

A NEGLECTED CHAPTER ON HANDL'S SOURCES: READINGS FROM THE SWEDISH MANUSCRIPTS

MARC DESMET

Université de Saint-Etienne*

Izveček: Švedske knjižnice hranijo pomembno število prepisov skladb Jacoba Handla. V pri-spevku so obravnavane posebnosti tega reper-toarja. Glede na pisne vire je Handlova glasba kmalu našla mesto v luteranski glasbeni praksi na Švedskem.

Ključne besede: Jacob Handl-Gallus, Švedska, Salomon Frenzel, Västerås, Kalmar, Växjö

Abstract: Swedish libraries preserve an impor-tant amount of manuscript copies of Jacob Handl compositions. Specificities of the repertory are examined in this article, in relation with written evidence that Handl music had found its way al-ready at an early date within the musical prac-tice of Lutheran Church in Sweden.

Keywords: Jacob Handl-Gallus, Sweden, Salo-mon Frenzel, Västerås, Kalmar, Växjö

Handl sources yet to be studied

In his review commenting on volumes 26 and 27 of the *Monumenta Artis Musicae Sloveniae* (MAMS) devoted to Jacob Handl's printed secular compositions,¹ Stephen Rose remarked² that the location of surviving copies was not mentioned in this edition, an omission judged unfortunate "given the patchy coverage of Hungarian and Polish li-braries in RISM (Répertoire international des sources musicales)."³ This remark indeed makes a point for every Handl scholar faced with the large number of preserved sources, their often fragmentary nature, and, most of all, their dissemination. The fact that source locations are limited or absent in the Handl volumes of the MAMS series probably needs no other explanation than this complexity, to which the RISM A/II listings with their

* Institut Claude Longeon - UMR 5037.

¹ Iacobus Gallus, *Harmoniae Morales*, ed. Edo Škulj, *Monumenta Artis Musicae Sloveniae* XXVI, Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, 1995; Iacobus Gallus, *Moralia*, ed. Edo Škulj, *Monumenta Artis Musicae Sloveniae* XXVII, Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, 1995.

² Stephen Rose, Iacobus Gallus, *Harmoniae Morales, Moralia*, V rokopisu ohranjene skladbe, ed. Edo Škulj, Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, 1995–1996, *Notes* 58 (2001), 1, pp. 183–186.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

gradually increasing number of references also contributed in a rather spectacular way. Considering the manuscript source situation, it now seems clear that a significant share of Handl's compositions are preserved in manuscript form in a large variety of locations, a detailed account of which remains to be made in Handl studies. Among the many discoveries awaiting scholars browsing through this wealth of material, the many sources preserved in Swedish libraries deserve special mention because they appear to have been hitherto almost totally ignored by previous Handl scholars. Although the Polish collections are now well described with regard to Handl's music, especially thanks to the work of Tomasz Jeż,⁴ an account of the Swedish manuscript collections, which contain a large part of Handl's musical output, still remains to be realized.

The reasons for this have a ready explanation. The first Handl scholars discovered what constitute the present-day Polish collections by the beginning of the twentieth century, particularly in Wrocław (*Breslau*).⁵ Listings of sources of Swedish provenience, on the other hand, have appeared only more recently, and this mostly through their inclusion in the A/II series of the RISM. They were unknown to previous Handl scholars,⁶ and until now have neither been studied nor compared with other manuscript collections containing Handl's music. Considered as a whole, these manuscript sources form a corpus of considerable size, which should occupy a significant share of a future thematic catalogue, something Handl studies is still in need of. This article presents this Swedish collection of manuscript sources, which is still in its first stages of study but is already opening some interesting perspectives on Handl's musical reception in northern Europe.

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

⁵ See, for example, the listings established by Robert Eitner, Handl (Händl, Gallus), Jakob, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon* 5, Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel, 1901, R/(fac-sim), Graz, Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1959, pp. 13–15; and by Josip Mantuani, *Bibliographie der Werke von Gallus, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* XII/1, Vienna, Artaria, 1905; R/(fac-sim), Graz, Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1959, pp. V–XVII. For the Wrocław collections, both of these listings rely on the catalogues established by Emil Bohn in *Die musikalischen Handschriften des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Musik im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Breslau [Wrocław], Hainauer, 1890, as well as in the *Bibliographie der Musik-Druckwerke bis 1700, welche in der Stadtbibliothek, der Bibliothek des Akademischen Instituts für Kirchenmusik und der Königlichen und Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Breslau aufbewahrt werden: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Musik im 15., 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, Cohn, 1883.

⁶ Although already well documented through articles published as early as 1901 by Tobias Norlind, such as *Schwedische Schullieder im Mittelalter und in der Reformationszeit, Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 2 (1901), 4, pp. 552–607, and *Vor 1700 gedruckte Musikalien in den Schwedischen Bibliotheken, Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 9 (1908), 2, pp. 196–231. Åke Davidsson's catalogue, *Catalogue critique et descriptif des imprimés de musique des XVIe et XVIIe siècles conservés dans les bibliothèques suédoises*, Uppsala, Almqvist & Wiksell's Boktryckeri, 1952, also could have served as a testimony of the importance of the Swedish collections, although most of Handl's pieces are preserved in manuscript form and therefore do not appear in this source list.

Figure 1



Facts and figures

The Handl sources preserved in the Swedish collections comprise nearly 250 items, found in at least 21 manuscripts or groups of manuscripts. The precise number of sources is still difficult to establish because a few of these manuscripts do not bear a shelfmark and can be counted either as separate entities or as part books relating to identical collections. These sources are preserved in ten libraries, at Enköping, Kalmar, Lund, Linköping, Stockholm, Skara, Uppsala, Västerås, Växjö, and Visby. They contain copies of 77 compositions: one mass, 60 motets, and 16 secular pieces. This large collection is widely spread across the southern and central provinces of Sweden, in libraries and cities of various importance, among which the richest in terms of the number of manuscripts or contents are not necessarily the most important ones.

It is particularly noteworthy in this respect that the two main music libraries of Sweden, in Stockholm and Uppsala, represent less than 5% of the global number of sources. Adding to these two the manuscripts preserved in Linköping and Visby, one barely reaches 11% of the total. As a matter of fact, this uneven distribution gives particular emphasis to the libraries in Växjö, Kalmar, Lund, and Västerås, and it is to these collections that the following remarks specially refer. The Kalmar library alone is the richest of all, with 73 copies of Handl compositions preserved. Moreover, if one believes the RISM indications, these manuscripts were copied at a rather early date, and can all be dated to before or during the early 1650s. These figures are currently available on the A/II series of the RISM database online, and are shown in condensed form in the following table:

Library	Ms.	No. of Handl compositions
Kalmar, Stifts- och gymnasiebiblioteket	Series of part books without shelfmarks: a) Series of three separate parts (A1/2, B1). Mention: <i>Liber Scholae Calm.</i> b) – Single S2 part. Missing since 2002 (table of contents preserved). Mention: <i>Liber Scholae Calmariensis 1624.</i> – Single T1 part. Probably associated with the former according to the title list of related contents. – Series of three separate parts (S2, A2, B2), probably associated with preceding T1 and S2 parts. Mention: <i>Liber Scholae Calmariensis 1624.</i> Incomplete. – Series of two separate parts (A1, A2), probably associated with preceding. Mention: <i>Liber Scholae Calmariensis 1624.</i> c) – Series of four separate parts (A1, T, B, 6).	73
Växjö, Stadsbibliotek	– [Mus. Ms. 2. Series of six separate parts (S1/2, A1, T1, B1/2). Mentions: <i>Liber Harmonicus Gymnasii Wexionensis ... 1652; 1653; 1642</i> – [Mus. Ms. 3. Series of four separate parts (S, A, T, B). First half of 17th century according to RISM. – [Mus. Ms. 325–328. Series of four separate parts (S, A, T, B). First half of 17th century according to RISM. – [Mus. Ms. 4. Series of six separate parts (S1/2, A2, T1/2, B2). 17th century according to RISM.	47
Västerås, Stadsbibliotek	– [Molér 67 (8). ⁷ Series of six separate parts (S2, A1, T1/2, B1/2). Mentions: <i>Liber Scholae Arhusiensis ... 1597; 1603 ;1622;1626.</i> – [Molér 68 (24). ⁸ Series of eight separate parts (S1/2, A1/2, T1/2, B1/2). Mention: <i>1598</i> – [Molér 69 (26) = RISM A/II [190.007.571]. T2 separate part. 1619–1625 according to RISM.	35
Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket	[Wenster Saml. 32 = RISM A/II [190.002.475]. T1 separate part. Mention: <i>Anno 1621.</i>	25

⁷ Complete source depiction available on the website of the DIAMM (Digital Archive of Medieval Music), at <http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Source.jsp?navToggle=1&sourceKey=1081> (14 October 2009).

⁸ Complete source depiction available on the website of the DIAMM (Digital Archive of Medieval Music), at <http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Source.jsp?navToggle=1&sourceKey=2622> (14 October 2009).

Enköping, St. Iliansskolan Biblioteket	– [Ij-R:3. Altus separate part. First half of 17th century according to RISM. – [Ij-R:6. S2 separate part, copied ca. 1600 on a volume also containing a Sexta printed part of RISM A/I [L 915 incomplete of four first compositions and a S2 printed part of RISM A/I [V 1424. – [Ij-R:7. Altus separate part, 17th century.	21
Skara, Stifts- och landsbiblioteket	[Ms. Mus. 6 = RISM A/II [190.009.289]. Discantus separate part. Mention: <i>Anno 1646</i> .	16
Visby, Landsarkivet i Visby	– Single Altus separate part. 17th century according to RISM.	16
Stockholm, Statens musiksamlingar	– [K-R. Single Altus separate part. Around 1600 according to RISM. – [Tyska Kyrkans ⁹ . Series of six separate parts (S1/2, A, T1/2, B) RISM A/II [190.011.872]. 17th century according to RISM – [Tyska Kyrkans 15.3 Series of six separate parts (S, A, T, B, 5, 6). Early 17th century according to RISM.	8
Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket	– [Vok. mus. i hs. 132. Keyboard tablature, ca. 1602 according to RISM. - [Vok. mus. i hs. 88. Score with added bc part, ca. 1620 according to RISM.	3
Linköping, Stiftsbiblioteket i stadsbiblioteket	– Series of five separate parts without shelfmark (S2, A1/2, T1, B2), before 1634 according to RISM	2

Origin of the Swedish collections: Central Europe?

Concerning the origin of the Swedish collections, it seems difficult at first, given the perfect coincidence in chronology, not to let one's imagination travel in space and time. Historians will note that during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) Swedish troops not only destroyed or took numerous precious collections and works of art from Central European cities, but also had carefully planned orders that precious libraries should be transferred to Sweden. Reports on the transfer of numerous libraries to Sweden have been kept and were published as early as the 1850s by two Moravian scholars: Christian d'Elvert¹⁰ and the Benedictine historian Beda Dudík in his *Forschungen in Schweden* published in 1852.¹¹ The latter states that the Prague collections of Malá Strana were severely affected by the

⁹ Complete source depiction available on the website of the DIAMM (Digital Archive of Medieval Music), at <http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Source.jsp?navToggle=1&sourceKey=1080> (14 October 2009).

¹⁰ Christian d'Elvert, *Historische Literatur-Geschichte von Mähren und Österreich-Schlesien*, Brünn [Brno], Author, 1850, pp. 515–517.

¹¹ Beda Dudík, *Forschungen in Schweden für Mährens Geschichte*, Brünn [Brno], Carl Winiker, 1852, p. 5.

war, and that in Moravia the episcopal library in Olomouc (*Olmütz*), the residence library in Kroměříž (*Kremsier*), and the Dietrichstein library in Mikulov (*Nikolsburg*) were also completely destroyed and taken to Sweden. The route followed by the heavy book boxes is also mentioned with some precision in these early studies. Through Glybczice (*Leob-schütz*), Głogów (*Groß-Glogau*), and Szczecin (*Stettin*), books were transferred to Stockholm, and then to various places such as Drottningholm, Uppsala, Västerås, Linköping, and Lund. Reading these ancient but well-documented accounts as a continuation to the RISM A/II listings is very promising for musicologists. Could at least part of the Swedish musical collections have originated in Central Europe? Must these manuscripts, which are so rich not only in works by Handl, but in many central European compositions from the late Renaissance, be linked with places known by the composer himself? After all, surprisingly few manuscripts containing Handl's music have been found in Bohemia and Moravia,¹² where the composer was active, and this is especially true when comparing these few sources to the high number of manuscripts copied in central Germany or Silesia. If there were a direct connection between the Bohemian and Moravian sources and the Swedish collections, this would provide an immediate explanation.

Swedish copies

Examination of the Swedish sources rapidly puts an end to such imaginings. The Swedish manuscripts containing Handl's music are not part of the book collections transported from Central Europe to Sweden as booty during the Thirty Years' War. They contain no hint of a possible relationship between their contents and Handl's surroundings when the composer was active in Prague or in the Olomouc/Kroměříž area. Paradoxically, what is found instead is probably just as rewarding, and certainly says more about Handl's musical reception in northern Europe in a rather unexpected way.

In terms of provenience and dates, it is certainly important to emphasize the fact that Handl's compositions preserved in manuscript in Sweden were indeed copied in Sweden, if not directly on the spot where they can still be seen today. This is especially true of the Kalmar, Västerås, and Växjö collections, which all bear mentions of the Latin schools of these cities.¹³ Västerås appears to be the oldest, with copy years as early as 1597 and going up to 1626. The years 1623 or 1624 sometimes appear on the Kalmar manuscripts, and 1653 in Växjö.¹⁴ Two lesser collections in Lund and Skara were copied for the use of small parish churches: the parson of Hallaryd wrote his name "Andreas Petri Hallarydensis" in

¹² At least according to the present state of the RISM A/II Series listings. Jiří Sehnal, citing the catalogue of books established for the use of Saint Maurice's church in Olomouc in 1594, also mentions as surprising the fact that almost no manuscript source of Handl's music is to be found in the area where his printed edition was conceived. See Jiří Sehnal, *Die Musik in Mähren gegen Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts* und Jacobus Gallus, *Gallus Carniolus in evropska renesansa* 1, ur. Dragotin Cvetko and Danilo Pokorn, Ljubljana, Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 1991, p. 41.

¹³ *Liber Scholae Calmariensis*, *Liber Scholae Arhusiensis* and *Liber Gymnasii Wexionensis*, respectively.

¹⁴ See table given above for details concerning mentions of years in the manuscripts.

the beginning of the tenor part book preserved in Lund, with the year 1621. The Skara volume is a fancy little book containing both a single discantus part book and, on the other side of the volume, a book of monodic canticles. The parson of the modest parish of Lyres-tad also wrote his name, "Jonas Benedikt Rudber," in this volume with the year 1646.

The contents of the manuscripts lead to open-ended conclusions. On the one hand, the same pieces are copied over and over again. With few exceptions, these pieces are taken out of the eight-part compositions found in the four volumes of motets,¹⁵ or in the secular Latin pieces named *moralia*.¹⁶ Because the motets were initially conceived for a Catholic context, it is hardly surprising that the copyists seem to select all possible adaptable pieces to Lutheran practice, and especially these related to Advent, Easter, or Ascension. The fact that most of these pieces also enjoyed widespread popularity in the printed anthologies from the beginning of the seventeenth century such as the *Florilegium selectissimarum cantionum*¹⁷ is also a sign that this is Handl's most common repertory of motets.

On the other hand, these Swedish sources have an importance of their own in that they bring to light some very rare pieces, including intriguing *unica* from Handl's output. These include unpublished works attributed to Handl in the manuscripts. These works are of great value because they are compositions that previously were almost unknown. This is the case for two motets found in Växjö: *Laudem cantemus Domino*¹⁸ and *Jam de somno*,¹⁹ both for eight voices, out of which three survive for the first (A1, T1, B1), and only two for the second (A, B), thus unfortunately making any reconstruction nearly impossible. This is also the case for two *moralia*. The first is a four-part piece, *Ah quam difficile est falsos recognoscere fratres*, out of which three parts survive in Kalmar.²⁰ Josip Mantuani had already mentioned the piece in his Handl bibliography published in 1905,²¹ referring to the Wrocław sources containing all four parts, which are preserved in Berlin today.²² Another *morale* is also to be found, *Nescio cur hodie laetetur*, for eight voices, out of which five parts²³ are preserved in the Kalmar, Växjö, and Visby

¹⁵ Known as *Opus musicum* (1586–1591), hereafter abbreviated OM, of which printed sources are listed in RISM A/I [H 1980 to [H 1982 and [H 1985.

¹⁶ Published in the collections *Harmoniae morales* (1590–1591) and *Moralia* (posth., 1596), hereafter abbreviated HM and MO, respectively, and often improperly referred to as madrigals in current musicological literature. Printed sources are listed in RISM A/I [H 1983, [H 1986, [H 1987 and [H 1988.

¹⁷ Ed. Eberhard Bodenschatz, Leipzig 1603, reissued in 1618, and in which nineteen Handl motets are to be found. See RISM B/I 1603.1 and 1618.1.

¹⁸ Mus. Ms. 2 c-e, RISM A/II 190.013.063.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, RISM A/II 190.013.061.

²⁰ RISM A/II 190.026.639 mentions three parts (A1/2, B1), whereas the part books containing them are labeled A1, A2, and T1. It is to be noted that, at the time of publication of this article, a part book containing a single S2 part has been reported missing from Kalmar since May 2002; it may have contained the fourth and last voice of this piece.

²¹ Josip Mantuani, *Bibliographie der Werke von Gallus*, op. cit., p. XV.

²² Berlin Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz (olim: Breslau, Stadtbibliothek) [Ms. mus. Bohn 21 (organ tablature), no. 76 and [Ms. mus. Bohn 30B (series of eight separate part books), no. 38. See Jež, op. cit., p. 49.

²³ S2, A1, T1, B1/2.

libraries.²⁴ This piece is attributed to Handl in Växjö and is also preserved, but anonymously, in Wolfenbüttel.²⁵ It had never been mentioned before, but shows many distinctive stylistic traits of Handl.

Certainly less spectacular than these findings, some other special features of the Swedish collections also deserve mention. Copied anonymously among Handl's motets are some single pieces, which would call for a thorough analysis in order to establish whether they can be attributed to the Carniolian composer. This is the case for a *Dixit Dominus*, complete with eight parts preserved in Västerås,²⁶ and a *morale*, *Tu sine quo*, also a 8, of which six parts are preserved in the same library.²⁷ The same could be said for anonymous pieces whose stylistic features bear striking resemblances to Handl's compositions. This is the case for one motet preserved in Växjö, *Domine in tua misericordia*,²⁸ and for one *morale* found in Västerås on a Seneca text, *Nemo confidat nimium*.²⁹

Finally, mention should be made of specific contrafacta texts. The mythological *morale Adeste Musae* (MO 9) appears with a moral text, *Abstorta est mors*, in Kalmar³⁰ and Växjö,³¹ and the motet *Quam pulchra es* (OM IV, 4) appears with an added alternative text, *Justus es Salvator noster*, in Västerås.³²

Mention should also be made of three anonymous *missae breves* (i.e., limited to the Kyrie, Gloria, and Agnus Dei), based on Handl compositions. Motets are quoted as models in a *Missa Quam dilecta* (based on OM III, 28) found in Västerås and Kalmar,³³ and the *Missa Gaudet in celis* (based on OM IV, 16) preserved in Kalmar,³⁴ but there is also a mass composed on the secular *moralium Sperne lucrum* (MO 7) in Enköping, Kalmar, Skara, and Växjö.³⁵ None of these three masses have yet been studied or attributed.

Considering the relatively high number of sources that can be considered rare in Handl's output, one question inevitably arises: how can the presence of these sources be explained in Sweden, and where could these *unica* have been copied from?

²⁴ RISM A/II 190.016.611 (Visby, single A part), 190.013.067 (Växjö, A1, T1, B1 [2 ex.] parts), 190.026.654 (Kalmar, A1, B1 parts) and 190.026.350 (Kalmar S1/2, A1/2, T1, B2). The depiction given in RISM for the Kalmar part books does not exactly coincide with the number of parts found during the author's own visit, which made possible the retrieval of only five parts: S2, A1, T1, B1/2. The S1 part mentioned in 190.026.350 could have been preserved in the now missing S2 part book already mentioned above, but no trace has been found of the A2 part also mentioned in the same reference.

²⁵ RISM A/II 451.511.238, consisting of three separate parts (A, T, B) preserved in the ms. [Cod. Guelf. 326 Mus. Hdschr. (nos. 1–40), listed and depicted in RISM A/II under 451.511.222.

²⁶ RISM A/II 190.007.363.

²⁷ RISM A/II 190.007.487.

²⁸ RISM A/II 190.012.513.

²⁹ RISM A/II 190.007.438.

³⁰ RISM A/II 190.026.638.

³¹ RISM A/II 190.013.041.

³² RISM A/II 190.015.745.

³³ RISM A/II 190.007.509 (Västerås [Molér 67 (8) A1, T2, B1/2), 190.007.510 (Västerås [Molér 68 (24), complete with 8 parts), and 190.026.840 (Kalmar A1/2, B1).

³⁴ RISM A/II 190.026.839 (Kalmar A1/2, B1) and 190.026.364 (Kalmar S1/2, A1, T1, B2 according to RISM).

³⁵ RISM A/II 190.026.841 (Kalmar A1/2, B1), 190.008.949 (Skara, S1) and 190.012.722 (Växjö, B1).

Mentions of performance practice

From the provenience details mentioned above, it is known that all of the sources preserved in Sweden were conceived to fit within a Lutheran context. Two interesting performance practice inscriptions found in the Västerås manuscripts provide another clue in this direction. Both are conceived as guidelines for the parson and indicate a choice of pieces to be performed during the religious service.

The first one appears on the last folio of the *bassus secundus* part in the Molér 67 series of part books. It consists of two different dispositions suggested for the liturgical sequence, with indications of either parody mass movements, or of motets as substitutes for the usual liturgical texts:

Disposition 1

Mention	Model - Reference
<i>Kyrie supra Deus misereatur</i>	on Lassus, <i>Deus misereatur</i> LV 266 ³⁶
<i>Loco Credo Domine Dominus noster</i>	Lassus, <i>Domine Dominus noster</i> LV 637
<i>Pro Graduale Deus misereatur</i>	Lassus, LV 266
<i>A suggest.: Salve nos Deus</i>	?
<i>Agnus Dei [supra Deus misereatur]</i>	on Lassus LV 266

Disposition 2

Mention	Model - Reference
<i>Kyrie super Quam dilecta</i>	From <i>Missa Quam dilecta</i> ³⁷ on Handl, OM III, 28
<i>Et in terra idem</i>	Idem
<i>Loco Credo Adeste Musae</i>	Handl, MO 9
<i>Pro Graduale Laudate Dominum</i>	Giovanelli, <i>Laudate Dominum</i> (ex <i>Motecta, partim quinis, partim octonibus vocibus</i> , Frankfurt/Main, Wolfgang Richterum, 1608)
<i>A suggest.: Quam pulchra es</i>	Handl, OM IV, 4
<i>Loco Agnus: Collaudabunt multi</i>	Handl, OM IV, 26
<i>Pro epistola: Sperne lucrum</i>	Handl, MO 7

The second one appears at the beginning of the *tenor primus* part of the Molér 68 series of part books. This time it contains a succession of four dispositions designed for the mass:

³⁶ Reference number taken from the *Gesamtregister der Werke Orlando di Lassos*, ed. Horst Leuchtman and Bernhold Schmid, Orlando di Lasso – Supplement, Seine Werke in zeitgenössischen Drucken 3, Kassel [...], Bärenreiter, 2001.

³⁷ Cf. footnote 33.

Disposition 1

Mention	Model – Reference
<i>Kyrie super Deus misereatur</i>	On Lassus, LV 266
<i>Ad Gradualement: Deus misereatur</i>	Lassus LV 266
<i>Loco Credo, a suggestione: Quam dilecta</i>	Handl, OM III, 28
<i>A suggestione: Serva nos Deus</i>	?
<i>Loco Sanctus: Sanctus super Quam dilecta</i>	On Handl, OM III, 28
<i>In Exitu: Laus et perennis gloria</i>	Handl, OM III, 57

Disposition 2

Mention	Model – Reference
<i>Kyrie super Quam dilecta</i> Crossed out and replaced by: <i>Hodie nobis</i>	On Handl, OM III, 28 Handl, OM I, 27
<i>Ad Gradualement: Laudate Dominum</i> Crossed out and replaced by: <i>Domine quinque talenta</i>	Giovanelli, cf. above Handl, OM IV, 28
<i>Loco Credo: Adeste Musae</i>	Handl, MO 9
<i>A suggestio: Quam pulchra es</i>	Handl, OM IV, 4
<i>Loco Agnus Dei: Collaudabunt</i>	Handl, OM IV, 26
<i>In Exitu: Sperne lucrum</i>	Handl, MO 7

Disposition 3

Mention	Model – Reference
<i>Post Kyrie: Ego flos campi</i> [other hand:] <i>Ecce sacerdos</i> <i>aut Salve nobilis</i>	Handl, OM IV, 5 Handl, OM IV, 25 Handl, OM IV, 3
<i>Loco Credo</i> [illegible]	
<i>A suggestio: Hodie nobis</i>	Handl, OM I, 27
<i>Loco Sanctus: Constitues eos</i>	Handl, OM IV, 10
<i>Loco Agnus: Haec est dies</i>	Handl, OM II, 32
<i>Loco Exitum: Caede repugnanti</i> [other ink:] <i>Collaudabunt</i>	Handl, MO 4 Handl, OM IV, 26

Disposition 4

Mention	Model – Reference
<i>Kyrie super Deus misereatur</i>	On Lassus LV 266
<i>Ad Gradualement: Salve nobilis</i>	Handl, OM IV, 3
<i>Credo: Hodie nobis</i> [in frame, crossed-out:] <i>Quam dilecta</i>	Handl, OM I, 27 Handl, OM III, 28
<i>A suggestio: Hodie nobis</i>	Handl, OM I, 27
<i>Loco Sanctus: Gaudent in celis</i>	Handl, OM IV, 16
<i>Loco Agnus: Omnes gentes</i>	Handl, OM II, 36
<i>Exitus: Domini est terra</i> <i>Laus et perennis gloria</i>	Handl, OM IV, 27 Handl, OM III, 57

From reading these lists, it appears that Handl's music was extensively used during services in Västerås, alongside the music of Lassus and Giovanelli, although these two composers are far less frequently represented than Handl. The page where these lists are copied bears the year 1598, with an extra mention of 1619 in column four. It is therefore clear that, alongside the fact that Handl was the composer most frequently copied in these manuscripts, his music had also found its way into Sweden at a very early date as part of the Lutheran services, at least in Västerås. Furthermore, the fact that the pieces that were sung during the liturgy include not only motets and parody mass movements on his motets, but also three secular pieces from the *Moralia* (*Adeste Musae*, *Sperne lucrum*, and *Cede repugnanti*),³⁸ shows that the reception of this collection posthumously published in Nuremberg in 1596 was probably much broader than what was initially thought. This leads back again to the question of the origin of the repertory, and of the route traveled by Handl's compositions to reach Sweden so early after their first publication.

Hypotheses on the origin of the repertory

This time, the *morale Nescio cur hodie laetetur* may offer a clue. This piece is almost a *unicum* in all of Handl's output because it is specific to the Swedish collections, with the exception of one copy preserved anonymously in Wolfenbüttel.³⁹ The text of the piece, celebrating a princely wedding, is an interesting account in itself. The poem is written in a conventional mythological mood, depicting the merriment of the muses and the dance they lead together with nymphs in order to celebrate the marriage of "the light of the homeland." The narration taking the form of a dialogue in echo, the eight voices are divided in such a way that the four parts forming "choir 2" are present only for the iteration of the echo.

³⁸ MO 9, 7, and 4, respectively.

³⁹ Cf. footnote 25.

*Nescio cur hodie laetetur turba sororum,
Quid facit ut resonet sydere clamor?
- Amor!*

*Vox sonat hic forsitan manet Echo garrula nympha
Responde veram hanc mea Nais
- Ais!*

*Dic igitur nympha: cur musae barbata captant?
- Aptant!*

*Hanc lucem quoque celebrant?
- Celebrant!*

*Forsitan hymeneum cupiunt jam ducere saltum?
- Altum!*

*Lux ergo haec est tibi grata?
- Rata!*

*Ergo simul sponsum sponsamque abeamus!
- Eamus!*

*O sponsae O patriae candida lux, fave!
- Ave!*

Dorothea *o salve candente candida flore!
- Ore!*

*O sponsa nimis tu generosa!
- Rosa!*

*Vivite, concordēs sint tibi coelica castra!
- Astra!*

*Sed Aonidum plaude decore!
- Core!*

*Applaudes sponsis caso quoque carmine honesto!
- Esto!*

*Diem tuum nunc celebrabis
- Abis!*

*Haud abeo, tu forte cupis si vis abeamus
- Eamus!*

*Sed donum sponsis des rogo quale
- Vale!*

The name of the bridegroom does not appear in the text, but that of the bride is clearly repeated so as to be clear to the listener: Dorothea. It is interesting to note that in the Kalmar manuscripts this name is replaced by another one, Margaris (i.e., Margaret). Although it is easy to understand that the piece might have been reused for different occasions with replacement of the bride's name, this does not make the task of reconstructing an original context any easier.⁴⁰ The fact that, notwithstanding the Swedish collections,

⁴⁰ Let alone the fact that the versions preserved in Visby and Wolfenbüttel still need to be examined in order to know which bride's name they refer to.

the piece is found only in Wolfenbüttel, copied in Helmstedt with a sacred contrafactum for the church of Saint Stephen, may nevertheless lead to a decisive clue concerning its provenience, and point to a possible literary authorship by Jacob Handl's closest friend, Salomon Frenzel (1561–ca. 1601).

Figure 2



Salomon Frenzel's portrait
(Source: Salomon Frenzel, *Epigrammata*, Wittenberg, Muller, 1593.
Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, [9 J 275, with permission.)

One of the most gifted neo-Latin poets of Silesia at the end of the sixteenth century, Salomon Frenzel was born in Wrocław⁴¹ in 1561 the son of a parson, and was made imperial *Poeta laureatus* as early as 1584. He studied in Strasbourg under Johannes Sturm before spending some time in Prague in the service of Archduke Maximilian III when this latter was pretender to the throne of Poland. Frenzel was then in Helmstedt, the protégé of Duke Henricus Julius von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1564–1613), who became his most important patron and in 1594 granted him a position at the newly founded Lutheran university of Helmstedt, the Academia Julia. In 1599, Frenzel left Helmstedt and settled in Riga, where he spent his last years as rector of the Latin schools of the Hanseatic city.

Although this brief biographical sketch is probably too schematic in order to argue in favor of a special role played by the *Nescio* piece within the Swedish collections, it offers a link between various aspects of the piece, which in turn serves to build a serious hypothesis. First of all, Frenzel's authorship of the text of *Nescio cur hodie laetetur* would appear to be a direct continuation of recent findings concerning Handl's two *moralia* collections. That the two men were close friends is revealed by a poem written by Frenzel and dedicated to Handl, with the title *Jacobo Hanel musico clarissimo, meo familiari*.⁴² Although this link between the two artists has been largely (if not totally) ignored in musicological literature,⁴³ it appears important in order to understand the context of Handl's collection of *moralia*. Browsing through Frenzel's numerous collections of epigrams, one can see that the poet indeed played a decisive role in furnishing Handl with some of the texts found in the *Moralia* and *Harmoniae Morales* collections, but which until now had remained anonymous. These texts include in particular the lengthy stanzas on marriage *Ergo mihi uxorem* (HM 8), but also (and most of all) the famous pieces *Gallus amat Venerem* (HM 6) and *Quam Gallina* (HM 7).

At a second level, the fact that Frenzel was last employed in Riga certainly facilitates the possibility of a link between his literary authorship in the *Nescio* piece and the presence of this composition in Visby and Kalmar, two Hanseatic cities in close contact with the Latvian capital and which have both inherited the piece. From Kalmar the piece could then have traveled to Växjö, where it is found on manuscripts copied at least two decades later than the Kalmar sources.

At a third and certainly even more decisive level, the importance of the Wolfenbüttel-Helmstedt area in Frenzel's career should be emphasized. Not only does the piece also appear precisely copied in this very district outside of the Swedish collections, but the role played by Duke Heinrich Julius in Frenzel's career at the Academia Julia seems to have been an important one. In terms of service rendered by the poet to the duke, Frenzel's participation in the princely wedding celebrations would have been nothing less than

⁴¹ For a short biographical notice on Frenzel and a detailed bibliography of his works, see *Rukověť humanistického básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě 2*, ed. Antonín Truhlář and Karel Hrdina, cont. Josef Hejnic and Jan Martinek, Prague, Academia, 1966, pp. 164–170.

⁴² Published in Frenzel's first book of epigrams, first in Prague by Georg Nigrin in 1588, but without its title, and reprinted with more details in 1599 at Helmstedt by Iacobus Lucius.

⁴³ See Marc Desmet, *Jacob Handl Gallus i Śląsk: między danymi biograficznymi a kwestiami stylistycznymi*, *Muzyka* 53 (2008), 4, pp. 39–66 and in particular pp. 44–46.

anticipated, and in this respect it is certainly an interesting clue that Heinrich Julius married Dorothea von Sachsen (1563–1587) on 26 September 1585.⁴⁴ Supposing that *Nescio cur hodie laetetur* is a Frenzel poem referring to Duke Julius' wedding, then the Handl composition might therefore well be the only musical testimony left by the composer for this occasion. It also means that the piece could not have been composed after 1585, and that the poet and the composer had probably therefore become acquainted some time before, either in Prague or even when Handl was present in Silesia, around 1579–1580.⁴⁵

Returning to the first question (i.e., the origin of the Swedish Handl repertory), there is an interesting clue here, in spite of the highly conjectural sequence of hypotheses that tend to surround the gathering of the pieces. There is no hint of the source from which the Swedish manuscripts might have been copied. Only in Växjö is there an interesting annotation on two Handl pieces, stating that they were copied out of "Mr. Hermann Dusaeus' book,"⁴⁶ a reference that could refer to Herman Busaeus, the dean of the Växjö cathedral. Because the *Nescio* piece is also found anonymously in the Wolfenbüttel manuscripts,⁴⁷ two hypotheses may be suggested, which will be used as a provisional conclusion.

1. The first hypothesis would suggest that the Swedish repertory has a central German and, more precisely, Helmstedt-Wolfenbüttel origin. This argument is favored of course by the *Nescio* piece, but also by the number of common pieces found in Swedish sources and in the Wolfenbüttel manuscripts, most of which originate from Saint Stephen's Church in Helmstedt.⁴⁸

2. The second hypothesis is that the repertory might also well have been part of Frenzel's personal estate. After all, it is known that the city of Riga, which was Frenzel's final place of residence, had close connections with other Hanseatic cities such as Visby and Kalmar, which have both inherited the *Nescio* piece.

The Handl composition may have followed other routes to Sweden. The Silesian route, for example, would be based on the heavy book boxes taken by the Swedes from central Europe to Scandinavia,⁴⁹ although the time of transport (1642–1645) excludes any link with the Swedish repertory. On the other hand, Olomouc, which was probably Handl's most stable position between 1579 and 1585, had a *Collegium Nordicum* founded in 1578 by the Jesuits in order to offer an advanced theological education to future Catholic priests before returning to Protestant Scandinavia.⁵⁰ Such an institution might have also

⁴⁴ See the genealogical reconstruction available at <http://www.thepeerage.com/p659.htm#i6588> (14 Oct. 2009).

⁴⁵ These dates seem to coincide exactly with the possible chronological origin for the earliest manuscripts containing Handl's music copied in Silesia; see Tomasz Jeż, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–62, and in particular the listings on pp. 42–48.

⁴⁶ Copies of OM III, 26 and OM I, 84 Växjö, on pp. 39 and 60 of the B1 part book in Växjö [Ms. Mus. 2, respectively].

⁴⁷ See RISM A/II 451.511.222.

⁴⁸ See RISM A/II 451.511.263, 451.511.412, 451.511.480, 451.510.610, 451.510.702 and 451.511.222.

⁴⁹ Dudík, *op. cit.* p. 5.

⁵⁰ Olivier Chaline, *La Réforme catholique dans les pays d'Europe Centrale*, Paris, Cerf, 1992, p. 26.

played a role, at least partially, in the transfer of some of Handl's compositions in manuscript form from Moravia to Sweden.

Further research is needed to determine with more precision which of these possible origins for the Swedish sources is most convincing. Whatever the result of this research may be, it is now necessary to include Sweden, and probably also the Baltic states, in the first reception circle of Handl's music, regardless of how unexpected this might seem at first. It is most probable that Handl's extraordinary musical creation met at least part of its greatest fame and diffusion much further north than what has been believed until now.

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PREZRTO POGLAVJE O HANDLOVIH VIRIH:
POSEBNOSTI ŠVEDSKIH ROKOPISOV

Povzetek

Med ogromnim številom še neodkritih prepisov del Jacoba Handla Gallusa zaslužijo posebno omembo prepisi v švedskih rokopisnih zbirkah. Na Švedskem je najdenih dvesto-petdeset enot Handlove glasbe v enainvajsetih rokopisih ali zbirkah rokopisov, ki pripadajo desetim knjižnicam v mestih: Enköping, Kalmar, Lund, Linköping, Stockholm, Skara, Uppsala, Västerås, Växjö and Visby. So prepisi sedeminsedemdesetih skladb, maše, šestdesetih motetov ter šestnajstih posvetnih skladb, nastali med letoma 1597 in 1653.

Videti je, da nobeden od teh rokopisov ni del zbirk, ki so jih pripeljali iz osrednje Evrope na Švedsko kot »vojni zaklad« med tridesetletno vojno. Nasprotno, prepisi so nastali na Švedskem. Nekateri imajo celo navedbo latinskih šol mest, kjer jih danes lahko najdemo, kot je primer v zbirkah Kalmar, Västerås in Växjö. Izkazalo se je, da so v rokopisih predvsem Handlove najbolj razširjene osemglasne skladbe iz tiskanih zbirk motetov in *Moralie*, ki so najdene tudi v tiskanih antologijah zgodnjega 17. stoletja. V prepisih so ohranjena nekatera dragocena skladateljeva dela kot sta dva še neobjavljena moteta *Laudem cantemus Domino* in *Jam de somno* ter dve moraliji *Ah quam difficile est falsos recognoscere fratres* in *Nescio cur hodie laetetur*. Najdeni so tudi prepisi anonimnih skladb, ki so osupljivo podobne Handlovemu slogu. To sta dva moteta *Dixit Dominus in Domine in tua misericordia* ter dve moraliji *Tu sine quo* in *Nemo confidat nimium*. V švedskih zbirkah so ohranjene tudi tri anonimne maše, pisane po vzoru Handlovih skladb: *Missa Quam dilecta*, *Missa Gaudent in celis* in *Missa Sperne lucrum*. Ne nazadnje tudi dva napisa na rokopisih v Västeråsu izpričujeta, da je bila Handlova glasba v Västeråsu v pogosti rabi za bogoslužje že leta 1598 in da je že kmalu postala del luteranskega bogoslužja.

Skladba *Nescio cur hodie laetetur* razkriva verjeten izvor reportarja, če ga povežemo z verjetnim avtorjem besedila, šlezjskim novolatinskim pesnikom Salomonom Frenzlom (1561–ca. 1601), sicer Handlovim tesnim prijateljem. Skladba je skoraj *unicum* v prepisih Handlove ustvarjalnosti, saj je z izjemo anonimnega prepisa, ohranjenega v Wolfenbüttlu, značilna le za švedske zbirke.

Pri postavljanju možne hipoteze o kroženju repertoarja med osrednjo Nemčijo in Švedsko je v pomoč dejstvo, da je bil Frenzel v službi vojvode dežele Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel v Helmstedtu, od koder prihaja wolfenbüttelški prepis, in rektor latinskih šol v hanzeatskem mestu, v Rigi.