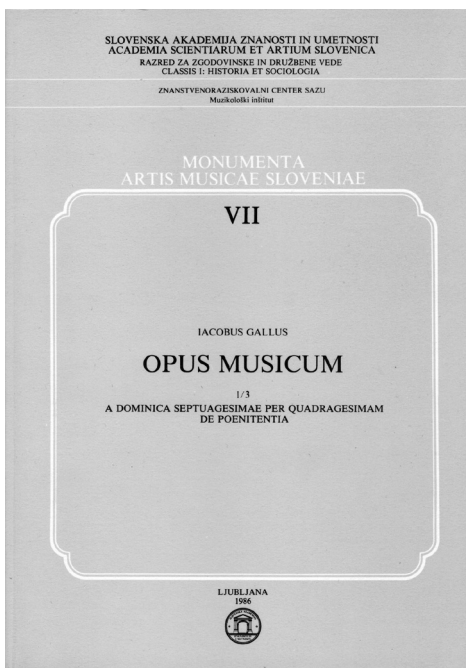
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