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Repertory Migration in the Czech Crown Lands, 1570–1630

By

Scott Edwards

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Music

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Kate van Orden, Chair

Professor Davitt Moroney

Professor Niklaus Largier

Fall 2012

Repertory Migration in the Czech Crown Lands, 1570–1630

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Abstract

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Professor Kate van Orden, Chair

This dissertation studies the production and transmission of musical repertories in the Czech Crown Lands between 1570 and 1630. The region had long been closely linked to bordering lands, but immigration from other countries to the region escalated in the final decades of the sixteenth century with the arrival of the imperial court in Prague, particularly from Spain, Italy, and the Low Lands. The period I have chosen for study thus encompasses this time of unusually intensive travel, migration, and cultural exchange, with the reign of Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol as King of Bohemia at the beginning, and the start of the Thirty Years War at its end.

My object has been to track cultural movement and the mobility of musicians, performance styles, and genres that accompanied and even precipitated it. I treat music at the court of the Habsburgs and the tastes we can presume reigned there among the international group of nobles that made up court society. But as a work of cultural history, this study also reaches out beyond the RudolFINE court to take stock of the broader cultural terrain of the Czech Crown Lands.

Chapter 1, “The Music Book Market in Bohemia and Moravia,” gives a broad account of the transmission of musical texts in manuscript and print, including studies of local printers, the distribution of music books printed in Germany and Venice, booksellers in Prague and beyond, and what we can discern of the collecting of music by literary brotherhoods, Latin schools, churches, monasteries, and private individuals not directly associated with the court.

Chapter 2, “Italians in Bohemia,” circles in closer to the court and its strikingly Italianate tastes in music (since many nobles studied abroad in Italy). I begin with a brief history of Prague’s substantial Italian community, which included stonemasons, architects, and merchants in addition to the Italian musicians at court, among whom Italian trumpeters held a particular monopoly. The core of the chapter studies the Italianate output of court composers, both Italians and northerners, with detailed studies of madrigals by Alessandro

Orologio and the *canzoni napolitane* of Giovanni Battista Pinello. Their local production for the court at Prague shows how they modified their approach to this Italian genre to better suit the tastes of their central European audiences, which included courtiers and consumers of print.

Chapter 3, “The Reception of Italian Music in Bohemia and Moravia,” takes in six decades of Italian music reception in Bohemia and Moravia with specific concentration on court culture. Beginning with the wedding of Maximilian II’s daughter Anna to Philipp II, King of Spain, in 1570 and ending with the coronation of Ferdinand II’s wife Eleonora Gonzaga and his son Ferdinand as King and Queen of Bohemia in 1627, I show the essential role played by monarchs and the Austrian and Czech nobility in instilling a local taste among aristocrats for Italian music and theater, including the *commedia dell’arte*.

Chapter 4, “The Quodlibet,” closes the dissertation with a study of the genre that represents the multiethnic nature of Prague and the Czech Crown Lands most vividly—the polylingual quodlibet, in which quotes from tunes popular with audiences are woven together in polyphonic settings by composers. Thus, they record not only the great variety of music that was enjoyed by consumers of polyphony—German lied, sacred songs in German and Czech, Italian villanelle and napolitane, and Latin drinking songs—but also bear witness to the convergence of these languages, musics, and the cultures they reference in what was truly one of the most densely international regions of early modern Europe.

This dissertation is dedicated to Hannah Miller.

Acknowledgments

Without the generosity of friends and colleagues in both America and abroad, this dissertation would never have been written. Marc Desmet and Robert Lindell were instrumental in sparking my interest in sixteenth-century Prague and Olomouc, and without Rashid Doole's generosity and good humor, I would never have felt so at home in Vienna. Jiří Kopecký and Greg Hurworth at Univerzita Palackého in Olomouc were valued colleagues who eased my transition to the Czech Republic and life in a much smaller city than I had ever experienced previously. My three years in the Czech Republic took me to innumerable local libraries, archives, and collections managed by good-hearted conservators who unvaryingly went the extra kilometer to facilitate my research. I would like to especially thank Jitka Kocůrková at the Castle Archive in Kroměříž and Dr. Jaroslava Pospíšilová at the Museum of Eastern Bohemia in Hradec Králové who generously presented any volumes I wished to see. Lenka Mráčková helped me find my way around Prague, and Jan Baťa kindly shared anything with me I requested. I will never forget the day I came to visit Drs. Marta Hulková and Jana Bartová at the Univerzita Komenského in Bratislava, who inspired me to expand the geographic horizons of my research further east and south. Milena Klimkowska was a wonderful host in Wrocław, as was Jan Koláček in Prague. Two people did more for me than I can ever possibly thank here. It was especially wonderful to meet Jiří Kroupa and to spend holidays with his family, and I would like to thank him for all the help he provided me in Prague, including the most extraordinary apartment in Kobylisy to which I became fondly attached. Much of this research would not have happened without him. The second person is Vladimír Maňas. Little did I know what to expect when I met Vladimír and joined Ensemble Versus as a very unseasoned tenor, but traveling around Moravia (and Bohemia on occasion) singing sixteenth- and twentieth-century polyphony in parish churches of small Moravian towns was a profound and life-changing experience and did more than anything else to make me feel at home in Moravia. Ann Miller, my family, and especially my mother provided valuable support when I most needed it, and Nicolas Romarie tolerated my increasing neglect of house-cleaning while I worked my way toward the finishing line. Thank you to my patient readers, Kate van Orden, Davitt Moroney, and Niklaus Largier at Berkeley, and to Mike Beckerman at New York University. I am pleased to now be able to offer this history in thanks to everyone who believed in this project, and to those whose passion for these too-little known lands infected me so positively.

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Introduction

This dissertation on music and migration in the Czech Crown Lands emerged in response to the surprising nature of numerous materials I gathered from archives in the Czech Republic and the desire to integrate what we know about Bohemia and Moravia more completely into the history of music in early modern Europe. English-language scholarship has traditionally addressed polyphonic music at the court of Emperor Rudolf II as an island disconnected from the surrounding region yet maintaining ties to the international musical world. I remember hearing from one scholar at the beginning of my research that I would not find polyphony of the sort sustained at court being performed elsewhere in Bohemia and Moravia. Evidence, however, has pointed firmly to the contrary. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century musicological research on this region has been conducted by scholars in Germany and the Czech Republic, who have taken an interest in the musical heritage of the region along nationalist lines. German scholars have focused their attention on music at the court of Rudolf II and in those parts of Bohemia and Moravia where German inhabitants formed the majority, while Czech scholars have focused on Czech-language sources, dismissing music of the court and German towns as foreign. The resulting picture of musical culture in the region is often distorted by these limited perspectives, and one of my fundamental goals has been to consider German- and Czech-language musical practices side by side. Moreover, immigration from across Europe to the region escalated significantly in the final decades of the sixteenth century with the arrival of the imperial court in Prague. Italy dominates many of the discussions in the following chapters, and what emerges is a stunning record of musical migration and cultural integration involving networks of musicians, patrons, book collectors, and music lovers in a sphere encompassing Prague to the north, Vienna to the east, Nuremberg to the west, and Venice and Mantua to the south.

In order to set the stage for what I hope will be expanded interest in the musical currents coursing through this part of Europe, I have deliberately avoided three common approaches to the study of music in the sixteenth century: studies of single composers, the city-studies model, and the confessionalization paradigm. Two impressive recent monographs on music in sixteenth-century Prague – Christian Leitmeir’s on Jacobus de Kerle and Michael Silies’s work on the motets of Philippe de Monte – add much to our knowledge of two of the most interesting composers working in Bohemia, opening avenues of research that will benefit from situating these two composers more firmly on Bohemian ground.¹ Studies that seek to ground the work of composers in physical environments often follow the city-studies model, which has resulted in monographs on Ferrara, Rome, Milan, Venice, Madrid, Munich, and Augsburg, that add much to our understanding of music in sixteenth-century urban cities. When such studies are concerned with sacred music, they tend to home in on how sacred music coalesces around efforts at confessionalization, responding to a broader historiographical interest in the Jesuits begun in the 1990s. The

¹ Christian Leitmeir’s *Jacobus de Kerle (1531/32-1591): Komponieren im Brennpunkt von Kirche und Kunst* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009); and Michael Silies’s *Die Motetten des Philippe de Monte (1521-1603)* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2009)

confessionalization model, however, often utilizes a top-down approach emphasizing the production of polyphonic music in urban environments as a means of constructing confessional identities. Expanding the area of focus to include not only major cities but also the towns and networks that connect them offers a new lens through which to understand musical practices.

A more synthetic approach can help us better understand how the music of Hieronymus Praetorius was used for worship at a Marian congregation in Prague, while music by Catholic composers was consumed enthusiastically among non-Catholic communities. Access to new ideas and music increased significantly at the end of the sixteenth century in the Czech lands, influenced by immigration from abroad, the popularity of studying at the universities of Germany, the Italian peninsula, and Basel, the formation of trade routes linking Bohemia and Moravia to Italy in the south by way of Austria, book trade fairs in Frankfurt, Nuremberg, Leipzig in the west and north, and the repopulation by foreign ecclesiastics of Bohemian and Moravian Catholic institutions, many of which had fallen into desuetude after the Hussite Wars of the fifteenth century. Even in the smallest towns, people sought to have the best and most up-to-date music possible, and period inventories suggest that the means by which the music trade occurred was more dynamic and rapid than we have hitherto admitted.

Fundamental to understanding the early modern Czech lands is an awareness of the unique religious history of the region. A religious reform movement occurred at the beginning of the fifteenth century, named Hussitism after its leading figure, Jan Hus, who was accused of heresy at the Council in Constance and burned at the stake in 1415. Nevertheless, his ideas continued to flourish, resulting in pervasive and long-lasting changes in religious practices throughout Bohemia. The Hussite Wars (1419-1434) established the legalization of two distinct religious confessions in the Kingdom, the Utraquist and Catholic churches, and also to an extensive wave of secularization of former church properties that strengthened the laity's role within the Utraquist Church. Though official tolerance was declared only for the Utraquist and Catholic confessions, this environment of reform enabled the establishment of other new denominations, including the more radical Unity of Brethren (Jednota bratrská) and, beginning in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, Lutheranism. The adoption of the Augsburg Confession was widespread in Moravia and among German-speaking communities in the peripheries of Bohemia, whereas the Czech-speaking population of Bohemia continued to cultivate Utraquism throughout the sixteenth century, in some cases absorbing aspects of Lutheran doctrine. The extent to which Lutheran practices were adopted can be difficult to pinpoint due mainly to the "inclusion of the Utraquists together with the Lutherans and the Brethren under the 'estates sub utraque'."² This period of religious tolerance would end, however, in the 1620s, when the victorious

² David, Zdeněk V. "The Integrity of the Utraquist Church and the Problem of Neo-Utraquism," in *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice. Vol. 5. Part 2. Papers from the Fifth International Symposium on The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice sponsored by The Philosophical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, held at Vila Lanna, Prague 19-22 June 2002*. Prague: The Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2005, p. 331.

Habsburgs ushered in a new era of Recatholization based on the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio*, confirmed by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

Another important consideration when studying the music of the early modern Czech lands is the ethnic composition of the region. Alongside the Czech-speaking inhabitants of Bohemia and Moravia lived a sizable German population. The establishment of towns in the thirteenth century came about during the era of German colonization, but it was not until the second half of the fourteenth century that the Czech-speaking population began to form a significant presence in them.³ After the Hussite Wars, the German-speaking population in Bohemia reconcentrated in the borderlands while Czech speakers consolidated their position in most of the towns.⁴ In contrast to Bohemia, most localities in Moravia – the royal towns in particular – preserved their predominantly German character up to the beginning of the twentieth century. Smaller Jewish, Romany and Italian populations maintained distinct cultures in many Bohemian and Moravian towns. Inevitably, musical cultures associated with these minority groups have been less studied than those of their German and Czech counterparts, for whom far more sources and archival materials survive. Compounding this neglect, the exclusion of German musical sources in the work of twentieth-century Czech scholars and Czech sources in German-language scholarship has left us today with a disjointed understanding of the region's diverse musical heritage.

At the same time, scholars from abroad have long been interested in the cultural legacy of Prague due to its international prominence as the seat of the Holy Roman Empire at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries.⁵ In 1583, the Habsburg Emperor Rudolf II transferred the imperial court from Vienna to Prague, where it remained until his death in 1612. This relocation elevated Prague to a city of even greater international stature and instigated an unprecedented wave of immigration from abroad, as artists, craftsmen, musicians, and courtiers came to find work and make their fortunes. Unfortunately, the value of much musicological work in the area is lessened by its consideration of courtly polyphonic sources in abstract isolation from their Bohemian setting and a failure to mine regional archives.⁶ While reading the work of foreign scholars one

³ See Leonard E. Scales, "At the Margin of Community: Germans in Pre-Hussite Bohemia," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th Series, vol. 9 (1999), 327-352.

⁴ See Eduard Maur, "Obyvatelstvo Českých Zemí v Raném Novověku: Třicetiletá Válka," *Dějiny Obyvatelstva Českých Zemí* (Prague: 1996): 100-4; and Martin J. Wein, "'Chosen Peoples, Holy Tongues': Religion, Language, Nationalism, and Politics in Bohemia and Moravia in the Seventeenth to Twentieth Centuries," *Past & Present* 202 (2009), 37-81.

⁵ Among the most significant English-language studies are Robert Lindell, who has written several articles on Rudolfine court composers, and Carmelo Peter Comberiati, *Late Renaissance Music at the Habsburg Court: Polyphonic Settings of the Mass Ordinary at the Court of Rudolf II, 1576-1612* (New York: Gordon and Breach Scientific Publishers, 1987).

⁶ These problems even persist in recent work on composers at the Rudolfine court. See, for example, Christian Leitmeir, *Jacobus de Kerle (1531/32-1591): Komponieren im*

could easily mistake the region as a predominantly Catholic one,⁷ whereas the opposite picture emerges from the work of Czech musicologists, whose efforts have been focused on musical practices connected to the Reformation.

Now that scholars from the Czech Republic and abroad can more easily share resources and have greater access to Czech archives, these issues have begun to disintegrate over the past two decades. It was in this context that I sought to pursue my project. Beginning with an interest in the polyphonic sources of Rudolphine court composers, I gradually became more interested in other questions. After spending some time in the Czech Republic acquainting myself with its archives and sources, I wanted to learn more about what was happening outside of Prague and how musicians in Bohemia and Moravia – two of the five constituent lands united under the Bohemian Crown, along with Silesia and Upper and Lower Lusatia – shaped local musical practices and repertoires and how their activities intersected with international musical cultures. Numerous musical sources and inventories indicate that music cultivated at the court was enjoyed by a diverse range of people beyond the castle walls of the imperial castle in Prague (Hradčany, Hradschin), but almost certainly meant something different to the burghers, ecclesiastics, nobility, and institutions of other Bohemian and Moravian towns than they did to the courtiers of Prague. My project seeks to address the broad issues of how people in specific localities procured their books of music, how musical repertoires were distributed across this multi-lingual region, and how, why, and for whom new music books were being published, written, and transcribed.

My research suggests that music from the imperial court was enjoyed throughout the Czech crown lands by means of a heterogeneous network of musical exchange linking burgher, nobleman, school, monastery, town council, church, and brotherhood. The picture that emerges suggests Italian *canzonette* and dance music, German lieder, Latin motets, and Czech hymnbooks all shared space in music collections across the region. The library of music books owned by the southern Bohemian nobleman Petr Vok of Rožmberk from the beginning of the seventeenth century is perhaps the most famous case in point. It seems fair to assume that other noble families, including the Dietrichsteins, Pernštejns, Lobkowitz, Žerotins, and Leichtensteins were not far behind the Rožmberks in cultivating distinguished music in their own homes. Moreover, these musical exchanges transcended any apparent linguistic or confessional barriers. I hope that an emphasis on the peregrinations of people,

Spannungsfeld von Kirche und Kunst (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009) and Michael Silies, *Die Motetten des Philippe de Monte (1521-1603)* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2009).

⁷ These viewpoints remain entrenched. One finds, for example, the following in the first volume of Richard Taruskin's *Oxford History of Western Music*: "What we now call the Protestant Reformation was in fact a series of revolts ^{against} Roman Catholic orthodoxy and the authority of the hierarchical church with roots going back to the fourteenth century (John Wyclif in England, Jan Hus in Bohemia, both successfully suppressed)," in Richard Taruskin, "Reformations and Counter Reformations," *Oxford History of Western Music, Volume 1: Music From the Earliest Notations to the Sixteenth Century*, <http://www.oxfordwesternmusic.com/view/Volume1/actrade-9780195384819-chapter-018.xml> (November 2011).

musicians, music books beyond the narrow confines of urban borders will open a new window onto the dynamic cultural exchanges that lie at the heart of sixteenth-century central European culture.

Chapter 1, “The Music Book Market in Bohemia and Moravia,” gives a broad account of the transmission of musical texts in manuscript and print, including studies of local printers, the distribution of music books printed in Germany and Venice, booksellers in Prague and beyond, and what we can discern of the collecting of music by literary brotherhoods, Latin schools, churches, monasteries, and private individuals not directly associated with the court.

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Chapter 1 The Music Book Market in Bohemia and Moravia

The transfer in 1583 of the court and musicians of Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II (1552–1612) from Vienna to Prague must have generated some cultural shock. Up until then, Prague had only occasional experience with the smaller body of musicians employed by Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol (1529–1595) during his Bohemian regency from 1547 to 1567 or with part of the imperial chapel during entries staged for visits of the foreign monarch from Vienna.¹ In the short span of time between Rudolf's imperial coronation in 1576 and the completion of the court's transfer in 1583, Prague became home to one of the most important late sixteenth-century musical chapels with a star roster of musicians and composers assembled from across Europe. Philippe de Monte stood at the head of a chapel that variously included Johann de Castro, Giovanni Battista Galeno, Jacob de Kerle, Vincenzo Neriti, Giovanni Battista Pinello, Jacob Regnart, Franz Sale, Matthias de Sayve, Nicolaus Zangius, and Camillo Zanotti. Among the organists were Jakob Hassler, Carl Luython, Paul de Winde, and Liberale Zanchi. Rudolf's instrumentalists included chamber musicians Mauro Sinibaldi and Carlo and Giovanni Paolo Ardesi and the trumpeter-composers Alessandro Orologio, Philipp Schöndorff, and Gregorio Turini. Meanwhile, other musicians came to the city in the hope of gaining employment, such as Tiburtio Massaino, as part of the retinue of visiting officials, including Stefano Felis and Matheo Flecha the Younger, and still others, like Jacob Handl, to print their life's work.

All of these composers published works either during their stays in Prague or while employed at the Rudolfine court during the almost thirty-year period it occupied the Bohemian capital from 1583 to 1612.² As a corpus, their compositions reflect the internationalism that characterized the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Bohemian capital and, increasingly, Bohemian and Moravian society as a whole. These works included masses and motets, instrumental music, canzonette and villanelle, madrigals, lieder, secular Latin songs, hymns, Italian dance music, and other sacred works in German, Italian, and Latin. While some of these composers published music in Prague, others printed their music abroad in the more established printshops of Venice, Munich, Nuremberg, Frankfurt, and Antwerp.

¹ For an overview on music at the court of Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, see Walter Senn, *Musik und Theater am Hof zu Innsbruck: Geschichte der Hofkapelle vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zu deren Auflösung im Jahre 1748* (Innsbruck: Österreichische Verlagsanstalt, 1954). On music at the court of Maximilian II, Rudolf II's predecessor, see Walter Pass, *Musik und Musiker am Hof Maximilians II* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1980).

² Sources on this diverse body of composers are too numerous to list here but will be cited throughout this dissertation. The collective articles of Robert Lindell and Petr Daněk provide the most wide-ranging overview on the topic of composers working in Prague. See the bibliography at the end of this dissertation for lists of their published work.

It seems safe to assume that music written by Rudolfine court composers reflected courtly musical culture. What has not heretofore been recognized is the extent to which the middle classes, nobility, and ecclesiastics, brotherhoods, churches, monasteries, and schools in the surrounding region also performed and heard music originating at the court in Prague. The aim of this chapter is to understand how books of music reached Bohemian and Moravian consumers beyond the court during this unusual moment of cultural transformation, and to gauge their (uneven) consumption of the many types of music being written by composers working in the Czech lands.

When Rudolfine musicians arrived in Prague, they would have found an established book market that was truly international in scope. Part of this rested on the healthy local print industry and the concentration of booksellers in the city, many of whom operated as publishers and distributors. But much also had to do with the religious landscape of the region, which had undergone an empowering religious reformation already in the fifteenth century and, in the sixteenth, had developed strong cultural and ideological bonds with Lutheran and Calvinist centers abroad. Thanks to some measure of autonomy secured after the Hussite Wars of the fifteenth century, Bohemian and Moravian Protestants had become by the middle of the sixteenth century a heterogeneous body of Utraquists, Lutherans, members of the Unity of Brethren (who were ideologically aligned with Calvinists), various combinations of the three, and other smaller sects.³ The Reformation in Germany snowballed across the Czech Crown Lands, propelled by large numbers of German-speakers there, a sympathetic Czech-speaking Utraquist majority in Bohemia eager to rejoin the international community, and Bohemian and Moravian students' studies abroad. It is important to keep in mind the extraordinary geographical mobility of society in the Czech crown lands during the sixteenth century. With only one university within their borders, the majority of Bohemian and Moravian students were obliged to seek advanced education elsewhere, the most popular universities being in nearby Wittenberg, Leipzig, Jena, and Altdorf, but with many students moving even further afield.⁴ In the case of those students

³ For an overview on the religious and political climate of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Bohemia and Moravia, the best place to begin is Zdeněk David, *Finding the Middle Way: The Utraquists' Liberal Challenge to Rome and Luther* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

⁴ The numbers of students from Bohemia and Moravia who studied abroad during the sixteenth century are astonishing, as the range of studies on the topic suggest. See, for example, Michal Svatoš, "Studenti z Českých Zemí na Universitě v Perugii (1579–1727)," *Zprávy Archivu* 2 (1977): 89-105; idem, "Studenti z Českých Zemí na Universitě v Sieně (1573–1738)," *Zprávy Archivu* 4 (1982), 29-63; Jiří Pešek and David Šaman, "Studenti z Čech na Zahraničních Universitách v Předbělohorském Čtvrtstoletí," *Ústecký Sborník Historický* (1983): 173-218; Zlataše Kukánová, "Jihomoravští Studenti na Rakouských Univerzitách v První Polovině 17. Století," in *XX. Mikulovské Sympozium 1990* (Brno: 1991), 61-66; idem, "Čeští Studenti na Vídeňské Univerzitě od 70. let 16. století do Bílé Hory," in *Seminář a Jeho Hosté: Sborník k 60. Narozeninám Doc. Dr. Rostislava Nového*, ed. Jiří Pešek and Blanka Zylinská, (Prague: Filozofická Fakulta Univerzity Karlovy, 1992), 171-180; Otakar Odložilík, "Cesty z Čech a Moravy do Velké Británie v letech 1563–1620,"

traveling to the nearest German Protestant universities, they returned home not only favorably disposed toward their neighboring religious reformers, but also as customers of the fruits of their printing presses as well as contributing authors. Their foreign connections helped internationalize local Bohemian and Moravian musical repertoires, as graduates came home with music books and musical tastes cultivated during their foreign studies and continued the exchange of books, ideas, and music across Czech borders after their return.

The religious debates initiated in the 1520s led not only to increased intellectual exchange among Protestants in Central Europe but also to a significant expansion in intra-regional trade.⁵ For the citizens of Prague, no city was more important culturally and economically in the mid-sixteenth century than Nuremberg.⁶ Nuremberg's merchants brought the yields of Bohemian mining, which expanded exponentially in the sixteenth century, to the European market, while Prague's citizens depended on Nuremberg as the most important regional center for the exchange of international goods. This economic orientation toward Nuremberg was mirrored in the trade of printed books. Thanks in no small measure to their wildly successful prints of Orlando di Lasso and anthologies of sacred and secular music intended for a broad public audience, the Nuremberg printshop of Katherina Gerlach and her successor, Paul Kauffmann, continued to be the dominant supplier of printed books of polyphony to Bohemia and Moravia through the end of the sixteenth century.

Časopis Matice Moravské 41 (1935), 241-320; Zdeněk Hojda, "Le Grandezza d'Italia: Die Kavalierstouren der Böhmisches Adelligen, die Kunstbetrachtung und die Kunstsammlungen im 17. Jahrhundert," in *Studien zum Humanismus in den Böhmisches Ländern Teil 3*, ed. Hans-Bernd Harder and Hans Rothe (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1993): 151-160; Jaroslav Pánek, "Čeští Cestovatelé v Renesanční Evropě (Cestování jako Činitel Kulturní a Politické Integrace)," *Český Časopis Historický* 88 (1990), 661-682; and František Hruby, *Etudiants Tchèques aux Écoles Protestantes de l'Europe Occidentale à la Fin du 16^e et au Début du 17^e Siècle* (Brno: Universita J. E. Purkyně, 1970).

⁵ For an overview of economic trade and local commerce focused more on Prague, the best place to begin is Josef Janáček, *Dějiny Obchodu v Předbělohorské Praze* (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé Akademie Věd, 1955). Unfortunately, there are few syntheses of the region as a whole. On trade in Brno, see Jaroslava Dřímala and Jiří Jirásek, eds., *Dějiny Města Brna I* (Brno: Městský Národní Výbor v Nakladatelství Blok, 1969), 110-120. On foreign trade in Olomouc, see Libuše Spáčilová, "Zahraniční Obchod v Předbělohorské Olomouci," *Folia Historica Bohemica* 13 (1990), 131-151.

⁶ On the close economic, social, and cultural relationship between Prague and Nuremberg during the sixteenth century, volume twenty-nine of the journal *Documenta Pragensia* published in 2010 is an excellent place to begin, as the essays explore this particular theme from a variety of angles. Also fundamental is Josef Janáček, "Prag und Nürnberg im 16. Jahrhundert (1489–1618)," *Der Aussenhandel Ostmitteleuropas 1450–1650: Die Ostmitteleuropäischen Volkswirtschaften in ihren Beziehungen zu Mitteleuropa* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1971): 204-228.

The imperial relocation to Prague, a process begun soon after Rudolf's ascent to the throne in 1576 and completed in 1583, brought the nucleus of Austrian Habsburg power and its cultural world further north than it ever had been previously in central Europe, and helped expand Prague's economic and cultural horizons beyond the limited compass of Nuremberg. No longer operating near the eastern frontier of the empire, the court was now positioned in close proximity to Nuremberg and Frankfurt in the west and Saxony in the north, thereby increasing its ties not only to the Czech crown lands, but also to these culturally and economically rich German regions. As the imperial court's new seat, Prague, too, underwent a profound metamorphosis that impacted the cultural climate of Bohemia, Moravia, and neighboring regions. Bohemia, whose fifteenth-century Reformation had isolated the region socially, became once more a land criss-crossed by travelers and trade. The predominantly Czech- and German-speaking inhabitants of Prague witnessed a sudden upsurge of immigration not only from surrounding regions, but also from more distant parts of the German empire as well as the Low Lands and the Italian peninsula.⁷ New networks of cultural exchange and influence, brought about by the foreign craftsmen, artists, merchants, nobility, and ambassadors that came to settle in Prague, helped establish new forms of local cultural production. Widespread Italian immigration inspired by the relocated court, a new predilection for Italian architectural styles and luxury goods, and the need to revitalize Catholic communities, furthered cultural interest in music originating south of the Alps. With the imperial court came papal representatives, Jesuits, monks and clerics whose primary mission was to resuscitate Catholicism in the Czech lands, where Catholics had been reduced to a minority in the sixteenth century. Waves of immigrants more than doubled the city's size from 25,000 inhabitants in the first half of the sixteenth century to almost 60,000 by century's end.⁸

⁷ In the absence of a monograph that consolidates information on the topic, information on immigration can be gleaned from a combination of several sources. See, for example, Josef Janáček, *Dějiny Obchodu v Předbělohorské Praze* (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé Akademie Věd, 1955); idem, "Italové v předbělohorské Praze (1526-1620)," *Pražský Sborník Historický* 16 (1983), 77-118; Jaroslav Miller, "Early Modern Urban Immigration in East Central Europe: A Macroanalysis," *Austrian History Yearbook* 36 (2005), 3-39; Nicolette Mout, "Political and Religious Ideas of Netherlanders at the Court in Prague," *Acta Historiae Neerlandicae* 9 (1976), 1-29; Jiří Pešek, *Měšťanská vzdělanost a kultura v předbělohorských Čechách, 1547-1620* (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1993); and Vilém Záborský, "Noví Měšťané Pražští v První Polovině 17. Století – Migranti z Norimberku," *Documenta Pragensia* 29 (2010), 381-388.

⁸ In 1520 the population of Prague was roughly 25,000 inhabitants. See Josef Janáček, "Prag und Nürnberg im 16. Jahrhundert (1489–1618)," *Der Aussenhandel Ostmitteleuropas 1450–1650: Die Ostmitteleuropäischen Volkswirtschaften in ihren Beziehungen zu Mitteleuropa* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1971): 212. At 60,000 inhabitants by 1600, Prague was the largest metropolis in central Europe. See Jaroslav Pánek et al., *A History of the Czech Lands* (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2009), 206.

Nuremberg, one of the largest cities in sixteenth-century Germany, experienced a comparatively less dramatic growth from approximately 30,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the century to 40,000 in 1600.⁹ In an extremely short amount of time, Prague eclipsed Nuremberg in both population and political importance. The hegemony enjoyed by Nuremberg's printers in the Czech market felt new contest as trading centers in Austria expanded significantly in the second half of the sixteenth century and the Leipzig and Frankfurt book markets gained in size and international prestige.¹⁰ Printers in Prague soon began their own production of polyphonic music, making imperial repertoires available to the local literate public, while foreign booksellers set up shop in Prague's marketplaces to sell music books printed abroad.

All of these diverse social forces contributed in some measure to the development of musical taste in the urban centers of Bohemia and Moravia. We can untangle some of these many influences by looking at period inventories, sources, and collections of Bohemian and Moravian provenance. My work in this chapter is informed by research conducted over a three-year period in the Czech Republic. During this time, I examined sources kept in the archives and libraries of Prague and throughout the country, including Olomouc, the sixteenth-century capital of Moravia; Brno, the present-day capital of Moravia; Kroměříž, the secondary seat of the Moravian archbishop; the royal cities of Hradec Králové and Český Krumlov; monasteries in Rajhrad and Příbor; and the State Regional Archives in Třeboň, Kutná Hora, and Kralice. Collections once owned by sixteenth-century literary brotherhoods in Hradec Králové and the Catholic parish of Rokycany escaped some of the destructive forces of later centuries that effectively wiped out almost every other literary brotherhood collection, and to supplement the information I found there, trips to the Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden, the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, and the Biblioteka Uniwersytecka in Wrocław, which surround the Czech Republic, helped fill in the

⁹ Augsburg, Cologne, and Nuremberg were the three largest German cities of the sixteenth century. For a discussion of population numbers in cities across central Europe, see Jaroslav Miller, *Urban Societies in East-Central Europe: 1500–1700* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008). Changes in Nuremberg's population are referenced on pages 7, 30, and 222.

¹⁰ Linz was the most important Austrian market, while Vienna and Krems grew in size at the end of the sixteenth century. See Václav Bůžek, "Zahraniční Trhy a Kultura Šlechtických Dvorů v Předběllohorských Českých Zemích," *Český Časopis Historický* 89 nos. 5-6 (1991): 692-713; Josef Janáček, "Die Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Prag und Linz im 16. Jahrhundert," *Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz* (1960), 55-80; and Zdeněk Šimeček, "Linzer Märkte und die Bibliothek der Rosenberger," *Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz* (1985), 415-426. On music printing in Frankfurt, see Ernst-Ludwig Berz, *Die Notendrucker und ihre Verleger in Frankfurt am Main von den Anfängen bis etwa 1630* (Kassel: Internationale Vereinigung der Musikbibliotheken, 1970). On music printing in Leipzig, see Steven Rose, "Mechanisms of the Music Trade in Germany, 1600-1640," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 130 (2005), 1-48; and idem, "Music Printing in Leipzig during the Thirty Years' War," *Notes* 61 no. 2 (2004), 323-349.

gaps. Another substantial source that has recently come to light is the so-called “Prague Collection” at the Fales Library Special Collections, New York University, a collection of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century music from Bohemia whose provenance is still under investigation.¹¹

Pillaging during the Thirty Years’ War, eighteenth-century Jesuit zealotry, and the Josephine reforms that dissolved so many of the region’s religious institutions exacted heavy tolls on Czech collections and sources, frustrating our ability to gain a clear picture of the region’s musical past. Czech scholars have made up for this lack by locating numerous period inventories representative of a wide cross-section of Moravian and Bohemian sixteenth- and seventeenth-century society. However, these revealing sources have yet to be synthesized and most of them are buried in Czech journals inaccessible beyond the country’s borders. In this chapter I combine reference to these inventories with information gleaned from the surviving collections I have examined in order to reconstruct some semblance of the vibrant regional music market. In a couple of cases, I was fortunate enough to identify an inventory myself. These inventories are unruly sources, some with detail but most with little more indication than ownership of unidentified polyphonic books. Some entries identify the composer or the genre, but many recordkeepers and notaries were exclusively interested in the books’ bindings, which gave them their relative value. Such sketchy documentation makes assessing these sources particularly challenging. Fortunately, the inventories fall into several distinct categories that delineate the main consumers of music books in Bohemia and Moravia: individuals, school libraries, churches, literary brotherhoods, and monasteries. Each group will be examined in separate sections of this chapter. Inventories of the Bohemian nobleman Petr Vok of Rožmberk and the Moravian nobleman Karl von Liechtenstein, both of whom employed their own music chapels, are among the most extensive and will be examined in later chapters of this dissertation.

The types of music books owned by private individuals and the means by which they were acquired differed from those collected by institutions, and these differences reflect varying tastes, priorities, and spheres of influence. At the same time, overlapping trends emerge in filiating all the sources. Single-composer prints by Orlando di Lasso, Jacob Handl, and Hieronymus Praetorius as well as Jacob Regnart’s villanella-inspired German lieder were enjoyed with particular enthusiasm by private citizens and religious institutions alike. All four of these composers achieved some international success, Lasso foremost among them, but particular to the Czech lands is the markedly widespread dispersion of works by Jacob Handl, whose printed books turn up consistently in collections of schools and religious institutions. Part of the marketability of many single-composer prints by Lasso, Handl, and

¹¹ This interesting collection of sacred music in manuscript and print also preserves the original bindings and tract volumes, making the collection particularly valuable. See Stanley Boorman, “A New Source, and New Compositions, for Philippe de Monte,” in *Recevez ce mien petit labeur’: Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Ignace Bossuyt*, ed. Mark Delaere and Pieter Bergé (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008), 35-48. Erika Honisch has found further information suggesting that the collection might have originally been used in Bilína. See Erika Honisch, “Sacred Music in Prague, 1580–1612” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 2011), 356-362.

Praetorius to educational and religious institutions was their comprehensivity. Their sizable motet collections instantly provided a vast repertory of music for use throughout the liturgical year. Furthermore, Handl's four volumes each of motets and masses were issued in series in oblong quarto by the same Prague printer, making them both collectible and easy to bind together into tract volumes.¹² Buying them was a great way to begin or expand a music library.

Sacred music appears on inventories with much more frequency than books of secular music. This probably has much to do with the greater need to inventory and categorize books of liturgical music that would be used for religious ceremonies, whereas books for recreation might build up in a more miscellaneous way in collections. The low retention rate of much secular music implies that such print were less often bound together by collectors. Evidence for the popularity of Regnart's lieder, suggested by their frequent appearance in lute tablatures, will be discussed later in this dissertation.

A second category of printed music book that appears with great consistency in inventories and collections includes the anthologies assembled by Pietro Giovanelli, Johann Montanus and Ulrich Neuber, Friedrich Lindner, Caspar Hassler, and Abraham Schadaeus. Such books were widespread commercial successes across almost all the social strata, perhaps for much the same reason as the motet collections by Lasso, Handl, and Praetorius: they consolidated a large amount of service music and were collectibly issued in series. The collections of Giovanelli and Montanus and Neuber issued in the 1560s, two of the most popular series of anthologies in late sixteenth-century Bohemia and Moravia, would seem to embody competing spheres of influence. Montanus and Neuber's immensely popular five-volume collection of *Thesauri musici* from 1564 printed in Protestant Nuremberg, brought together Latin motets by Franco-Flemish composers for general consumption, whereas Pietro Giovanelli's five-volume *Novi thesauri musici* printed in Venice in 1568, the "most elaborate publication ever printed by Gardano,"¹³ explicitly glorified the Austrian Habsburg monarchy in a collection of motets that drew heavily from Habsburg court chapels in Vienna, Innsbruck, and Graz.¹⁴ Even the title suggests that Giovanelli sought to supplant the earlier

¹² Publishers facilitated the binding together of tract volumes with numbered series titles. See Kate van Orden and Alfredo Vitolo, "Padre Martini, Gaetano Gaspari and the 'Pagliarini Collection': A Renaissance Music Library Rediscovered," *Early Music History* 29 (2010): 246.

¹³ Jane A. Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press, 1539-1572* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 211.

¹⁴ In her discussion of exemplars of Pietro Giovanelli's print at the Boston Public Library and the Hargrove Library at the University of California, Berkeley, Mary Lewis identifies three partbooks in Boston that originally belonged to the same set as an altus partbook in Berkeley, since Giovanelli had presentation leaves inserted into each of the books dedicated to the imperial counselor and Moravian chamberlain Johannes Haugwitz. See Mary S. Lewis, "The Printed Music Book in Context: Observations on Some Sixteenth-Century Editions," *Notes*, Second Series, 46 no. 4 (1990): 907-912.

Nuremberg edition. As will be shown, there is evidence that Giovanelli's print was still being acquired for collections decades after its printing, and it would not be surprising if there was some kind of imperial support facilitating the dissemination of this deluxe print. In any case, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century collections and inventories from Bohemia and Moravia suggest that many music consumers were relatively unbothered by any confessional or political tendencies expressed by the contents of their music books, and simply sought to procure the best and most diverse music for worship and personal enjoyment.

Nor did a composer's confessional affiliation play as significant a role in the dissemination of their music as where they chose to print their music. Music published in Prague, Nuremberg, Munich, Frankfurt, and Leipzig was more likely to be performed in Bohemia and Moravia than music printed in Antwerp or Venice. Nevertheless, anthologies of Italian music published by German printers pirating music from the Venetian presses (including works by composers at the RudolFINE court that were printed in Venice) facilitated the dissemination of this music to an enthusiastic central European audience. In addition to Pietro Giovanelli's *Novi thesauri musici*, Friedrich Lindner's anthologies of Italian music (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1585-91), Georg Victorinus's *Thesaurus litaniarum* (Munich: Berg, 1596), Erhard Bodenschatz's *Florilegii* (Leipzig: Lamberg, 1603-21), and Abraham Schadaeus's *Promptuarii musici* (Strasbourg: Kieffer, 1611-17) played significant roles in promoting the transfer of Italian music and works by composers at the RudolFINE court to Bohemian and Moravian consumers.¹⁵ Other, more specialized printed anthologies containing a large percentage of works by RudolFINE composers, such as Philipp Schöndorff's *Odae suavissimae* (n.p., 1610) and Bernhard Klingenstein's *Rosetum marianum* (Dillingen: Meltzer, 1604), however, appear to have made little impact on the Bohemian and Moravian music markets.¹⁶

¹⁵ For additional information on Friedrich Lindner's editing practices, see Susan Lewis Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 45-76; on Victorinus, see Alexander Fisher, "Celestial Sirens and Nightingales: Change and Assimilation in the Munich Anthologies of Georg Victorinus," *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 14, no. 1 (2008), <http://www.sscm-jscm.org/v14/no1/fisher.html>; on Schadaeus, see Mark Allen Chaney, "Four Motets from the Florilegium Portense" (D.M.A. thesis, The Ohio State University, 2007); on Bodenschatz, see Otto Riemer, *Erhard Bodenschatz und sein Florilegium Portense* (Leipzig: Kistner & Siegel, 1928).

¹⁶ For more information on the *Odae suavissimae* and Jacob Chimarraeus, the dedicatee, see Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller, "Die Musikalische Festschrift für den Dirketor der Hofkapelle Kaiser Rudolfs II: 1602," *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Bonn 1970* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1971): 520-522; idem, "Jacob Chimarraeus: Ein Kölner Musiker am Habsburger Hof Rudolfs II. in Prag," *Deutsche Musik im Osten* (Cologne, 1994): 359-374; and Antonín Truhlář, "Jakob Chimarraeus: Drobné Příspěvky," *Časopis Českého Muzea* (1897): 79-82. The *Rosetum Marianum* has been issued in a modern edition in Bernhard Klingenstein, *Rosetum Marianum (1604)*, ed. William Hettrick, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance* 24-25 (Madison: A-R Editions, 1977).

The late development of polyphonic music printing in Prague was offset by productive local scriptoria, such as the workshop of Jan Kantor the Elder, which produced elaborately illuminated hymnbooks and graduals.¹⁷ These luxury volumes were financed by literary brotherhoods or private citizens who wished to donate them as memorial volumes to their churches. Even with ready access to printed music books, scriptoria continued to be the primary suppliers of liturgical books to Czech-speaking Utraquist communities into the seventeenth century. The special status of these manuscripts related not only to the great expense that went into their production but also to the fact that they were tailor-made for the communities that commissioned them. Donors are often depicted in the illuminations and their names appear throughout the manuscripts, as different members of the community financed different parts of the books. Czech composers who provided much of the polyphonic music used in the Utraquist liturgy took little interest in printing their works.¹⁸ Rather, they relied on manuscript transmission and were actively involved in distributing their latest works directly to Utraquist communities in manuscript fascicles. This can be partially explained by the limited market for Czech-language liturgical music, but the high production values of Bohemia's scriptoria conferred distinction on these luxurious manuscripts that elevated them to the status of valuable liturgical objects. Examination of extant sources suggests that this attitude informed the use of printed music by Utraquist communities and literary brotherhoods. They often recognized their printed books of music as incomplete objects, supplementing them with manuscript Czech and Latin works and binding them into new tract volumes tailored to their needs. Works copied from anthologies and music books printed abroad also occasionally found their way into Utraquist graduals, hymnbooks, and other books of sacred music in manuscript.¹⁹

¹⁷ For a useful catalogue of surviving graduals and a discussion—from a non-musicological perspective—of the workshops that produced them, see Barry Graham, *Bohemian and Moravian Graduals 1420-1620* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006). Martina Šárovcová provides an informed, art-historical perspective in her article, “Cantate Domino canticum novum: Iluminované Hudební Rukopisy České Reformace,” *Umění České Reformace* (1380–1620), ed. Kateřina Horníčková and Michal Šroněk (Prague: Academia, 2010), 413-467.

¹⁸ For a summary of sixteenth-century Czech composers writing music for the Utraquist Church, see Jitka Snížková, “Málo Známí Čeští Skladatelé Konce 16. Století,” *Hudební Věda* 17 (1980), 53-59.

¹⁹ Musicological work on sixteenth-century Bohemian graduals and hymnbooks includes Martin Horyna, *Prachatický Kancionál (1610): Cantilenae piae 4, 5, 6 et 8 vocum* (České Budějovice: Jihočeská Univerzita, 2005); Stanislav Jareš, “Literátská Bratrstva z Hlediska Ikonografických Pramenů,” *Hudební Věda* 16 (1979): 165-192; Jana Novotná, “Torzo Českého Vícehlasého Graduálu,” *Hudební Věda* 27 (1990): 201-216; idem, “Vícehlasá Zpracování Mešního Propria v Období České Renesance,” *Miscellanea Musicologica* 23 (1992): 9-30; Tereza Pavelková, “Chlumecký Kancionál” (Diploma thesis, Univerzita Karlova, 2003); Zuzana Vimrová, “Kancionál Benešovský,” *Hudební Věda* 27 (1990): 217-236.

Music scribes employed by the Rudolfin court also played an important role in spreading music of the court to the broader community. As Lilian Pruett has shown, works composed by musicians at the Austrian and Bohemian Habsburg courts were freely exchanged, often as soon as they had been composed, and the masses and sacred music composers produced were sought after in communities beyond the courts, particularly monasteries and Catholic churches, but also literary brotherhoods and Latin schools.²⁰ Even though Philippe de Monte's works printed in Venice and Antwerp ended up in few Bohemian and Moravian music collections, some of his masses and motets still found their way into manuscript compilations of Bohemian and Moravian liturgical music. No single work by Monte was transmitted more often than his *Missa Nasce la pena mia*, based on Alessandro Striggio's international hit madrigal. Its transmission seems to have occurred largely through manuscript fascicles passed around the region, since it appears as an individual entry in inventories and bound in manuscript volumes as a stand-alone mass setting alongside motets and other sacred musical works. Meanwhile, other composers worked directly to tap into the local Bohemian and Moravian market by sending prints or individual works in manuscript to town councils, ecclesiastics, and religious institutions as presentation copies.

PRINTING IN BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA

Before looking at the inventories of individual and institutional collections, it is helpful to first understand how and why music printing arose in Bohemia and Moravia. Although the first known prints with notation were produced in the 1520s in conjunction with the need for small-scale Czech-language occasional literature, the Unity of Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum*) was the first group to employ printing to propagate their faith through notated hymnals and psalters.²¹ A more radical offshoot of the Bohemian Reformation of the

²⁰ Lilian Pruett and Carmelo Peter Comberinati have done the most systematic studies of manuscript choirbooks and other liturgical books made at the Habsburg courts. See Carmelo Peter Comberinati, *Late Renaissance Music at the Habsburg Court* (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1987); idem, "The Copying and Dissemination of Choirbooks containing Settings of the Polyphonic Mass at the Court of Emperor Rudolf II," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 43 (1994), 57-65; Lilian Pruett, "A Little-Known Renaissance Polyphonic Hymn Cycles of the Habsburg Court," in *Musica Antiqua VIII*, ed. Andrzej Szwalbe (Bydgoszcz: Filharmonia Pomorska im. Ignacego Paderewskiego w Bydgoszczy, 1988), 803-836; idem, "New Light on a Musician's Lot at the Court of Rudolph II: The Case of Philippe de Monte," *Res Musicae: Essays in Honor of James W. Pruett*, ed. Paul R. Laird and Craig H. Russell (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2001), 125-132; idem, "Renaissance Central European Sources: Their Scribes, Repertories, and Dissemination," *Musical Culture of the Bohemian Lands and Central Europe before 1620*, ed. Jan Bařa, Lenka Hlávková, and Jiří K. Kroupa (Prague: KLP, 2011), 165-177; and idem, "Sixteenth-Century Manuscripts in Brussels, Berlin and Vienna: Physical Evidence as a Tool for Historic Reconstruction," *Revue Belge de Musicologie* 50 (1996), 73-92.

²¹ For a catalog of all known prints transmitting notated or unnotated songs, see Jan Kouba, "Nejstarří Āeské Písňové Tisky do Roku 1550," *Miscellanea Musicologica* 8 (1959), 1-147.

fifteenth century, which was religiously and culturally sympathetic to Calvinists (and the progenitors of the modern-day Moravian Church), the Brethren remained the most prolific printers of Czech- and German-language hymnals into the first two decades of the seventeenth century, producing them most frequently in illegal printshops in the Moravian towns of Ivančice and Kralice under the protection of the Moravian nobleman Karel Žerotín the Elder.²² The extraordinary commercial success of these hymnbooks and psalters rests in their cross-confessional appeal as well as their comprehensiveness, since they contained nearly 400 pages of monophonic songs. Perhaps most significantly, the luxurious design of Brethren hymnbooks emulated the illustrated interior title pages, historiated initials, and decorative borders of illuminated manuscripts often produced in oversized formats. The densely printed texts and melodies guaranteed their usefulness and longevity, while the high typographic standards and careful editing added further value. The numerous estate inventories of burghers that list Brethren hymnbooks among their possessions, even in the smallest of book collections, provides striking evidence of how popular these songbooks were across all social classes and religious confessions. Of fifty-one hymnbook exemplars identified in inventories from Prague's New Town between 1576 and 1620, twenty-six are Brethren hymnbooks.²³ Jesuits and Catholic censors were acutely aware of the power of hymnbooks in rallying support to the Brethren's cause. Their popular appeal was met by strident polemics

Mańko-Matysiak writes that the first known Brethren hymnal with notation, Michael Weisse's *Ein New Gesengbuchlen* (Mladá Boleslav: Jiří Štyrsa, 1531), was intended for German-speaking members of the Brethren in Landskron in southern Bohemia and the Moravian town of Fulnek. See Anna Mańko-Matysiak, *Schlesische Gesangbücher, 1525–1741: Ein Hymnologische Quellenstudie* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2005). Rudolf Wolkan provides a useful compendium of the German-language production of the Brethren in *Das Deutsche Kirchenlied der Böhmischen Brüder im XVI. Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1968).

²² The Brethren's printing activities are best summarized in Mirjam Daňková, "Bratrské Tisky Ivančické a Kralické / The Prints of Ivančice and Kralice of the Union of Czech Brethren (1564–1619)," *Sborník Národního Musea v Praze V-A, Historia* no. 1 (Prague: Nákladem Národního Musea v Praze, 1951). A facsimile of the first known notated Brethren hymnbook printed in Mladá Boleslav in 1531 is available in Michael Weisse, *Ein New Geseng Buchlen*, ed. Konrad Ameln (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1957). The first known notated Czech-language Brethren hymnal of 1541 is a more significant landmark, as it set the standard for all later Brethren hymnals in substance and volume. It is also available in facsimile in Jan Roh and Pavel Severin z Kapíhory, *Piesně Chwal Božských*, ed. Zdeněk V. Tobolka (Prague: s.n., 1927).

²³ Jiří Pešek, "Knihy a knihovny v Kšaftech a Inventářích Pozůstalostí Nového Města Pražského v letech 1576-1620," *Folia Historica Bohemica* 2 (1980): 253.

from the Jesuit Václav Šturm, whose multiple printed invectives sought to dissuade consumers from their doctrinal errancy.²⁴



Figure 1.1: *Písně duchovní evangelické* (Kralice: Brethren printshop, 1615), title page

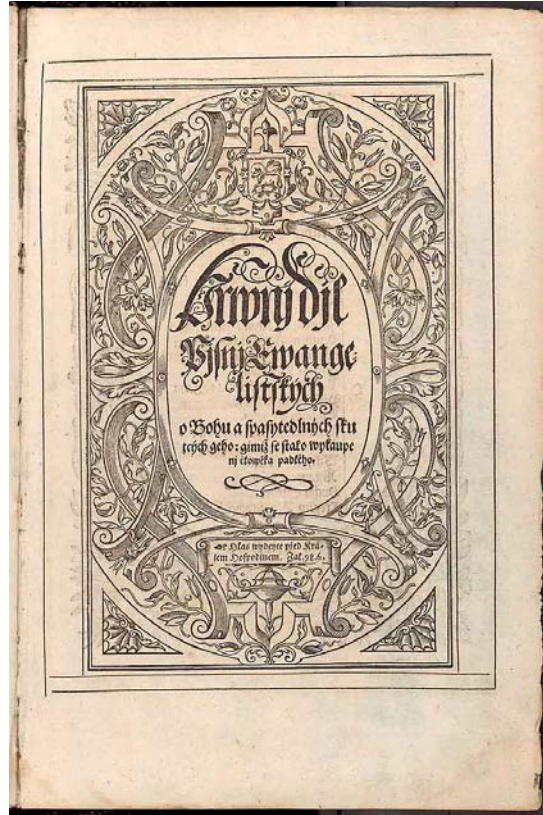


Figure 1.2: *Písně duchovní evangelické* (Kralice: Brethren printshop, 1615), interior title page

In 1547 Emperor Ferdinand I banned printing activities in Bohemia and Moravia when he perceived its role in propogating dissent during the Schmalkaldic War, allowing

²⁴ Šturm's invectives against the Brethren hymnbook include *Krátké ozvánij Doktora Wáclawa Ssturma proti kratičkému ohlásenij Gednoty Waldenské neb Boleslawské* (Prague: Dačický, 1584); *Krátkey Spis o Gednotě Bratřij Waldenských gestliže z Boha gest* (Prague: Dačický, 1585); *Apologia, to gest, obrana proti nedůwodné a nestřijdmé odpovědnosti Sylwia Uberýna* (Prague: Nigrin, 1587); *Rozsauzenj a bedliwé uwáženíj Welikého Kancyonálu od Bratřij Waldenských ginák Boleslawských, sepsaného a [1576] wytisknutého* (Prague: Walda, 1588); and *Odpowěd slussná a důwodná na welmi hánliwou a rauhawou Obranu Kancyonálu Bratrského* (Litomyšl: Graubenc, 1590). Šturm's 1590 print was a response to the Brethren's earlier print justifying their hymnal against the Jesuit's condemnations, *Obrana mjrná a slussná Kancyonálu Bratrského kterýž D. Wáclaw Ssturm neprávě zhaněl* wydaná Léta Páně [1588] (Kralice: Tiskárna Jednoty Bratrské, 1588).

only the court printshop of Bartoloměj Netolický to remain in operation.²⁵ However, imperial decree did not align with market necessities, and within a few years, individual consent was granted to increasing numbers of printers in Prague. While the ban did not stem the printing activities of the Nuremberg transplant Jan Günther in Olomouc and Prostějov, Moravia, it still exacted a heavy toll on printing, interrupting the Brethren's printshops until 1561 and, with unusual exceptions in Cheb from 1572 to 1574 and the sporadic presses of Litomyšl, bringing printing in Bohemia outside of Prague almost to a halt for the remainder of the century.²⁶ By the 1560s, Prague's printers had returned to the same level of production attained during the 1540s, but this was not true elsewhere.²⁷ The literate public made up for the decline in local printing by seeking out books from presses beyond their borders, aided undoubtedly by the necessity for the majority to acquire higher education abroad.²⁸ It was not until the 1580s that printing in Prague expanded well beyond its former levels, intensified by the arrival of German printers seeking to make their fortune in the new

²⁵ On the ban and its effects on individual printers in Prague, see Petr Mašek, *Príspevky ke Knihopisu: Význam Bartoloměje Netolického pro Český Knihotisk 16. Století*, 29-40; Petr Voit, "K Dějinám Cenzury v Předbělohorské Době (Některé Problémy Období 1547–1567)," *Folia Historica Bohemica* 11 (1987), 305-317; and František Tischer, "Príspevek k Dějinám Cenzury za Arcibiskupa Antonína Brusa," *Listy Filologické* 32 (1905), 258-271.

²⁶ The bibliographic compendium of all known Czech-language prints to the end of the eighteenth century, *Knihopis Českých a Slovenských Tisku od Doby Nejstarší až do Konce XVIII. Století*, ed. Zdeněk Tobolka and František Horák (Prague: Komise pro Knihopisný Soupis českých a slovenských Tisků, 1925-1967), provides the most vivid testimony to printing in Bohemia and Moravia, albeit limited to Czech-language prints. The printed catalogues are challenging to navigate, but *Knihopis Digital* (<http://www.knihopis.org/>) makes it possible to search by year. Also immensely useful and an essential supplement to *Knihopis* is Antonín Truhlář et al., *Rukověť Humanistického Básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě*, (Prague: Academia, 1966-2011), which provides detailed entries on the vast numbers of Latin poetry collections printed in Bohemia and Moravia in the early modern period. Anežka Baďurová's *Bibliografie Cizojazyčných Bohemikálních Tisků z Let 1501–1800* (Prague: Knihovna Akademie Věd České Republiky, 2003) provides information on all foreign-language prints published in Czech lands. Most essential of all is Petr Voit's magisterial encyclopedia of the book, *Encyklopedie Knihy: Starší Knihotisk a Příbuzné Obory mezi Polovinou 15. a Počátkem 19. Století* (Prague: Libri ve Spolupráci s Královskou Kanonií Premonstrátů na Strahově, 2006), with its up-to-date bibliographies for each of its numerous entries.

²⁷ Anežka Baďurová, Mirjam Bohatcová, and Josef Hejnic, "Frekvence Tištěné Literatury 16. Století v Čechách a na Moravě," *Folia Historica Bohemica* 11 (1987), 321-335.

²⁸ This is suggested by a marked increase in numbers of foreign-published books in estate inventories. See Jiří Pešek, *Měšťanská vzdělanost a kultura v předbělohorských Čechách, 1547–1620*. (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1993): 70-72.

imperial capital.²⁹ Printers in Bohemia and Moravia expanded their purview beyond Czech-language prints by publishing greater numbers of Latin and German books, as well as works in Italian and Spanish, with new aspirations for reaching the international audience at home and abroad.³⁰ Thanks to the popularity of occasional literature, Latin prints outnumber Czech during the Rudolfine period, while numerous Czech prints were translations of works by authors from the broader European context.³¹ Escalating competition in the printing market caused by newly arrived foreign booksellers and merchants ultimately compelled Prague's printers, binders, and booksellers to band together into a guild in 1597 in an effort to regulate the overcrowded marketplace.³²

It was in this context that the printing of polyphonic music began in earnest in Prague. Although music for three and four voices had appeared in a few small-scale Czech-language prints prior to the 1570s, the first books of figured polyphonic music in Bohemia and Moravia were not issued until 1572 and 1573, when Hans Bürger and Michael Mühlmarckart released three collections of German sacred music from their short-lived printing press in the western Bohemian border town of Eger (Cheb): Johannes Hagius's two volumes of *Symbola* in 1572 and Jobst von Brandt's *Geistlichen Psalmen* in 1572-73.³³ Their

²⁹ Zikmund Winter provides some biographical data on a number of printers in Prague in *Řemeslnictvo a Živnosti XVI. Věku v Čechách (1526–1620)* (Prague: Nákladem České Akademie, 1909), 294-308.

³⁰ See Anežka Baďurová, "Rudolfinský Knihtisk v Bibliografii Cizojazyčných Bohemikálních Tisků z let 1501–1800," *Knihy a Dějiny* 4 no. 1 (1997): 24–27. Among Nigrin's non-Czech-language prints, she counts 329 works in Latin, 6 in German, 5 in Spanish, 5 in Italian, and 3 in Greek. Among all Bohemian and Moravian printers for the years 1576-1612, Baďurová counts 1776 Latin prints, 194 German, 5 Spanish, 11 Italian, 4 Polish, and one Russian. For the entire sixteenth century, *Knihopis, Rukověť*, and the *Bibliografie Cizojazyčných Bohemikálních Tisků* list approximately 2800 prints in Czech, 1400 in Latin, and 200 in German. Seventy percent of these prints were published in the last quarter of the century. For the years 1576–1600, 549 Czech prints and 880 Latin printed were printed in Prague, while outside Prague, 128 prints in Czech and 76 in Latin were published in other printing centers in Bohemia and Moravia.

³¹ In her article "Das Verhältnis der Tschechischen und Fremdsprachigen Drucke in Böhmen und Mähren vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zum Jahre 1621," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 1988: 108–115, Mirjam Bohatcová counts 264 foreign authors whose works were translated into Czech in 670 prints.

³² Guilds were also formed by Prague's metalworkers (1576), tailors (1580), and milliners (1584) in response to increased competition from German, Dutch, and Italian immigrants. See Bohumil Nuska, "K Pojmů Knihař v Pražském Knihvazačství a Knižním Trhu Druhé Poloviny 16. Století," *Documenta Pragensia* 9 (1991): 270.

³³ Jobst vom Brandt, *Der erste theil geistlicher Psalmen und teutscher Kyrchengeseng* (Eger: Bürger and Mülmart, 1572); Johannes Hagius, *Symbola der erwirdigen, hocheleuchten und theueren Menner, Herren D. M. Lutheri und Philippi Melanthonis* (Eger: Bürger and

printshop disbanded in 1574, however, and it was not until Jacob Handl moved from Prague to Olomouc in 1580 to begin printing his sizable corpus of masses, motets, and *Moralia* at the printshop of Georgius Nigrin that polyphonic music printing in Bohemia resumed, albeit this time with greater consistency and much more international ambition.

Nothing is known of Nigrin (d. 1606) before his apprenticeship at the Prague printshop of Jan Kozel.³⁴ He married the widow of another printer in Prague, Jan Jičínský, inheriting musical typesets that he used sporadically during the first years of his activities as a printer beginning in 1571.³⁵ In 1579 he released his first polyphonic music print, Ondřej Chrysoponus Jevíčský's *Bicinia nova*, a collection of two-voice works in Latin and Czech with instrumental accompaniment *ad libitum* intended for Bohemian Latin schools.³⁶ Nigrin's next foray into polyphonic music printing was a substantial leap in scope and difficulty: Jacob Handl's four-volume *Selectiores quaedam missae* published in 1580.³⁷ With

Mülmarckart, 1572); and Johannes Hagius, *Symbolon... des ehrwürdigen edlen und ohesten Herrn Johann Georg von Gleissenthal* (Eger: H. Bürger, M. Mülmarckart, 1572). Jan Kouba lists all known prints of notated and unnotated music in his article, "Nejstarší České Písňové Tisky do Roku 1550," *Miscellanea Musicologica* 32 (1988), 21-92. On polyphonic music printing in Bohemia, see Petr Daněk, "Tisky Vokální Polyfonie Pražské Provenience do Roku 1620," *Documenta Pragensia* 10 no. 1 (1990), 219-238. On printing in Eger, see Josef Pohl, "Egerer Buchdrucker im 16. Jahrhundert," *Mitteilungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen* 49 (1911), 193-204; Heribert Sturm, "Joachimsthaler Privatbüchereien aus dem XVI. Jahrhundert," *Mitteilungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen* 68 (1930), 3-8; and Karl Siegl, "Die Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in Eger von ihren ersten Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart (Mit zwei Druckproben im Text)," *Mitteilungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen* 68 (1930), 138-150.

³⁴ Zikmund Winter, *Řemeslnictvo a Živnosti XVI. Věku v Čechách (1526–1620)* (Prague: Nákladem České Akademie, 1909), 281.

³⁵ See Petr Daněk, "Tisky Vokální Polyfonie Pražské Provenience do Roku 1620," *Documenta Pragensia* 10 (1990): 223. For an overview of Nigrin's biography and a list of published works (now in need of updating), see Miriam Bohatcová and Josef Hejnic, "Knihtiskař Jiří Nigrin a Jednolisté 'Prococtví' Jindřicha Demetriana," *Sborník Národního Muzea v Praze*, řada A, 35 no. 2 (1981), 73-135.

³⁶ The *Bicinia nova subjectis distichis gnomologicis M. Procopii Lupacii a Hlavaczova et rhythmis czechicis* is available in a modern edition as Ondřej Chrysoponus Jevíčský (Andreas Chrysoponus), *Bicinia Nova 1579* (Prague: Editio Supraphon, 1989).

³⁷ Prior to this, Jacob Handl published *Undique flammatis Olomucum sedibus arsit*, a seven-voice motet in honor of the newly appointed bishop of Olomouc, Stanislav Pavlovský, in 1579. The printer is not named, but is most likely also Nigrin. See Jacob Handl, *Opus Musicum, Motettenwerk für das Ganze Kirchenjahr, I. Teil: Vom 1. Adventsonntag bis zum Sonntag Septuagesima*, ed. Emil Bezceny and Josef Mantuani, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* 12 (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1959), V.

the exception of a single song print, this venture seems to have fully occupied his music fonts for the year. The following year, he was ready to take on new challenges, publishing a book of Magnificat settings by Simon Bariona Madelka, butcher of Pilsen (Plzeň),³⁸ an edition of Matheo Flecha the Elder's *Ensaladas*, and Matheo Flecha the Younger's *Divinarum completarum psalmi* in 1581. The *Ensaladas* of Matheo Flecha the Elder (ca. 1481–1553), Spanish secular works that often take the form of quodlibets, were published posthumously by his nephew, Matheo Flecha the Younger (1530–1604), a chaplain in Rudolf's chapel.³⁹ In his dedication to the Spanish ambassador to the imperial court, Juan de Borja, Flecha points out that he had to spend additional time supervising the publication due to Nigrin's ignorance of the Spanish language and apologizes in advance for any mistakes caused by the printer's lack of experience in printing music.⁴⁰ The experience seems to have been disheartening for Nigrin, as his next polyphonic print did not occur until 1585. This print, however, Jacobus de Kerle's *Selectiorum aliquot modularum* launched a regular succession of polyphonic prints from his presses that continued over the next twenty years.⁴¹

³⁸ In addition to his *Canticum beatissimae virginis Mariae*, Madelka (d. 1597-9), a Silesian composer based in Catholic Pilsen where he was a member of the butcher's guild, was one of the few Bohemian composers focused on the literary brotherhood market who also endeavored to print his works. In 1586, he published his settings of the penitential psalms at the Knorr printshop in Altdorf. This latter work is now available in a modern edition in Simon Bar Jona Madelka, *Septem psalmi poenitentiales quinque vocibus exornati*, ed. Miloslav Klement (Prague: Editio Bärenreiter, 2007).

³⁹ Flecha the Younger also included works by Vila, Cárceres, Chacón, and three works of his own alongside those of his uncle. The full title is *Las ensaladas de Flecha, maestro de capilla que fue de las serenissimas Infantas de Castilla, Recopiladas por F. Matheo Flecha su sobrino, Abad de Tyhan, y Capellan de las Magestades Caesareas, con algunas suyas y de otros authores, por el mesmo corregidas y echas estampar. Dedicadas al illustrissimo señor Don Juan de Borja del consejo de la magestad catholica y su embaxador a cerca dela caesarea &c.* Baxo impressas en la ciudad de Praga en casa de Iorge Negrino año 1581, and it is available in a modern edition in Matheo Flecha the Elder, *Las Ensaladas de Flecha: Con un Suplemento de Obras del Género*, ed. Maricarmen Gómez Muntané (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2008).

⁴⁰ On folio A 2v: “perdonando los yerros de la Estampa, por que aun con mucho cuydado y diligencia hay yo mismo assistido a la correction de ellas, por ser nuestro jdioma muy diferente y contrario al de estas partes, y el Estampador no muy perito en la Música, no podrá dexar de hauer muchos.”

⁴¹ The list presented here is primarily derived from a list of all notated prints compiled by Petr Daněk in his article “Nototiskařská Činnost Jiřího Nigrina,” *Hudební Věda* 24 (1987): 121-136. I have not included prints that contain only monophonic or homophonic music. I have also left out an unusual exception worth mentioning here, a broadsheet with a crab, riddle, and mirror canon in Czech and Latin, entitled *Miraris: mundum dorso consistere cancri? Desine, sic hodie vertitur orbis iter* (Prague: Nigrin, 1589). The composer is anonymous, although the print credits Jan Grill the Elder of Grillov for financing the

Jacobus de Kerle: *Selectiorum aliquot modulorum* (1585)
 Georg Molitor: *Epithalamion in honorem... Victorini Henrici* (1586)
 Jacobus Handl: *Tomus primus operis musici* (1586)
 Jacobus Handl: *Tomus secundus operis musici* (1587)
 Jacobus Handl: *Tomus tertius operis musici* (1587)
 Carl Luython: *Popularis anni jubilus* (1587)
 Giovanni Battista Pinello: *Muteta quinque vocum* (1588)
 Stefano Felis: *Missarum sex vocum... liber primus* (1588)
 Jacobus Handl: *Epicedion harmonicum* (1589)
 Jacobus Handl: *Quatuor vocum, liber I, harmoniarum moralium* (1589)
 Jacobus Handl: *Quartus tomus musici operis* (1590)
 Jacobus Handl: *Quatuor vocum liber II, harmoniarum moralium* (1590)
 Jacobus Handl: *Quatuor vocum liber III, harmoniarum moralium* (1590)
 Johannes Nucius: *Modulationes sacrae... quinque et sex vocum* (1591)
 Johann Knöfel: *Novae melodiae, octo, septem, sex, et quinque harmonicis vocum* (1592)
 Tiburtio Massaino: *Liber primus cantionum... quatuor vocum* (1592)
 Franz Sale: *Sacrarum cantionum... liber primus* (1593)
 Franz Sale: *Officiorum missalium... liber secundus* (1594)
 Franz Sale: *Tripertiti operis officiorum missalium... liber primus* (1596)
 Franz Sale: *Officiorum missalium... liber tertius & ultimus* (1596)
 Franz Sale: *Dialogismus 8. Vocum, de amore Christi sponsi* (1598)
 Franz Sale: *Oratio ad Sanctam B. V. Mariam... sex voc. compositae* (1598)
 Franz Sale: *Salutationes ad beatissimam Dei genitricem ac virginem Mariam* (1598)
 Franz Sale: *Canzonette, villanelle et neapolitane... a tre voci* (1598)
 Liberale Zanchi: *Cantiones a 4 e 8vv per ogni sorte d'istrumenti* (1603)
 Carl Luython: *Selectissimarum sacrarum cantionum sex vocibus* (1603)
 Carl Luython: *Opus musicum in lamentationes Hieremiae prophetae* (1604)
 Liberale Zanchi: *Quinque psalmorum in Vesperis concinendorum* (1604)
 Joachim Lange: *Das erste Buch schöner neuen weltlichen Liedlein... mit dreyen Stimmen* (1606)

publication. The copy survives as part of the Dobřenský collection at the Strahov Monastery Library in Prague (sign. DR I 21, fol. 307), a collection of 423 broadsheets that collectively form an invaluable window on literary culture in Prague at the end of the sixteenth century. In addition to twenty broadsheets with music notation are epitaphs to Orlando di Lasso (fol. 69) and Jacob Handl (fol. 134). The entire collection has been digitized and is available at <http://www.manuscriptorium.com> under the title *Dobřenského Sbíрка Jednolistů 16. Století*. For an overview of the collection's musical contents and transcriptions, see Jitka Snížková, ed., *Carmina Carissima: Cantica Selecta Bohemica Saeculi XVI*, Musica Antiqua Bohemica Seria II, 11 (Prague: Editio Supraphon, 1984).

The list shows that Nigrin worked primarily with two composers, both of whom undertook concerted efforts to publish their life's work, Jacobus Handl and Franz Sale.⁴² As will be shown in this chapter, these two composers along with Johann Knöfel, more than any others working in Bohemia and Moravia, personally saw to the distribution of their printed works throughout the region. Moreover, Sale's *Officia* and Handl's masses, motets, and *Moralia* were conceived as multi-volume sets issued in the same oblong quarto format that could easily be bound together by collectors into individual partbooks. All of Nigrin's music prints were issued in this same format, beginning with his first polyphonic print, Jevíčský's *Bicinia nova*. Nigrin was not primarily a publisher of music; of his known output only ten percent consisted of notated prints.⁴³ With hardly any local competition, he had a near monopoly on publishing polyphony in Prague.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, Nigrin seems to have been well aware of the much larger market share already enjoyed by Nuremberg firms in central Europe. He never tapped into the more lucrative market for anthologies through which Katherina Gerlach and Paul Kauffmann found so much success, nor did he work toward developing a market of printed books targeted specifically at the literary brotherhoods. The title pages and typographical layout of Nigrin's prints suggest that he modeled his books on

⁴² During his employment at the collegiate foundation of Hall in Tyrol before entering the imperial chapel, Sale published two collections of masses and officia at the printshop of Adam Berg in Munich in 1589. He utilized Berg's services once more in 1598 for a mass and motet pair that resumed the series he had begun with Berg entitled *Patrocinium musices*. In addition to continuing the series with the same printer, Nigrin may also have been unable to offer Sale the folio layout he desired.

⁴³ These include thirty-six polyphonic and homophonic works and twenty-nine songbooks. In addition to the books listed here, Nigrin also produced broadsheets and books of monophonic or homophonic music in Czech and Latin, including Catholic, Utraquist, and Lutheran songbooks and psalters, Czech litanies, and occasional works composed by the humanist circle centered around Charles University. Nigrin's known music prints are given in Daněk, "Nototiskařská Činnost Jiřího Nigrina," 121–136. One print of polyphonic music absent from Daněk's list is Liberale Zanchi's *Cantiones a 4 e 8vv per ogni sorte d'istrumenti* (1603).

⁴⁴ There are only two known exceptions in the publishing of polyphonic music in Prague during the time the Nigrin printshop was in operation. The same year Nigrin published the *Epithalamion*, Georg Molitor printed another wedding motet at the Prague printshop of Michael Peterle, his *Votum nuptiis* in honor of the wedding of one of his patrons, Jan Václav Popel z Lobkovicz, to Johanna of Běronice (Prague: Peterle, 1586). The previous year, Peterle, who had been a partner in Nigrin's firm, gained his first independent music printing experience when he issued the first notated liturgical book in Bohemia, the *Obsequiale sive benedictionale, quod agendam appellant secundum ritum et consuetudinem S. Metropolitanæ Pragensis Ecclesiæ* (Prague: Peterle, 1585). Matthias de Sayve, alto in the imperial chapel, published his *Liber primus motectorum quinque vocum* at the firm of Johann Othmar in Prague in 1595.

those of the Gerlach press,⁴⁵ whose volumes enjoyed widespread popularity in Bohemia and Moravia, so that they could conveniently be bound into tract volumes with works printed by the more productive printshops of Nuremberg and Munich. The Gerlach firm continued to be favored by composers at the imperial court, suggesting that Nigrin may also have emulated her well-tested formats and layouts in an effort to attract composers to his presses.



Figure 1.3: Johann Knöfel, *Dulcissima quaedam cantiones* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1571), tenor partbook title page



Figure 1.4: Jacob Handl, *Tomus primus Musici operis* (Prague: Nigrin, 1586), tenor partbook title page

The list also shows that Nigrin printed no more than a fraction of works by composers in the Rudolfine court. Philippe de Monte, Jacob Regnart, Alessandro Orologio, Gregorio Turini, and Camillo Zanotti continued to send their works to foreign printers during the periods of their employment in Prague, including Gerlach, preferring to work with printshops that were not only more experienced, but also better integrated in the networks of international trade. They never looked to Nigrin for printing the voluminous numbers of madrigals and villanelle they composed; conversely, as the list given above shows, Nigrin did not print Italian music, with the sole exception of Franz Sale's *Canzonette*, although he did possess Italian fonts.⁴⁶ Among court composers whose works Nigrin did print, Rudolf's chamber organist Liberale Zanchi sent all his other motet collections and madrigals to Venice for printing. Jacobus de Kerle had published all his other prints prior to his arrival in Prague, his only print by Nigrin being the last he would oversee. The other composers in this list are sparsely represented because they published only during their brief stays in Prague.

⁴⁵ This idea has been suggested by Petr Daněk in "Tisky Vokální Polyfonie Pražské Provenience do Roku 1620," *Documenta Pragensia* 10 (1990): 224.

⁴⁶ He is known to have released five Italian prints. See Anežka Baďurová, "Rudolfinský Knihtisk v Bibliografii Cizojazyčných Bohemikálních Tisků z let 1501–1800," *Knihy a Dějiny* 4 no. 1 (1997): 24–27.

Carl Luython, organist in the Rudolfiner chapel, spread his publications over a longer period of time, utilizing the Gardano press for his only book of madrigals in 1582, then finding another printer in Prague, Nicolaus Straus, to issue his 1609 book of masses after Nigrin's printshop was dissolved in 1606. This latter print, Luython's *Liber primus Missarum* (Prague: Straus, 1609), is in many respects the most extraordinary music print to come out of Prague. Dedicated to Rudolf II, the printing is exceptional, and considering its ambition and large format, especially so for a shop that had never before printed polyphonic music. The size of the music type and the overall design—choirbook layout with historiated initials and an elaborate title page in folio—exceeds anything produced by the Nigrin printshop. It was clearly modeled on the style of a series of folio music books being produced in Antwerp by Christian Plantin beginning in 1578 and notably employed in Plantin's edition of Philippe de Monte's *Liber primus Missarum* from 1587, which was also dedicated to Rudolf II. Straus printed Nikolaus Zangius's *Magnificat anima mea dominum, secundi toni a sex vocibus* in folio the same year as a companion volume to Luython's masses.⁴⁷ These two publications were Straus's only forays into polyphonic printing.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ The two volumes are bound together in six different sets of exemplars: Scientific Library, Olomouc (sign. III 2649); Moravian Land Library (sign. ST5-0889.409); National Library in Prague (sign. 59 A 10 477); National Museum in Prague (sign. 54 A 4); Archiv hlavního města Prahy (sign. VII/C-D/3); and Ústí nad Labem Museum (sign. St 1298).

⁴⁸ Another noteworthy print issued in 1608 is also worth mentioning here. The Bohemian nobleman, world traveler, and, later, beheaded leader of the Bohemian Estates, Kryštof Harant z Polžic a Bezdružic published his motet *Qui confidunt in Domino*, inspired by his journey to Jerusalem as an appendix to his travelogue, *Putování, aneb Cesta z Království Českého do Města Benátek a odtud po Moři do země Svaté, země Judské, a dále do Egypta* (Prague: Dědicové Daniela Adama z Veleslavína, 1608): 398-405. Veleslavín's lack of experience in publishing polyphony is shown by the awkward choirbook layout whose page-turns render a performance from the print challenging.

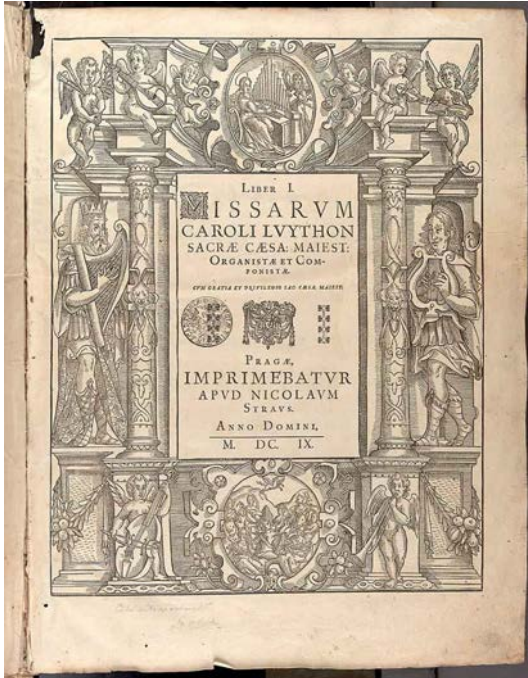


Figure 1.5: Carl Luython, *Liber I. Missarum* (Prague: Straus, 1609), title page



Figure 1.6: Carl Luython, *Liber I. Missarum*, fol. 1v, Kyrie from the *Missa super basim, Cæsar vive*

Between 1609 and 1630, no further books of Latin polyphony are known to have been issued in Prague, due in no small measure to the disbanding of Rudolf's chapel in 1612; but new Czech-language monophonic songs and hymnbooks continued to be money-makers, including Jiřík Strejc's popular 1618 Czech psalter with Goudimel's four-part harmonizations, reprinted in 1620.⁴⁹ The return of the imperial court to Vienna in 1612 under Emperor Mathias surely explains the appearance of the only book of polyphony printed within Moravian borders before 1630, Lambert de Sayve's *Sacrae symphoniae, quas vulgo motetas appellant, tam de totius anni festis sollemnibus, quam de tempore, 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 15. 16. tam vocibus quam instrumentis accommodatae*, printed in 1612 the printshop of the Premonstratensian monastery in Klosterbruck on the southern Moravian border near Znaim (Znojmo).⁵⁰ Celebrated by Michael Praetorius in his *Syntagma Musicum*

⁴⁹ Jiřík Strejc Zábřežský, *Žalmové aneb Zpěvové Swatého Dawida, Božjho Proroka Judského a Izraelského Krále, w České Rytmy složení, a w způsob zpjwánj na čtyry hlasy sformowáni, Pracj a nákladem vlastnjm wytisknuti* (Prague: Daniel Karl z Karlsspergka, 1618; reprint Pavel Sessius, 1620).

⁵⁰ Although the monastery operated a press from 1595 to 1608 and issued roughly twenty prints, Sayve's print postdates these known dates of operation and is also unusual for being the only book with music notation to be issued by the monastery. Although somewhat isolated, the monastery lay on the route connecting Prague and Vienna, and perhaps Sayve and the Viennese printer Johannes Fidler saw an opportunity to take advantage of the

for its fame,⁵¹ Sayve dedicated the print to Rudolf's brother and successor to the imperial crown, Matthias, in the year of his coronation. Like Luython's *Liber primus missarum* whose opening work, the seven-voice *Missa Super Basim Caesar vive* explicitly celebrates his imperial patron, Sayve designed his print as a monument to the emperor who appointed him chapelmaster in Vienna, in which capacity he presided over some of Rudolf's former musicians.

The vacancy left in Prague by the court's return to Vienna in 1612 was matched similarly in the publishing of polyphony. The next book of polyphony issued did not appear until fourteen years later, and the intervening period saw the death of Matthias in 1619, followed by the brief reign of Frederick V as King of Bohemia (the so-called "Winter King"), the coronation of the militant Catholic Ferdinand II as emperor, the Bohemian Estates uprising (crushed by the imperial army at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620), and the start of the Thirty Years' War. The momentous changes that had occurred in the interim are reflected both musically and politically in Jan Sixt of Lerchenfels's self-published *Triumphus et Victoria Joannis... Comitibus de Tilly* of 1626. Sixt celebrates the victories of the imperial army led by Johann Tserclaes, Count of Tilly, against the infantries of Christian IV of Denmark in 1625 in an unusual mixture of acclamatory poems, *orationes*, and quotations honoring Tilly, Emperor Ferdinand II, and his wife Eleonora of Gonzaga, interspersed with Sixt's own settings of the *Te Deum*, *Sanctus*, *Miserere*, a concerted Magnificat, and Italian *sonnetti*.⁵² No other books of polyphonic music are known to have been published in Bohemia or Moravia between 1613 and 1630.

BOHEMIAN AND MORAVIAN BOOKSELLERS

Although Bohemian and Moravian printers issued few books of polyphonic music, they did stock polyphony in their bookshops for their customers, presumably acquiring them in the book markets of Nuremberg, Frankfurt, Leipzig and elsewhere then reselling them locally. The 1572 inventory of Jan Jičínský the Elder, whose privilege Nigrin subsequently inherited, lists 400 unbound exemplars of a *Tricinia* and 500 unbound exemplars of a hymnbook in his cellar.⁵³ Nothing is known of any *Tricinia* published by Jičínský, though he did own music fonts, suggesting that these might be his own publications. Songs for Vespers,

monastery's unused printing equipment. On the monastery's printing activities prior to 1612, see Moriz Grolig, *Die Klosterdruckerei im Prämonstratenserstifte Bruck a. D. Thaya (Mähren) 1595–1608* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1908).

⁵¹ See Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum III*, trans. Jeffrey Kite-Powell (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 101.

⁵² Sixt's print is discussed in more detail later in this dissertation.

⁵³ "V sklepe 400 exemplářů tricinii, 500 exemplářů Písni ročních, vše nevázáno." *Musice* could refer to part books or music theory books. The inventory is transcribed in Jiří Pešek and Bedřiška Wižďálková, "Impresí Jana Staršího a Jana Filoxena Jičínských (1563-1590)," *Documenta Pragensia* 10 (1992): 153-155.

hymnbooks, and one manuscript and two printed *musice* in quarto are listed in the estate of his successor, Jan Jičínský the Younger, in 1591.⁵⁴ Jičínský the Younger's much smaller stock of music was offset by other booksellers covering the music market more thoroughly. Nigrin, who inherited Jičínský the Elder's music fonts and seems to have modeled his prints on those of Gerlach, may have sold prints issued by the Nuremberg press alongside his own production. Firmer evidence is revealed in the 1586 inventory of another Prague printer, Jiří Melantrich of Aventýn the Younger, who possessed music theory books, secular and sacred songs, Latin and Czech hymnbooks, psalters, and unspecified *Musica* in the dozens.⁵⁵ Melantrich was a regular visitor to the Frankfurt book markets, where he would buy books for his own stock and also fulfill orders from individuals for foreign books, including the Moravian nobleman Karel Žerotín the Elder.⁵⁶ Twenty years later, Anna Melantrich of Aventýn had reduced the variety of musical offerings at the Melantrich press, keeping only 200 exemplars of a three-voice psalter with a further sixty exemplars of individually bound partbooks among her other psalters and hymnals.⁵⁷

Bookbinders are also known to have kept stocks of music books for sale. Walter Schimdt, a bookbinder in Olomouc, had 34 *deutsche und lateinische Partes* in addition to 400 exemplars of a hymnal according to his 18 November 1617 inventory.⁵⁸ In 1599 the Bohemian nobleman Petr Vok of Rožmberk, one of two families known to employ their own music chapels and owner of one of the largest and most famous libraries in central Europe, paid 8 kopas 17 groschen to a Prague bookbinder named Dobiáš for *partes koupené muzice* (purchased music partbooks).⁵⁹

In addition to distributing his own works, Jacob Handl's estate inventory reveals that he also sold music books in Prague that had been printed abroad. Among those in attendance for the 1591 inventory of his estate were his brother, Georg (Jířík) Handl, who would supervise the posthumous printing of Jacob Handl's five-, six-, and eight-voice *Moralia* in Nuremberg in 1596 before opening his own press in Olomouc in 1598, and Jan Schuman (Šuman), another printer in Prague from Leipzig who specialized in Czech

⁵⁴ "Lista in quarto jedna, ruka 1 a dva kusy k Musice," in *ibid.*, 157.

⁵⁵ Jan Baťa, "Hudba a hudební kultura na Starém Městě pražském 1526–1620 [Music and Musical Culture in the Old Town of Prague 1526–1620]" (Ph.D. dissertation, Univerzita Karlova, 2011), 37–38.

⁵⁶ Bohumil Nuska, "K Pojmů Knihař v Pražském Knihvazačství a Knižním Trhu Druhé Poloviny 16. Století," *Documenta Pragensia* 9 no. 2 (1990): 262.

⁵⁷ Baťa, *op. cit.*, 38–39.

⁵⁸ Theodora Straková, "Vokálně Polyfonní Skladby na Moravě v 16. a na Začátku 17. století: Příspěvek k Poznání Hudebního Života na Moravě v Době Předbělohorské," *Časopis Moravského Muzea* 66 (1981): 175; and Petr Daněk, "Flores Musicales aneb Několik Poznámek k Rožmberským Libri Musici," *Opus Musicum* 40 no. 1 (2008): 34.

⁵⁹ Daněk, *op. cit.*, 34.

literature.⁶⁰ The inventory lists exemplars of Handl's own works numbering in the hundreds, including Gallus Dressler's *Opus sacrarum cantionum* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1585), works by Leonhard Paminger in three partbooks, a *Thesaurus Musicus Norimbergensis*, three-part lieder by Lasso, a set of binder's volumes in white leather containing music by Orlando di Lasso, and the following items:⁶¹

- [Orlando di Lasso:] *Item Tricinia Orlandi německý dvoje* [in German, 2 copies]
- [Friedrich Lindner:] *Item Friderici Lintneri Gemma Musicalis tomus primus 6 exemplářův* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1588)
- [Friedrich Lindner:] *Item secunda Gemma taky* [also] 6 (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1589)
- [Friedrich Lindner:] *Item tertius tomus též* [also] *Lindneri 6* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1590)
- [Friedrich Lindner:] *Item prima pars Cantionum Sacrarum Lindneri* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1585)
- [Friedrich Lindner:] *secunda pars ipsius taky 8* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1588)
- [Friedrich Lindner:] *Item Corollarium Cantionum Sacrarum 7 exemplářův* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1590)
- [Orlando di Lasso:] *Fasciculli Orlandi 8 exemplářův* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1582)
- [Orlando di Lasso:] *Magnificat in folio Orlandi sextus opus 4 exempláře* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1567)
- [Friedrich Lindner:] *Item Missa Friderici Lindneri 6 exemplářův* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1590)
- [Ambrosius Lobwasser:] *Item německy psaný* [German manuscript] *Psalterium Lobwaseri 3 exempláře*
- [Leonhard Lechner:] *Harmoniae Lechneri 2* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1583)
- [Giaches de Wert:] *Modulationes sacrarum quinque 2 exempláře* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1583)

The inventory reveals that Handl had rights to distribute works printed by Katherina Gerlach in Nuremberg. Handl's choice of prints is also interesting, as he avoids single-composer prints with the exception of older prints by Wert and Lasso and instead favors the anthologies of Italian music edited by Friedrich Lindner and printed in the years immediately before the inventory was taken. Leonhard Lechner's 1583 *Harmoniae miscellae* is another motet anthology of predominantly Italian works along with three works by

⁶⁰ On the printing press of Georg Handl, see Christian d'Elvert, *Geschichte des Bücher- und Steindruckes, des Buchhandels, der Bücher-Censur und der periodischen Literatur, so wie Nachträge zur Geschichte der historischen Literatur in Mähren und Oesterreichisch-Schlesien* (Brno: R. Rohrer's Erben, 1854), 44-48; and Marc Desmet, "Typographicum Robur Fractum: Jacob Handl's Relationship with the Printing Press," *De musica disserenda* III/2 (2007), 11-24. On Jan Schuman, see Petra Večeřová, *Šumanská Tiskarna 1585–1628* (Prague: Scriptorium, 2002).

⁶¹ The complete inventory is transcribed in Jiří Pešek, "Z Pražské Hudební Kultury měšťanského Soukromí Před Bílou Horou," *Hudební Věda* 20 (1983): 255.

Philippe de Monte. Given the amount of time Handl must have spent overseeing the publication of his *Opus musicum* at the Nigrin printshop during these same years (the church where he served as organist was only steps away from Nigrin's printshop at the "Black Bridge"), the inventory shows that Handl was making up for the lack of printed anthologies from the Nigrin press by distributing imported prints himself, and that he kept up-to-date with the latest offerings from Nuremberg in his stock. Inventories of Bohemian and Moravian institutions and other personal estates reveal that Handl had a keen grasp on what would sell in the local music market, since his booklists are very consistent with the complexion of music collections in the area.

While some printers in Prague may have offered only a small variety of music books for sale, other booksellers, particularly foreign printers and merchants, sold books in Prague printed abroad. The inventory of the Prague bookseller Tobias Ficker of 1612, who had a stand in Vladislav Hall, the marketplace within Prague's imperial castle (Hradschin), and a printing press and stockroom in his house in Prague's Little Quarter (Malá Strana), reveals that his customers represented a broad range of literate society. In addition to the international body of courtiers and diplomats at the castle, the Little Quarter was the primary home of Prague's nobility as well as German and Italian immigrants. Ficker's clientele included burghers, clerics, teachers and students of German schools, and members of the nobility and their servants, and foreigners account for more than half the names.⁶² Since Czech printers were focused more on the Czech-language market, Ficker, a Leipzig native who sold books from 1595 until 1612,⁶³ provided a much-needed service to Prague's substantial population of immigrants and foreign visitors, many of whom settled alongside the other foreigners and members of the nobility in the homes surrounding his shop situated immediately below the castle. Hercules de Nova, a merchant from Mantua, parlayed his mercantile connections with northern Italian cities into a lucrative venture in the same district, bringing Italian goods as well as music books to Prague by way of the markets in Linz.⁶⁴

When Nova's store closed in 1606, Petr Vok of Rožmberk turned directly to the Linzer markets to continue building his substantial library with the latest exports of Italian books and music.⁶⁵ While Prague and northern Bohemia were culturally conjoined primarily

⁶² Zdeněk Šimeček, "Linzer Märkte und die Bibliothek der Rosenberger," *Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz* (1985): 418-419.

⁶³ Zikmund Witner provides a list of book buyers and bookbinders in *Řemeslnictvo a Živnosti XVI. věku v Čechách* (Prague: Nákladem České Akademie, 1909), 332-335.

⁶⁴ On Hercules de Nova, see Václav Bůžek, "Na Trhu v Linci," in *Světy Posledních Rožmberků*, ed. Václav Bůžek et al., (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové Noviny, 2011), 178-183; idem, "Zahraniční Trhy a Kultura Šlechtických Dvorů v Předběllohorských Českých Zemích," *Český časopis Historický* 89 (1989): 702; and Josef Janáček, "Italové v Předběllohorské Praze (1526–1620)," *Pražský Sborník Historický* 16 (1983): 92-93.

⁶⁵ Linz, the biggest marketplace in Austria, had two annual trade fairs that took place during Easter and the feast of St. Bartholomew. Its economic importance derived from its pivotal

to Nuremberg and Saxony, greater geographic proximity to Linz strengthened musical and educational exchanges between southern Bohemia and the capital of Upper Austria. Southern Bohemian students gravitated toward the schools of Linz, Bohemian teachers taught in its schools, and the surviving correspondence of musicians reveals that they, too, exchanged music books.⁶⁶ Linz was also one of the primary suppliers of the paper used in manuscript liturgical books compiled for Maximilian II's chapel in Vienna.⁶⁷ Books from Venetian and Italian printers, including the more expensive folios, were sold in Linz by Bartholomäus Helwig (Helbig). Helwig sent a catalog of his offerings in folio to his richest buyers, including Rožmberk, who, for example, bought twenty-two books at the St. Bartholomew market on 22 August 1608, the most expensive being an old liturgical book.⁶⁸ Rožmberk was actively engaged in assembling one of central Europe's most extensive and famous libraries. His consistent acquisition of books from a variety of marketplaces was well known, enabling him to buy books on credit in Nuremberg through his agent in Prague, Johann Libra, then settle payment in Linz through other Nuremberg merchants.⁶⁹

location on trade routes connecting Passau, Regensburg, and Nuremberg with Vienna and Krems and the northern Italian economic centers of Venice, Milan, and Verona. It was a regular meeting place for wholesalers and bankers and served as one of the most significant transfer centers of luxury goods from Italy to Bohemia and Moravia. Wholesalers from Prague not only brought goods from Linz to Prague for resale, but also negotiated with purchasers in Munich, Augsburg, and Frankfurt am Main. While the markets of Linz were a rich source of Italian merchandise, goods from the Netherlands, Spain, England, and France were also regularly traded. See Josef Janáček, "Die Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Prag und Linz im 16. Jahrhundert," *Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz* (1960), 55-80; idem, *Dějiny Obchodu v Předbělhorské Praze* (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé Akademie Věd, 1955), 87-89; Václav Bůžek, "Zahraniční Trhy a Kultura Šlechtických Dvorů v Předbělhorských Českých Zemích," *Český Časopis Historický* 89 (1989): 695-701; and Zdeněk Šimeček, "Linzer Märkte und die Bibliothek der Rosenberger," *Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz* 1985: 415-426.

⁶⁶ See Šimeček, "Linzer Märkte und die Bibliothek der Rosenberger," 424.

⁶⁷ Imperial court records indicate regular semi-annual orders for Kaufbeuern and Braunau paper from 1562 to 1578 and beyond. See Lilian Pruett, "Sixteenth-Century Manuscripts in Brussels, Berlin and Vienna: Physical Evidence as a Tool for Historic Reconstruction," *Revue belge de Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* 50 (1996): 80-82.

⁶⁸ Two other booksellers in Linz, Friedrich Cammerer and Heinrich Eder, are known to have supplied to Petr Vok. See Šimeček, "Linzer Märkte," 421.

⁶⁹ In addition to Italian trade, Linz grew in importance as a financial center thanks to the banking activities of the German firms of Fugger and Welser, who used its geographic location as a base from which to manage their stakes in mining further west, including Upper Hungary. See *ibid.*, 420.

For those of less means, foreign books could also be purchased in the Old Town, the middle-class heart of Prague. The Ungelt (Týnské náměstí), a square located behind the most prominent Utraquist landmark in the city, the Church of Our Lady of Týn, was important commercially as a point of origin for foreign trade connecting Prague to the world at large. Shipments of books were sent and received along with regular shipments assembled by the court chandlers Claudius de Marne (Marnius) and Peter Druat for trade with Viennese agents.⁷⁰ Marne and another merchant at the court, Levinus Hulsius, operated separate stands in Vladislav Hall, the marketplace within Prague Castle.⁷¹ Marne and Hulsius were also both active printers in Germany at the same time that they were selling books in Prague, using their German bases as a means to keep Bohemia's music supply continuous and up-to-date. Hulsius had his own press in Nuremberg when he was granted his privilege to sell books in Prague, and soon after the imperial court returned to Vienna in 1612, he moved his presses to Frankfurt am Main. Marne published books with Andreas Wechel in Frankfurt before the turn of the century, but also operated a press out of Hannover before returning to Frankfurt by 1608.⁷²

Hulsius and Marne both supplied music books to Rožmberk.⁷³ A 1603 catalogue of books for sale was given to Rožmberk by Hulsius, from which the collector brought three volumes of works by Valentin Haussmann, his most expensive purchase. From Marne's 1608

⁷⁰ Ibid., 419.

⁷¹ Hulsius received his privilege to sell books within the castle walls in 1600. See Josef Volf, "Kde byly v Praze r. 1615 knihkupecké krámy?," *Časopis Národního muzea* 102 (1928): 188.

⁷² Marne maintained contact with the court during his printing ventures in Germany through his bookshop in Prague castle. In Hannover, he oversaw the 1602 reprint of Tomáš Jordán's *Historia Boiémica*, and in Frankfurt he issued a print by Jiří Barthold Pontanus à Braitenberg, canon at St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague: *Bohaemia pia, hoc est historia brevis, pietatem avitam Bohemiae* (Frankfurt: Claudius Marnius et heredes Ioannes Aubrius, 1608).

⁷³ The booksellers' catalogs are now kept at the Rožmberk archive in Třeboň (Wittingau) but are presently inaccessible. See Petr Daněk, "Flores Musicales aneb Několik Poznámek k Rožmberským Libri Musici," *Opus Musicum* 40 no. 1 (2008): 34. In this article, Daněk presents a convincing case that a volume now kept in the South Bohemian Museum in České Budějovice was once part of the Rožmberk library (Jihočeské muzeum, sign. ST C 854). This tract volume contains eleven prints of instrumental and secular music: Melchior Franck, *Flores Musicales* (Nuremberg: Scherff, 1610); M. Franck, *Musicalische Fröligkeit* (Coburg: Hauck, 1610); *Musicalischer Zeitvertreiber*, (Nuremberg: Kauffmann, 1609); Andreas Berger, *Threnodie Amatoriae* (Augsburg: Schultes, 1609); Johannes Lyttichius, *Politische Gesänge* (Jena: Weidnern, 1610); Johannes Mollerus, *Ein New Quodlibet* (Frankfurt: Richter, 1610); C. Hildebrant, *Paduanen und Galliarden* (Hamburg: Ohr Erben, 1609); Valentin Haussmann, *Die erste... ander... dritte Claß der vierstimmigen Canzonetten Horatii Vecchi* (Nuremberg: Kauffmann, 1610); Johann Staden, *Teutsche Lieder* (Nuremberg: Scherff and Kauffmann, 1609), all of which appear in the Březan inventory of 1608 with the Melchior Franck entry indicating that it is bound with *andere elf compositiones* in black leather.

catalog Petr Vok chose works by Marenzio, Agazzari, Ruggiero Giovanelli, and Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi in addition to unspecified German works, while passing over Giovanelli's instrumental intradas, a specialty of Prague's court trumpeters, and Asprilio Pacelli's settings of the Magnificat.⁷⁴ The 19 August 1610 inventory compiled by the Rožmberks' librarian, Václav Březan, lists the following volumes purchased from Hulsius and Marne:

Valentin Haussmann: *Extract auss[...] Der ander Theil des Extracts auss... fünff Theilen der teutschen weltlichen Lieder*] (Nuremberg: Kauffmann, 1603)

Valentin Haussmann: *Weltliche Lieder IV Parties* (Nuremberg: Kauffmann, 1596-1606)

Luca Marenzio: *Madrigalia sex vocum* (Nuremberg: Kauffmann, 1608?)

G. G. Gastoldi: *Concentus musicales a jiných šest při tom. Parties černých VIII* [*Concenti musicali* bound in black with six other volumes, 8 part books] (Venice: Amadino, 1604; and Antwerp: Phalèse, 1610)

Asprilio Pacelli: *Psalmi magnificat et Mocteta ad VIII voces* (Frankfurt: Stein, 1608)

Augstino Agazzari: *Motectae* (Frankfurt: Richter and Stein, 1607?)

Johannes Le Fébure: *Fasciculus sacrarum cantionum* (Frankfurt, Richter, 1607)

Ruggiero Giovanelli: *Moctetae. Parties VIII* (Frankfurt: Stein, 1608?)⁷⁵

What makes Březan's inventory particularly valuable in addition to its descriptions of music books by composer and title, is that Březan also indicates which books are bound together. The last four volumes in the list above (Pacelli, Agazzari, Le Fébure, and Giovanelli) are described as being bound together into eight partbooks. Although the inventory is organized alphabetically by composers' last names, these tract volumes appear in an addendum dated 24 December 1612 with two other volumes at the end of the list. One of them is another tract volume of three mass collections by Jacob Regnart: his *Missae sacrae* (1602), *Continuatio missarum sacrarum* (1603), and *Corollarium missarum sacrarum* (1603), all published by the Frankfurt press of Nicolas Stein. Despite having initially declined the volume by Pacelli, Rožmberk came into possession of the volume anyway. Perhaps Marne supplied the volume for free to arouse Rožmberk's interest in the composer or because Rožmberk was one of his best customers. More significant are the publishers of these volumes, Nikolaus Stein and Wolfgang Richter. The inventory reveals that in addition to stocking books printed by Paul Kauffmann, Marne was a Bohemian distributor of books from the presses of Stein and Richter.

Stein was one of the most staunchly Catholic printers in Frankfurt, who skillfully carved out a niche for himself in the competitive Frankfurt market, thanks in part to his close personal and working relationship with the imperial book commissioner, Valentin Leucht. His association with Leucht, who penned many of the dedications and encomia that

⁷⁴ Ibid., 34.

⁷⁵ The complete 19 August 1610 inventory of the Rožmberk music collection is transcribed in František Mareš, "Rožmberská kapela," *Časopis Musea Království Českého* (1894), 226–234. The most in-depth study of the entirety of the Rožmberk library is Lenka Veselá, *Knihy na Dvoře Rožmberků* (Prague: Scriptorium, 2005).

appear in Stein's books, conferred imperial approval on his books, thus enabling Stein to plunder the most popular repertory south of the Alps for republication. The imperial book commissioner was entrusted with the task of acting on behalf of the emperor as the authority responsible for censorship and privilege matters during the Frankfurt fair.⁷⁶ In his capacity as book commissioner, Leucht oversaw an immense transfer of books from Frankfurt to the imperial court, since publishers, before they could open their stores, had to provide the book commissioner with copies of all the books they were going to sell. These books were then sent on to imperial court counsellors.⁷⁷ Despite signs of a relatively free exchange of music books in Bohemia and Moravia thanks to book fairs, population mobility, and trade, there also seems to have been some imperial control of the market whose effects were even more strongly felt in Bohemia. Products from the Frankfurt market, under the eyes of Catholic censors, were further filtered for the Bohemian market, where Marne sold these books from within the castle walls.⁷⁸ Jacob Regnart, who was a tenor and vice-chapelmaster in Rudolf's chapel from 1576 to 1582 and again from 1598 to 1599, had established his name among the general public thanks to his *Kurtzweiliger teutscher Lieder*, first published in Nuremberg from 1574 to 1580 by the Gerlach press.⁷⁹ They were reprinted several times, expanded to a five-voice treatment by Leonhard Lechner, and turn up in Bohemian lute tablatures more than the work of any other composer. Regnart was a unique combination of imperial servant and famous German songwriter, making him an ideal candidate for imperially financed music publications.

Judging by inventories and extant collections, Regnart's masses were windfalls for Richter, Stein, and Marne. They were released in three volumes printed by Wolfgang Richter

⁷⁶ The Archbishop of Mainz appointed Frankfurt's first book commissioner from the monastery of St. Bartholomew in Frankfurt in 1569. Although Frankfurt's city councillors were not Catholic and Frankfurt had the status of free imperial city, its monasteries were supervised by the Archbishop of Mainz after the defeat of the Schmalkaldic League in 1531. See Ulrich Eisenhardt, *Die kaiserliche Aufsicht über Buchdruck, Buchhandel und Presse im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation (1496-1806): Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Bücher- und Pressezensur* (Karlsruhe: C.F. Müller, 1970), 68. For more on Valentin Leucht, see Wolfgang Brückner, "Der kaiserliche Bücherkommissar Valentin Leucht," *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 3 (1961), 97-180.

⁷⁷ Beginning in 1597, the post of book commissioner became a regular appointment, involving work throughout the year and not just during the fairs. See Rotraut Becker, "Die Berichte des kaiserlichen und apostolischen Bücherkommissars Johann Ludwig von Hagen an die Römische Kurie (1623-1649)," *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 87 (1971): 324.

⁷⁸ The book markets in Leipzig were less censored than those of Frankfurt am Main. See Stephen Rose, "Music Printing in Leipzig during the Thirty Years' War," *Notes*, Second Series, 61 no. 2 (2004): 324.

⁷⁹ Evidence for their popularity in the Czech crown lands is discussed later in this dissertation.

and financed by Nikolaus Stein in 1602 and 1603. The first volume opens with a four-and-a-half-page Latin dedication to Rudolf by Regnart dated December 1599, a curious two months after his death on 16 October 1599, and two *epigrammae ad authorem* by Georgius Bartholdus Pontanus à Braitenberg, provost of the cathedral chapter in Prague, and Valentin Leucht, both of whom draw attention to Regnart as, like them, another imperial servant. Pontanus was intimately connected to the musicians of Rudolf's chapel, having written texts set by Philippe de Monte, Regnart, and Carl Luython. Claudius Marne, who worked simultaneously as a bookseller in Prague and a printer in Hannover and Frankfurt, later published Pontanus's sacred history of Bohemia, *Bohaemia pia, hoc est historia brevis, pietatem avitam Bohemiae* (Frankfurt: Claudius Marnius et heredes Ioannes Aubrius, 1608). Meanwhile, Regnart's widow, Anna Regnardin, had moved back to her hometown of Munich, from where she oversaw the publication of her husband's works at Richter and Stein's presses, signing the dedications of volumes two and three of the masses and a book of motets, *Sacrarum cantionum... liber primus* (1605), to Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, and Archduke Maximilian of Austria, further stamping the books with the seal of official approval.⁸⁰ As we look at inventories in subsequent sections of this chapter, we will see how common binder's volumes of Stein's prints were in both Bohemia and Moravia.

⁸⁰ On Anna Regnardin, see Walter Pass, *Thematischer Katalog Sämtlicher Werke Jacob Regnarts (ca. 1540–1599)* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1969), 19-21. For an overview of Stein's printing activities, see Ernst-Ludwig Berz, *Die Notendrucker und ihre Verleger in Frankfurt am Main von den Anfängen bis etwa 1630* (Kassel: Internationale Vereinigung der Musikbibliotheken, 1970), 80-96.

PRIVATE CONSUMPTION



In this section, I have put together sources and inventories that provide some specific information about books of polyphonic music owned by lay inhabitants of Bohemia and Moravia.⁸¹ In an effort to look beyond the court and its immediate environment, the rich music library of Wolfgang Rumpf, high steward and president of the imperial privy council, was not included as he enjoyed privileged access to imperial music and hence is not representative of broad regional patterns of consumption. Nor have I listed the sizable library

⁸¹ In his analysis of estate inventories from 1547 to 1620 in Prague, Jiří Pešek notes that a third of Prague libraries contained at least one music book of some kind, with a noticeable jump in numbers in the last decades of the sixteenth century and the first decades of the seventeenth century. Hymnbooks and psalters are the most numerous, Brethren hymnbooks in particular, and among composers of part music, Orlando di Lasso dominates markedly. In a separate study focused on the narrower time frame of 1571 to 1620, Pešek identifies 133 owners of hymnbooks, 69 owners of psalters, and 22 who owned *partes*. See Jiří Pešek, “Z Pražské Hudební Kultury Měšťanského Soukromí před Bílou Horou,” *Hudební Věda* 20 (1983), 242-256; and idem, *Měšťanská vzdělanost a kultura v předbělohorských Čechách, 1547-1620* (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1993), 107.

of manuscript and printed books that somehow came into the possession of Wenceslaus Christian Sabbateni à Greyffefelso, which must have originally been intended for institutional purposes.⁸² Karl von Liechtenstein and the Rožmberk family, both of whom had private music chapels, will be considered later in this dissertation.

My goal was to look at music books an individual might personally have endeavored to acquire or have received as a gift. As a result, each entry has its own individual story that here is granted no more than a brief footnote. Items have been entered in the table according to a rough estimation of the book owner's social and geographical distance from the court: the first two were frequent participants in courtly life, and from there we withdraw outward to residents of the Moravian towns situated geographically the furthest away from Prague. Indications are provided as to whether the book's owner is identifiable through an inscription in a surviving source, an estate inventory (and in one case a personal will and testament), or as the donor of a gift to someone else. Ownership of these surviving sources hints at what were probably larger collections of music books. The high survival rate of volumes from Lasso's *Patrocinium musices* series and Luython's *Liber I. missarum* has much to do with their luxury folio format and typographical sophistication, lending them distinction as objects even if their contents may have come to be outdated.

The preponderance of sacred music, motet collections by Lasso in particular, comes as little surprise. Series such as Lasso's *Patrocinium musices* and *Selectissimae cantiones*, Pietro Giovanelli's *Novi thesauri*, Lindner's *Sacrae cantiones*, and Handl's *Selectiores quaedam missae* were useful year-round, year after year, and were designed to be bound together as a group, with convenient ordering based on the liturgical calendar or number of voices, numbered title pages, and identical formats. Here we see the effectiveness of publisher's strategies. The list shows that Nigrin's decision to match Gerlach with similar typographical layout and oblong quarto format made them fit with other music being marketed in the region, as Gerlach's prints form the vast majority of music books in this list, from Prague to the Moravian royal city of Uherské Hradiště. Pietro Giovanelli's *Novi thesauri* stand out in the list as the one series of Venetian prints to appear more than once in private collections. Jan Labounský of Laboun had his complete set of five volumes bound in 1588, twenty years after their date of issue, suggesting not only their longevity but also the possibility that this magisterial series, printed in unabashed honor of the Habsburg dynasty, was still being distributed in Bohemia and Moravia long after it had been published.⁸³

⁸² The catalogue of Rumpf's diverse library, begun by Hugo Blotius in 1583, includes a rich collection of printed and manuscript music books. It is now kept at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna (*Librorum bibliothecae Rumpfianae ordine numerorum perpetua serie continuatorum catalogus*, Codex Vindobonensis Palatinus 15.286, starting around no. 775). His love of music was well-known at the court, as Franz Sale dedicated his *Sacrarum cantionum... liber primus* to Rumpf on 1 January 1593. Sabbateni's collection, which presently constitutes the "Prague Collection" in the Fales Special Collections at New York University, awaits further study to confirm its provenance. For an overview of the contents of this collection, see Petr Daněk, "Gloriosissimae Virginis Mariae Canticum Novum, aneb Zpráva z Druhé Ruky," *Opus Musicum* no. 4 (2002), 15-20.

⁸³ Erika Honisch notes the late date of binding in "Sacred Music in Prague," 140-144.

Prague	1581 to 1608 source	Orlando di Lasso: <i>Patrocinium musices, secunda pars</i> (Munich: Berg, 1574)	Don Guillén de San Clemente ⁸⁴
Prague	After 1618 source	Tract volume of Cesare Negri's <i>Nuove inventioni di balli</i> (Milan: Bordone, 1604) and 16 Venetian prints of secular Italian music	Franz Godefridus Troilus à Lessoth
Prague	1585 source	<i>Theatr[i] music[i] Orlandi... liber primus... liber secundus</i> (Geneva: n.p., 1580) Orlando di Lasso: <i>Selectissimae cantiones... [prima pars]... altera pars</i> (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1579) Orlando di Lasso: <i>Sacrae cantiones</i> (Venice: Gardano, 1580) Leonhard Lechner: <i>Harmoniae miscellae</i> (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1583) Jacob Meiland: <i>Cantiones sacrae</i> (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1573)	Georg Wiesing ⁸⁵
Prague	1591 source	Friedrich Lindner: <i>Sacrae cantiones</i> (Nuremberg: 1585, Gerlach)	Georgius Carolides ⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Don Guillén de San Clemente arrived in Prague in 1581 to serve as Spanish ambassador to the imperial court from until 1608. His ownership of the Lasso volume is based on the ex libris of a copy now held in the National Library of the Czech Republic (sign. 59 A 10479). His music library was probably much more extensive.

⁸⁵ The attribution for this binder's volume of seven prints is written on the flyleaf of this bassus part book presently held at the National Library of the Czech Republic (*trezor*): "Georgius Wiesing, Sac: Caes: Maiest: Praefectus, diversarumque ditionum & arcium Mödling a Liechtenstein: Administrator. Hic mihi qui terras qui sydera cuncta creavit, auxiliaerices porriget usq[ue] manus. Anno salutis nostrae, M.DC." 1585 is embossed on the binding.

⁸⁶ These two volumes are bound together with manuscript additions that include Latin and Czech motets (including three in honor of Jan Hus), Hans Leo Hassler's eight-voice *Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius*, Kryštof Harant's *Dies est laetitiae in ortu regali*, and Giovanni Croce's *Factum est silentium in coelo*. Carolides himself wrote sacred music and bridged the gap between court musicians and the literary brotherhoods of Bohemia by traveling in both circles. He was a famed humanist in Prague whose skills as *poeta laureatus* were repeatedly sought by musicians seeking prefatory encomia for their prints. The manuscript is now kept at the National Library of the Czech Republic (sign. Se 1337). For more on Carolides and a detailed description of this particular volume, see Petr Daněk, "Málo Známý Pramen Vokální Polyfonie Rudolfínské Éry," *Hudební Věda* 20 no. 3 (1983), 257-265.

		Friedrich Lindner: <i>Continuatio cantionum sacrarum</i> (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1588)	
Prague	20 Nov. 1609 inventory	Carl Luython: <i>Liber I. missarum</i> (Prague: Straus, 1609)	Severýn Rudner of Rudenperk ⁸⁷
Prague	20 July 1617 inventory	Listenius: <i>Musica</i> Pietro Giovanelli: <i>Novi... thesauri musici</i> (Venice: Gardano, 1568)	Václav Malovec ⁸⁸
Prague	26 April 1613 inventory	Orlando di Lasso: <i>Patrocinium musices</i> (Munich: Berg, 1575) <i>5. Pars Magnificat eiusdem Autoris</i> <i>1. Pars Motetæ eiusdem Autoris</i> Johannes Knöfel: <i>Cantus Choralis</i> (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1575)	Jan Kropáč of Krymlov ⁸⁹
Prague	1608 gift	Orlando di Lasso: <i>Selectissimæ cantiones</i> (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1587)	Jan Makovinus ⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Rudner's father Jáchym Rudner worked on the construction of the organ at St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague, and his brother Albrecht Rudner, who repaired the instrument, had a protracted dispute with Charles Luython over the form of reconstruction and tuning. On the St. Vitus organ saga, see Lilian Pruett, "An Organ Building Project of the Sixteenth Century: The Large Organ of St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague," in *Music in the Theater, Church, and Villa: Essays in Honor of Robert Lamar Weaver and Norma Wright Weaver*, ed. Susan Parisi, Ernest Harriss II, and Calvin Bower (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park, 2000), 81-88. Rudner studied at the Prague Jesuit Academy and served as a counselor in Prague's Old Town from 1599 until his death. His inventory also lists a keyboard instrument, regal, and fiddles (*hausličky*), in addition to Luython's monumental book of masses (*Liber Missarum Caroli Luithon welky*). See Jan Baťa, "Hudba a Hudební Kultura," 41-42

⁸⁸ Malovec, a southern Bohemian chevalier with a home in the Old Town, had an unbound *item partes 8 vocum*, clavichord, regal, psalters, Listenius's *Musica*, a Czech hymnbook, *Thesaurus Cantionum Petri Joänelli Bergonensis*, and six-voice manuscript *partes*. See *ibid.*, 44-45.

⁸⁹ Kropáč studied in Leipzig and returned to Prague to serve as alderman in the Old Town city council and school inspector. He was a member of the parish church of St. Martin in the Wall (Sv. Martin ve Zdi). His inventory lists three collections of music by Orlando di Lasso (*Orlandi de Lasso patrocini: Musi: 4 Partes. de Passio tisstieny | 5. Pars Magnificat eiusdem Autoris | 1. Pars Motetæ eiusdem Autoris*) and Johannes Knöfel's four-voice *Cantus Choralis*, further unidentified partbooks, a set of lamentations, songbooks in Czech and Latin, a regal, and an unidentified instrument. See *ibid.*, 42-44.

⁹⁰ In 1608, Jan Makovinus of Nový Kolín gave "motettas sex ex pluribus vocibus ab Orlando di Lasso compositas (Norimberg. 1587 excusas)" to the university of Prague. See Zikmund Winter, *O Životě na Vysokých Školach Pražských* (Prague: Nákladem Matice České a Jubilejního Fondu Král. České Společnosti Náuk, 1899), 182.

Prague	Before 1617 gift	Hieronymus Praetorius: twelve-voice works	Adam Geronis of Libušín ⁹¹
Prague	1608 source	Orlando di Lasso: 1) <i>Selectissimae cantiones</i> (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1587); 2) <i>Altera pars selectissimarum cantionum</i> (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1587); 3) <i>Tertium opus Musicum</i> (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1588)	Vencesilas Aquilinas ⁹²
Prague	1619 inventory	Giulio Cesare Barbetta: <i>Novae tabulae musicae</i> (Strasbourg: Jobin, 1582)	Georg Gebhardt ⁹³
Beroun	1616 inventory	Carl Luython: <i>Opus musicum in Lamentationes Hieremiae prophetae</i> (Prague: Nigrin, 1604)	Tobiáš Fabricius ⁹⁴
Louny	1607 inventory	Orlando di Lasso: unspecified five-voice works Johannes Capella: Lamentations 4v.	Ondřej Cholosius Pelhřimovský ⁹⁵
Rokycany	1598 testament	Homer Herpol: <i>Novum et insigne opus musicum</i> (Nuremberg: Neuber, 1565)	Jiří Žampach Roudnický ⁹⁶

⁹¹ Geronis gave *partes Praetorii duodecim vocum* to the Church of St. Havel in Prague. See Jan Baťa, dissertation, 46. Also cited in Jiří Pešek, “Z Pražské Hudební Kultury Měšťanského Soukromí Před Bílou Horou,” *Hudební věda* 20 (1983): 247.

⁹² The bassus partbook containing these three prints is now kept at the Library of the Conservatory of Prague. An inscription inside the front cover dated 1608 identifies Aquilinas.

⁹³ The inventory of Georg Gebhardt from 10 May 1619 in Prague’s Old Town lists a substantial collection of musical instruments, including pipes, lute and violin strings, a 6 citharas, 4 violins, and a clavichord, along with lute intabulations, and Giulio Cesare Barbetta’s *Novae Tabulae Musicae*. See Baťa, “Hudba a Hudební Kultura,” 45-46.

⁹⁴ Fabricius, graduate of Charles University, served as school rector in Příbram before assuming the post of city scribe in Beroun. His library was predominantly Czech and Latin literature but included one set of part books: *Catoli Lugitonii opus musicum sex vocum*. See Josef Vávra, “O Držbě Knih v Berouně 1537–1619,” *Časopis Českého Muzea* 65 (1891): 93.

⁹⁵ The library of Ondřej Cholosius Pelhřimovský, a burgher in Louny, included both the Jesuit Václav Šturm’s 1588 polemic against the Brethren hymnbook and the Brethren’s response to Šturm printed the same year in Kralice, Moravia; another hymnbook in German; four-voice lamentations by Johannes Capella, a five-voice manuscript anthology of *variorum cantionum*, Latin motets, a set of six-voice partbooks; and a printed collection of five-voice works by Orlando di Lasso. The inventory of his entire library of books is transcribed in Adolf Kamiš, “Knihovny Lounských Měšťanů z 16. A Zač. 17. Století,” *Listy Filologické* no. 2 (1962): 303-304.

		Jacob Handl: <i>Selectiores quaedam missae</i> (Prague: Nigrin, 1580) Orlando di Lasso: <i>Officia</i> Orlando di Lasso: <i>Et Exullamina</i> Venetian <i>Thesaur</i> (Giovanelli?)	
Mladá Boleslav	1588 source	Pietro Giovanelli: <i>Novi... thesauri musici</i> I-V (Venice: Gardano, 1568)	Jan Labounský of Laboun ⁹⁷
Kutná Hora	25 Feb. 1619 inventory	Orlando di Lasso: <i>Psalmi Davidis poenitentiales</i> (Munich: Berg, 1584) Homer Herpol: <i>Novum et insigne opus musicum</i> (Nuremberg: Montanus, 1565) Leonhard Paminger: <i>Ecclesiasticarum cantionum</i> (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1573-1580) Joachim a Burck: <i>Harmoniae sacrae</i> (Nuremberg: Neuber and Gerlach, 1566) Tomás Luis de Victoria: partbooks in quarto Franz Sale's <i>Tripertiti operis officiorum missalium</i> (Prague: Nigrin, 1594-6)	Adam Hněvusický ⁹⁸

⁹⁶ In 1598, the Rokycany cantor Jiří Žampach Roudnický drafted his testament, dividing his music collection: among the partbooks remaining in his room, to his brother Jan, a cantor in western Bohemia, he willed his copies of Homer Herpol's *dominiky* (which must be the *Novum et insigne opus musicum* printed in Nuremberg in 1565), *officia* by Jacob Handl and Orlando di Lasso, Lasso's *Et Exullamina*; and a copy of a Venetian *Thesaur* (Pietro Giovanelli?) to the Rokycany literary brotherhood; five- and six-voice partbooks and a Czech Funebrales to Václav Krocín, a Rokycany baccalaureate; and other partbooks from his school days at the Church of St. Michael in Opatovice to a certain Jiří Tachovský. See Hana Hrachová and Kateřina Maýrová, "Intelektuál a Hudbe: Příspěvek k Dějinám Hudby v Raně Novověkých Rokycanech," *Documenta Pragensia* 27 (2008): 614-615.

⁹⁷ Jan Labounský had his copy of the Giovanelli bound in Mladá Boleslav in 1588. All six partbooks of Labounský's copy of the five-volume set are now held by the Newberry Library in Chicago (sign. M2083.N68 1568). For a description of the binding and the *ex libros*, see Honisch, "Sacred Music in Prague," 140-143.

⁹⁸ The inventory of Hněvusický, a member of the literary brotherhood in Kutná Hora, is kept at the Kutná Hora City Archive (Kniha inventářů 1596-1625, majetky měšťanů, Book no. 410, f. 457-459). In addition to the prints listed above, he owned a Brethren hymnbook, *partes na psalmos latinos* for four to six voices, a smaller set of five-voice partbooks, six-voice Czech partbooks and five-voice German partbooks, partbooks in white leather containing *klauzulany na Ewangelia*, and settings of Buchanan's psalms for four to seven voices by Johanne Servio.

Sedlec	1589 gift	Lindner, ed.: <i>Gemma musicalis</i> and <i>Liber secundus Gemmae musicalis</i> (Nuremberg: Katharina Gerlach, 1588-89)	Marc Straubinger à Straumbach ⁹⁹
Budweis	14 Oct. 1606 inventory	Johann Knöfel: <i>Novae melodiae</i> (Prague: Nigrin, 1592) Liberale Zanchi: <i>Quinque psalmorum</i> (Prague: Nigrin, 1604)	Caspar Streubl ¹⁰⁰
Olomouc	1603 gift	Hieronymus Praetorius: <i>partes 8 vocum</i>	Georgius Scripsky ¹⁰¹
Olomouc	After 1602 gift	Christoph Demantius: <i>Trias precum vespertinarum</i> (Nuremberg: Theodoricus, 1602)	Olomouc city council ¹⁰²
Strážnice	Before 1623 source	Orazio Vecchi: <i>Piú e diversi madrigali e canzonette</i> (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1594)	Jan Jetřich of Žerotín ¹⁰³
Uherské Hradiště	1600-1617 inventory	Jacob Meiland: <i>Cantiones sacrae</i> (Nuremberg: 1564-1573, Neuber or Gerlach)	Jan Pürk of Chotoun ¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ Straubinger donated the volumes in 1589 to Georg Taxer, abbot of the Cistercian monastery in Sedlec, “ad perpetuam ipsius memoriam.” The alto partbook is now at the Scientific Library in Olomouc (sign. 10180).

¹⁰⁰ These are the only two volumes from a larger collection owned by Streubl, cantor in Budweis (České Budějovice), cited by Petr Daněk from a personal communication with Martin Horyna. See Daněk, “Nototiskařská Činnost Jiřího Nigrina,” 127.

¹⁰¹ The Church of St. Maurice in Olomouc records two gifts in its inventory begun in 1602: “Hieronimi Praetorii partes 8 vocum a Georgio Scripsky civi Olomucensi Ecclesiae S. Mauritii traditae Anno 1603” and “Senatus Olomucensis eodem anno dedit Ecclesiae S. Mauritii Magnificamina 6 vocum Authore Christophoro Demantio.” See Sehnal, Jiří. “Die Musik in Mähren gegen Ende des 16. Jahrhundert und Jacobus Gallus,” in *Gallus Carniolus in Evropska Renesansa* (Ljubljana, 1991): 41.

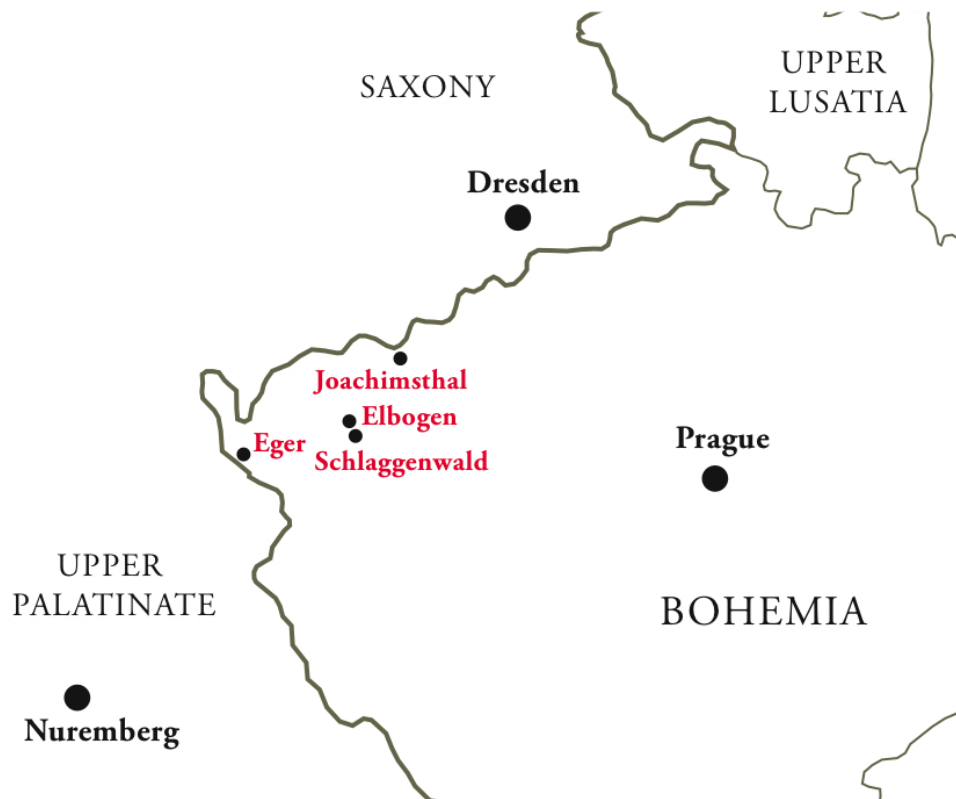
¹⁰² Ibid., 41.

¹⁰³ The tenor and bassus partbooks of this source are now kept in the Music Department of the Moravian Land Muzeum in Brno (sign. A 369).

¹⁰⁴ Pürk was a city scribe in Uherské Hradiště, one of Moravia’s eight royal towns not far from the Austrian border. The book of estates from 1600-1617 with his inventory also notes that he owned a *Muteta variorum authorum manuscriptae in pargameno conscriptae*. See Jiří Sehnal, “Hudební Zajmy Královského Rychtáře v Uherském Hradišti v Roce 1632,” *Hudební věda* 24 (1987): 71. Jacob Meiland published at least three separate collections of five- and six-voice motets, his *Cantiones sacrae cum harmonicis numeris* being the most popular, having been issued in four editions.

		Jacob Handl: <i>Selectiores quaedam missae libri primi</i> (Prague: Nigrin, 1580) Jacob Handl: <i>Selectiores quaedam missae libri ?</i> (Prague: Nigrin, 1580)	
Uherské Hradiště	28 Aug. 1632 inventory	Collection of 16 tablatures, one <i>General Bas</i> , and 14 partbooks of sacred and secular German and Italian music	Jiřík Jakub Piškula ¹⁰⁵

THREE LATIN SCHOOLS IN WESTERN BOHEMIA



Students and educators were among the most mobile members of sixteenth-century Bohemian and Moravian society. Until Jesuits established their first academies in Prague (1562) and Olomouc (1567), the region was home to only one institution of higher learning, Prague University, the primary center for Bohemian humanist thought and crucible of Utraquist doctrine in the sixteenth century.¹⁰⁶ The importance of its mission to maintain and

¹⁰⁵ See Jiří Sehnal, “Hudební Zajmy Královského Rychtáře v Uherském Hradišti v Roce 1632,” *Hudební věda* 24 (1987): 63-64.

¹⁰⁶ The university is often simply called the Prague Academy and later became Karlo-Ferdinandova Univerzita when it joined in 1654 with the Jesuit academy, commonly called the Klementinum. Today it is known as Charles University (Univerzita Karlova). For an

nurture the Bohemian reform that had taken root in the fifteenth century had effectively isolated the university from other central European centers of higher learning, a situation further intensified by its exclusion of German professors. This isolation began to decrease as university instructors slowly acknowledged ideological compatibilities with reformers beyond regional borders, above all in Saxony. Increased contact was also driven by the necessity for many students to seek education abroad, the nearby universities in Wittenberg, Leipzig, Jena, and the Altdorf academy in Nuremberg being among those most frequently attended by Bohemians and Moravian students.¹⁰⁷ Charles University remained the main preparing ground for future instructors at the schools of Czech-speaking Utraquist Bohemian towns and cities, though significant numbers of students also spent at least one or two years in Saxony to broaden their education. The rolls of instructors at Moravian schools show an unusual preponderance of graduates from the university in Wittenberg, who taught throughout the margraviate.¹⁰⁸ This widespread mobility fortified a broad central European

overview of its history and central role in the propagation of the Utraquist faith, see Karel Beránek, ed., *A History of Charles University, Vol. 1, 1348–1803*, trans. Anna Bryson (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2001). On the founding of Jesuit academies in Bohemia and Moravia, see Zikmund Winter, *Život Církevní v Čechách: Kulturně-Historický Obraz z XV. a XVI. Století* (Prague: Nákladem České Akademie, 1895), 141-149.

¹⁰⁷ Catholics looked more often to the universities in Ingolstadt and Cologne, while members of the Unity of Brethren traveled even further to the universities of Basel and Heidelberg. See Josef Vitězslav Šimák, “Studenti z Čech, Moravy a Slezska na Německých Universitách v XV.-XVIII. St.,” *Časopis Musea Království Českého* 79 (1905): 290-297, 419-424; idem, *Časopis Musea Království Českého* 80 (1906): 118-123, 300-305, 510-539; and Jiří Pešek and David Šaman, “Studenti z Čech na Zahraničních Universitách v Předbělohorském Čtvrtstoletí,” *Ústecký Sborník Historický* 1983: 173-218; Luděk Rejchrt, “Bratrství Studenti na Reformovaných Akademiích před Bilou Horou,” *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis* 13 (1973): 43-82; František Hrubý, *Etudiants Tchèques aux Écoles Protestantes de l’Europe Occidentale à la Fin du 16e et au début du 17e Siècle* (Brno: Universita J. E. Purkyně, 1970); and Jiří Pešek, *Měšťanská Vzdělanost a Kultura v Předbělohorských Čechách, 1547-1620* (Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 1993), 76. On Bohemian students in Altdorf and relations between Charles University and the Altdorf academy, see Heinrich Kunstmann, *Die Nürnberger Universität Altdorf und Böhmen: Beiträge zur Erforschung der Ostbeziehungen Deutscher Universitäten* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1963); Wolfgang Mährle, “Peregrinatio pragensis und peregrinatio bohemica: Studenten aus Prag an der Nürnberger Hochschule in Altdorf,” *Documenta Pragensia* 29 (2010): 299-324; Martin Holý, “Mezi Prahou a Altdorfem: Absolventi Pražské Utrakvistické Univerzity jako Vychovatelé České Šlechty v Altdorfu (1575–1620),” *Documenta Pragensia* 29 (2010): 325-345; and Eva Frimmová, “Humanista Peter Fradelius vo Vztahu k Altdorfu,” *Documenta Pragensia* 29 (2010): 347-369.

¹⁰⁸ On Melanchthon’s contacts with Bohemian humanists, see Rudolf Říčan, “Melanchthon und die Böhmisches Länder,” in *Philipp Melanchthon: Humanist, Reformator, Praeceptor Germaniae* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1963), 237-260. On education in Moravia, see Jiřina

book culture, as students brought books acquired during their studies abroad back home, and teachers and priests took their collections with them to cities and towns where they procured appointments.¹⁰⁹

The three Latin schools of Eger, Schlaggenwald, and Elbogen lay on the well-traveled trade route connecting Nuremberg and Prague in German-speaking western Bohemia.¹¹⁰ This was a booming industrial region, fueled by discoveries of tin and silver deposits at the beginning of the century, with towns springing up almost overnight to mine the riches beneath the soil. When substantial silver deposits were discovered around 1500 in Joachimsthal, this once unimportant town experienced an unprecedented rush of prospectors that catapulted the city into a new status as second largest city in all of Bohemia and Moravia; by 1533 the population totaled 18,000 inhabitants, a number that was to recede just as remarkably to 2,000 when its resources dried up by 1600.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, the silver mines made the Counts of Schlick, owners of the town, one of Bohemia's richest noble families, and the coins the Joachimsthalers minted became the lasting monetary standard known as "talers." Many of the miners and mining experts were recruited from Saxony, bringing their Lutheranism with them, and thereby establishing western Bohemia as the first vital and secure base of Lutheran reform in the kingdom. Its grammar school was headed from 1532 to 1565 by the Lutheran hymnologist Johannes Mathesius, who, together with Nikolaus Herman, penned many enduring Lutheran melodies and lyrics from their base in western Bohemia.¹¹² Mathesius also gained fame through reprints of his book, *Table Talk*

Holinková, *Městské Škola na Moravě v Předbělohorském Období* (Prague: Státní Pedgagoické Nakladatelství, 1967), particularly the list of teachers on 65-82.

¹⁰⁹ Mathias Eberhardt, for example, traveled from Jihlava to Banska Štiavnice to take up an appointment as a preacher, requesting in advance that a place be found for him without the danger of his books being destroyed by fire or deterioration. See Viliam Čičaj, *Knižná kultúra na strednom Slovensku v 16.-18. Storočí* (Bratislava: Slovenská Akadémia Vied, 1985), 64-65.

¹¹⁰ For a history of Eger, see Heribert Sturm, *Geschichte einer Reichsstadt* (Augsburg: Kraft, 1951); and F. Kubfi, "Renesanční Cheb v Jedenacti Obrázech," *Minulost Zapadočeského Kraje* 25 (1989): 91-109.

¹¹¹ For population numbers in Joachimsthal and other central European towns and cities in the sixteenth century, see Jaroslav Miller, *Urban Societies in East-Central Europe, 1500-1700* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 24-25.

¹¹² Mathesius even wrote songs specifically for miners, such as *Ein Geistlich Bercklied* (1566), later translated into English as "O, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Thou God, dost fix the miner's post" by Miss Catherine Winkworth in *Christian Singers of Germany* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1869), 144. See Philipp Wackernagel, *Die Lieder des ersten Geschlechts der Reformationszeit: von Martin Luther bis Nicolaus Herman, 1523-1553*, vol. 3 of *Das Deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1870), 1151. The hymns of Mathesius and Nikolaus Herman are the subject of Christopher

[*Tischreden, oder Colloquia doct. Mart. Luthers* (Eisleben: Gaubisch, 1566)], a compendium of writings and sermons by Martin Luther credited as being the first biography of the reformer, with whom Mathesius maintained a lively correspondence.¹¹³ Unfortunately there survives no catalogue of the Latin school at Eger, but given Mathesius's presence there and the fact that it was home to one of the few bookshops run by a specialist in polyphony, Clemens Stephani, it is important to begin with Eger in order to get some sense of the musical geography of Latin schools in this region.

The nearby Bohemian royal town of Elbogen (Loket), so named due to its position at an elbow along the Ohře River that wound its way from Carlsbad (Karlovy Vary), was located in another thriving economic region that also fell within the Schlick family's expansive western Bohemian estates.¹¹⁴ The town was an early participant in the German reform movement, with an evangelical pastor installed as early as 1521 by Sebastian Schlick and the first evangelical agenda in Bohemia drawn up in 1523.¹¹⁵ Under the protection of the Dukes of Saxony, the Latin school, city council, and the Schlicks themselves were free to practice the evangelical faith openly, whereas the parish church of Elbogen, owned by the Prague-based charitable brotherhood, the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star (*Ordo militaris Crucigerorum cum rubea stella*) and therefore under the jurisdiction of Prague's archbishopric, remained officially Catholic.

The music collection at the Elbogen Latin school, catalogued in 1593 and summarized below, provides striking evidence of the shared musical exchange that linked the German towns of western Bohemia. It includes anthologies assembled by the Bohemian music editor and bookseller Clemens Stephani (ca. 1530–1592), which are the products of a native son, as he was born in Buchau (Bochov), not far from Elbogen. Stephani studied in Leipzig, is known to have spent time in Prague, edited five anthologies of sacred music for

Boyd Brown's monograph, *Singing The Gospel: Lutheran Hymns And The Success Of The Reformation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).

¹¹³ The fundamental biography on Mathesius remains Georg Loesche, *Johannes Mathesius: Ein Lebens- und Sittenbild aus der Reformationszeit* (Gotha: Perthes, 1895; reprint Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1971).

¹¹⁴ Andrew Pettegree discusses the central European significance of Elbogen in *The Early Reformation in Europe* (Cambridge, England; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 32-33.

¹¹⁵ *Ordnung, wie es sol mit dem Gottes dienst vnd des selbe dienern in d' Pfarrkyrchen der Stat Elbogen, gehalten werde, durch den wolgebornen Grafen vnd herren, herr Sebastian Schlick, Grafen zu Bassaw, herrn zu Weißkirchen vnnd Elbogen etc mit sampt dem Rhat daselbst vnnd jrer gemezn in Christo beschlossen vnd vffgericht. Anno dni M. D. XXIII. Eleutherobius, sed tanqua Theodulus inuualbat.* See Alfred Herr, "Das Elbogener Schulinventar aus dem Jahre 1593," *Mitteilungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen* 54 (1916): 366; Alfred Eckert, "Fünf Evangelische (vor allem Lutherische) Kirchenordnungen in Böhmen zwischen 1522 und 1609," *Bohemia* 18 (1977), 35-50; idem, "Evangelische Schulordnungen und 'Lehrverträge'," *Bohemia* 21 (1980), 15-58.

the Lutheran church published by Ulrich Neuber in Nuremberg (1567-1569), and worked as a bookseller in Eger, where he operated his own printing press.¹¹⁶ Stephani's anthologies of Latin motets reflect a conservative disposition oriented toward the classics of Franco-Flemish polyphony from the first half of the century, while his dedicatees – Vilém of Rožmberk, the Budweis town council, Duke Wilhelm of Saxony, and Princess Dorothea of the Rhineland-Palatinate – reflect an interest in reaching a broad market stretching from southern Bohemia to western Germany. The Resurrection setting dedicated to the town council by Daniel Reinisch, organist at Schlaggenwald, and the manuscript masses given to the council by native composer Valentin Judex, further localize the inventory. Elbogen's pupils, however, also sang the latest repertoires emanating from Nuremberg, Dresden, and Prague.

Music books with named composers listed in the Elbogen inventory of 1593:¹¹⁷

Clemens Stephani: *6 Partes lateinische Geseng durch Clementem Stephanum colligirt*

Daniel Reinisch: *Die Auferstehung gesangweise, so der Organist zu Schlackenwald Daniel Reinisch einem Rath verhrt*

Leonhard Paminger: *Opus Pammingers Quattuor quinque sex vocum gedruckt* (Nuremberg: Gerlach or Knorr, 1573–1580)

Clemens Stephani: *4 Partes auch in geschriebenen Pergamenten eingebunden, so Clemens Stephanus colligirt*

Giovanni Battista Pinello: *Mehr seindt einem Erbar Rath verehrt worden von Johanne Baptista Pinello Churfürstl. Sächs. Capelmeister die teuzschen Magnificat kurz gesezt* (Dresden: Stöckel, 1583)

Alfredo Renno: *Mehr eine Meß geschrieben quattuor vocum vber den Gesangk Alfreto Renno gesezt, Actum den 29. Nouembris im 83. Jahre; darbey ein Gesang notirt quinque vocibus, welcher Text lautet, Domine, quid multiplicati sunt*

6 Partes in geschriebenen Pergamenten gebunden, darinnen Hochzeit-Gesang colligirt vnd geschrieben, darmit die Knabenn vff den Hochzeiten singen durch Georgen Ringerum gebunden.

Lucas Lossius?: *Des Casii cantica zweymal vorhandenn eines gar alt vnd das ander neu*

Orlando di Lasso: *Sacrae cantiones Orlandi di Lochner [Lechner] im 1585ten aussgaben... sind 6 Partes*

Leonhard Lechner: *Leonhardi Lechners Partes seindt messen vnd Introitus* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1584)

¹¹⁶ Stephani's 1572-3 edition of Jobst vom Brandt's music printed in Eger is the richest source of the composer's music surviving today. See Hans Haase, *Jobst vom Brandt (1517–1570): Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte Deutschlands im 2. Drittel des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1967). The contents of Stephani's anthologies are transcribed in Karl Riess, *Musikgeschichte der Stadt Eger im 16. Jahrhundert* (Brno: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1935), 94-104. For more on Stephani, see Ernst Frank, *Clemens Stephani: Ehrenrettung und Volkstümliche Nachrichten über Leben und Werk des Egerländer Dichters aus Buchau in Westböhmen* (Brno: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1944).

¹¹⁷ The complete inventory of music books and instruments of 15 October 1596 is reprinted in Alfred Herr, "Das Elbogener Schulinventar aus dem Jahre 1593," 365-369.

Friedrich Lindner: *Lintneri continuationes, titiliert, Cantiones sacrarum quatuor quinque et plurium vocum... sindt 6 Theil* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1588)

Jacob Handl: *Opus Jacobi Hendels octo et plurium vocum, seindt 8 Theil in weis Leder eingebunden vnd vff dem Schnidt roth zu Prag im 86. Gedruckt.* (Prague: Nigrin, 1586)

Tomás Luis de Victoria: *Item des Luoduici de Victoria sacrae cantiones in 8 Theil* (Dillingen: Mayer, 1589?)

Johann Knöfel: *Item des Johannes Kueffelii Nouas melodias in 6 Theil* (Prague: Nigrin, 1592)

Item die Passion geschrieben in folio, so Nicol. Todt anhero verehrt

Franz Sale: *Von Francissco Sale, sacrarum cantionum, liber primus, Pragae, Ao 1593* (Prague: Nigrin, 1593)

Valentin Judex: *Valentino Judice Cubitensi [Cubitus = Elbogen] sindt einem Erbarn Rath zwo geschriebene Messen, die eine super Jubilate, octo vocum, die andere aber super Jucundare filia, sex vocum beide mit seiner eigenen Handt in quarto geschrieben*

All the works listed are sacred with the possible exception of a book of wedding music, which the Elbogen pupils would have used to carry out their responsibility of providing music at town weddings. The Latin school probably acquired its copy of Giovanni Battista Pinello's four- and five-voice German settings of the Magnificat in the same manner that Eger's town council received theirs: directly from the composer with the expectation for remuneration.¹¹⁸ In 1583, the year of publication, Pinello was chapelmaster to Elector August of Saxony in Dresden. In this capacity he probably encountered Count Julius von Schlick, whose son, Joachim Andreas, was educated at the Dresden court and the university in Jena.¹¹⁹ During that time, Pinello was busily involved in printing music for the Lutheran court in Dresden. His 1583 Magnificat settings have a survival rate today that far exceeds any of his other publications, reflecting what must have been a critical need for German settings in Saxony and Bohemia. Pinello seems to have focused on disseminating his book of Magnificat to lands over which the Dresden court held jurisdiction, such as the Schlick dominions of western Bohemia, whereas Jacobus Handl, Johannes Knöfel, and Franz Sale, more than any other composers who worked in Prague, personally saw to the distribution of their printed works across all of Bohemia and Moravia. All three prints from Prague listed in the Elbogen catalogue – the first volume of Handl's *Opus musicum* (1586), Franz Sale's *Sacrarum cantionum liber primus* (1593), and Johannes Knöfel's *Novae melodiae* (1592) –

¹¹⁸ In 1583, Pinello was sent four taler as remuneration for the copy of his print sent to the Eger town council the same year. See Karl Riess, *Musikgeschichte der Stadt Eger im 16. Jahrhundert* (Brno: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1935), 120.

¹¹⁹ Joachim Andreas von Schlick would later meet a particularly brutal execution in 1621 for his role in the Bohemian uprising. One of the few historical overviews of the Schlick family during this time period is Josef Lukášek, *Jáchym Ondřej Hrabě Šlik* (Prague: Nákladem V. Horák, 1913). Intriguing (though I have not yet been able to consult it) is Emanuel Vlček's more recent monograph, *Jáchym Ondřej Šlik (1569–1621): Antropologický a Lékařský Průzkum Jeho Lebky* (Prague: Galén, 2009).

were thus very likely acquired in the same manner as the Pinello, sent directly by the composers in expectation of future payment. This market practice is confirmed in Eger's account books, where payments to Knöfel and Sale were recorded soon after their works were printed in Prague.¹²⁰

Elbogen's pupils also sang from an anthology of Italian sacred music edited by Friedrich Lindner, who had traveled through the region much earlier, singing tenor in Jacob Mailand's Easter passion in Eger in 1571.¹²¹ Lindner's 1588 *Continuatio cantionum sacrarum*, published in Nuremberg by Gerlach, is a collection of fifty-six motets for four to twelve voices by Italian composers, Andrea Gabrieli most prominent among them, grouped by liturgical feast. Like Lindner's other anthologies of Italian music, the *Continuatio* capitalized on the vogue for Italian music, prominently announcing its foreign contents in the title and its appropriateness for use in schools and churches.¹²² It was the second volume in his three-volume series of Italian motets, and it is precisely this volume that was also kept in the library at the Latin school in nearby Schlaggenwald.

Schlaggenwald (Horní Slavkov), our third case study, was another flourishing mining town located a mere ten kilometers away from Elbogen, yet under a much different political and economic climate. In the first half of the sixteenth century, the town's owners were the barons of the Pflug von Rabstein family, whereas excavation of its tin deposits was financed by the Nuremberg trading firms of Hans Nützel and Jacob Welsler the Elder. Under their management, Schlaggenwald was transformed into a center of tin production of

¹²⁰ On 13 September 1592, the Eger town council sent five florins to Knöfel in Prague for his *etlich muteten*, the same year his *Novae melodiae* was published, and on 24 August 1593 they rewarded Franz Sale for the "*librum primum sacrarum cantionum quinque et sex vocum*, davon ir unß ein exemplar zugeschickt und verehret." See Riess, *Musikgeschichte der Stadt Eger*, 122-3. This practice seems to have been concentrated within a more local sphere centered around where the composer was working at the time. In 1582, Knöfel had sent works to the senate in Banská Bystrica (Neusohl), Upper Hungary, while employed in the Silesian town of Opava. The Upper Hungarian cities, like northern Moravia, were turned culturally more toward Silesia. See Jana Kalinayová, "Hudobnoknižný Trh a Hudobnovydavateľské Aktivity na Slovensku v 16. A 17. Storočí," *Slovenská Hudba* 25 (1999): 263.

¹²¹ Riess, *Musikgeschichte der Stadt Eger*, 117-118.

¹²² *Continuatio cantionum sacrarum quatuor, quinque, sex, septem, octo et plurium vocum, de festis praecipuis anni, a praestantissimis Italiae Musicis nuperrime concinnatarum. Quarum quaedam in Italia separatim editae sunt, quaedam vero plane novae, nec usquam typis excusae. At nunc, in usum Scholarum & Ecclesiarum Germanicarum, in unum corpus redactae, studio & opera Friderici Lindneri, Reipub. Noribergensium a cantionibus. Noribergae, In officina typographica Catharinae Gerlachiae. M. D. LXXXVIII.*

international importance.¹²³ While Elbogen's miners migrated primarily from Saxony, many of the supervisors and miners managing the day-to-day operations of Schlaggenwald's mines came from Nuremberg. In 1548 Pflug's dominion was confiscated by Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, the newly installed king of Bohemia, as punishment for joining the opposition during the Schmalkaldic War, and he requisitioned Schlaggenwald as a royal mining town.¹²⁴ Nevertheless, Schlaggenwald's evangelical tradition, established by Pflug when he installed the first evangelical pastor in 1536, was firmly rooted and thereafter tolerated by Ferdinand.¹²⁵ Rectors and teachers at the Latin school cultivated close relationships to educators in Amberg, Meissen, and Jena and instituted a school order in 1607 modeled on the innovative evangelical program at the Latin school of Joachimsthal.¹²⁶

The music collection of Schlaggenwald's Latin school, catalogued in 1606, overlapped partially with the collection of Elbogen. Like the Latin schools of Eger and Elbogen, they, too, owned a copy of Knöfel's sole Prague print. The differences between the 1606 Schlaggenwald inventory and that of Elbogen taken twelve years earlier, however, are more revealing. The Schlaggenwald music collection is much richer in works from the middle of the sixteenth century but also shows that the library had been regularly updated in the years immediately before the inventory was compiled. The catalogue also lists a much greater geographic variety of prints, drawn not only from Prague and Nuremberg, but also cities further afield.

Inventory of the Latin school in Schlaggenwald, after 1606:¹²⁷

A binder's volume containing 1) Alexius Neander: *Sacrarum cantionum liber primus, secundus, tertius* (Frankfurt: Stein, 1605-6), 2) Pierre Bonhomme: *Melodiae sacrae* (Frankfurt: Stein, 1603), 3) Jacob Regnart: *Cantiones sacrae* (Frankfurt: Stein, 1605), and 4) Joanne Chustrov: *Sacrae cantiones* (Frankfurt: Stein, 1603).

A binder's volume containing *Missae sacrae* by Jacob Regnart (Frankfurt: Stein, 1602), 2) [m]otetae by Andreas Pevernage (Frankfurt: Stein, 1602) and 3) Valentin Haussmann:

¹²³ On Schlaggenwald's economic development, see Peter Wolf, "Nürnberg – Amberg – Schlaggenwald – Prag: Nürnberger Kapital und der Zinnerzbergbau in Böhmen," *Documenta Pragensia* 29 (210), 213-239.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 230.

¹²⁵ See Adalbert Horčíčka, "Die Lateinschule in Schlaggenwald (1554-1624): Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Reformation," *Jahresbericht des k. k. Neustädter deutschen Staats-Ober-Gymnasiums in Prag am Graben am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1894* (Prague: Rohlíček & Sievers, 1894), 4.

¹²⁶ Horčíčka draws this conclusion based on correspondences between their libraries. See *ibid.*, 8-13, 16.

¹²⁷ The complete inventory is transcribed in *ibid.*, 28-30. Horčíčka dates the inventory circa 1599, but the dates of publication of some volumes in the collection, including the first binder's volume in the list, confirm a later date.

Fasciculus neuer Hochzeit und Brautlieder (Nuremberg: Kauffmann, 1602)
 Friedrich Lindner: *Continuatio sacrarum cantionum* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1588)
Thesaurus musicus (Nuremberg: Montanus and Neuber, 1564?)
Ein ander geschriebener thesaurus variorum auctorum collectus in usum scholae Schlaccowaldensis ab Aegidio Inguilero, auch in lang quart
 Andreas Raselius: *Teutscher Sprüche auss den sontäglichen Evangeliis* (Nuremberg: Kauffmann, 1594)
 Hans Leo Hassler: *Missae* (Nuremberg: Kauffmann, 1599)
 Hans Leo Hassler: *Cantiones sacrae de festis praecipuis totius anni* (Augsburg: Schönig, 1591; repr. in Nuremberg: Kauffmann, 1597)
 Hieronymus Praetorius: *Canticum Beatae Mariae Virginis* (Hamburg: Froben, 1602)
 Christoph Demantius: *Trias precum vespertinarum* (Nuremberg: Theodoricus, 1602)
 Hans Leo Hassler: *Lustgarten neuer teutscher Gesäng, Balletti, Galliarden und Intraden* (Nuremberg: Kauffmann, 1601)
Psalmorum selectorum tomus primus, secundus, tertius et quartus (Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber, 1553)
 Heinrich Isaac: *Choralis Constantinus* (Nuremberg: Formschneider, 1550-5)
Carmina vere divina (Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber, 1550)
 Simon Madelka: *Canticum Beatissimae Virginis Mariae* (Prague: Nigrin, 1581)
 Johannes Reusch: *Carminum nuptialium* (Leipzig: Guntherus, 1553)
 Sixt Dietrich: *Novum opus musicum* (Wittenberg: Rhau, 1545)
 Philippe de Monte: *Missa super Nasce la pena mia* in folio
 Georg Busenhart: *Missa in Folio quinque vocum*
 Melchior Franck: *Contrapuncti compositi deutscher Psalmen* (Nuremberg: Dieterich, 1602)
 Melchior Franck: *Musicalischer Bergkreyen* (Nuremberg: Dieterich, 1602)
 Andreas Berger: *Harmoniae seu cantiones sacrae* (Augsburg: Praetorius, 1606)
 Melchior Vulpius: *Canticum Beatissimae Virginis Mariae* (Jena: Lippold, 1605)
 Johannes Knöfel: *Novae melodiae* (Prague: Nigrin, 1592)
 Lucas Lossius: *Psalmodia* (Nuremberg: Hayn, 1553)
 Sethus Calvisius: *Teutsche Kirchengesang, Contrapuncts weiß mit vier Stimm gesetzt durch Sethum Calvisium in 8 vocibus*
 Orlando di Lasso: *Thesaurus Orlandi in Folio mit schweinen Leder von August Crines verehrt.*

The numerous prints from Nuremberg reflect the two cities' economic interdependence, sustained by the large body of Nuremberg transplants resident in Schlaggenwald. So, too, does the school's ownership of three prints by Hans Leo Hassler, Nuremberg native and the city's music director during the first years of the seventeenth century. Like the Latin school in Elbogen, students kept a volume of wedding music at hand, and they relaxed with Hassler's *Lustgarten* and the work of another early seventeenth-century Nuremberg resident, Melchior Franck. His *Musicalischer Bergkreyen*, an unusual collection of four-voice, bipartite strophic lieder repeatedly interrupted by dizzying passages of scalar coloratura, opens with the song *Das Bergwerk wolln wir preisen* ("The mine we will praise!"), making it a particularly appropriate volume for a mining town such as Schlaggenwald, whose economic riches it celebrates.

Influenced by strong ideological connections with Saxony yet intimately bound to the trade metropolis of Nuremberg, the Schlaggenwald catalogue also reflects the political and administrative hand of Prague. The two binder's volumes that start the catalogue, bundling together prints by Stein and Richter with one by Paul Kauffmann, are the clearest indication. Philippe de Monte's popular *Missa Nasce la pena mia* may well have come through Claudius de Marne's bookshop, but its transmission is too broad to offer a conclusion here.¹²⁸ Stein had an imperial privilege to print and distribute Alexius Neander's three books of motets and seems to have promoted them with particular zeal, as these volumes are also the opening prints in two other binder's volumes of Bohemian and Moravian provenance, the "Prague Collection" at New York University and the collection of the Benedictine monastery of Rajhrad near Brno, both of which gather together prints by Stein and Richter exclusively.¹²⁹ Moreover, the second binder's volume in the Schlaggenwald catalogue binds together two other volumes by Stein (Regnart's *Missae* and Andreas

¹²⁸ Friedrich Lindner also copied Monte's mass, incompletely, into one of the St. Egidien choirbooks in Nuremberg. This particular volume is now in the Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin (sign. MS 40015). See Lilian P. Pruett, "The Challenges and Perils of Research," *Musicologie sans Frontières / Musicology without Frontiers: Essays in Honour of Stanislav Tuksar*, ed. Ivano Cavallini and Harry White (Zagreb: Hrvatsko Muzikološko Društvo, 2010), 45-57, for an investigation into the provenance of this anthology.

¹²⁹ On Stein's privilege, see Ernst-Ludwig Berz, *Die Notendrucke und ihre Verleger in Frankfurt am Main von den Anfängen bis etwa 1630* (Kassel: Internationale Vereinigung der Musikbibliotheken, 1970), 89. The dedications of Neander's motets are all written by Wolfgang Getzman, organist at the Church of St. Bartholomew in Frankfurt, the dedications in the first volumes celebrating the Marian congregations championed by their dedicatees in Würzburg and Mainz. The binder's volume (sign. B 9) in the "Prague Collection" at New York University is a cantus partbook containing nine Richter and Stein prints. Neander's three volumes are followed by Pierre Bonhomme, *Melodiae sacrae* (1605); Jacob Reiner, *Gloriosissimae Virginis... Mariae canticum a 8* (1604); Jacob Regnart, *Sacrarium cantionum a 4-8, 10, 12* (1604); Melchior Schramm's *Cantiones selectae a 5, 6, 8* (1606), Ruggiero Bendinello, *I Sacrarum cantionum a 4-5* (1604); and idem, *II Sacrarum cantionum a 5* (1604). The Rajhrad binder's volumes, which combine twelve Stein prints in five partbooks, are now at the Department of the History of Music, Moravian Land Museum, Brno (sign. A 368). Neander's three volumes are followed by his *Symphoniarchi Sacrae cantiones* (1605); Melchior Schramm, *Cantiones selectae a 5, 6, 8* (1606); idem, *Cantiones selectae a 6 et 8* (1612); Asprilio Pacelli, *Motetae et psalmi qui octonis vocibus* (1607); idem, *Psalmi, magnificat et motecta a 4* (1608); Giovanelli, *Motecta partim quinis partim octonis vocibus concinenda* (1608); Agostino Aggazari, *Cantiones, motectae vulgo appellatae, quae IV. V. VI. VII. 7 VIII. Vocibus* (1607); Pierre Bonhomme, *Melodiae sacrae... quinis, senis, octonis et novenis suavissimis vocibus concinnatae* (1603); and Flaminio Tresti, *Sacrae cantiones a 4* (1610).

Pevernage's *Cantiones sacrae*) that are also found in other binder's volumes from the same two collections in New York and Brno.¹³⁰

In sum, the consistencies across the holdings of these two Latin schools (and what we can presume for the school in Eger) reveal a number of staples that must have been regular parts of their repertoires, books like Pinello's *Deutsche Magnificat auff die acht Tonos Musicales*, that served for the Vespers services they sang in local churches, and other music for recreation, such as the enduringly popular lieder of Melchior Franck. On the other hand, in Schlaggenwald we see the influence of Nuremberg most strongly, reflecting that city's economic alliance with German entrepreneurs. The dates of the inventories also suggest larger shifts in taste, with the Schlaggenwald collection nicely evincing the ascent of Hassler's music as core repertory in the seventeenth century, and the earlier snapshot of the collection in Elbogen featuring sixteenth-century Italian music, especially motets, and a number of prints that would have come directly to the school through the efforts of composers such as Handl, Sale, Knöfel, and Pinello to distribute their works throughout the region.

LITERARY BROTHERHOODS

The mining towns of western Bohemia, under the pronounced influence of immigrants from Nuremberg and Saxony, contrast markedly with the cultural world of Bohemia's literary brotherhoods, whose point of orientation was Prague, the dynamic heart of Utraquist thought and culture.¹³¹ After the dissolution of many Catholic institutions during the Hussite Wars of the fifteenth century, Bohemian towns needed to establish a new means of supplying music in their parish churches. Unable to employ a regular staff of

¹³⁰ A sexta vox (sign. K) in the "Prague Collection" at New York University opens with Matthias Pottier's *Selectissimarum Missarum Flores* a 4-6 (Antwerp: Phalese, 1599). The four partbooks from Rajhrad (Department of the History of Music, Moravian Land Museum, Brno, sign. A 20.531) include Narcissus Zängel's *Cantiones sacrae quas vulgo missas appellant* (Vienna: Formica, 1602) and *Bicinia sive cantiones suavissimae* (Antwerp: Phalèse, 1601). Regnart's *Missae sacrae* were also owned by the Benedictine monastery of Göttweig and, apparently, the cathedral in Ljubljana. See Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel, "Musikpflege im Benediktinerstift Göttweig (Niederösterreich) um 1600," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 46 (1962): 88; and Dragotin Cvetko, "Ein Unbekanntes Inventarium Librorum Musicalium aus dem Jahre 1620," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 42 (1958): 80.

¹³¹ The nineteenth- and twentieth-century Czech literature on literary brotherhoods is immense albeit of varying quality, since many scholars conceived the brotherhoods as a nationalist prototype mirroring the Czech nation's own aspiration for independence. Regarding their musical activities, the most valuable among them are Antonín Rybička, "O Bývalých Společnostech Čili Kůrech Literátských," *Památky archeologické a Místopisné* 10 (1874-77): 719-734; Martin Horyna, "Vícehlasá Hudba v Čechách v 15. a 16. Století a Její Interpreti," *Hudební Věda* 43 no. 2 (2006): 117-133; idem, "Music in the Past of Český Krumlov and Some Characteristic Traits of the Cultivation of Music in Bohemia from 1500 to 1800," *Hudební Věda* 46 (2009): 229-240.

professional musicians to fulfill this function, responsibility for singing the liturgy was taken over by the literate members of town councils. This in turn led to the development of the first literary brotherhoods in the late fifteenth century. By the middle of the sixteenth century they had sprung up in numerous town and cities throughout Bohemia.¹³² The literary brotherhoods were made up of educated burghers and patricians, who viewed the opportunity to participate in the singing of the liturgy as an important form of social representation, lending membership in the brotherhoods an element of prestige not unlike that of Italian lay confraternities. While the brotherhoods provided music chiefly at Sunday masses and on important feasts, daily performance of church music was managed by the parish schools.¹³³ As the primary regional source for teachers and city administrators, Charles University was the nucleus of a tightly interconnected network of Latin schools throughout Bohemia, with a student body drawn from the schools whose teachers they supplied and whose graduates, as members of literary brotherhoods, would then carry on the tradition of liturgical singing they had begun as pupils.

The Utraquist Church was a relatively decentralized, flexible corporate body, which meant that each community had some degree of flexibility in the forms their worship took. They variously absorbed influences from German Protestants, who were particularly dynamic in the German-speaking areas of Bohemia, or those of the homegrown Unity of Brethren, a situation reflected in their increasing turn toward the vernacular in liturgical singing after about 1540.¹³⁴ The continued manuscript production of illuminated graduals, antiphonaries, and hymnbooks marked by the names and images of their donors reflect the deeply personalized nature of liturgical services in each community.

The innovations of the German-speaking borderlands of western and northern Bohemia, especially the center of Lutheran hymn production in Joachimsthal, were matched by a new interest in composing sacred works in Czech for the Utraquist church that coalesced in the 1570s. Where earlier sixteenth-century sources reflect the more conservative tendency of copying and transmitting old Latin verses in Czech translation, a number of Czech composers became particularly productive at this time, writing new, more ambitious polyphonic music for the schools and literary brotherhoods.¹³⁵ With the exception of Ondřej

¹³² For the dates of incorporation of all sorts of brotherhoods in Bohemia, see Hana Pátková, *Bratrstvie ke cti Božie: Poznámky ke Kultovní Činnosti Bratrstev a Cechů ve Středověkých Čechách* (Prague: Koniasch Latin Press, 2000), 111-140. On brotherhoods in Moravia, see Vladimír Maňas, "Hudební Aktivity Náboženských Korporací na Moravě v Raném Novověku," (Ph.D. dissertation, Masarykova Univerzita, 2008).

¹³³ See Martin Horyna, "Music in the Past of Český Krumlov and Some Characteristic Traits of the Cultivation of Music in Bohemia from 1500 to 1800," *Hudební Věda* (2009): 233.

¹³⁴ This turning point is discussed in Barry Graham, *Bohemian and Moravian Graduals 1420-1620* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).

¹³⁵ Such names as Pavel Spongopaeus Jistebnický, Ondřej Chrysoponus Jevíčský, Jiří Rychnovský, Jan Trojan Turnovský, Jan Simonides Montanus, and Jan Stephanides Pelhřimovský are widely transmitted in Utraquist liturgical books. On Czech composers

Chrysoponus Jevíčský's *Bicinia nova* printed by Nigrin, none of these authors published their Czech-language works.¹³⁶ Instead, they satisfied the demand for Czech liturgical music by regularly sending individual works in manuscript to city councils.¹³⁷

Czech polyphonic works were combined with an older repertory of Franco-Flemish polyphony, transmitted both in manuscript and in printed anthologies such as Gardano's *Musica quinque vocum maternal lingua motecta* (1549), the motet anthologies of Berg and Neuber, and Berg and Neuber's *Thesauri musici* (1564). Beginning in the 1580s, the brotherhoods began to consume more polyphonic music from abroad, much of it Italian music derived from anthologies printed in Germany. Single-composer prints by Lasso and Handl were also staples of their repertories. Due to the Utraquists' need for Czech-language works, it was standard practice to supplement printed material by appending works in manuscript or providing new texts more suited to Utraquist worship.

One book now at the Moravian Land Library in Brno (sign. ST2-0682.167) provides a glimpse into how the literary brotherhoods approached the printed books they acquired. This *quinta vox* binder's volume, an oblong quarto bound in gold-embossed leather, contains three printed partbooks with manuscript additions at the front and back. The opening work is the Good Friday antiphon, *Adorum te, Christe*, with double textual underlay in Latin and Czech (f. 1r). This is followed by the second page of a Czech Resurrection motet (which, according to the numbering, would have been the fifth motet of the original manuscript collection). Czech and Latin texts were given for the first part, *Kdo nám odivali* here being the Czech translation of *Quis revolvat nobis lapidem*, but the *altera pars* continues only in Czech. Seven more Czech motets follow, all notated by the same scribe: two by Pavel Spongopaeus Jistebnický and one by Jiří Rychnovský, numbered six through twelve. The opening manuscript portion is followed by three prints: *Evangelia dominicorum et festorum* (Nuremberg: Montanus and Neuber, 1554), Jacobus Handl's *Quartus tomus musici operis* (Prague: Nigrin, 1590), and Orlando di Lasso's *Sacrae cantiones quinque vocum* (Nuremberg:

writing for the Utraquist church, see Jitka Snížková, "Málo Známí Čeští Skladatelé Konce 16. Století," *Hudební Věda* 17 (1980), 53-59.

¹³⁶ The low survival rate of manuscript partbooks owned by the literary brotherhoods following their dissolution by Emperor Josef II in the 1780s means that few compositions survive complete. A notable exception is the five-voice gradual produced for the literary brotherhood at the church of St. Michael in Opatovice in the New Town of Prague from 1573-1578 commissioned from the scriptorium of Jan Kantor the elder. See Thomas Noblitt, "A Polyphonic Gradual for the Literary Brotherhood at the Church of St. Michael in Opatovice, Prague," *Gestalt und Entstehung musikalischer Quellen im 15. Und 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Martin Staehelin (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998).

¹³⁷ For example, Ondřej Chrysoponus Jevíčský is listed in the Rokycany account books as receiving remuneration for his compositions on at least thirteen separate occasions. See Hrachová, Hana and Kateřina Maýrová, "Intelektuál a Hudbe: Příspěvek k Dějinám Hudby v Raně Novověkých Rokycanech," *Documenta Pragensia* 27, (Prague: Scriptorium, 2008): 645-651.

Montanus and Neuber, 1562). Two motets by Handl honoring the virgin were rendered less objectionable with new Latin texts: the third motet in the collection, *Salve nobilis virga Iesse* has new text beginning *Salve nobilis festa dies* placed above the printed underlay, and the fifth motet, *Ego flos campi* is now *Alleluia, noli flere o Maria*. Handl's *Iunior fui etenim senui* was also given the alternate option of performance in Czech as *Mladičkový sem byl* [I was a youth] with a text that closely approximates the Latin original. Ten more Czech motets are appended to the end in consecutive numbering by multiple scribes, some shakier than others, followed by another, abbreviated setting of the opening antiphon with the textual repetitions removed and—again—texts in both Czech and Latin.

Many towns had instituted separate Czech and Latin choirs, the Czech choir responsible for singing simpler monophonic or homophonic settings and the Latin choir singing more complicated polyphony. With a body of composers writing more elaborate Czech polyphony at century's end, the Latin choir was no longer restricted to Latin settings, and we find volumes of printed or manuscript Latin polyphony put together with Czech polyphony in manuscript, with the printed contents being modified freely as desired.



Two collections of printed and manuscript music books in Hradec Králové and Rokycany provide an idea of the development of music repertoires performed by Bohemian literary brotherhoods in the second half of the sixteenth century. Both brotherhoods owned copies of Montanus and Neuber's *Thesauri musici*, and, like the western Bohemian Latin schools discussed earlier, they acquired books from the influential music market of Nuremberg as well as books printed by Nigrin in the final two decades of the century.

The eastern Bohemian town of Hradec Králové was punished by the Habsburgs for taking the opposing side in the Schmalkaldic War. Ferdinand confiscated many of its properties, weakened its political power by appointing new city administrators predisposed toward the Bohemian king, and levied heavy fines on the city, from which it only gradually recovered in the second half of the sixteenth century. The impressive number of music manuscripts amassed by the literary brotherhood in Hradec Králové was not met with an equally dynamic rate of music acquisition in the latter half of the sixteenth century.¹³⁸

One of its later manuscripts is a collection of polyphonic Latin mass settings, containing two settings of the mass ordinary by Antonio Scandello, chapelmaster at the Dresden court until 1580, and Johann Knöfel's *Missa octo vocum ad aequales et ad duos choros* interspersed among works by Czech composers (Hradec Králové Museum, sign. II A 23). Ms. II A 24, a *secundus discantus* partbook, opens with the same mass by Knöfel.¹³⁹ Hradec Králové lay on the trade route connecting Prague and Breslau, two of the cities where Knöfel is known to have been employed, and the mass is a particularly suitable addition to these two manuscripts, as literary brotherhoods were favorably inclined to works *ad voces aequales* on account of their adult male memberships. Pupils, under the direction of a cantor who usually was not part of the brotherhood, tended to perform separately. Knöfel would have been aware of this need during his time of employment from approximately 1590 to 1592 at the parish school and Church of St. Henry (Kostel svatého Jindřicha) in Prague's New Town, the same church where Georgius Nigrin served as a scribe and which had its own literary brotherhood.¹⁴⁰

Printed volumes owned by the literary brotherhood at the Church of the Holy Spirit (Kostel Svatého Ducha) in Hradec Králové (Königsgrätz) include the following volumes:¹⁴¹

Heinrich Isaac: *Choralis Constantinus* (Nuremberg: Formschneider, 1550-1555)

¹³⁸ The manuscript collection is documented in detail in Jaromír Černý, "Soupis hudebních rukopisů muzea v Hradci Králové," *Miscellanea Musicologica* 19 (1966). On the history of Hradec Králové, see Jaromír Mikulka, *Dějiny Hradce Králové do Roku 1850 I* (Hradec Králové: Nadace Historia, 1996).

¹³⁹ See Jaromír Černý. "Soupis hudebních rukopisů muzea v Hradci Králové," *Miscellanea Musicologica* 19 (1966): 53-54.

¹⁴⁰ Knöfel dedicated his *Novae melodiae* to the New Town's town council. The best biography on Knöfel's years in Prague is Josef Šebesta, "Johannes Knefelius a Literátské Bratrstvo u sv. Jindřicha jako Centrum Intelektuálů v Praze kolem Roku 1590," *Documenta Pragensia* 27 (2008), 585-597.

¹⁴¹ These volumes are now kept at the Hradec Králové Museum under the following shelfmarks, in order: Ha 1264a, Ha 1265a and Ha 1265b (altus and vagans partbooks containing the three volumes printed by Berg and Neuber), II A 37 (sexta vox containing the three prints of Montanus and Neuber), Ha 1266a and Ha 1266b (cantus and altus partbooks containing the three volumes of Gerlach in reverse order), Ha 1267a (Handl: altus, tenor, and bassus), and Ha 1263 (Sale: cantus).

Novum et insigne opus musicum... sex vocum (Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber, 1558)
Secunda pars magni operis musici... quinque vocum (Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber, 1559)
Tertia pars magni operis musici... quatuor vocum (Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber, 1559)
Thesaurus musicus (Nuremberg: Montanus and Neuber, 1564)
Thesaurus musici tomus secundus (Nuremberg: Montanus and Neuber, 1564)
Thesauri musici tomus tertius (Nuremberg: Montanus and Neuber, 1564)
 Friedrich Lindner: *Sacrae cantiones* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1585)
 Friedrich Lindner: *Continuatio cantionum sacrarum* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1588)
 Friedrich Lindner: *Corollarium cantionum sacrarum* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1590)
 Jacob Handl: *Quartus tomus musici operis* (Prague: Nigrin, 1590)
 Franz Sale: *Officiorum missalium... liber tertius* (Prague: Nigrin, 1596)

Unlike the surviving sources from most other literary brotherhoods, the brotherhood of Hradec Králové was not in the habit of binding their printed volumes with other manuscript sources. One of the few changes they made to their volumes was a retexting of Josquin's *Benedicta es coelorum regina*, the fourth motet in the *Novum et insigne opus musicum*, with new lyrics extolling the virtues of God rather than the Queen of Heaven ("Benedictus es caelorum Domine...").

Perhaps the most significant item in the foregoing list is Franz Sale's five-voice *Officiorum missalium*, the cantus partbook of which survives in its original red leather binding with a brown leather strip protecting the spine. Franz Sale (ca. 1540–1599) joined Rudolf's chapel as a tenor in 1591. Soon after coming to Prague, he obtained a printing privilege, issued 16 May 1592, granting him a ten-year term of protection covering his existing musical works.¹⁴² Thereafter he embarked on an ambitious printing project, issuing eight books of music from 1593 to 1598, during which time Nigrin issued no other books of polyphonic music. Several letters provide evidence that Sale then personally distributed these works by dispatch. The city councils of Eger, Leipzig, Stuttgart, Munich, Olomouc, and Iglau (Jihlava) remunerated the composer for his *Cantiones sacrae* in 1593.¹⁴³ Sale also mined

¹⁴² Sale's privilege is similar to the 8 April 1591 privilege given to Hans Leo Hassler. Neither privilege specifies any penalty, and each composer was obligated to deliver three copies of each of his works for deposit. The 16 May 1592 report on Sale's application indicates the following: "Fiat impressorium quod moderna et ea quae apponit, quoad futura, diweil ein general impressorium damit gemeinet, wirdt simpliciter abgeschlagen." See Hansjörg Pohlmann, *Die Frühgeschichte des musikalischen Urheberrechts (ca. 1400–1800): Neue Materialien zur Entwicklung des Urheberrechtsbewußtseins der Komponisten* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1962), 209.

¹⁴³ On 30 June 1593, the Leipzig city council gave "Francisco Salem, kay. m. musicus für etzliche Geseng 3 f. gegeben." See Wustmann, *Musickgeschichte Leipzigs*, 1909, 205. On 21 August 1593, the town council of Eger sent Sale five florins accompanied by a letter of apology for not sending the money earlier. Sale had apparently sent a second letter reminding the Eger councilmen of his earlier gift. See Riess, "Musikgeschichte der Stadt Eger," 123. Sale's original 18 July 1593 letter in German accompanying shipment of his *Sacrae cantiones* to the city council of Iglau is kept at the Moravian Land Archive (Bočkova

the Austrian market, where he had formerly been employed at the Innsbruck court and the collegiate foundation for ladies of noble birth at Hall in Tyrol, sending three of his publications to the Benedictine monastery of Kremsmünster.¹⁴⁴ The Elbogen Latin school's exemplar of Sale's *Sacrarum cantionum* is described as being "gebunden in rothen Leder vff beiden Seitten mit Goltstöcklin geziert," the Rožmberk inventory similarly lists both Sale's 1593 *Sacrarum cantionum* and his 1598 *Canzonette, vilanelle, neapolitane* as being in red leather.¹⁴⁵ The red leather binding of the Hradec Králové exemplar of Sale's *Officiorum missalium... liber tertius* suggests that it was also a presentation copy, bound and dispatched by the composer in Prague to the brotherhood.

The collection of prints owned by the literary brotherhood in Rokycany, in central Bohemia just west of Plzeň (Pilsen), is also limited in number, but these *litterati* had a much more up-to-date repertory than the Hradec Králové brotherhood thanks to a large body of manuscripts copied in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.¹⁴⁶ Moreover, the Rokycany *litterati* maintained stronger ties to the humanist and musical world of the

sбірka, G 1, karton 8505, kopiář, fol. 94-95). The remuneration from Stuttgart was sent in 1593 for unidentified works, which Senn mysteriously identifies as for twenty-four voices, although no such work is known by Sale. See Walter Senn, *Aus dem Kulturleben einer Süddeutschen Kleinstadt: Musik, Schule und Theater der Stadt Hall in Tirol in der Zeit vom 15. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert* (Innsbruck: Tyrolia-Verlag, 1938), 179.

¹⁴⁴ Sale sent the monastery his *Officia quaedam Domini N. J. Christi necnon B. V. Mariae et aliquorum sanctorum, quinque et sex vocum* (Munich: Berg, 1589), printed while he was in Hall in Tirol. While staying in Linz in 1597, he sent the monastery his *Tripertiti operis officiorum missalium* printed in Prague the previous year. He sent his *Salutationes* collection in December 1598 also from Linz, with a cover letter addressed to abbot Johann III. Spindler. In his letter, he remembers with thankfulness the benefits he received from the abbot, calls him a "musices patronus celeberrimus," and gives him the Marian songbook with the wish for a long life and lasting health. The letter is transcribed in Altman Kellner, *Musikgeschichte des Stiftes Kremsmünster* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1956), 150-151. Two of his prints also ended up in the collection of the Benedictine monastery of Göttweig. See Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel, "Musikpflege im Benediktinerstift Göttweig (Niederösterreich) um 1600," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 46 (1962): 86, 88. For more on Sale's employment at the ladies' collegiate foundation at Hall in Tyrol, see Walter Senn, *Aus dem Kulturleben einer Süddeutschen Kleinstadt*, 177-180.

¹⁴⁵ The Rožmberk inventory lists Sale's volumes accordingly: "Sacrorum cantionum liber primus. Partes VI. V červené kůži" and "Cantiones Italice trium vocum. Partes III. V červené kůži s císařským erbem." See František Mareš, "Rožmberská kapela," *Časopis Musea Království Českého* 68 (1894): 232. The description of Elbogen's copy is in Alfred Herr, *op. cit.*, 368.

¹⁴⁶ For a catalogue of the contents of this collection, see Kateřina Maýrová, "Hudební Prameny Literátského Bratrstva v Rokycanech ze XVI. A Začátku XVII. Století" (Ph.D. dissertation, Univerzita Karlova, 1980).

university in Prague than did the *litterati* of Hradec Králové. Rokycany A V 24a combines Lasso's *Sacrae Cantiones*, Regnart's *Sacrae aliquot cantiones*, and Franz Sale's *Sacrarum cantionum* with over thirty odes and *cantilenae* on Latin and Czech texts, some of which were composed by Prague's leading humanists. Among the composers is the *poeta laureatus* Georg Carolides, former owner of a tract volume now kept at the National Library in Prague (sign. Se 1337) that binds together Friedrich Lindner's *Sacrae cantiones* and *Continuatio cantionum sacrarum* with an appendix of polyphonic motets in manuscript.¹⁴⁷ Carolides wrote an encomium included in Franz Sale's *Salutationes* and an ode mourning the death of Jacobus Handl, who had set a text by Carolides published in the anthology *Odae suavissimae*.¹⁴⁸

Printed volumes in the Deacon Library, Rokycany:

Johann Walther: *Magnificat octo tonorum*, (Jena, 1557)

Thesauri musici tomus tertius (Nuremberg, 1564)

Jacob Regnart: *Sacrae aliquot cantiones* (Munich, 1575)

Orlando di Lasso: *Sacrae cantiones* (Nuremberg, 1586)

Franz Sale: *Sacrarum cantionum* (Prague: Nigrin, 1593)

Jacob Regnart: *Sacrarum cantionum* (Frankfurt: Richter and Stein, 1605)

Agostino Agazzari: *Cantiones, motectae vulgo appellatae* (Frankfurt: Richter and Stein, 1607)

The Rokycany brotherhood's collection of music prints treads familiar territory, with the 1564 *Thesauri musici*, motets by Lasso and Sale, and two prints published by Nikolaus Stein. Sale, Handl, and Knöfel, the three most entrepreneurially-minded composers in Bohemia, were particularly aware that the literary brotherhoods represented a major market for music, and they sold directly to them by means of presentation copies. The Rokycany

¹⁴⁷ Among the anonymous motets in his tract volume are works by Hans Leo Hassler, Giovanni Croce, and Kryštof Harant z Polžic a Bezdržic. For more on the manuscript portion of this konvolut, see Petr Daněk, "Málo Známý Pramen Vokální Polyfonie Rudolfské Éry," *Hudební Věda* 20 (1983): 257-265. Rokycany A V 24a's concordance with Carolides' tract volume is the anonymous eight-voice motet *Jubilate Deo omnis terra, cantate et exultate*. Meanwhile, Rokycany A V 24a contains Carolides' hymns *Pane králi všech národů* and *Veselte se křesťané*. The Rakovník collection also transmits a two-part *Cantio funebris* by Carolides. See *ibid.*, 262.

¹⁴⁸ The motet by Handl with text by Carolides is *Chimarrhae tibi io modulamina clungunt nostra*, the sixth ode in Philipp Schöndorff's anthology in honor of Jacob Chimarraeus, imperial court almoner. For more on the anthology, see Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller, "Die Musikalische Festschrift für den Direktor der Prager Hofkapelle Kaiser Rudolfs II. 1602," *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß Bonn 1970* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1971): 520-522. Carolides' poetry was much sought after in late sixteenth-century Prague. For more on Carolides and a useful catalogue of his published works, see his entry in the indispensable Antonín Truhlář, *Rukověť Humanistického Básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě*, vol. 1 A-C (Prague: Nakl. Českoslov. Akad. Věd, 1966), 326 ff.

account books record payments to Jacobus Handl in 1587 and 1591, probably for copies of his *Opus musicum*, and to Johann Knöfel in 1592, the same year his *Novae melodiae* was published in Prague.¹⁴⁹

Of the printed books in the collection, only the two prints by Stein are stand-alone volumes without additional works in manuscript. Kateřina Máýrová has identified concordances between one of the brotherhood's manuscripts (sign. A V 41) and Abraham Schadaeus's *Promptuarii musici* printed in Strasbourg between 1611 and 1617.¹⁵⁰ The scribes of another set of five manuscript partbooks (sign. A V 20a-e), with over 100 motets on Latin and Czech texts, copied works in order from three different printed collections: Erhard Bodenschatz's *Florilegium selectissimarum* (Leipzig: Lamberg, 1603), Pierre Bonhomme's *Melodiae sacrae* (Frankfurt: Stein, 1603), Caspar Hassler's *Sacrae Symphoniae* (Nuremberg: Kauffmann, 1598), and Lindner's *Continuatio cantionum* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1588). More than simply demonstrating the appeal of anthologies of international repertoires, the Rokycany partbooks suggest some growth in strength of the Leipzig market and the cultural alliances between Utraquist and Lutheran reformers. Exchanges would have been greatly facilitated by the Letter of Majesty signed by Rudolf II in 1609, which guaranteed Bohemians the right to control their religious structures and extended institutional toleration toward Lutherans and the Unity of Brethren in the kingdom.¹⁵¹ The collection's varied

¹⁴⁹ Knöfel was paid on 7 March 1592 and Handl was paid on 28 November 1587 and 17 August 1591. Among entries from the town account books for reimbursements to composers are Ondřej Chrysoponus Jevičský, who dedicated an *Officium Hussi* [Jan Hus], motets, and some music for the Nativity to the city of Rokycany in September between 1589 and 1598. The town also sent payment to Simon Bariona Madelka for works received in manuscript, David Thusius, Georg Molitor Jablonský, and other, less well-known names. Information regarding music payments from the Rokycany account books is compiled in Hana Hrachová and Kateřina Máýrová, "Intelektuál a Hudbe: Příspěvek k Dějinám Hudby v Raně Novověkých Rokycanech," *Documenta Pragensia* 27 (2008): 645-651. Handl sent the fourth volume of his *Opus musicum* to the city of Rakovník, In a 1590 letter, the mayor and town council of Rakovník praise Handl's diligent work and pray that the churches of God be inclined toward education. They sent 2 kopec. This is cited in Zikmund Winter, "Spisovatelé a umělci na žebrotě," in *Sebrané spisy Z. Wintera XI: Ze starodávných radnic* (Prague: Otto, 1917), 106. The Rakovník council also sent Mikuláš Diviš, organist in Beroun, a letter of thanks in 1597 for his offices for use by the Czech and Latin literary brotherhoods. Not so lucky was Daniel Chmelovic z Radovíře in Roudnice, whom the council thanked for sending his twelve-voice work, but noted that it was not useful since they did not have the discant voices necessary to perform it. See *ibid.*, 107-8.

¹⁵⁰ See Kateřina Máýrová, "Hudební Repertoár Rokycanských Rukopisů a Tisků od Druhé Poloviny 16. do První Třetiny 17. století," *Sborník Muzea Dr. Bohuslava Horáka, Rokycany* 16 (2004): 14.

¹⁵¹ The best introduction to this political and religious watershed is Zdeněk David, *Finding the Middle Way: The Utraquists' Liberal Challenge to Rome and Luther* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 198-239.

musical repertory draws works from some of the leading composers of Lutheran service music in Saxony, including a printed copy of Johann Walther's settings of the Magnificat and works in manuscript by Melchior Vulpius, cantor in Weimar; Friedrich Weissensee, cantor in Magdeburg; and Christoph Demantius, Bohemian native who primarily served as cantor in Freiberg.¹⁵²

The Kutná Hora codex, a manuscript containing eleven masses compiled for the Church of St. James in Kutná Hora (Kuttenberg) some time after 1593, is the clearest evidence for the direct transmission of music from the imperial court in Prague to an Utraquist church, as it was most likely copied by the imperial music scribe, Leonhardt Franz.¹⁵³ The manuscript was funded by the imperial *praefectus* of the district's mines, Zikmund Kozel of Rýzntál, and thus as a liturgical object it was an ideal representation of his dual roles at court and as resident of Kutná Hora.¹⁵⁴ The repertory contained in the manuscript, which was probably copied in the late 1580s, combines the chapel music of Habsburg courts in Prague (Monte, Luython, and imperial trumpeter Philipp Schöndorff) and Innsbruck (Giorgio Flori and Jacob Regnart), closing with the *Missa super Tanto tempore vobiscum sum* by Giulio Belli, *maestro di capella* at the cathedral of Imola, a city which was under the jurisdiction of the Holy See. The choir supplemented their singing from the choirbook with music from Abraham Schadaeus's *Promptuarium musicum*; a set of eight partbooks containing works by Jacob Handl; four-voice works with *basso continuo* by Reimundo Ballestra, instrumentalist at the court of Archduke Ferdinand in Graz; the *Musa melica* (Passau: Nenninger and Frosch, 1616) of Urban Loth, Bohemian-born organist in Passau; six-voice motets by Orlando di Lasso, and works by Lodovico Grossi da Viadana, along with other partbooks for three to eight voices.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² A V 41 contains eight Latin motets by Melchior Vulpius, A V 19a-b and A V 41 transmit three Latin motets by Weissensee, and A V 44 contains eight Latin settings of the Magnificat by Demantius.

¹⁵³ Carmelo Peter Comberiatì suggested that another imperial scribe, Oswaldt Wallner, was responsible for transcribing much of the manuscript's contents (fols. 1-155v), but Lilian Pruett has since identified the work as being in the hand of Leonhardt Franz. See Carmelo Peter Comberiatì, "The Copying and Dissemination of Choirbooks Containing Settings of the Polyphonic Mass at the Court of Emperor Rudolf II," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 43 (1994): 58-59; and Lilian Pruett, "Renaissance Central European Sources: Their Scribes, Repertories, and Dissemination," *Musical Culture of the Bohemian Lands and Central Europe before 1620*, ed. Jan Baťa, Lenka Hlávková, and Jiří K. Kroupa (Prague: KLP, 2011): 173. A modern edition of the codex is also available in Jan Baťa, ed., *Kutnohorský Codex: (Praha, Národní muzeum - České muzeum hudby, sign. AZ 33) = Codex Kuttenbergensis* (Prague: Koniasch Latin Press, 2008).

¹⁵⁴ For more on music at the Church of St. James in Kutná Hora, see Jan Baťa, "Habent sua fata libelli: Několik Poznámek k tzv. Kutnohorskému Kodexu," *Krásné město* 1 (2005): 9.

¹⁵⁵ Among the members of Kutná Hora's literary brotherhood was the Czech Utraquist composer Pavel Spongopaeus Jistebnický, whose numerous masses and officia on motets and

In sum, the music collections of literary brotherhoods in Hradec Králové, Rokycany, and Kutná Hora reflect varying degrees of proximity to the court and access to international repertoires. Hradec Králové, the most distant of the three geographically, was also the least dynamic in acquiring music, apparently relying on composers such as Sale, Handl, and Knöfel to provide presentation copies, rather than engaging in involved processes of acquisition. The significantly more varied collection of Rokycany reflects the city's active participation in humanistic circles centered in Prague and stronger ties to Saxon reformers, which were cultivated by the university in Prague more fervently at the turn of the century. Of the three cities, Kutná Hora, made wealthy by silver mines during the fifteenth century, continued to enjoy prosperity as the most significant Bohemian center of minting. Its music books reflected its elevated social prestige. The courtly repertory of the Kutná Hora codex was sung in other parts of Bohemia and Moravia, though the transmission of this repertory tended to be more piecemeal and usually not in the form of a choirbook specially commissioned by a donor. Surviving sources from other brotherhoods, such as a *quinta vox* partbook from Ústí nad Labem,¹⁵⁶ the *Graduale latino-bohemicum* owned by the brotherhood at the Church of St. Michael of Opatovice in Prague¹⁵⁷ and the *Graduale Venceslai Trubky z Rovin*¹⁵⁸ suggest that Rokycany's collection, more than the other two, may

songs from the broader international repertory of late sixteenth-century music suggest his access to an extensive musical library. Information on the music library of the Church of St. James comes from a 15 October 1653 catalogue of the collection. My thanks go to Jan Baťa for sharing this inventory, presently at the Archiv města Kutné Hory.

¹⁵⁶ This source is now kept at the National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague, (sign. 59 r 482). Its contents are catalogued in Jan Baťa, "Hudba a hudební kultura na Starém Městě pražském 1526–1620 / Music and Musical Culture in the Old Town of Prague 1526–1620" (Ph.D. dissertation, Univerzita Karlova, 2011), 61-74.

¹⁵⁷ The discantus, altus, tenor, and bassus are at the National Library of the Czech Republic Prague, (sign. XI B 1), and the vagans partbook is at the Strahov Monastery Library (sign. D.A.II.3). A detailed description of this source is Thomas Noblitt, "A Polyphonic Gradual for the Literary Brotherhood at the Church of St. Michael in Opatovice, Prague," in *Gestalt und Entstehung musikalischer Quellen im 15. Und 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Martin Staehelin (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), 213-223.

¹⁵⁸ The *quinta vox* is at the Archive of the Capital City of Prague (Archiv hlavního města Prahy, sign. Ms. 1870). Jan Baťa has conducted the most thorough investigations into this source. See idem, "Quod laudat praesens, omnis mirabitur aetas: Graduál Trubky z Rovin, jeho Repertoár a Evropský Kontext," in *Littera Nigro Scripta Manet: In honorem Jaromír Černý*, ed. Jan Baťa, Jiří K. Kroupa, and Lenk Mračková (Prague: Koniasch Latin Press, 2009), 126-152. For information on the literary brotherhood, see Petr Daněk, "Václav Trubka z Rovin a Literátské Bratrstvo Kostela Panny Marie před Týnem," *Umění* 47 (1999), 305-308. For an understanding of Trubka's participation in Prague's humanist world, see Antonín Truhlář, ed., *Rukověť Humanistického Básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě* 5 (Prague: Academia, 1982), 403-404.

be the most representative of early seventeenth-century music repertoires performed by Bohemia's literary brotherhoods.

THE CHURCHES OF NORTHERN MORAVIA



In this section I would like to shift attention to a different part of the Czech crown lands that falls geographically outside the Nuremberg-Prague-Saxony orbits discussed so far. Olomouc (Olmütz), capital of Moravia and seat of the margraviate's bishopric, was situated on routes connecting Vienna to both Breslau, the capital of Silesia, and the Polish court of Krakow (after 1596, Warsaw) in the northeast. In comparison to other royal towns in the Czech crown lands, Olomouc was home to an unusually large number of Catholic institutions. In addition to the bishopric, a chapter house, and a Jesuit academy, there was a vast series of Catholic orders, founded, for the most part, well before determined efforts toward re-Catholicization were underway in the 1580s.¹⁵⁹ Despite the rich spectrum of Catholics present in the city, the majority of the lay population was German-speaking evangelicals, who installed German-trained rectors from universities at school of St.

¹⁵⁹ This religious complex included Augustinian and Dominican monasteries, Minorites and Clares, Carthusians, Franciscans, Capuchins, and Premonstratensians. See Radmila Pavlíčková, "Hlavní Město Markrabství Moravského," in *Dějiny Olomouce 1* (Olomouc: Statutární Město Olomouc; Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2009): 279.

Mauritius, from where their own students also went on to study in Wittenberg, Leipzig, and Frankfurt an der Oder.¹⁶⁰

In Moravia's royal cities, religious tensions persisted throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries thanks to the successive appointments of two unusually militant bishops. Under their heavy hands, the royal towns became the sites where the pressures of confessionalization in the Czech lands were perhaps most strongly felt.

Trained at the Collegium Germanicum in Rome, Stanislav Pavlovský (d. 1598) was appointed bishop of Olomouc in 1579.¹⁶¹ As he led his first Corpus Christi procession through the streets of Olomouc in 1579, he received a straightforward lesson in local politics when the town hall clock was triggered to chime the Lutheran melody *Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort* as he drew near.¹⁶² The prank was unwise, since Pavlovský worked with zealous determination for the next two decades to secure an imperial mandate enforcing participation in Corpus Christi processions in all Moravian royal towns. He also soon understood that the best way to regain lost religious ground was to install sympathetic Catholic agents in the royal town councils to keep him apprised of administrative dissent. Pavlovský was astonishingly adroit at political maneuvering: by the beginning of the seventeenth century, Catholic administrators made up the majority of Olomouc's council.¹⁶³

Accustomed to high musical standards acquired during the years of his Roman education, Pavlovský managed another early victory in the appointment of his first choirmaster, Jacob Handl. Between printing his four volumes of *Selectiores quaedam missae* in 1580 and the first volume of his *Opus musicum* in 1586, Handl served a five-year engagement as Pavlovský's choirmaster from 1580 until 1585. Both Handl and Pavlovský had previously spent time at the Premonstratensian monastery of Zábřehovice near Brno, and Handl prepared the way for his arrival in Olomouc by dedicating his very first print, the seven-voice stand-alone motet *Undique flammatis Olomucum sedibus arsit*, and the first two volumes of the *Selectiores quaedam missae* to his future employer. Given Handl's dedication of his first three prints to Pavlovský, it is probable that Pavlovský underwrote the publication of Handl's *Selectiores quaedam missae*, knowing that Handl would thereafter return to Moravia to serve as his chapelmaster. The ambition of Handl's four volumes of masses printed in rapid succession in 1580 suggests advance preparation, part of which would have

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 286.

¹⁶¹ The best introduction to Pavlovský is the richly documented catalogue put together by Ondřej Jakubec, ed., *Stanislav Pavlovský z Pavlovic (1579–1598): Biskup a Mecenáš Umírajícího Věku* (Olomouc: Muzeum Umění Olomouc, 2009).

¹⁶² See Jiří Sehnal, "Renesanční Hudba," in *Dějiny Olomouce 1* (Olomouc: Statutární Město Olomouc; Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2009): 309.

¹⁶³ Earlier efforts in the 1580s to appoint a Catholic rector at St. Mauritius, require Peter Canisius's catechism, and institute a declaration of faith for new school appointees were derailed by the council. See Pavlíčková, "Hlavní Město Markrabství Moravského," 291.

been carried out in the presence of Pavlovský in Zábřdovice.¹⁶⁴ His five years in Olomouc working for Pavlovský were undoubtedly spent preparing an even more massive undertaking, composing and assembling the 374 motets for his four-volume *Opus musicum*, whose publication began in 1586 after his return to Prague.

The bishop occupied two residences, one in Olomouc and the other, his favored seat, in the town of Kroměříž (Kremsier), tucked a healthy fifty kilometers away from the apostate capital. Two inventories of the music collection at the Church of St. Mauritius in Olomouc, a parish church administered by the town council, and what survives from the collection of a second Church of St. Mauritius in Kroměříž postdate Handl's years of Moravian employment, but show that his impact on sacred musical life extended beyond Kroměříž and the Olomouc cathedral. The repertory traced in the first inventory treads the familiar ground of Lasso, Handl, Sale, Knöfel and the Giovanelli anthology, but also reveals that the council was the recipient of an unusually large number of presentation copies from each of these composers, including one from Orlando di Lasso in 1589. Sale dedicated his 1594 *Officiorum missalium... liber secundus* to Pavlovský, who helped underwrite the project by sending 12 ducats along with an unusually informal letter addressed to "unserm lieben francisco Sale."¹⁶⁵

Meanwhile, Knöfel's whereabouts after leaving St. Henry's in Prague in 1592 are unknown until 1617, though here we find evidence that he was still peddling copies of the *Novae melodiae* in 1594. Most unusual of all is the *Opus missarum* of Cristóbal de Morales in folio, which stands apart from the rest in terms of date of publication, place of origin, and format. Rarely do his works appear elsewhere in Bohemian or Moravian sources, and when they do, it is as a single motet or Magnificat in a manuscript anthology. Although the Church of St. Mauritius was evangelical throughout most of the sixteenth century, the church may have come into possession of the volume through Olomouc's large body of Catholic ecclesiastical institutions.

Inventory of the Church of St. Mauritius in Olomouc, 1594:¹⁶⁶

Responsoria scripta totius anni a Joanne Garleto relicta

¹⁶⁴ As Stephen Rose has pointed out, self-publication was an ambitious enterprise that required the composer's investment in printed copies that might or might not sell. See Rose, "Mechanisms," 16.

¹⁶⁵ The friendly address and German language used by Pavlovský in his letter to Sale contrasts with the more distant formality of Pavlovský's Latin letters to Jacob Handl. A copy of the bishop's letter to Sale is kept at the Moravian Land Archive (Fond G 83, Matice Moravská Brno, karton 58, inventory number 33, kopiář, fol. 2-3). Two letters from Pavlovský to Handl are at the same archive (Fond G 83, Matice Moravská Brno, karton 49, inventory number 23, kopiář, fol. 128; and karton 55, inventory number 29, kopiář, fol. 94-95).

¹⁶⁶ The complete inventory including liturgical books is reprinted in Jiří Sehnal, "Die Musik in Mähren gegen Ende des 16. Jahrhundert und Jacobus Gallus," in *Gallus Carniolus in Evropska Renesansa, Mednarodni Simpozij, Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti*,

Cristóbal de Morales: *Opus Missarum Christophori Morali in folio*
 Johann Knöfel: *Cantiones Johannis Knefelii 4, 5, et 7 vocum*
 Pietro Giovanelli: *Thesaurus Musicus Petri Joanelli*
 Jacob Handl: *Tomus 1, 2 et 3 operis Jacobi Handelii Cantori praesentatus Anno 1588*
 Jacob Handl: *Opus missarum Jacobi Handelii praesentatum Anno 1583*
 Orlando di Lasso: *Selectissimae Cantiones 4, 5, 6 et plurium vocum per Orlandum di Lassum praesentatae Anno 1589*
 Jacob Handl: *Quartus tomus Musici operis 4, 5, 6 et plurimum vocum Jacobi Handelii, incipiens pars a Sanctis, praesentatus cantori Anno Salutis nostrae 1590.*
 Franz Sale: *Officiorum Missalium liber 2 Francisci Sale praesentatus Anno 1594*
 Johann Knöfel: *Novae Melodiae 8, 7, 6, et 5 vocum authore Johanne Knefelio praesentatus Anno 1594*
 Franz Sale: *Sacrarum Cantionum omnis generis Instrumentis accomodantium Francisci Sale liber 1 praesentatus 1594*
 Franz Sale: *Missalia 5 et 6 vocum de Sanctis, Francisci Sale tripartite operis liber 1. Praesentatus fuit ante Fabiani et Sebastiani Anno 1596.*
 Franz Sale: *Anno 1598 die 21 Augusti in folio regali Missa de Nativitate Christi authore Francisco Sale Suae majestatis Musico*¹⁶⁷
 Franz Sale: *Officiorum Missalium partes 5 eodem Authore*

A subsequent inventory drawn up in 1602 reflects significant changes, most noteworthy among them being the acquisition of music specifically intended for Corpus Christi processions. Already in 1585, Pavlovský had sent to Rudolf II a letter requesting an imperial directive that required all citizens of royal towns to participate in Corpus Christi processions, but had to wait until 1595 for the decree to be issued, whereupon Pavlovský immediately enlisted his agents in Moravia's royal town councils to take note of citizens that failed to show up for the event.¹⁶⁸ When many boycotted the Corpus Christi processions of 1595 in Brno, Pavlovský circumvented a direct attack on the local citizenry by focusing blame on the unmonitored wanderings of foreign heretics, particularly from the Low Lands, instituting directives targeted at Netherlanders and other foreigners requiring them to take

Muzikološki Inštitut Simpozij (1991: Ljubljana), ed. Dragotin Cvetko and Danilo Pokorn (Ljubljana: Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti, 1991): 39-40.

¹⁶⁷ While Nigrin's presses were occupied with the printing of four separate editions for Sale in 1598, Sale sent a fifth work to the printshop of Adam Berg in Munich, his folio choirbook *Patrocinium musices: in natalem ... mutetum, 'Exultandi tempus est' et missa ad eius imitationem composita* for five voices. Despite the impressive format, the print is modest in contents, a five-voice homorhythmic setting of the hymn *Exultandi tempus est* and a single mass based on that setting, organized in the form of a dialogue between voices and organ. Nigrin never issued a music print in folio.

¹⁶⁸ Vladimír Burian, *Vývoj Náboženských Poměrů v Brně 1570-1618*, (Brno: Nákladem ÚNV Zemského Hlavního Města Brna, 1948), 25.

oaths withholding public pronouncement of any heretical beliefs.¹⁶⁹ Pavlovský's successor in 1598, Franz von Dietrichstein, was another alumnus of the Collegium Germanicum and, to a greater extent than Pavlovský, personally involved in public acts of Catholic veneration.¹⁷⁰ Through the acquisition of an astonishing fourteen sets of partbooks specifically intended for the purpose, the choirs of St. Mauritius would have greatly enhanced the spectacle's representational power. St. Mauritius' other highly useful acquisition was a collection of five-voice music for funerals. Pavlovský and Catholic priests complained repeatedly about the Lutheran songs sung at funeral processions, which became an unbearable problem when sung at the cemeteries surrounding Catholic churches.¹⁷¹

Inventory of the Church of St. Mauritius, Olomouc, 23 January 1602:¹⁷²

Orlando di Lasso: *Magnificamina Orlandi – 6 partes*

Processiones in summis festivitibus et in Festo Corporis Christi – 6 partes

Jacob Handl: *Officia et mutetae Handelii 4 vocum*

Itaque pro funeribus 5 vocum

Cantionale in folio 8 tonorum et passionum conscriptum

Cantionale in folio Rorate ad aequales continenti

Item 13 partes 5 vocum pro processione Corporis Christi

Hieronymus Praetorius: *Hieronimi Praetorii partes 8 vocum a Georgio Scripsky civi*

Olomucensi Ecclesiae S. Mauritii traditae Anno 1603

Christoph Demantius: *Senatus Olomucensis eodem anno dedit Ecclesiae S. Mauritii magnificamina 6 vocum Authore Christophoro Demantio*

Michael Zapff: *Missae quinis vocibus et Missa pro defunctis Michaelis Zapff in membrana viridi*

Jacob Regnart: *Missae duae in quarto descriptae Jacobi Regnardi 10 vocum*

Valentin Judex: *Missa alia in quarto descripta super Repleatur Authore Valentino Judice quinque vocum*

Orlando di Lasso: *Magnum Opus Musicum Orlandi de Lasso Complectens omnes Cantiones, quas Motetas vulgo vocant a Ferdinando eius filio collectae libri 6 in alba coria*

¹⁶⁹ Burian provides interesting information on how citizens of Brno managed to circumvent many of Pavlovský decrees. In 1596, citizens of Brno promised to participate but thought the procession would be small in scope due to the presence of three German battalions of mercenaries. See Vladimír Burian, *Vývoj Náboženských Poměrů v Brně 1570-1618*, (Brno: Nákladem ÚNV Zemského Hlavního Města Brna, 1948), 25-32.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 33.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁷² The complete inventory is reprinted in Jiří Sehnal, "Die Musik in Mähren gegen Ende des 16. Jahrhundert und Jacobus Gallus," in *Gallus Carniolus in Evropska Renesansa, Mednarodni Simpozij, Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti, Muzikološki Inštitut Simpozij (1991 : Ljubljana)* (Ljubljana: Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti, 1991), 40-41.

Friedrich Lindner: *Gemma Musicalis 8 vocum*
Michael Herrer: *Michaelis Herrarii libri 8*

At the same time, the inventory records two gifts of music by Protestant composers, one a collection of eight-part works by Hieronymus Praetorius donated by a citizen of Olomouc, and, from the Olomouc city council, Christoph Demantius's *Trias precum vespertinarum* (Nuremberg: Theodoricus, 1602), who, at the time the print was made, was employed as a cantor in Zittau, Saxony. A third gift might have been the *Magnum Opus Musicum Orlandi de Lasso*, since Ferdinand and Rudolf di Lasso sent a presentation copy to Dietrichstein in 1606.¹⁷³ Another copy formerly owned by the other Church of St. Mauritius in Kroměříž, has since ended up in the Kroměříž Castle Music Archive.¹⁷⁴ The church also acquired a copy of Friedrich Lindner's wildly popular anthology of secular Italian music, *Gemma musicalis*, one of Michael Herrer's *Hortus musicalis* anthologies (Passau: Nenniger, 1606; and Munich: Berg, 1609), and what seems to be either the second or third book of Regnart's masses issued by Stein in 1603, the *Continuatio missarum sacrarum... 4. 5. 6. 8. & 10. vocibus* or the *Corollarium missarum sacrarum... a 4. 5. 6. 8. & 10. vocibus*. These masses also were sung at the Catholic parish church of the much smaller town of Příbor, west of Olomouc. The music collection of the town, catalogued in 1614, is ambitious, reflecting the local priest's intent to model lessons at the school on those of a Jesuit academy.¹⁷⁵ The music collection lists selections from the most popular repertoires across Bohemia and Moravia, including Handl's *Opus musicum*, Lasso's settings of the Magnificat, and Regnart's masses, as well as a printed collection of music by Hieronymus Praetorius for 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 16, and 20 voices.¹⁷⁶ More unusual is to see *concerti* by

¹⁷³ See Theodora Straková, "Vokálně Polyfonní Skladby na Moravě v 16. a na Začátku 17. Století: Příspěvek k Poznání Hudebního Života na Moravě v Době Předbělohorské," *Časopis Moravského Muzea* 66 (1981): 174.

¹⁷⁴ Two copies survive at the castle archive. One bears the inscription "Ex libris Col. Eccl. Crem. S. Mauritii," and the second was in the library of Pavel Josef Vejvanovský (ca. 1633/39–1693), composer and trumpeter at the court of the Prince-Bishop of Olomouc, Karl Leichtenstein-Castelcorno, according to its inscription, "Spectat ad Paulum Weiwanowsky tubicinem campestem mpria." They are kept under shelfmarks A 110-115.

¹⁷⁵ The priest, Vavřinec Affelius, instructed his newly appointed rector Daniel Castalius in 1611 that the pupils were to have one to two hours per day devoted to music instruction, that they were expected to participate in all services, and that motets in Czech or Latin should be sung *post elevationem*. The inventory is transcribed in Jiří Sehnal, "Nové Příspěvky k Dějinám Hudby na Moravě v 17. a 18. Století," *Časopis Moravského Musea* 60 (1975), 159-175.

¹⁷⁶ In his instructions to the musicians in the third volume of *Opus musicum*, Gallus wrote, "Allow me, diligent musicians, to say a few words about the conception of my work and briefly answer a complaint. Some people have complained that with the multiplication of voices in my compositions I mock the small number of singers in most churches, and that

Giacomo Finetti and a collection of five-voice works by Jacobus de Kerle, whose music, despite the composer's service as imperial chaplain in Prague, was seldom transmitted.¹⁷⁷ An additional thirteen sets of partbooks for up to eight voices are listed in the Příbor 1614 inventory. In order to perform such elaborate polyphony in one of Moravia's smaller towns, the church also had an organ as well as two bass viols, two discant viols, and an alto viol, with which they could fill out the remaining voices.

Surviving sources from the bishop's palace and other church of St. Mauritius in Kroměříž, provide evidence for much different repertoires from those encountered so far. This church of St. Mauritius owned several anthologies from the 1540s and 1550s printed in Antwerp, Venice, and Nuremberg, chansons by Clément Jannequin (Venice: Gardano, 1545) and Adrian Willaert's *Musica nova* (Venice: Gardano, 1559), as well as Lasso's *Magnum opus musicum* and the four volumes of Handl's *Opus musicum* just mentioned. The few surviving sources in the bishop's library in Kroměříž not from the Church of St. Mauritius speak best to differences in repertory transmission between Moravia and Bohemia.

Printed in the years from 1570 to 1630 are the following volumes:¹⁷⁸

Lambert de Sayve: *Teutsche Liedlein* (Vienna: Formica, 1602)

Hans Leo Hassler: *Kirchengesänge* (Nuremberg: Kauffmann, 1608)

Binder's volume of prints containing:

1. *Il duodecimo libro de madrigali di Giaches de Wert a 4, a 5, a 6 et 7. con alcuni altri de diversi eccellentissimi autori* (Venice: Gardano et Fratelli, 1608)

2. Giaches de Wert: *Il primo libro delle canzonette, villanelle a cinque voci* (Venice: Gardano, 1589),

3. *Canzoni per sonare con ogni sorte di stromenti a quattro, cinque et otto, con il suo basso generale per l'organo* (Venice: Raveri, 1608)

4. Giovanni Valentini: *Canzoni a 4, 5, 6, 7 et 8 voci* (Venice: Amadino, 1609)

5-9. Luca Marenzio: five books of *villanelle et arie alla napolitana* (Venice: Gardano, 1600).

they cannot sing them. It is not so! Since there are few towns without string players, and few churches without an organist, there are not so many parts in my works that they could not be performed with their help. If all work together and take care of their choirs, their music will be similar to that of the Levites, who, according to King Solomon, performed harmonious music with their voices, cymbals, harps and diverse stringed instruments.”

¹⁷⁷ Inventories from 1614 and 28 November 1637 of the collection of the parish church in Příbor are transcribed in *ibid.*, 159-163.

¹⁷⁸ According to a personal communication with one of the Kroměříž librarians, volumes with shelfmarks beginning “A” were originally part of St. Mauritius's collection. Shelfmarks are as follows: Lambert de Sayve's *Teutsche Liedlein* (sign. J II/2 17), Hassler's *Kirchengesänge* (sign. B/c V/2 7), a binder's volume of Italian secular music (sign. N/c II/2 42), Michael Praetorius's *Musae Sioniae* (sign. C/h III/2 1), and Johann Staden's *Harmoniae sacrae* (sign. N/a IX/2 5-6).

Michael Praetorius: *Musae Sioniae, Deutsche Psalmen und geistliche Lieder* (Regensburg; Helmstedt; Wolfenbüttel, 1605-1610)

Johann Staden: *Harmoniae sacrae pro festis praecipuis totius anni* (Nuremberg; Kauffmann, 1616)

A new geographic circuit is traced here that we have not encountered in other inventories or collections. Of particular interest is the binder's volume, an upright quarto tenor partbook bound in parchment, with its collection of Venetian prints from 1589 to 1609. According to an inscription on the title page of the first print, it originally belonged to the Augustinian church of St. Anna im Münzgraben in Graz. However it came to Kroměříž, it could have been appreciated based on first-hand knowledge of both Luca Marenzio and Giovanni Valentini, since both composers served at the Polish court of King Zygmunt III and would have passed through Moravia en route to and from Warsaw.¹⁷⁹ Valentini's book of canzoni, dedicated to Zygmunt, was published while he was serving as the king's organist in Warsaw, and Marenzio's *villanelle et arie* appeared soon after his return from Poland to Italy by 1598. The villanella genre, popularized both by Regnart and Marenzio in central Europe, is also the inspiration for Lambert de Sayve's *Teutsche Liedlein*. Like Valentini, Sayve was employed in Graz before his appointment by Archduke Matthias as choirmaster in Vienna. He issued the only book of polyphony printed in Moravia before 1630, his *Sacrae symphoniae* (Klosterbruck: Fidler, 1612), dedicated to Matthias upon his coronation as emperor, an event that led to Sayve's own elevation to imperial chapelmaster.¹⁸⁰ In addition to the prints listed above, the Kroměříž collection also includes seven octavo books of German odes assembled by Ludovicus Helmbold in Mühlhausen from 1590 to 1599 bound individually and simply, covers exposed and folios held together by means of stitching beneath strips at the spine. These are books more suited to a student than a bishop, which speaks to the second-hand nature of this portion of the Kroměříž collection.

The collection of the church of St. Mauritius in Kroměříž presents the opposite impression, with its elegant leather-bound and well-maintained binder's volumes of earlier Franco-Flemish polyphony printed in Antwerp, Venice, and Nuremberg in the 1540s,

¹⁷⁹ Marenzio served in Poland from circa 1596 to 1598 and Giovanni Valentini as organist from 1604 or 1605 to 1614, when he arrived in Graz at the court of Archduke Ferdinand. On Marenzio's reception in the Czech crown lands, see Jan Baťa, "Luca Marenzio and the Czech Lands," *Hudební Věda* 44 (2007), 118-21. For an introduction to Valentini, see Steven Saunders, "The Hapsburg Court of Ferdinand II and the *Messa, Magnificat et Iubilate Deo a sette chori concertati con le trombe* (1621) of Giovanni Valentini," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 44 (1991), 359-403.

¹⁸⁰ The *Teutsche Liedlein* assembles nineteen of Sayve's four-voice bipartite strophic lieder and culminates in a concluding five-part work in which the second and fourth parts are by Jacob Regnart, who had passed away three years earlier. The surrounding first, third, and fifth parts are by Sayve, who thereby asserts himself as the new first and last voice on the villanella-inspired lied, the genre that Regnart had invented. The final pages of the Kroměříž exemplar reveal that the book's owner was still learning movable F-clefs.

1550s, and 1560s. Collections such as these suggest a greater diversity in the distribution patterns of music books in Moravia, networks that operated more independently from the narrow compass of the Prague–Nuremberg traffic and with greater access to a music market mediated by Viennese book agents and the strongly Catholic institutions in the south, such as the Austrian Habsburg courts and the flourishing monasteries of Melk and Kremsmünster, where both Lambert de Sayve and Jacob Handl began their careers.¹⁸¹



While the Austrian Benedictine monasteries of Kremsmünster, Melk, and Göttweig were thriving institutions in the late sixteenth century, their Bohemian and Moravian counterparts – Břevnov and Broumov in Bohemia and Rajhrad in Moravia – languished.¹⁸²

¹⁸¹ Music at the monastery of Kremsmünster is well documented in Altman Kellner, *Musikgeschichte des Stiftes Kremsmünster* (Kassel and Basel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1956). On Melk, see Walter Pass, *Musik und Musiker am Hof Maximilians II.* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1980), 269-270.

¹⁸² Like Kremsmünster and Melk, Göttweig also had a flourishing musical culture, as suggested by the inventory transcribed in Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel, “Musikpflege im Benediktinerstift Göttweig (Niederösterreich) um 1600,” *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 46 (1962), 83-97.

Most of the monasteries in Bohemia and Moravia had been reduced to only a few lingering monks with little means of income following the destruction of Catholic institutions and the secularization of many church properties during the fifteenth century.¹⁸³ The laity, incorporated into literary brotherhoods, joined forces with pupils from Latin schools to become the primary providers of music in most Bohemian and, later, Moravian communities.¹⁸⁴ Stripped of these responsibilities, musical culture at the monasteries suffered.

These circumstances began gradually to shift with the appointment of Antonín Brus of Mohelnice (1518-1580) as archbishop of Prague, who revived a position in Bohemia which had laid dormant since 1421 and the appointments of the militant bishops of Olomouc, Stanislav Pavlovský and Franz von Dietrichstein, who worked tirelessly to gain ground against Protestant inroads. Part of their program of renewal was to resuscitate the monasteries. One of the first priorities was to increase the number of monastery residents, which they achieved primarily by enlisting foreigners from Catholic countries, Italy and Poland foremost among them.¹⁸⁵

Given the amount of ground they had to cover after almost 150 years of neglect, it is little surprise that polyphonic music was a low priority.¹⁸⁶ Sebastian Freitag von Cziepiroh, abbot from 1573 to 1585 of the Moravian monastery of Klosterbruck (Louka u Znojma), was an exception, installing both a printing press and a music school during his twelve-month term.¹⁸⁷ The most brightly shining musical light in Bohemian and Moravian monasteries was Jacob Handl, who, for a few years before his Olomouc appointment,

¹⁸³ A good overview of the monasteries from their beginnings through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is Zikmund Winter, *Život Církevní v Čechách: Kulturné-Historický Obraz z XV. a XVI. Století 2* (Prague: Nákladem České Akademie Císaře, 1896), 698-824.

¹⁸⁴ On the organization of brotherhoods and religious confraternities in Moravia from a musicological perspective, see Vladimír Maňas, “Hudební Aktivity Náboženských Korporací na Moravě v Raném Novověku” (Ph.D. dissertation, Masarykova Univerzita, 2008).

¹⁸⁵ Josef Válka, ed., *Dějiny Moravy Díl 2: Morava Reformace, Renesance a Baroka* (Brno: Muzejní a Vlastivědná Společnost, 1996), 53.

¹⁸⁶ Marc Straubinger à Straumbach’s 1589 gift of Friedrich Lindner’s rather light-hearted collections of greatest-hits madrigals and canzonette to Georg Taxer, the abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Sedlec, seems almost consolatory. The alto partbook from his volumes of the *Gemma musicalis* and *Liber secundus Gemmae musicalis* is now at the Scientific Library in Olomouc (sign. 10180).

¹⁸⁷ For more on Freitag, see Wilhem Schram, “Der Abt von Kloster-Bruck Freitag v. Cziepiroh (1573–1585),” *Zeitschrift des Vereines für die Geschichte Mährens und Schlesiens* 3 (1899), 312-324. One volume to have survived from his music collection is Orlando di Lasso’s *Cantionum quas mutetas vocant, Opus novum, prima pars* (Munich: Berg, 1573). His copy, inscribed “Sebastianus Freytag a Cziepiroh sc. J. V. Doctor... Prof. Abbas Lucen. Anno 1579” on the title page, is now at the Scientific Library, Olomouc (sign. IV 2647).

traveled among them as he writes in the dedication to the second volume of *Opus musicum*, and probably stayed at Klosterbruck, to which he later sent a copy of his *Selectiores quaedam missae*.¹⁸⁸ Dedications of his *Epicedion harmonicum*, the fourth book of *Opus musicum*, to Kaspar Schönauer and his successor, Ambrosius von Teltsch, abbots of the monastery of Zábřdovice near Brno where the composer also met Pavlovský, indicate a particular fondness for this monastery. Handl's first-hand experience traveling among these dilapidated institutions makes his dedication of the second volume of *Opus musicum* to all the monks, abbots, and clerics of Moravian and Austrian monasteries seem particularly poignant.

Most of the records and library of Zábřdovice have disappeared, as has its music collection, but at least something is known about music at another monastery in Brno, St. Thomas, which was a refuge for many monks stranded during the attacks on their properties in the fifteenth century. Augustinus Clementinus, the beneficently named provost at St. Thomas from 1574 to 1594, bound together their five volumes of Giovanelli's *Novi thesauri musici* in 1582 and acquired copies of Palestrina's *Missarum liber secundus* (Rome: Dorico, 1567), the five volumes of Montanus and Neuber's 1564 *Thesauri musici*, and all four volumes of Handl's *Selectiores quaedam missae*.¹⁸⁹ Later additions to the collection reveal similar patterns of music acquisition familiar from records and holdings of other Bohemian and Moravian institutions: Handl's masses, prints published by Nikolaus Stein, and Kaspar Hassler's two volumes of *Sacrae symphoniae* (Nuremberg: Kaufmann, 1598) as well as a collection of masses by Narcissus Zängel printed in Vienna, a city linked to Prague by way of Brno.¹⁹⁰

Little more remains from the Benedictine monastery of Rajhrad, also not far from Brno, but their acquisition of music books seems to have begun in earnest much later, in the 1620s. Two incomplete sets of partbooks, Orazio Vecchi's *Più e diversi madrigal e canzonette* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1594) and Melchior Vulpius's *Pars prima cantionum sacrarum* (Jena: Weidner and Birnstiel, 1610), were acquired by the Benedictine prior Daniel Cornelius in 1623 as part of an effort to expand the monastery's library.¹⁹¹ Cornelius was picking up

¹⁸⁸ The letter is transcribed in Schram, "Der Abt von Kloster-Bruck," 317.

¹⁸⁹ Augustinus Clementinus was provost from 1574 to 1594. See Theodora Straková, "Vokálně Polyfonní Skladby na Moravě v 16. a na Začátku 17. Století. 3: Hudební Instituce na Moravě a jejich Repertoár," *Časopis Moravského Zemského Muzea* 68 (1983): 154. For more on Clementinus and the monastery of St. Thomas, see Clemens d'Elpidio Janetschek, *Das Augustiner-Eremitenstift S. Thomas in Brünn mit steter Bezugnahme auf die Klöster desselben Ordens in Mähren*, vol. 1 (Brno: K.k. Hofbuchhandlung C. Winiker, 1898).

¹⁹⁰ The remains of their collection are kept at the Department of the History of Music at the Moravian Land Museum in Brno.

¹⁹¹ The Vecchi had been left behind by the Žerotín family, who fled the country after the defeat of the Estates uprising, and inscribed on the flyleaf of the Vulpius is the note, "Fr. Daniel Cornelius Praepositus emit pro usu Rayhradensis Monasterii Anno 1623 in Majo." Incomplete sets of these partbooks are now kept at the Music Department of the Moravian Land Museum (signs. A 367 and A 369).

scraps from the abandoned libraries of fleeing Protestants seeking refuge abroad after the Habsburg victory at the Battle of White Mountain. The other sets of printed partbooks in the Rajhrad collection, a binder's volume of eleven Stein prints among them, do not bear indications that they were plundered after Ferdinand II's victory, suggesting that, as at the Augustinian monastery of St. Thomas, music was beginning to be cultivated once more already toward the end of the sixteenth century.

The most interesting source among them is Ms. A 7077, which survives in five partbooks (cantus, altus, tenor, bassus, quinta vox; the sexta vox is missing).¹⁹² Six scribes transcribed the manuscript's contents, which include sixty-nine five- and six-voice motets (one in Czech); Philippe de Monte's *Missa super Nasce la pena mia*, its only mass ordinary setting; and two five-voice lieder by Jacob Regnart. Scribes one and two prepared most of the contents, together transcribing 37 of the 40 six-voice motets, and all but one of the 29 five-voice motets. Scribe three added one anonymous six-voice motet, and scribe four added one Latin and one Czech motet, both for six voices. Scribe five added Monte's *Missa Nasce la pena mia*, placing it on the same page after the conclusion of the twenty-eighth motet, and an anonymous five-voice *Peccantem me quotidie* (not by Monte). The sixth scribe lightened things up with two of Regnart's five-voice lieder from his 1580 collection *Neue kurtzweilige Teutsche Lieder*, the first being a dramatic singing contest between a nightingale and a hen that unfolds over six *pars*, and the second, the tale of Little Hans's rejection by the woman he courts because he is too small. The Benedictine monks at the monastery of Broumov in northeastern Bohemia also possessed a printed copy of Regnart's five-voice lieder, the only book of secular music in their collection today.

In addition to the six-voice Czech motet *Milosrdný Bože* is a five-voice bilingual *Congratulamini nunc omnes/Maria die zart Jungfrau* by Thomas Sartorius. The opening Latin "Rejoice now all in God our savior," transitions into a theatrical lullaby for Christ's nativity with its calls of "Was da?" and a concluding cantilena-like melody that rocks on repetitions of "Nun schlaff mein liebes Kindelein." Nikolaus Zangius, who was *hofdiener von Haus aus* at the Prague court and chapelmaster to the Moravian nobleman Karl von Liechtenstein in the first decade of the seventeenth century, expanded the same text into a six-voice treatment in his *Cantiones sacrae* (Vienna: Bonnoberger, 1612). His setting also suggests a dramatic enactment of the motet, with its choral subdivisions, alternating homophonic passages, rocking melodies, and dotted rhythms at "Was da?," which would be well-suited to the central European tradition of *Kindelwiegen*, a popular observance for the Nativity in which the infant Christ is rocked to sleep.¹⁹³

A strange addition to Ms. A 7077 is the new text underlaid only in the tenor partbook for the eleventh five-voice motet in the anthology, an anonymous setting of *O bone Jesu*. The alternate version, *Carole salve imperatorum generosa proles*, celebrates Emperor

¹⁹² A thorough summary of the manuscript's contents is Lucie Sýkorová, "Rajhradský Rukopisný Sborník A 7077 z Oddělení hudební historie MZM v Brně" (Diploma thesis, Masarykova Univerzita, Brno, 2008).

¹⁹³ On the connection of the hymn *Resonet in laudabis* to the tradition of the *Kindelwiegen*, see Honisch, "Sacred Music in Prague," 386-387.

Charles V (1500–1558) and Ferdinand of Bavaria. The repertory transmitted in the manuscript postdates Charles’s reign by over two decades, making the underlay seem little more than the work of an antiquarian. Four composers are represented more than the others: Johann Knöfel (16), Jacob Handl (8), Orlando di Lasso (6), and Tomás Luis de Victoria (6). As Lucie Sýkorová has observed, scribe two clearly had access to Knöfel’s *Cantiones piae* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1579/80), and scribe one possibly had a 1572 copy of Victoria’s *Motecta* printed by Gardano. She disputes the manuscript’s origins at Rajhrad with good reason, since the monastery at that time did not have a functioning scriptorium and later catalogues of their library from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries show no evidence of its presence.¹⁹⁴ Nevertheless, two concordant prints from the collection of the Benedictine monastery at Broumov near the Silesian border, Silesian representation through three motets by Gregor Lange, large numbers of works by Knöfel and Handl, representation of Prague court composers (Monte, Regnart, Kerle), paper from St. Pöllten produced between 1581 and 1600, and the opening work of the collection being by the Bohemian cantor of Kolín Wenceslaus Figura strongly situate the manuscript’s origins somewhere nearby. Adding to this the inclusion of a motet by the Jesuit composer and mathematician at the papal court, Christophorus Clavius, who, along with Victoria, worked at the Collegium Germanum in Rome, and only the briefest of nods to Czech- and German-language sacred music, it seems most likely to have been intended for use by a monastery or perhaps a Jesuit academy or charter house, no matter who transcribed the music.

No monastery seems to have had as rich a music collection as the Cistercian monastery in Zlatá Koruna in southern Bohemia. Its abbot, Melichar Hölderle, began his Cistercian career rather inauspiciously at the Utraquist Charles University. His path shifted dramatically, however, when, with a recommendation from the rector of the university in Prague, Hölderle went on to Rome, meeting with Christophorus Clavius and entering the priesthood.¹⁹⁵ Vilém of Rožmberk, lord of the southern Bohemian domain in which the lands of Zlatá Koruna fell, administered the monastery from his seat in Český Krumlov less than ten kilometers to the south. He installed Hölderle at the Cistercian monastery in 1579, whereupon the soon-to-be abbot dedicated himself to the monastery’s renewal, embarking on construction projects and repairing the monastery’s derelict bridge. In agreements signed by Petr Vok of Rožmberk in 1600 and 1601, Zlatá Koruna passed into the hands of Rudolf II with representation in the imperial chamber by Vilem Slavata.¹⁹⁶ Bonaventura Lefebvre, alto in the imperial chapel in Prague, convalesced at the monastery in 1602 and bequeathed his large collection of music.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴ Sýkorová, “Rajhradský Rukopisný Sborník A 7077,” 103-110.

¹⁹⁵ Information on Hölderle and the monastery of Zlatá Koruna can be found in Hynek Gross, “Inventář Bývalého Kláštera ve Zlaté Koruně, sepsaný po Smrti Opata Melichara Hölderla r. 1608,” *Sborník Historického Kroužku* 27 (1926): 68-72.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 69.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 71. Bonaventura Lefebvre was an alto in the imperial chapel from 1575 to 1607, taking on the responsibility of *Singerknaben praeceptor* in 1603. See Michaela Žáčková Rossi,

Three days after Hölderle's death in 19 May 1608, a clerk from Český Krumlov inventoried the monastery's possessions, including a substantial collection of music books kept in a large armoire.¹⁹⁸ The inventory lists the names of the composers, numbers of voices, the bindings, and often differentiates masses from the other *partes* in the collection. Presuming the *partes* to mean motets, the monks of Zlatá Koruna were singing a much greater variety of motets than masses (twenty *partes*, four *missae*, one book of Magnificat settings). There is also a preponderance of works for larger forces with six and eight voices, which may reflect musical practices at the Rudolf's court where Lefebvre worked more than those of the monastery. Two sets of partbooks bound in red leather by Jacob Handl and Franz Sale are likely presentation copies, and most of the books bound in parchment seem to be prints, as works in manuscript are listed at the end. Only one book is identified as a secular collection, the six-voice madrigals of Orazio Vecchi, whose fame among Italian composers of secular music in the late sixteenth-century Czech crown lands seems to have been unsurpassed. While many composers in the imperial chapel are represented, compositions by the several trumpeter-composers employed at the Rudolfin court are notably absent.

The inventory of the Cistercian monastery of Zlatá Koruna, 19 May 1608:

Orlando di Lasso: *partes 6 vocum* in white leather
 Friedrich Lindner: *partes 6 vocum*
 Matthias de Sayve: *partes 5 vocum*
 Jacob Handl: *partes 8 vocum* in red leather
 Franz Sale: *partes 6 vocum* in red leather
 Franz Sale: *partes 6 vocum* in colored paper
 [Hans Leo or Jakob?] Hassler: *partes* in parchment
 Zianchia Tarnisino [Liberale Zanchi?]: *partes* in parchment
 Gioseffo Biffi: *partes* in paper
 Rudolf di Lasso: *partes* in parchment
 Blasius Ammon: *partes 4 vocum* in parchment
 Giulio Belli: *missa 8 vocum* in parchment
 Carl Luython: *partes 6 vocum* in parchment
 Narcissus Zängel: *missa 8 vocum* in parchment
 Johannes Feldmayr: *partes 8 vocum* in parchment
 Philippe de Monte: *partes 4 vocum* in parchment
 Hassler: *partes 6 vocum* in parchment
 Gregor Aichinger: *partes 4 vocum* in parchment
 Martin Langreder: *partes 6 vocum* in parchment
 Giulio Gigli: *partes 5 vocum* in paper [*Sdegnosi ardori* (Munich: Berg, 1585)?]
 Orazio Vecchi: *Madrigali 6 vocum* in parchment

Hudebníci dvora Rudolfa II. ve Světle Císařských Účtů (1576-1612) (Prague: Association for Koniasch Latin Press, 2009), 59.

¹⁹⁸ The inventory is transcribed in Gross, *op. cit.*, 153-157.

Philipp Schöndorff: *partes 6 vocum* in parchment
 Petri Lachimae: *7 vocum* in red leather
 Orlando di Lasso: *Magnificat 6 vocum* in parchment
 Matthias Thalman: *Missa 6 vocum* in parchment
 Giovanni Ferretti: *partes 5 vocum* unbound
 Paul Sartorius: *Missae 8 vocum* in parchment
 Franz Sale: *Oratio* unbound in three parts
 Friedrich Lindner: handwritten *partes 6 vocum*
 Philippe de Monte: handwritten *6 vocum*
 Philippe de Monte: *5 vocum*

Given the location of the monastery in southern Bohemia, it is no surprise to find so much music originating in Prague or coming from the Nuremberg presses. Moreover, the monastery was not far from Český Krumlov, which was home to the largest music collection outside the Prague court, that of Vilém and Petr Vok of Rožmberk, who also employed their own music chapel. Český Krumlov lay on the route connecting Prague and Linz. Thus, it was an important resting point on the way from Austria and the Italian peninsula to Prague, through which numerous visitors to Prague from the south must have passed. Composers listed in the inventory who worked in Austria, such as Blasius Ammon (who worked at two Cistercian monasteries of Heiligenkreuz and Zwettl¹⁹⁹), Narcissus Zängel, and Paul Sartorius provide some indication of cultural connection to the Austrian lands that was bridged to the north by this part of Bohemia.

The collection is unusually consistent in comprising works from the last two decades of the sixteenth century and the first decade of the seventeenth century, suggesting that much of it was probably bequeathed by Lefebvre. With his donation, the Cistercian monastery of Zlatá Koruna gained ample means to revive not just the monastery's buildings and bridges, but also to revive polyphonic singing. Scant evidence of the size of any monastery choirs in Bohemia and Moravia during this time period precludes understanding how quickly polyphonic singing was underway at monasteries after the turn of the century, but it is clear that by the end of the seventeenth century, music at Bohemian and Moravian monasteries, the Piarist monasteries foremost among them, had returned to the heights of monastic singing attained at the beginning of the fifteenth century at such productive cultural centers as the southern Bohemian Cistercian monastery of Vyšší Brod.²⁰⁰

CONCLUSION

The acquisition of music books by Bohemian and Moravian institutions in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries reflects many transregional patterns: 1) a reliance

¹⁹⁹ See *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Blasius Ammon," by Anthony F. Carver, accessed March 10, 2010, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

²⁰⁰ On music and composers in late seventeenth-century monasteries, see Jiří Sehnal, *Dějiny Hudby na Moravě* (Brno: Muzejní a Vlastivědná Společnost v Brně, 2001), 67-88.

on presentation copies, distributed most actively by Jacob Handl, Franz Sale, and Johann Knöfel; 2) the manuscript transmission of Czech Utraquist music; 3) a pronounced dependency on the Nuremberg presses, the printed production of Katherina Gerlach and her successor, Paul Kauffmann, above all; 4) a widespread distribution of prints from the Frankfurt press of Nikolaus Stein and Wolfgang Richter sanctioned by imperial authority; and 5) the unique popularity of a small group of anthologies, beginning with Montanus and Neuber's 1564 *Thesauri musici* and the volumes designed to replace them, Pietro Giovanelli's 1568 *Novi thesauri musici*, and continuing with the anthologies of Italian music collected by Friedrich Lindner and published by the Gerlach press. The consistency of these trends suggests some imperial control over the music market, a subject that awaits further research.

When we look beyond institutional collections toward those owned by individuals, we begin to see much more diversity and individuality in the acquisition of music books, at which the first section of inventories in this chapter only begins to hint. Many collectors evince the same preferences for the music of Lasso, Handl, and Giovanelli's and Lindner's anthologies that is evident at Bohemian and Moravian institutions. Personal collections, however, reflect a range of musical tastes that frustrates any attempt at summary.

I have not yet discussed the two most extraordinary music libraries outside the narrow sphere of the Prague court, those of the Rožmberk family of southern Bohemia and the collection of the Moravian nobleman Karl von Dietrichstein; these will be considered in the subsequent chapters of this dissertation.²⁰¹ Utilizing a network of agents strategically placed in Prague, Linz, Vienna, Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Frankfurt am Main, the higher strata of Moravian and Bohemian society had access to a much greater diversity of music books than their less economically resourceful compatriots. Petr Vok of Rožmberk, building on the collection begun by his brother Vilém, amassed some 200 prints of music by the first decade of the seventeenth century, while Karl von Dietrichstein, who began his own music chapel from scratch at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was in possession of over 100 books of music by 1608, an astonishingly short span of time to build a collection and work that was possibly accomplished with the assistance of Philippe de Monte and Carl Luython.

These two collections still fall somewhat short of other famous music libraries in central Europe. The libraries of Hans Heinrich Herwart, who had amassed 456 prints by 1586, and Johann Georg von Werdenstein, owner of 451 prints in 1592, were coveted by

²⁰¹ No inventory of Rudolf II's collection has yet been identified. In Prague, two of the most substantial collections of music await further study. Wolfgang Rumpf, Rudolf's High Steward, apparently amassed a large collection of music books. A catalogue of his entire library is now kept at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna (*Librorum bibliothecae Rumpfianae ordine numerorum perpetua serie continuatorum catalogus*, Codex Vindobonensis Palatinus 15.286). Another collection awaiting further research and reconstruction is that of Philip II's Spanish ambassador to the imperial court, Juan de Borja, who owned choirbooks copied at the imperial court, many of which ended up in Spain and elsewhere. See Georg van Doorslaer, "Livre de choeur contenant huit messes inédites de Philippe de Monte," *Musica Sacra* 34 (1927): 94. On the Rožmberk library as a whole, see Lenka Veselá, *Knihy na Dvoře Rožmberků* (Prague: Scriptorium, 2005).

the Dukes of Bavaria, who managed to acquire both collections.²⁰² Nor did the Rožmberk and Dietrichstein collections come close to the largest collection of music books in the Czech crown lands, that of Georg Rudolf, Duke of Liegnitz-Wohlau in Lower Silesia, who, according to the 1636 catalogue of his library, owned 474 music books. In 1646, his library became the basis for the Protestant school at the Church of St. John founded by Georg Rudolf in Liegnitz (present-day Legnica, Poland). Like the libraries of Werdenstein, Herwart, and Raimund Fugger the Younger, whose collections form substantial parts of the collections of sixteenth-century music at the Bavarian State Library in Munich and the Austrian National Library in Vienna, 265 books of music from Georg Rudolf's original collection now fill the shelves of the Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk Library in Legnica, the Catholic University Library in Lublin, the National Library in Warsaw, and the University Library in Wrocław.²⁰³

The Dietrichstein and Rožmberk libraries did not share the same fate, and their dispersion wears heavily on the history of Czech music that this dissertation seeks to emend. Like so many other collections in Bohemia and Moravia, the Rožmberk collection in Třeboň (Wittingau), Bohemia, and the Dietrichstein collection in Mikulov (Nikolsburg), Moravia, were ravaged by Swedish troops during the Thirty Years' War, who shipped quantities of books upward to Sweden in an effort to improve Swedish literacy per a specific directive issued by Queen Christina.²⁰⁴ Once in Sweden, they were scattered across the country, where many of them still sit in libraries, catalogued separately as "war booty" and awaiting further study.

²⁰² For a discussion of the larger context of sixteenth-century European libraries, see Kate van Orden and Alfredo Vitolo, "Padre Martini, Gaetano Gaspari and the 'Pagliarini Collection': A Renaissance Music Library Rediscovered," *Early Music History* 29 (2010), 241-324. Numbers of music books from the Herwart and Werdenstein collections are cited on page 244.

²⁰³ The collection was dispersed among these libraries from their home at the Ritter-Akademie in Legnica toward the end of World War II. His music library has been reconstructed in Aniela Kolbuszewska, *Katalog Zbiorów Muzycznych Legnickiej Biblioteki Księcia Jerzego Rudolfa "Bibliotheca Rudolphina"* (Legnica: Legnickie Towarzystwo Muzyczne, 1992).

²⁰⁴ An early study of Moravian books in Swedish libraries was carried out by Beda Dudík in *Forschungen in Schweden für Mährens Geschichte* (Brno: Winiker, 1852). Recent musicological work has focused on medieval Bohemian and Moravian manuscripts in Sweden, rather than printed holdings. See Lucie Berná and Martina Stratilková, "Hudební Památky z Českých Zemí ve Švédských Archivech," *Opus Musicum* 6 (2001), 36-43.

Chapter 2 Italians in Bohemia

A recurring theme in the literature on Rudolf II – that he was not as interested in music as he was in alchemy, acquiring paintings, or building his Wunderkammer – has been invoked repeatedly by scholars who have narrowed their attention to a few salient points. How else to account for his withdrawal from public displays of worship, increasing failure to pay his court musicians, the dwindling numbers of music prints dedicated to the emperor, or the fact that he did not replace his chapelmaster after Philippe de Monte passed away on 4 July 1603?¹ We also have few explicit statements from the emperor regarding his personal musical taste. He seems to have been relatively silent on the matter with the exception of a letter from 12 March 1578 written to his cousin, Wilhelm of Bavaria, requesting some new short madrigals or songs by Orlando di Lasso.²

There is, however, another piece of overlooked evidence indicating that Rudolf did attempt to replace his chapelmaster—with a significant choice. On 17 May 1604 the imperial ambassador Cesare Florio sent a diplomatic dispatch to Cesare d’Este in Modena. At the end of the report, he includes a note that his letter is accompanied by another from an unnamed musician in the imperial chapel, possibly offering an imperial position to Orazio Vecchi.³ Vecchi had been serving as chapelmaster and instructor at the court of the ducal prince in Modena, but, as Johannes Hol points out, he was probably compelled to refuse the appointment due to ill health. It seems that the letter was indeed transmitted to Vecchi and that he was extraordinarily flattered. Vecchi died only nine months later on 19 February

¹ These assumptions underlie foundational work on music at the Rudolfine court by Carmelo Peter Comberiat and Robert Lindell. See, for example, Carmelo Peter Comberiat, *Late Renaissance Music at the Habsburg Court: Polyphonic Settings of the Mass Ordinary at the Court of Rudolf II, 1576–1612* (New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1987); Robert Lindell, “Die Kaiserliche Hofmusikkapelle in Prag zur Zeit Rudolfs II.,” in *Die Wiener Hofmusikkapelle II: Krisenzeiten der Hofmusikkapellen*, ed. Elisabeth Theresia Fritz-Hilscher, Hartmut Krones and Theophil Antonicek (Vienna: Böhlau, 2006), 21–31; Brian Mann, *The Secular Madrigals of Filippo di Monte, 1521–1603* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983), 337.

² “Desgleichen auch ettliche compositionen von khurtzen madrigalen oder gesänng deß orlando. Die di bösten so er gemacht voran....” in Wolfgang Boetticher, *Aus Orlando di Lassos Wirkungskreis* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), 25f; and Robert Lindell, “Music and Patronage at the Court of Rudolf II.,” in *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles, and Contexts*, ed. John Kmetz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 256.

³ Florio’s appended note is transcribed in Johannes Hol, *Horatio Vecchi als Weltlicher Komponist, Erster Teil: Horatio Vecchi’s Leben* (Basel: Buchdruckerei zum Basler Berichthaus, 1917), 12.

1605, but the honor of the emperor's invitation to serve at the imperial court was momentous enough to be memorialized on his tombstone: *a Rudolfo Imp. accersitus ingravescente jam aetate recusato munere* [refused the invitation of an appointment by Rudolf II due to increasing old age].⁴

Orazio Vecchi as head of the imperial musicians would have marked a different set of musical priorities at the Rudolphine court. Philippe de Monte established his reputation through the voluminous output of comparatively highbrow motets, madrigals, and *madrigali spirituale*, whereas Vecchi's fame in central Europe was derived largely from a smaller body of work: his four books of four-voice canzonette. Following the instant success on the Italian market of his first two books, his canzonette were first anthologized for the central European market in the first two volumes of Friedrich Lindner's three-volume *Gemma musicalis* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1588-90).⁵ In 1593 the Gerlach press issued all four of Vecchi's books of four-voice canzonette with an additional nineteen works drawn primarily from Vecchi's *Selva di varia ricreatione* of 1590, volumes that Gerlach's successor, Paul Kauffmann, reprinted with the same title in 1600 or 1601. The complete set of four books would later appear in three volumes in 1610 with German texts by Valentin Haussmann, and two books of selections from Haussmann's set appeared in 1614 and 1620 with German Psalm contrafacta by Petrus Neander.

The success of Lindner's *Gemma musicalis* and Gerlach's reprints of Vecchi's canzonette confirmed the presence of an important market for Italian music in central Europe, yet popular Italian musical forms had already revolutionized the German lied, most spectacularly in Jacob Regnart's three books of *Kurtzweilige teutsche Lieder*, inspired by the napolitana or villanella as boldly stated on their title pages. These volumes of three-voice lieder, first published in Nuremberg by Gerlach between 1574 and 1579, were reprinted immediately afterward and later gathered together in one volume published in three editions by Gerlach from 1584, 1588, and 1593 and five editions by Adam Berg in Munich from 1583 to 1611.⁶ Ludwig Finscher sights the origins of this transformation of German song in

⁴ Ibid., 11.

⁵ Information on the publication history of the canzonetta in central Europe can be found in Ruth I. DeFord, *Orazio Vecchi: The Four-Voice Canzonettas with Original Texts and Contrafacta by Valentin Haussmann and Others, Part I: Historical Introduction, Critical Apparatus, Texts, Contrafacta* (Madison: A-R Editions, Inc., 1993), 6-12. Ludwig Finscher points out that Lindner may have been inspired by earlier anthologies printed in Antwerp, such as the *Harmonia celeste* (Antwerp: Phalèse, 1583), *Musica divina* (Antwerp: Phalèse, 1583), and *Symphonia angelica* (Antwerp: Phalèse, 1585). See Ludwig Finscher, "Lied and Madrigal, 1580-1600," in *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles, and Contexts*, ed. John Kmetz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 187. Lindner's *Tertius Gemmae musicalis liber* includes nine of Vecchi's six-voice canzonette first published in Venice in 1587.

⁶ The three original volumes are *Kurtzweilige Teutsche Lieder, zu dreyen Stimmen, Nach art der Neapolitanen oder Welschen Villanellen, newlich Durch Röm. Key. May. Etc. Musicum*,

Orlando di Lasso's first German songbook, the five-voice *Neue teütsche Liedlein* printed in Munich by Berg in 1569, in which Lasso combines elements of lied, chanson, and madrigal, and he suggests that the early experiments of Lasso and his pupils laid the groundwork for the pathbreaking madrigal anthology *Sdegnosi ardori* (Munich: Berg, 1585) and Lindner's subsequent volumes of the *Gemma musicalis*.⁷ Yet Finscher also points out a problem in our understanding of why this phenomenon of Italian music printing in Nuremberg was taking place. Dedications of madrigal collections printed in Nuremberg to rulers and aristocrats associated with the courts of Prague, Munich, Dresden, and Cassel and to members of Nuremberg's Musicalische Krentzleins-Gesellschaft suggest that the market for Italian-texted music may have been confined by the circles of courtly rulers who employed Italian musicians. Moreover, the musical activities of those groups of people with competence in Italian – the rural aristocracy, urban merchants, and colonies of Italian merchants in large cities – are not well documented and are in any case too small a portion of the population to make the printing of Italian music financially viable. In short, Finscher is unsure why so many books of Italian music were printed in Germany given the apparently limited number of Italian-speakers and Italophiles there.

In this chapter, I would like to propose that the market for Italian music, the reasons for its being printed in such quantities, and its role in the transformation of the lied, cannot be properly understood without taking into account the exceptional social fabric of late sixteenth-century Prague and its importance as an international center. As the primary meeting place for German and Italian rulers from throughout the empire, as home to a large and diverse Italian population, and the primary northern outpost of Italian culture in its capacity as Rome's imperial representative, cultural tendencies in Prague exerted a powerful influence throughout the Roman Empire. The Rudolfine court was intimately bound to Habsburg courts in Austria and, facilitated by the Austrian courts' greater proximity to the south and the bonds of marriage, the ruling dynasties of the northern Italian peninsula.

Jacobum Regnart componirt, und in druck verfertigt (Nuremberg: Gerlach and Berg's Heirs, 1576), reprinted in 1578 and 1580; *Der ander Theyl, Kurtzweiliger teutscher Lieder zu dreyen Stimmen. Nach art der Neapolitanen oder Welscheñ Villanellen, newlich durch Röm. Kay. May. Etc. Musicum Jacobum Regnart componirt, und in druck verfertigt* (Nuremberg: Gerlach and Berg's Heirs, 1577), reprinted in 1578 and 1580; and *Der dritte Theyl, Schöner kurtzweiliger Teutscher Lieder, zu dreyen Stimmen, Nach art der Neapolitanen oder Welschen Villanellen, Newlich durch Röm. Key. May. Etc. Musicum, Iacobum Regnart, componirt und in druck verfertigt* (Nuremberg: Gerlach and Berg's Heirs, 1579), reprinted in 1580. The three volumes were gathered together in one book and printed in five editions in Munich: 1583, 1587, 1590, 1597, and 1611 and in Nuremberg as *Tricinia, Kurtzweilige teutsche Lieder zu dreyen stimmen* in 1584, 1588, and 1593. A selection was printed in 1614 by Paul Kauffmann in Nuremberg in his anthology *Allerley kurtzweilige Teutsche Liedlein, mit dreyen stimmen, meistestheils nach art der Neypolitanen unnd Villanellen, von unterschiedlichen Autoren componirt unnd in Druck verfertigt*. See Walter Pass, *Thematischer Katalog sämtlicher Werke Jacob Regnarts (ca. 1540–1599)* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1969), 23-65.

⁷ Finscher, "Lied and Madrigal, 1580–1600," 186.

Moreover, the craze for certain strains of Italian music at the Rudolfine court was not a one-directional export of musical styles from Italy to the north. Musical tastes in Prague, influenced by Italian trends thanks to a large body of local Italian musicians and numerous Italian visitors, also shaped music produced in Italy, as composers in Prague continued to publish and market their music in Venice and other Italian composers wrote music to satisfy northern preferences.

As I hope to show, Orazio Vecchi's influence on the secular music of Rudolfine composers is apparent as early as the books of madrigals published by Philippe de Monte and Alessandro Orologio in 1586, and it was around this time that Rudolfine composers took a greater interest in publishing their own canzonette and villanelle or napolitane. My discussion will also focus on Giovanni Battista Pinello di Ghirardi, who was employed both at the court in Prague and as chapelmaster at the Protestant court of Elector August of Saxony in Dresden. I was fortunate enough to discover a fragment of Pinello's long-lost 1584 *Primo libro dele neapolitane a cinque voci* during a research trip to Prague, and it provides a unique opportunity to assess how one composer altered his compositional approach to suit the northern market. Unlike Vecchi's canzonette, northern variants of these Italian-language forms tended to eschew strophic, bipartite structures in favor of through-composed settings; so too, napolitane written in the north tend toward four- and five-voice polyphonic textures, as composers responded to local tastes in secular songs informed by the German lied. Before investigating the music in more detail, I will look at the unusually Italianate character of Prague and the musical establishment of the Rudolfine court, whose ranks of Italian instrumentalists were among the most active publishers and musicians in the city.

PRAGUE'S ITALIAN RESIDENTS

Before Prague became Rudolf II's imperial residence, the first wave of Italian immigrants in the sixteenth century were craftsmen, stoneworkers, bricklayers, and architects, predominantly from the northern regions of the peninsula, individuals who came in response to commissions from Emperor Ferdinand I (r. 1558–1564) and Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol (1529–1595), the latter of whom maintained his court in Prague between 1547 to 1567.⁸ During these years, Italian masons constructed some of Prague's most innovative and visually striking buildings, such as the Hvězda ("Star") Summer Palace, conceived as a hunting lodge in the shape of a star, and the Belvedere, an Italianate palace surrounded by an arcaded loggia begun in 1538 in the castle gardens, commissioned by Ferdinand I as a gift for his wife, Anna Jagellonica, and later home to a portion of Rudolf's

⁸ The best introduction to Ferdinand's years in Prague is Václav Bůžek, *Ferdinand Tyrolský mezi Prahou a Innsbruckem: Šlechta v Českých Zemích na Cestě ke Dvorům Prvních Habsburků* (České Budějovice: Historický Ústav Filozofické Fakulty Jihočeské Univerzity, 2006); also available in German translation, idem, *Ferdinand von Tirol zwischen Prag und Innsbruck: Der Adel aus den Böhmisches Ländern auf dem Weg zu den Höfen der Ersten Habsburger* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2009).

art collection.⁹ For Ferdinand of Tyrol these palaces were primarily recreational sites for the tournaments, dances, hunts, and gambling sessions of which he was so particularly fond. After 1541, when a fire decimated Prague's Little Quarter below the castle hill, Italian masons were among the greatest beneficiaries, as this district's noble residents emulated the architectural projects of the two Ferdinands by building new residences outfitted with facades blanketed in *sgraffito* and arcaded courtyards. Given the Italian masons' particular talents in constructing free-standing palaces, they followed commissions throughout Bohemia and Moravia to build other residences for the nobility.¹⁰ Many of them were employed for years in these jobs, establishing permanent residences in their new Bohemian and Moravian homes and leading to the establishment of larger Italian enclaves in such cities as Plzeň, Vodňany in southern Bohemia, and Olomouc, Brno, and Uherské Hradiště in Moravia.¹¹ The large influx of migrant Italian builders, masons, and craftsmen enabled them to extend their building projects to encompass other civic structures, including town halls, courthouses, Jesuit academies, monasteries, and homes of the lower aristocracy.¹² The

⁹ For more on the building activities of Italians in the Czech lands, see Marina Dmitrieva-Einhorn, "Rhetorik der Fassaden: Fassadendekorationen in Böhmen," in *Metropolen und Kulturtransfer im 15./16. Jahrhundert: Prag, Krakau, Danzig, Wien*, ed. Andrea Langer and Georg Michels (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001), 151-170.

¹⁰ On some of their palatial projects, see Jaroslava Kašparová, *České Země a Jejich Obyvatelé Očima Románského Světa 16.–17. Století* (Prague: Vedita, 2010), 87.

¹¹ On the community in Plzeň, see Cyril Kříž, "Po Stopách Italů v Plzni," *Zpravodaj Společnosti Přátel Itálie* no. 4 (2005), 9-11; and idem, *Zpravodaj Společnosti Přátel Itálie* no. 1 (2006), 7-9. For migration in connection with building projects throughout Bohemia and Moravia, see Marina Dmitrieva-Einhorn, "Rhetorik der Fassaden." On the Italian and Spanish minorities in Brno, see Hana Jordánková and Ludmila Sulitková, "Italové a Španělé v Předbělohorském Brně," in *Ad Vitam et Honorem: Profesoru Jaroslavu Mezníkovi Přátelé a Žáci k Pětasedmdesátým Narozeninám*, ed. Tomáš Borovský, Libor Jan, and Martin Wihoda (Brno: Matices Moravská, 2003): 715-742.

¹² The most productive architects in sixteenth-century Brno, for example, were a pair of Italian brothers, Pietro and Antonio Gabri, who came with a wave of Italian masons immigrating to the city in the second half of the sixteenth century. Their construction projects included the city's most important civic and sacred buildings—the town hall, the courthouse, the Bishop's court, the Augustinian monastery, the Jesuit academy and school, the monastery at Zábřovice, and the tower of St. James, as well as several homes. On Italian craftsmen in Brno, see Ludmila Sulitková, "Italové v Brně v Předbělohorském Období," in *Cramars: Furlánští a italské obchodníci v Českých zemích*, ed. Giorgio Cadorini, vol. 1 (Prague: Oddělení Italistiky Ústavu Románských Studií, 1999), 55-65, 89-92; and Jaroslav Dřímál and Václav Peša, ed., *Dějiny města Brna I* (Brno: Blok, 1969), 144. Construction on Karl von Liechtenstein's residences in Valtice (Feldsberg) and Lednice (Eisgrub) in Moravia during the first decades of the seventeenth century was overseen by a succession of Italian architects, some of whom had already established residences in Brno. Herbert Haupt, *Fürst*

diffusion of Italian settlements contributed to a widespread popularization of Italian Renaissance architecture and culture throughout Bohemia and Moravia, strengthened by everyday interactions with the Italians who made permanent homes in late sixteenth-century Bohemian and Moravian cities.

Another decisive influence on Czech interest in Italian culture was an excursion to Genoa organized by Ferdinand in 1551 to welcome Prince Maximilian, who had been crowned king of Bohemia in 1549, and his bride, Maria of Spain. Accompanied by twenty-three Bohemian and Moravian noblemen, thirty knights, and their retinues, this group of 200 embarked on a journey that passed through some of the most significant cultural centers of northern Italy, including Mantua, Cremona, Milan, and Padua.¹³ As the first exposure to Italian Renaissance culture for many of them, it made a lasting impression. The half-year journey inspired, for example, the southern Bohemian nobleman Vilém of Rožmberk, whose music collection was discussed in chapter one, to adopt Italian clothing and manners, construct new Italianate residences, and to form the first known noble chapel in Bohemia immediately after his return in 1552.¹⁴ Up until that time, the Bohemian nobility typically hired musicians for single events. Rožmberk began by acquiring a collection of wind instruments, then hired a body of musicians to guarantee music at his court in Český Krumlov while strengthening the role of music in the city's school and church.¹⁵ By the beginning of the seventeenth century, he had established an abundant collection of some 200 scores from throughout Europe, published primarily in Nuremberg, Frankfurt, and Venice.¹⁶

Karl I. von Liechtenstein: Obersthofmeister Kaiser Rudolfs II. und Vizekönig von Böhmen: Hofstaat und Sammeltätigkeit, Edition der Quellen aus dem Liechtensteinischen hausarchiv (Vienna: Böhlau, 1983), 41-43.

¹³ The most detailed account of the trip is in Václav Bůžek et al., *Světy Posledních Rožmberků* (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové Noviny, 2011), 35-46.

¹⁴ The Rožmberks also attempted to trace their lineage back to the ancient Italian family, Orsinus. See *ibid.*, 8-21. On the Italian journey's influences on Vilém, see *ibid.*, 39-42. While staying in Innsbruck in December 1551 on his way back from Italy, Vilém invited Italian instrumentalists to play at a reception along with Charles V's wind band. Pánek, "Renesanční Velmož a Utváření Hudební Kultury Šlechtického Dvora," *Hudební Věda* 26 (1989): 6-7.

¹⁵ In 1554 Rožmberk strengthened the role of music at the school in Český Krumlov in order to guarantee a body of young singers for services in the parish church and restored Český Krumlov's literary brotherhood. See Martin Horyna, "Vilém z Rožmberka a Hudba," *Opera Historica* 3 (1993): 259.

¹⁶ From the 1610 inventory of the music collection, Daněk has identified 60 prints from Nuremberg, 14 from Frankfurt, 14 from Venice, 9 from Munich, 9 from Augsburg, 8 from Wittenberg, 6 from Leipzig, and one each from Heidelberg, Bamberg, and Coburg. See Petr Daněk, "Flores Musicales aneb Několik Poznámek k Rožmberským 'Libri musici'," *Opus Musicum* no. 1 (2008): 33-34. According to instructions for his chapel from 1562, Vilém

To facilitate the acquisition of Italian goods in Bohemia and Moravia, Italian merchants and financiers began to migrate northwards in greater numbers during the 1560s and 1570s, where they found a receptive market for both small- and large-scale trade and financial services.¹⁷ The highly profitable import of commodities such as wine, luxury cloth, and spices, in combination with financial loans offered to the nobility and well-to-do burghers, placed some Italian colonists at the apex of urban society, while their trading activities considerably undermined the long-term monopoly on Italian goods that Nuremberg merchants had long enjoyed in Prague.¹⁸ Some of them gained admission to the broader urban social elite through a combination of patronage, close familial bonds, and personal wealth. Among the most influential Italian entrepreneurs in Rudolphine Prague was the Mantuan native, Ercole da Nova (d. 1606), who managed commercial and financial services for several noble families in Bohemia and Moravia, including the Rožmberks, Wallensteins, and Žerotíns, and traded in goods from northern Italian cities by way of the markets in Linz.¹⁹ Granted the rights of a full citizen of Prague in 1589 and ennobled in 1604, he ran a prosperous banking house from his residence in the hub of Italian life in Prague, the Little Quarter, donated to both Catholic and Protestant churches in Prague, and assimilated into the city's higher social strata by twice marrying into families of the local patriciate.²⁰

The flow of Italian immigrants and visitors reached its zenith in the Rudolphine era, as the presence of the court made Prague a magnet not only for Italian craftsmen and merchants, but also ecclesiastics, representatives of the Roman church, ambassadors and

preferred Italian and French music. Pánek attributes this preference for Italian culture to his Catholicism, noting that Petr Vok was culturally more oriented toward Protestant Germany and the Low Lands. See Pánek, "Renesanční Velmož," 10.

¹⁷ For a general overview of Italians in Bohemia and Moravia, see Arturo Cronia, *Čechy v Dějinách Italské Kultury: Tisíciletá Žeň* (Prague, 1936), 51-91; Josef Janáček, "Italové v Předbělohorské Praze (1526-1620)," *Pražský Sborník Historický* 16 (1983), 77-118; and Zdeněk Hojda, "Cizinci v Praze Rudolfa II. aneb Téma Zvláště Aktuální," *Umění a Řemesla* 39 (1997), 2-5.

¹⁸ Jaroslav Miller, *Urban Societies in East-Central Europe: 1500–1700* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate), 34.

¹⁹ Bůžek, "Zahraniční Trhy a Kultura Šlechtických Dvorů v Předbělohorských Českých Zemích," *Český Časopis Historický* 89 (1991): 702.

²⁰ Miller, *Urban Societies*, 34. For information on Prague's Italian merchants, see Josef Janáček, "Italové v Předbělohorské Praze (1526–1620)," *Pražský Sborník Historický* 16 (1983): 89-90.

members of the Italian nobility.²¹ Diplomats from Mantua, Modena, Parma, and Venice as well as the papal nuncios kept Italian courts and the Holy See up-to-date on affairs in Prague.²² At the court, Rudolf populated his staff with numerous Italians, who, alongside members of the regional nobility, occupied some of the court's most influential positions. One of the highest noblemen in his employ was the Milanese Claudio Trivulzio, Count of Melzo, who, as grandmaster of the *Stallpartey*, was therefore in charge of the predominantly Italian band of trumpeters and timpanists, while two Maltese knights Ottavio Spinola of Genoa and Baron Ludovico Colloredo served among Rudolf's closest personal advisors as gentlemen of the bed-chamber.²³ Feudal dynasties of the northern Italian peninsula sent members of their families to represent their interests, including the Gonzaga, Pallavicino, Montecuculi, Caretto, Millesimo, Malaspina, Strasoldo, Castaldo, and Collalto families, who were given honorary offices at the court.²⁴ The ranks of Italians in imperial service also included musicians, artists, sculptors, jewelers, and other skilled professionals.²⁵ One of the

²¹ Kašparová approximates the number of permanent Italian residents in Prague in 1600 to be somewhere between 300-400. See Kašparová, *České Země a jejich Obyvatelé*, 90; and Miller, *Urban Societies*, 33.

²² The diplomatic literature on late sixteenth-century Bohemia and Moravia is substantial. See, for example, Arturo Cronia, *Čechy v Dějinách Italské Kultury: Tisíciletá Žeň* (Prague: Akad. Věd a Umění, 51-91; Alena Pazderová, "Říše, Rudolf II. a Jeho Dvůr Očima Toskánkého Vyslance Roderiga Alidosiho," *Z Archivních Depozitářů: Pavle Burdové k 70. Narozeninám* (Prague: Státní Ústřední Archiv, 1998): 80-89; and Johann Rainer, "Ein Bericht über eine Reise durch Schlesien und Mähren im Jahre 1597," in *In Memoriam Josefa Macka (1922-1991)*, ed. Miloslav Polívka and František Šmahel (Prague: Historický Ústav AV ČR, 1996), 277-304. For reports from the Venetian ambassadors, see Eugenio Albéri, ed., *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, Series I, no. 6 (Florence: Tipografia all'insegna di Clio, 1862); and Joseph Fiedler, ed., *Relationen Venetianischer Botschafter über Deutschland und Österreich im Sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, vol. 30 (Vienna: Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1870).

²³ Four members of the Colloredo family were in imperial service. See Eduard Vehse, *Memoirs of the Court and Aristocracy of Austria*, vol. 1 (London: H. S. Nichols, 1896), 214.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 214.

²⁵ Cavazza cites a few names, such as the imperial doctor Bartolomeo Guarinoni; the painters Giuseppe Arcimboldo, Martino Rota, Giulio Licinio; the sculptor and medalist Antonio Abondio; and the Milanese jewelers Ottavio, Ambrogio, and Alessandro Miseroni. See Silvano Cavazza, "Praga e le Corti Tedesche all'Epoca di Alessandro Orologio," in *Alessandro Orologio (1551-1633): Musicista Friulano e il suo Tempo*, ed. Franco Colussi (Udine: Pizzicato, 2008): 50. For a more detailed account of the activities of particular Italian personalities at the court, see R. J. W. Evans, *Rudolf II and His World: A Study in Intellectual History, 1576-1612* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).

most consequential families was that of the antiquarian Jacopo Strado, whose son Ottavio took charge of the imperial art collection, while his daughter Katharina mothered a contested number of Rudolf's illegitimate children.²⁶

As one of the fulcra of papal policy, Prague was a revolving door of visiting papal representatives and their accompanying Italian retinues.²⁷ Among the eleven papal nuncios to serve in Prague during Rudolf's reign, Cesare Speciano stayed the longest of all, from 1592 and 1598, and during this time gave financial support to local Jesuit printing projects in Latin and Italian, on which he closely collaborated.²⁸ In addition to publishing, Prague's

²⁶ Ibid., 58. The numbers hover somewhere between five and eight.

²⁷ Giovanni Francesco Bonhomini (1536-?) was the first nuncio on an extended stay in Prague. His appointment was followed by Germanico Malaspina (1584-86), Filippo Sega (1586-87), Antonio Puteo (1587-89), Alfonso Visconte (1589-91), Camillo Caetano (1591-92), Cesare Speciano (1592-98), Filippo Spinelli (1599-1603) Giovanni Stefano Ferreri (1604-7), Antonio Caetano (1607-10), and Giovanni Battista Salvaggio (1610-12). See Kašparová, *České Země*, 89. Several volumes of their letters have been edited and published. A list is provided in Evans, *Rudolf II and his World*, 295-296. In addition to the volumes mentioned by Evans, the letters of Speciano have more recently been edited in Natale Mosconi, ed., *La Nunziatura di Praga di Cesare Speciano, 1592-1598, nelle Carte Inedite Vaticane e Ambrosiane* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1966-).

²⁸ While Speciano's publications were primarily in Latin, he oversaw the printing of two works in Italian at the printshop of Jan Schuman, both carried out by the Jesuit community in Prague. The first was a translation from Latin of the life of Saint Elzéar de Sabran undertaken by the Italian Jesuit Claudio Bilancetti in 1594 and dedicated to Polyxena Pernštejn of Rožmberk (*Vita del glorioso confessore di Christo Santo Elzeario conte, tradotta di Latino in volgare italiano dal P. Claudio Bilancetti della Compagnia di Giesu... Stampata in Praga appresso Giovanni Sciumano con licenza di monsignor illustrissimo arcivescovo, anno M.D.XCIII*). The dedication celebrates the patronage and protection of Václav of Pernštejn, Vilém of Rožmberk, and Maria Manriquez de Lara, and flatters Polyxena by referencing the myth of the Italian origins of the Rožmberk family, who like the Catholic church, represent the "lumi & splendori d'Italia." Bilancetti also mentions the defense of the faith in Moravia, the construction of the Italian chapel at the Prague Jesuit academy, and the founding of the Jesuit college in Český Krumlov. The copy of the book now at the Olomouc Scientific Library (sign. 30.671) was owned by the Jesuit probate house in Brno in 1604. The second Italian print was Antonio Possevino's *Il soldato christiano, con l'instrvttione de capi dell'essercito catolico* (Prague: Schuman, 1595), a pamphlet addressed to Italian soldiers who fought in the Hungarian wars against the Turks. Possevino (ca. 1533/4-1611) was a Jesuit and papal legate who preached in Prague in Italian. Speciano also financed the 1596 publication of Pope Clement VIII's list of banned books, *Index librorum prohibitorum* (Prague: 1596, Václav Maryn z Jenčic) as an aid to local bishops overseen by the nuncio. See Enzo Rangognini, "Pražské Latinské a Italské Tisky Vydané z Iniciativy a Nákladem Papežského Nuncia Cesare

visiting nuncios were actively involved in the city's musical life. The Neapolitan composer Stefano Felis (ca. 1550–after 1603) worked for the nuncio Antonio Puteo (1587–89) and took the opportunity of his stay to issue his first book of masses, the *Missarum sex vocum* (Prague: Nigrin, 1588), which he dedicated to Philippe de Croy, Duke of Arshot and ambassador of King Philip of Spain.²⁹ Philippe de Monte, whom Felis knew in Prague, dedicated *Il quintodecimo libro de' madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: Gardano, 1592) to the nuncio Camillo Caetano, who heard his madrigals performed on viols while in Prague.³⁰ The Italian composer of canzonette, Giovanni Battista Massarengo, published a collection of his poetry, *Concetti spirituali, quarta parte delle rime* (Prague: Nigrin, 1602), dedicated to the

Speciana,” *Knihy a Dějiny* 4 no. 1 (1997), 1–19; or the Italian version, idem, “Le Cinquecentine Praguesi del Nunzio Speciano,” *Studi e Bibliografie* 3 no. 1 (1987), 67–93.

²⁹ *Missarum sex vocum, nuper A. Stephano Felis Barensi, metropolitanae ecclesiae eiusdem civitatis canonico, 7 chori magistro editarum, ad illustrissimum et excellentissimum DD. Philippum, dominum de Croz, et ducem Arshotanus, 7c., serenissimique catholici Regis ad sacrae Caes: Maiest: legatum* (Prague: Nigrin, 1588). A copy of the altus partbook survives in the Strahov Monastery library in Prague (sign. D. H. V. 25) with a title page indicating that it was owned by the Dominican monastery in Písek, Bohemia, in 1588. Felis's print is a slender volume of only two masses: *Missa la, sol, fa, mi, re, ut* and *Missa Sancti Nicolai*. D. H. V. 25 opens with an unidentified book of masses missing its title page, and following the print by Felis are three books of motets by Jacob Reiner: *Liber mottetarum sive cantionum sacrarum sex et octo vocum* (Munich: Henricus, 1600) and two prints entitled *Liber mottetarum sive cantionum sacrarum sex vocum* (Dillingen: Meltzer, 1603) both with the same title page but different contents and indexes. A manuscript appendix contains settings of psalms and hymns on Czech texts, two of which are identified in the book as works by Pavel Spongopaeus Jistebnický.

³⁰ Felis's dedication of his five-voice *Sesto libro de madrigali* (Venice: Scotto, 1591) indicates that he was acquainted in Prague with Philippe de Monte, whom he further honors by including one of the composer's madrigals in his print. See Robert Lindell, “Music and Patronage at the Court of Rudolf II,” *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles, and Contexts*, ed. John Kmetz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 266. Monte's dedication to Caetano is transcribed in Georges van Doorslaer, *La Vie et les Oeuvres de Philippe de Monte* (Brussels: Lamertin and Hayez, 1921), 243–4. Monte dedicated his sixteenth book of five-voice madrigals to Diego de Campo, apostolic protonotarius and canon of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, who had passed through Prague on his return from Poland. See Brian Mann, *The Secular Madrigals of Filippo di Monte, 1521–1603* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983), 382.

nuncio Filippo Spinelli (1599-1603), as well as verses in honor of the wedding of Spinelli's friend and president of the imperial court chamber, Jakub Breuner.³¹

The nuncios were also actively involved with the Jesuits in providing spiritual support to the local Italian community, offering sermons in Italian at the Church of St. Clement, where an Italian chapel was constructed in 1567-69, and publishing Italian devotional literature to spiritually buttress the local community.³² This chapel served as the meeting place for the Italian *Congregatio Beatae Mariae Virginis Annunciatae*, founded in 1577 by the rector of the Jesuit academy in Prague, Biagio Montagnini (d. 1582), with the endorsement of the papal nuncio. The Prague congregation served as the model for similar Italian congregations established in other Bohemian and Moravian towns with significant Italian enclaves, including the *Congregatio Beatae Virginis Italicae Brunae* founded in Brno in 1592.³³ In an *avviso* of 24 December 1584 to his former Neapolitan patrons, the Pinelli

³¹ This print is mentioned by Anežka Baďurová in her article on Rudolfine bookprinting, "Rudolfinský Knihotisk v Bibliografii Cizojazyčných Bohemikálních Tisků z let 1501–1800," *Knihy a Dějiny* 4 no. 1 (1997): 32, fn. 12.

³² One of these is an anonymous catechism entitled *Iesus Maria, Somma della dottrina Christiana* (Prague: Schuman, 1596), which bears the Jesuit monogram on the title page. A copy survives at the National Library of the Czech Republic (sign. 46 G 000356). For more on Italian-language spiritual literature in Prague, see See Rangognini, "Pražské latinské a italské tisky," 1-20; Jana Sládková, "Vliv Papežských Nunciů na Dvoře Rudolfa II. na Produkci Pražských Tiskáren na Konci 16. století," in *Miscellanea Oddělení Rukopisů a Starých Tisků Národní Knihovny v Praze* 7 no. 1 (1990), 65-73; Karel Stloukal, *Papežská Politika a Císařský Dvůr Pražský na Předělu XVI. a XVII. Věku* (Prague: Náklad Filosofické Fakulty Univ. Karlovy, 1925); and Jaroslava Kašparová, "Pražské Italské Tisky 16. A Počátku 17. Století," *Miscellanea Oddělení Rukopisů a Starých Tisků* 9 (1992-3), 61-76. The Jesuits also gave Italian sermons to the Italian community in Brno. See Vladimír Burian, *Vývoj Náboženských Poměrů v Brně 1570–1618* (Brno: Nákladem ÚNV Zemského Hlavního Města Brna, 1948), 13.

³³ In 1581, Prague's Italian congregation merged with another Marian congregation active at the Jesuit academy since 1574 to form the *Congregatio Beatae Virginis*. During the years of the Italian congregation's independent existence, its membership was not exclusively Italian. Jan Baťa has shown that members included musicians from the court, including the organist Paul de Winde and the chamber musician Dominico Capa, who were elected to the congregation's administrative body, as well as Sebastian Röckhl, a bass in the imperial chapel, and the music copyist Oswaldt Wallner. Members of the combined congregation included Matthias de Sayve, Giorgio Zigotta, Benedictus Scheuchenberger, Jacob Regnart, Jan Sixt of Lerchenfels, Franz Moller, and possibly Ferdinand de Sayve and Franz Sale. Baťa makes a convincing argument that a book of Palestrina masses now kept at the National Library of the Czech Republic in Prague (sign. 59 A 10 471) with an appendix of handwritten, anonymous Marian antiphons was used by this particular congregation. See Jan Baťa, "Jezuité a Hudební Kultura Předbělohorské Prahy: Glosy ke Vzájemné Interakci na Příkladu

family, Philippe de Monte describes a procession to be led by the papal nuncio [Germanico Malaspina] the following day in which he will carry the holy sacrament from the Church of St. Thomas in the Little Quarter and conclude with a sermon attended by “tutta la nazione Italiana.”³⁴ In 1590, the wooden Italian chapel was torn down and replaced by a new chapel in stone adjoined to the Jesuit college and consecrated by the nuncio Filippo Spinelli in 1600.³⁵ The increase in numbers of the Italian community at the beginning of the seventeenth century made it necessary to construct an additional church along with a new Italian *ospedale* in the heart of their neighborhood in the Little Quarter on Vlašská ulice (literally, “Italian Street”).³⁶

The Italian diaspora was further spiritually reinforced by the arrival of Italian monks who came to repopulate and revive ailing Bohemian and Moravian monasteries.³⁷ The

Klementinské Mariánské Sodality,” in *Bohemia Jesuitica 1556–2006* (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 2010), 103-109. Baťa does not mention another book now kept at the Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden with an annotation on the title page also indicating former ownership by the *Congregatio B. Mariae Virginis Annunciatae* in Prague (sign. Mus. Pi 2). This book somehow ended up in the collection of the *kantorei* in the Saxon town of Pirna and, interestingly, is a copy of Hieronymus Praetorius’s *Cantiones sacrae de praecipuis festis totius anni 5. 6. 7. & 8. vocum* (Hamburg: Ohr, 1599) again with handwritten Marian works appended to the back by Jacobus Handl, Blasius Amon, Jacob Reiner, Andrea Gabrieli, and Orfeo Vecchi. For more on this print, see Wolfram Steude, “Die Chorbücher der Pirnaer Kantorei,” *Pirnaer Hefte* 6 (2006): 134. Hojda and Kašparová suggest that the Italian congregation acted as a secret branch of the papal nunciature. See Zdeněk Hojda and Jaroslava Kašparová, *Bohemia–Italia: Češi ve Vláších a Vlaši v Praze / I Cecchi in Italia e gli Italiani a Praga, 1600–2000* (Prague: Národní knihovna ČR, 2000), 11. On Italian congregations in other cities, see Anna Bortolozzi, “La Congregazione della Beata Vergine Maria Assunta in Cielo; Religione e Carità nella Migrazione degli Italiani a Praga in Età Moderna,” in *La Congregazione Italiana di Praga: Luoghi a Memorie dell’Istituto Italiano di Cultura*, ed. Angela Trezza Cabrales (Kutná Hora: Tichá Byzanc, 2003), 11-24, 105-108. On the congregation in Brno, see Burian, *Vývoj Náboženských Poměrů*, 13.

³⁴ Monte’s *avviso* of 24 December 1584 is transcribed in Thorsten Hindrichs, *Philippe de Monte (1521–1603): Komponist, Kapellmeister, Korrespondent* (Göttingen: Hainholz, 2002), 204. In the same letter, Monte goes on to describe the fuss surrounding the addition of Jan Hus to the Utraquist calendar.

³⁵ See Hojda and Kašparová, *Bohemia–Italia*, 16; and Josef Janáček, *Rudolf II. a jeho Doba* (Prague: Svoboda, 1987), 210.

³⁶ Construction lasted from 1602 to 1617. See Kašparová, *České Země a jejich Obyvatelé*, 89.

³⁷ Zikmund Winter provides passing information on numbers of foreigners in Bohemian monasteries in his history of religious life in Bohemia during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, *Život Církevní v Čechách: Kulturně-Historický Obraz z XV. A XVI. Století* (Prague:

diverse blend of foreigners that characterized both monastic institutions and many urban centers in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Bohemia and Moravia may have been an incentive for the abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Emmaus in Prague, Petr Loderecker, to publish his *Dictionarium septem diversarum linguarum, videlicet latine, italice, dalmatice, bohemicæ, polonice, germanice & ungarice* (Prague: Othmar, 1605).³⁸ Through their printing activities, construction of religious spaces, and provision of both private and public religious services, the nuncios, Jesuits, and monks who arrived after the first waves of Italian immigration played an important role in reducing the linguistic and cultural isolation of Prague's burgeoning Italian community.

While Bohemian burghers filled the streets and homes of Prague's New and Old Towns, Italian residents settled primarily alongside the nobility and wealthier German population in the Little Quarter, a site that physically mirrored their greater social access to the court. To proceed from the Old Town Square to the castle, one first had to pass by the Jesuit college, walking around the abutting Italian chapel, whose place of construction forced the adjacent street to circle around it, before arriving at the bridge over the Vltava. Before crossing the river, one would pass immediately in front of the Jesuit Church of the Holy Savior, whose imposing façade, directly facing the bridge, provides a symbolic assertion of its mediatory position between city and court. The bridge empties onto a street that leads directly to the main square of the Little Quarter and the beginning of the ascent to the castle.

This brief sketch of Italians in Prague is intended to show that far from an isolated community, Italians were an integrated, everyday part of urban life in Prague, as well as other parts of Bohemia and Moravia. The Italian language could be heard not only at the court but also in noble palaces, burgher homes, and in monasteries, through sermons at churches or in public spaces, in marketplaces and Italian shops, and even at construction sites, while the written language was disseminated through books printed locally or imported from abroad. The broad spectrum of Bohemian and Moravian society that heard Italian on a daily basis and thirsted for Italian cultural goods was a ready-made market for Italian music, whose latent potential Friedrich Lindner and Katherina Gerlach were among the first to recognize.

ITALIAN MUSICIANS IN PRAGUE

Nákladem České Akademie, 1896), 698-771. More recent literature on monasteries throughout Bohemia and Moravia includes Pavel Vlček et al., *Encyklopedie Českých Klášterů* (Prague: Nakladatelství Libri, 1997); Dušan Foltýn et al., *Encyklopedie moravských a slezských klášterů* (Prague: Nakladatelství Libri, 2005); and Milan Buben, *Encyklopedie řádů, kongregací v českých zemích. 2. díl, 2. sv, Mnišské řády* (Prague: Nakladatelství Libri, 2004).

³⁸ Loderecker provides introductions in each of the seven languages and states that by "Dalmation" he means the Slavonic language, which was, uniquely, the liturgical language used at this particular monastery. For this reason, the monastery was popularly known as the "Slavonic" monastery. See Winter, *Život Církevní v Čechách*, 692. Copies of Loderecker's dictionary are held at the National Library of the Czech Republic in Prague (sign. 45 B 7) and at the Moravian Land Library in Brno (sign. ST2-0430.767 A, B).

Although some Italian musicians such as Stefano Felis, Giovanni Battista Masserengho, Tiburtio Massaino,³⁹ Claudio Monteverdi,⁴⁰ and Francesco Rasi⁴¹ stayed only briefly in the imperial city, many others made Prague and its Little Quarter their permanent home. The chamber musicians Liberale Zanchi and Carlo and Giovanni Paolo Ardesi lived in the vicinity of the Church of St. Thomas, near the northwest corner of the main square in the Little Quarter. Imperial trumpeters Florindo Sartorio and two members of the Mosto family occupied residences near the Italian hospital, and the trumpeters Giorgio and Luca Zigotta lived nearer the castle.⁴² The imperial tradition of employing Italian wind players

³⁹ It has been suggested that Massaino came to Prague in search of employment after his brief service at the Salzburg court of Archbishop Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau. See, for example, Petr Daněk, “Rudolfínská Praha jako Hudební Centrum,” *Opus Musicum* 32 (2000): 21. For more on Massaino’s tenure in Salzburg, see Ernst Hintermaier, “Die Kirchenmusik und Liturgie-Reform Wolf Dietrichs,” in *Fürstbischöf Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau, Gründer der Barocken Salzburg: 16. Mai – 26. Oktober 1987 im Residenz-Neugebäude und im Dommuseum zu Salzburg* (Salzburg: Salzburger Landesausstellung, 1987): 299-300. Massaino’s *Liber primus cantionum ecclesiasticarum... quatuor vocum* (Prague: Nigrin, 1592), dedicated to Philippe de Monte, bears the coat-of-arms of the imperial court almoner Jacob Chimarrhaeus on the title page, suggesting that the print may have been intended for use by the *Confraternitas Corporis Christi in Aula Cesarea*, whose guidelines and devotions were printed by Chimarrhaeus in his *Sacrum gazophylacium* (Prague: Nigrin, 1588; repr. 1594). See Robert Lindell, “Relations between Musicians and Artists at the Court of Rudolf II,” *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 85/86 (1989-90): 84.

⁴⁰ Monteverdi traveled to Prague as the conductor of five musicians, including a castrato and two basses, with Duke Vincenzo I Gonzaga, arriving in Prague on 23 August 1595 and staying for seven days. See Herbert Seifert, “Rapporti Musicali tra I Gonzaga e le Corti Asburgiche Austriache,” in *I Gonzaga e l’Impero: Itinerari dello Spettacolo, con una selezione di Materiali dall’Archivio Informatico Herla (1560–1630)*, ed. Umberto Artioli and Cristina Grazioli (Florence: Casa Ed. Le Lettere, 2005): 220.

⁴¹ Francesco Rasi (1574-1621), the Tuscan tenor who played the eponymous role in Monteverdi’s 1607 production of *L’Orfeo* in Mantua, came to Prague with the eighteen-year-old Prince Vincenzo Gonzaga to congratulate Emperor Matthias on his coronation in 1612, just before the return of the imperial residence to Vienna. Gonzaga was the cousin of Matthias’s wife, Anna of Austria. When Rasi fell ill and had to extend his stay in Prague, Giuliano de’ Medici, the ambassador to the imperial court, invited the singer to live at his home and perform. Rasi was also summoned to perform by the emperor and evidently gave the emperor a copy of his 1608 *Vaghezze di musica per una voce sola*. See Seifert, “Rapporti musicali,” 220-221.

⁴² This is according to a 1608 census of homeowners and renters in the Little Quarter and Castle Hill. See Zdeněk Hojda, “Hudebníci Rudolfova Dvora v Ubytovací Knize Malé Strany a Hradčan z Roku 1608,” *Hudební Věda* 24 (1987), 162-167; and Michaela Žáčková

dates back to the reign of Maximilian II, who hired most of his band from Brescia and Verona, including perhaps the most famous among them, Luigi Zenobi and Cesare Bendinelli.⁴³ Their approach to trumpet playing continued to define the benchmark for instrumentalists throughout Bohemia, as Bendinelli, who stayed on at the Rudolfine court until 1582, and Luca Zigotta provided lessons throughout the region in Italian performance methods associated with the most up-to-date Italian music, including *ricercare*, intradas, and sonatas.⁴⁴ In addition to performing at the court, the imperial trumpeters were also expected to accompany Rudolf to weddings of the Bohemian nobility and were hired independently for wedding celebrations in Prague's Old Town, confirming how popular their performances were on both sides of the Vltava.⁴⁵ By the end of the sixteenth century, entire families of musicians from Brescia, Udine, and Cremona made their way to Prague, such as the Turini, Zigotta, Galeno, Mosto, Orologio, and Sagabria families, providing successive generations of

Rossi, "Da Udine a Praga: La Crescente Fortuna dei Musicisti Friulani alla Corte Imperiale di Rodolfo II," in *Alessandro Orologio (1551–1633), Musicista Friulano e il suo Tempo*, ed. Franco Colussi (Udine: Pizzicato, 2008), 265-276.

⁴³ Bendinelli's posthumous fame has much to do with the survival of his manuscript trumpet method, *Tutta l'arte della trombetta*, written while he was later employed at the court of Duke Wilhelm in Bavaria. The manuscript, with its large collection of *ricercare*, *tocade di guerra*, polyphonic *sonade*, and sonatas for the clarion, provides fascinating insight into the music that would have been performed by the Rudolfine wind band. A facsimile edition is available in Cesare Bendinelli, *Tutta l'arte della Trombetta, 1614*, ed. Edward Tarr (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1975). For more information on Maximilian's trumpeters, see Walter Pass, *Musik und Musiker am Hof Maximilians II.* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1980), 181-212.

⁴⁴ For an insider's view on the Italian school of trumpet instruction, see Bendinelli, *Tutta l'arte della Trombetta*. Zigotta traveled to Český Krumlov to instruct the Rožmberk's wind players. See Petr Daněk, "Rudolfínská Praha jako Hudební Centrum," *Opus musicum* 32 no. 4 (2000): 22; and František Mareš, "Rožmberská Kapela," *Časopis Musea Království Českého* 68 (1894): 220. After 1600, most of the new trumpeters in the *Stallpartey* seem to have been regional hires, though it can be difficult to confirm their nationalities on the basis of the court account books alone. It is also interesting to note that with one exception in 1594, the first non-Italian *Lehrmeister* in the imperial account books does not appear until 1604, although thereafter Luca and Giorgio Zigotta continue to teach the most students. See Michaela Žáčková Rossi, *Hudebníci Dvora Rudolfa II. ve Světle Césaržských Účtů (1576–1612) / Music at the Court of Rudolf II in the Imperial Account Books (1576–1612)* (Prague: Koniasch Latin Press, 2009), 44-45 and 109-132.

⁴⁵ See Adolf Koczirz, "Excerpte aus den Hofmusikakten des Wiener Hofkammerarchivs," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* I (1913): 303.

musicians to the court.⁴⁶ Of some fifty-five trumpeters employed by the Rudolfin court before 1600, more than half were Italian.⁴⁷

Rudolf's small body of chamber instrumentalists was also drawn largely from these families of Italian musicians. Marcantonio Mosto and Carlo and Giovanni Paolo Ardesi were elevated from wind players in the *Stallpartey* to *cammermusici*,⁴⁸ joining Rudolf's most well-paid viola da gambist, Mauro Sinibaldi, who along with the Ardesi brothers came originally from Cremona. Rudolf held these musicians in the highest esteem, rewarding the Ardesi and Lucas Zigotta with noble titles and Sinibaldi (whose fame as a viol player continued to be celebrated at the northern Italian courts) with an unusually large wedding present of 500 crowns in 1579.⁴⁹ Rudolf's organists and chapel musicians were an ethnically more diverse group than the instrumentalists, but among them the Italians were the most active publishers of music, including the two vice-chapelmasters Camillo Zanotti (Cesena) and Alessandro Orologio (Udine), the latter of whom began at the court as a trumpet player; the court

⁴⁶ The imperial ambassador to Venice, Vito di Dornberg, obtained all types of artists for the Habsburg courts from 1565 to 1590, and perhaps negotiated the hiring of many of the trumpeters from Venice and Udine, including Alessandro Orologio, Florindo Sertorio, Francesco Sagabria, and Andrea Mosto, who departed from Udine in 1579. See Cavazza, "Praga e le Corti Tedesche," 50. For detailed information on the wind players arriving from Udine, see Žáčková Rossi, "Da Udine a Praga," 265-75. The monument marking the family crypt of the Mosto family is still present in the cloister attached to the Church of St. Thomas in the Little Quarter.

⁴⁷ For an interesting graph illustrating the dates of employment of eighty-six Rudolfin trumpeters, see Žáčková Rossi, *Hudebníci Dvora Rudolfa II.*, 44-45.

⁴⁸ The Ardesi brothers served as string players in the imperial chamber beginning 1 October 1582, following Domenico Cappa, whose service had ended 30 September 1582. Cappa also had moved from the wind band to the chamber as a string player. Marcantonio Mosto began as a student trumpeter under the tutelage of Carlo Ardesi and was elevated to chamber musician on 1 July 1602. See *ibid.*, 51 and 61.

⁴⁹ Carlo and Giovanni Paolo Ardesi were ennobled on 15 September 1589 and Lucas Zigotta on 3 September 1602. Sinibaldi's collaboration with Giuseppe Arcimboldo on a synaesthetic musical instrument was celebrated by Gregorio Comanini in his *Il Figino, ovvero del fine della pittura* (Mantua: Osanna, 1591), 103; and his skills as a viol player in Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura, et architettura* (Milan: Pontio, 1585), 368. Carlo Ardesi married Sinibaldi's widow, Marta, who had some musical fame in her own right as a singer and lutenist. See Lindell, "Music and Patronage," 267-8; Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 219-222; and Petr Daněk, "Rudolfínská Praha jako Hudební Centrum," *Opus Musicum* 32 no. 4 (2000): 21.

chaplains Vincenzo Neriti (Salò) and Giovanni Battista Galeno (Udine); the singer and praeceptor Giovanni Battista Pinello (Genoa); and the organist Liberale Zanchi (Treviso).⁵⁰

Robert Lindell has pointed out a particularly strong interest in composing Italian canzonette and villanelle at the Rudolfine court, citing the works of Vincenzo Neriti, Gregorio Turini, and Alessandro Orologio.⁵¹ Lindell's study is limited to published works specifically designated as canzonette or villanelle on their title pages. However, a more interesting picture emerges if we consider all the secular music published by Italian composers at the court, since the forms and styles that characterized the canzonetta, villanella alla napoletana, and the canzone napoletana (this latter genre often called simply *napolitana* by composers working in central Europe) are already manifest in the first collections of madrigals printed by Italian composers at the Rudolfine court, before they began to publish works explicitly titled as such. The new style of madrigal composition they developed, spearheaded by Alessandro Orologio and Philippe de Monte in 1586, marks a significant change in approach to secular Italian song, influenced above all by the canzonetta and with lasting implications for the production of Italian and German secular music within and beyond the Rudolfine court.

⁵⁰ Surveys of musicians employed at the Rudolfine court include Joseph Anton von Riegger, "Aula Rudolphi II. Kayserlicher Hoff Staat," *Archiv der Geschichte und Statistik insbesondere von Böhmen II*, (Dresden: Waltherische Hofbuchhandlung, 1793): 240-242; Ludwig Köchel, *Die Kaiserliche Hofmusikkapelle in Wien von 1543 bis 1867* (Vienna: Beck'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1869); Albert Smijers, "Die Kaiserliche Hofmusik-Kapelle von 1543-1619," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 6 (1919): 139-186, 7 (1920): 102-142, 8 (1921): 176-206, and 9 (1922): 43-81; Gerhard Pietzsch, "Zur Musikkapelle Kaiser Rudolfs II.," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 16 (1934): 171-176; Carmelo Peter Comberiat, *Late Renaissance Music at the Habsburg Court* (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1987), 204-210; Jaroslava Hausenblasová, *Der Hof Kaiser Rudolfs II.: Eine Edition der Hofstaatsverzeichnisse 1576-1612* (Prague: Artefactum, 2002); and Michaela Žáčková Rossi, *Hudebníci Dvora Rudolfa II. ve Světě Césaržských Účtů (1576-1612) / Music at the Court of Rudolf II in the Imperial Account Books (1576-1612)* (Prague: KLP, 2009).

⁵¹ A large portion of Lindell's study is devoted to Regnart's three-voice lieder inspired by the villanella. Lindell writes that Lechner's five-voice arrangements of Regnart's settings are indicative of the troubled reception of villanelle in central Europe, whose three-voice idiom did not suit German tastes, but he fails to take into account how wildly successful Regnart's original settings were. See Robert Lindell, "La Villanella Oltremontana: Esempi dalla Corte Imperiale," in *Villanella, Napolitana, Canzonetta: Relazioni tra Gasparo Fiorino, Compositori Calabresi e Scuole Italiane del Cinquecento, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Arcavacata di Rende, Rossano Calabro, 9-11 Dicembre 1994*, ed. M. P. Borsetta and A. Pugliese (Vibo Valenzia, 1999), 153-162. For information on the reprints of Regnart's three-voice lieder and their adaptations, see Walter Pass, *Thematischer Katalog Sämtlicher Werke Jacob Regnarts (ca. 1540-1599)* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1969), 46-59.

Secular music published by Italian composers during their service at the Rudolfine court⁵²

Composer	Print	Dedicatee
Giovanni Battista Pinello	<i>Primo libro dele neapolitane a cinque voci</i> (Dresden: Stöckel, 1585)	Ottavio Spinola
Alessandro Orologio	<i>Il primo libro de' madrigali a cinque voci</i> (Venice: Gardano, 1586)	Rudolf II
Camillo Zanotti	<i>Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci</i> (Venice: Gardano, 1587)	Rudolf II
Camillo Zanotti	<i>Il primo libro delli madrigali à sei voci</i> (Venice: Gardano, 1589)	Rudolf II
Alessandro Orologio	<i>Il secondo libro de' madrigali a 4, 5 & 6 voci</i> (Dresden: Typis Electoris Saxoniae, 1589)	Christian, Duke of Saxony
Camillo Zanotti	<i>Il terzo libro dei madrigali, con alcune villotte a cinque voci</i> (Venice: Gardano, 1589)	
Gregorio Turini	<i>Neue liebliche Teutsche Lieder mit vier Stimmen nach Art der Welschen Villanellen</i> (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1590) ⁵³	Hans Fugger
Camillo Zanotti	<i>Madrigalia tam italica, quam latina, nova prorsus, 5, 6 et 12 vocibus</i> (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1590)	Vilém of Rožmberk
Costantino Ferrabosco	<i>Canzonette a quattro voci</i> (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1590) ⁵⁴	Christoph Fugger
Vincenzo Neriti	<i>Canzonette a quattro voci... libro</i>	Enea Gonzaga

⁵² This list does not include books published by Galeno before he moved to Prague or the works published by Neriti after his return to Mantua, then Salò. Liberale Zanchi's *Primo libro de madrigali à cinque voci* (Venice: Gardano, 1595) is also excluded, since he is not confirmed to have ever been to Prague until one year afterward. The list would also expand if anthologies containing works by these composers, such as volumes of the *Floridi virtuosi*, were included.

⁵³ Turini's print contains two lieder by Camillo Zanotti.

⁵⁴ Ferrabosco lived in Nuremberg but was in the service of the emperor. On the title page of his book of canzonette, he refers to himself as, "Bolognese, Musico di S.M. Caesarea." See *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Ferrabosco: (3) Costantino Ferrabosco," by John V. Cockshott, accessed June 3, 2012, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

	<i>primo</i> (Venice: Gardano, 1593) ⁵⁵	
Alessandro Orologio	<i>Canzonette a tre voci... libro primo</i> (Venice: Gardano, 1593)	Piotr and Zygmunt Myszkowski
Alessandro Orologio	<i>Canzonette a tre voci... libro secondo</i> (Venice: Gardano, 1594)	Piotr and Zygmunt Myszkowski
Alessandro Orologio	<i>Il secondo libro de' madrigali a 4, 5 & 6 voci</i> (Venice: Gardano, 1595)	Landgrave Moritz von Hessen-Kassel
Alessandro Orologio & Francesco Sagabria	<i>Canzonette a tre voci intavolate per sonar di liuto</i> (Venice: Vincenti, 1596) ⁵⁶	Duke Heinrich Julius of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel
Carlo Ardesi	<i>Il primo libro de madrigali a quattro voci</i> (Venice: Vincenti, 1597)	Albrecht von Fürstenberg
Gregorio Turini	<i>Il primo libro de canzonette a quattro voci</i> (Nuremberg: Kauffmann, 1597)	Petr Vok of Rožmberk
Giovanni Battista Galeno	<i>Il primo libro de madrigali a sette voci</i> (Venice: Amadino, 1598)	Rudolf II
Liberale Zanchi	<i>Il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci</i> (Venice, 1595–1603)?	
Liberale Zanchi	<i>Il terzo libro de madrigali a cinque voci</i> (Venice, 1603) ⁵⁷	Vincenzo I Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua

⁵⁵ The title page describes Neriti as chaplain and musician of Rudolf, while his other 1593 publication, a collection of Magnificats, indicates that he is both chaplain at the Carmelite monastery in Mantua and imperial musician. Based on this evidence, it seems that Neriti had left Prague by 1593. See *Grove Music Online*, s.v. “Neriti da Salò, Vincenzo,” by Iain Fenlon, accessed June 3, 2012, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

⁵⁶ According to the dedication by Sagabria, he intabulated many of the canzonette published in Orologio’s two earlier volumes and added some new ones not published previously. A facsimile of the dedication is available in a modern edition of the score in Franco Colussi, ed., *Alessandro Orologio: Canzonette a tre voci intavolate per sonar di liuto* (Udine: Pizzicato, 1993).

⁵⁷ A letter from Liberal Zanchi, dated 8 November 1603 in Prague, to Vincenzo I Gonzaga, duke of Mantua, accompanying the dedication of his third book of madrigals is transcribed in Elena Venturini, *Le Collezioni Gonzaga: Il Carteggio tra la Corte Cesarea e Mantova (1559–1636)* (Cinisello Balsamo, Milano: Silvana, 2002), 537, no. 957. No further information is currently available on when Zanchi issued his second book. The first book was published in 1595 before he came to Prague.

Limiting this list to works published by Italian court composers does not adequately convey the amount of Italian music composed at the court, since non-Italian composers also tried their hand at secular Italian genres. Carl Luython published one book of five-voice madrigals in 1582, Regnart published *Il secundo libro delle canzone italiane* (Nuremberg: Gerlach and Berg's Heirs, 1581), and Franz Sale released his only book of secular music, *Canzonette, vilanelle, neapolitane per cantar' et sonare con il liuto et altri simili istromenti* (Prague: Nigrin, 1598) with a dedication to Albrecht von Fürstenberg, during a frenzied period of publishing the year before he died.⁵⁸ The scope expands even more dramatically if we take into consideration the prodigious output of Philippe de Monte, who, during his almost thirty years of service under Rudolf, published two books of seven-voice madrigals, seven books of six-voice madrigals, thirteen books of five-voice madrigals, one book of four-voice madrigals, and one book of three-voice madrigals.⁵⁹

During his years of service as chapelmaster at the Viennese court of Maximilian II, Monte began to publish his madrigals on almost a yearly basis, and in this sense, his madrigal books issued from Prague are the continuation of a project that had its origins elsewhere than the Bohemian capital. Nevertheless, both Alfred Einstein and Brian Mann have pointed out a watershed in Monte's approach to madrigal composition that begins in Prague with *L'undecimo delli libro madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: Gardano, 1586), in which for the first time the composer "wholeheartedly adapts the textures of the canzonetta to the purposes of the madrigal."⁶⁰ Monte employs homophonic textures liberally, as well as strong rhythmic profiles, high tessituras, and frequent cadences, and he abandons the dolorous laments that attracted him in previous books, turning instead to the pastoral verses of Guarini and

⁵⁸ Jacob Regnart dedicated his first book of canzone to Rudolf in 1574 before he became emperor. His second book of canzone is dedicated to Georg, Count of Montfort, Rudolf II's "cupbearer," to whom Monte also dedicated his fourth book of four-voice madrigals published in 1581. Regnart's first book of canzone was reprinted in 1580 and 1585, and both books were reprinted with German texts by Abraham Ratz as *Threni amorum, der erste... der ander Theil lustiger weltlicher Lieder* (Nuremberg: Kauffmann, 1595). See Walter Pass, *Thematischer Katalog Sämtlicher Werke Jacob Regnarts (ca. 1540–1599)* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1969), 46-59. Hans Leo Hassler, who was appointed imperial Hofdiener from 1602 to 1610, published a book of four-voice canzonette (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1590) and a collection of madrigals for five to eight voices (Augsburg: Schönigh, 1596) prior to his appointment, which was largely served in Nuremberg.

⁵⁹ This does not include the twenty-six reprints of these books published by Scotto and Gardano between 1576 and 1607. My numbering proceeds from *Il terzo libro de madrigali à sei voci* published in 1576. For the full list of prints, reprints, publishers, and dedicatees of Monte's madrigal books, see Hindrichs, *Philippe de Monte*, 173-177.

⁶⁰ Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, trans. Alexander H. Krappe, Roger H. Sessions, and Oliver Strunk (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), 498-511; and Mann, *The Secular Madrigals*, 336.

Tasso.⁶¹ Mann also points out the significance of the dedicatee. Monte's previous book of madrigals, the fifth book for six voices of 1584, was dedicated to Rudolf, true as well for three other madrigal collections printed prior to 1584. Beginning with the 1586 book, Monte never dedicates another book of madrigals to Rudolf again, choosing for this publication to honor one of the most important patrons of the Accademia Filarmonica in Verona, Count Mario Bevilacqua.⁶² Bevilacqua's musical patronage was well known, as he was the recipient of numerous dedications, including that of the groundbreaking first book of canzonette published in 1579 by Orazio Vecchi, the putative inventor of the genre.⁶³

As the above list of works shows, the Rudolfine composers did not begin publishing Italian secular song until 1586, a few years after the court moved to Prague in 1583. Moreover, they began with madrigal collections, and it is not until the 1590s that they turned their attention to the canzonetta. Even more interesting is the fact that Philippe de Monte's canzonetta-inspired book of madrigals from 1586 coincides with the first publication of Italian music by another composer at the Rudolfine court, Alessandro Orologio's *Il primo libro de' madrigali a cinque voci*. Giovanni Battista Pinello, whose book of napolitane is first on the list, was still at the Dresden court of Elector August of Saxony when his book was printed in 1585, though vying for a position in Prague. This was Orologio's first book of printed music after having arrived at the court sometime around 1579, and, given that Monte and Orologio were both responsible for providing music for entertainment at the court, it seems probable that they not only were responding to similar influences but also mutually influencing each other.⁶⁴ Monte's closeness to the Italian trumpeters was

⁶¹ Mann provides a detailed discussion of this print in *op. cit.*, 336-349.

⁶² Rudolf's patronage of madrigals, based on those books that were dedicated to him, was confined almost entirely to composers serving at his court. The one exception was Giovanni Battista della Gostena, who had been a student of Philippe de Monte at the court of Maximilian II. In addition to four madrigal books by Monte, Zanotti dedicated his first two publications to the emperor, and Orologio dedicated only his first. Regnart addressed his 1574 canzone to the emperor-to-be, and Galeno dedicated his second published collection of madrigals to Rudolf. Galeno's previous book published in Antwerp, the 1594 *Primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci*, was printed before his appointment in Prague.

⁶³ In his dedication, Vecchi writes that the pieces were already known at the time of publication, albeit in corrupt and misattributed versions. See Orazio Vecchi, *The Four-Voice Canzonettas with Original Texts and Contrafacta by Valentin Haussmann and Others; Part I: Historical Introduction, Critical Apparatus, Texts, Contrafacta*, ed. Ruth DeFord, Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 92 (Madison: A-R Editions, 1993), 1.

⁶⁴ Orologio continued to serve at the court, first as trumpeter, then in 1603 as vice-chapelmaster, until the chapel disbanded in 1612. The best summary of Orologio's biography is Cavazza, "Praga e le Corti Tedesche," 34-60. When Orologio's service began remains unclear. Cavazza states that his appointment began in 1579, whereas Michaela

undoubtedly heightened by his poor knowledge of both German and Czech.⁶⁵ In any case, these two books by Monte and Orologio chart a specific moment at which musicians at the court asserted their voices in the development of the madrigal in the 1580s.

Orologio's book contains eleven five-voice madrigals, concluding with a six-part canzon and a *dialogo* for seven voices. As the modern editor of the collection, Alessandro Andreotti points out, some of the poetic texts used for the five-voice settings, though mostly anonymous, were already familiar from other settings by northern Italian madrigalists and, like Monte's book, display the less weighty, pastoral themes that are typical of such texts at the end of the century.⁶⁶ In his dedication to the emperor, Orologio notes that his compositional garden is not yet well cultivated, its flowers not yet the finest nor most fragrant, yet the newness of his works conjures forth the first flowers of spring. The first madrigal, "Quante volte ti miro," expands on this comparison as the narrator amorously contemplates the variety of emotional extremes inspired by the "lovely flower" to whom he sings.

Quante volte ti mirare,
Leggiadro fior, quante ti voglio e odoro.
Tanto volte sospiro,
Si dolcemente, ch'io mi discoloro,
E impali disco e moro,
Ma non sento morendo alcun martiro.
Anzi, talor respiro,
Si caldamente, ch'io risorgo in vita,
E l'alma torna, anzi che sia partita.

Orologio heightens the changes of tone marked by the text's frequent caesuras through briefly drawn, contrasting sections, strongly profiled rhythms, and short motives frequently resolving to cadences, while giving the voices equal weight throughout. The madrigal begins

Žáčková Rossi notes that he appears in court records in 1578 and began receiving a salary in 1580. See Žáčková Rossi, *Hudebníci Dvora*, 94.

⁶⁵ Richard Wistreich points out Monte's surprising admission that he did not know German ("non saper io la lingua Tedesca") in a letter from 17 February 1588. Given the number of Italian guests Monte hosted at his home, it seems that he was speaking Italian in Prague more than any other language. See Richard Wistreich, "Philippe de Monte: New Autobiographical Documents," *Early Music History* 25 (2006): 294.

⁶⁶ "Amor, per suo diletto" had already been set by Pietro Vinci and Ascanio Trombetti, "Ben mio, quando da voi feci partita" and "O verde prato, o vaghi allegri fiori" by Giacomo Giannotti, "S'io scherzo col mio bene" by Tiburtio Massaino, and "Morir non può 'l mio core" was first set by Maddalena Casulana in 1568, then later by Giovanni Maria Nanino, Luzzasco Luzzaschi, and Filippo Nicoletti. See Alessandro Orologio, *Opera Omnia III: Il primo libro de' madrigali a cinque voci*, ed. Alessandro Andreotti (Udine: Pizzicato Edizioni Musicali, 1996), 6.

with a lightly-textured point of imitation in the four upper voices, the line divided at the end of the first hemistich by an almost immediate rest in all voices, after which comes the witty expressivity of compressing “ti miro” into a chromatic half-step turn in the three upper voices resolving to D. All five voices join for the repetitions of the first hemistich, but the texture remains lucid thanks to the syllabic declamation and frequent pauses that prepare the C- and G-sharped half-step turns on “ti miro,” this time delivered one by one through each voice on the tactus. He renders the ensuing “leggiadro fior” in a terse motive of repeated minims, whose entrance on the upbeat propels a motion further quickened by the concluding scalar descent through “fior,” left hanging unresolved at the caesura. Rapid declamation is matched by divisions of crisp motives into various groupings that decelerate to the line’s conclusion. Orologio continues to build the madrigal through successive, succinctly rendered motives designed to intensify poetic and musical contrast, all the while keeping the textures light and not impeding the rhythmic propulsion. “Si caldamente, ch’io risorogo in vita” [bars 43-53] in particular betrays the inspiration of the canzonetta and even an instrumental conception with its rhythmic, repeated-note motives, while the syncopation and more angular, meandering melody of the final line bring the work to a madrigalian conclusion after diminished-fourth descents from G to C-sharp left hanging in the cantus and altus frame a half-step up-turn to B-flat in the tenor.

Rhythmic contrasts and variously employed timbral registers animate the madrigals of Orologio’s book one, lending them a light-hearted expressivity. Like Monte’s *L’undecimo delli libro madrigali a cinque voci*, it is not hard to discern the coloration imparted by the world of the canzonetta in these works. As a member of Rudolf’s wind band, which provided music for weddings and banquets, it is easy to understand why Orologio was attracted to the style of this lighter form. The world of the imperial court, as strong as the Italian influences may have been, was geographically removed from the northern Italian courts where poetic textual expression was cultivated as an end in itself. The transformation of the Italian madrigal into a more lively, dance-like form, particularly in the case of Monte and Orologio, related not just to the new interest in the Arcadian verses of Guarini and Tasso, but also to a central European context where refined Italian poetic expression mattered less to audiences than the provision of good dance music. Moreover, the vast majority of German and Czech poets were too busy reinventing sacred music for their reformed churches to concern themselves with secular verse, and may, as a result of these priorities, have been willing to let Italian imports to fill the gap. The effervescence and wit of canzonette provided a suitable balance to the seriousness of so many central European poets’ and composers’ efforts to produce a substantial body of new sacred music for a reformed laity.

The impact of Orazio Vecchi’s innovation is not just indirectly discernible in Orologio’s book one. The concluding dialogue for seven voices is in fact an expanded reworking of the one *dialogo* in book two of Vecchi’s four books of canzonette, “Lucilla, io vo morire.” Vecchi’s humor is already apparent in the startling candor of the title, and he utilizes the canzonetta’s strophic form to brilliant effect, never veering from the arrangement of the dialogue established in the first stanza, while reworking the refrain concluding each stanza to reflect the dialogue’s development.

“Lucilla, io vo morire.”

“Lucilla, I want to die.”

[L.] “Deh non morir, cor mio.”
“Perche viver debb’io?”
[L.] “Per aspetta il ben c’hà da venire.”
Ahi misero mio core!
Ha certo il duol; dubbia la gioia, Amore.

“Tienmi tu dunque in vita.”
[L.] “Ma come, anima mia?”
“Co l’essermi più pia.”
[L.] “Aspetta, ch’anco un di ti darò aita.”
Ahi misero mio core!
Mal può aspettare aiuto chi si more.

“Dunque debbo aspettare?”
[L.] “Si, ben mio, come fai.”
“Ma se non viene mai?”
[L.] “Verrà, credilo à me, non dubitare.”
Ahi misero mio core!
Un bel fin fa chi ben amando more.

“Do not die, my love.”
“Why should I live?”
“To await the good that will come.”
Alas, my miserable heart! Its pain
is certain; its joy is doubtful, Love.

“Then you keep me alive.”
“How, my beloved?”
“By being more merciful to me.”
“Wait, someday I will help you.”
Alas, my miserable heart! He who is
dying cannot well wait for help.

“Then I must wait?”
“Yes, my dear, as you are doing.”
“But if it never comes?”
“It will come, believe me, do not
doubt.” Alas, my miserable heart! He
who dies loving well has a good end.⁶⁷

Vecchi turns the familiar madrigalian trope of death in love-making on its head by subverting the decorum that made the double-entendre necessary in the first place. He maintains the essential idea, but delivers it through an epigrammatic scenario made humorous by the rapid parley of two lovers and the narrator’s fickle aphoristic commentary on his personal fate in the refrains. In order to deliver such a text effectively, Vecchi deepens the high tessitura that usually characterizes lighter Italian forms, placing the basso in a more traditional F4 clef and alternating basso and canto in each line according to the dialogue.⁶⁸ The three lower voices begin the canzonetta, an open fifth between basso and tenore on *d* and *a* granting room for the basso to jump up to *g*. The alto and tenore provide some chromatic coloration for the opening line, as the alto turns on E-flat and the tenore works its way down to F-sharp at the cadence, yet the leaping basso line, *d – g – C – G – d*, provides a

⁶⁷ The translation is from Orazio Vecchi, *The Four-Voice Canzonettas*, ed. Ruth DeFord, 50. For more on Vecchi’s poetry, see Lodovico Frate, “Un capitolo autobiografico di Orazio Vecchi,” *Rivista Musicale Italiana* 22 (1915), 71-78; Johan C. Hol, “Orazio Vecchi Scrittore,” in *Orazio Vecchi, Precursore del Melodramma (1550–1605) nel 4 Centenario della Nascita* (Modena: Accademia di Scienze Lettere ed Arti, 1950), 137-4; and Armando and Paola Torelli, *Orazio Vecchi (1550–1605), Poetica musicale* (Modena: Cooperativa Tipografici Editrice, 1969).

⁶⁸ A high tessitura was common among the lighter Italian secular musical forms of the late sixteenth century. See Alessandro Orologio, *Opera Omnia I: Canzonette a tre voci*, ed. Franco Colussi (Udine, Pizzicato, 1992), 17.

diatonic context for the chromatic motion in the upper two voices. The narrator's first line in the stanza ends conclusively with a unison cadence on D, whereupon Lucilla answers with a d" in the canto. The ruffled homophony that begins the second line (in which the tenore leaps from F-sharp to B-flat across the rest) repeats the E-flat and F-sharp coloration of line one, though now in reverse position between the middle voices, and quickly returns to homophonic unison. The basso answers with the same d – g leap as at the opening, but Vecchi does not neatly resolve the third line with a diatonic cadence on B-flat, imparting a faster motion to the second part of the dialogue by reducing the fourth line to three breves delivered in rapid homorhythm and interjecting the basso ahead of the other voices before the refrain with a b-flat "Ahi." All four voices sing the refrain, which is repeated, but at the second iteration it is the canto who anticipates the other voices with "Ahi" now on d." Thus, Vecchi grants the narrative voice of the refrain to both voices, preserving in the refrain the alternating dialogue form established in the verses. For the second line of the refrain, Vecchi divides the voices into upper and lower pairs, with the tenore leading a point of imitation followed one breve later by the basso, while the soprano and alto move together, occasionally offset by alternating syncopations.

Orologio retains much of Vecchi's original canzonetta in his expanded through-composed setting for seven voices. The text is unaltered, and many of Vecchi's motives, rhythmic ideas, textural treatments, and overall structural devices are apparent. The macroscopic harmonic conception of Vecchi's canzonetta, with structural cadences moving from D, to B-flat, then G, is stretched outward to provide structure to all three strophes now in a single *parte*, with the first strophe moving from D to G by way of B-flat, the second from B-flat through D to A, and the third alternating between D and G. Orologio also keeps Vecchi's lightness of touch with homophony in the dialogue passages and deft points of imitation based on succinct motives unentangled by textual repetition in the refrains. Orologio is at his most inventive in these moments, quickening the pace in the first and third refrains with semiminims and dotted rhythms and avoiding the temptation to weigh the material down in elaborate counterpoint; the second refrain sets up contrast with an insistent, repeated-note motive pitched at the point most harmonically distant from Vecchi's original. Unlike Vecchi's setting, only the final refrain is repeated, for which Orologio reworks all the voices in the restatement except Lucinda's canto. Although Orologio has thickened Vecchi's original four-voice texture to seven voices, his polychoral setting retains Vecchi's lightness of touch. As the two choirs exchange lines in the dialogue, each one cadences before the entry of the other.

Vecchi's canzonette would not be printed in central Europe until 1588, when Friedrich Lindner issued the first volume of the *Gemma musicalis*, but as Orologio's "Lucinda, io vo morire," confirms, by 1586 they were already well known, at least at the imperial court in Prague.⁶⁹ If we look only at those books published by composers in Prague

⁶⁹ By 1586, the first book of Vecchi's canzonette had gone through four editions, the second book (the source of "Lucinda, io vo morire") three editions, and book three was first published in 1585. Book four would not be released until 1590. Friedrich Lindner printed ten of Vecchi's canzonette in the first volume of *Gemma musicalis* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1588) and included two more in his 1589 sequel, *Liber secundus Gemmae musicalis*. For his

with the word “canzonetta” on their title pages, we miss the genre’s influence there in the earlier 1580s. Its familiarity probably has much to do with the presence of so many Italian musicians at the court, and it seems reasonable to assume that the canzonetta’s popularity extended into the city streets where the musicians lived and into the homes of the nobility and burghers where they were often hired to perform. The two most active Italian composers of secular music in Prague, Camillo Zanotti and Alessandro Orologio, began their publishing careers with books of madrigals dedicated to Rudolf II that were strongly inspired by the canzonetta but for textures larger than the traditional four voices that defined that genre. It makes sense that they would turn first to the madrigal, in keeping with the representational necessities of their stations at the court, the long tradition of madrigal production begun by the court chapelmaster, Philippe de Monte, and undoubtedly their own ambitions for their first printed works. In addition to having access to the latest music from the Venetian presses, composers in Prague were also probably kept well informed by their Venetian publishers on musical developments in Italy and what would sell in print.

GIOVANNI BATTISTA PINELLO DI GHIRARDI, *GENTIL’HUOMO GENOVESE*

A later stage in the central European reception of Orazio Vecchi’s canzonette was their republication by Paul Kauffmann in Nuremberg in 1610 with German texts by Valentin Haussmann.⁷⁰ Haussmann’s project was part of a tradition of translating Italian

first volume, Lindner chose six canzonette from Vecchi’s book one, three from book two, and one from book three. For the second volume, he chose one from book two and one from book three. Gerlach issued all four books of Vecchi’s canzonette along with nineteen other works of Vecchi, drawn primarily from his *Selva di varia ricreatione* of 1590, in 1593, entitled *Canzonette a Quattro voci di Horatio Vecchi da Modona... raccolte insieme*. Gerlach’s successor, Paul Kauffmann, reprinted this book with the same title in 1600 or 1601, and Phalèse reprinted Kauffmann’s edition in 1611. The northern European editions include only the first stanza of each text, as their books were targeted at a general northern European audience perhaps not familiar with Italian. See DeFord, *Orazio Vecchi*, 12-13. For more on Friedrich Lindner specifically in the context of Nuremberg, see Susan Lewis Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 45-76. For the contents of all three volumes of the *Gemma musicalis*, see *ibid.*, 212-230.

⁷⁰ Valentin Haussmann, *Die erste claß [...ander Claß ...dritte Claß] der vierstimmigen Canzonetten Horatii Vecchi, welche zuvor von jme mit italianischen Texten componiert, und jetzo denjenigen, welchen die Italienischen Texten componiert, und jetzo denjenigen, welchen die Italienische sprache nicht bekandt ist, zu mehrer ergetzligkeit und beserm gebrauch, mit unterlegung Teutscher Texte auff’s neue inn Druck gebrauch* (Nuremberg: Kauffmann, 1610). In 1614 and 1620 Petrus Neander adapted Haussmann’s settings with German psalm texts. Both DeFord and Hammond note that Haussmann followed Vecchi’s models closely in musical form, with some corrections where Haussmann believed there to be a mistake in the voice-leading, but treated Vecchi’s subject matter freely, altering images and ideas and, in

lyric for the German market that stretched back to 1584 with the publication of Giovanni Battista Pinello's *Nawe kurtzweilige deutsche Lieder*, the first known attempt by a composer to offer settings in both German and Italian.⁷¹ Pinello (ca. 1544–1587), a “nobile Genovese” as he liked to refer to himself in his publications, was chapelmaster at the Dresden court of August, Elector of Saxony at the time of publication. He made the unusual decision to issue two separate prints, one containing the German version and the other the Italian, and he drew attention to their mutual existence on the title pages of both editions, suggesting that the two could be used together as needed or desired. On a visit to the Library of the Prague Conservatory, I found a fragment of Pinello's original Italian print, *Primo libro dele neapolitane a cinque voci* (Dresden: Stöckel, 1584), which has long been thought lost.⁷² Although only the first several pages of four of the five voice parts remain, a comparison of their contents with the surviving German version reveals that Pinello made few musical changes, thanks to which we can reconstruct all five voices for the first three neapolitane in the book.⁷³ Pinello's motivation to issue this unusual pair of prints in German and Italian arose partially from the different status of Italian music at the Dresden court, where the “canzone napolitana” had long been enjoyed in a form strongly inspired by the German lied. He apparently also hoped to return to the imperial court in Prague where he had formerly been employed.

Pinello was not the first composer in Dresden to publish Neapolitan songs. His predecessor in the post of chapelmaster, Antonio Scandello, had published his first book of

many cases, ignoring Vecchi's original text altogether. Haussmann was apparently more prudish when it came to subject matter. See DeFord, *Orazio Vecchi*, 13-14; Hammond, *Editing Music*, 95-116; and Sara Dumont, “Valentin Haussmann's Canzonettas: The Italian Connection,” *Music and Letters* 63 (1982), 59-68.

⁷¹ Although Jacob Regnart and Leonhard Lechner had both published books of lieder based on the villanella or napolitana, they did not translate Italian lyrics. Instead, they used original German poetry written in hendecasyllabic verse. After Pinello, the next composer to print a bilingual German and Italian print was Cesare de Zacharia with his four-voice *Soave et dilettevole canzonette ... Liebliche und kurtzweilige Liedlein* (Munich: Berg, 1590). Pinello offered his two versions in two separate prints, whereas Zacharia placed the Italian and German texts side by side in the same print. See Hammond, *Editing Music*, 52-54 and 77-95.

⁷² The pages are kept at the Library of the Prague Conservatory (Knihovna Pražské Konzervatoře, sign. 118/39).

⁷³ Although no index is present for the *Primo libro dele neapolitane*, Pinello's German print contains a total of eighteen works. The order of the first three lieder matches that of the Italian print.

four-voice *canzoni napolitane* already in 1566 in Nuremberg.⁷⁴ Scandello (1517–1580), originally from Bergamo, was hired by Elector Moritz of Saxony in 1549 with five other Italian instrumentalists picked up on a visit to Trent in 1549, and he rose to the rank of chapelmaster in 1558, serving in this capacity until his death in 1580. Like many of the Italian musicians at the RudolFINE court, Scandello had initially been hired as a wind player, specializing in performance on the cornetto and trombone. The fact that he was an instrumentalist who might not have had early training in vocal composition may account for his interest in this genre which, as the title page of Pinello’s 1584 *Lieder* suggests, was often performed instrumentally and would have been an appropriate part of a wind player’s repertoire.⁷⁵ Scandello is not known to have issued any madrigal collections, but, judging by the fact that his first book of *canzoni napolitane* was reprinted in 1572 and posthumously in 1583 and a second book of *canzone napolitane* for four and five voices was published in 1577, his work in this genre found its audience.⁷⁶ His canzone napolitane eschew two of the most fundamental characteristics of the genre: they are not strophic nor are they bi-partite. Scandello’s settings do retain the brevity, high voice ranges, and robust declamation typical of the genre, in which short imitative motifs are varied with homorhythmic passages in a manner typical of the Venetian four-voice variant developed by Adrian Willaert.⁷⁷ Scandello’s generic modifications were probably his response to the German market, where the prospects for strophic Italian songs were limited; doubtless his abandonment of the three-

⁷⁴ *El primo libro de le canzoni napoletane a IIII. voci, composti per messer Antonio Scandello* (Nuremberg: Neuber and Gerlach, 1566).

⁷⁵ For more on Scandello’s early training, see Dane Heuchemer, “Italian Musicians in Dresden in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century, with an Emphasis on the Lives and Works of Antonio Scandello and Giovanni Battista Pinello di Ghirardi” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cincinnati, 1997), 55-59.

⁷⁶ *Il secondo libro delle canzone napolitane a quatro & à cinque voci* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1577). All four editions of Scandello’s two books were published in Nuremberg and have dedications in Latin to Elector August of Saxony. See *ibid.*, 124.

⁷⁷ The fundamental text on the development of Neapolitan songs of the sixteenth century is Donna Cardamone, *The Canzone villanesca alla napolitana and Related Forms, 1537–1570* (Ann Arbor, 1981). Orlando di Lasso’s publication in 1555 of his so-called “Opus 1,” the first print of Italian madrigals and canzoni villanesche in the Low Countries, preceded Scandello’s by eleven years. A comparison of Lasso’s canzoni villanesche, which retain the bipartite and strophic form associated with the genre, to those of Scandello reveals how much the genre had developed in the intervening period. Lasso’s settings are available in a modern edition in Orlando di Lasso, *Canzoni Villanesche and Villanelle*, ed. Donna G. Cardamone, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance* 82-83 (Madison: A-R Editions, 1991). Scandello’s two books of canzoni napolitane have been transcribed in Heuchemer, “Italian Musicians in Dresden.”

voice strophic form shows the influence of developments in the German lied. His goal seems to have been to provide interesting and varied music based on an Italianate form with a text that perhaps needed not to have been sung at all.

The posthumous printing of Scandello's book one in 1583 occurred during Pinello's tenure at the Dresden court as chapelmaster to Elector August of Saxony, and it must have made an impression on him. Born in Genoa, Pinello spent at least one year singing tenor at the Duke Wilhelm V's Bavarian court in Landshut before returning to Italy, where in 1571 he became maestro di cappella at the cathedral in Vicenza.⁷⁸ While in Vicenza, Pinello launched his printing career with four books of three-voice canzoni napolitane.⁷⁹ By 1576 he was at the court in Innsbruck, then, sometime before his appointment in Dresden was confirmed between 1580 and 1581, he was living in Prague with his family.⁸⁰ How Pinello was employed in Prague until his Dresden appointment is unclear, since he does not appear in the imperial account books until 1584. Nevertheless, Rudolf wrote a personal recommendation to the Saxon Elector indicating that Pinello had been in his service, a fact which suggests that Pinello had been employed in the Prague court in some unofficial capacity, facilitated perhaps by his noble stature.⁸¹ The secretary's report to August on

⁷⁸ See Maria Rosa Moretti, *Musica e Costume a Genova* (Genoa: Risparmio, 1990), 170.

⁷⁹ Books one, two, and three were printed by Scotto in 1571, 1572, and 1575 respectively. Book one is missing. See Jane A. Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press, 1539-1572* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 857 no. 374 and 891 no. 394. All three surviving books have been transcribed in Dane Heuchemer, "Italian Musicians in Dresden."

⁸⁰ Walter Senn writes that Pinello served at the Innsbruck court from 1576 to 1580. However, a letter from Hans Jenitz, secretary at the Dresden court, to the elector on 11 October 1580 confirms that Pinello had been living in Prague with his wife and child prior to his appointment. This letter also mentions the debts he had in Prague, for which Pinello requested money in advance, and the wish to bring his family from Prague to Dresden. See Walter Senn, *Musik und Theater am Hof zu Innsbruck: Geschichte der Hofkapelle vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zu deren Auflösung im Jahre 1748* (Innsbruck: Österreichische Verlagsanstalt, 1954), 156. For the letter from Jenitz, see Reinhard Kade, "Der Dresdener Kapellmeister Johannes Baptista Pinellus," *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 21 (1889): 152-154.

⁸¹ According to Theodore Distel, Rudolf wrote a letter on 3 September 1580 recommending Pinello to August for the post of Saxon electoral chapelmaster. This letter is dated shortly before Pinello's visit to Dresden to negotiate his appointment, as reported in Jenitz's letter of 11 October 1580. However, Reinhard Kade transcribes what seems to be another letter of recommendation from Rudolf to the Elector dated 3 July 1581. It is unclear whether these recommendation letters transmit the same text, since Kade only transcribes the letter. The letter dated 3 July 1581 mentions that Pinello had served the court "submissively and faithfully," and a report to the *Cammermeister* of the Dresden court on 18 June 1581 provides the first confirmation Pinello's arrival in Dresden, though it only makes reference to

Pinello's interview states that the composer was inclined to convert to the Lutheran faith and that he believes in order and discipline, "a value that the Italians hold no differently from the Germans."⁸² Pinello's wish to be advanced a sum of money to pay back debts and his willingness to renounce his Catholic faith, suggest a certain desperation for the Dresden position, despite apparent financial support and goodwill from Rudolf. In addition to his lack of familiarity with the Lutheran faith, the possibility of his appointment was further restricted by his published output at that time, which seems to have consisted solely of three-voice canzoni napolitane. Any desperation on Pinello's part, however, was matched by August's eagerness to appoint an Italian to the position left vacant by Scandello.⁸³

To make up for these shortcomings, Pinello began his most active period of publication in Dresden, forging a close relationship with the Dresden printer Matthias Stöckel, and issuing the collections of sacred music that would establish his name as a worthy chapelmaster, a post he had never held previously. He began with a book of six masses for four voices in 1582, followed by the *Deutsche Magnificat auff die acht tonos* and *Madrigali a piu voci* (1583) and a book of motets for eight, ten, and fifteen voices (1584).⁸⁴ The same

a payment made for Pinello's "housekeeping." See Theodore Distel, "Giovanni Battista Pinello de Gerardis' Anstellung in Dresden," *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 21 (1889): 105; and Reinhard Kade, "Der Dresdener Kapelmeister Johannes Baptista Pinellus," *Monatshefte für Musik-Geschichte* 21 no. 10 (1889): 157. Pinello's own letter of application states that he is no longer in the service of the Emperor and would be able to leave Prague simply by giving Rudolf prior notice. See Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexicon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der Christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des Neunzehnten Jahrhundert* 7 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Haertel, 1902), 451-452.

⁸² Apparently, Pinello wanted to follow the true Christian path and found the teachings of the Dresden court chaplain to be "not bad." Jenitz also writes that Pinello was able to secure for himself some form of continued payment from the emperor, and that the local Italian instrumentalists supported Pinello's appointment, saying they would provide for him while he awaited August's decision on the 100-taler advance. See the transcription of Jenitz's report in Kade, "Der Dresdener Kapelmeister," 152-3.

⁸³ The interim chapelmaster, Georg Förster, seems to have been against Pinello's appointment from the beginning, since he wanted August to hire a German for the position. See Jenitz's reports in *ibid.*, 154.

⁸⁴ The book of masses does not survive. Johann Walther lists them in his *Musicalisches Lexicon* (Leipzig: Wolfgang Deer, 1732), 482. From the 1584 *Cantiones*, only a few pages of the bassus part book remain, while some motets from the collection have survived in manuscript sources. See Heuchemer, "Italian Musicians in Dresden," 85-88. Pinello's set of twenty Magnificats for four and five voices with eleven settings of the *Benedicamus* survives in several copies, facilitated by Pinello's active involvement in their distribution, as seen in chapter one of this dissertation. The *Madrigali a piu voci* is another lost work. Paul Bolduan lists a "Ioann. Baptistae Pinelli Madrigalia Dresdæ. in 4.," and Johann Walther lists among

year he also tried his hand at secular lieder for the first time and returned to the genre with which he had begun his printing career, issuing the *Nawe kurtzweilige Deutsche Lieder* (1584) and *Primo libro dele neapolitane a cinque voci* (1584). His next and final print was issued after his return to Prague, the posthumous *Muteta quinque vocum* (Prague: Nigrin, 1588).

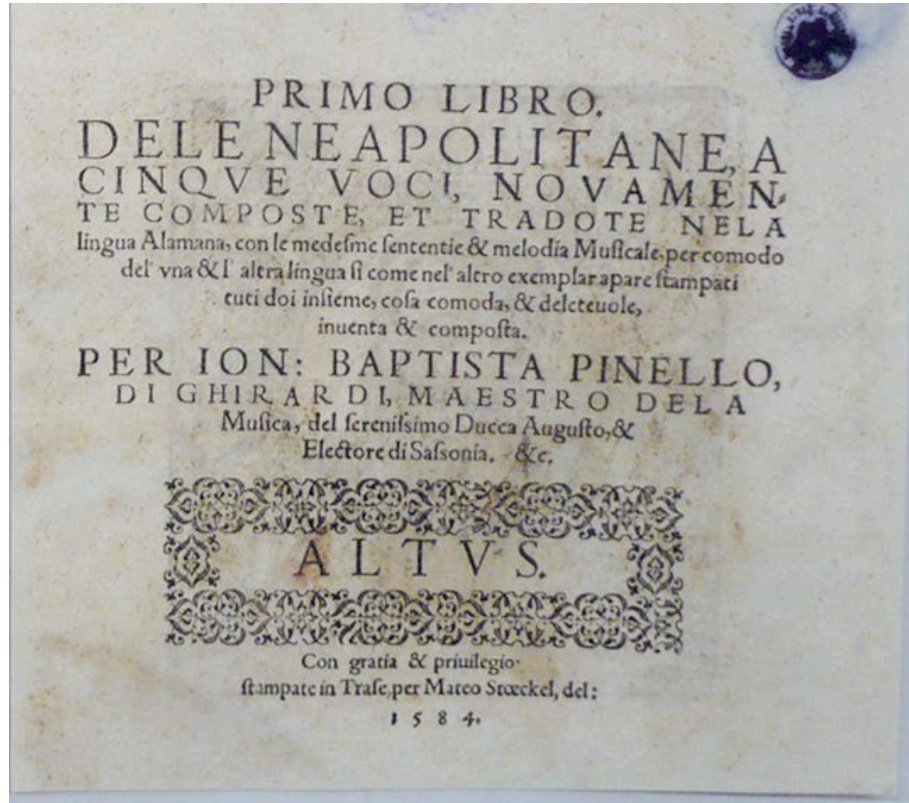


Figure 2.1: Giovanni Battista Pinello, *Primo libro dele neapolitane a cinque voci*

Pinello's works *Madrigalien* printed in Dresden in 1584. Reinhard Kade's list of Pinello's works includes both a book of *Madrigali a piu voci* (Dresden, 1584) and the *Libro primo de Napolitane, a 5 voci* (Dresden, 1585), perhaps following the title of the book of madrigals as listed by Gottfried Johann Dlabacz. Dlabacz lists the 1583 *Madrigali a piu voci*, the 1582 book of six four-voice masses, and a 1584 *Cantiones 8. 10. et 15 vocum*. Robert Eitner indicates neither volume in his 1902 census. It is Kade's list, however, that has formed the basis for subsequent catalogues of Pinello's works. See Paul Bolduan, *Bibliotheca philosophica, sive, Elenchus scriptorum philosophicorum atque philologicorum illustrium* (Jena: Apud Joannem Weidnerum, 1616), 222; Johann Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon oder Musicalische Bibliothec* (Leipzig: Wolfgang Deer, 1732), 482; Gottfried Johann Dlabacz, *Allgemeines Historisches Künstler-Lexikon für Böhmen und zum Theil auch für Mähren und Schlesien* (Prague: Gottlieb Hanse, 1815), 466; Kade, "Der Dresdener Kapelmeister," 161; Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon*, 452; Martin Ruhnke, "Pinello, Giovanni Battista," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Personenteil 10*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel and New York, 1994), 1284; and Dane Heuchemer, "Giovanni Battista Pinello di Ghirardi, Giovanni Battista," *Oxford Music Online*.

(Dresden: Stöckel, 1584), title page

This recently discovered fragment of Pinello's *Primo libro dele neapolitane* offers an opportunity to reconsider Pinello's unique bilingual project in light of a few additional biographical details contained on the title page and in the dedication that both clarify and obfuscate Pinello's circumstances at this critical juncture in his career. The prints suggest that Pinello was influenced by Scandello's previous canzoni napolitane and wanted to assert his own voice in a genre that was already popular at the Dresden court. Pinello had a more current understanding of the genre than Scandello thanks to his appointment in Vicenza, connections with Italian patrons, and an apparent success that enabled him to publish four books in a relatively short span of time. These facts surely contributed to Elector August's eagerness to appoint Pinello as Scandello's successor. Although August seems to have looked on Pinello's experience favorably, Scandello's four- and five-voice non-strophic reconceptions were probably more to his liking than Pinello's earlier, more traditional three-voice strophic settings. The posthumous printing of Scandello's first book of canzone napolitane in 1583 during Pinello's tenure must have challenged the new chapelmaster to attempt his own versions and to exceed Scandello's prints in ambition, by increasing the texture to five voices and issuing his work in a pair of prints, one of which offers the German translation to those not versed in Italian. Although three of the four editions of Scandello's two books of canzoni napolitane were dedicated to August, including the posthumous 1583 print, Pinello turned to a different patron for his five-voice napolitane, Ottavio Spinola, one of Rudolf II's closest advisors in Prague, a possible indication of the strain that marked relations between Pinello and his Dresden employer.⁸⁵ Differences between August and Pinello did not seem to resolve, as his appointment in Dresden came to an end sometime between 1584 and 1585 for unknown reasons.

The choice to print these works separately rather than provide dual text underlay in one edition is an interesting one, as the latter choice would have been more economical and logistically less risky, given that both prints were issued by Matthias Stöckel in Dresden. Pinello's decision to release the Italian and German versions separately suggests that all evidence in the titles aside, he also imagined two separate markets for them. A transcription of the title pages of Pinello's German and Italian prints follows:⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Scandello's *Il secondo libro delle canzone napolitane* contains a Latin dedication to Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol.

⁸⁶ The copy of *Primo libro dele neapolitane a cinque voci* at the Prague Conservatory Library consists of sixteen folios representing what would have been the opening pages from all five partbooks in oblong quarto. The folios were never folded after they were printed, and at some point they were all cut in half vertically, clearly not for the sake of binding but perhaps for convenience of storage. The half-folio with the title page for the discantus partbook is printed with Pinello's portrait on the back, but the upper halves of both sides are empty, unlike all the other half-folios with the exception of the only one bearing the dedication. For this reason, there is no surviving music for the discantus. Why these sheets survived in this state is unknown. They are stamped with the library's insignia, the shelfmark is handwritten on each half-folio, but otherwise there is no handwriting that might indicate provenance.

Nawe Kurtzweilige Deutsche Lieder mit fünff Stimmen, aus welscher Sprach verdeutschet, welche nach Neapolitanischer Art gantz lieblich zu singen, und auff allerley Instrument zugebrauchen, Für die, so der Welschen Sprach nicht kündig, und das sie beyde, Welsch (welche auch nun gedruckt) und Deutsch bey einander können gehabt und gebraucht werden. Durch den Edlen und Ernuhesten Ioannem Baptistam Pinellum, Italum von Genua, Churfürstlicher Durchlauchtigkeit zu Sachsen 2c. jetziger zeit Capelmeister componiret, Auch von ihm selbst corrigiret vnd in Druck vorfertiget. Cum gratia & privilegio. Gedruckt zu Dreßden, durch Matthes Stöckel. Anno M. D. LXXXIII. 1584.

Primo libro dele neapolitane a cinque voci, novamente composte, et tradote nela lingua Alamana, con le medesime sententie & melodia Musicale, per comodo del una & l'altra lingua si come nel' altro exemplar apare stampati tuti doi insieme, cosa comoda, & delevole, inventa & composta. Per Ion: Baptista Pinello di Ghirardi, maestro dela Musica, del serenissimo Ducca Augusto, & Electore di Sassonia, &c. Con gratia & privilegio. Stampate in Trase [Dresden], per Mateo Stöckel, del: 1584.⁸⁷

The differences in tone between the two titles are striking. Pinello draws attention to the novelty of the project in both the German and Italian titles. Both titles also indicate that the songs have been translated from Italian to German and recommend not only acquiring the two prints but using them together, implying the possibility of bilingual performance as it suits the owners of the books. The German title indicates that the songs can be performed on any type of instrument, a commonplace in German titles of the period, but the Italian title does not even mention the possibility. Nor does Pinello indicate in Italian his personal oversight of the printing process. The focus in the Italian title is on what was translated, which Pinello assures his readers is only the language, not the meanings of the text nor the melodies, and on the convenience and pleasure derived from having both copies side by side. For the German title, convenience comes for those who do not know Italian and the pleasure lies in the “neapolitan art” that gives life to the music.

The librarian was also unable to locate any records on how they entered the collection. Curiously, someone colored in a band in the decorative border of one of Pinello's portraits as well as the ribbon around his neck in one of two surviving copies of the title page portrait intended for a bassus partbook.

⁸⁷ Since Kade's 1889 study of Pinello, this print has been listed erroneously with a publication date of 1585. The title page confirms that the date of publication is actually 1584. This is also confirmed by the presence of the *Primo libro dele neapolitane a cinque voci* in Johann George Portenbach's fall 1584 catalog. The print was later cited in Georg Willer's 1585 spring catalog of books sold at the Frankfurt am Main market, which may have been the cause of the error. See Albert Göhler, *Verzeichnis der in den Frankfurter und Leipziger Messkatalogen der Jahre 1564 bis 1759 angezeigten Musikalien* (Hilversum: Frist A. M. Knuf, 1965), 36 no. 749.

There is another notable omission from the Italian title. Each of his known Venetian publications, published prominently under his full name, Giovanni Battista Pinello di Ghirardi, includes the designation “nobile Genovese,” transformed for *Il quarto libro* into “Gentil’huomo Genovese.” In the two known title pages of his two German prints, he is a more common yet exotic “Italum von Genua,” whereas his last posthumous print in Prague restores the honorific as “Italo nobilique Genuensi.” The Italian print makes no reference either to his origin or his noble status, except in the more subtle restoration of “di Ghirardi” to his name, though all the Dresden prints do contain portraits of the composer prominently displayed beside their dedications that cast no doubts on his elevated social status. This slight modification is further amplified in his dedication to the Maltese Knight Ottavio Spinola, another Genovese nobleman by birth yet significantly more powerful in vocation. Pinello acknowledges that he had been admonished against dedicating to Spinola works more suitable for vain men of little intellect.



Figure 2.2: Giovanni Battista Pinello, *Primo libro dele neapolitane a cinque voci*, dedication

[To the most illustrious lord Ottavio Spinola, imperial chamberlain,
If the actions of men are to be praised or censured according to the aim toward which they
have worked, those who discourse on what I know I am lacking said that I should not
dedicate to your most illustrious lordship these works that I send, which are suitable for vain
men, and consequently to those of little intellect, to whom I am unable to do harm. Since

my aim was only to give your most illustrious lordship a sign of my devotion and of the eternal indebtedness that I owe to him, I have composed this according to my abilities, (not my desires), and as according to the well-made maxims, that Music does not have the force to corrupt fearless and truly good souls, but ably restores the spirits of valorous men troubled by important business; therefore I beg your most illustrious lordship to accept such works, not for the value of gold but for the intention, and I serve them with the hope of such happiness as he himself desires. With all due reverence, a kiss on the hand, 1 May 1584, from the most indebted servant of his most illustrious lordship, Giovanni Battista Pinello.]

Pinello dedicated the *Nawe Kurtweilige Deutsche Lieder* to an even more powerful figure, Rudolf II, without any reference to the trifling nature of the genre. His dedication to Rudolf is more elaborate, drawing metaphors to the wealth Arion acquired in Italy by means of music and how music, like a jewel ensconced in gold, adorns a good wine. He draws Rudolf's attention to the five prints he published in Venice a long time ago (one more than the four of which we currently know) and the four books he published in Dresden while serving the elector (his masses, Magnificats, madrigals, and motets). After those four prints came these cheerful secular songs, which, through various dealings and transactions, have become sorrowful and afflicted. Joy has once more been aroused in him and he hopes he can make his songs cheerful once more, especially so long as he can dedicate joyful songs to the emperor, his comforting hope.⁸⁸

Pinello's sorrowful songs in Dresden stemmed partially from difficulties at the workplace and perhaps from his cultural isolation. His vice-chapelmaster Georg Förster had opposed his appointment from the beginning and his disciplinary methods had been called into question more than once.⁸⁹ Förster also sent letters to August detailing Pinello's

⁸⁸ Fols 4r-4v: "ja auch durch Gottes des Allmechtigen Hülff / beystandt und Gnade etliche gute Geseng gemacht und componiret / deren zu Venedig vor langer zeit ich bey fünff mahl habe drucken lassen / und weil ich alhier bey dem Durchlauchtigsten Hochgebornen Churfürsten zu Sachsen und Burggrafen zu Magdeburgk / meinem gnedigsten Herren gedienet / nu wol viererley arten von mir auch in druck gegeben wroden sein. Nach dem aber diese weltliche Lieder sehr lustig und frölich gehen / denen / welche / offft durch viel und mancherley hendel betrübt und unlustig gemacht / wider ein freud zu erwecken / und sie wider lustig und frölich zu machen / hat mich für gut angesehen / Ewer Keys. Mayt. gemelte lustige Lieder zu dediciren und zuzuschreiben / unterthenigster und tröstlicher Hoffnung / Ew. Kay. Mayt. werden hieran gnedigst gefallen tragen / und solle derselben in aller unterthenigster Demut ein angenemer von mir geschehener dienst sein. Hiemit Ew. Kay. Mayt. in Gottes des Allmechitgen schutz / bey lanwiriger guter frölicher gesundheit / gutem Regiment unn glücklichem Frieden zuerhalten / auffs trewlichst befehlende."

⁸⁹ Förster, who was acting as interim chapelmaster after the death of Scandello, specifically requested a German chapelmaster, recommending two other candidates for the position. Pinello's difficulties with the choirboys materialized early in his appointment and culminated with an incident in 1583 when a choirboy brandished a dagger during a Friday Vespers service in the court chapel. Pinello struck the boy "above the ear" and a brawl ensued.

difficulties with the Lutheran liturgy.⁹⁰ Pinello's Lutheran conversion was probably opportunistic, judging by what seems to have been little prior experience with the faith and the Catholic dedicatees of his final three prints.⁹¹ The reasons for his turn toward the cultural milieu of the imperial court in Prague in the dedications of these two prints probably had much to do with Rudolf's earlier support, the isolation he must have felt in Dresden as a Genovese nobleman, and a wish to rejoin the more substantial Italian community residing in the imperial capital, which included other Italian nobles.⁹²

Another reason emerges when we consider Pinello's job description as indicated on the title page of *Il primo libro dele neapolitane* and the date of his dedication to Spinola. The title page of the *Nawe kurtzweilige Deutsche Lieder* describes Pinello as chapelmaster at the Saxon electoral court, with a dedication to Rudolf II dated on the feast of St. Matthew the Apostle (24 February) 1584. RudolFINE court records indicate that Pinello later entered the imperial payroll as a tenor and *Singerknaben praeceptor* on 1 May 1584.⁹³ It has long been assumed that Pinello's service in Dresden terminated before 1 May 1584, based on this evidence in the imperial court records. This print confirms, however, that Pinello was still employed in Dresden at that time, as 1 May 1584 is the precise day that Pinello dated his dedication to Ottavio Spinola. The title page of *Il primo libro* makes no reference to Pinello's imperial service, describing him only as *maestro dela musica* at the Saxon court of Duke August. If Pinello had indeed entered imperial service on 1 May, he would have

Reinhard Kade provides transcriptions of these reports in "Der Dresdener Kapelmeister," 154, 158-60.

⁹⁰ See Eberhard Schmidt, *Der Gottesdienst am Kurfürstlichen Hofe zu Dresden* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1961), 43.

⁹¹ The 1588 *Muteta* was dedicated to Adam Gallus Popel of Lobkowitz (1557–1605), a member of one of the most powerful Catholic families in Bohemia. In his dedication, Pinello writes that he long ago dedicated entirely all his being, life, and happiness to the dedicatee and that he wants to dedicate these works to him to convey his loyalty, asking him, as he does Spinola, to accord more weight to his favorable disposition toward him than to the book itself.

⁹² In 1590, the Dresden court chapel had nineteen instrumentalists, eight discantists, five basses, five tenors, and four altists. Among the instrumentalists were five Italians. See Heuchemer, "Italian Musicians in Dresden," 37-40.

⁹³ He is recorded as serving in these two capacities for only two months. On 1 July 1584, he is reassigned as an alto. After eleven months, he became a tenor once more from 1 June 1585 to 15 June 1587, and served the remaining month of his life from 16 June 1587 to 15 July 1587 again as an alto. The account books record the reason for the termination of his service as death. See Žáčková Rossi, *Hudebníci dvora Rudolfa II.*, 62 and 95.

acknowledged the honor in his title.⁹⁴ Perhaps Spinola helped Pinello out with added income, by giving him an honorary position that did not require service in person? Were the two prints issued because Pinello had two important persons to thank? It has been reasonably assumed that Pinello left Dresden before 1 May 1584 to take on this new responsibility in Prague. However, this print confirms that he was still under some contractual obligation at the Dresden court the day he entered the imperial account payroll in Prague.⁹⁵

The identical date of the dedication to Spinola and Pinello's re-entry into imperial service is likely more than coincidence. Ottavio Spinola (d. 1592) was, like Pinello, a Genovese nobleman, but also a Maltese Knight who was unusually close to Rudolf, serving as a primary mediator for many affairs of state involving northern Italian centers of power during the 1580s.⁹⁶ He is first recorded in Prague as early as 1576.⁹⁷ His engagement as a

⁹⁴ Moreover, his portrait rests above a Latin poem extolling the noble house of Augustus with text surrounding his portrait designating him as *Electoris Saxoniae Chori Musici Magister Aeta[tis] Suae 39*. This engraving is the same one he used for his 1583 prints. It is still dated 1583 at the top, meaning that, for another year, he remains thirty-nine years old.

⁹⁵ What precisely happened in the years between 1 May 1584 and 10 March 1586, when Georg Förster was elevated to chapelmaster, was a subject of debate among nineteenth-century scholars, who argued out the issue in the pages of the *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte*. The imperial account books were chosen as the most conclusive evidence that Pinello was in Prague on 1 May 1584. Otto Kade's 1869 report that Pinello was not formally released in 1584 but given *consilium abeundi*, not returning to Prague until 1585, is, in light of the evidence presented in *Il primo libro*, the most probable. Leonhard Lechner applied for the post sometime in mid-1585, with recommendation letters from Orlando di Lasso dated 25 June 1585 and Duke Wilhelm V dated 24 June 1585, sometime soon after the position must have become available. Duke Wilhelm's letter stresses that Lechner's published output includes both German lieder and Italian madrigals. Intercessory letters in August 1585 from Duke Eitelfriedrich of Hohenzollern and Margrave Johann Georg of Brandenburg against the appointment contributed to Lechner's failure to obtain it. See Otto Kade, "Leonhard Lechner und sein Streit mit dem Grafen Eitelfriedrich von Hohenzollern," in *Monatshefte für Musik-Geschichte* 1 (1869), 187-197; Ludwig Köchel, *Die Kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle in Wien von 1543-1867* (1869; reprint, Hildesheim; New York: G. Olms Verlag, 1976), no. 234; Reinhard Kade, *op. cit.*, 51; Reinhard Vollhardt, ed., *Geschichte der Cantoren und Organisten von den Städten im Königreich Sachsen* (Berlin: Issleib, 1899), 62.

⁹⁶ Ottavio's name appears prominently in court records during the years from 1580 to 1592. His impressive red-marble tomb stands on the northern wall of St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague. See Kašparová, *České Země a Jejich Obyvatelé*, 106; and Karl Vocelka, *Die Politische Propaganda Kaiser Rudolfs II. (1576-1612)* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981), 171.

⁹⁷ The literature on Spinola is surprisingly thin given his important position at the court. More common is information on his only son, Carlo Spinola, who would gain fame as a Jesuit missionary in Japan. The first account of Spinola records his need of a doctor on 31

gentleman of the bedchamber at the imperial court, a position that gave him the emperor's ear, made him an important conduit to power. One of his most famous correspondents was Torquato Tasso, who wrote several letters to Spinola asking him to convince Rudolf to press Duke Alfonso II of Ferrara for his release from the asylum of St. Anna.⁹⁸ Spinola also acted as intermediary in acquiring Italian paintings and luxury goods directly from the Gonzagas of Mantua, and his political influence made him the recipient of lavish gifts from the Italian nobility who used these powerful incentives to gain favor at the court.⁹⁹ More revealing insight into his character is disclosed in Philippe de Monte's dedication of *Il duodecimo libro delli madrigali à cinque voci* to Spinola dated 15 July 1587. Monte describes "the nobility, great worth and central location" Spinola holds at the court, as well as his grace and authority, employed "with so much modesty in the comfort of others, that whoever [experiences it], leaves satisfied either by the effect or the goodwill, and considerately reciprocates these qualities afterward."¹⁰⁰ Perhaps most insightful of all are the several times

August 1576 (Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Habsburgisch-Lothringische Hausarchive, Familienakten, Karton 99, unfol.).

⁹⁸ Tasso's letters to Paul Grillo frequently refer to entreaties sent to Spinola to intervene on his behalf. One of his undated letters from Ferrara reports on a brief canzona that he sent in a letter to Spinola during carnival "accompagnata da' caldissimi ufficj del Signor Alessandro," which he hopes will make a strong enough impression on the emperor to finally grant him his favor. Apparently, Spinola did not always reply to his letters. On Tasso's correspondence with Spinola, see Torquato Tasso, *Opere di Torquato Tasso, Tomo Quinto* (Florence: Stamperia di S. A. R. per li Tartini, e Franchi, 1724), 58-74; and Torquato Tasso, *Opere di Torquato Tasso colle Controversie sulla Gerusalemme* 13 (Pisa: Niccolò Capurro, 1825), 63.

⁹⁹ The evidence I have found relates particularly to the Gonzagas. Vespasiano I Gonzaga, Duke of Sabbioneta, sent jeweled vestments, marble sculptures, a majolica credenza donated by the Duke of Urbino, jewelry, and paintings to the Spanish ambassador, Oberhofmeister Wolfgang Rumpf, Jakob Kurz von Senftenau, Obersthofmarschall Paul Sixt Trautson, and Ottavio Spinola. Rudolf requested Titian knock-offs, which were sent by Guglielmo Gonzaga between 1587 and 1588 and received by Spinola. As Gonzaga's messenger writes, Spinola presented them to Rudolf, who was very pleased. See Hans von Voltolini, ed., "Urkunden und Regesten aus dem K. U. K. Haus-, Hof- und Staats-Archiv in Wien," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 15 (1894), 89 no. 11998; and Jürgen Zimmer, "Aus den Sammlungen Rudolfs II.: 'Die Zwölff Heidnischen Kayser sambt Iren Weibern,'" *Studia Rudolphina* 10 (2010), 21.

¹⁰⁰ "Onde come che la nobiltà, il gran valore di V. Sig. Illustriss. & il loco principale ch'ella tiene in questa Corte la rendono riguardevole appresso ogn'uno; nissuna cosa però la fa pin ammirare della fama universale, che la gratia & autorità ch'ella ha havuta già tanti anni & have appresso sua Maestà Cesarea vien impiegata da lei con tanta modestia in commodo altrui, che chiunque ricome da lei, si parte ò satisfatto di effetto, ò appagato di buona volontà & ciascheduno obligato alla sua somma benignità." The full dedication is reprinted in

Spinola is recorded as having secured payments for Italian instrumentalists at the court.¹⁰¹ Imperial court account books reveal that Spinola was particularly close to the Italian trumpeters in the *Stallpartey* and was able to apply the pressure necessary to secure payments for them in addition to their salaries. Perhaps Spinola was able to do the same for Pinello, and *Il primo libro dele neapolitane* was Pinello's public acknowledgment of gratitude.



Figure 2.3: Giovanni Battista Pinello, *Primo libro dele neapolitane a cinque voci*,

Georges van Doorslaer, *La vie et les œuvres de Philippe de Monte* (Brussels: Marcel Hayez, 1921), 239.

¹⁰¹ Payments to Italian instrumentalists mediated by Spinola include Alessandro Orologio on 29 August 1587 (Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungs-, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Alte Hofkammer, Hofffinanz, Band 411-E [1587], fol. 293r); Leonso Cappa, Jacob Wolff, and Giorgio and Luca Zigotta on 11 July 1588 (Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungs-, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Alte Hofkammer, Hofffinanz, Band 421-E [1588], fol. 152r); Andrea Mosto and Florindo Sartorio in May 1589 (Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungs-, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Alte Hofkammer, Hofffinanz, Band 430-E [1589], fol. 138r); Gregorio Turini, Giovanni Maria Lodrino, and Dominico Gentili on 20 February 1592 (Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungs-, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Alte Hofkammer, Hofffinanz, Band 457-E [1592], fol. 50r); and Francisco Sagabria and Alessandro Orologio on 4 April 1592 (Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungs-, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Alte Hofkammer, Hofffinanz, Band 457-E [1592], fol. 88v).

portrait of the composer dated 1583

PINELLO'S 1584 NAPOLITANE

As a Genovese nobleman placed in the unfamiliar environment of a Lutheran court, Pinello's engagement in Dresden represents a cultural encounter of genuine difference. These differences are further embodied in the napolitane and lieder themselves. When these prints have been discussed, the primary focus has concerned Pinello's abilities in German translation, which invariably casts his efforts in a dim light. The composer's method of word-for-word translation is perceived as the product of inability in German, disqualifying him from understanding the subtleties of German accentuation. At best, the literalness of his approach is seen as representative of the sixteenth-century educational paradigm of imitation as a means of learning, in which a text is best understood by copying it word for word. Susan Lewis Hammond argues that this sixteenth-century approach to education would evolve into a new paradigm in the early seventeenth century that emphasized the transformation of an original text to best suit its new language, an ideal embodied by Haussmann's imaginative reworking of Vecchi's canzonetta texts into well-declaired German poetry in 1610.¹⁰²

More interesting than any infelicities in accentuation is the evolution of Pinello's approach to composing napolitane, in which he has abandoned the strophic, bipartite three-voice settings from his years in Vicenza and embraced a five-voice through-composed approach that betrays the influence of the German lied. His four earlier books of canzoni napolitane (shortened to *napolitane* in his fourth book of 1575) demonstrate an increasingly imaginative variety in his handling of the traditionally three-voiced genre, with more varied

¹⁰² Since the print has not been previously available, Rudolf Velten was able to locate only two of Pinello's original Italian texts, using these as the basis for his metrical analysis. Susan Lewis Hammond repeats the results of Velten's investigation in her discussion of German lyric translation but provides a context that validates Pinello's method of translation as a product of its time. Rolf Caspari is less generous, dismissing Pinello's lieder altogether, since, as translations of Italian songs, they are not linked to the tradition of the Dresden court. See Rudolf Velten, "Das Deutsche Gesellschaftslied unter dem Einflusse der Italienischen Musik: Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Deutschen Renaissance-Lyrik am Ende des 16. und Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts" (Ph.D. dissertation, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität zu Heidelberg, 1914), 52-57; Susan Lewis Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 87-90; and Rolf Caspari, *Liedtradition im Stilwandel um 1600: Das Nachleben des deutschen Tenorliedes in den gedruckten Liedersammlungen* (Munich: Musikverlag Katzbichler, 1971), 116. Ruhnke claims that Pinello's lieder are translations from the missing first book of three-voice canzoni napolitane, an assertion repeated by both Jane Bernstein in her Scotto catalog and Dane Heuchemer in his dissertation (218-219). How Ruhnke arrived at this conclusion is not clear. See Martin Ruhnke, "Pinello, Giovanni Battista," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Personenteil* 10, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel and New York: Bärenreiter, 1994), 1284.

durations and greater use of contrasting textures in his fourth book.¹⁰³ Pinello's five-voice napolitane from Dresden reflect a significant leap from his earlier work, as he quickly absorbed a new tradition of Italian secular composition established at the Dresden court by Scandello's more thickly textured models. Scandello had waited seventeen years after moving to Dresden before issuing his first collection of canzoni napolitane and an additional two years before publishing his first collection of lieder.¹⁰⁴ The intervening years gave Scandello ample time to internalize the style of the lied, while his early conversion to Lutheranism and numerous years of service helped him understand the lyric content that would appeal to a German audience. Although Pinello had not served as long in Dresden, his 1584 book suggests that he was quick to adapt the style of the canzone napolitana established by his predecessor.

Although Pinello abandons the Italian convention of a bi-partite, strophic structure in his 1584 book, he retains the concision of the genre and its inclination toward the stock themes of love, infidelity, and sexual frustration. He opens the book with his longest work, "Amor, sento' una voce," demonstrating his seriousness of intent. The German version is given below for the sake of comparison. A transcription of the complete napolitana is provided at the end of this chapter.

I. Amor, sento' una voce,
risponder da lontano,
di quella ladra, che ma robato' il core.
Tu, tu, tu sei tu na ladra,
Da me lo core',
O ladra del mio core.
Da me lo
Da me lo mo,
Ahi, cagna traditora,
non far quest'alma disperata mora.

Mein schatz, hör meine stimme,
mit antwort dich vernimme,
von einer Bulerin, die mir mein herz gestolen.
Du, du, du bist die schelckin,
Gib mir mein herz,
O schelckin mit mir nicht schertz.
Reiche her-
Reiche herbald,
Ey, du hast ein hertz untrew
thue nicht auff das dich nicht möcht gerewen.

Despite the careful attempt to match the meaning of the Italian text in the German translation, the German text has the structural support of a rhyme scheme apparent in its opening verses, which is absent from the Italian version until its closing lines. The Italian version is more rough-hewn in delivery with its less refined repetitions of "core" and the surprising aggressivity of "Ahi, cagna traditora," only somewhat softened by the rhymed

¹⁰³ See Heuchemer, "Italian Musicians in Dresden," 204-207.

¹⁰⁴ In addition to his two books of canzoni napolitane, Scandello issued two books of secular German lieder (*Neue Teutsche Liedlein mit Vier und Fünff Stimmen*, Nuremberg: Gerlach & Neuber, 1568; *Nawe und lustige Weltliche Deudsche Liedlein mit Vier, Fünff und Sechs Stimmen*, Dresden: Bergen, 1570; reprints 1578, 1579), and a book of sacred German lieder (*Nawe schöne außeresene Geistliche Deudsche Lieder mit Fünff und Sechs Stimmen*, Dresden: Bergen, 1575).

ending of the concluding two lines. The irregularity of the poetic structure in the napolitana is new for Pinello. His earlier books used strophic texts, typically made up of tercets or quatrains, laid out in any of a variety of rhyme schemes. Stripped of these patterns, the spontaneity of the speaker's emotional swings is given free reign. Pinello's opening head motive of an octave-leap spaced evenly among the five voices at the breve quickly thickens into rhythmically-assertive imitation as he spins out repetitions of "quella ladra" answered by a semibreve descent through the natural hexachord for the third line's second hemistich, all of which reinforce the tactus and robustly affirm a modal C. Such moves as the B-flat/F-sharp cross-relation at bar 58 on "tu sei na ladra" are rarely found in Scandello's settings, much less the poetic sentiment.

Pinello introduces the imperative "Da me lo" in the discantus after a chain of converging suspensions in the quintus and bassus that bring "O ladra del mio core" to its conclusion. The altus joins the discantus, followed by a switch to tempus perfectus and homorhythmic, repeated-note declamation at the semiminim in the four upper voices, who join in insisting "Da me lo," all of which serves to enhance the petulance of the command, as do the three repetitions of the phrase. In doing so, Pinello delays the particularly Neapolitan "mo" (now) that concludes the line, which he further highlights by its arrival at the semibreve and the return of the original mensuration. He does this undoubtedly for effect, in order to accentuate the song's Neapolitan roots. His German translation "Reiche her... bald," in contrast, seems a less satisfying compromise. The "treacherous bitch" (*cagna traditora*) of the next Italian line is also softened into a much milder German "you have an untrue heart" (*du hast ein hertz untrew*). Pinello's restraint indicates some awareness of what passed as acceptable for sixteenth-century German consumers of lyric, who usually preferred earthier songs about love in the context of marriage, hunting, drinking, or, for whatever reason, chickens, a proclivity Scandello satisfied twice in setting his "Haveva na gallina" for four and then five voices in his two books of canzoni napolitane. Pinello did not cater to the local market in the same way. Although he updates the musical setting to a five-voice texture in keeping with German tastes, he sticks to the poetic themes that continued to inform the vanguard of the napolitana lyric as practiced in Italy.



Figure 2.4: Giovanni Battista Pinello, Primo libro dele neapolitane a cinque voci, first page of “Amor, sento’ una voce,” alto

All three of the first neapolitane in Pinello’s book maintain the genre’s characteristic high cleffing (G2? C2 C3 C3 C4), and the second work, “Chi non sa, come’ amor leghe’ incatena,” returns to a traditional hendecasyllabic tercet. The German version is not wrested into the rigid poetic schema of the Italian. The final line of fifteen syllables in the German version is given room to unfold, while the Italian version reiterates its “osciolto” to fit the three-note motivic cell that starts and ends the song. “Chi non sa” reverses the balance between imitation and homorhythm established in “Amor, sento’ una voce.” Its insistent homorhythmic opening recurs later in varied groupings of the voices, dovetailing with chains of suspensions.

II. Chi non sa, come’ amor leghe’ incatena,
veng’ a mirar, le trecci’ el tuo bel viso,

E dica poi, se va legat’ o sciolto.

Wer nicht weis, wie die liebe einen bindet,
der shawe an, ein jungfraw schon, in ihrem
schmuck,

so hat er gluck, wo er sich denn bey sich
noch lotz befindet.

In the book’s third work, “Io, vo cercando,” Pinello presents his longest imitative point yet, delivering the entire first line of the strophe in an unbroken melody that works its way up the octave in each of the five voices through two iterations of the text. Imitation

prevails throughout the duration of the song. The motivic cells gain in lightness through rapid declamation, triadic harmonies, and rhythmic development that imparts variety to the frequent cadences on C and G. The lithe Italian text crumbles somewhat in its verbose German rewording, while the different rhyme schemes in both, if they can be called that, attest to their presence as mere formality.

<p>III. Io, uo cercando, o belle done' il core, se glie traui, non melo negate, chi mela tolto, mel dica per pietade.</p>	<p>Ich such die mein so mir hertzlich gefellet wo mag sie sein, ists euch zugefellet wer die bey sich hat, der sage mirs ausgnade.</p>
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The lightness of the second two napolitane balance the harsh sentiments expressed in the first, but all are in keeping with the poetic themes characteristic of songs cultivated in Italian aristocratic circles, where pastoral sentiments about love often appeared side by side with coarse expositions on female deceit.¹⁰⁵

In other words, Pinello's dedication of his two prints to Spinola and Rudolf II were an acknowledgement of their cultural ties to the northern Italian courts where such music was cultivated and of their patronage of such music in the north. Scandello opted for subjects drawn from the cultural life of the Saxon city that became his home for over thirty years, transforming the canzone napolitana to reflect both the poetic and musical tastes of the city beyond the court, while Pinello worked vice versa, attempting to expand the possibilities of central European song through innovative musical devices practiced primarily at the courts. His last song in the German collection, the two-part "Ich lieb dich" (the Italian version remains missing), whose title does not quite prepare the listener for its contents, conveys these tendencies most dramatically. Pinello illustrates a journey toward mystical union and identity loss through increasing chromatic exploration that rocks between F-sharp neighboring tones and E-flats in the first part, and culminates in the second part in an extended series of drawn-out suspensions passing through E-flat and A-flat to a G cadence at "ach, das doch kennen schier, all beide wir."

<p>Prima pars Ich lieb dich, und du mich einmütiglich solche hast beredet mich, du seiest wie ich warlich weil du von herzen liebtest mich drumm wie du, bin ich, dich liebe ich weil du so freundlich alzeit erzeigest dich dich liebe ich und bin verwandelt worden gar in dich das ich kan nu wissen nicht, wer du, wer ich,</p>	<p>Secunda pars Du bist die liebste mir, und ich mich dir anders wirstu nicht mir, ich auch nicht dir drumm wolt ich das du mir, werst wie ich dir ach, das doch kennen schier, all beide wir zusammen nach begier, ein fleisch du wir ein fleisch das wir werden, kennst du zu mir und ich zu dir.</p>
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¹⁰⁵ On the texts of Neapolitan songs particularly before 1600, see Donna G. Cardamone, "Erotic Jest and Gesture in Roman Anthologies of Neapolitan Dialect Songs," *Music & Letters* 86 no. 3 (2005): 357-379; and Donna G. Cardamone and Cesare Corsi, "The Canzone Villanesca and Comic Culture: The Genesis and Evolution of a Mixed Genre (1537-1557)," *Early Music History* 25 (2006): 59-104.

so bildestu mich, das du bin ich.	
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The jarring harmonies and even more jarring German lyric, with its relentless encoiling of *ich* and *dich* in the *prima pars* and *mir* and *dir* in the *secunda pars* must have left its Saxon audiences and performers, accustomed to the less poetically experimental Scandello, somewhat speechless. Ruhnke has suggested that Pinello's apparent failure at the court in Dresden stemmed from religious, national, and linguistic differences, whereas Heuchemer argues that the innovative style of his music limited his audience.¹⁰⁶ Pinello also made few concessions to local taste in his handling of text. The asymmetry of his poetry, unfamiliar subjects, and interest in unusual harmonies and expressive chromaticism reflect a somewhat top-down approach to graft the latest innovations in the napolitana directly on to the lied. As a nobleman, Pinello's training was more likely rooted in vocal polyphony than that of the Italian instrumentalists who worked in much larger numbers at the courts of Dresden and Prague. In addition to providing music for the chapel, Pinello was probably also expected to provide music for entertainment similar to the music performed and composed by Italian wind players such as Scandello and Orologio. It seems, however, that he was more interested in targeting an informed aristocratic audience. The title pages show that he attempted to ease potential challenges to the reception of his music by offering a mediatory aid to German consumers in a second, optional print of the same music with Italian text. The prints thus offer an valuable insights into how Italian composers in central Europe negotiated cultural exchanges with their local audiences.

CONCLUSION

After Pinello passed away in July of 1587, Philippe de Monte took in one of Pinello's sons, who was "under no circumstances good enough for the chapel but nevertheless remains in my home."¹⁰⁷ Monte's familial responsibility to Pinello may have stemmed from his close ties to the Pinelli family of Naples, a possible southern branch of Giovanni Battista Pinello's

¹⁰⁶ The concern to pinpoint possible failures in Pinello's career is a wish to account for Pinello's brief tenure in Dresden and the limited transmission of his music in manuscripts and printed anthologies. One exception relevant to my discussion here is the inclusion of an English version of "Quand'io voleva," another missing napolitana from the five-voice collection, in Nicolas Yonge's *Musica transalpina*. Yonge identifies Pinello's napolitana, entitled "When I would thee embrace" in his collection, as a *cantio rustica*. The German version is "Wen ich habe gewolt." The English version also appears in modified form as "When I would you Embrace" combined with a work by A. Ferrabosco in the New York Public Library, Music Division (sign. MSS Mus. Res. Drexel 4180-4185). See Heuchemer, "Italian Musicians in Dresden," 291.

¹⁰⁷ Wistreich, "Philippe de Monte: New Autobiographical Documents," 278.

Genovese family.¹⁰⁸ The letters Monte wrote to the Pinellis of Naples are a rich source of information on social life at the court. In his *avvise* of 5 March 1585, Monte mentions the celebrations for the wedding of the Bohemian nobleman Wolf Novohradský of Kolovrat, which included a tournament and masquerade put together by a group of Italians, an entertainment one does not often have the chance to witness.¹⁰⁹ Monte's letters also mention the banquets held for foreign visitors at the homes of the Florentine ambassador, the Archbishop of Colocza and Chancellor of Hungary, and Germanico Malaspina, the papal nuncio.¹¹⁰ An earlier letter from 12 February 1585 describes another masquerade organized by "nostri italiani," which was "molto gratiosa" but marred by the debaucheries that ensued, a typical end to celebrations in Bohemia unknown in Linz, Vienna, or Moravia.¹¹¹ Books of secular Italian music published by Orologio, Camillo Zanotti, Gregorio Turini, and Giovanni Battista Massarengo provide some insight into the music they would have provided for weddings, masquerades, and banquets in Prague. We might pause here to consider one of them as a means of concluding this chapter, for it takes us close to understanding the social contracts that Italian musicians had with their local audiences.

The *Madrigalia tam italica, quam latina, nova prorsus* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1590) by Camillo Zanotti (ca. 1545–91) provides the most direct evidence of wedding music for the Bohemian nobility at its most elaborate.¹¹² Dedicated to Vilém of Rožmberk, it opens

¹⁰⁸ This hypothesis has been put forward by Maria Rosa Moretti in *Musica e Costume a Genova* (Genoa: Risparmio, 1990), 170. The Pinelli family of Naples employed Philippe de Monte as a house musician from 1542 until 1551.

¹⁰⁹ From the *Avvise* of 5 March 1585 transcribed in Hindrichs, 212: "Domenica passata fece le sue nozze il Colabrat Signor principale di Bohemia con | interuento di tutti li principali C[on]te del Paese et di corte, hieri si corse a l'anello | inanzi palazzo prezzi grossissimi et hoggi si fara un torneo inanzi la casa | del spouse, ne altra allegrezza si uede qui, che alcune mascherate che fanno | questi Italiani con gradissimo concorso di gente come non usi a ueder simili | allegrezze et piaceri." The tournament prepared for the wedding of Jan Krakovský z Kolovrat in Innsbruck in 1580 is described in Petr Daněk, "Svatba, Hudba a Hudebníci v Období Vrcholné Renesance," *Opera Historica* 8 (2000), 207-264.

¹¹⁰ Hindrichs, *Philippe de Monte*, 141-142.

¹¹¹ *Avvise* of 12 February 1585: "Domenica passata I nostri Italiani fecero un Mascherata molto gratiosa | infine se non fusser loro non *si* uedrebbe qui altra allegrezza che della criapula, | nella quale finiscono tutte le feste di questo paese | Si comincia di nuouo a ragionare de l'andata de l'Arciduca Mathias a Lintz | al gouerno de l'Austria superiori, et a Vienna si sta bene Dio gratia libero | di mal contagioso et in Morauia è mancato molto questo male." The entire *avvise* is transcribed in *ibid.*, 210.

¹¹² For a more detailed discussion of this print, see Robert Lindell, "Camillo Zanotti's *Madrigalia tam Italica quam Latina* (1590) as Rudolfine State Art," *Prag um 1600: Beiträge* (Freren: Luca, 1988), 193-199.

with seven Italian madrigals for five and six voices followed by seven madrigals in Latin for five and six voices and concluding with a twelve-voice madrigal in the form of a dialogue honoring Vilém's 1587 marriage to Polyxena of Pernštejn. The music provided by the imperial chapel at this wedding is the single largest musical expenditure indicated in the Rožmberk account books.¹¹³ Zanotti's collection is unusual among Gerlach's prints in that the title page is modeled on those of Antonio Gardano, though for this print, Gardano's lion ("leone") and bear ("orso") (=Leone Orsini, his patron) have been replaced by two bears flanking the central shield, which are meant to symbolize the putative Italian origins of the Rožmberk family, who sought to trace their ancestors back to the Roman branch of the Orsini family; the central shield bears a rose, the family symbol (Rožmberk=Rosenberg) surrounded by the chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece, which counted Vilém among its members.¹¹⁴

The opening work sets Guarini's "Donò Licori a Batto," which, as Brian Mann, has pointed out, is modeled on Philippe de Monte's own setting of the text published in *Il duodecimo libro delli madrigali à cinque voci* (1587), the same year that Vilém's wedding took place; both demonstrate the light, syllabic style that captured Monte's interest beginning with his previous book of 1586.¹¹⁵ After the six Italian madrigals, all on pastoral themes, the first Latin madrigal announces that the leaders of great men will be celebrated in song ("Vestra mihi musae"). Zanotti dedicates each of the following Latin madrigals to a different member of the Bohemian nobility: Albrecht von Fürstenberg, Vratislav Pernštejn and Maria Manrique de Lara, Adam II of Hradec, Adam Slavata, and Petr Vok of Rožmberk, culminating in the final dialogue dedicated to the 1587 wedding couple. Zanotti's turn to Latin to treat the weightier encomiastic themes of the second half of the book is in keeping with the polylingual character of Bohemian society, for whom Latin was a lingua franca for the majority of the Czech- and German-speaking population, as well as the international community of Prague.

The international style that Orazio Vecchi helped create through his canzonette continued to develop in Prague as composers worked to meet the demands of the region's polylingual residents. They understood that Italian secular music served important—albeit different—functions in Bohemia by comparison with its significance south of the Alps. There was certainly a strong interest in polyphonic madrigals among the nobility, other members of society, and undoubtedly the Italians living in Czech lands, but the greater emphasis on canzonette, napolitane, and villanelle among the printed works of composers living there and the influences of these styles on madrigals and German lieder reflect the

¹¹³ See Jan Schreib, "K Hudebnímu Mecenátu Posledních Rožmberků," *Opera Historica* 4 (1995): 82.

¹¹⁴ On the legend of the Rožmberk's descent from the Orsini family, see Václav Bůžek et al., *Světy Posledních Rožmberků* (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové Noviny, 2011), 8-21.

¹¹⁵ See Mann, *The Secular Madrigals*, 359-364; and Lindell, "Music and Patronage at the Court of Rudolf II," 263.

central European importance of Italian secular music as an accompaniment to weddings, other celebratory functions, and the stylistic point of reference for instrumental music. Under such circumstances, admiration for textual expression was less important than lively music that could be appreciated by a linguistically diverse population. The numerous Italians that filled the ranks of trumpeters and chamber musicians at the imperial court responded to this need in their publications. Trained more specifically in instrumental techniques than vocal polyphony, these composers were well prepared to deploy the strong rhythmic profiles, diatonic harmonies, and homophonic textures of these lighter Italian forms to which their central European audiences responded so well. Zanotti's books of madrigals and villotte, Pinello's napolitane and lieder, Turini's German villanelle, and the several books of single-strophe canzonette by Orologio and other court composers are a reflection not only of the tastes of Prague's international community, but also the expanding international market for Italian music at whose frontiers these composers were operating.

Giovanni Battista Pinello di Ghirardi, "Amor, sento' una voce," *Primo libro delle neapolitane* (Dresden: Stöckel, 1584)

Soprano
A - mor,

Alto
A -

Tenor 1
A - mor, Sen - to'u-na vo - ce,

Tenor 2
A - mor, Sen - to'u-na vo - ce, ri - spon -

Tenor 3
A - mor, Sen - to'u-na vo -

6
S
A - mor, sen - to'u-na vo - ce ri - spon - der da lon - ta -

A
mor Sen - to'u-na vo - ce, ri - spon - der da - lon - ta -

T 1
ri - spon - der da lon - ta - no di quel - la la - dra

T 2
- der da lon - ta - no di quel - la la - dra di

T 3
ce ri - spon - der da lon - ta - no di quel - la

11

S
no di quel - la la - dra di quel - la la - dra

A
no, di quel - la di quel - la la - dra che ma

T 1
di quel - la la - dra di quel - la la - dra che ma ro -

T 2
quel - la la - dra di quel - la la - dra che ma ro - ba - to'il

T 3
la - - - dra che ma ro - ba - to'il

16

S
che ma ro - ba - to'il co - re di quel - la la - dra che

A
ro - ba - to'il co - re di quel - la la - dra che ma ro - ba - to'il

T 1
ba - to'il co - re, che ma ro - ba - to'il co - re

T 2
co - re, che ma ro - ba - to'il co - re di quel - la

T 3
co - re di quel - la la - dra che ma

21

S ma ro - ba - to'il co - - - re

A co - re, che ma ro - ba-to'il co - re

T 1 che ma ro - ba - to'il co - re A - mor,

T 2 la - dra che ma ro - ba - to'il co - re. A -

T 3 ro - ba - to'il co - re che ma ro - ba-to'il co - re

27

S — A - mor — sen -

A — A - mor — A - mor,

T 1 sen - to'u-na vo - ce ri - spon - der da lon - ta -

T 2 mor, — sen - to'u-na vo - ce — ri - spon - der da lon -

T 3 — A - mor Sen - to'u - na vo - ce

32

S
- to'u-na vo - ce, ri - spon der da lon ta - no

A
sen - to'u - na vo - ce, ri - spon - der da lon - ta - no

T 1
8 no di quel - la di quel - la la - dra di quel - la

T 2
8 ta - no di quel - la la - dra di quel - la la -

T 3
8 ri - spon - der da lon - ta - no di quel - la la -

37

S
di quel - la la - dra che ma ro - ba - to'il co - re, di quel - la la -

A
- di quel - la la - dra che ma ro - ba - to'il co - re

T 1
8 la dra di quel - la la - dra che

T 2
8 - dra di quel - la la - dra di quel - la la - dra che ma ro -

T 3
8 - - - dra che ma ro -

42

S dra che ma ro - ba - to'il co - re di quel - la la -

A che ma ro - ba - to'il co - re di quel - la la - dra che ma ro -

T 1 ma ro - ba - to'il co - re di quel - la di

T 2 ba - to'il co - re di quel - la la - dra che ma ro - ba - to'il co -

T 3 ba - to'il co - re di quel - la la - dra che

47

S dra che ma ro - ba - to'il co - re, che ma ro - ba - to'il co - re

A ba - to'il co - re, che ma che ma ro - ba - to'il co -

T 1 quel - la la - dra che ma ro - ba - to'il co - re che ma - ro -

T 2 re che ma ro - ba - to'il co - re che ma che

T 3 ma ro - ba - to'il co - re che ma

53

S
che ma ro - ba - to'il co - re, tu, tu, tu, tu sei tu sei

A
re che ma ro - ba - to'il co - re tu, tu, tu sei, tu sei, tu sei

T 1
ba - to'il co - re tu, tu, tu, tu sei tu sei na

T 2
ma che ma ro - ba - to'il co - re, tu, tu, tu tu sei tu

T 3
che ma ro - ba - to'il co - re

59

S
na la - dra del mio co - re, mio co - re

A
na - la - dra da me lo co - re'o la -

T 1
la - dra tu sei na la - dra da me lo

T 2
sei na la - dra tu sei na la - dra da me lo

T 3
to to to sei na la - dra

64

S da me lo co-re'o la - dra del mio co - re da me lo

A - dra del mio co - re da me lo co-re'o la - dra

T 1 8 co-re'o la dra del mio co - re da me lo co-re'o la -

T 2 8 co-re'o la - dra del mio co - re, O la - dra del mio co - re

T 3 8 da me lo co-re'o

69

S co-re'o la - dra del mio co - re, O la - dra

A del mio co - re da me lo co - re'o la

T 1 8 - dra del mio co - re, o la - dra del mio co - re O la -

T 2 8 da me lo co-re'o la - dra del mio co - re

T 3 8 la - dra del mio - co - re o

74

S del mio co - re da me lo da me lo da me lo da me lo

A — dra del mio co - re da me lo da me lo da me lo

T 1 dra O la - dra del mio co - re da me lo da me lo

T 2 O la - dra del mio co - re da me lo da me lo

T 3 la - dra del mio co - re

80

S da me lo mo da me lo da me lo da me lo mo da me lo da me lo da me lo

A da me lo mo da me lo da me lo da me lo mo da me lo da me lo da me lo

T 1 da me lo mo da me lo da me lo mo da me lo da me lo da me lo

T 2 da me lo mo da me lo da me lo da me lo da me lo mo da me lo

T 3 da me lo da me lo da me lo da me lo da me lo

85

S
mo ahi ahi ahi ahi ca - gna

A
mo ahi ca - gna tra - di - to - ra ahi

T 1
8
mo ahi ahi ahi ca - gna tra - di - to - ra ahi

T 2
8
mo ahi ahi ahi ahi ca - gna tra - di - to -

T 3
8
mo ahi ahi ahi ca - gna tra - di - to - ra

91

S
tra - di - to - ra ahi ahi ahi ahi ca - gna

A
ahi ahi ca - gna tra - di - to - ra ahi ahi ca - gna

T 1
8
ahi ca - gna tra - di - to - ra ahi ahi ahi ca - gna

T 2
8
ra ahi ahi ahi ca - gna tra - di - to - ra

T 3
8
ahi ahi ahi ahi ca - gna tra - di - to - ra

97

S tra - di - to - ra non far non far que - st'al - ma di - spe - ra - ta

A tra - di - to - ra non far non far que - st'al - ma

T 1 tra - di - to - ra non far non far

T 2 tra - di - to - ra non far non far non

T 3 non far non far non far

102

S mo - ra al - ma di - spe - ra - ta mo - ra

A dis - pe - ra - ta mo - ra ahi ahi

T 1 far que - st'al - ma dis - pe - ra - ta mo - ra ahi ahi

T 2 far que - st'al - ma dis - pe - ra - ta mo - ra ahi ahi

T 3 non far que - st'al - ma di - spe - ra - ta mo - ra

108

S
ahi ahi ahi ahi ca - gna tra - di - to -

A
ca - gna tra - di - to - ra ahi ahi ahi

T 1
ahi ahi ahi ca - gna tra - di - to - ra

T 2
ahi ahi ca - gna tra - di - to - ra ahi ahi ca - gna

T 3
ahi ahi ca - gna tra - di - to - ra ahi

113

S
ra ahi ahi ahi ahi ahi ca - gna tra - di - to -

A
ca - gna tra - di - to - ra ahi ahi ca - tra - di - to -

T 1
ahi ahi ahi ca - gna tra - di - to - ra, ca - gna tra -

T 2
tra - di - to - ra ahi ahi ahi ca - gna tra - di - to -

T 3
ahi ahi ahi ca - gna tra - di - to - ra

119

S ra non far non far que - st'al - ma di - spe - ra - ta mo - ra

A ra non far que - st'al - ma di - spe - ra - ta mo -

T 1 di - to - ra non far, non far _____ non far que - st'al ma

T 2 ra non far non far non far que -

T 3 non far non far non far non far que -

124

S que - st'al - ma di - spe - ra - ta mo - ra non far non far que - st'al - ma

A - ra non far que - st'al - ma di - spe - ra - ta mo - ra, —

T 1 di - spe - ra - ta mo - ra non far non far que - st'al - ma di - spe -

T 2 st'al - ma di - spe - ra - ta mo - ra non far non far non far que -

T 3 st'al - ma di - spe - ra - ta mo - ra non far non far que -

129

S
di - spe-ra - ta mo - ra.

A
— que - st'al - ma di - spe - ra - ta mo - ra.

T 1
8 ra - ta mo - ra, que - st'al - ma di - spe - ra - ta mo - ra.

T 2
8 st'al - ma di - spe - ra - ta mo - ra.

T 3
8 st'al ma di - spe - ra - ta mo - ra.

Chapter 3 The Reception of Italian Music in Bohemia and Moravia

One way to unite a region as geographically extensive as the Holy Roman Empire was through rapacious intermarriage, a goal in which the Habsburgs proved particularly successful, forming nuptial alliances among others with northern Italian dynasties including the Gonzaga, d'Este and Medici.¹ This orientation toward Italy stemmed already from the reign of Rudolf's predecessor, Maximilian II, whose sisters married into the princely courts of Mantua, Ferrara, and Tuscany. Francesco III Gonzaga married Catherine in 1549, Duke Alfonso II of Ferrara married Barbara in 1565, and Grand Duke Francisco de' Medici married Johanna in 1565 as well. The Gonzagas, however, were the primary target of the Habsburg's marrying strategy. Francesco III Gonzaga's older brother, Guglielmo Gonzaga, the successor to the ducal seat, married another of Maximilian II's sisters, Eleonora of Austria, in 1561. After the death of Philippine Welser in 1580, Archduke Ferdinand II of Austria married his niece, Anna Katerina, daughter of Duke William I of Mantua in 1582. Although Rudolf himself never wed, marriage alliances between the Habsburgs and Mantuan Dukes continued in subsequent decades, as Emperor Ferdinand II married Eleonora, the daughter of Duke Vincenzo I, and, in 1651, his son Ferdinand III married another Eleonora Gonzaga. The rights to the title of Duke of Mantua had been bestowed on its rulers by the Holy Roman Empire since 1530. Through these marriages, the Gonzagas, for whom the legitimacy of their power depended entirely on the Holy Roman emperor, ensured the Habsburg right to succession.

When Archduke Ferdinand moved his court from Prague to Innsbruck in 1567, he gained much greater access to the northern Italian courts. He expanded his music chapel, amassed an extraordinarily large collection of music books and instruments, and was able to take advantage of the strategic location of Innsbruck between the Italian peninsula and central Europe to cultivate Italian music and spectacle beyond what had been possible in Bohemia.² Like the musicians at the courts of Rudolf in Prague and Archduke Matthias in

¹ A useful starting point for information on music at the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Austrian courts are essays by Walter Pass and Othmar Wessely in *Musikgeschichte Österreichs: Band I, von den Anfängen zum Barock*, ed. Rudolf Flotzinger and Gernot Gruber (Graz: Verlag Styria, 1977). On the involvement of musicians in Habsburg weddings, see Karl Vocelka, *Habsburgische Hochzeiten 1550–1600: Kulturgeschichtliche Studien zum Manieristischen Repräsentationsfest* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1976). Brief but containing some useful information is Jaroslav Pánek, "Aristokratické Slavnosti České Renesance," *Opus Musicum* 19 (1987), 289. For a compact summary of wedding celebrations in Upper Hungary, see Richard Rybarič, *Stredovek, Renesancia, Barok: Dejiny hudobnej Kultúry na Slovensku I* (Bratislava: Opus, 1984), 44.

² Inventories of the collections of music books and instruments at the Innsbruck court taken in 1596 and 1665 are transcribed in Franz Waldner, "Zwei Inventarien aus dem XVI. und XVII. Jahrhundert über hinterlassene Musikinstrumente und Musikalien am Innsbrucker hofe," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 4 (1916), 128-147. See Massimo Bertoldi, "Linee di

Vienna, Archduke Ferdinand's instrumentalists were predominantly Italian, while the ranks of singers in the music chapel were mostly drawn from the Low Lands.³ The other Austrian court with a strong inclination toward Italian culture was that of his brother, Archduke Karl II of Austria in Graz, with its similarly strategic location between Venice and Vienna.⁴ Like Innsbruck, the music chapel was strongly Italianate in character. Through his marriage to Maria Anna of Bavaria, his court was also linked to another central European outpost of Italian culture, the Bavarian court of Duke Wilhelm V, from whom they acquired their chapelmaster, Annibale Padovano, in 1570. Padovano was the first in a series of Italian chapelmasters in Graz, which included Simone Gatto (1581–1590) and, under Archduke Ferdinand, the future Emperor Ferdinand II, Pietro Antonio Bianco (1595–1611), and Giovanni Priuli (1614/15–1619).

This chapter will take in six decades of Italian music reception in Bohemia and Moravia, from the wedding celebration of Maximilian II's daughter Anna to Philipp II, King of Spain, in 1570 to the coronation of Ferdinand II's wife Eleonora Gonzaga and his son Ferdinand as King and Queen of Bohemia in 1627. The primary focus will be on the years during which Rudolf II held court in Prague, the period from which the most extensive documentation of musical activities in the Czech Crown Lands survives. By examining accounts of festivities, aristocratic education abroad, the evidence of lutebooks, and theatrical activities, my aim is to delineate the essential role played by monarchs and the Austrian and Czech nobility in instilling a local taste for Italian musical performance. In the previous chapters, we have seen the important role played by central European printers and editors in disseminating Italian music, as well as the presence of a sizable Italian diaspora in Bohemia and Moravia, which included a diverse body of musicians and composers associated with the Rudolfine court. From 1570 to 1627, Prague was also host to lavish Habsburg celebrations, whose representational power was vividly enhanced by itinerant Italian theater troupes. These coveted performers were highly sought after at courts throughout Europe, with the most famous among them, including the Ganassa, Gelosi, and Comici Fedeli, traveling from court to court for years to entertain at weddings, diets, and other royal festivities. Along with other Italian musicians, performances of the *commedia dell'arte* came to form an essential component of wedding and New Years festivities.

Prague was the imperial seat for only a portion of the time period under consideration (1583–1612), but the strongly Italian cultural orientation of the local nobility

Sviluppo dello Spettacolo Lungo la Via del Brennero,” in *I Gonzaga e l'Impero: Itinerari dello Spettacolo con una Selezione di Materiali dell'Archivio Informatico Herla (1560–1630)*, ed. Umberto Artioli and Cristina Grazioli (Florence: Le Lettere, 2005), 59-65.

³ A useful introduction to Matthias's Viennese music chapel is Robert Lindell, “Music at the Court of Emperor Matthias,” *Hudební Věda* 4 (1990), 293-298.

⁴ A fundamental source on music at the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century court in Graz is Hellmut Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker am Grazer Habsburgerhof der Erzherzöge Karl und Ferdinand von Innerösterreich (1564–1619)* (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1967).

ensured that Italian music continued to be fashionable beyond the court's limited Bohemian stay. In addition to employing imperial Italian musicians for their own weddings and celebrations, the nobility cultivated Italian dancing and musical performance begun during their Italian studies by hiring local dancemasters and developing their own skills in instrumental performance. Their musical preferences spread throughout society, as amateur musicians assembled lute books filled with a variety of Italian dance music. Besides private celebrations and carnival, music and dancing formed an important part of theatrical productions cultivated at the Latin schools of Bohemia and Moravia as well as by the more internationally famous practitioners of school drama, the Jesuit academies. By examining lute books with Czech theatrical texts alongside those in Latin, we can gain a better picture of the functions of music in these dramas, which were performed at schools, carnival celebrations, for visiting dignitaries, and at the courts. The nobility's interest in Italian spectacle culminated in the 1617 performance of *Phasma Dionysiacum Pragense*, a "ballo sonato, e cantato e ballato" financed and performed by the nobility in honor of the coronation of Emperor Matthias's wife, Anna of Tyrol, as Queen of Bohemia.

The picture that emerges suggests that the nobility were the primary force in implanting a musical culture informed by Italian trends in Bohemia and Moravia. Despite what would appear to be strong connections uniting the court of Rudolf II with the Austrian Habsburg courts, Italian music seems to have emigrated from the court in Prague to Austria more than it flowed in the opposite direction. Rudolf expressed little interest in Italian spectacle or comedy, being content with his local musicians. Moreover, his body of Italian instrumentalists included more active composers among them than any musical establishment in Austria. After Matthias's coronation in 1612 and the return of the imperial seat to Vienna, Italian musicians began to migrate to Austria in increasing numbers, particularly from the Mantuan court, a trend culminating during the reign of Ferdinand II and Eleonora Gonzaga in the 1620s. Coronations of King and Queen of Bohemia in Prague marked occasions for lavish expenditures on Italian theater troupes. Meanwhile, the dissolution of the music chapels of the Rožmberks and Karl von Liechtenstein was counterbalanced by the emergence of a group of Italian composers employed by Franz von Dietrichstein, Bishop of Olomouc, in the 1620s.

It will also be necessary to take into account the political developments that mark this period, since Prague was witness not only to the arrival and departure of the Rudolfine court but also the crucial opening events of what would become the Thirty Years' War. On 23 May 1618, the Bohemian Estates rebelled openly against Ferdinand II, who had been crowned Bohemian king in 1617, with the dramatically bold gesture of a defenestration, in which two of Ferdinand's representatives, Jaroslav Bořita of Martinice and Vilém Slavata of Chlum und Koschenberg, and their scribe were tossed from the chancellery window of Prague castle on 23 May 1618. The estates subsequently awarded the Bohemian crown to Frederick V, the Elector Palatinate, on 4 November 1619. His brief reign, through which he acquired the nickname "The Winter King," ended one year later with his defeat at the Battle of White Mountain on 8 November 1620. This important historical juncture marks a fundamental divide in almost every conceivable way. Prior to this period, the inhabitants of Bohemia and Moravia had been relatively free to choose their religious confession. Emperor Ferdinand II retracted this privilege. He removed many of the powers of the Bohemian

estates, confiscated the properties of rebellious leaders, outlawed Protestant confessions, and instituted a program of recatholicization that would redefine the religious makeup of the region for the next three centuries. The waves of immigration that characterized the sixteenth century now flowed in the opposite direction, as Protestants fled the country in numbers as significant as those that once escaped to safety in the region.

As a cultural product born in a staunchly Roman Catholic land, Italian musical spectacle became an important part of festivities glorifying the Holy Roman Empire. Such contexts conferred inescapable political connotations on its public performance, whereby the superiority of Italian music and culture was asserted over modes of performance whose origins otherwise lay in central Europe. To some degree, these undercurrents were apparent long before the political calamity of 1618–1620. While historians of all disciplines continue to divide their studies at this juncture, I hope that by working across it, it will be possible to perceive a musical trajectory whose continuity to some degree transcends the political developments leading to the Battle of White Mountain and the apparent powerlessness of Bohemian and Moravian peoples afterwards. Already in the mid-sixteenth century, Bohemia and Moravia were able to assert a cultural identity distinct from their German-speaking neighbors in the west and north by adapting Italian music and other Italian cultural practices as their own.

LAYING THE FOUNDATION

Early in his reign as King of Bohemia from 1547 to 1567, Archduke Ferdinand expanded the cultural horizons of a substantial number of Bohemians and Moravians by exposing them to life on the Appenine peninsula. In 1549, Ferdinand traveled to Mantua to attend the week-long nuptial festivities surrounding his sister Catherine's wedding to Francesco III Gonzaga and on that occasion had the opportunity to see for himself the lavish pomp and ceremony that characterized life at the Mantuan court.⁵ The experience undoubtedly inspired his own interest in Italian art and architecture, as he embarked on building projects in Prague managed by Italian architects and began the collection of art and curiosities he would later move to Ambras Castle in the hills above Innsbruck.

The beginnings of the Czech nobility's fascination with Italian culture are usually traced back to the expedition Ferdinand organized two years after his sister's wedding. On June of 1551, twenty-three Bohemian and Moravian noblemen and thirty knights assembled into a retinue of some 200 travelers and embarked on a journey to Genoa to welcome Maximilian II, who had been crowned King of Bohemia, upon his arrival from Spain with his wife, Maria of Spain. The group began their journey in Linz, traveling through Innsbruck and across the Brenner Pass to Trent and Rovereto before arriving in Mantua, seat of the Gonzagas, on 19 July. From there they traveled through Cremona and Milan to Pavia and

⁵ See Otto G. Schindler, "Viaggi Teatrali tra l'Inquisizione e il Sacco: Comici dell'Arte di Mantova alle Corti degli Asburgo d'Austria" in *I Gonzaga e l'Impero: Itinerari dello Spettacolo con una selezione di materiali dall'Archivio informatico Herla (1560–1630)*, ed. Umberto Artioli and Cristina Grazioli (Florence: Le Lettere, 2005), 114; and Paul V. Murphy, *Ruling Peacefully: Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga and Patrician Reform in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2007), 184.

Voghera, where for the next three months they awaited the arrival of the emperor on 13 November. The six-month stay on the Appenine peninsula made a lasting impression on the travelers, many of whom had never before traveled south of the Alps. Upon returning to the Czech Crown Lands, they sought to emulate cultural life at the late Renaissance Italian courts. New patterns of behavior and consumption have been particularly well documented in the case of Vilém of Rožmberk, the most senior member of the nobility to join the expedition. He rebuilt his southern Bohemian estates with Italian architects, founded a music chapel, increased the role of music in the life of the city, adopted Italian fashion and manners of comportment, and became an avid consumer of Italian goods purchased via intermediaries in Prague and Linz.

Ferdinand enjoyed festivities of all types, which he financed and organized, and whose cosmological programs and complicated plots he himself imaginatively conceived.⁶ Celebrations at his courts in Prague and Innsbruck often took the form of tournaments, masquerades, carnivalesque parades, or allegorical battles with actors, acrobats, and dancers, which he organized for weddings, political negotiations, and visiting dignitaries. Dances were a regular feature of courtly life, often held at the same time as carnival and which would have taken place in the ballhouse Ferdinand commissioned from his Italian builders. One testimony from the Bohemian city of Plzeň (Pilsen) in 1555 describes an Italian ball that took place during the wedding of Jaroslav Libštejnský of Kolovrat.⁷ Archduke Ferdinand enjoyed participating in such events personally, and the event's chronicler, who describes it in a letter to Vilém of Rožmberk, repeatedly remarks that the dances Italian.⁸ Immediately after dinner there was a masquerade of eight noble lords. Four of them, including the Archduke, were dressed as goddesses with green garlands wrapped around long blonde hair and carrying white arrows and silver-plated targets; the other four were dressed as water

⁶ Among his most elaborate production designs to take place in Bohemia was the tournament for the coronation of Maximilian II and his wife Maria as King and Queen of Bohemia in 1562. See Schindler, "Viaggi Teatrali," 114. The ceremony is described in *Warhafftige beschreibung und verzeichnuß welcher gestalt die Königliche Wirde maximilian unnd Freuwlin Maria geborne Königin auß Hispanien, dero Gemahl zü Behemischen König und Königin in Prag den 20. Septembris dises 1562. jars gekrönet sind worden* (Frankfurt: Raben and Feyerabend, 1562).

⁷ Kolovrat married the daughter of Ondřej Ungnad of Sunek and Hluboká. See Daněk, *Svatba*, 220; Pánek, "Aristokratické Slavnosti," 292-3; Josef Hirn, *Erzherzog Ferdinand II. von Tirol: Geschichte seiner Regierung und seiner Länder*, II (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1888), 476; and Elisabeth Scheicher, "Ein Fest am Hofe Erzherzog Ferdinands II.," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 77 (1981), 119.

⁸ Accounts such as these from the period of Ferdinand's reign as King of Bohemia are relatively rare, though he built a ballhouse in Prague specifically for the purpose of such events. Jan the Elder of Švamberk's account of the wedding in Plzeň to Vilém of Rožmberk is transcribed in Václav Březan, *Žiwot Wiléma z Rosenberka* (Prague: Kronbergr a Řiwnač, 1847), 90.

demons, apparently almost naked, with goat-fur coats and green stockings and carrying green candles. They ceremoniously raised their hands to expose the flames to the onlookers, whereupon the eight dancers, Goddesses on the right side and water demons on the left, performed an Italian dance. When they came before the ladies-in-waiting, they bowed, and danced the same Italian dance with them.

One of the first celebrations in Prague involving professional Italian performers was the wedding of Emperor Maximilian II's oldest daughter Anna to Philip II, King of Spain, held in conjunction with the Bohemian Diet during the spring of 1570.⁹ The program that took place 26 February 1570 on Prague's Old Town Square was conceived by Archduke Ferdinand and implemented by the court painter Giuseppe Arcimboldo, who designed costumes for the procession. The spectacle involved a tournament coupled with a parade employing a variety of theatrical effects, including a volcano spewing fire, smoke, fireworks, masks and costumes depicting mythological and historical characters, and live exotic animals.¹⁰ A diverse group of Italian performers was engaged to add to the spectacle. Participants included the Venetian Giovanni Tabarino (d. 1586) and his wife Apollonia, both of whom took part in the tournament. Tabarino led what is considered to be the first Italian theater troupe on tour north of the Alps.¹¹ Between engagements in Paris, Tabarino returned to Vienna in August 1571 for the wedding of Archduke Karl II of Austria to Maria of Bavaria, and then again in 1574, when he received from the emperor a permanent engagement at the court as an imperial actor.¹²

⁹ Anna's wedding was followed soon afterward by the marriage of her sister Elisabetta to Karl IX, King of France, in Speyer during autumn of the same year, held in conjunction with the Imperial Diet.

¹⁰ Among the parade of animals and mythological figures, Arcimboldo was dressed in black and wearing a long beard. The program was printed in Augsburg as *Ordenliche beschreibung des Gwaltigen Treffenlichen und herzlichen Thurniers zu Roß und Fuß [et]c., so am Sontag Oculi Anno 70. und dieselb nachgehende wochen zu Prag in der Alten Statt den der Enden anwesenden Chur und Fürsten zu Ehren gehalten worden ist* (Augsburg: Zymmerman, 1570). It is also described in an elegiac poem by A. Cholossia Pelhřimovský in *Kalendář Hystorycký, to gest krátké poznamenáníj wssech dnuow gednohokaždého Měsýce přes celý Rok, k nimžto přidány gsau některé paměti hodné Historiae, o rozličných příjhadách a proměnách, jak Národůw giných a Zemij w Swětě, tak také a obzwlásstně Národu a Králowstwij Českéého z hodnowěrných Kronyk* (Prague: Daniel Adam z Veleslavína, 1578).

¹¹ Tabarino's company stopped first in Linz for the Upper Austrian Land Diet in December 1568 and in Pressburg (Bratislava) for the Hungarian Diet in 1569. After Prague, Tabarino and his company traveled with the court to Speyer before moving on to Paris. See Schindler, "Viaggi Teatrali," 113; and Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 177.

¹² After 1574, nothing more is known of Tabarino until his appearance in the imperial account books in January 1582 regarding settling of his annuity. After his death in 1586, Apollonia seems to have stayed on in Vienna until her death in 1593. See Schindler, "Die

Jacopo Strada, Emperor Maximilian II's antiquarian, obtained passports for members of the Compagnia di Ganassa to travel out of Mantua during the difficult time of its inquisition. At least four members of this troupe traveled to Vienna in 1569, including Barbara Flaminia, considered at that time the finest actress in Italy, Alberto Naselli (Zan Ganassa), her husband and leader of the troupe, Cesare de'Nobili (Francesco), and Giacomo Portalupo (Isabella).¹³ Other artists in Prague for the wedding included Antonio Soldino, Horatio Florentino, Silvestro Trevisano, Giovan Maria Romano, another "Julio Comediante," who was probably the famous Venetian Pantalone Giulio Pasquati of the Comici Gelosi, and the dancer Giovanni Arcangelo. These actors performed several comedies over the course of the wedding festivities, as well as playing devils and a dragon inhabiting an artificial mountain.¹⁴ The imperial courtier Giovanni Alfonso Castaldo, Marchese di Cassano and Conte di Piadene, organized another comedy, which was performed by his servants and possibly members of the Ganassa in front of the emperor on 30 July.¹⁵

By the time of the Prague wedding, Ferdinand had already transferred his court to Innsbruck in 1567 to administer the Austrian lands he inherited from his father, Emperor Ferdinand I (1503–1564), and with the seats of Habsburg power relocated once more in the south, accounts of Italianate multimedia spectacle in Bohemia or Moravia diminish during the 1570s. Battista Amorevoli da Treviso, *detto la Franceschina*, traveled with other Italian comedians to Prague for the Bohemian Diet in 1575, and possibly also Giulio Pasquati, who was again in Vienna in 1576.¹⁶ Italian artists were present for Rudolf's coronation in Prague

wälischen Comedianten," 112; Alena Jakubcová et al., *Starší Divadlo v Českých Zemích do konce 18. Století: Osobnost a Dila* (Prague: Divadelní Ústav Academia, 2007), 599.

¹³ Although there is not firm evidence that Ganassa and Flaminia were in Prague, they both were in Vienna before the wedding, and Ganassa was paid again in Speyer, suggesting that they accompanied the rest of the actors throughout the journey. See Schindler, "Viaggi Teatrali," 111-118

¹⁴ Among the expenses of Ferdinand's 1570 trip to Prague were a *Schwazer Singer* [sic], and the actors Horatio Florentino, Silvester Trevisano, Juano Venetiano and Jeronimo Romano, who were paid as *Schwarzkünstler* for their participation in the tournament as well as several small comedies ("zu etlichen malen Comödias agirt"). Ferdinand also paid Antonio Soldino and Zuano Deborin in their capacity as "Springer" at the Prague wedding. See Senn, Hof zu Innsbruck, 175-6. In 1574 Giovan Maria and Silvestro Trevisano were at the court of Wilhelm V in Trausnitz in Landshut at the recommendation of Orlando di Lasso, who witnessed Silvestro's performance in Florence in May 1574. See Jakubcová, *Starší Divadlo*, 362. Soldino da Fiorenza, Gianmaria Romano, and Arcangelo d'Abruzzo, members of the Piazza universale of Tomaso Garzoni, were considered among the finest acrobats in Italy. See Schindler, "Viaggi Teatrali," 115.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 117.

¹⁶ "Franciscina" was paid 100 crowns by Maximilian. It could be either Battista Amorevoli or Silvestro Trevisano, who appeared as a dancer in 1570 at the Prague wedding and was

as King of Bohemia in 1575, though the proceedings seem to have been more restrained than those arranged for 1570 wedding. We also know that Rudolf traveled frequently to Prague from Vienna before completing his relocation in 1583 accompanied by his musicians. Rudolf's ascension to the throne did not mark the end of Italianate spectacle. While serving at the Viennese court, Arcimboldo was responsible for designing numerous court festivities and was again engaged to design costumes and sets for a running at the ring held in Prague in 1578.¹⁷

Meanwhile, Archduke Ferdinand continued to host performances by Italian comedians, dancers, and musicians in Innsbruck and at Ambras Castle, staying in touch with Italian agents to procure *commedia dell'arte* companies and expanding his chamber musicians by hiring additional Italian string and wind players.¹⁸ During carnival in 1580, he staged one of his more elaborate spectacles for the wedding of Jan Krakovský of Kolovrat, whose uncle's Bohemian wedding in 1555 was described earlier, and Katharina von Paysberg, niece of Ferdinand's wife, Philippine Welser.¹⁹ Kolovrat was a young nobleman in service at the Innsbruck court as a "cup-bearer" along with his brother Jindřich. The celebration took place at Ambras Castle and in front of the noble palaces that lined the streets of the Neustadt, with guests coming from Austria, Bohemia, and Bavaria to participate in the three-day festivities, which included a procession, tournaments, and allegorical duels.²⁰ A triumphal procession of

engaged in 1574 at the Bavarian court of Wilhelm at Trausnitz in Landshut. See Jakubcová, *Starší Divadlo*, 18.

¹⁷ See Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Arcimboldo: Visual Jokes, Natural History, and Still-Life Painting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 65.

¹⁸ At the end of 1589, Ferdinand procured another Italian *commedia dell'arte* troupe for performances in Innsbruck, arranged by his Mantuan agent Aloizio Spinola. The group, which included thirteen men and two women, performed for five weeks as well as in the presence of Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria. In addition to the 4 February performance "dai nostri buffoni spagnoli e italiani," the family of the Bavarian duke was further entertained with dances, masquerades, and a tournament. See Senn, 179; Schindler, "Viaggi Teatrali," 121.

¹⁹ Jan's father, Albrecht Libštejnský of Kolovrat, also married into the Welser family. His wife, Regina, was Philippine's sister. See Veronika Sandbichler, "Er hatte es zum Vergnügen Seiner Majestät veranstaltet: Höfische Feste und Turniere Erzherzog Ferdinands II. In Böhmen," *Studia Rudolphina* 9 (2009): 17.

²⁰ He would later serve as hejtman of the New Town of Prague, (1612–1614), then as imperial judge (1623–1638), and finally as highest chamberlain at the court. See Petr Daněk, "Svatba," 218–219. These events were illustrated by Ferdinand's court painter, Sigmund Elsasser, with a printed commentary by the Innsbruck publisher, Hanns Baur. An exemplar is kept at the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Sammlung für Plastik und Kunstgewerbe, no. 5269. See Scheicher, "Ein Fest am Hofe," 119–120. The Viennese exemplar is bound into a book, whereas the original intent was for the work to take the form of an unbound roll. The exemplar kept at the castle of Březnice outside Příbram in Bohemia maintains this

masked noblemen representing a cosmological program of attributes of the seasons, elements, and deities opened the celebration.²¹ Festivities continued on the second day with a symbolic tournament of nations, communities, and brotherhoods, among which were old warriors, Frenchmen, Romans, galleyemen, Moors, horseback riders, Italians, the brotherhood of St. James, Bohemians, Landsknechts, the Swiss, and Hajduks, symbolized through masks and costumes with each group led by musicians playing a variety of wind instruments, drums, and, for the brotherhood of St. James, a harp.²² The symbolic program mirrored the diversity of guests in attendance at the wedding, but despite the variety of nationalities and social strata enacted, the program's scenario draws attention specifically to the Christian love and order that unites the German and Italian lands.²³ The decision to hold the wedding during carnival gave the wedding guests an opportunity to publicly embrace this particular season's concomitant forms of revelry.

RUDOLFINE PRAGUE

Despite the cultural flowering of Prague under Rudolf, such spectacles remained largely excluded from courtly life. Nevertheless, Rudolf and his court maintained an abundant correspondence with the Italian courts from which such entertainments originated, primarily to supply Rudolf with a continuous stream of objects to enhance his *Kunstkammer*, acquisitions facilitated in large measure by the Mantuan court of the Gonzagas.²⁴ Rudolf was more interested in private connoisseurship than public festivity or ceremonial, with the result that only smaller-scale theatrical performances took place at his court. In addition to regular musical performances by his chapel and wind band, a "Magnifico e Zene" visited in 1583, and in 1590 the Milanese acrobat Giacomo Brambilo and Francisco de la Dany, a dancer employed by Elector August of Saxony, performed at the court.²⁵ In 1585 Arcimboldo bound together a collection of 148 drawings of masks, sleighs, saddles, and costumes, many of which were realized for processions and celebrations at the court, and presented it to Rudolf.²⁶ One of the few records of the Gonzagas sending

original intended form and is more complete, providing additional information on the tournaments. See Daněk, "Svatba," 207-264.

²¹ Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 176; and Scheicher, "Ein Fest am Hofe," 119-120.

²² Reproductions from the Březnice exemplar are provided in Daněk, "Svatba," 233-262.

²³ "Der Kampff Cartell" is reproduced in *ibid.*, 233.

²⁴ The voluminous correspondence necessary to maintain a steady supply of artworks coming from the Gonzagas to Prague as well as the other Habsburg courts is conveniently compiled in Elena Venturini, ed., *Le Collezioni Gonzaga: Il Carteggio tra la Corte Cesarea e Mantova (1559-1636)* (Milan: Silvana, 2002).

²⁵ Schindler, "Viaggi Teatrali," 122.

²⁶ They include allegorical figures of music, grammar, dialectic, geometry, arithmetic, astrology, knights and saddles. Some characters, such as the magician, warriors, and dragon,

performers to the Rudolfine court emerges in a report to Vincenzo I Gonzaga that their Portuguese *buffone*, Girolamo Galarza, had an indiscretion with a young woman at the house of Philipp de Monte.²⁷ The Mantuan court was otherwise more involved with Rudolf's musicians and chapel. Among other letters now kept at the Archivio di Stato in Mantua, we learn that Luigi Zenobi, the finest virtuoso cornettist at the Rudolfine court, who could play so softly that it did not drown out the sound of a harpsichord, offered his services to the Duke of Mantua in 1579; the Gonzagas recommended Giuseppe Biffi da Cesena, former chapelmaster at the Polish court of Zsigmund Báthory, for an imperial post; and a book of canzonette was delivered to Philippe de Monte in 1596.²⁸ Several letters were exchanged on the matter of Liberale Zanchi's supplication to Vincenzo for elevation to the status of *Gentil'huomo de la casa*, a request made by Zanchi soon after the dedication of *Il terzo libro de madrigali a 5 voci* in 1603 to Vincenzo.²⁹ Reciprocally, Enea Gonzaga wrote from Prague to Vincenzo in 1594 recommending Vincenzo Neriti, a composer who served as a chaplain at the imperial court, for his own chapel in Mantua, stating that he is a most excellent singer.³⁰

correspond to the procession for the Prague wedding of 1570, while other comic characters, such as the farmer with a saddle on his head or the rear end wearing glasses, remain mysterious. The volume, bound in red leather, is now at the Palazzo degli Uffizi in Florence. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann has traced many of the designs back to the Prague and Viennese weddings of 1570 and 1571. See Kaufmann, *Arcimboldo: Visual Jokes*, 65-66.

²⁷ The matter was reported by Guidoboni Guidobono to Vincenzo I Gonzaga in a letter dated 4 December 1590. According to his letter, Galarzo was staying at the home of the Spanish ambassador Guillén de San Clemente. The same letter also mentions the Gonzagas' financial contributions to the founding of the Italian chapel at the Jesuit academy. A second letter dated 9 April 1591 confirms that Galarzo was still in Prague at the Spanish ambassador's home four months later. See Venturini, *Le Collezioni Gonzaga*, nos. 378 and 391.

²⁸ See *ibid.*, nos. 208, 216, 592, 730. Luigi Zenobi's skills as a cornettist were known throughout the empire, and his fame today rests primarily on a 1600 letter to an unnamed prince on the qualities that make a perfect musician. See Bonnie Blackburn and Edward Lowinsky, "Luigi Zenobi and His Letter on the Perfect Musician," *Studi Musicali* 22 (1993), 61-114.

²⁹ According to a 15 December 1603 letter from Manerbio Aderbale to Vincenzo, Zanchi's application was supported by Maria Manrique de Lara. Several letters were exchanged on the topic before Vincenzo finally sent his approval to Rudolf on 18 March 1606. See Venturini, *Le Collezioni Gonzaga*, nos. 208, 216, 592, 730, 957, 963, 964, 970, 991, 1020, 1025, 1037, and 1055.

³⁰ Neriti was recommended along with the Carmelite composer Theodoro Bachini on 11 January 1594. Sometime in 1593, Neriti had already moved to the Carmelite monastery in Mantua, so both composers were presumably there at the same time. See *ibid.*, no. 467.

If we turn our attention to Italian music transmitted in Bohemian and Moravian sources, we will notice that for the most part they reflect a pan-central European repertory of Italian music, much of which was drawn from anthologies of sacred Italian music printed in central Europe.³¹ Nevertheless, based on their contents and provenance we can glean some information on music transmission that points to larger trends specific to the region. It is not a surprise that masses by Rudolf's vice-chapelmaster Camillo Zanotti seem to have enjoyed some widespread currency in Bohemia, either through copies of his *Missarum cum quinque vocibus liber primus* (Venice: Gardano, 1588) or through manuscripts originating in Prague.³² Printed collections of masses by Palestrina, which found their way into the collections of the Jesuit academy in Prague and the Augustinian monastery in Brno, would have been needed as part of the late sixteenth-century program to revive Catholic institutions in the Czech lands and could have been brought by any of the numerous Italian monks, clerics, and

³¹ The two most substantial collections of Bohemian manuscripts are the "Prague Collection" in the Fales Special Collection at the Bobst Library of New York University and the former collection of the literary brotherhood in Rokycany, now kept in the Rokycany Deacon's Library. A comparison of their contents to those of Silesian provenance at the University Library in Wrocław, the Bartfeld collection at the National Széchényi Library in Budapest, or the Saxon collections now kept at the Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden, reveals numerous overlaps. See Emil Bohn, *Die Musikalischen Handschriften des XVI. Und XVII. Jahrhunderts in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Musik im XVI. Und XVII. Jahrhundert* (Breslau: Hainauer, 1890; reprint Hildesheim: Olms, 1970); Róbert Murányi, *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Musiksammlung von Bartfeld (Bártfa)* (Bonn: Schröder, 1991); and Wolfram Steude, *Die Musiksammelhandschriften des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek zu Dresden* (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen, 1974).

³² Zanotti's *Missa brevis* appears in "Prague Collection" Ms. A1 and in a *quinta vox* partbook once owned by the literary brotherhood in Ústí nad Labem (National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague, Ms. 59 R 483). The Ústí nad Labem partbook, whose contents were assembled by Jacob Moller, primator of the city, and given to the brotherhood on 30 August 1588, also transmits another of Zanotti's five-voice masses, the *Missa super Propter charitatem*. Josef Šebesta has noted that the exact transcription of Zanotti's name according to the printed book of masses as well as the sequential copying of the masses into the partbook suggests that the scribe copied them from the printed book. The partbook also contains Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli* and two six-voice masses by Vincenzo Ruffo, *Missa Sanctissimae Trinitatis* and *Missa super Tulerunt Dominum*, both of which were printed in *Il quarto libro di messe a sei voci* (Venice: Scotto, 1574). The Palestrina is falsely labelled as Jacobus de Kerle's *Missa super Sancti Nicolai*. See Jan Bata, "Hudba a Hudební Kultura na Starém Městě Pražském 1526–1620 / Music and Musical Culture in the Old Town of Prague 1526–1620," (Ph.D. dissertation, Univerzita Karlova v Praze, 2010), 67-74; and Josef Šebesta, "Postavení Madrigalu v Hierarchii Hudebních Žánrů na Dvoře Rudolfa II. V Praze: Příspěvek k životu a dílu Camilla Zanottiho," *Opus Musicum* 5 (2003): 4.

Jesuits appointed to posts in Bohemia and Moravia.³³ Works by the Roman Jesuit composer Christophorus Clavius also appear with unusual frequency in Utraquist and Catholic sources alike, sometimes alongside works by Tomás Luis de Victoria, perhaps on account of the numerous Bohemian and Moravian ecclesiastics that studied at the Collegium Germanicum in Rome.³⁴

A unique exception is Giulio Belli's *Missa super Tanto tempore vobiscum sum*, which is transmitted in three manuscript sources: a quinta partbook owned by the literary brotherhood at the Church of Our Lady before Týn, the most prominent Utraquist landmark in Prague; Rokycany Ms. AV37a-e; and the Kutná Hora Codex.³⁵ Among

³³ The exemplar of Palestrina's *Missarum liber quintus, quatuor, quinque ac sex vocibus concinendarum* (Rome: Coattino, 1590) at the National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague, (sign. 59 A 10471) bears the inscription "Ex libris: Cat: Col: S. J. Praga [?] Clem:" and is missing the title page. The exemplar of Palestrina's *Missarum liber secundus* (Rome: Dorico, 1567) owned by the Augustinians in Brno is now kept at the Department of Music, Moravian Land Museum (sign. A 20532). The Prague Jesuit's Palestrina print is bound with a manuscript addition containing three anonymous five-voice Marian antiphons – *Alma Redemptoris Mater*, *Ave Regina calorum*, and *Regina calii* – and Orfeo Vecchi's five-voice setting of the *Salve Regina*. Jan Baťa has identified concordances with the Orfeo Vecchi in two manuscripts originating in Graz, one of which, dated 1586–87, belonged to the Jesuit college and the second of which was written in 1616 for the bishop of Ljubljana, Tomaž Hren (1560–1630), imperial representative in Graz from 1614 to 1621. See Baťa, "Hudba a Hudební Kultura," 138-139; and idem, "Jezuité a Hudební Kultura Předbělohorské Prahy: Glosy ke Vzájemné Interakci na Příkladu Klementinské Mariánské Sodalitý," in *Bohemia Jesuitica 1556–2006 I*, ed. Petronilla Černus and Richard Čemus (Prague: Nakladatelství Karolinum, 2010), 103-109.

³⁴ Works by Clavius appear in Rokycany A V 37 a-e (*Haec dies quam fecit* and *Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore*), "Prague Collection" Ms. A1 (*Ardens est cor meum*, the eight-voice Jesuit hymn *Par purpuratum martyrum*, and *Assumpta est Maria in coelum*), and Rajhrad Ms. A7077 (his five-voice *Qui seminant in lacrymis*). "Prague Collection" A1 also contains works by the Graz chapelmaster Annibale Padovano (the six-voice *Domine Deus Rex magne*) and Palestrina (*O bone Jesu* and *Haec dies quam fecit*). Six motets by Tomás Luis de Victoria in Rajhrad Ms. A7077 were printed in his *Motecta que partim quaternis, partim quinis, alia senis, alia octonis vocibus concinuntur* (Venice: Gardano, 1572) as well as Annibale Padovano's *Domine a lingua dolosa*, which is the first motet in the composer's *Liber motectorum quinque et sex vocum* (Venice: Gardano, 1567), but was also anthologized in Leonhard Lechner's *Harmoniae miscellae cantionum sacrarum* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1583). The first of the two motets by Victoria in Rokycany A V 19a-b, *Vidi speciosam sicut columbam ascendentem* and *Nigra sum sed formosa*, also appears in Rajhrad Ms. A7077.

³⁵ Known as the *Graduale Venceslai Trubky z Rovin*, or the *Foliant Trubky z Rovin* (Archiv hlavního města Prahy, sign. 1870), the partbooks once owned by the literary brotherhood at the Church of Our Lady Before Týn were commissioned by Václav Trubka of Rovina in honor of his late father. The surviving quinta partbook contains twenty-six officia, six mass

numerous posts at religious institutions in Imola, Carpi, Bologna, Venice, Ravenna, Forlì, Padua, and Assisi, Giulio Belli served briefly the *maestro di capella* of Alfonso II d'Este in Ferrara in 1597. Despite his proclivity toward restlessness, Belli seems never to have traveled north of the Alps. The frequency of his movements make it difficult to pin down how this particular mass might have come to be a favorite in Bohemia, but the strong probability that the Kutná Hora Codex, commissioned as a gift from the imperial mining administrator Zikmund Kozel of Rýzental to the Church of St. James the Greater in Kutná Hora (Kuttenberg), was compiled at the imperial court suggests its origins began there.³⁶ Moreover, the copy of Belli's *missa 8 vocum* that ended up in the collection of the Cistercian monastery of Zlatá Koruna was probably a donation from the imperial singer Bonaventura Lefebvre.³⁷ The eight-voice *Missa super Scopriro l'ardor mio* by the Franciscan friar and organist in Brescia and Milan, Antonio Mortaro, appears in both "Prague Collection" A1 and in the Prague literary brotherhood partbook. Like Belli's mass, it was not anthologized by German editors.

In addition to Belli's *Missa super Tanto tempore vobiscum sum*, the Kutná Hora codex transmits mass ordinary settings by composers at the Rudolfiner court (Philippe de Monte, Carl Luython, Jacob Regnart, and Philipp Schöndorff) and two masses by Georg Flori, a composer working for Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol in Innsbruck, who, despite his Italianate name, was born in Munich, where his father, Franz Flori, had come from the Low Lands to serve as a bass in Wilhelm V's chapel.³⁸ The repertory contained in the codex suggests links both to Innsbruck, where masses by Luython and Mortaro were also performed, and to Graz, based on concordances with Slovenian sources that originated in the Styrian capital.³⁹ The

ordinaries, one Kyrie, four independent propria parts, one passion, fourteen Vespers hymns, two songs, and a polyphonic responsory to a reading and preface. In addition to Belli's mass, it transmits numerous works by the Bohemian composer Pavel Spongopaeus Jistebnický (ca. 1560–1619), as well as Luca Marenzio's *Missa super Iniquios odio habui*, Michele Varotto's *Missa super Ardens est cor meum*, and Antonio Mortaro's *Missa super Scopriro l'ardor mio*. Mortaro's mass was also copied into "Prague Collection" Ms. A1. See Petr Daněk, "Václav Trubka z Rovin a Literátské Bratrstvo Kostela Panny Marie před Týnem," *Umění* 47 (1999), 305-308. The Kutná Hora Codex is available in a modern edition in Jan Baťa, ed., *Kutnohorský Kodex: Praha, Národní Muzeum – České Muzeum Hudby, sign. AZ 33 = Codex Kuttenbergensis* (Prague: Koniasch Latin Press, 2008).

³⁶ See Jan Baťa, "Habent sua fata libelli: Několik Poznámek k tzv. Kutnohorskému Kodexu," *Krásné Město* 1 (2005), 9.

³⁷ On the collection of the Cistercian monastery of Zlatá Koruna, see Hynek Gross, "Inventář Bývalého Kláštera ve Zlaté Koruně, sepsaný po Smrti Opata Melichara Hölderla r. 1608," *Sborník Historického Kroužku* 27 (1926), 68-72 and 153-157.

³⁸ See Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 82-83.

³⁹ On the music collection at Innsbruck, see Waldner, "Zwei Inventarien," 133-147. Six choirbooks copied by the Graz tenor Georg Kuglmann were presented to the Prince-Bishop of Ljubljana, Tomaž Hren, and are now kept at the Narodna in Univerzitetna Knjižnica in

choir at Kutná Hora supplemented their singing from the choirbook with four-voice works with *basso continuo* by Reimundo Ballestra, instrumentalist at the court of another Archduke Ferdinand (and future emperor) in Graz from 1602 to 1616.⁴⁰ Innsbruck, however, seems to provide the crucial connection for this earlier repertory, as Regnart and Flori occupied the most prominent positions in the Innsbruck music chapel.⁴¹ One of the two masses by Georg Flori, his eight-voice *Missa super Ung jour l'amant*, also ended up in "Prague Collection" A1 as *Officium Iuxa Ang jeur*.⁴² Lilian Pruett has pointed out that masses in choirbooks produced for the Viennese court of Rudolf II's predecessor, Maximilian II, were simultaneously copied for distribution to Graz, Munich, and Innsbruck, and presumably composers and scribes at the Rudolfinian court in Prague maintained the tradition to some extent, albeit with less systematic regularity.⁴³

Ljubljana (R MS 339-44). Hren was frequently in Graz, where he also served as an Inner-Austrian deputy. The inventory of the music collection at the Ljubljana cathedral, which lists 317 items, was compiled between 1620 and 1628. See Edo Škulj, *Hrenove Korne Knjige* (Ljubljana: Družina, 2001). Documentation pertaining to Tomaž Hren's patronage of the arts is available in Ana Lavrič, *Vloga Ljubljanskega Škofa Tomaža Hrena v Slovenski Likovni Umetnosti*, 2 vols., (Ljubljana: Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti, 1988). An overview of the inventory is also available in Dragotin Cvetko, "Ein unbekanntes *Inventarium musicalium* aus dem Jahre 1620," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 42 (1958), 77-80.

⁴⁰ Photographs of this inventory from the Archiv města Kutné Hory were kindly supplied to me by Jan Baťa.

⁴¹ Flori built on the precedent established by Regnart, who published his two books of five-voice *canzone italiane* in Vienna in 1574 and Nuremberg in 1581, by issuing his own book of Italian music, *Il primo libro de madrigali a sei voci* in Venice in 1589.

⁴² The other mass by Flori in the Kutná Hora Codex, his *Missa super Ecco ch'io lass'il core*, is a six-voice setting.

⁴³ One manuscript that escapes Pruett's attention is a choirbook from the Prelate Library in Český Krumlov (sign. III. S 17.1/391). The manuscript seems to have originated at the court of Maximilian II, with its repertory of fourteen masses by Philippe de Monte, Orlando di Lasso, Antonio Galli, Jacob Vaet, Alexander Utendal, and Christian Hollander. The two masses by Antonio Galli, *Missa Stetit Jacob a 6* and *Missa Ascendetis a 6*, and the two masses by Christian Hollander, *Missa Casta novenarum vicet* and *Missa Je prens congé*, are known in no other extant source. See Lilian Pruett, "Renaissance Central European Sources: Their Scribes, Repertories, and Dissemination," in *Musical Culture of the Bohemian Lands and Central Europe before 1620*, ed. Jan Baťa, Lenka Hlávková, and Jiří K. Kroupa (Prague: Koniasch Latin Press, 2011), 165-178. For a discussion of the Český Krumlov choirbook, see Martin Horyna, "Hudba a Hudební Život v Českém Krumlově v 15. a 16. Století" (Ph.D. dissertation Univerzita Karlova v Praze, 1980).

In addition to trading music, many musicians working in Prague were employed at other Austrian courts, providing another means of ensuring vital musical exchanges between the Bohemian and Austrian courts. Rudolf absorbed many of Maximilian II's musicians into his own music chapel. Among them was Jacob Regnart, who left the Prague court in 1582 to work for Archduke Ferdinand in Innsbruck, where he served as chapelmaster from 1585 to 1595.⁴⁴ Two lutenists employed by Ferdinand in Prague prior to 1567 moved with the court to Innsbruck, and later, Franz Sale and Giovanni Battista Pinello served briefly under Ferdinand in Innsbruck before gaining employment at the imperial court in Prague.⁴⁵ Tiburtio Massaino, an Augustinian composer from Cremona, was also a chaplain and singer for Archduke Ferdinand II in Innsbruck. After his tenure in Innsbruck he traveled to Salzburg to serve as chapelmaster under Archbishop Wolf Dietrich of Raitenau, dedicating his third book of five-voice motets printed in Venice in 1590 to the archbishop.⁴⁶ *Crimine contra naturam* prevented him from renewing his contract in Salzburg, whereupon Massaino was in Prague by 1592, the year he printed two collections dedicated to Philippe de Monte and Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria. Liberale Zanchi also served at the archbishop's court in Salzburg in 1595 as chapelmaster and organist, but this service ended quickly too, since by 1 November 1596 he had been appointed chamber organist to Rudolf II.⁴⁷ From the even more Italianate late sixteenth-century music chapel of Archduke Karl in Graz, only Giovanni Battista Galeno would later serve at the court in Prague.⁴⁸ Open hostility between Rudolf II and his brother Matthias in Vienna was mirrored in the apparently minimal musical exchanges between Prague and the closest of the other Habsburg courts in Vienna. After the dissolution of Rudolf's chapel in 1612, the newly crowned Emperor Matthias hired only

⁴⁴ See Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 80-82.

⁴⁵ See *ibid.*, 81-3, 152-156. The best biography of Franz Sale remains Walter Senn, *Aus dem Kulturleben einer Süddeutschen Kleinstadt: Musik, Schule und Theater der Stadt Hall in Tirol in der Zeit vom 15. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert* (Innsbruck: Tyrolia-Verlag, 1938), 177-180.

⁴⁶ Tiburtio Massaino: *Motectorum quinque vocum... liber tertius* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1590), dedicated from Salzburg on 12 July 1590. Orazio Vecchi, perhaps aware of the success of his music north of the Alps, dedicated his *Hymni qui per totum annum in Ecclesia Romana concinuntur partim brevi stilo super plano cantu, partim proprio marte... cum quatuor vocibus* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1604) to Wolf Dietrich as well.

⁴⁷ On music at the court of Archbishop Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau in Salzburg, see Ernst Hintermaier, "Die Kirchenmusik und Liturgie-Reform Wolf Dietrichs," in *Fürstbischof Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau, Gründer des Barocken Salzburg: 4. Salzburger Landesausstellung, 16. Mai – 26. Oktober 1987 im Residenz-Neugebäude und im Dommuseum zu Salzburg*, ed. Ulrike Engelsberger and Franz Wager (Salzburg: Salzburger Landesregierung, 1987), 296-302.

⁴⁸ Galeno came to Graz along with at least five other Italian musicians hired in 1584 at the recommendation of the chapelmaster, Simone Gatto. See Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker*, 50; and *idem*, "Matthia Ferrabosco," *Musica Disciplina* 7 (1953): 206.

Alessandro Orologio as vice-chapelmaster from among Rudolf's musicians.⁴⁹ It was not until Ferdinand II's reign as emperor beginning in 1619 that Vienna would become a center of Italian musical culture whose supranational influences would surpass those of the court of Rudolf II.

The two most substantial collections of music books among the Bohemian and Moravia nobility during the Rudolfine period reflect Prague's Italian musical landscape in two remarkably different ways. Vilém of Rožmberk (1535–1592), the most powerful Bohemian nobleman in his capacity as Imperial High Treasurer, developed an interest in music soon after returning from Archduke Ferdinand's 1551 expedition to Genoa, building up his collection of music books and instruments for use by his personal music chapel over the next four decades with an expressed penchant for French and Italian music.⁵⁰ Although no inventory was taken of his collection, his library passed on to his brother Petr Vok of Rožmberk (1539–1611) after his death in 1592.⁵¹ The 1610 catalogue of Petr Vok's library, undertaken after transferring the family library to Třeboň (Wittingau), another family property in southern Bohemia, suggests that he rapidly expanded his music library during the preceding two decades, inspired perhaps by the example set by his brother as well as his own experience with the large community of musicians that came to inhabit Prague during this period. Petr Vok acquired several books of sacred and secular music published above all in Nuremberg, but also a substantial number from Frankfurt and Venice, a result of his access to more than just the local markets.⁵² The tradition of musical patronage begun by his brother Vilém, to whom Italian composers in Prague dedicated printed collections, is reflected in the several volumes of Rudolfine music in the collection.⁵³

⁴⁹ For a list of musicians employed by Matthias in 1612, see Georg Rebscher, "Lambert de Sayve als Motettenkomponist" (Ph.D. dissertation, Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main, 1959), 21.

⁵⁰ See Jaroslav Pánek, "Aristokratické Slavnosti České Renaissance," *Opus Musicum* 19 (1987): 292.

⁵¹ The 1573 catalogue of Petr Vok's collection listed no music books, whereas the 1599 inventory of his library contains thirty-nine music prints and manuscripts, suggesting he may have acquired some of the music books owned by his brother Vilém. See Daněk, "Flores Musicales," 33.

⁵² For more on the Rožmberk's purchases from the book markets in Linz, see the discussion earlier in this dissertation.

⁵³ In addition to prints by Liberale Zanchi, Gregorio Turini, and Camillo Zanotti, printed books of Italian music include *missae* by Guiliano Cartari; a now lost print of six-voice cantiones by the chapelmaster of Zsigmund Báthory, Giuseppe Biffi; a tract volume containing, along with five other prints, Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi's *Concenti musicali* (Venice: Amadino, 1604; the 1610 reprint by Phalèse is probably too late to have entered the collection); *Madrigali et Motetae* by Orazio Vecchi; books of madrigals by Alessandro Striggio, Eremita Julianus, and Luca Marenzio; *Modulationes sacrae* by Giaches de Wert; and Giulio Gigli's anthology *Sdegnosi ardori* (Munich: Berg, 1585). Also listed is a manuscript

The Moravian nobleman Karl von Liechtenstein, appointed by Rudolf to the powerful position of Obersthofmeister in 1600, owned a more uncommon collection of music, unusually up-to-date and relatively independent from the local Bohemian and Moravian music markets.⁵⁴ The large collection of Italian music is particularly surprising, given that Liechtenstein himself seems never to have traveled south of the Alps. He studied at the Unity of Brethren academy in Ivančice (Eibenschütz), Moravia, then continued his education in Basel beginning in 1585, stopping briefly in France before returning to Vienna in 1589.⁵⁵ His imperial appointment came soon after his conversion to Catholicism in 1599. The first payment to a chapelmaster, Nicolaus Zangius, is recorded in 1604, and his inventory demonstrates Zangius's importance to Liechtenstein's musical life, with thirty-nine individual motets in manuscript by the composer for larger forces of six to sixteen voices.⁵⁶ The inventory also lists bound and unbound books separately. Of twenty-five bound sets, five are printed and manuscript works by Charles Luython, two by Philippe de Monte (his *Lamentationes* and a book of six-voice madrigals), and Liberale Zanchi's *Quinque psalmorum in Vesperis concinendorum* (Prague: Nigrin, 1604) for eight and twelve voices.⁵⁷ The partbooks of Monte's six-voice madrigals are bound individually in white parchment, as are five other sets of madrigal collection. Among them, at least three were printed in Antwerp,

copy in six parts of the Canzonette d'Amore, a work that Orazio Vecchi published in a four-voice arrangement as the opening work of his first book of four-voice canzonette. This list is only partial, since the cataloguer, Václav Březan, often lists only the first print in tract volumes, while indicating the number of prints. For example, Marenzio's *Madrigalia sex vocum* is bound with eight other volumes in white leather stamped with the Orsini coat-of-arms. The inventory taken on 19 August 1610 is transcribed in Mareš, "Rožmberská Kapela," 226-236. For an overview and catalog of the entire Rožmberk library, see Lenka Veselá, *Knihy na Dvoře Rožmberků* (Prague: Scriptorium, 2005).

⁵⁴ The inventory is transcribed in Herbert Haupt, *Fürst Karl I. von Liechtenstein, Obersthofmeister Kaiser Rudolfs II. und Vizekönig von Böhmen: Hofstaat und Sammeltätigkeit, Edition der Quellen aus dem Liechtensteinischen Hausarchiv, Textband* (Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf., 1983), 158-163.

⁵⁵ See *ibid.*, 12.

⁵⁶ The account book record of 2 November 1604, "No. 354. Den 2 Novembris haben ihr g. herrn Nicolao Zangio ihro capellmaister laut bevehls verehren lassen... 200 fl," is transcribed in *ibid.*, 139.

⁵⁷ The discantus, tenor, altus, and sextus parts of Monte's six-voice *Lamentationes* have recently resurfaced in the "Prague Collection" at New York University (Fales Special Collections, Bobst Library, Ms. A1). For a discussion of the settings, see Stanley Boorman, "A New Source, and New Compositions, for Philippe de Monte," in *Recevez ce mien petit labour": Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Ignace Bossuyt*, ed. Mark Delaere and Pieter Bergé (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008), 35-48.

suggesting that the group was acquired together.⁵⁸ Philippe de Monte dedicated his final book of six-voice madrigals to Karl von Liechtenstein, making it likely that the copy of the book in Liechtenstein's collection was received directly from the composer, whose close relationship to the Phalèse printshop has been documented.⁵⁹ The majority of Liechtenstein's collection was unbound: 46 books of sacred music and 21 books of secular music, identified by composer and grouped by number of voices. Among them is a substantial collection of Italian secular music at twenty-five volumes among a total of 105 books.⁶⁰ It is unclear to what extent Liechtenstein knew Italian, but perhaps in his new high position in the empire, he wished to embrace the Italianate culture of the Rudolfiner court. The inventory also suggests that Luython and Monte were aware of Liechtenstein's intent to form his own music chapel and helped supply him with the music books and instruments necessary to do so. Liechtenstein's collection of musical instruments included 55 trumpets, 71 other wind instruments, 13 string instruments, a regal, and, most intriguing of all, "ein instrument von Caroli Luiton." This is probably one of the famous *Clavicimbala universale seu perfectum*,

⁵⁸ Printed madrigal collections whose partbooks are bound individually in white parchment are listed as follows: *musica divina* 2. *opera* 4. 5. 6. et 7. *vocum*, *madrigalia il Vago Alboreto* 4. *vocum*, *madrigalia Lucae marenti* 5. *vocum*, *madrigalia Bernardini Mosti* 5. *vocum*, *madrigalia Philippi de Monte* 6. *vocum*, and *madrigalia Baptistae Haleni* 7. *vocum*.

⁵⁹ Monte's *Il non libro de madrigali à sei voci* (Venice: Gardano, 1603) returned to light not too long ago. The exemplar once kept at the Berlin Staatsbibliothek is now at the Biblioteka Jagiellńska, Krakow. Monte's dedication is relatively generic in comparison to those he wrote for other patrons, although it is interesting to note that his dedication was signed in Venice on 1 January 1603, rather than Prague. For a discussion of this and other prints of Italian secular music transferred from Berlin to Krakow, see Brian Mann, "From Berlin to Cracow: Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Prints of Italian Secular Vocal Music in the Jagiellonian Library," *Notes, Second Series*, 49 (1992), 11-27.

⁶⁰ His collection of Italian music prints includes six books of sacred music by Matheo Asula, as well as other sacred music prints by Arcangelo Bursario, Giulio Cesare, Giuliano Cartari, Joanne Chustrovio, Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi, Batholomeo Lombardo, Luca Marenzio, Claudio Merulo, Benedetto Pallavicino, Tomaso Pecci, Alessandro Pereto, Cipriano de Rore, Francisco Stivori (in Graz from 1602–1605), Acurtio Valcampo, and Florido Zaccardi. Under the heading "Madrigalia," which seems to encompass all secular music prints, are prints by Alessandro Agazzari, Lucio Billi, Paolo Boti, Giovanni Giacomo Brignoli, Joanni Favero, Giovanni Pietro Flacomio, Amadio Freddi, Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi, Leone Leoni, Mariano di Lorenzo, two books by Luca Marenzio, Francesco Mazzadi, Benedetto Pallavicino, Alessandro Savioli, and Orazio Vecchi. Also listed is the anthology *Fiori del Giardino* printed in Nuremberg in 1604. The 1608 inventory is transcribed in Haupt, *Fürst Karl I. von Liechtenstein*, 158-163.

celebrated by Michael Praetorius in the *Syntagma musicum* for their ability to produce the three *genera modulandi: diatonicum, chromaticum* and *enharmonicum*.⁶¹

Liechtenstein's payments to traveling performers mirror the differences in taste between Rudolf and Matthias when it came to Italian spectacle. The first payment occurred around the time of his religious conversion, when he rewarded two Spanish comedians the relatively high sum of 35 gulden on 27 June 1599.⁶² In a ceremonious performance on the Feast of All Saints at the Jesuit church in Brno, Liechtenstein converted to Catholicism in the presence of the papal nuncio, Filippo Spinelli, and Franz von Dietrichstein, who had been appointed bishop of Olomouc the same year. The occasion was momentous enough for Pope Clement VIII to send a personal letter of congratulations to Liechtenstein on 7 September 1599, and the Spanish comedians were undoubtedly sent to enliven festivities.⁶³ Liechtenstein seems to have been less impressed by a juggler (*gaukler*), who received payment of four gulden 40 kreuzer on 14 November 1604, and perhaps his mood was worsened by the Spanish comedian Pietro, who received a meager 40 kreuzer on 15 September 1606. Two more Spanish comedians were paid 12 gulden on 24 April 1610, when Archduke Matthias, on Liechtenstein's recommendation, went to Prague to reconcile with Rudolf after finalization of the *Majestätsbrief*, which extended religious freedoms to Lutherans and the Unity of Brethren.⁶⁴ The first Italian performers do not appear in Liechtenstein's account books until September 1612, three months after the coronation of Matthias.

The necessity for the nobility to finance and support performances connected with recreation and other celebrations was due not only to Rudolf's personal restraint but also to issues surrounding the public celebration of carnival in Prague. After violent outbreaks blamed on an uncontrolled numbers of newly arrived foreigners, Rudolf banned carnival celebrations in 1604, with the result that courtly carnival festivities became primarily a private matter for the nobility.⁶⁵ After the initial influence of Archduke Ferdinand, the

⁶¹ Michael Praetorius devoted an entire chapter to a description of Luython's instrument. He mentions having seen it in Prague as well as thirty years earlier in Vienna, the existence of a similar instrument in Italy as reported by Christophoro Cornet in Kassel, and another one in Graz at the court of Archduke Ferdinand brought from Italy. See Michael Praetorius, *Syntagmatis musici tomus secundus de organographia* (Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1619; facs. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2001), *Das XL. Capitel*, 63-66. Karl of Austria, Bishop of Breslau, purchased his Clavicimbalum directly from Luython in 1613. See Adolf Kocirz, "Zur Geschichte des Luython'schen Klavizimbels," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 9 (1908), 565-570.

⁶² All payments from Liechtenstein's account books mentioned in this paragraph come from Haupt, *Fürst Karl I. von Liechtenstein*, record nos. 26, 70, 127, 153, 202, and 204.

⁶³ See Vladimír Burian, *Vývoj Náboženských Poměrů v Brně 1570–1618* (Brno: Nákladem ÚNV Zemského Hlavního Města Brna, 1948), 33.

⁶⁴ See Haupt, *Fürst Karl I. von Liechtenstein*, 21.

⁶⁵ See Zikmund Winter, "O Pražských Slavnostech v XVI. Věku," in *V Ohradě Měst a Městských Zdech II* (Prague: Otto, 1913), 114.

nobility of Prague had developed a taste for Italian manners of carnival celebrations, employing Italian artists and musicians to enhance them and undoubtedly further encouraged by the numbers of resident Italian dignitaries.⁶⁶ Philippe de Monte describes masquerades organized by Italians taking place during carnival season in February and March 1585, the latter of which occurred in conjunction with another Kolovrat wedding.⁶⁷ Likewise, the French traveler François de Bassompierre, who was in Prague in 1604, noted that carnival was carried out as a succession of aristocratic banquets, dances, and sleigh rides.⁶⁸ Many members of the nobility knew Italian customs surrounding carnival celebrations and other festivities from firsthand experiences south of the Alps, where they learned the importance of cultivating their own abilities in musical performance.

ITALIAN EDUCATION

I get up at about 10 o'clock in the morning, prepare myself, pray to the Lord, and read something. At about 11 o'clock a doctor comes to me and reads the laws of the "institutiones juris" until 12 o'clock. I go over the lessons alone or read something until 1 o'clock, whereupon I go to fencing school and then to the dance school, where I exercise until 3 o'clock. At 4 o'clock I take lunch and after the meal I practice the lute. Then, until about 8 o'clock I read something or write, after which I return once more to school, where I remain until 10 o'clock. I have dinner, then after dinner I play the lute or go for a walk with someone beyond the city gates. Thus do I spend my days.

Vilém Slavata of Chlum describing his studies in Siena, 1593⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Zikmund Winter, the most comprehensive nineteenth-century scholar of sixteenth-century Prague, paints a rich portrait of carnival among the nobility: "Young lords rode through the streets during carnival, inducing amusement by means of bright colors, in oriental undergarments, in perfumed gloves, with feathered hats, on horses decorated with bells and feathers, they insinuate themselves after their magnificent rides through the streets to young women later in the palaces with dancing and lush backdrops, for which Muses they must also obtain by means of Apollo, singing verses of praise to all the charms of these ladies and virgins." See Winter, "O Pražských Slavnostech," 114.

⁶⁷ See the avvisi dated 12 February 1585 and 5 March 1585 transcribed in Thorsten Hindrichs, *Philipp de Monte (1521–1603): Komponist, Kapellmeister, Korrespondent* (Göttingen: Hainholz, 2002), 210-213.

⁶⁸ See Petr Maťa, "'Phasma Dionysiacum Pragense' a Počátky Karnevalového Kalendáře na Císařském Dvoře," *Divadelní Revue* no. 2 (2004): 50.

⁶⁹ This passage is quoted in Petr Maťa, *Svět České Aristokracie* (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové Noviny, 2004), 312-313. Vilém Slavata of Chlum und Koschenberg, born in 1572 in Čestín near Kutná Hora, would later convert to Catholicism in 1597, the same year he traveled to England. He then entered the service of Rudolf II, holding the office of Bohemian *Oberstmarschall* from 1600 to 1604, after which he was appointed county judge and Burgrave of Karlštejn. Along with Jaroslav Bořita of Martinice, he was famously

The education of the Bohemian nobleman Vilém Slavata (1572–1652) was similar to that of many other members of the Czech nobility who studied at Italian universities, Siena, with its larger numbers of German and Czech-speaking students, being among the most popular alongside universities in Padua, Bologna, and Perugia.⁷⁰ Others accepted honorary appointments at the courts of Innsbruck or Dresden to acquire the skills expected of a late sixteenth-century aristocrat.⁷¹ Before their studies abroad, they typically began their education at one of the newly established Jesuit academies in Prague or Olomouc, or, depending on their religious persuasion, the prestigious academies of the Unity of Brethren, whose pupils included Slavata, Liechtenstein, and Karl of Žerotín, or Passau. In addition to providing an opportunity for travel to Italy, the attraction of northern Italian universities also had much to do with the character of religious life and the benefits of immersion in a Roman Catholic environment. The northern Italian states also formed an essential part of the empire, about which a well-educated member of the Bohemian or Moravian nobility should be informed. From their studies at the Jesuit and Brethren academies, they arrived with a strong foundation in Latin grammar, rhetoric, theology, and, for graduates of the Jesuit academies, public oration gained through dramatic performance. They engaged private instructors and studied riding, dancing, musical performance, Italian, history and law.⁷² Like Slavata, who traveled through Germany and the Low Lands after his studies in Siena, many of them expanded their worldly knowledge by traveling to other parts of Europe. These cavalier journeys, which became so fundamental to a sixteenth-century aristocratic education, brought them into contact with international courtly culture. Through these experiences,

defenestrated from Prague castle in 1618, survived the fall, and fled to the nearby Lobkowitz palace for protection. He was the dedicatee of Joachim Lange's *Das erste Buch schöner neuen weltlichen Liedlein... mit dreyen Stimmen* (Prague: Nigrin, 1606), which sets, among others, four texts by the Austrian poet, Christoph von Schallenberg. On Slavata, see František Bartoš, "Budovec a Slavata," *Časopis Matice Moravské* 70 (1951), 486-494.

⁷⁰ Students at the Jesuit academy in Prague included members of the Popel of Lobkowitz, Berka of Dubé and Lípa, Pernštejn, Libštejnský of Kolovrat, Pruskovský, Slavata of Chlum, and Bořita of Martinice families. See *ibid.*, 306.

⁷¹ For example, the Bohemian nobleman, composer, adventurer, and writer Kryštof Harant z Polžic a Bezdržic served at the Innsbruck court of Archduke Ferdinand, while Joachim Andreas von Schlick did the same at the Dresden court of Elector August of Saxony. These two men also shared the same fate of execution on 21 June 1621 for their role in the Bohemian Estates rebellion.

⁷² Zdeněk Brtnický of Valdštejn (1581–1623) describes a similar program of study in Siena in 1601-1602. His diary is kept at the Biblioteca Vaticana (Regin. Lat. 666), and a copy is available at the Archiv Hlavního Města Prahy (Sbírka opisů, sign. B 21). The names of Czech students matriculated at the university in Siena can be found in Michal Svatoš, "Studenti z Českých Zemí na Univerzitě v Sieně (1573–1738)," *Zprávy Archivu University Karlovy* 4 (1982), 29-63.

they returned home with skills in musical performance, typically on lute, familiarity with current trends in Italian dancing, and a taste for the international courtly musical repertory.

These skills became particularly important in fashioning a musical culture appropriate to Bohemia's newly elevated status as home to the imperial capital and host to a parade of wealthy and politically influential visitors who further enlivened its musical life. Among these visitors were members of the Fugger family, who became among the most important patrons of composers at the RudolFINE court.⁷³ According to the dedication of his six-voice *Il primo libro de madrigali spirituali*, Philippe de Monte hosted Hans Fugger at his own home in Prague in August 1582, where they enjoyed music and *altri passatempi*.⁷⁴ Like the Italian-educated Bohemian and Moravian nobility, the Fuggers cultivated a family tradition of lute performance stimulated by their travels to Italy. Georg Fugger (1518–1569) was presented a lutebook in 1555 with intabulations of Italian madrigals and Latin motets, and his thirteen-year-old son Octavian II (1549–1600) acquired his own lutebook with madrigals, dance music and other instrumental works during his studies in Bologna in 1562.⁷⁵ They were also generous patrons of Melchior Neusidler (1531–1591), one of Archduke Ferdinand's lutenists in Innsbruck, who, in his *Teütsch Lautenbuch* (Strasbourg: Jobin, 1574) included a *Fuggerin dantz*.⁷⁶

It is significant to note that Karl von Dietrichstein, Karl of Žerotín, and Vilém and Petr Vok of Rožmberk, noblemen who were educated elsewhere than the Italian peninsula, did not play the lute. Karl of Žerotín studied music in Basel with the organist Samuel Mareschall, who prepared a manuscript book of tablatures, *Les pseumes de David en*

⁷³ The generosity of the Fuggers toward musicians at the RudolFINE court is confirmed by the number of prints dedicated to members of the Fugger family, including Jacob Hassler's *Madrigali a sei voci* (Nuremberg, 1600) dedicated to Christoph Fugger; Gregorio Turini's *Neue liebliche teutsche Lieder* (Nuremberg, 1590) to Hans Fugger; Carl Luython's *Il primo libro de madrigali* (Venice, 1582) to Hans Fugger; Philippe de Monte's *Il primo libro de madrigali spirituali a sei voci* (Venice, 1583) to Hans Fugger, and Jacob Regnart's *Aliquot cantiones vulgo motecta appellatae* (Nuremberg, 1577) to Victor August Fugger, cathedral probost in Regensburg). For a complete list of prints dedicated to members of the Fugger family, see Renate Eikelmann, ed., *'Lautenschlagen lernen und ieben': Die Fugger und Die Musik, Anton Fugger zum 500. Geburtstag. Ausstellung der Städtischen Kunstsammlungen Augsburg und des Hauses Fugger in den Historischen Badstuben im Fuggerhaus aus Anlass des 500. Geburtstages von Anton Fugger, 10. Juni 1993 bis 8. August 1993* (Augsburg: Hofmann-Verlag, 1993), 46-48.

⁷⁴ The dedication is reprinted in Georges van Doorslaer, *La Vie et les Oeuvres de Philippe de Monte* (Brussels: Lamertin and Hayez, 1921), 252-253.

⁷⁵ Octavian II's lute book is now kept at the Austrian National Library in Vienna (sign. Ms. Mus. 18790). See Wolfgang Boetticher, *Handschriftlich Überlieferte Lauten- und Gitarrentabulaturen des 15. Bis 18. Jahrhunderts: Beschreibender Katalog*, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, B VII (Munich: Henle, 1978), 353-4.

⁷⁶ See Eikelmann, *'Lautenschlagen lernen und leben,'* 45.

tablature sur l'espinete, with Goudimel's harmonizations of the psalms and some Lutheran songs.⁷⁷ Like Žerotín, Vilém of Rožmberk also played keyboards. Karl von Dietrichstein's inventory lists no tablatures although he hired a lutenist for his music chapel. Petr Vok of Rožmberk had four lutes among his collection of musical instruments and 5 *partes* containing passamezzos and gagliards, though no lutenists in his chapel.

Ferdinand Hoffmann of Grünbühl and Strechau (1540–1607) presents the opposite picture, since he did not have a chapel but owned a large collection of technically demanding lute music, played the mandora, lute, chitarrone, and a guitar kept at his home in Olomouc, and almost certainly had more instruments and tablatures at the three homes he owned in Prague and an additional residence in Brno.⁷⁸ Hoffmann was born into a landed Styrian family, who owned more than half of Upper Styria by the time his father, Hans Hoffmann, died in 1564. After initial studies in Passau, Hoffmann traveled south where he continued his studies in Padua at least from 1553 to 1557. At the end of the century he served as counselor and president of the imperial chamber, placing him in a position of authority over imperial accounts. He continued to correspond in Italian, even with musicians in Prague, as when writing to him the court organist Paul von Winde, for instance, wrote in Italian rather than German.⁷⁹ In addition to his collection of manuscript and printed tablatures he was a bibliophile, with a library of some 10,000 prints and manuscripts, some dating dating back to the ninth century, which were later acquired by the Dietrichstein family for their collection in Mikulov (Nikolsburg) in southern Moravia in 1669.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ This manuscript is bound in parchment embossed with Žerotín's initials and the year 1593, and Mareschall includes a handwritten dedication to Žerotín, dated 1593. It is now kept at library of the National Museum of Prague (sign. IV-1726, 18). Although the manuscript is not currently available for consultation, a microfilm is kept at the Department of the History of Music, Moravian Land Museum, Brno (sign. J-V-39/41). For an overview of its contents, see Marie Kučerová, "La Tablature d'Épinette de Samuel Mareschal," *Revue Musicale de Suisse Romande* 39 (1986), 71-81.

⁷⁸ Študent, "Na loutnu," 113-115.

⁷⁹ Koczirz, "Exzerpte," 302.

⁸⁰ It is estimated that as much as two-thirds of the Dietrichstein collection in Mikulov came from Hoffmann's private library. Prince Ferdinand of Dietrichstein, the great-nephew of Franz von Dietrichstein, whose library had been taken to Sweden, was the guardian of Ferdinand Hoffmann's last heirs, Maria Elisabeth and Johanna, who married Prince Ferdinand's relatives. In thanks for his guardianship, Maria Elisabeth and Johanna gave him their great-grandfather's library. Much of the Mikulov library was subsequently auctioned in 1933 in Lucerne by the firm of Gilhofer and Ranschburg when the heirs to the last Dietrichstein owner of the castle in Mikulov disbanded the library in 1931, with the result that only a fraction of the Dietrichstein library is now kept at the Moravian Land Archive in Brno. For an overview of the Dietrichstein library, see Vladislav Dokoupil's introduction in *Soupis Rukopisů Mikulovské Dietrichsteinské Knihovny = Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptorum Bibliothecae Dietrichsteinianae Nicolspurgensis* (Prague: Státní Pedagogické Nakladatelství,

When Hoffmann died in 1607 a book of Latin verse was compiled and printed in his honor.⁸¹ The longest of its elegies honors both Hoffmann's passing and, one by one, the ranks of the Bohemian and Moravian elite whom he knew; it also draws attention to Hoffmann's skill in lute performance. The passing mention of *Musica noster amor* recalls Jacob Handl's well-known six-voice setting of an anonymous text on the same trope published in the 1596 *Moralia*.⁸²

<p><i>Plangite pullatæ Musæ, pullatus Apollo</i> <i>Dulcisonæ rumpat sila canora lyre</i> <i>Vix talem, aut rarò, vobis pia fata patronum;</i> <i>Tempus qui vobis consecret omne, dabunt...</i> <i>Plangite pullatæ Musæ, pullatus Apollo</i> <i>Aurate rumpat fila canora lyre...</i> <i>Pullatæ lugent Musæ, pullatus Apollo</i> <i>Ingeminat: perijt Musica noster amor.</i> <i>Musica quotidie florens simul occidit Hofman</i></p> <p><i>Conticuere Lyre, Musica maesta jacet.</i></p>	<p>Lament, black-clothed Muses and Apollo, Break the lyre's sweetly melodies strings Rarely will the pious fates grant you such a patron, who consecrates all time to you... Lament, black-clothed Muses and Apollo, Break the lyre's golden melodious strings... Mourn, black-clothed Muses and Apollo, It redoubles: Music, our love, has died. The daily flourishing of music and Hoffmann have perished The lyres have fallen silent, Music lies in gloom.</p>
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Hoffmann's collection of tablatures indicates his curiosity in exploring a diverse international repertory from across Europe, with printed collections by Elias Mertel, Sixt Kargel, Paolo Virchi, Melchior Neusidler's *Tabulatura continens cantiones* of 1573, and Cesare Negri's *Nuove inventioni di balli* of 1604 as well as French, German, and Italian

1958), 5-22; and the essays gathered together by Miroslav Trantírek in a special issue on the history of the Dietrichstein library in Mikulov of *Sborník Národního Muzea v Praze, řada C: Literární Historie* 39-40 (1994-95). On Ferdinand Hoffmann, see Klaus Eckart Ehrlicher, "Ein Steirisches Adelsgeschlecht in Böhmen und Mähren: Hoffmann Freiherren zu Gruenpüchel und Strechau," *Bohemia: Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der Böhmischesen Länder* 21 (1980), 59-83.

⁸¹ Contributors of verse to the collection include Florianus Hambergius, Johannes Campanus, Caspar Cuitanich de Kupisincz P. L. C., Stephanus Prunerus, Gabriel Svechinus a Paumbergk, Johannes Hippus Vodnianus, Paulus Stransky Zapenus, Ludovicus Vobicus Vodnianus, and one "I. C. V." See *Ferdinando Hofmanno libero baroni de Grunpichl & Strechav in Gravenstein & Janovicz, supremo & haereditario curiae magistro ducatus Styriae, supremo item & haereditario mareschalco, archiducatus Austriae, imp: Ferdinandi & Rudolphi II. consiliario* (Prague: Paul Sessius, 1607).

⁸² Persons mentioned in Florianus Hambergius's ode to Hoffmann include Rudolf II, Petr Vok of Rožmberk, Karl von Liechtenstein, the Schlick and Lobkowicz families, Albrecht von Fürstenberg, and Volf of Kolovrat, and each of the members of Hoffmann's own family.

manuscript lutebooks, a further testament to Hoffmann's abilities in lute performance.⁸³ Among these printed and manuscript sources, the only one of Hoffmann's lutebooks to remain in Brno today demonstrates the fundamental importance of the Italian lute repertory to students of the instrument.⁸⁴ Bound in parchment from the pages of an older liturgical book, this volume of German tablatures for a six-course lute and French tablatures for cittern contains technically non-demanding pieces most likely assembled by a skilled performer for a beginner.⁸⁵ The opening work in the collection, an intabulation of the Martial's epigram on the secret of happiness, *Vitam quae faciunt beatioorem*, deviates little from Petrus Tritonius's original four-part harmonization, a homophonic ode used repeatedly in sixteenth-century Czech prints as a timbre for singing hendecasyllabic verse in Czech, Latin, or German.⁸⁶

⁸³ The relevant volumes are listed as *Hortus Musicalis Elia Mertelly, Tabulatur auf der Lauten zu Spielen, durch M: Sixtum Kärgeill, ein französisch Lautenbuch, item dergleichen, Tabulatur auf der Cythara, Tabulatur: Buch, Cithar: Buch, durch Sixt Kargell, Tabolatura di Cithara di Paolo Virchi, Noue inuentioni di Balli. fol., Tabellatur buch Itälisch und Teutsch, Premier livre de tabulature de Leut*, and a second *Premier livre de tabulature de Leut*. Based on auction catalogues, Študent has determined that the first of these last two volumes to have referred to a series of five books printed by Albert de Rippe from 1552 to 1555, and the second as being the first and second volume of a series printed by Guillaume Morlaye in 1552 and 1558. The conjecture that Hoffmann also owned Melchior Neusidler's *Tabulatura continens cantiones* is based on these catalogues. See Študent, "Na loutnu," 112.

⁸⁴ This is the only known lutebook from Hoffmann's original collection that remains at the Moravian Land Archive, Brno (collection G 10, no. 1245). For a concise overview of the book, see Jiří Tichota, "Bohemika a Český Repertoár v Tabulaturách pro Renesanční Loutnu," *Miscellanea musicologica* 31 (1984): 150-151.

⁸⁵ Miloslav Študent has noted that the transcriptions transmit few mistakes. See Študent, "Na loutnu," 113.

⁸⁶ The frequency of this tune's appearance is striking. It appears as early as 1525 in Mikuláš Konáček's *O Pohmutij Prazskem proč a kterak se gest stalo. Kto newij ztěchto po znati muože Pijsnij A newyssokich vě cy smýssleti podle Raddy appo sstola. ale nizky powolowati Obecnimi Notami a neb iakž ted noto wáno más*. The anonymous author issued the print to protest the 1524 introduction of Lutheran doctrine in the administration of Utraquist priests and the sudden proliferation of Lutherans in the Bohemian capital, a development which the writer compares to the threat of Turkish heathens and one he deems "too errant for the common good Christian and most pernicious to the city of Prague." Konáček's print contains three songs all with four-part music, in which *Vitam quae faciunt beatioorem* is used for *Čechové, milí Čechové* (Bohemians, dear Bohemians), a call to maintain the old faith in defiance of heresy. The tune would be used continuously throughout the century in broadsheets (including five from the Dobřenský collection), catechisms, school dramas, and hymnals, and in polyphonic settings by Jacob Vaet and Jacob Handl. The most exhaustive use of the tune occurs in Jan Vorličný's 1572 printed hymnal and psalter, in which he provides all the texts in both unmeasured forms with individual melodies and in hendecasyllabic form, for

Otherwise, the Hoffmann lutebook is given almost entirely to Italian dance music for a beginning student, with eleven passamezzo-saltarello pairs, three additional passamezzi, a saltarello, a *Chepassa*, two versions of *La caracossa* in two different tunings, a galliarda, and a *passamezzo Milanese*. Among the cittern intabulations are three paduani, another *Chipassa*, two works entitled *tanz*, the triple-meter *Genntill Madona*, *Qayamba*, four German songs, and an intrada. The *Chepassa* and *Chipassa* are both intabulations of Azzaiola's famous villanella, *Che passa per questa strada*, which Orlando di Lasso performed in his role as Pantalone in the Neapolitan comedy *La Cortigiana innamorata* for the 1568 wedding of Wilhelm V and Renata of Lothringia in Munich.

Another lutebook at the National Library of the Czech Republic in Prague, the *Lautten Tabulatur Buech* of Nicolaus Schmall (Mikuláš Šmal) of Lebendorf, contains a more geographically diverse repertory.⁸⁷ The original owner of this book, Jaroslav Bořita of Martinice (1582–1649), was educated by the Jesuits and enrolled at the three universities of Padua, Sienna, and Perugia in conjunction with a trip to the Italian peninsula in 1599, spending the jubilee year of 1600 in Rome.⁸⁸ He was an ardent Roman Catholic, and as one of the highest officers of the crown, one of Protestantism's most powerful adversaries. Enmity between Catholic and Protestant Bohemian nobles culminated on 23 May 1618 when Protestant nobles tossed Bořita, along with Vilém Slavata and their scribe Filip

which he only provides Tritonius's original harmonizations in three and four parts of *Vitam quae faciunt beatiorem*. See Jan Vorličný, *Zialtárz Swatého Dawida Krále Proroka Lidu Božijho. Z Latinské řeči přeložený, podlé Textu kterýž gest w Biblij položen wedlé Waykladu Swatého Jeronýma a podlé giných Starých Exemplárůw srownán. A na Wersse Hendecasyllabon w Rytmy Gedenácti Syllab gest složený a s pilnostij skorygowaný* (Prague: Jiří Melantrich, 1572); and idem, *Hymny, to gest Pijsnie chwal Božských, od néterých Swatých Dokotoruw a Biskupuw Cyrkewných w Latinském Jazyku složené / a nynij w Jazyk Czesky, od Jana Worličnehe...., přeložené w Staróm Miestie Prazškem* (Prague: Jiří Melantrich, 1572).

⁸⁷ The book is kept at the National Library of the Czech Republic in Prague (sign. 23 F 174). The green leather binding is stamped with the coat-of-arms of the Bořita family in the center of the front cover, while the coat-of-arms of the Šternberk family in the center of the back cover has been cut out and is visible stamped on the flyleaf underneath. Bořita's first wife was Marie Eusebie of Šternberk. The full title of the book is *Lautten Tabulatur / Buech, Darinnen viel schöne Intraden / Galliarden, Passometzen unnd andere / viel herrliche Stücke beschrieben seindt / von mier Nicolao Schmall von Lebendorf derselben zeit / Kantzeleischrebern des Wolgebornen Herrn / Herrn Jaroslai Bol/rzita vonn Martinicz, Herrn zu Smeczna, Weissen Augezdecz, Wolkorz unnd Malikowicz, Römischer Kaiserlicher Maiestät Rath/statthalter unnd dero Hoffmarschalchen in Königreich Beheimb / Anno Domini / 1613*. A facsimile edition has been published in Jiří Tichota, ed., *Loutnová Tabulatura psaná Mikulášem Šmalem z Lebendorfu Claves musicae ad fides compositae manu Nicolai Šmal de Lebendorf scriptae* (Prague: St. Knihovna ČSR, 1969).

⁸⁸ See Katrin Keller and Alessandro Catalano, eds., *Die Diarien und Tagzettel des Kardinals Ernst Adalbert von Harrach (1598–1667)* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2010), 202.

Fabricius, from the window of the chancellery in Prague Castle. With seemingly miraculous good fortune, all three defenestrated men survived the fall, whereupon Bořita fled to Munich and Passau, where he remained in hiding until 1621.⁸⁹ Nicolaus Schmall, Bořita's scribe, compiled this lutebook between 1608 and 1613 and acknowledges Bořita's generosity in bequeathing him the book.⁹⁰ Jiří Tichota notes that the courses in some dances are numbered in reverse, following the practice of Italian tablature in which the highest string is entered at the bottom.⁹¹ Schmall's transcription of *Leggiardo mio pastor* and one work vaguely entitled *Tancz* both follow this practice, suggesting a more widespread practice in which Italian dance music was disseminated anonymously and was an undifferentiated part of the local repertory. In compiling the book, Schmall had access to a diverse variety of sources, with Italian dances forming the most substantial portion of his selection. The ten passamezzi, a few of them in multiple parts, occupy the majority of the book, but unlike those in Hoffmann's book of tablature, they are not paired with saltarelli, suggesting that the book was used in a different musical context less oriented around formal Italian dancing. Schmall does pair three choreas with nachtanzen, while the four saltarelli in the book stand alone. Schmall places emphasis on variety, interweaving five correnti, tanzen, and galliardi; four independent choreas and four intabulations of secular German songs; and three intradas. Geographic diversity is embodied by two *Siebenbürger* (Transylvanian dances), two intabulations of Protestant hymns, a *Kayser Maximiliani Tantz*, two *Rolandi*, an *Englesa*, a *bergamasca*, a *balletto*, and a *Spaniola*. Despite Bořita's Catholic faith, two popular Protestant hymns are included in the miscellany.⁹² In contrast to the Hoffmann lutebook, some texts are provided; five works, including two passamezzi and a saltarello, are given German texts, and one passamezzo is accompanied by a proverb in German and Latin: *Usus facit artem sprach der Teuffel, warf ein alt Weib zum Fenster hinaus und wolt sie fliegen lernen* (Use marks art, says the devil. Throw an old woman from the window and she will learn to fly). A link to education is suggested by the *Chorea studiosorum*, and Schmall was clearly still a developing student of the lute himself, as the tablature contains numerous mistakes. Certain dance pieces were fashionable, such as the passamezzo and saltarello on folios 15a and 16b, which are likewise transmitted in the Hoffmann tablature (fols. 12b and 16b). In addition to dance pieces, Schmall includes intabulations of Italian vocal works: an arrangement of the first fourteen bars of Giovanni Bernardo Colombi's five-voice madrigal *Leggiadro mio pastor*, a

⁸⁹ Today, beneath this window in the gardens of Prague castle are three sandstone obelisks erected by Emperor Ferdinand III in honor of Bořita, Slavata, and Fabricius. Fabricius was subsequently ennobled with the title "von Hohenfall."

⁹⁰ The first title page of the manuscript has the inscription "Ex Liberalitate Illustrissim. Domini Domini Jaroslaij Borzitae Baronis de Martin accepi 1608, 19. Martij." A second title page indicates that the works were transcribed by Schmall and that he was Bořita's scribe. This book later passed into the possession of the Lobkowitz family, along with a number of other Šternberk manuscripts. See Tichota, *Loutnová Tabulatura*, 12.

⁹¹ This occurs in dances on fols. 12a *Leggiadro* and a passamezzo on 46a and b. See *ibid.*, 12.

⁹² These are *Gelobet sey du Jesu Christ* and *Uns ist ein Kindlein heut geboren*.

piece entitled *Dimmi amore*, and Ruggiero Giovannelli's famous *Mi parto*, which is transmitted in the same arrangement in Cosimo Bottegari's lutebook.⁹³

Of the three remaining known lutebooks of Bohemian and Moravian provenance, two were owned by the cousins Bohuslav Strial and Jan Arpin (d. 1606), who studied together in the Upper Lusatian city of Görlitz.⁹⁴ Like the lutebooks of Hoffmann and Schmall, their manuscripts are full of pieces for beginners. These books, however, were used not by members of the nobility but by Bohemian burghers. Both Strial and Arpin lived in the city of Žatec (Saaz), approximately seventy kilometers northwest of Prague, which had seen a strong influx of German settlers mainly from the regions around Zwickau and Plauen, particularly after the arrival of the imperial court in Prague.⁹⁵ After his studies in Görlitz

⁹³ Colombi's madrigal was printed in his *Primo libro de madrigali... a cinque voci* (Venice, 1603) and in Melchior Borchgrevinck's anthology *Giardino novo bellissimo di varii fiori musicali scieltissimi il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Copenhagen, 1605). Ruth DeFord has noted that although *Mi parto* first appeared in Marenzio's fourth book of three-voice villanelle of 1587, it was Ruggiero Giovannelli's setting published the following year that became the basis for all later settings of the text, including a three-voice canzonetta by Alessandro Orologio, a four-voice canzonetta by Giovanni Croce, five-voice canzoni by Giovanni Dragoni and Giaches de Wert, an eight-voice canzonetta by Vincenzo Neriti, and Hans Leo Hassler's six-voice madrigal. Neriti wrote three eight-voice canzonette, the only composer to do so in the sixteenth century. See Ruth DeFord, "Musical Relationships between the Italian Madrigal and Light Genres in the Sixteenth Century," *Musica Disciplina* 39 (1985), 130. Cosimo Bottegari was a gentiluomo della camera at the court of Duke Albrecht V in Bavaria until 1579, whereupon he returned to his birthplace of Florence. His lutebook, now at the Biblioteca Estense in Modena (sign. Ms. C 311) was compiled in both Bavaria and Florence between 1574 and 1600. His intabulation of *Mi parto* is available in a modern edition in Cosimo Bottegari, *The Bottegari Lutebook*, ed. Carol MacClintock, The Wellesley Edition 8 (Wellesley, MA: Wellesley College, 1965), 7. For a description of the lutebook and an overview of Bottegari's biography, see Carol MacClintock, "A Court Musician's Songbook: Modena MS. C. 311," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 9 (1956), 177-192.

⁹⁴ The collection of Bohuslav Strial of Pomnouš, compiled circa 1596, is at the National Library of the Czech Republic in Prague (sign. 59 R 469). The *Prima Pars Tabellaturae continens choreas et galliardas tantum* of Jan Arpin of Dorndorf, compiled circa 1590, ultimately found its way back to Zwickau, perhaps in the flood of Czech and German emigration to Saxony that occurred in the 1620s. It is now kept at the Ratsschulbibliothek Zwickau (sign. 115.3). On the dating of these two collections, see Tereza Pavelková, "Loutnový sborník Bohuslava Strialia z Pomnouše," 20-25.

⁹⁵ On migration between Saxony and Žatec, see Tichota, "Bohemika a Český Repertoár," 154.

from 1591 to 1595, Bohuslav Strial of Pomnouš (1573–ca. 1634) returned to Žatec to serve in the city council then later as mayor.⁹⁶

Thus, it is little surprise to find that Strial and Arpin lutebooks, both compiled in the 1590s, are similar in repertory, graphic layout, and organization. Strial's lutebook is the much larger of the two in repertory, containing approximately one hundred compositions, with thirteen dance pairs of galliardi and tanzen, intradas, a *Chipassa* similar to Hoffmann's intabulation, choreas, and preambula. The second part is newly numbered with passamezzi, saltarella, and repressi, in which the repress is always paired with a saltarello. The German song *Wir liebt ihm grönen Mayen* found in Strial's lutebook is also in the lutebook of Nicolaus Schmall (as *Wier geliebt in grünen Mayen*) and in Arpin's book as *Gal[liarda] veselá* (a cheerful galliard). Strial also included four transcriptions of lieder by Jacob Regnart and two of the composer's five-voice Italian canzoni.⁹⁷ Arpin transcribed only one of Regnart's compositions, the canzone *Se nott' è giorni*, giving it an entire sacred German contrafactum text, *Zu dir Herr Christe*. Although he notes the composer's name, Arpin also does not transcribe the Italian text of Orazio Vecchi's four-voice *Con voci dai sospiri*, a canzonetta that both musically and poetically parodies the stereotyped musical mannerisms of many madrigal settings of Guarini's infamous *Tirsi morir volea*, perhaps the most frequently set madrigal text of the era.⁹⁸ The galliardi are not paired as consistently with other dances as in

⁹⁶ See Pavelková, "Loutnový sborník," 22.

⁹⁷ Regnart printed the three-voice *Noch lass ich mich nit krenken, Von nöten ist dass ich jetzt trag gedult, Venus du und dein kind*, and *Wann ich den ganzen tag* in his three-part series, *Kurtzweiliger Teutscher Lieder zu dreyen Stimmen*. The two canzoni, *Se nott' è giorni* and *Tutto lo giorno*, were printed in *Il primo libro delle canone italiane a cinque voci* (Vienna, 1574). Regnart's *Venus du und dein kind* is given a sacred Czech contrafactum title *Krásný byl Absolon* (Beautiful was Absolon). This practice is more extensive in the loose sheets of intabulations of unknown Bohemian provenance kept at the Czech Museum of Music, Prague (sign. 13 B 237). Three of the nine lieder by Regnart are transmitted with Czech titles that roughly approximate Regnart's original German, suggesting that Regnart's compositions were known in both German and Czech. Regnart's *Es müht ihr vil mein zugestanden Glück* is unattributed, indicated only by a rough Czech translation, *Někoho obtězuce me štěstj*, while Regnart's three-part voice leading is maintained relatively faithfully, altering the opening dactyl with a dotted rhythm and eliminating repeated pitches to foreground voice leading. Regnart's *Jungfrau euer Wanckel mit* is indicated by both the German title and a Czech translation, *Panno wrtkawost twa*. Regnart's four-voice *Lib mich als ich dich*, a work not known to be transmitted in any other source, is also given a different Czech title, *Chce mi se wdati* (I want to get married) and is the one work transmitted here that Regnart never published. Jiří Tichota argues that this is an example of Regnart setting a popular Czech tune. See Tichota, "Deutsche Lieder," 89.

⁹⁸ See Orazio Vecchi, *The Four-Voice Canzonettas with Original Texts and Contrafacta by Valentin Haussmann and Others, Part I, Historical Introduction, Critical Apparatus, Texts, Contrafacta*, ed. Ruth I. DeFord, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance* 92 (Madison: A-R Editions, 1993), 4.

the lutebooks of Hoffmann and Schmall, and no dances in Arpin's book are entitled "saltarello."

Unlike the lutebooks of Hoffmann and Bořita, those of Strial and Arpin underscore their scholastic origins, with several "studiosorum" dances and citations from Latin authors and contemporary theologians to be sung to many of the galliardi, passamezzi, and choreas. Under one galliarda, Arpin transcribed two Latin distichs, the second of which is also found in a *liederbuch* from circa 1575 in the Saxon town of Osnabrück.⁹⁹ The *Chipassa* is given a rhymed Latin distich of fifteen-syllable lines, well-suited to the villanella's repeated-note melody in the six repetitions of *sede* across its short duration.¹⁰⁰ Common scholastic distichs from Seneca's tragedy *Hercules furens* ("What was difficult to suffer is pleasant to remember"), Sallust ("The splendor of beauty and riches is fleeting and transitory"), and Ovid ("Who has not tasted bitterness does not deserve sweetness") are set to a "Tanetz," and single-line Latin verses by Isidorus ("If you are never to be sad, live well") and Tacitus ("The crime having been committed, the magnitude of it was understood") are set to a *galliarda pěkna a kratka* (nice and short). Arpin's lutebook opens with a galliarda intended for masked actors (*Mumrey/ba galliarda*), and should hunger strike during rehearsals, a recipe for a kugel is provided toward the end of the book.

The use of Italian dance music to accompany Latin poetry is a logical pairing, as the strong, regular rhythms make for great singing, particularly of strophic texts, while the choreas, the "studiosorum" dances, and Arpin's opening galliarda point toward the usefulness of Italian dance music in dramatic realizations. Moreover, they functioned just as well alongside humanistic odes in their ability to support a variety of Latin poetic meters. The four-part harmonization of *Vitam quae faciunt beatiorem* that opens Hoffmann's lutebook also appears in a more ornamented form in the Strial lutebook and as a chorea in Schmall's lutebook, indicating both how fundamental the phalaecean meter was to beginning students but also the humanistic ode's transmission as a type of dance. *Vitam quae faciunt beatiorem* is the only musical work to be indicated as a timbre (i.e., "sung to the tune of...") for a chorus in the first known Czech-language Biblical school drama, Mikuláš Konáč of Hodiškov's 1547 *Judith*.¹⁰¹ The infiltration of Italian music in Bohemian and Moravian theater likely

⁹⁹ The distichs are "Musica, virgo, merum, mens et sibi conscia recti / quattuor hac animi sunt medicina mei" and "Quam sis ducturus teneat P quinque puella / sit Pia, sit Prudens, Pulchra, Pudica, Potens," the second of which has the side annotation, "Rara avis, Zatecid" and appears in the Osnabrück manuscript. See Arthur Kopp, "Die Osnabrückische Liederhandschrift vom Jahre 1575," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 11 (1903): 19.

¹⁰⁰ "Si qua sede sedes, et sit tibi commoda sedes, / Illa sede sede, nec ab illa sede recede."

¹⁰¹ Konáč translated the play from a German version written by the Lusatian author Joachim Greff, *Tragoedia des Buchs Judith* (Wittenberg: Rhau, 1536). The full title of Konáč's translation is *Judyth, hraz hystorij Judyth pilnie vybraná: a rykmy mijrnymi tuto sepsaná, aby chom se wneprawostech poznali, a za smilowánij k Bohu wolali, aby nepržátely odwrátil od nás, přeukrutné tutento nebezpečný čas, Léta Pánie M D XL VII*. For more on the play, see M. Kopecký, "Několik Poznámek ke Konáčově Hře Judith," in *Příspěvky k Dějinám Starší České*

began after the end of the next decade with the establishment of the Jesuit academies and their cultivation of theatrical production. These lutebooks and period theatrical texts provide some testimony to the increasing presence of Italian music in theater and at balls toward the end of the century and, by the first decades of the seventeenth century, its absorption into musical culture throughout literate society.

DRAMA FROM RUDOLF TO MATTHIAS

Rooted in approaches to dramatic performance developed in Rome, Jesuit theater, combined with a flourishing interest in lute performance and Italian dancing, would play a decisive role in renewing Bohemian and Moravian theater in general. The tradition of Biblical school dramas with sung choruses formed one branch of theatrical activity in late sixteenth century Bohemia and Moravia, the other two main branches being Latin theater cultivated at the Jesuit academies and plays performed in conjunction with carnival. Biblical school dramas and carnival plays were continuous traditions preceding the Jesuits' arrival, socially linked to the burgher classes. Theatrical performances at the Jesuit academies, however, were showcases for the oratorical skills of the pupils they attracted from among the Bohemian and Moravian elite, who performed in front of their noble families, visiting dignitaries, and often the emperor himself. In the absence of an established theatrical tradition for the Bohemian and Moravian nobility similar to the *commedia dell'arte*, the Jesuits became the primary Bohemian and Moravian providers of theatrical comedy. While Giovan Battista Andreini was staying in Prague for the 1627 coronation of Eleonora Gonzaga and Ferdinand as King and Queen of Bohemia, he would remark that "the Jesuits were the comedians of Germany... and make it known that they are the comedians of paradise, and we are of the house of the devil."¹⁰²

In addition to Latin dramas, Jesuit performance also included theatrical enactments for the Feast of Corpus Christi and Holy Week carried out ostentatiously both in the church and on the city streets. Zikmund Winter notes that they incorporated the Italian manner of decorating Christ's tomb during Holy Week, with vivid sculptural figures and a theatrical use of color and lighting.¹⁰³ Lengthy Latin dialogues were performed inside the church, while the Passion was enacted on the city streets through processions in which penitents carried heavy crosses, wore crowns of thorns, and whipped themselves. Jesuit theatricality inspired the creation of new dialogues and other dramatic texts. Before writing the numerous Latin

Literatury, ed. Rudolf Urbánek and Josef Hrabák (Prague: Ústav pro Českou Literaturu, 1958), 167-184.

¹⁰² "I giesuiti sono i comici della Germania, hor consideri come ne tratteranno, o qui ci vuol ben San Tomaso e tutti e santi delle eletanie a far conoscere ch'essi comici sieno di Paradiso, e noi di casa al diavolo." Andreini's 4 December 1627 letter to Marliani Ercole also reports of his experience of the *vita boema*, during which he often slept in straw, but that having arrived in Prague he has traveled from purgatory to paradise. A portion of the letter is transcribed in Venturini, *Le Collezioni Gonzaga*, 710 no. 1425.

¹⁰³ See Winter, "O Pražských Slavnostech," 98.

verses that would be set by Philippe de Monte, Jacob Regnart, and Carl Luython, Jiří Barthold Pontanus of Breitenberk (1559?–1614), a graduate of the Jesuit academy in Prague and later provost of Prague's cathedral chapter, wrote three Latin plays for Christmas and Easter for Jesuit theatrical performance while teaching at the Premonstratensian academy of Klosterbruck in southern Moravia.¹⁰⁴ Pontanus was a student of Edmund Campion, who, during his years as a professor of rhetoric in Prague from 1574 to 1580, wrote and staged at least three tragedies performed by students in front of Rudolf, one of which was performed during the 1575 Corpus Christi procession.¹⁰⁵

These new theatrical activities helped revive the tradition of church plays abandoned in the fifteenth century by Utraquists, who believed the coarse humor and folksy conventions of the medieval tradition to be tainted by the secular entertainments of street performers. Šimon Lomnický of Budeč, author of a large body of sacred songs, occasional poetry, and educational tracts, was one of the first to revive this vernacular tradition when, beginning in 1582, he published three Easter plays for performance by literary brotherhoods.¹⁰⁶ Lomnický

¹⁰⁴ Pontanus, who taught at Klosterbruck from approximately 1577 to 1580, would later publish these plays under the title *Primitiae sacrae poeseos, Christum natum, tum a B. Virgine Matre sub sepultura lamentatum, tandem a duobus discipulis in Emaus post resurrectionem cognitum, comoedia & dialogis celebrantes* (Munich: Berg, 1589). For a biography, see Antonín Truhlář, ed., *Rukověť Humanistického Básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě*, vol. 1 (Prague: Academia, 1966), 137-139.

¹⁰⁵ Campion's *Abrahami Sacrificium* was performed during the Corpust Christi procession of 1575, his *Tragoedia de Saulo rege* was performed in the courtyard of the Jesuit academy in 1577 with Rudolf and the court in attendance, a six-hour performance repeated per imperial request on the following day, and in 1578 his *S. Ambrosius, Theodosium Imperatorem ad poenitentiam adducens*, whose theme is the battle between St. Ambrosius and the Emperor Theodosius, was performed again in the presence of the emperor. See Carlos Sommervogel et al., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. 2, (Brussels: Schepens; Paris: Picard, 1891), 586-597.

¹⁰⁶ Lomnický published two Easter plays in Prague in 1582 in a single print dedicated to Vilém of Rožmberk. The first text, *Triumf aneb Komédie kratičká o přeslavném Syna božího nad smrti, peklem a ďáblem vítězství* [Triumph or very short comedy about the glorious Son of God's victory over death, hell, and the devil], concludes with a notated sacred song, *Chválu vzdávejte*, a translation of the Latin text *Laudem dicite*. The second text, *Marie o navštívení hrobu Krista Pána* [The visitation of Mary to the tomb of Christ], is, as Lomnický states in his preface, a revival of the traditional Easter plays portraying the three Marys. This text also concludes with a sacred song, *Procesí česká*, celebrating the beauties of nature during Easter. The third dramatic text, *Komedia aneb Hra kratičká, potěšitelná a nová o radostném vzkříšení Krista pána* [Comedy, or very short, pleasing, and new play about the joyful resurrection of Christ the Lord], was published in 1617. The traditional narrative of the Passion has an unusual scene in which Peter nurses his guilt over Christ's betrayal with several beers then passes out. Beers from various breweries are brought to Peter, who praises beer from Lomnica, the playwright's hometown, above all the others. Lomnický provides

engaged his local audiences by placing specific Bohemian towns and cities into traditional Easter narratives and adding humorous scenes, such as a drunken Apostle Peter nursing his guilt over Christ's betrayal over beer while weighing the relative merits of various Bohemian breweries. In addition to writing plays, poetry, and songs, Lomnický was also deeply interested in the theological history of dance and the moral implications of various types of dancing and bodily comportment, which he summarizes in his treatise *Tanec, anebo Traktát skrowný o Tancy* (Prague: Nigrin, 1597).

In these ways, Lomnický combines a new interest in vernacular sacred plays inspired by Jesuit theater with humorous scenes and narrative localization more commonly associated with the tradition of carnival plays. Masques and theatrical depictions of Bacchus became more common in late sixteenth-century urban carnival celebrations in Bohemia, as Bacchus gradually took on the character of the carnival itself, personified holding a sausage and stein and sentenced to death upon the arrival of Lent.¹⁰⁷ As the main character in Mikuláš Dačický of Heslov's *Tragoedie Masopusta* (ca. 1610), for example, he presides over a parade of character types that include old crones, devils, Jews, monks, and fools as they binge, feast, dance, play music, and engage in pub brawls.¹⁰⁸ Music and dance take center stage in the plot of Tobiáš Mouřenín of Litomyšl's *Historia kratochvilná o jednom selském pacholku* [An entertaining history about a peasant squire] of 1604, in which a squire wandering through an unidentified foreign country receives a magical violin to use against an usurious Jew.¹⁰⁹ In

another local touch in the final scene, where Christ dispatches Mary Magdalene with news of the resurrection to Prague and several southern Bohemian towns in the Rožmberk domain, including Vodňany, Prachatice, and Třeboň.

¹⁰⁷ See Winter, "Slavnosti," 110.

¹⁰⁸ Scenes much like these are described for the village inhabitants of the anonymous *Komedie masopustní o sedlské hrubosti* (Prague: s.n., 1588), which also suggests a liberal staging of music and dancing. The *Tragoedie Masopusta, jenž se v světě páše zhusta* survives in a manuscript compiled beginning in 1610 by Dačický (National Museum, Prague, sign. MS III G 28) and in a modern edition in Mikuláš Dačický z Heslova, *Prostopravda – Paměti*, ed. E. Petrů and E. Pražák (Prague, 1955). An edition of the *Komedie masopustní o sedlské hrubosti* is available in M. Kopecký, ed., *České Humanistické Drama* (Prague, 1986), 199–244.

¹⁰⁹ With violin in hand, the squire tricks the Jew into some thorns and begins to play the violin, causing the Jew to dance uncontrollably. Handed over to the magistrate and condemned to death, the squire uses his magical violin once more beneath the gallows, playing so long that the exhausted magistrate grants him his freedom and promises to punish the Jew. Tobiáš Mouřenín of Litomyšl (ca. 1555–1625) worked in Prague at the printshop of Burián Valda, took part in the trial of the songwriter Sixt Palma Močidlanský, then went into exile in Bavaria in 1621. A wedding song in honor of Mouřenín's marriage in 1590 is included in the *Sborník Dobřenského* (fol. 339) of late sixteenth-century broadsheets, entitled *Píseň nová ku památce poctivého sněti v stav svatého manželství vstoupení Tobiáše*

contrast to the hendecasyllabic lines favored by other playwrights, Mouřenín's eight-syllable rhymed verses and dialogue form impart poetic lightness essential for the extended scenes involving music and dancing that take up most of the play.

While it is clear that Italian music and dance tunes were staples of Bohemian theater in the late sixteenth century, the first staging that calls specifically for Italian dancing occurs in the anonymous five-act hendecasyllabic *Historia duchovní o Samsonovi* [Spiritual History of Samson] of 1608.¹¹⁰ Deprived of his power, Samson is taunted by his jailors, who point out the feasting Philistines nearby and ask Samson to dance for their amusement. As the jailors blow on a trumpet, Samson is prodded into dancing higher and more energetically, whereupon a jailor asks, "Don't you know anything after the Italian fashion, which would gain you the love of my lords?"¹¹¹ The anachronistic request to perform an Italian dance brings the scene into the contemporary world, in which the divide between the imprisoned Samson and feasting Philistines is overlaid with contemporary social tensions surrounding Italian fashions in Bohemian society.

The *Historia duchovní o Samsonovi* also stands out from other theatrical prints through its inclusion of two independent intermedii each divided into four scenes.¹¹² Between the fifth and sixth scenes of the fourth act is an interludium entitled *Helluo a Judaeus*, a short comedy about a Jewish man tricked by a rogue who sells him a worthless stick, and, after the epilogue of the *Historia* is a postludium, *Polapená nevěra* [Trapped Infidelity], also printed with the *Historia* as an independent, self-contained supplement. *Polapená nevěra* narrates a tale of marital infidelity between an old merchant, his young wife, her young lover Asotus (from the Greek word libertine) and a domestic maid, and thus

Mouřenina ženicha a Alžběty nevěsty: Léta tohoto tisícího pětistého devadesátého složená a na znamení lásky přátelsky daná od Blažeje Jičínského (Prague: Valda, 1590).

¹¹⁰ A modern edition is available in Milan Kopecký, ed., *České Humanistické Drama* (Prague: Odeon, 1986). The full title is *Hystorya Duchownij o Samsonowi sylém a udatném někdy vůdycy Izrahelském, w způsob Tragedye sepsana, a wzatá z Knéh ludicum od Kapitoly třinácté až do sedmnácté* (Prague: Sedlčanský, 1608). The print is dedicated to "Urozenému Panu Panu Pertoltowi Bohubudowi z Lippého a na Morawském Krumlově," and the dedication, written by the printer, notes that the publication was financed by an unnamed friend.

¹¹¹ Achior: "Čistá hrdina, co o něm pravíte." Porphirius: "Byl, ale již mu brky osekali, / které se mu tak vysoce spínaly. / Nech nám tu zalaškuje a poskáče, / nechť mu zatroubí, však máme trubače." Achior: "Přimršť mu, ať nohy zdvihá vejšeji, / skáče zvolna a tancuje zvolněji." Jailer: "Umíš-li, udělej nětco po vlasku, / vyzejskáš sobě u mých pánův lásku." This passage is quoted in Čeněk Zíbrt, *Jak se Kdy v Čechách Tancovalo*, 200-201. The one known copy is now at the Library of the National Museum in Prague (sign. 27 F 7). The relevant passage appears in this print on fol. J2.

¹¹² Pavel Kyrmezer's 1573 *Komedia nová o vdově* also has indications that singing or music should take place after the second, third, and fourth acts. See Dana Jakubcová, "K Vybraným Českým Intermediím 1. Poloviny 17. Století" (Diplomová Práce, Masaryk University, Brno, 2011), 19.

reflects the theme of marital betrayal explored in the *Historia*.¹¹³ Like *Helluo a Judeaus*, *Polapená nevěra* is organized into strophes of hendecasyllabic rhymed verse. According to a note printed at the end of the list of characters in the *Historia*, additional intermedii are to be performed after each act.¹¹⁴

The performance of intermedii was not a new practice in carnival plays, but the serious attention given to it by Czech authors beginning in the first decade of the seventeenth century reflected the growing importance of the intermedio in Jesuit theater. One of their most elaborate performances with intermedii was staged in Vienna on 3 and 4 December 1611 on the occasion of the wedding of Matthias and his niece, Anna, daughter of Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol. Earlier that year, Rudolf had ceded the Kingdom of Bohemia to his brother. In addition to engaging an Italian commedia dell'arte troupe for their wedding, the Jesuits staged the five-act play *S. Matthias in Scharca*, written by the rector of the Jesuit academy in Prague, Theophilus Cristeccius (ca. 1561–1622), with four intermedii. The play drew a parallel between Matthias and Matthew the Apostle, who promises Christ that despite rampant paganism, Christianity continues to spread in Bohemia. After stories of Libuše, the legendary founder of Prague, and Wenceslaus, the patron saint of Bohemia, Matthew intervenes when the devil, disguised as a bear, plans to attack Bohemia, and prophesizes the victory of Christianity in Bohemia. In this way, Matthew and, by extension, Matthias symbolize salvation for Bohemians, who are portrayed as a nation that is peaceful yet prone to paganism.

At the same time such moralizing productions were being cultivated in Bohemia, Franz von Dietrichstein, bishop of Olomouc and graduate of the Collegium Germanicum, was using his contacts with the Italian Roman Catholic world to bring Jesuit theater and Italian musicians to Moravia. He employed an Italian dancemaster at his court, financed a performance of *Christus iudex* by the Italian Jesuit playwright Stefano Tuccio in Olomouc in 1603, and underwrote a 112-person Jesuit theatrical performance on the life of St. Vitus in Brno in 1609. After his appointment as governor of Moravia in 1621 and elevation to Prince in 1624, Dietrichstein employed four Italian composers at his court, and music they composed was performed in churches throughout Dietrichstein's vast domain, augmented significantly following the confiscation of properties of the Protestant nobility in 1621.¹¹⁵ At

¹¹³ A third is the brief interlude *Helluo a Virtua*, a dialogue inserted as the third scene of the second act in which each character speaks once; it picks up on the themes in *Samson* in its reflection on parenting, a topic dominating the preceding scene, and virtues, a subject that is taken up in the following scenes. See Milan Kopecký, "K Intermediu ve Slovanských Literaturách," in *Česká Slavistika 1993: České Přednášky pro IX. Mezinárodní Sjezd Slavistů Bratislava 1993*, ed. Emilie Bláhová (Prague: Slovanský Ústav, 1993), 250.

¹¹⁴ "Mezi tím přidány jsou pro kratochvil pěkná intermedia po každém aktu."

¹¹⁵ A synopsis for the 1609 performance in Brno represents the first printed theatrical program in the Czech language. See Theodora Straková, "Vokálně Polyfonní Skladby na Moravě v 16. a na Počátku 17. Století," *Časopis Moravského Muzea* 66 (1981): 176; and Jakubcová, *Starší Divadlo*, 143. Carlo Abbate (d. 1675), a Minorite from Genoa, worked from 1629 to 1632 as a chaplain and musician for Dietrichstein. Today we only know his

this time Dietrichstein made the family residence in Mikulov his primary residence, probably due to its convenient location between Vienna and Prague, and began to modernize the castle grounds, employing the Italian architect Giovanni Giacomo Tencalla to build a theater hall in the castle. Dietrichstein's Italian dancemaster most likely assisted in the 1616 wedding of Václav Vilém Popel of Lobkowitz to Dietrichstein's niece, Marketa Františka of Dietrichstein, for which Georgius Dingenaur, a professor of rhetoric from Innsbruck at the Jesuit school in Olomouc, wrote the drama *Tobias junior*. Performed at Dietrichstein's palace in Kroměříž by students at the Jesuit academy in Olomouc, the five-act play, based on the Biblical marriage of Tobias and Sarah, staged wedding customs, two marriage banquets, and wedding songs performed by choirs of muses, giants, and other mythological characters, all interwoven with allusions to the Lobkowitz and Dietrichstein families.

ITALIAN SPECTACLE FROM MATTHIAS TO FERDINAND II

Under the reign of Emperor Matthias, traveling Italian theater groups and musicians became frequent participants in courtly life, with a decisive role being played by Matthias's wife, Anna of Tyrol, who, as daughter of Archduke Ferdinand and Anne Juliana Gonzaga, maintained close familial relations with the Gonzagas from the imperial seat in Vienna. In addition to Cristeccius's play, Duke Vincenzo I of Mantua sent the Comici Fedeli to perform at their wedding in December 1611.¹¹⁶ After Matthias was crowned emperor, Don Vincenzo Gonzaga, brother and future successor of the reigning Duke, traveled to Prague to pay homage to the newly crowned emperor in October 1612, bringing with him the tenor Francesco Rasi, who had been in service to the Gonzagas since 1598. As Rasi wrote in letters to the Duke of Mantua and Galileo Galilei, he sang several times in front of the emperor.¹¹⁷

music theory treatise printed in the Moravian town of Oslavany in 1629, *Regulae contrapuncti excerptae ex operibus Zerlini et aliorum ad breviorum Tyronum instructionem accommodatae*. Claudio Cocchi (d. 1632) of Genoa started working for Dietrichstein in 1626. In 1627 he published his *Messe a cinque voci concertate col basso per l'organo* in Venice, two copies of which are listed in the Litovel inventory, and his *Armonici Conventus* in 1626. Battista Aloisi (Alovisi; d. before 1665), a Franciscan friar and composer who worked in Udine and Bologna, was active in the establishment of Dietrichstein from 1631 until the cardinal's death in 1636. Vincenzo Scapitta (1593–1656), born in Valenza del Po, was chaplain and tenor at the court of Archduke Leopold V of Tyrol at Innsbruck from 1621 to 1633. Leopold's wife recommended the composer to Cardinal Ernst von Harrach in Prague, who then apparently arranged for him to enter the service of Cardinal Dietrichstein. Seventeenth-century inventories from Moravian churches reveal that works by these composers were widespread among churches in the vast domains owned by the Dietrichsteins and Liechtensteins. See Lucie Brázdová, "Moravské hudební inventáře 17. Století," *Opus Musicum* 35 no. 2 (2003): 12.

¹¹⁶ Schindler, "Die wälische," 114-5.

¹¹⁷ Schindler, "Viaggi Teatrali," 122-3.

Members of the Bohemian and Moravian nobility attended these events and enjoyed the performances of these musicians and actors personally. From 1612 to 1614, Karl von Liechtenstein's account books record payments to *welsche komödianten* [Italian comedians], both individuals and theater troupes.¹¹⁸ These latter payments were probably connected to the visit of Pier Maria Cecchini, *detto Frittellino*, and the Comici Accesi, who were invited to Linz for the general Austrian Diet in August 1614. The Italian actors were received at the house of Wolf Sigismund von Losenstein, Grand Marshall of the court, who collected one Hungarian ducat from each dignitary and nobleman who came to see their comedies.¹¹⁹ Performances at Losenstein's home as well as the imperial residence were attended repeatedly by members of the Bohemian and Moravian nobility, including Adam the Younger of Valdštejn on four separate occasions, and Franz von Dietrichstein, who led religious services for the Diet at the Jesuit church.¹²⁰

Italian comedians accompanied the court upon its return to Vienna at the beginning of October. Before they returned to Italy on November 24, Cecchini, along with two other comedians, was enobled by the emperor on 12 November 1614, a matter which received great attention from contemporaries and the honor being so significant that Cecchini published the certificate in the second edition of his *Brevi discorsi intorno alle comedie* (Naples, 1616). Cecchini returned again fourteen years later, in 1628, to Prague.¹²¹

Soon after the Diet in Linz, Matthias returned to Prague in May 1615, where he was to remain for over two years. The coronation of Anna as Queen of Bohemia on 10 January 1616 and Archduke Ferdinand of Inner Austria as King of Bohemia on 29 June 1617 were marked the return of courtly spectacle to Prague. Carnival festivities resumed once more, centered at the court rather than the homes of the nobility, as Anna's ladies-in-waiting performed *un bel balletto* during carnival in 1616, but the highlight was *un galantissimo balletto... con inventioni, versi cantati, machine e per aria e per terra, nuvole et alter imitationi dell'uso d'Italia* prepared for the final three days of carnival the following year in 1617.¹²²

¹¹⁸ Haupt, *Fürst Karl I. von Liechtenstein*, 21.

¹¹⁹ Schindler, "Viaggi Teatrali," 123

¹²⁰ His diary records performances on 13 August ("komedie při dvoře"), 14 and 23 August, "komedie u pana maršálka Loznštejna"), and 17 August, ("komedie na zámku"). Events were reported to Ferdinand Gonzaga by Claudio Sorina. See Venturini, *Il Carteggio*, 611-12 no. 1143.

¹²¹ For the 22 November 1614 letter from Claudio Sorina in Vienna to Ferdinando Gonzaga, see *ibid.*, 613 no. 1147; and Schindler, "Viaggi Teatrali," 124.

¹²² The spectacle took place on Sunday, 5 February 1617, at Prague castle. This libretto survives with handwritten German translations accompanying the Italian texts. It is now in Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Fr.D.fol. 40. The Italian and German texts are reprinted in Herbert Seifert, "Das erste Libretto des Kaiserhofs," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 46 (1998), 35-73. A broadsheet describing the event also exists, entitled *Phasma Dionysiacum Pragense Exhibitum S. Caes. M.: CDD CXVII Febr. Mense. Kurtze Beschreibung der Mascraden so in Anno 1617 der Röm. Keys. Majest. Zu Prag von etlichen*

Modeled on the balletti performed at the courts in Florence and Mantua, this *ballo sonato, e cantato e ballato*, entitled *Phasma Dionysiacum Pragense*, was written and conceived by Count Giovan Vincenzo d'Arco, a member of a noble family of the Italian Tyrol who served at Rudolf's court in Prague during the 1580s, and was financed by Vilém Slavata and danced by other loyal Catholic members of the Bohemian and Austrian nobility.¹²³ It represents the first sung musical drama based on the Italian model at the Habsburg courts, consisting of a continuous series of scenes sung in Italian surrounding a central ballet and suite of dances.¹²⁴

Herren Standts repraesentirt worden. It has been published in Jiří Hilmer, "K Počátkům Barokní Scénografie v Čechách," *Časopis Národního Muzea* 131 (1962), 135-140. The event was also described by Franz Christoph Khevenhüller in his *Annales Ferdinandeae*, vol. VIII (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1723), nos. 1093-1139. For the historical and political backdrop of the performance, see Jaroslav Pánek, "'Phasma Dionysiacum' a Manýristické Slavnosti na Pražském Hradě Roku 1617," *Folia Historica Bohemica* 17 (1994), 117-131; and Herbert Seifert, "Die Feste theatralischen Charakters während der kaiserlichen Aufenthalte in Prag zwischen 1617 und 1680," *Gedenkschrift für Walter Pass*, ed. Martin Czernin (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 2002), 464.

¹²³ The dancers were Vilém Slavata, Friedrich von Thalemburg, Count Giovanni Vincenzo d'Arco, Heinrich von Kolovrat, Count Maximilian von Dietrichstein, David von Zernhaus, Ferdinand Castiletti von Nomi, Geoni Aclaz von Losenstein, Georg Dietmar von Losenstein, Burian Kaplirz von Sule, Johann von Vratislav and Georg von Brandeis. On Giovanni d'Arco (d. 1621), who was described by a contemporary as "un bibliofilo con tendenze letterarie e perfino poetiche," see Petr Maťa, "Phasma Dionysiacum Pragense a Počátky Karnevalového Kalendáře na Císařském Dvoře," *Divadelní Revue* 15 (2004), 46-55.

¹²⁴ Two years earlier, a ballet had been staged at the imperial court in Vienna on 2 March 1615, Pietro Paolo Melli's *Balletto detto L'Ardito Gratioso Concertato*, but the *Phasma Dionysiacum Pragense* was the first sung music drama modeled on the Franco-Italian tradition of court ballet and performed in Italian. Music performed for the 1615 balletto survives in Pietro Paolo's *Intavolatura di liuto (attiorbato) Libro quarto (... di Pietro Paolo) Melii da Reggio (lautenista, e musico di (Camera di sua M. Cesarea) e gentilomo di corte* (Venice: Vincenti, 1616). A facsimile edition was printed in *Archivum musicum, Collana di testi rari* 19, Florence 1979. See Miloš Štědroň and Miloslav Študent, "Hudba v Pražské Slavnosti 'Phasma Dionysiacum' 1617," *Folia Historica Bohemica* 17 (1994), 147-148.



Figure 3.1: *Phasma Dionysiacum Pragense*, 1617 (Regional Museum, Mikulov, Graphic Collection Inv. No. 3 805).

A *sinfonia* announced the beginning of the performance, whose stage action began with Mercury flying through the heavens with the assistance of lifting machinery and singing with instrumental accompaniment performed behind the stage. As Matthias and Anna were compared to heroic figures of antiquity, the clouds parted to reveal the Elysian fields, with marble pedestals on which sat queens and monarchs, including Libuše, the founder of Prague, and Greek and Roman poets, all performed by Bohemian and Austrian noblemen. Accompanied by choral numbers, these figures descended to the stage to dance in honor of the royal couple, their balletto announced with thunder and lightning and at various points forming the initials of the newlyweds. The unknown librettist included an echo in which Diana was transformed to “di Anna.” Orpheus sings a song of praise to the kingdom of Bohemia after which the *Casa d’Austria* appears on a cloud in the heavens, with Homer and Virgil singing praise for the Habsburgs and the Vltava, the hope of conquest over the Ottomans, concluding with a chorus accompanied by all the instruments. The crown of St. Wenceslas appeared at the top of the stage in the form of shining stars. The one musical role for which the casting is known from a surviving libretto is that of Gloria, which was played by Angela Stampa, a singer at the imperial court, who accompanied herself on the theorbo.¹²⁵

The music for the *Phasma Dionysiacum Pragense*, possibly composed by members of the Graz chapel of Archduke Ferdinand, was characterized by the forms seen already in the Florentine intermedii of 1589 and standardized in early Italian court operas: solos in the style of early monody, choruses with orchestral accompaniment or soloists and chorus alternating with instrumental ritornelli, and instrumental *sinfonie*.¹²⁶ As in Mantuan stagings, the orchestra and some of the singers were hidden behind the scenes. The broadsheet documenting the ballet emphasizes that the whole was performed in Italian, in the Italian style, and using Italian music.¹²⁷ Although it could be read as an assertion of the superiority of Italian culture over central European culture, the fact that the performance was financed and danced primarily by members of the Bohemian nobility suggests that it also was the

¹²⁵ From Sylva Dobalová and Ivan P. Muchka, “Ein unbekannter Text zum Prager Fest *Phasma Dionysiacum Pragense* (1617),” *Acta Comeniana* 22-23 (2009): 246: “Des Allerdurchleuchtigsten Hauß von Osterreich diese Person hat repræsentirt aine aus Ihr May: der Kayserin Hof Frauenzimmer Junckfrau Angela Tarttaglia so auf der Theorba geschlogen vnd die Welsche Vers mit sehr schönen als Englischen Stim lieblich vnd khünstlich gesungen.” According to Miloš Štědroň and Miloslav Študent, Angela Stampa was paid as a member of the imperial chapel from 1 July 1617 to 15 July 1618. The Wolfenbüttel libretto records Stampa’s name as Angela Tarttaglia, Italian for “Angela the stutterer.” See Miloš Štědroň and Miloslav Študent, “Hudba v Pražské Slavnosti ‘Phasma Dionysiacum’ 1617,” *Folia Historica Bohemica* 17 (1994), 145-146.

¹²⁶ Giovanni Priuli and other members of the court in Graz accompanied Archduke Ferdinand to Prague. See Federhofer, “*Graz Court Musicians*,” 188.

¹²⁷ Indications include, “welcher Amor ertzschöne Rythmos zu ewigwährendem Lob unnd Ehren beeder ihrer Majesteten herlich alles auff Italianisch recitirt,” “Vortrag in italianischen Rythmis gethan.” See Štědroň and Študent, “Hudba v Pražské Slavnosti,” 145-146.

culmination of their own training in Italian musical performance and dancing, begun in Italian cities and universities, but continued largely back at home. It demonstrated the cultural cosmopolitanism of the Bohemian aristocracy and was perhaps also staged in the hope that their sovereigns would settle permanently in Prague, with optimism strengthened by Matthias's extended stay in the city from May 1615 through 1617. Moreover, its performance in conjunction with carnival rather than the coronation builds on a much longer tradition of Italianate carnival festivities in Prague beginning in the middle of the sixteenth century under Archduke Ferdinand and carried out at the homes of the nobility during the reign of Rudolf II. By contrast with Rudolf, the greater enthusiasm Matthias and Anna had in courtly spectacle enabled the Bohemian aristocracy to bring their private carnival celebrations back into the public sphere.

Although we have little documentation of such celebrations in the private homes of the nobility, a tract volume owned by Franz Godefridus Troilus á Lessoth, an imperial steward in Prague beginning in February 1612, provides a window on the music that might have been used in such carnival festivities. Troilus's collection of sixteen prints includes a variety of genres such as motetti, madrigali, canzonette, and canzoni, and is organized in a way that suggests its contents were used for balls and ballets.¹²⁸ All the prints were published in Venice between 1613 to 1618 with the exception of the first print in the collection, Cesare Negri's *Nuove inventioni di balli* of 1604. According to Negri's manual, his pupil, Carlo Boccaria, was appointed as a dance instructor at the court of Rudolph II, and thus it is little surprise to find that both Troilus and Ferdinand Hoffmann owned Negri's dance tutor.¹²⁹ The *Nuove inventioni di balli* includes lute tablatures, melodies, and choreography for some of the most famous musical works of the day, including Orazio Vecchi's *So ben mi ch'a buon tempo*, as well as instructions for balli and balletti intended for the stage. Troilus's tract volume concludes with another tutor, Giovanni Battista Rossi's *Organo de cantori per intendere da se stesso ogni passo difficile che si trova nella musica*, which provides instructions for reading mensural notation. As a set, the prints aptly represent what we have otherwise seen more generally: in the second decade of the seventeenth century, Bohemian elites followed Italian tastes for dance music, sacred monody, lighter strophic genres such as the canzonetta, and Italian *favole* and *balletti*.¹³⁰

Tract volume owned by Franz Godefridus Troilus á Lessoth

¹²⁸ For a description of the contents of this collection, see Jan Racek, *Italská Monodie z Doby Raného Baroku v Čechách* (Olomouc: Nakladatelství Velehrad, 1945).

¹²⁹ Cesare Negri, *Le gratie d'amore* (Milan: Pacifico Pontio & Gio. Battista Piccaglia, 1602), 6.

¹³⁰ It is possible that this set of prints represents only part of Troilus's collection and that its coherence relates to the format and layout of the material: all are printed in upright quarto in a single booklet (as opposed to music printed in parts). Nonetheless, they would have made a nice little music library for a nobleman all on their own.

1. Cesare Negri: *Nuove inventioni di balli* (Milan: Bordone, 1604)
2. Angelico Patto: *Canoro pianto di Maria Vergine sopra la faccia di Christo estinto* (Venice: Magni, 1613)
3. Serafino Patta: *Motetti et madrigali* (Venice: Magni, 1614)
4. Girolamo Marinoni: *Il primo libro de motetti* (Venice: Magni, 1614)
5. Antonio Brunelli: *Scherzi, arie, canzonette e madrigali* (Venice: Vincenti, 1614)
6. Antonio Brunelli: *Scherzi, arie, canzonette e madrigali* (Venice: Vincenti, 1616)
7. Valerio Bona: *Sei canzoni italiane* (Venice: Vincenti, 1614)
8. Enrico Radesca: *Il primo libro delle canzonette, madrigali et arie* (Venice: Vincenti, 1616)
9. Enrico Radesca: *Il secondo libro delle canzonette, madrigali et arie* (Venice: Vincenti, 1616)
10. Enrico Radesca: *Il terzo libro delle canzonette, madrigali et arie* (Venice: Vincenti, 1616)
11. Enrico Radesca: *Il quarto libro delle canzonette, madrigali et arie* (Venice: Vincenti, 1616)
12. Enrico Radesca: *Il quinto libro delle canzonette, madrigali et arie* (Venice: Vincenti, 1617)
13. Francesco Capello: *Madrigali et arie* (Venice: Vincenti, 1617)
14. Giacomo Fornaci: *Amorosi respiri* (Venice: Vincenti, 1617)
15. Giovanni Boschetto: *Strali d'Amore* (Venice: Vincenti, 1618)
16. Giovanni Battista Rossi: *Organo de cantori per intendere da se stesso* (Venice: Magni, 1618)

Franz von Dietrichstein, who crowned Archduke Ferdinand as King of Bohemia on 29 June 1617, brought with him the English comedy troupe of John Green to add to the festivities, which were also celebrated with a Jesuit theatrical production on the important Utraquist holiday of Jan Hus (6 July 1617).¹³¹ But this would be the last burst of theatrical activity seen in Prague for many years. Soon afterward, Matthias returned with his court to Vienna. The rebellion of the Bohemian Estates against the Habsburgs in 1618, when they elected the Elector Palatinate Frederick V as king, placed a temporary hiatus on large-scale theatrical productions, lengthened by the start of the Thirty Years' War. We know that Robert Browne and his company, the Children of the Queen's Revels, visited the court of Frederick V and Elizabeth Stuart sometime between 1619-1620, but Italian theater "went dark" in Prague until the ascent of Ferdinand II to the imperial throne and the coronation of his wife, Eleonora Gonzaga, as Queen of Bohemia.¹³²

ELEONORA GONZAGA

The reign of Ferdinand II, Matthias's successor to the imperial throne in 1619, marks the most dramatic Italianization of musical life at the imperial court. To begin with, while serving as Archduke in Graz, Ferdinand inherited the most Italianate of the Habsburg

¹³¹ Dietrichstein personally recommended John Green to Archduke Carl, Bishop of Breslau. According to imperial account books, Green was paid on 28 July 1617 along with a German comedian named H. Schmidt. See Jakubcová, *Starší Divadlo*, 207; and Schindler, "Viaggi Teatrali," 125.

¹³² See Jakubcová, *Starší Divadlo*, 80.

court chapels from his father, Archduke Karl II. Led by the chapelmaster Giovanni Priuli, it included among its members Reimundo Ballestra, Alessandro Bontempo, Bartolomeo Mutis, Michelangelo Rizzio, the cornettist Giovanni Sansoni, Alessandro Tadei, and the organist Giovanni Valentini, the last of whom would succeed Priuli as chapelmaster in Vienna.¹³³ Another significant contribution to the expansion in Italian music and culture at the Viennese court was the wedding of Ferdinand II and Eleonora Gonzaga in 1622, which marks the first ascent of a Mantuan princess to the imperial throne. Marriage arrangements began soon after the Bohemian coronation of Ferdinand in 1617, one year after the death of Ferdinand's first wife, Maria Anna of Bavaria, but had been stalled by the start of the war.¹³⁴ After the resolution of the Bohemian rebellion, Hans Ulrich von Eggenberg, the emperor's right hand *in procuratione*, concluded the marriage arrangement on 21 November 1621 in Mantua.¹³⁵ As recompense, Ferdinand gave Eggenberg the southern Bohemian domain of Český Krumlov, which had been sold by its former owner, Petr Vok of Rožmberk, the last of the Rožmberk line, to Rudolf, elevating the domain to a duchy and Eggenberg with the title of Prince. In the castle of Český Krumlov, Eggenberg would later build a theater and maintain a company of actors at his court. His role as Mantuan "best man" has left a trace in the former Eggenberg library in a copy of the libretto of *Le Tre Costanti* by Ercole Marliani, performed in 1622 as part of the Mantuan nuptial festivities with music for some scenes and intermedii composed by Monteverdi.¹³⁶

Eleonora's ascent to the Hungarian and imperial thrones was marked by a series of theatrical performances. From Mantua, she traveled across Austria on her way to Vienna, attending Jesuit theatrical performances in Innsbruck and Hall before arriving in Vienna on 26 February 1622. For her coronation as Queen of Hungary in Ödenburg (Sopron), festivities included a ballo in the municipal palace and an Italian *commedia in musica*, with music most likely composed by the imperial musicians Giovanni Priuli or Giovanni Valentini, arias sung by the Mantuan tenor Francesco Campagnolo, and stage design by the Florentine architect Giovanni Pieroni.¹³⁷ Festivities continued in Vienna at the Theresianum with a *piccola invencione in musicha con un baleto*. The *Musiche a doi voci* published by the imperial court organist Giovanni Valentini just a few months previously and dedicated to the

¹³³ For a detailed introduction to musicians in Ferdinand's chapel, see Federhofer, "Graz Court Musicians."

¹³⁴ Schindler, "Viaggi Teatrali," 126.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, fn. 139.

¹³⁶ Volumes from his library in Český Krumlov attest to his interest in Italian theater in the 1620s, many of which might have been acquired during travels to Italy, from attending performances in Innsbruck, Vienna, or Prague, or perhaps performances in his own castle in Český Krumlov. See Schindler, "Die wälischen," p. 107-108 and 129-130. Giovanni Valentini dedicated his second collection of masses to Eggenberg, which he printed in Venice in 1621. See Federhofer, "Graz Court Musicians," 193.

¹³⁷ Schindler, "Viaggi Teatrali," 129

Duke of Mantua, sets dialogues from Giovanni Battista Guarini's *Il Pastor fido*, and remains perhaps the best indication of the type of music performed for the festivities.¹³⁸

Comedies with music by court musicians were staged in Vienna again in 1624 and 1625, including a *comoedia* with music by the court musicians for Eleonora's birthday in 1625. According to the chronicler of Ferdinand's court, Franz Christoph Khevenhüller, among the six people in the scene were one dressed as a Roman, another as a Genovese, a third as a Neapolitan, a *Gratia*, a *Pantolon* and a *Zani*, who recited in Italian and concluded by singing madrigals.¹³⁹ Khevenhüller also notes that comedic effects were achieved by the incorporation of other dialects into the scene, which Herbert Seifert has suggested may be a performance inspired by Giovan Battista Andreini's *La Ferinda* (1622), which the dramatist conceived as a libretto for a musical opera with scenes in *varij linguaggi*.¹⁴⁰ Two years later, for Eleonora's coronation as Queen of Bohemia, Andreini and the Comici Fedeli would appear in person for festivities in Prague and Vienna between 1627 and 1629.

The coronation of Ferdinand II's wife and son, Eleonora Gonzaga and Ferdinand, as King and Queen of Bohemia in 1627 in conjunction with a Bohemian Diet kept the imperial court in Prague for almost seven months between November 1627 and June 1628.¹⁴¹ Ferdinand III took part in a classical tournament in honor of Eleonora for her coronation on 21 November, whereas Eleonora chose a more modern *commedia in musica* for Ferdinand's coronation on 27 November.¹⁴² This pastoral comedy, *La Trasformazione di*

¹³⁸ For Giovanni Valentini's 5 March 1622 letter to Caterina Medici Gonzaga, the duchess of Mantua, in which he mentions the dedication, see Venturini, *Il Carteggio*, 658-659, no. 1275.

¹³⁹ Franz Christoph Khevenhüller's report, published in the *Annales Ferdinandei* 10 (Leipzig, 1724), 713, is transcribed in Seifert, "Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof," 590.

¹⁴⁰ See Herbert Seifert, "Die Comoedie der Hof-Musici 1625: Die erste Oper in Wien?," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 42 (1993), 77-88.

¹⁴¹ They came with Ferdinand III's sisters, Maria Anna, future wife of the Prince Elector of Bavaria Maximilian, and Cecilia Renata, future Queen of Poland. Fourteen-year-old Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, already Bishop of Strasbourg and Passau remained behind in Vienna, and in the period of the absence of the emperor he was appointed Governor together with the Bishop of Olomouc, Cardinal Franz von Dietrichstein. Thanks to this separation, numerous letters, particularly from the sisters, are conserved in the family archive of the Habsburgs. Many of the letters and notices regarding the numerous performances that took place in Prague during this period are usefully assembled and transcribed in Cristina Grazioli, ed., "Le Incoronazioni Praguesi del 1627 e la Tournée Imperiale dei Fedeli (1627-1629)," *I Gonzaga e l'Impero: Itinerari dello Spettacolo, con una Selezione di Materiali dall'Archivio Informativo Herla (1560-1630)*, ed. Umberto Artioli and Cristina Grazioli (Florence: Le Lettere, 2005), 451-491.

¹⁴² In the middle of November, a Tuscan correspondent communicated to Florence that the Empress herself would perform in a *pastorale in musica* while her ladies-in-waiting were preparing a balletto, and King Ferdinand was preparing for a tournament at Prague castle. A

Calisto, was written by Eleonora's relative, Don Cesare Gonzaga, the later Duke of Guastalla, and included two intermedii with music most likely written by the imperial chapelmaster Giovanni Valentini and the tenor Lodovico Bartolaja, both of whom would later compose their own drammi in musica.¹⁴³ The designer of the scenography was the Florentine Giovanni Pieroni, who was active in Prague beginning in 1623 and other Bohemian cities as an engineer of fortifications and civil architect.¹⁴⁴ The libretto and music are lost, but we know from the Silesian delegate Allert that the comedy involved the four elements rejoicing over the newly crowned king: wood shepherds in costumes embroidered in silver represented the earth, water was represented by Neptune through moving, painted stage sets, fire was represented naturally, and in the end air was conveyed by means of instruments and reeds representing birdsong, during which night appeared with the moon and stars.¹⁴⁵ Allert goes on to say that all was performed "mit sehr lieblichen hellklingenden stimmen, vnd alles singend neben eingeschlagenen Instrumenten vnd anmuthigen seitenspielen nach dem ordentlichen Musicaltactt in Welscher sprach gehalten vnd agirt worden."¹⁴⁶

Andreini and the Comici Fedeli, the theater troupe of the Duke of Mantua, arrived in Prague via Innsbruck and Hall on 18 November 1627, giving their first performance on 21 November for Eleonora's coronation.¹⁴⁷ The Comici Fedeli would have passed through Český Krumlov on their way from Hall and possibly stayed at Eggenberg's castle, where they could have left the several printed editions of their plays that survive today in the Eggenberg

stage was constructed for the *pastorale in musica* in the Großer Schloßsaal. The first notice of the Italian troupe is from the Silesian delegate Zacharias Allert on 21 November 1627, the day Eleonora was crowned. On this day, "von etlichen Italianern in Toscanischer sprach eine Comaedia gehalten worden." See Schindler, "Die wälische," 125.

¹⁴³ Herbert Seifert has suggested Valentini and Bartolaia, both of whom wrote music for the stage. See Herbert Seifert, "Frühes italienisches Musikdrama nördlich der Alpen: Salzburg, Prag, Wien, Regensburg und Innsbruck," *In Deutschland noch gantz ohnbekandt: Monteverdi-Rezeption und frühes Musiktheater im deutschsprachigen Raum*, ed. Markus Engelhart (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1996), 35.

¹⁴⁴ Pieroni constructed a monumental palace for Wallenstein in Prague's Little Quarter as well as commissions for Rambaldo Collalto, Franz von Dietrichstein, Václav Eusebius Lobkovicz, Jaroslav Bořita of Martinice, Hans Ulrich Eggenberg, and Ottavio Piccolomini. See Guido Carrai, "Giovanni Pieroni: Uno Scenografo Fiorentino per l'Incoronazione Praghese di Eleonora Gonzaga (1627)," in *I Gonzaga e l'Impero: Itinerari dello Spettacolo, con una Selezione di Materiali dall'Archivio Informativo Herla (1560–1630)* (Florence: Le Lettere, 2005), 163.

¹⁴⁵ Quoted in Schindler, "Viaggi Teatrali," 133.

¹⁴⁶ Schindler, "Die wälische," 133.

¹⁴⁷ This performance took place in the Neuer Saal, which Rudolf II had constructed between 1600 and 1604 next to the Spanischer Saal in Prague castle.

library.¹⁴⁸ Archduchess Maria Anna's 5 January 1628 letter to her brother Leopold Wilhelm in Vienna indicates that their comedies were enjoyed so much that they were being performed almost every day except Fridays and Saturdays, which were reserved for vespers.¹⁴⁹ She singles out Doctor Graziano (Giovanni Rivani) as her favorite, and mentions that there is also Lelio (Andreini), Matamoros (Silvio Fiorillo of Naples, who would later gain fame as the inventor of Pulcinella), Pantalone (Marc'Antonio Romagnesi), Mezzettino (Ottavio Onorati), Trappolino (Giovan Battista Fiorillo, son of Silvio and later creator of Scaramuccia), and another servant. Among the women are Florinda (Virginia Ramponi), whom she notes to be the best comedienne in all Italy, and Lidia (Virginia Rotari), Lucilla (Prudenza Cavriani), and a servant named Olivetta (Isabella Cima). News of the death of Duke Vincenzo II, brother of Eleonora, on 26 December reached Prague eleven days later on 6 January 1628. After a brief pause of only three days, theatrical performances resumed, and were still taking place at the end of May 1628, with the addition of a Finocchio (Paolo Zanotti) and Frittelino (Pier Maria Cecchini) along with a few other *comici mantovani* invited by the emperor.¹⁵⁰

In Prague, Andreini composed a new version of his *Maddalena* entitled *La Maddalena, composizione sacra*, printed in 1628 by Sigismundus Leva in Prague with a dedication to the Archbishop of Prague, Ernst Albrecht von Harrach.¹⁵¹ Harrach (1598–1667), whose father was a diplomat in Habsburg service, studied at the Jesuit colleges in Jindřichův Hradec and Český Krumlov, then at the Collegium Germanicum in Rome.¹⁵² Thus, he probably participated in theatrical performances at the Bohemian Jesuit colleges

¹⁴⁸ In the Eggenberg library in Český Krumlov is a volume containing four comedies by Andreini printed prior to 1627: *La Centaura*, *Amor nello Specchio*, *Li duo Leli simili*, and *La Sultana*, all of them well-known repertory pieces of the Comici Fedeli. Eggenberg also possessed an edition of the comedy *La Turca*, which Andreini wrote in 1608 for the marriage of Francesco II of Mantua to Marguerite of Savoy. See Schindler, "Viaggi Teatrali," 139.

¹⁴⁹ Her German letter is transcribed in *ibid.*, 157-158.

¹⁵⁰ The performers have been identified by Schindler in *ibid.*, 138-39.

¹⁵¹ A copy of *La Maddalena, composizione sacra di Gio: Battista Andreini Fiorentino, all'illustrissimo, eccellentissimo, et reverendissimo principe il S. Cardinal de Harrach arcivescouo di Praga dedicata* (Prague: Sigismundus Leva, 1628) is now at the National library in Prague under shelfmark 52 F 42. Andreini published a new edition in Vienna the following year entitled *Composizione rappresentativa La Maddalena* and dedicated to Giovanni Battista Palotto, the Viennese nuncio and archbishop of Thessaloniki. As Andreini states in the preface to the Viennese *Maddalena*, it was inspired a Mantuan singer at the imperial court, Lucia Rubini.

¹⁵² Harrach was also a canon in Olomouc, Passau, Trent, and Salzburg, and provost in Freising. During his stay in Rome, in 1622 he was called to the Prague metropolitan chapter as the archbishop. In 1624 he was consecrated bishop by pope Urban VIII and became a cardinal in 1626. See Jakubcová, *Starší Divadlo*, 229.

and acquired an interest in Italian theater during his stay in Rome, during which time Pope Gregory XV appointed him papal chamberlain, then secretary. He had also been honored on 18 March 1626, when the Jesuits staged the allegorical play *Harrachias* in his honor at the Jesuit college in the Old Town.¹⁵³ Andreini's *La Maddalena*, a reworking of his *Maddalena lasciva e penitente* of 1612, narrates the story of the conversion and penitence of Mary Magdalene in three canti of ottava rima, making it particularly suitable for performance during Lent and a worthy response to the Jesuit criticisms that reached Andreini's ears in Prague.

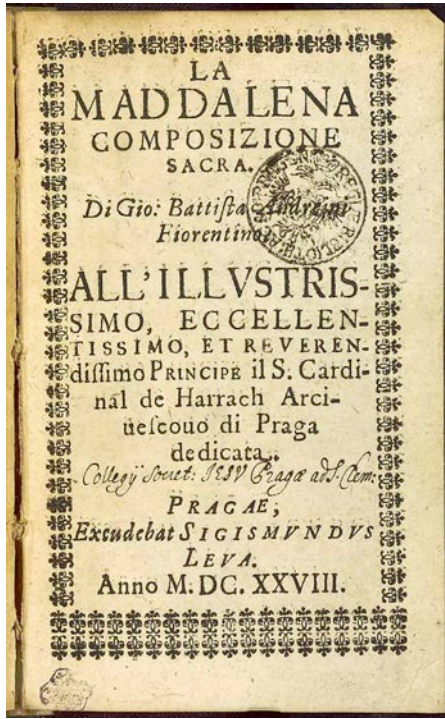


Figure 3.2: Giovan Battista Andreini, *La Maddalena composizione sacra* (Prague: Leva, 1628), title page.



Figure 3.3: Giovan Battista Andreini, *La Maddalena composizione sacra* (Prague: Leva, 1628), fol. 4v.

Concurrently with performances by the Comici Fedeli, the Jesuits, or the “comici della Germania” as Andreini called them, presented lengthy comedies of their own. Iulius Solimanus, an Italian Jesuit and instructor of rhetoric and philosophy in Prague wrote the play *Constantinus Victor*, whose first four-hour performance took place at the castle on 6

¹⁵³ A copy of *Harrachias, hoc est, Drama symbolicum quo Collegium Pragense Soc. Jesu illustrissimo et reverendissimo principi ac Domino D. Ernesto S. R. E. Cardinali ab Harrach Archiepiscopo Pragensi sacrum purpurum debitae observantiae amoris officijs, laete, hilariterque gratulatur*, 18. Martii Anno M. DC. XXVI. Prague is at the National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague (sign. 50 E 14).

December 1627.¹⁵⁴ The prologue depicts nymphs singing in a garden to the imperial family while weaving a wreath in their honor, whereupon Poesis arrives on a Pegasus and asks that they be allowed to appear before the emperor. The play then narrates the conflict between the rightful ruler of the Roman Empire, Constantine, and the usurper Maxentius in five acts. Before the decisive battle on the banks of the Tiber, Maxentius tries to gain favor with pagan gods, but an angel promises Constantine that he will prevail. Despite his numerical superiority, Maxentius is defeated by the combined armies of Constantine and his sons and drowns during his escape. Constantine takes over the government and introduces Christianity, drawing a clear parallel with the establishment of Habsburg hereditary rule over Bohemia. Interludes comprised of choruses of Roman youths and mythological characters divide the acts, culminating at the end of the fourth act with the entrance of Tiber, Triton, and Sirens on dolphins and seashells. After the fifth act is a tournament (*turnaeum*) of four wrestlers, each representing a Continent – the European arrives in the arena on horseback, the African on a lion, the Asian on an elephant, and the American on a camel. Complicated scenographic effects, including depictions of the Roman Forum, a military camp, the Temple of Mars, and the Underworld with troops, a fleet of boats, celestial beings in clouds, and a triumphal arch made the drama comparable in ambition to the other performances taking place, in addition to its numerous choruses and dance numbers.

Other contributors to the celebrations included English comedians, who had earlier been present for the coronation of Ferdinand II and, now under the direction of Robert Reynolds after the death of John Green, had just come from an engagement at the Saxon court in Dresden.¹⁵⁵ In the eyes of the imperial family, they drew no comparison to the Italians. Maria Anna wrote to her brother in Vienna that she hears that although they have absolutely no taste, Pickelhering (Reynolds) is supposed to be the best among them.¹⁵⁶ Cecilia Renata subsequently informed Leopold Wilhelm on 30 January, that “after the Italians, [the English comedians] make a rough figure, since, first, they do not have beautiful material, and second, they have nothing nice to talk about, and therefore are nothing more than tasteless fools.”¹⁵⁷ Nevertheless, when the court returned to Vienna after Pentecost, both the English

¹⁵⁴ A copy of the printed text of the play, *Constantinus victor hilaris tragoedia acta Pragae ludis regis Ferdinando II. caesare aug. triumphali, Eleonoram aug. coniugem et Ferdinandum III. filium ad Boemi regni coronam assumente quam Eleonora augustae debiti obsequii monumentum / dicavit Collegium Pragense Societatis Iesu* (Prague: Sessius, 1627), is kept at the National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague (sign. 52 H 44). For the dates of performance of this play, see Grazioli, “Le Incoronazioni Praguesi,” 462.

¹⁵⁵ See Jakubcová, *Starší Divadlo*, 206-208.

¹⁵⁶ “... wie ich her sein sie gar abgeschmach vnd den walischen nichts zue vergleichen, aber wan ich sie gehert hab wil ich E. l. schreiwien wie sie mier gefallen. ich her sie haben ein naren der haiß der bickelhäring, der her ich sey der böst, denke [er] sey ein vber auß gueter nar.: Quoted in Schindler, “Viaggi Teatrali,” 157, fn. 204.

¹⁵⁷ “... vnd ich kan wol schweren das mihr auff die wallischen recht schentlig ist vürkhommen. den zumb ersten haben sie gar kein schöne materi vndt zu dem andern haben

and Italian performers accompanied them, where they performed in front of Leopold Wilhelm and Franz von Dietrichstein.¹⁵⁸

CONCLUSION

Studies on the first half of the seventeenth century in Bohemia and Moravia invariably define their boundaries either by the end of Rudolf II's reign in 1612 or the 1620 Battle of White Mountain, with the result that the 1620s remain one of the least understood decades of the century. As a result, Jesuit *Ludi caesarei* and courtly performances of commedia dell'arte and Italian theater can easily be seen as expressions of the superiority of Italian over local culture and the assertion of a foreign authority and culture. Although accounts of the 1627-28 festivities for the coronation of Eleonora and Ferdinand II are known primarily through correspondence exchanged between members of the imperial family and the Gonzagas, the local nobility would have formed the largest portion of the audiences for this extraordinary series of performances.

In the political tumult of the Bohemian Estates uprising and the start of the Thirty Years' War, there was an inevitable disruption in musical life in Bohemia and Moravia. Two important Bohemian patrons of music, Vilém Slavata and Jaroslav Bořita of Martinice, both fled the country after their defenestration, the Rožmberk line ended with the death of Petr Vok in 1611, Karl of Žerotín moved to Breslau as an adherent of the Unity of Brethren faith, Karl von Liechtenstein turned his attention to political matters and reduced the importance of his music chapel, and Joachim Andreas von Schlick and the Bohemian composer and nobleman Kryštof Harant received the death penalty for their participation in the uprising. The confiscated properties once owned by the Protestant nobility were redistributed, leading to significant changes in the alignment of power in both Bohemia and Moravia. One of the primary beneficiaries, Franz von Dietrichstein, provides one of the few observable threads of continuity across these years, as his fortunes expanded and he hired Italian composers to work in his music chapel. The Jesuit colleges also continued to flourish, and more research will help us understand the musical patronage of Ernst Adalbert von Harrach.

The musical activities and patronage of other members of the Bohemian and Moravian Catholic nobility, such as the Lobkowitz, Šternberk, Wallenstein, Kolovrat, and Pernštejn families, also remain unknown during the 1620s. An intriguing record in the account books of Karl von Liechtenstein indicates payment to Italian comedians on 2 January 1627, which precedes the coronation festivities in Prague by over ten months.¹⁵⁹

sie gar keine schöne discours vnd seint gar abgeschmache schelmb." The letter, dated 5 January 1628 is transcribed in *ibid.*, 157, fn. 196.

¹⁵⁸ Dietrichstein's familiarity with the Comici Fedeli is confirmed in a 1630 letter from Andreini, who had returned to Vienna and was seeking the cardinal's support. See Bohumil Baďura, "Documenti Ignoti sui Comici Italiani delle Terza Decade del Seicento," *Folia Historica Bohemica* 21 (2005), 213-218; and Jakubcová, *Starší Divadlo*, 20 and 491.

¹⁵⁹ See Haupt, *Fürst Karl I. von Liechtenstein*, 68.

This suggests that Italian comedians were traveling through Bohemia and Moravia outside the immediate orbit of the courts, performing for the Liechtensteins during the New Year and likely visiting other cities and patrons in the Czech Crown Lands during their travels. With the removal of the imperial court to Vienna, the Bohemian and Moravian nobility continued to be among the most important patrons of Italian musicians and consumers of Italian music, along with the archbishops of Prague and Olomouc, religious institutions, Italian immigrant communities, students and teachers at the Latin schools, and other amateur musicians.¹⁶⁰ Their musical cosmopolitanism, acquired through education and travel abroad, and their roles in the political structure and courtly life of the Holy Roman Empire brought them into regular contact with Italian culture. With roots beginning at least from the mid-sixteenth century, Italian music had already come to form an inextricable part of Bohemian and Moravian cultural life that would continue to expand into the seventeenth century.

¹⁶⁰ An interesting inventory not discussed here is that of the city magistrate Jiří Jakub Piškula of Uherské Hradiště, who owned several books of lute tablatures and Italian madrigals. See Sehnal, “Hudební Zajmy Královského Rychtáře v Uherském Hradišti v Roce 1632,” *Hudební Věda* 24 (1987), 63-72.

Chapter 4 The Quodlibet

The Italians make sport with madrigals, they are attracted by Neapolitan songs, they feed upon villanellas, and almost swim in them. Our countrymen go hunting for melodies in their own language and noisily sing them, while the Frenchman with the German exults over songs and stuffs himself with them to the point of bursting. These especially are the nations that value music and keep it alive; in these countries it thrives and flourishes most. Here are all kinds of rhythm and verse, the major resources of music; nowhere can I imagine a richer store of these. All of us, or at least the majority of us, would enjoy it if our ignorance of foreign tongues did not prevent us. I see that Latin is the queen of languages in this regard but that she is almost forsaken. It is to this most distinguished, richest language, which is at home everywhere, that I therefore now commit whatever I can elicit or derive from manners, the arts, or nature herself, whatever I can compose in a poetic style from sayings or facts or fictions variously mingled together. This rather gay kind of song, a substitute for madrigals, I entitle "Moralia," and it is my prayer that the collection may henceforth be so called, because the choicest manners or morals are not in the least wanton, as they shun even the shadow of indecency.

Jacob Handl, from the preface to the 1589 *Harmoniae morales*¹

In this preface to his three books of four-voice *Harmoniae morales*, Jacob Handl reveals his acquaintance with an international array of secular musical forms as well as the people who knew this music firsthand. The composer gained this familiarity through travels that took him from his place of birth in Carniola northward across Austria, Bohemia, Saxony, Moravia, and Silesia, even if he never seems to have set foot on the Italian peninsula or as far west as France. The Austrian and Bohemian Habsburg courts facilitated cultural exchange among their constituent states, as did the astonishing mobility of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century central European society, for whom international travel and migration formed an everyday part of many lives. As Handl's preface indicates, the assumption that secular music in central Europe beyond the social elite was limited to native forms or the German lied is simply misguided. Handl's musings on secular song speak to a central European repertory of secular music hardly constrained by geographical borders.

This musical abundance is well represented by the internationally diverse contents of Bohemian and Moravian lutebooks, whose compilers were more interested in intabulating music from abroad than that of local origin. Popular regional songs such as "Ach Elselein, liebes Elselein," "Im grünen Mayen," or "Čižičku ptáčku zeleného peří" [The little green-feathered bird] find their way into such miscellanies, but they appear amidst a more substantial repertory of music foreign in derivation, including songs and dances from Poland, Hungary, Transylvania, Turkey, Spain, France, England, and, above all, Italy. Dances in honor of monarchs such as István Báthory or Maximilian II share equal space with works whose origins seem removed from courtly contexts, like the *Calvinischer Tantz* or the *Chorea Wittenbergensis*.²

The circulation, recycling, and arrangements through which these songs passed inevitably blurred their origins, sometimes beyond recovery. For instance, the Czech folksong "Čižičku

¹ This translation is from Allen B. Skei, "Jacob Handl's 'Moralia,'" *The Musical Quarterly* 52 (1966): 433.

² See Klaus-Peter Koch, "Zur Geschichte eines Polnischen Tanzes am Hofe István Báthorys (1533-1586)," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 41 (1972), 203-213.

ptáčku” appears in a lutebook from Leipzig as *Chorea-Saltarella* and in a manuscript from Rostock as *Polnischer Tanz*,³ demonstrating not only the unclear or possibly shared origins of these melodies but also the extent to which international repertoires might become indistinguishable from music composed locally. The designation of a dance as Polish may stem more from a wish to identify it as non-Germanic rather than specifically Polish. Since Poland represented a geographical entity distinct from the empire, a dance labeled in Saxony as Polish could thereby mark the dance simply as “foreign.” Such flexibility in assigning national designations to dance pieces mirrors the fluidity of ethnic identities in this part of Europe during the sixteenth century, when Hungarians, Silesians, Moravians, Germans, Austrians, and Bohemians shared a single “multinational” political identity with their neighbors as constituent lands of the Holy Roman Empire.

This shared cultural patrimony, already international in scope, was matched by a widespread curiosity in music from beyond imperial borders, which provided material for new compositions and musical genres. Handl indicates in his preface that he drew inspiration for his *Moralia* from the chanson and lied, madrigal, canzone napoletana, and villanella. His decision to set Latin verse relates to his audiences in Bohemia and Moravia, where Latin was a lingua franca uniting the region’s polylingual inhabitants and the most important poetic language of late sixteenth-century Bohemian and Moravian humanists.⁴ Modern-day scholars who persist in labeling Handl’s *Moralia* as Latin madrigals do so to highlight their similarities to the most experimental of secular genres. However, this designation undermines precisely what makes Handl’s *Moralia* unique. Handl writes that he combines the variety of manners, arts, and texts of several international secular genres in order to create a new one, whose combinatorial nature is succinctly expressed in the title, *Harmoniarum moralium, quibus heroica, facetiae, naturalia, quodlibetica, tum facta fictaque poetica &c. admixta sunt* [Moral harmonies, to which are added things heroic, humorous, natural, quodlibets, as well as poetic facts and fictions, etc.].⁵ His literary sources include elegiac verses by Ovid, Catullus, and Martial, a sixteenth-century anthology of Latin proverbs entitled *Carmina proverbialia*, Horace’s *Epistulae* and Virgil’s *Aeneid*, texts inspired by birdsong and chickens, as well as many works of unknown authorship, all of which, as Handl writes, “shun even the shadow of indecency,” a problem he undoubtedly perceived as rife in the madrigal repertoire.

Handl’s predilection toward serious Latin literature reflects his desire to express clear moral precepts. This respect for his texts informs his approach to textual combination in the

³ Peter Schmidt Fabritius and Peter Laurenberg assembled a student collection of lute tablatures in 1605-1608 in Rostock. The manuscript is now kept at the Det kongelige Bibliotek in Copenhagen under shelfmark Thoett 4° 841. The Leipzig manuscript is another student anthology assembled approximately in 1619 now at the Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig, sign. II 6 15. See Tichota, “Bohemika a Český Repertoár,” 164.

⁴ The extraordinary productivity of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Bohemian and Moravian humanists in this regard is best encapsulated by a perusal through the excellent six-volume encyclopedia of Bohemian and Moravian Latin poetry, Antonín Truhlář et al., *Rukověť Humanistického Básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě* (Prague: Academia, 1966-2011).

⁵ See, for example, Dragotin Cvetko, *Iacobus Händl Gallus vocatus Carniolanus* (Ljubljana: Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti, 1991), 38; and Jacob Handl, *The Moralia of 1596*, ed. Allen B. Skei, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance* 8 (Madison: A-R Editions, 1970), 11.

quodlibets, in which he juxtaposes couplets or individual lines usually from no more than two different sources. Handl's quodlibets fall into the last of three categories defined by Michael Praetorius in his *Syntagma Musicum*: 1) those with a unique yet unbroken text in each voice part; 2) those with unique texts in each voice drawn from multiple sources in a fragmentary manner, and 3) those with the same text in all voices from multiple sources presented consecutively.⁶ Rather than overlapping texts from multiple sources and thereby impeding their comprehensibility, Handl sets his texts successively. Moreover, he eschews the technique of juxtaposing melodic and polyphonic quotations from preexisting sources in favor of composing new musical material, a possibility already precluded in large measure by his attraction to unconventional sources.⁷ While many sixteenth and seventeenth century quodlibets overlap texts and melodic quotations and thereby diminish the semantic content of their source material, the combined texts of Handl's quodlibets are discernibly coherent in theme or idea.

The subject of this chapter is less the quodlibets of Handl than those by other composers that provide some insight into the broader store of songs with which Bohemian and Moravian listeners would have been familiar. As a compositional form the quodlibet, too, experienced its own Renaissance in late sixteenth-century central Europe, fueled by the mixture of international songs that filled the public and private spaces of an internationally diverse central European society. In addition to German, Latin, and Czech melodies, Italian melodies figure prominently. Reduced to concise melodic and polyphonic quotations, the quodlibet came to provide an ideal means for the transmission of Italian songs in central Europe. Italian secular forms such as the villanella and madrigal were popular, but, as their texts were often not adequately understood, they were more likely performed instrumentally rather than vocally. The transmission of many of the most popular Italian melodies in quodlibets tells us that they were widely known by central European audiences and often enjoyed alongside Czech, German, and Latin repertoires. The popularity of transmitting Italian melodies in quodlibets suggests that more than semantic content, it was the distinctive melodies and polyphonic arrangements that delighted central European listeners' ears. In addition to providing concentrated information about the repertoires that were popular in the Czech lands at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, quodlibets are documents of the worldly orientation of educated members of central European society.

A MUSICAL WAY TO PASS THE TIME

A tract volume of eleven instrumental and secular music prints once in the library of Petr Vok of Rožmberk indicates the type of secular repertory enjoyed by the Bohemian nobility at the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁸ The prints were published in printshops dispersed across Germany, but the influence of Italian music on the repertoires they transmit is evident in many

⁶ See Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum III*, trans. Jeffery T. Kite-Powell (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 33-34.

⁷ Handl's four-voice setting of *Vitam quae faciunt beatioorem* only takes Tritonius's four-part homophonic ode as a starting point.

⁸ See Petr Daněk, "Flores Musicales aneb Několik Poznámek k Rožmberským Libri Musici," *Opus Musicum* 40 no. 1 (2008): 34. In this article, Daněk presents a convincing case that this volume—now kept in the South Bohemian Museum in České Budějovice—was once part of the Rožmberk library, based on a comparison of the volume with its listing in the Rožmberk inventory of 19 August 1610 transcribed in Mareš, "Rožmberksá Kapela," 227.

of their titles. Italian dance music, German songs inspired by the villanella, and Valentin Haussmann's German contrafacta of Orazio Vecchi's canzonette form a substantial portion of the volume's contents. At least two prints also advertise their inclusion of quodlibets: the anthology *Musicalischer Zeitvertreiber* and Johann Möller's *Ein new Quodlibet*.

Alto partbook at the South Bohemian Museum in České Budějovice (sign. ST 854)			
1	Melchior Franck	<i>Flores Musicales, neue anmutige musikalischen Blumen zu allerhand Lust und Fröligkeit lieblich zu gebrauchen... mit 4. 5. 6. und 8. Stimmen</i>	(Nuremberg: Scherff, 1610)
2	Melchior Franck	<i>Musicalische Fröligkeit von etlichen neuen lustigen deutschen Gesängen Tänzzen Galliardten und Concerten, sampt einem Dialogo, mit vier fünff sechs und acht Stimmen</i>	(Coburg: Hauck, 1610)
3	[Anthology]	<i>Musicalischer Zeitvertreiber, das ist allerley seltzame lecherliche Vapores und Humores, ehrliche Collation und Schlawfruncksbossen, Quodlibet, Judenschul und andere kurtzweilige Liedlein... mit 4. 5. 6. 7. und 8. stimmen componirt</i>	(Nuremberg: Kauffmann, 1609)
4	Andreas Berger	<i>Threnodie Amatoria, das ist, Neue teutsche weltliche Traur- und Klaglieder nach art der welschen Villanellen, mit vier, deßgleichen ein schöner Dialogus und Canzon mit acht Stimmen</i>	(Augsburg: Schultes, 1609)
5	Johannes Lyttichius	<i>Sales venerae musicales, oder neue deutsche politische Gesänge mit anmuthigen lustigen Texten, und Melodien von vier und fünff Stimmen, auch lustige Intradten, Galliardae und Paduanen mit 5. Stimmen</i>	(Jena: Weidnern, 1610)
6	Johann Möller	<i>Ein new Quodlibet zu unterhänigen Ehren und gefallen dem... Herrn Philipsen Landgraffen zu Hessen... componiret mit vier Stimmen</i>	(Frankfurt: Richter, 1610)
7	Christian Hildebrant	<i>Ander Theil außerlesener lieblichen Paduanen und auch so viel Galliardten mit fünff Stimmen</i>	(Hamburg: Ohr Erben, 1609)
8-10	Valentin Hausmann	<i>Die erste... ander... dritte Claß der vierstimmigen Canzonetten Horatii Vecchi</i>	(Nuremberg: Kauffmann, 1610)
11	Johann Staden	<i>Neue teutsche Lieder, mit poetischen neuen Texten, so zu Tänzen bequem, samt etlichen Galliardten und Couranten</i>	(Nuremberg: Scherff and Kauffmann, 1609)

Among these prints, the third one, the *Musicalischer Zeitvertreiber* of 1609, transmits works by composers directly linked to the Prague court (Nicolaus Zangius, Carl Luython, Jacob Regnart, Hans Leo Hassler), Elector August of Saxony (Antonio Scandello), and Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol (Jacob Regnart, Georg Flori). The preponderance of works by Nicolaus Zangius suggests he may have played a role in seeing the anthology through to print, perhaps even in collaboration with Carl Luython, who is also well represented with two six-voice and two seven-voice Latin works in the collection. The eight partbooks of the *Musicalischer Zeitvertreiber* were printed without a dedication or forward, perhaps due to the nature of its contents, for many of the songs extol the pleasures of drinking.

Order in print	Title	Composer Attribution	Number of voices
1	<i>Ein Mäußhund kam gegangen</i>	Bernhard Klingenstein	4
2	<i>Ich gieng ein mal spazieren</i>	Nicolaus Zangius	4
3	<i>Ihr lieben Säft, seit frölich nun</i>	Nicolaus Zangius	4
4	<i>Ein Meidlein jung am Laden stund</i>		4
5	<i>Es wohnt ein Bauer in jenem dorffe</i>		4
6	<i>Was trag ich auff meinen Händen?</i>		4
7	<i>Wir wollen ein Klösterlein bauen</i>		4
8	<i>Ein Bräutlein wolt nicht gehn zu [in 4 parts]</i>	Hans Leo Hassler	4
9	<i>Ich will zu Land außreiten</i>	Quodlibet. Nicolaus Zangius	5
10	<i>Wer Frauen gunst erlangen will</i>	Nicolaus Zangius	5
11	<i>Ein Einsalt zu dem Pfarrherz sprach</i>	Nicolaus Zangius	5
12	<i>Ade meins Herzen Krönlein [in 3 parts]</i>	Nicolaus Zangius	5
13	<i>Zu dienst will ich ihr singen</i>	Nicolaus Zangius	5
14	<i>Juch hoscha, juch hoscha</i>	Johann Steffens	5
15	<i>Es fragt ein Bauer seinen Son</i>	Nicolaus Zangius	5
16	<i>Cicirlanda che comanda</i>	Orazio Vecchi	5
17	<i>In ihren grossen nöthen / sprach die</i>	Christian Erbach	5
18	<i>Mirami vita mia</i>	Incerti autoris	5
19	<i>Frisch auff, gut gsell, laß immer gahn</i>	Nicolaus Rosthius	5

20	<i>So wünsch ich ihr ein gute nacht</i>	Incerti autoris	5
21	<i>Vitrum nostrum gloriosum</i>	Orlando di Lasso	6
22	<i>Barachim e zachai</i>	Judenschul [sic]	6
23	<i>Io son ferito ahi lasso</i>		6
24	<i>Ich stund an einem morgen</i>		6
25	<i>Gemma Carbunculi in ornam</i>	Georg Flori	6
26	<i>Tympana dent / Coniugo addicti / Chare sodalis (in 3 parts)</i>	Carl Luython	6
27	<i>Inferias facimus Ganzae / Haec est illa dies (in 2 parts)</i>	Carl Luython	6
28	<i>Trinck wein / so bschert dir Gott wein</i>	Antonio Scandello	6
29	<i>Der Wein der schmeckt mir</i>	Antonio Scandello	6
30	<i>Vinum bonum & suave</i>	Carl Luython	7
31	<i>Aqua bona, aqua pura</i>	Carl Luython	7
32	<i>Frisch auff, her her her her</i>	Jacob Regnart	8
33	<i>Ich bring mein Brüder ein guten</i>	Hans Leo Hassler	8
34	<i>In diesem grünen Wald</i>	M. Helling [Lupus Hellinck?]	8

Folksongs and drinking songs in German make that the best represented language in the collection, but there are also six works in Latin and three Italian titles, only one of which is attributed, to Orazio Vecchi. Some of the German songs, such as *Frisch auff, gut gsell* and *So wünsch ich ihr ein gute Nacht*, are arrangements of folk tunes that were also popular in Czech contrafacta.⁹ The elegiac *Ich stund an einem Morgen* was among the most widely known folk tunes, rooted in the Minnesänger tradition of the tenorlied, set by Heinrich Isaac and Ludwig Senfl, and used as the basis for a five-voice mass by Jacob Handl.¹⁰ Carl Luython's seven-voice

⁹ The four-voice *Kdo chce s lidmi vesel býti* from the Dobřenský collection (IV, 348) is a moralizing contrafactum of the German drinking song, "Frisch auf, gut Gsell, lass rummer gan." *So wünsch ich ihr ein gute Nacht* was another song popularly transmitted in Czech songbooks, including Kunvaldský's 1576 hymnbook, Tobiáš Závorky Lípenský's 1592 funerary songs, Melissaeus's 1596 psalter, and Závorka's 1602 hymnbook. See Kouba, "Německé Vlivy," 138, 163, and 170.

¹⁰ *Ich stund an einem Morgen* stands among the most popular songs in Europe during the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. In Bohemia and Moravia, its melody was transmitted in numerous

Latin drinking motets *Vinum bonum & suave* and *Aqua bona, aqua pura* are not known to have been printed in any other source, but his two six-voice motets in the *Musicalischer Zeitvertreiber* had been printed in his *Popularis anni iubilus* (Prague: Nigrin, 1587), a collection of Latin works celebrating the most popular holidays of the year with texts by the poet, playwright, and provost of the cathedral of St. Vitus in Prague, Jiří Barthold Pontanus of Braitenberg. *Tympana dent / Coniugo addicti / Chare sodalis* was composed for carnival. The text heralds the arrival of Bacchus and his priestesses with drums, trumpets, sistra, and citterns and celebrates the games, theater, choreas, and, above all, wine that mark the season. Intended for the feast of St. Martin on November 11, *Inferias facimus Ganzae / Haec est illa dies* describes the roasting of the goose and noble wine that accompanies it, punctuated in both parts with the honking of the goose herself (rendered as “ga ga gi ga ga”).

Scandello’s six-voice drinking songs, *Trinck wein so beschert dir Gott wein* and *Der Wein der schmeckt mir also wol* had been published consecutively (nos. 18 and 19 of twenty lieder total) in his *Nawe und Lustige Weltliche Deudsche Liedlein mit Vier, Fünff und Sechs Stimmen* (Dresden: Stöckel and Bergen, 1570) and reprinted by Gimel Bergen in Dresden in 1578 and 1579. The *Musicalischer Zeitvertreiber* contains the first two of the three works for six voices.¹¹ *Der Wein der schmeckt mir also wol* is a dramatized drinking song, featuring the sextus as a soloist against a five-voice ensemble. Scandello provides the opening instruction that the sextus part should be sung by a soloist holding a glass of wine, and he provides dramatic cues to the singer in the text of the song, indicating points at which the singer is to drink or when the glass should be emptied.¹²

Nicolaus Zangius’s quodlibet *Ich will zu land ausreiten* occupies a central place in the collection, as the first of the five-voice works and the only one whose musical form is labeled in the index. With the acquisition of the *Musicalischer Zeitvertreiber*, the Rožmberks owned two editions of Zangius’s quodlibet, as their inventory lists the original publication transmitting this work, Zangius’s *Etliche schöne teutsche geistliche unnd weltliche Lieder mitt fünf Stimmen componirt* (Cologne: Grevenbruch, 1597), published while the composer was employed at the court of Prince-Bishop Philipp Sigismund of Wolfenbüttel in Iburg, Lower Saxony.¹³ Zangius (1570–1617) spent the first decade of the seventeenth century juggling duties as chapelmaster at the Lutheran Marienkirche in Danzig, *Hofdiener* at the imperial chapel in Prague, and chapelmaster

printed sources, including Brethren hymnbooks from 1541 to 1598, Musophil’s 1568 hymnbook, Jan Sylvan’s 1571 *Písň nové* (“New Songs”), Kunvaldský’s 1576 Lutheran hymnbook, David Crinitus’s psalter (Prague: Nigrin, 1590), and Tomáš Řešátky’s hymnbook (Prague: Schuman, 1610).

¹¹ The one six-voice work from Scandello’s *Nawe und Lustige Weltliche Deudsche Liedlein* not chosen by the editor of the *Musicalischer Zeitvertreiber* is the more contrapuntal and less drinking-oriented *Bistu der Hensel schütze*, the final work in the collection.

¹² Instructions begin with “Diese stim singt einer allein, und sol haben ein glas mit wein.”

¹³ The entry reads “Nicolai Zangii Geistliche vnd weltliche Lieder. Při tom: Haussman Weltliche Lieder. Partes IV. Prostě svázané,” which could indicate Zangius’s five-voice *Geistliche und weltliche Lieder* (Cologne: 1597) “simply bound” with secular lieder by Valentin Haussmann in four partbooks. The main problem in affirming the attribution is the indication of only four partbooks. The one other known possibility is Zangius’s *Schöne neue ausserlesene geistliche und weltliche Lieder* for three voices (Frankfurt an der Oder, 1594). For this entry in the Rožmberk inventory, see Mareš, “Rožmberská Kapela,” 233.

to Karl von Liechtenstein.¹⁴ *Ich will zu land ausreiten* remained, perhaps, Zangius's most famous work. Michael Praetorius used the example of Zangius's quodlibet to illustrate his second category, in which each voice has a unique text, "but quite truncated and fragmented."¹⁵

The title, *Ich will zu land ausreiten* [I want to ride out to the country], is already expressive of the journey through a broad musical soundworld undertaken over the course of the quodlibet.¹⁶ Zangius structures the first section with an overlapping series of lied quotations unique to each voice, so that as many as five different German lieder can be heard at once. The sense here is of the abundance of songs that formed part of mealtime singing *in bona charitate*, as the tenor sings twice on a descending pentachord. Melodies brushing against each other, such as *Der Kukkuck auf dem Zaune saß* [The Cuckoo was sitting on the fence], the refrain from Jacob Regnart's *Ein kurtzer Man hieß Henselein*, and *Ich stund an einem Morgen* are excerpted from among the most widely transmitted lieder in the sixteenth century. Some, such as *Ein alter Mann, ein Hackeblock* are carnival songs sung by members of German collegia, and Zangius dovetails melodies with shared lyrics by having the bassus respond to the opening words of *Ein alter Mann, ein Hackeblock* in the altus with the tune of another folksong that begins similarly, *Ein alter Mann tät buhlen gahn*.¹⁷

Zangius balances the apparent mayhem by segmenting his quodlibet into clear episodes. A full cadence on F concludes the first section, leaving only the quintus singing, "Günstiger Herr und Freund, halt mirs vor Übel nicht. Dies Gläschen ich euch bring, so viel darin ist" [Favorable Lord and Friend, do not keep me from evil. This little glass I bring you contains very much], providing our first confirmation that we are in the world of the drinking song. All five voices respond enthusiastically in homorhythmic repeated-notes on the drinking song refrain, "Runda, runda, runda di nella"¹⁸ after which Zangius broadens the compass of musical quotations to include sacred songs in German, with excerpts from *Gottes Wille*, *Gottes Rath* and *Wo sol lich mich hin keren* interspersed with vocables and other excerpts of secular lieder.¹⁹ Among them we hear

¹⁴ These periods of service seemed to overlap. Zangius's name appears in the imperial account books from 1602-1605 and again in 1610, one year after he published his settings of the Magnificat in Prague.

¹⁵ Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, 34.

¹⁶ The work is available in a modern edition in Nikolaus Zangius, *Geistliche und weltliche Lieder mit fünff Stimmen Köln 1597*, ed. Fritz Bose (Berlin: Verlag Merseburger, 1960), 19-26.

¹⁷ This song, sung by the Jageteufl Collegium in Stettin, appears on the list of *Cantica Bachanalia, ab alumnis collegii cantare solita. Ex Matricula de a. 1564 et 1612.* as "Ein alter Mann, ein Hackeblock, die liegen beyde stille, Ein alt Weib und ein Schüsselkorb, dar ist kein Freude mehr inne." See Johann Carl Conrad Oelrichs, *Historisch-Diplomatische Beyträge zur Geschichte der Gelahrtheit, besonders im Hertzogthum Pommern* (Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Real-Schule, 1767), 32-35.

¹⁹ Another tune quoted in this section, "Du hast mich wollen nemen, ja wenn der Sommer kommt," is apparently a Purim melody from Upper Silesia. See Philip Vilas Bohlman and Otto Holzappel, eds., *The Folk Songs of Ashkenaz*, vol. 6 (Madison: A-R Editions, 2001), 37-38. Meanwhile, "und wen es tut verdrießen, der fall die Stiegen ab" is the last line of the final strophe of "Herzlich tut mich erfreuen, die fröhlich Sommerzeit." Johann Walter sets a sacred

the line “Mein Mann, der ist ins Heu” from the tenorlied *Es hett ein Biedermann*, whose lyrics narrate the tale of an honest farmer and his loose young wife. Zangius enhances the comedic effect of his quotation by setting the wife’s line in the lowest register for the bass to sing. Further quotations in this section include tenorlied tunes that inspired four-voice settings by other sixteenth-century composers, including Ludwig Senfl (*Es hett ein Biedermann*), Jacob Handl (*Die Bauern von Sankt Pölten*), and Johannes Eccard (*Hört ich ein Kuckuck singen*), the last of whom composed his own quodlibet, *Ein Kuckuck wollt ausfliegen*, as well as a *madrigal a diversi linguaggi* based on a scene from the commedia dell’arte, *Zanni et Magnifico*. This section also concludes with a full cadence on F.

In his *Magnifico et Zanni*, Eccard assigns each voice a specific commedia dell’arte character, giving the bassus the role of Tedesco and the quinta vox La Franceschina. Eccard’s Franceschina begins with the famous melody associated with her name, *La bella Franceschina*, the same melodic excerpt used by Zangius to begin the third section. This section marks a significant departure from the previous two as the voices for the first time exchange excerpts from non-German songs, providing some indication of non-German repertory familiar to a central European audience. While the diskant sings the first half of the first strophe of *La bella Franceschina*, the tenor sings the first line of Orazio Vecchi’s *Core mio tu mi lasciati* from his third book of four-voice canzonette. Because Vecchi’s canzonetta employs a relatively high tessitura, Zangius assigns Vecchi’s basso to the tenor. At the same time, the quintus is singing “Et in neutro genere placet femininum,” a modified quotation from the somewhat notorious Latin motet first published by Orlando di Lasso in the *Quatriesme livre des chansons a quatre parties* (Louvain: Phalèse, 1564).²⁰ Its pedantic exposition on the benefits of wine consumption, especially in tandem with *La bella Franceschina*, recalls the Scolare and Franceschina of Orazio Vecchi and Luca Marenzio’s joint composition published in Vecchi’s *Selva di varia ricreatione* (Venice: Gardano, 1590) under the title *Diversi linguaggi*:²¹

<p>Fertur in conviviis vinus vina vinum. Masculinum displicet, placet femininum; Et in neutro genere vinum est divinum, Loqui facit clericum optimum latinum.</p>	<p>At feasts, “vinus, vina, vinum” is brought in. The masculine gender doesn’t give pleasure; the feminine does; and in the neuter wine is divine. It makes a cleric speak very good Latin.</p>
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contrafactum of this text, printed by Georg Rhaw in 1545, in his *Bicinia*, and Conrad Hagius gave it a three-voice treatment.

²⁰ Bernhold Schmid’s study of this piece has illuminated the complicated publishing history of *Fertur in conviviis*, in which variants and contrafacta of its text are found in twenty-two known printed sources between 1564 and 1604, most of which are books of chansons. Schmid traces the text back to portions of a poem from the *Carmina burana*. Through the three centuries of its transmission this poem underwent considerable variation in its contents and their ordering. The text Lasso set is part of this unstable tradition that continued through the sixteenth century and beyond. Le Roy and Ballard transmitted the text in small variants through numerous reprints. See Bernhold Schmid, “Lasso’s ‘Fertur in conviviis’: On the History of its Text and Transmission,” in *Orlando di Lasso Studies*, ed. Peter Bergquist (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 116-131.

²¹ See Warren Kirkendale, “Franceschina, Girometta, and Their Companions in a Madrigal ‘a diversi linguaggi’ by Luca Marenzio and Orazio Vecchi,” *Acta Musicologica* 44 (1972), 188-193.

At this same moment, the altus pierces the metaphorical veil separating singers from audience by calling attention to the language changes in German as they are unfolding and noting that the confusion might be causing everyone to reach for another drink. The altus then further heightens this polylingual moment by launching briefly into Polish, but not with a Polish melodic quotation. The Polish line sung by the altus is a declaration *not* to sing in Polish: “Ein jeder schau wohl zum Säckel. Die Sprachen verändern sich. Ny roszminitz popolski” [Everyone is probably looking for their satchels. The languages are changing. Lets not switch into Polish].

This upending of order is continued by the cantus in a macaronic text combining a stereotypical German folksong opening with an Italian conclusion, some nonsense syllables evoking laughter, and a quotation of the opening canzonetta from Orazio Vecchi’s *Canzonette libro primo*: “Die Bauren seind voll spontauan gia, holla ho ho, Canzonette d’amore.” Solfège syllables sung by the bassus (“ti-ri-do-la”) are picked up by the quintus (“Ich armer re mi fa sol la”). The bassus continues with the opening melody of Alessandro Striggio’s *Nasce la pena mia* followed by the refrain of “Viva la bella Dori” that concludes each of the madrigals in the anthology *Il Trionfo di Dori* (Venice: Gardano, 1592).²² Further quotations of the *Canzonette d’amore* again in the diskant and Orazio Vecchi’s drinking capriccio *Cicirlanda* in the quintus induce the tenor to sing, “Kann nit viel, der Welsch” [I cannot take much of the Italian] before the quintus interrupts everyone with “Ein Sackpfeifer mit seiner Lyr” as all the other voices hold a drone for seven breves. The concluding section returns to German with a contrasting homorhythmic and monotextual dialogue on fishing between tenor and full choir.

Vecchi’s *Cicirlanda* is also the one work by an Italian composer included in the *Musicalischer Zeitvertreiber* in its entirety, as the other two works with Italian titles, *Io son abi lasso* and *Mirami vita mia*, are actually Italian quodlibets, designated by Praetorius in the *Syntagma musicum* as *messenze*. Zangius’s decision to quote the very first of Orazio Vecchi’s four-voice canzonette – one that even bears the genre’s name in its title – underscores the influence of Vecchi’s works on secular musical comedy as well as the fundamental place of Vecchi’s works in central European repertoires. The *Canzonetta d’amore* was a synecdoche for the world of the canzonetta as a whole, as an entry in the Rožmberk music collection attests, where a manuscript collection of canzonette and possibly other works is listed simply as *Canzonete d’Amore*.²³ Like the diverse genres that comprise Vecchi’s forest in the *Selva di varia recreatione*, Zangius fashioned his quodlibet as a theater of musical memory or commonplace book, drawing on a vast store of popular melodies whose juxtaposition delighted through contrast and surprise. As genres that both accentuate a carnivalesque reversal of natural order, the quodlibet and drinking song formed a natural pair. *Ich will zu land ausreiten* and the multi-linguistic contents of the *Musicalischer Zeitvertreiber* anthology embodied the linguistic and national plurality of Bohemian and Moravian society, for whom German folksongs, Latin drinking songs, and Italian canzonette all formed fundamentals of cultural knowledge.

²² Reprints of this madrigal anthology by Gardano in 1599 and Phalèse postdate Zangius’s composition.

²³ The catalogue entry reads, “Canzonete d’Amore psané. Partes VI. V bílým pargamenu.” See Mareš, “Rožmberská Kapela,” 227.

Nikolaus Zangius, *Ich will zu Land ausreiten*, bars 35-41

35

E la bel - la Fran - cis - chi - na, ni - ni - na buf - fi - na la fi - li - bu - sta -
 Nun wohl an! Ein je - der schau wohl zum Säk - -
 Hof - ge - sind. Co - re mio, co - re mio, tu mia _____
 Et in neu - tro ge - ne - re - pla -
 nun wohl an!

chi - na. Die Bau - renseind voll spontauangia. Hol - la ho ho. Can - zo -
 kel. Die Spra - chen ver - än - dern sich. Ny rosz - mi - nitz po -
 - las - chia - sti, tu mia - las - chia - sti. Frisch auf, wir
 cet fe mi - ni - num. Ich ar - mer re mi fa sol la,
 Ti - ri - do - la. Nas - ce la poe - -

40

net - te dà - mo - re. Nun bin ich frei _____, der Sack ist
 pols - - ki. Ja wenn der Som - mer käm.
 wol - - len fröh - lich sein. Aus dem Land, da
 was hab ich fa - mi - re mi. A - lerm! A - lerm! Tan - ta - ra -
 - - - na mi - a. Vi - va la bel - la Do - -

Nikolaus Zangius, *Ich will zu Land ausreiten*, bars 42-52

da, das Geld ist hin, das Geld ist hin. Frau, ein
 Frisch fröh-lich wolln wir sin - gen, wir sin - gen. Fa -
 ich her bin, wach - sen Bau - ren auf Bäumen. Kann nit
 ra, tan-ta-ra-ra. Es schadt dir nichts. Cir, cir, lan - da.
 ri, vi-va, vi - va, vi-va, vi - va la bel - la Do - ri. Der kam

45
 an der her! Lyr
 la-di-ri-don. Lyr
 viel, der Welsch. Lyr
 Ein Sack-pfei-fer mit sei-ner Lyr, der macht sich fröh-lich bei dem
 kahl da von. Lyr

50
 Bier. Ly - rum, ly-rum, ly-rum, ly-rum, ly-rum, ly-rum, ly-rum, ly-rum, ly-rum, ly - rum

STRÁŽNICE, MORAVIA: SONGS FOR A NOBLEMAN

In the Department of the History of Music at the Moravian Land Museum in Brno is a pair of upright quarto partbooks for tenor and bassus bound in the parchment pages of an older

liturgical book.²⁴ A note on the inside of the back cover indicates that they once belonged to Jan Jetřich the Younger of Žerotín (d. 1628), a member of one of the most influential Moravian families. Jan Jetřich's cousin, Karel the Elder of Žerotín, served as hejtman of Moravia from 1608 to 1615 and was the most powerful protector of the Unity of Brethren, as it was in his domain west of Brno that the Unity of Brethren printed the most popular Czech-language hymnbooks of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Zangius dedicated his *Ander Theil deutscher Lieder mit drey Stimmen* (Vienna: Bonnoberger, 1611) to another of Jan Jetřich's relatives, Jan Diviš (Johann Dionysius) of Žerotín. Jan Jetřich administered the Žerotín domain of Strážnice at the border between southern Moravia and Upper Hungary, approximately 125 kilometers northeast of Vienna. Like other members of the Žerotín family, he studied at the university in Strasbourg, where Calvinist doctrine aligned most closely to the family's religious beliefs.²⁵ Jan Jetřich fled Moravia sometime before 1623, whereupon the partbooks were acquired by the Benedictine monastery of Rajhrad.²⁶

These partbooks, sign. A 369, bind together Jan Jetřich's copy of an anthology of secular music by Orazio Vecchi entitled *Piu è diversi madrigali è canzonette à 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. & 10. voci* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1594) with a manuscript appendix. The *Piu è diversi madrigali è canzonette* is a substantial collection of Vecchi's works for larger forces: forty-nine five- and six-voice canzonette and thirty-one madrigals for six, seven, eight, nine, and ten voices drawn primarily from the composer's *Madrigali a sei voci... libro primo* (1583), *Canzonette a sei voci... libro primo* (1587), *Madrigali a cinque voci... libro primo* (1589), and *Selva di varia ricreatione* (1590), all published by Gardano. The manuscript appendix following the print is comprised of at least two layers of very different characters. One scribe transcribed the first layer, containing works numbered one through five, while the second layer, containing works six through twenty-one, were added by as many as four scribes. In only one case was a composer identified: the twenty-first work in the tenor partbook is an unfinished basso continuo transcription for a four-voice mass setting by Johannes Praetorius.²⁷ Otherwise, the second layer is comprised entirely of sacred Latin motets.

²⁴ The Department of the History of Music (Oddělení dějin hudby) of the Moravské Zemské Muzeum occupies the former school where Leoš Janáček once taught, and the cottage he occupied in the back garden is now a museum dedicated to the composer. The partbooks are kept under shelfmark A 369.

²⁵ Hrubý identifies a Jan Jetřich at the university in Strasbourg between 1598 and 1606 along with several other members of the Bohemian and Moravian nobility. See František Hrubý, *Etudiants Tchèques aux Écoles Protestantes de l'Europe Occidentale à la Fin du 16^e et au Début du 17^e siècle* (Brno: Universita J. E. Purkyně, 1970), 12.

²⁶ The Benedictines acquired a binder's volume of sacred prints by Melchior Vulpus, containing his *Cantiones sacrae* (Jena, 1610), *Opusculum novum selectissimarum cantionem sacrarum* (Erfurt, 1610), and *Canticum Beatissimae Virginis Mariae* (Jena, 1605) in the same manner, indicated by the note: "Fr. Cornelius Praepositus emit pro usu Rayhradensis Monasterii Anno 1623 in Majo" (Department of the History of Music, Moravian Land Museum, sign. A 367).

²⁷ The Kyrie and a portion of the Gloria of the "Partitura ad off m 4 Voc: Joannis Praetorij per 4" is transcribed only in the tenor partbook. In place of this work in the bassus partbook is a setting of the *Veni sancte spiritus*.

The five works that comprise the first layer of A 369 transmit a more idiosyncratic repertory of secular music. The first work is an anonymous setting of Torquato Tasso's *Vola vola pensier*, identified in both partbooks simply as "Vola."²⁸ Neither partbook transmits the text of Tasso's canzonetta, presumably because both were intended for instrumental performance. The second and third works are two selections from Jacob Handl's 1596 *Moralia*, the six-voice *Musica noster amor* and *Musica musarum germana*. The choice of these two works is noteworthy, as they represent two of the three works in the 1596 publication for whom the textual sources are unknown, and, more than any others works in the 1596 collection, their texts are an explicit celebration of music personified as a sister of the Muses. Moreover, they are printed consecutively as numbers 38 and 39 in Handl's original collection. The scribe of these works in A 369 considered them two halves of the same work, labeling *Musica Musarum germana* as the *secunda parte* in both partbooks. The primary difference between the printed version and the manuscript is that the bassus is not texted nor does the scribe indicate the titles or composer of the works.

Similarities in theme, poetic structures and compositional approach suggest that Handl intended the two *moralia* as a pair. The lyrics, whose lines vary in length between twelve and seventeen syllables, both are interrupted in their third lines by "taratantara," which Handl further highlights in both settings by dividing the six voices into two choirs of low and high voices that exchange seven repetitions of the pattering syllables cadencing on C, F, and C. Both works are in F, and Handl switches in both cases to a homorhythmic tempus perfectus for their final lines, which also both begin with the subjunctive command "Vivat io."²⁹

<p>Musica noster amor, sit fida pedisse qua vatum, molliter ad cunas fingere nata melos. Exulet hostiles acuens, taratantara, motus, vivat, et Aonidum castra Poesis amet. Et lachrimas vatuum colit, et suspiria, Caesar. Vivat io magnis turba superba Diis.</p>	<p>Musica Musarum germana chorique magistra, laetificare solum nata beare polum, extimulat tua victrices, taratantara, dextras. Inde tibi merito palma suprema datur, non Musae, tibi, non Musarum praeses Apollo, non ipsae Charites praeipuere locum. Divas fatalis, reliquas manet exitus. At tu coelicolis dempto fine colenda viges. Vivat io exhilarans humanas Musica mentes. Vivat io summo, Musica grata Deo.</p>
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The fourth and fifth compositions in the manuscript appendix are both quodlibets (see the end of this chapter for transcriptions). The first of the two quodlibets is one of the two Italian *messanze* printed in the *Musicalischer Zeitvertreiber*, where it is listed in the index of the tenor partbook under the title of its first melodic quotation, the opening of Palestrina's famous madrigal, *Io son ferito ahi lasso*. Praetorius uses both *messanze* from the *Musicalischer Zeitvertreiber*, the other being the five-voice *Mirami vita mia*, to illustrate his third category of quodlibet, in which fragments from famous songs are combined together, but the same text is sung

²⁸ Although I have not yet identified the composer, it is not one of the settings by Giuseppe Caimo, Jacob Regnart, or Cesare de Zaccaria, nor the version Orlando di Lasso used as the basis for his setting of the *Magnificat super Vola pensier*.

²⁹ The text "Musica noster amor" appears in a different setting in the lutebook of Jan Arpin and in the encomiastic poem of Ferdinand Hoffmann discussed earlier in this dissertation.

simultaneously by all the voices.³⁰ Thus, these quodlibets present their melodic fragments successively rather than simultaneously, thereby enabling the listener to hear the polyphonic setting of each quoted work. The order of quotations in the messanza as transmitted in A 369 as follows:

Io son ferito ahi lasso	Palestrina, five-voice madrigal
Nasce la pena mia	Alessandro Striggio, six-voice madrigal
Anchor che col partire	Cipriano de Rore, four-voice madrigal
In meyn	German folksong
Liquide perl'amor	Marenzio, five-voice madrigal
sono dilecto cara	Andrea Gabrieli, <i>Sonno diletto e caro</i> , six-voice madrigal
Der wein, der schmeckt mir also wohl	Orlando di Lasso, five-voice lied
Il chor che mi rubasti	Orazio Vecchi, <i>Il cor che mi rubasti</i> , four-voice canzonetta
Chi passa per questa strada e non suspiro beato	Filippo Azzaiolo, <i>Chi passa per questa strada</i>
soi stese le mano	Unknown
Tu moristi inques sono menfrio campaj contento	Lelio Bertani, <i>Tu moristi in quel seno</i> , six-voice madrigal
Mentrio campaj contento correnoluormi tutte le vento	Orazio Vecchi, <i>Mentre io campai contento / Correvano li giorni piu che 'l vento</i> , four-voice canzonetta
Ich her ein und sie sprach zu mir	German folksong
Vestiva cole Conpai torno	Palestrina, <i>Vestiva i colli e le campagne intorno</i> , five-voice madrigal
leta godea gadea sedendo	Giovanni Gabrieli, <i>Lieto godea sedendo</i> , eight-voice madrigal
Baruchem Zachai	Quotation from Judenschul?
Io son restato qui solato	Orazio Vecchi, <i>Io son restato qui sconsolato</i> , six-voice canzonetta
mille mille volta bella	Gioseffo Biffi, <i>Io songo pascariello</i>

³⁰ While the editor of the *Musicalischer Zeitvertreiber* lists the messanza as *Io son ferito ahi lasso*, Praetorius lists the same work as *Nasce la pena mia*, the second of its opening melodic incipit.

Among the madrigals and canzonette quoted in this quodlibet, nine of them were printed in the first volume of Friedrich Lindner's *Gemma musicales* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1588), attesting to the importance of Lindner's anthology in transmitting popular Italian music to a central European audience.³¹ The quodlibet splices together quotations from some of the most popular Italian songs intercut with only two German folksongs, all of which evoke a pastoral soundworld. One of the German folksongs, *In Mayen*, was among the most beloved folksongs of the period, used by Jacob Handl as the basis for his five-voice *Missa super In Mayen* and printed in his third book of masses for five voices dedicated to Caspar Schönauer, abbot of the Premonstratensian monastery of Zábřovice in Moravia. Stuck between Giovanni Gabrieli's springtime ode to Cupid's arrow and Vecchi's canzonetta of a disconsolate lover is the Hebrew text "Baruchem Zachai," which conjures a Judaic religious scene somewhat out of place in the pastoral context established by the other quotations. Its function seems more to establish a bridge between the polyphonic flurry of *Lieto godea sedendo* and the switch to tempus perfectus for the homorhythmic *Io son restato*. After the Gabrieli quotation cadences on D, the tenor sings a stepwise ascent from D to A, establishing the modal framework of A on which *Io son restato* begins. The opening melody from Vecchi's canzonetta soon cadences on F, followed by the return of the original mensuration. The quodlibet then concludes with the formulaic "mille mille volta bella" from the *pascariello napoletano* by Gioseffo Biffi, Zsigmond Báthory's chapelmaster in Warsaw at the end of the sixteenth century.

More unusual is the second quodlibet in A 369, which is not transmitted in the *Musicalischer Zeitvertreiber*, nor, apparently, in any other source. The texts include a diverse combination of secular and sacred German tunes, Czech tunes, and Italian melody, nonsense syllables, and quotations from the sacred Latin literature. The combination of these disparate sources results in an even more richly evocative work with some discernible narrative content. The tenor is the first to enter after a rest of two-and-a-half breves, singing "O nevěrný Jidáš, co jsi učinil" [O faithless Judas, what have you done?] from the Czech translation of the medieval hymn *Rex Christe factor omnium*. Meanwhile, the bassus is given two parallel yet similar texts, the top in Czech and Latin and underneath a text in German (In medio nejvic kochanti prozpěvují / In maien hört man die hahnen kräen). In the German version, it seems that the bassus will sing the famous melody of *In Mayen*, but the text immediately changes, so that the full line translates as "In May one hears the cocks crow." The Czech version is similar but without the reference to the German folksong, so that the line is rendered as "In the middle the cocks crow most often." The reference to crowing roosters links well to the faithless Judas by recalling the betrayal of Peter, but it is also possible to hear the roosters as a stand-in for Utraquist or Catholic priests performing the Latin mass, particularly considering the next quotation sung by the bassus, "Kyrie eleyson," which, in performance, would sound like the conclusion of the bassus's first line. Žerotín, a member of the Unity of Brethren, would probably have found the comparison apt.

Combined with the tenor's line, the opening of the quodlibet also recalls a popular tradition among Czech-speaking communities performed from Holy Thursday to Easter Sunday, when church bells fell silent for three days and were replaced by heralds roaming the city streets

³¹ Palestrina's *Io son ferito abi lasso*, Striggio's *Nasce la pena mia*, Rore's *Ancor che col partire*, Marenzio's *Liquide per l'amor*, Vecchi's *Il cor che mi rubasti* and *Mentre io campai contento*, Bertani's *Tu moristi in quel sono*, Palestrina's *Vestiva i colli*, and Giovanni Gabrieli's *Lieto godea sedendo*.

with clappers and rattles singing a vivid hymn popularized in Catholic and Utraquist hymnbooks:³²

<p>A ty nevěrný Jidáš, co jsi učinil, že jsi svého mistra, pána židům prozradil! Za to budeš pykat v pekle horoucím, mezi luciperty, ďáblý, spočívat budeš až na věky věkův, Kyrie eleison.</p>	<p>And you, faithless Judas, what have you done? that you betrayed our master, Lord of the Jews! For this you will burn in fiery hell. Among Lucifer and the devils you will lie for ever and ever, Kyrie eleison.</p>
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The tenor continues with a rapid series of fragmentary quotations from Jacob Clemens non Papa's Resurrection motet *Maria Magdalene et altera Maria*, Orlando di Lasso's *Susane un jour*, and the medieval Christmas carol *In dulci jubilo* sung in a Czech macaronic version. Coincidentally, these two latter works are both found in Ladislav Velen of Žerotín's tablature for spinet compiled by his music teacher in Basel, the organist Samuel Mareschall, and are the only two works included in the manuscript that are neither a Lutheran hymn nor one of Goudimel's harmonizations of the psalter. The quodlibet continues with quotations from sacred and secular German songs, the Medieval cantio *Nobis est natus hodie*, and more widespread liturgical pieces, such as the Easter sequence *Victimae paschali laudes*, the Christmas introit *Puer natus est nobis*, the hymn *Salve Regina*, *Ite missa est*, and the introit *Gaudeamus*, all of which impart a sense of motion through the liturgical year. Tenor and bassus come together for the conclusion, singing the German drinking song *Frisch auf, wir wollen freilich sein*.

The one appearance of an Italian song appears over halfway through the piece in the tenor, a quotation from a setting of the canzonetta *Vola, vola pensier*. A comparison of the melody sung by the tenor to the first work in the manuscript appendix of A 369 reveals that the quotation comes from the same anonymous setting provided in full just a few pages earlier in both partbooks. The mixture of Czech and German texts, liturgical quotations rooted in Bohemian and Moravia tradition, and the unique transmission of this quodlibet in A 369 suggest the work's local origins. Although it is unknown whether Jan Jetřich employed musicians in Strážnice, three musicians served at the court of his relative, Ladislav Velen of Žerotín (1579–1638), in the northern Moravian town of Moravská Třebová at the end of the sixteenth century.³³ Moreover, the Brethren academy of Strážnice had a strong theatrical tradition, beginning with the rector of the school and published playwright Pavel Kyrmezer in the 1560s to its most famous pupil in the first decade of the seventeenth century, the playwright and early

³² The tune appears in the Rozenplut hymnbook on page 184 as the fifth stanza of *Laus tibi Christe / Chvála tobě Kryste*, and in the Závorka hymnbook on page 125v. Rozenplut worked in both Brno and Olomouc. The melody also appears as a trope in a Kyrie by Maršálek in the Rokycany collection. See Emil Trola, "Kapitoly o české Mensurální Hudbě: I. Jakub Maršálek," *Cyril* (1933): 4. It is in Ms. A V 23 of the deacon library in Rokycany, compiled between 1569 and 1625. On Judas in Czech Easter celebrations circa 1600, which culminates with his effigy thrown into a bonfire, see Winter, *Život Církevní*, 865; and idem, "O Veliké Noci v Staré Praze," *Pražské Obrázky* (Prague: Otto, 1913), 189-196.

³³ See Straková, "Vokálně Polyfonní Skladby," III, 150. Mareschall gave *Les psaumes de David en tablature sur l'espinet 1593* to Ladislav Velen during his stay in Basel in 1593.

proponent of universal education, John Amos Comenius.³⁴ As the highest authority of the Brethren academy in Strážnice, Jan Jetřich would have found able performers for this theatrical text among the community at large, for whom these secular works would have provided ideal music for recreation or for carnival. The technical difficulty and linguistic diversity of the works transmitted in A 369 speak to the worldly orientation of musical culture absorbed even in Moravian towns somewhat removed from the primary centers of regional power.

CONCLUSION

In the history of polylingual music in the sixteenth century, it would be remiss not to mention the most famous of sixteenth-century polylingual composers and trendsetters, Orlando di Lasso, and his most famous polylingual print, the *Sex cantiones latinae quatuor, adiuncto dialogo octo vocum; Sechs teutsche Lieder mit vier sampt einem Dialogo mit 8. Stimmen; Six chansons francoises nouvelles a quatre voix avecq vn dialogue a huict; Sei madrigali nuoui a quatro, con vn dialogo a otto voci* (Munich: Berg, 1973), dedicated symbolically to the four Fugger brothers, Marx, Johann, Hieronymus, and Johann Jakob, “als vier Gebrüder so der und auch anderer Sprachen zum herrligisten und hoch erfahren.” Lasso also furthered the Italian tradition in central Europe of *madrigali a diversi linguaggi*, a musical practice most closely associated with the commedia dell’arte, through his own performances. He undoubtedly played a role in popularizing these forms among his students, including Johannes Eccard, whose *Zanni et Magnifico* splits four separate Italian texts and characters among five voices. A central European audience probably took particular delight in the basso singing the half-German, half-Italian role of Tedesco in Eccard’s madrigal. The Czech Crown Lands were another rich center of this tradition thanks to the even greater linguistic diversity of the region. Beginning with Matheo Flecha the Younger’s *Las ensaladas* (Prague: Nigrin, 1581), the tradition of composing and publishing quodlibets in Prague culminated in Carl Luython’s 1609 *Liber I. missarum*, in which four of the nine masses share the name *Missa quodlibetica*. But without the accompanying texts, their original sources have yet to be untangled. Like the quodlibets of the *Musicalischer Zeitvertreiber* and Brno Ms. A 369, Luython’s quodlibet masses share a rapid, primarily syllabic declamation of the words and a notable degree of thematic concentration, suggesting sources popular in origin. These sources probably drew from the large variety of international musical forms heard in the streets, homes, and courts of the imperial city where one of the most diverse bodies of musicians from across Europe mingled, and where composers such as Luython in his *Popularis anni jubilus* and Jacob Handl in his books of *Moralia* were inspired to imagine new forms of music.

³⁴ Kyrmezer’s *Komedia Česká o Bohatci a Lazarovi* [Czech Comedy about a Rich Man and Lazarus], published during his tenure as rector in Strážnice, includes scenes with music and dancing. Three of his comedies have been issued in a modern edition in Pavel Kyrmezer, *Divadelné Hry: Komedia česká o Bohatci a Lazarovi, Komedia nová o Vdově, Komedia o Tobiášovi* (Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej Akadémie Vied, 1956).

Io son ferito ahi lasso / Nasce la pena mia as printed in the *Musicalischer Zeitvertreiber* (1609)

Soprano 1
An - chor — che col par - ti -

Soprano 2
Im

Alto
Na - sce la pe - na mi - a Im

Tenor 1
Io son fe - ri - to'ahi las - so — Im

Tenor 2
Na - sce la pe - na mi - a. Im

Bass
Im

6
S 1
re, li-qui-de per l'A - mor, da gl'oc-chi spar - se, tre

S 2
Mey - en, — li-qui-de per l'A - mor, son - no di - let - t'e ca - ro, tre

A
Mey - en, — Son - no di - let - te ca - ro.

T 1
Mey - en, — li-qui-de per l'A - mor Tre

T 2
Mey - en, — Son - no di - let-t'e ca - ro

B
Mey - en, — Son - no di - let-t'e ca - ro.

©

11

S 1
co-se son in ter-ra. Der Wein der schmeckt mir al - so wol. Il cor che mi ru-ba - sti,

S 2
co-se son in ter - ra Il cor che mi ru-ba - sti,

A
Der Wein der schmeckt mir al - so wol. Il cor che mi ru-ba - sti,

T 1
co-se son in ter-ra. Der Wein der schmeckt mir al - so wol.

T 2
Der Wein der schmeckt mir al - so wol. Il cor che mi ru-ba - sti,

B
Der Wein der schmeckt mir al - so wol.

16

S 1
Chi pas - sa per que-sta stra - da, e non so - spi - ra be - a - to

S 2
Chi pas - sa per que-sta stra - da, e non so - spi - ra be - a - to

A
Chi pas - sa per que-sta stra - da, e non so - spi - ra be - a - to

T 1
Chi pas - sa per que-sta stra - da, e non so - si - ra be - a - to

T 2
Chi pas - sa per que-sta stra - da, e non so - spi - ra be - a - to

B
Chi pas - sa per que-sta stra - da, e non so - spi - ra be - a - to

24

S 1
 sia, ste - se la ma - no. Can - tai - un tem - po

S 2
 sia, ste - se la ma - no, Can - tai un tem - po

A
 sia, ste - se la ma - no, e gl'oc - chia ter - ra vol - se, Can - tai un tem - po

T 1
 sia.

T 2
 sia, ste - se la ma - no.

B
 sia.

29

S 1
 Ve - nus, du und dein Kind, seit al - le bey - de blind. Men - tre cam - pai con - ten -

S 2
 Seit al - le bey - de blind. Men - tre cam - pai con - ten -

A
 Seit al - le bey - de blind. Men - tre cam - pai con - ten -

T 1
 tu mo - rist' in quel se - no Men - tre cam - pai con - ten -

T 2
 tu mo - rist' in quel se - no, Men - tre cam - pai con - ten -

B
 tu mo - rist' in quel se - no. Men - tre cam - pai con - ten -

33

S 1 to, cor - re - va - no li gior - ni, più che'il ven - to. Ist kei - ner hie, der spricht

S 2 to, cor - re - va - no li gior - ni, più che'il ven - to.

A to, cor - re - va - no li gior - ni, più che'il ven - to Ist kei - ner hie, der

T 1 to, A - ma - te mi ben mi - o

T 2 to, Ist kei - ner

B to. A - ma - te mi ben mi - o

37

S 1 zu mir. Ve - stiv' ei col - li le cam - pagn' in - tor

S 2 Ve - stiv' ei col - li, le cam - pagn' in -

A spricht - zu mir. Ve - stiv' ei col - li le cam - pagn' in - tor - no.

T 1 Ve - stiv' ei col - li'e le cam - pagn' in - tor - no.

T 2 hie, der spricht zu mir. Ve - stiv' ei col - li le cam - pagn' in -

B Ve - stiv' ei col - li le cam - pagn' in - tor - no.

41

S 1
no, lie - to go - dea, go - dea se - den - do. Ba - ra - chim E - za - cha -

S 2
tor - no, lie - to go - dea go - dea se - den - do. Ba - ra - chim E - za - cha -

A
lie - to go - dea go - dea se - den - do Ba - ra - chim E - za - cha - i.

T 1
lie - to go - dea se - den - do Ba - ra - chim E - za - cha -

T 2
tor - no, lie - to go - dea se - den - do. Ba - ra - chim E - za - cha -

B
lie - to go - dea go - dea se - den - do. Ba - ra - chim E - za - cha -

46

S 1
i. Des mag ich wol mit lust ein lied - lein sin -

S 2
i Des mag ich wol mit lust ein lied - lein sin - gen,

A
Des mag ich wol mit lust ein lied - lein sin -

T 1
i. Io son re - sta - to qui scon - so - la - to.

T 2
i. Io son re - sta - to qui scon - so - la - to.

B
i. Io son re - sta - to qui scon - so - la - to.

52

S 1
gen. mil-le, mil-le vol - te bel - la

S 2
mil-le, mil-le vol - te bel - la

A
gen, mil-le, mil-le vol - te bel - la

T 1
8 mil-le, mil-le vol - te bel - la

T 2
8 mil-le, mil-le vol - te bel - la

B
mil-le, mil-le vol - te bel - la

55

S 1

S 2

A

T 1
8

T 2
8

B

Anonymous Quodlibet from A 369, Department of the History of Music, Moravian Land Museum, Brno

Tenor

Bass

O ne-věr-ný

In

4

T Ji - dá - ši, O ne-věr-ný Ji - dá - ši, co jsi u - či - nil? e - go can -

B me - di - o nej - víc ko - chan - ti pro - zpě - vu - ji Ky - ri - e e - ley -

8

T ta - bo Ma - ri - a Mag - da - le - nae Su - sa - na se, In dul - ci

B son Es macht__ ein Baur in sei - nem Dor - fen _____

13

T iu - bi - lo, zpí - vej - mež ve - se - le, Und seit _____ Frau, Al -

B Wi - sta - sa sau, _____ Trincks - gar aus trincks gar aus

The image shows a musical score for a quodlibet. It consists of four systems of music, each with a Tenor (T) and Bass (B) part. The first system shows the beginning of the piece with the lyrics 'O ne-věr-ný' and 'In'. The second system starts at measure 4 and contains the lyrics 'Ji - dá - ši, O ne-věr-ný Ji - dá - ši, co jsi u - či - nil? e - go can -' for the Tenor and 'me - di - o nej - víc ko - chan - ti pro - zpě - vu - ji Ky - ri - e e - ley -' for the Bass. The third system starts at measure 8 and contains the lyrics 'ta - bo Ma - ri - a Mag - da - le - nae Su - sa - na se, In dul - ci' for the Tenor and 'son Es macht__ ein Baur in sei - nem Dor - fen _____' for the Bass. The fourth system starts at measure 13 and contains the lyrics 'iu - bi - lo, zpí - vej - mež ve - se - le, Und seit _____ Frau, Al -' for the Tenor and 'Wi - sta - sa sau, _____ Trincks - gar aus trincks gar aus' for the Bass. The music is written in 4/4 time and features various rhythmic patterns and rests.

17
 T le - lu - ia Al - le - lu - ia de
 B Gau - de - a - mus A - men a - men De - o gra - ti -

22
 T pu-ra vir-gi-ne Rex vic-to-ri-ae, frisch auf, frisch auf, la la la la la
 B as De - o gra - ti - as la la la la la la la la la la la la la la

26
 T la Sly - šíš - lí své pak vě-říš, Et in ter-ra pax pax ho-mi-ni - bus
 B Et fī - lius da - tus est no - bis, Vic - ti - me pas - cha - li lau - des

31
 T Vo-la, vo - la pen - si-er fu - o - ror det mi pal - tus
 B - Sal - ve Sta - bant ius - ti in mag-na con-stant

36
 T O fe-li - ces be - a - ti o glo-ri - o - si, Gott ist mein frost auff er - des auf
 B - ti - a Wir wol - len frei - lich sein

41

T
8
er - des I - te mis - sa est, De - o gra - ti - as, frisch auf

B
der ein mit af - fen als ver - lich ge - ben sol - len frisch auf,

46

T
8
wir wol - len frei - lich sein wir wol - len frei - lich sein.

B
frisch auf, wir wol - len frei - lich sein.

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