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PARNASSUS MUSICUS FERDINANDAEUS
(1615)

uredila / edited by
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CANTVS
PARNASSVS
MUSICVS
FERDINANDAEVS
IN QVO

Musici nobilissimi, quà suauitate, quà arte prorsus admirabili, & diuinaludunt: 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. Vocum.

A IOANNE BAPTISTA BONOMETTI

*Bergomate Serenissimi Ferdinandi Archiducis Austria. & c.
Musico congestus, eidemque Serenissimo in grati animi
symbolum dicatus, & consecratus.*

CVM PRIVILEGIO



VENETIIS

APVD IACOBVM VINCENTIVM. MDCXV



Naslovnica zbirke / Title page of the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus*
(1615; dostopno na spletu / available online on: <http://imslp.org>).

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PREDGOVOR

Leta 1615 je v Benetkah izšla slavna antologija koncertantnih motetov za nekaj solističnih glasov z naslovom *Ferdinandov glasbeni Parnas*. Posvečena je bila takratnemu vladarju Notranje Avstrije z dvorom v štajerski prestolnici Gradcu. Omenjena zbirka odlično odseva tako Ferdinandov glasbeni okus in širše zanimanje za tedaj najsodobnejše slogovne novosti italijanske glasbe kot tudi njegovo prepoznanje glasbe kot sredstva za doseg osebne dobroti, ki pa je lahko uporabno tudi kot močno propagandno in politično orodje.

Štiristo let pozneje, leta 2015, je bil fenomenu Ferdinandovega glasbenega Parnasa in glasbi, povezani z nadvojvodskim dvorom v Gradcu, ki je bil v prvih dveh desetletjih 17. stoletja eno od vodilnih evropskih glasbenih središč, posvečen mednarodni muzikološki simpozij v Ljubljani, ki se nahaja nekako na pol poti med Benetkami in Gradcem. To znanstveno srečanje se je ukvarjalo z različnimi tematikami, ki se nanašajo na to pomembno glasbeno antologijo: od dejstev, povezanih s samimi glasbenimi deli iz te zbirke, vsebinami, ki se navezujejo na glasbo Ferdinandovega graškega dvora širše, študijami o skladateljih, katerih imena zasledimo v antologiji, povezanimi glasbenimi področji in širšim kulturnim in glasbenim vplivom v vladarjevi osebni, verski in politični mreži, ki jo je načrtno in sistematično stkal po celi Evropi.

Zamisel o simpoziju na temo antologije *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus* se je seveda porodila že nekaj let pred dogodkom v krogu skupine neodvisnih muzikologov, ki jih združuje zanimanje za sledenje širjenja italijanske glasbe v deželah srednje in vzhodne Evrope od zgodnjega novega veka do prejšnjega stoletja, tematika, ki v splošnih glasbenih zgodovinah ni obravnavana v obsegu, ki si ga zasluži. Ta skupina, ki se je poimenovala TRADIMUS (Tracking the Dissemination of Italian Music – Sledenje širjenja italijanske glasbe),¹ je tedaj delovala pod okriljem Fundacije Levi v Benetkah, ki je znanstveno srečanje leta 2015 tudi finančno podprla.

Mednarodni muzikološki simpozij z naslovom *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus (1615)* je organiziral in gostil Muzikološki inštitut ZRC SAZU 15. in 16. oktobra 2015.

¹ Jana Bartová (Slovaška), Lars Berglund (Švedska), Daniele V. Filippi (Italija), Tomasz Jeż (Poljska), Metoda Kokole (Slovenija), Aleksandra Patalas (Poljska), Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska (Poljska); Herbert Seifert (Avstrija); Joachim Steinheuer (Nemčija) in Marina Toffetti (Italija).

Srečanje je potekalo v okviru evropskega projekta HERA MusMig (Glasbene migracije v zgodnjem novem veku: na sotočju evropskega vzhoda, zahoda in juga; 2013–2016). Člani organizacijskega odbora so bili: Metoda Kokole (Slovenija), Marina Toffetti (Italija), Herbert Seifert (Avstrija) in Jana Bartová (Slovaška). Na srečanju je nastopilo dvajset predavateljev iz desetih evropskih držav. Kot je za podobna jubilejna srečanja primerno, je predavanja pospremil tudi večerni koncert z naslovom *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus: moteti za avstrijskega nadvojvoda Ferdinanda (1615)* v izvedbi slovenske vodilne skupine za staro glasbo *musica cubicularis*, ki je poustvarila izbor motetov iz imenovane antologije.

Ta številka revije je posredni rezultat simpozija iz leta 2015, saj prinaša izbor šestnajstih prispevkov avtorjev, ki so govorili tudi na simpoziju. Zaporedje tiskanih razprav sledi izvorni zasnovi, in sicer tako, da splošni predstavitvi posvečenca in njegovega dvora v Gradcu (s podnaslovom Nadvojvoda Ferdinand in njegov glasbeni Parnas) sledijo študije o njegovem glasbenem repertoarju s poudarkom na skladbah zbirke *Parnassus* in obsežnejših duhovnih glasbenih delih njegove kapele (Ferdinandov glasbeni repertoar), razprave, ki predstavljajo glasbeno delo skladateljev, katerih imena zasledimo v antologiji leta 1615 (Skladatelji zbirke *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*), članki o povezanih ali sorodnih dvorih (Habsburžani in italijanska glasba ter Glasbeni ustanovi poljskega in transilvanskega dvora) oziroma o širjenju glasbenega sloga naslovne antologije (Najširši odmevi sloga zbirke *Parnassus*) ter nazadnje še predstavitev evropskega projekta HERA o glasbenih migracijah (Poročilo o projektu MusMig), tudi ta predstavitev pa se dotika povezave z Gradcem in zbirke *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*, saj kot primera obravnava skladatelja Vinka Jelića (ki je študiral v Gradcu) in repertoar malih duhovnih koncertov, tako Jelića kot tudi Lukačiča.

Na tem mestu se posebno zahvaljujem vsem, ki so v različnih vlogah prispevali in mi pomagali izvesti ta tiskani poklon Ferdinandovemu glasbenemu središču v Gradcu, ki je ne nazadnje tudi močno vplivalo na razvoj glasbene umetnosti in kulture splošno na ozemlju, ki danes pripada Republiki Sloveniji, ter tako vsaj posredno predstavlja tudi del naše nacionalne glasbene dediščine. V prvi vrsti se moram zahvaliti vsem avtorjem za njihove dragocene vsebinske prispevke, nadalje pa sem hvaležna tudi kolegom na Muzikološkem inštitutu, v prvi vrsti Klemnu Grabnarju, ki je s pomočjo Lucije Bizant poskrbel za tehnično plat ter zadnje redakcijske posege, ki so pripomogli k večji enotnosti tega dvojnega tematskega zvezka revije *De musica disserenda*. In končno se moram zahvaliti tudi recenzentom ter še posebno profesorju Michaelu Talbotu, ki je s svojo jezikovno akribijo poskrbel, da so prispevki, ki so jih v angleškem jeziku pisali muzikologi iz drugih jezikovnih okolij, kar najbolj razumljivi.

Upam, da bo ta knjiga dosegla vse kolege muzikologe, ki jih zanima glasba zgodnjega 17. stoletja, mali duhovni koncerti in glasbene dejavnosti takratnih habsburških vladarjev.

Metoda Kokole

Ljubljana, november 2017

FOREWORD

In 1615 a famous collection of small-scale *concertato* motets entitled *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus* and printed in Venice was dedicated to Archduke Ferdinand II, then ruler of Inner Austria based in the Styrian capital of Graz. This collection reflects perfectly his musical taste and interest in the then newest and most fashionable achievements of Italian music as well as in music in general, its *bienfaisance* on the level of personal perception and its power as a propagandistic and political tool.

Exactly 400 years later, in 2015, an international musicological conference held in Ljubljana – situated mid-way between Graz and Venice – was dedicated to the phenomenon of the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus* and to the music connected with the archducal court in Graz, which was one of the foremost European musical centres in the opening decades of the seventeenth century. The conference reflected many of the aspects related to this important anthology: facts associated with it *per se*; subjects connected with the music at Ferdinand's court at large; studies of composers who contributed to the anthology; cognate musical areas; and the larger cultural impact of the ruler's personal, religious and political "web" carefully planned to be spun all over Europe.

The idea of organizing a conference on the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus* was born a couple of years before that date within a group of independent musicologists interested in tracing the dissemination of Italian music in the countries of the central and eastern parts of Europe from the early modern period up to the twentieth century, a topic that figures less strongly in general music histories than it deserves. This group, called TRADIMUS (Tracking the Dissemination of Italian Music),² operated at that time under the auspices of the Fondazione Levi in Venice, which also supported the 2015 Ljubljana conference.

The international musicological conference entitled the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus (1615)* was organized, and hosted in Ljubljana from 15 to 16 October 2015, by the Institute of Musicology, Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, under the patronage of the HERA MusMig (Music Migrations

² Jana Bartová (Slovakia), Lars Berglund (Sweden), Daniele V. Filippi (Italy), Tomasz Jeż (Poland), Metoda Kokole (Slovenia), Aleksandra Patalas (Poland), Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska (Poland); Herbert Seifert (Austria); Joachim Steinheuer (Germany) and Marina Toffetti (Italy).

in the Early Modern Age: the Meeting of the European East, West and South) project (2013–2016). The conference committee comprised Metoda Kokole (Slovenia), Marina Toffetti (Italy), Herbert Seifert (Austria) and Jana Bartová (Slovakia). At the conference there were twenty speakers, who came from ten European countries. As is appropriate for this kind of celebratory event, the conference was complemented by a concert, which was entitled *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus: Motets for the Austrian Archduke Ferdinand (1615)* and given by the leading Slovenian early music group *Musica cubicularis*, which brought to life a selection of motets taken from that anthology.

The volume before the reader is an indirect result of the 2015 conference. It offers selected articles written by sixteen authors, all but four of whom also contributed to the conference. The sequence of the texts published here follows the original concept and progresses from a general presentation of the dedicatee and his musical court in Graz (the section entitled Archduke Ferdinand and his Musical Parnassus) to studies of his musical repertoire focusing on the pieces in the *Parnassus* anthology plus larger-scale sacred works (Ferdinand's Musical Repertoire), to papers introducing the compositional activity of composers who also made contributions to the 1615 anthology (Composers of the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus*), to articles dealing with connected or comparable courts (The Habsburgs and Italian Music; The Musical Establishments of the Polish and Transylvanian Courts), to the dissemination of the style manifested in the anthology (The *Parnassus* Style at Large), and finally to a presentation of the European HERA project on Musical Migrations (Report on the MusMig Project): however, even this last subject has a specific connection to Graz and the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus* since it discusses the case of Vinko Jelić (who also studied in Graz) as well as the small-scale sacred repertoire of both Jelić and Lukačić.

At this point, it is my pleasure to express my deepest gratitude to all who have in their different capacities enabled and helped me to realize also this written homage to Ferdinand's hub of music-making in Graz that in its day greatly influenced the course of cultural and musical development on the territories today united in the Republic of Slovenia, thereby forging – so to speak – part of our national musical heritage. I am first of all grateful to all the authors for their precious contributions. Then I am also indebted to my colleagues at the Institute of Musicology, and especially to Klemen Grabnar, who, assisted by Lucija Bizant, undertook the final editorial and technical decisions so that the texts could be presented in an at least partly unified manner. I am also grateful to the reviewers, and especially to Michael Talbot, who took charge of the linguistic aspect of the majority of the articles written in the English language by musicologists coming from different linguistic environments.

I hope this book finds its way into the hands of all colleagues who are interested in early seventeenth-century music, the small-scale concertato motet and the Habsburg dynasty's musical interests at large.

Metoda Kokole
Ljubljana, November 2017

**NADVOJVODA FERDINAND
IN NJEGOV GLASBENI PARNAS**

**ARCHDUKE FERDINAND
AND HIS MUSICAL PARNASSUS**

FERDINAND II. VOM INNERÖSTERREICHISCHEN LANDESFÜRSTEN ZUM KAISER DES HEILIGEN RÖMISCHEN REICHES

VANJA KOČEVAR
Zgodovinski inštitut Milka Kosa ZRC SAZU

Izvleček: Razprava prinaša biografski in politični pregled vladavine notranjeavstrijskega nadvojvode Ferdinanda do njegove izvolitve za cesarja Svetega rimskega cesarstva leta 1619. Na podlagi strokovne literature in arhivskega gradiva je osvetljen politični in vojaški položaj v času nastopa zbirke Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaus.

Ključne besede: Ferdinand II., Notranja Avstrija, protireformacija.

Abstract: This paper provides a biographical and political overview of Archduke Ferdinand's reign as a provincial prince of Inner Austria up to his election as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in 1619. On the basis of subject literature as well as archival materials, light is shed on the political and military situation at the time the Parnassus was printed.

Keywords: Ferdinand II, Inner Austria, Counter-Reformation.

Einleitung

Manche Historiker schrieben Ferdinand als einem habsburgischen Erzherzog auch die folgende Nummer III. zu,¹ um ihn von seinem gleichnamigen Onkel, der zwischen den Jahren 1564 und 1595 Landesfürst von Tirol war, zu unterscheiden. Jedoch benutzte der innerösterreichische Landesherr diese Nummerierung in seiner Titulierung nicht.² Mit seiner Wahl zum römischen Kaiser 1619 wurde Ferdinand zum zweiten Reichsoberhaupt dieses Namens und titulierte sich danach als „Ferdinandt der Ander“.³

¹ Hartmann et alii, *Die Kaiser*, 540–549.

² Titulierung des Erzherzogs Ferdinand im Patent über die endgültige Landesverweisung der Prädikanten und Verbot des evangelischen Gottesdienstes in den innerösterreichischen Ländern im Jahre 1599: „Wir Ferdinand von Gottes Gnaden Ertzhertzog zu Osterreich, Hertzog zu Burgundt, Steyer, Kärndten, Crain und Wirrttenberg etc. Graue zu Tyrol und Görtz etc.“ ARS, SI AS I, Vicedomski urad za Kranjsko, šk. 261 (fasc. 135), lit. R, XIV/9. (1599 november 9., Graz).

³ Ferdinand II. Titulierung nach der Kaiserwahl. Beispiel aus dem Patent, mit dem der Kaiser dem protestantischen Adel der innerösterreichischen Länder 1628 die Bekehrung oder Auswanderung binnen einem Jahr befahl: „WIR Ferdinand der Ander von Gottes Gnaden Erwöhlter Römischer Kayser, zu allen Zeiten Mehrer deß Reichs in Germanien, zu Hungern und Behaimb etc. König, Ertzhertzog in Oesterreich, Herzog zu Burgundt, Steyr, Kärndten, Crain und Württemberg, in

Ferdinand II. ging als ein eifriger Verfechter der Gegenreformation und als eine der zentralen Figuren des Dreißigjährigen Krieges in die Geschichte ein. Von vielen Historikern wurde er schon im 17. Jahrhundert als ein wohlmeinender Mensch beschrieben, der aber in konfessionellen Fragen unerbittlich war. Solch eine Einschätzung erhält Ferdinand II. auch in dem großen Werk des krainischen Polyhistor des 17. Jahrhunderts Johann Weikhard von Valvasor (slow. Janez Vajkard Valvasor) *Die Ehre dess Hertzogthums Crain*, das im Jahre 1689 erschien. Dort steht geschrieben, Ferdinand II. sei „mehr zu gebieten als zu bitten und zu keiner Erschreckung geneig“;⁴ und: „Denn wie dieser Herr im übrigen eines sehr gnädigen und gütigen Gemüts war; also ließ Er sich in dem Reformatiōns=Wesen eyfrig scharff und sehr ernstlich verspühren: und verhoffte mit gleichem Fortgange die Wiedereinrã umung der Geistlichen Güter zu verschaffen; auch der Römisch=Catholischen Religion selbst den Weg desto besser zu ebnen.“⁵

Seit den neunziger Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts bezog die Geschichtsschreibung einen neutraleren Standpunkt zum gegenreformatorischen Herrscher aus dem steirischen Zweig der habsburgischen Dynastie. Der biografische Überblick in diesem Aufsatz beruht auf der neuesten Biografie *Ferdinand II, Counter-Reformation Emperor 1578–1637*, die im Jahre 2014 vom amerikanischen Historiker Robert Bireley verfasst wurde, auf dem Aufsatz über Ferdinand II. von Dieter Albrecht aus dem Jahre 1990, sowie auf der etwas älteren Biografie *Ferdinand II. Kaiser im Zwiespalt der Zeit* von Johann Franzl aus dem Jahre 1978. Vieles über Ferdinands Kindheit, die Beziehung zu seiner Mutter und das Leben auf dem Grazer Hof ist aber auch in der im Jahre 2012 herausgegebenen Biographie seiner Mutter *Erzherzogin Maria von Innerösterreich (1551–1608)* von Katrin Keller zu finden. Daneben sind mehrere enzyklopädische Artikel über Ferdinand und Mitglieder seiner Familie vorhanden.⁶

Innerösterreich

Innerösterreich war eine Personal- und Realunion der habsburgischen Erblanden, die zwischen den Jahren 1564 und 1619 als eine selbstständige Entität im Rahmen des Heiligen Römischen Reichs (der deutschen Nation) existierte. Dieses staatliche Gebilde umfasste drei Herzogtümer: Steiermark, Kärnten und Krain samt den angeschlossenen Herrschaften Windischer Mark und Mötling (Metlika), Istrien (Isterreich/Istra) und Karst (Kras), die gefürstete Grafschaft Görz und Gradisca, und die zwei Hafenstädte (Hauptmannschaften) Trieste (Trst/Triest) und Rijeka (Fiume/Reka/St. Veit am Flaum).

Der Grund für die innerösterreichische Selbstständigkeit war das Testament des Kaisers Ferdinand I., das die Länder der österreichischen Linie der Habsburger auf drei

Ober und Nider Schlesien Marggraff zu Mähren in Ober und Nider Laußnitz Graff zu Habsburg und Tyrol etc.“ ARS, SI AS 1097, Zbirka normalij, Cesarski patenti 1620–1700; št. 110 (1628 avgust 1., Wien).

⁴ Valvasor, *Die Ehre*, 7:464.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 10:360.

⁶ Siehe z.B.: Stieve, „Karl II.“; Heilingsetzer, „Maria“.

Söhne aufteilte. Dem jüngsten Sohn Erzherzog Karl II. wurde Innerösterreich vererbt. Der neue Landesfürst gründete damit einen eigenen steirischen oder innerösterreichischen Zweig der Dynastie, errichtete seinen Hof⁷ in der steirischen Hauptstadt Graz und stellte einen Verwaltungsapparat nach dem Wiener Muster her. Im Jahre 1578 nahm Innerösterreich noch die Versorgung der gegentürkischen Militärgrenze in Slawonien und Kroatien an. Die gemeinsame Verteidigung gegen die osmanische Eroberung verband die Länder noch enger und machte sie zu einem „Unzertrente[n] Corpus“, wie sich die innerösterreichischen Landstände äußerten.⁸

Zwei Landesfürsten regierten die innerösterreichischen Länder aus Graz, nämlich die Erzherzöge Karl II. und sein Sohn Ferdinand. Zwischen 1617 und 1619 wurden die Staatsgebilde mit den anderen habsburgischen Ländern vereinigt, der Hof aber nach Wien verlegt. Das Zeitalter, das von der Geschichtsschreibung oft als „Konfessionelles“ benannt wird, war von der innerpolitischen Auseinandersetzung zwischen der katholischen Dynastie und den überwiegend protestantischen Landständen gekennzeichnet. Außerdem waren die Länder am südöstlichen Rande des Reiches vom permanenten Druck durch die Osmanen bedroht. Anschließend waren auch die Verhältnisse mit dem westlichen Nachbarn – mit der Republik Venedig wegen der freien Seefahrt auf der Adria ständig angespannt. Die drängenden Spannungen führten 1615, im gleichen Jahr als der *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus* in Venedig herausgegeben wurde, zu einer offenen kriegerischen Konfrontation zwischen den innerösterreichischen Ländern und der *Serenissima*.

Innerösterreich umfasste ein Territorium von 47.776 Quadratkilometern und stellte damit die größte politische Entität im Rahmen des Heiligen Römischen Reichs dar. Historiker schätzen die Einwohnerzahl der Staatsgebilde im zweiten Jahrzehnt des 17. Jahrhunderts auf eine gute Million.⁹ Unter Berücksichtigung der gegenwärtigen politischen Landkarte umfasste Innerösterreich die heutigen österreichischen Bundesländer Steiermark und Kärnten, fast die ganze Republik Slowenien (ohne Übermurgebiet und Seeküste), die Zentralgegend der Halbinsel Istrien und die Stadt Rijeka sowie die Städte Trieste, Gorizia (Gorica/Görz) und Gradisca (Gradišče), die heute in Italien liegen.

Biographischer Überblick

Erzherzog Ferdinand (III.) wurde in der steirischen Hauptstadt Graz am 9. Juli 1578¹⁰ als sechstes Kind von Erzherzog Karl II.,¹¹ Landesfürsten der innerösterreichischen Länder, und der aus Bayern stammenden Erzherzogin Maria Anna geboren.¹² Da Ferdinands

⁷ Hof der steirischen Habsburger, wo Erzherzog Ferdinand bis zu seinem zwölften Lebensjahr heranwuchs und nach 1595 Innerösterreich regierte, hauste in der Zeit zwischen 1564 und 1619 in der Grazer Burg in der Stadt, während die Festung auf dem Schlossberg ausschließlich als ein Bollwerk gegen die Türken gedient hat (Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, 68–70).

⁸ Simoniti, *Vojaška organizacija*, 71.

⁹ Neunteufl, „Die Entwicklung“, 522–524; Bireley, *Ferdinand II.*, 2.

¹⁰ Hartmann et alii, *Die Kaiser*, 451; Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, 44.

¹¹ Erzherzog Karl II. (3. Juni 1540, Wien–10. Juli 1590, Graz). Siehe: Stieve, „Karl II.“.

¹² Erzherzogin Maria Anna (21. März 1551, München–29. April 1608, Graz). Maria und Karl II. heirateten

gleichnamiger Bruder, der sechs Jahre zuvor geboren worden war, schon kurz nach der Geburt starb,¹³ und das innerösterreichische erzherzogliche Paar inzwischen noch vier Töchter bekam,¹⁴ erhielt der steirische Zweig der Habsburger mit seiner Geburt endlich den lang ersehnten Thronfolger. Der zukünftige Landesfürst und unerbittliche Anführer der Gegenreformation, der seine gesamte Regierungszeit dem Kampf gegen den Protestantismus widmete, war also nur fünf Monate, nachdem sein Vater am 9. Februar 1578 mit den ständischen Vertretern in Bruck an der Mur die sogenannte Brücker Pazifikation geschlossen hatte, zur Welt gekommen. Dieses mündliche Einverständnis aus Bruck gewährleistete den steirischen, kärntnerischen und krainischen Protestanten breite konfessionelle Zugeständnisse.¹⁵

Bei der Taufe bekam der neugeborene Erzherzog den Namen seines ruhmreichen Vorfahrens Kaiser Ferdinand I., der väterlicherseits sein Großvater, mütterlicherseits aber sein Urgroßvater war.¹⁶ Taufpaten des innerösterreichischen Thronanwärters waren der Bischof von Seckau Georg Agricola und der spanische König Philip II. sowie seine Gemahlin Königin Anna. Das spanische königliche Paar wurde bei der Taufe in Graz vom spanischen Gesandten in Wien Juan de Borja vertreten.¹⁷

Nach Ferdinands Geburt bekam das innerösterreichische erzherzogliche Paar noch neun Kinder.¹⁸ In neunzehn Jahren Ehe gebar Maria Anna ihrem Gemahl insgesamt fünfzehn

in Wien am 26. August 1571. Siehe: Heilingsetzer, „Maria“; Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, 44.

¹³ Ferdinand – erster Sohn von Karl II. und Maria Anna (15. Juli–31. Juli 1572) wurde in Judenburg geboren (Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, 43).

¹⁴ Die vier älteren Töchter Karls II. waren: Anna (16. August 1573–10. Februar 1598), die später den polnischen König Sigismund III. Wasa heiratete und zur polnischen Königin wurde, sie starb in Krakau. Maria Christierna (10. November 1574–6. April 1621) hat nach einer misslungenen Ehe mit dem Fürsten von Siebenbürgen als eine Ordensfrau gelebt. Katharina Renata (4. Jänner 1576–29. Juli 1595) heiratete den Herzog von Parma. Elisabeth (13. März 1577–29. Jänner 1586) verstarb schon vor der Heirat (Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, 43–44).

¹⁵ Über die Brücker Pazifikation siehe: Hurter, *Geschichte Kaiser Ferdinands II.*, 619–622; Özinger, „Križa cerkvenega življenja“, 104; Pörtner, *Counter-Reformation*, 78; Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, 98–99.

¹⁶ Hartmann et alii, *Die Kaiser*, 542.

¹⁷ Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, 44–45.

¹⁸ Die waren: Karl (17. Mai 1579–17. Mai 1580). Gregoria Maximiliane (22. März 1581–20. September 1597) starb in Graz als eine Braut des spanischen Königs Philip III. Eleonore (25. September 1582–28. Jänner 1620) war eine Ordensfrau in Hall. Maximilian Ernst (17. Oktober 1583–18. Februar 1616) war ein Deutschordensritter. Margarete (25. Dezember 1584–3. Oktober 1611) heiratete im Jahre 1599 nach dem Tode ihrer Schwester Gregoria Maximiliane den spanischen König Philip III. und gebar ihm in der Ehe acht Kinder. Leopold V. Ferdinand (9. Oktober 1586–13. September 1632) wurde erst für den geistlichen Stand bestimmt und bekam 1607 das Bistum Straßburg. Danach wurde er zum Statthalter von Tirol und Vorderösterreich ernannt, wo er später zum Landesfürsten wurde. Nach dem Verzicht auf seine Bistümer heiratete er am 19. April 1626 Claudia de Medici, die ihm fünf Kinder gebar, und gründete eine Nebenlinie der Dynastie. Konstanze (24. Dezember 1588–10. Juli 1631) heiratete im Jahre 1605 den Witwer nach ihrer verstorbenen Schwester Anna, den polnischen König Sigismund III. Wasa. Maria Magdalena (7. Oktober 1589–1. November 1631) heiratete kurz nach dem Tode ihrer Mutter im Jahre 1608 den Großherzog von Toskana Cosimo II. von Medici und gebar ihm in der Ehe fünf

Kinder, von denen zehn die Kindheit überlebten. Der steirische Zweig der Habsburger hat sich mit einer geschickten Heiratspolitik gut in die europäischen dynastischen Netzwerke eingeflochten. Aus den Reihen der Nachkommenschaft Karls II. kamen also: ein Komtur des Deutschen Ritterordens, ein gefürsteter Graf von Tirol, zwei polnische Königinnen, eine Großherzogin von Toskana, ein verheimerter Vizekönig von Portugal, ein böhmischer und ungarischer König sowie auch ein Kaiser des Heiligen Römischen Reiches, der zugleich zum Oberhaupt des Hauses Österreich wurde. Der Grazer Hof war auf diese Weise mit den anderen habsburgischen Höfen in Prag, Innsbruck und Madrid sowie auch mit den bayrischen Wittelsbachern in München, mit dem polnischen Zweig des Hauses Wasa und den Medici in Florenz eng verbunden.¹⁹ Diesen Heiratsverbindungen schlossen sich später die zwei Ehen Ferdinands und die Eheschließungen seiner Kinder an.

Die Kinder der innerösterreichischen Habsburger wurden streng katholisch erzogen. Dafür sorgte insbesondere Erzherzogin Maria, die ihren Kindern mit Strenge die katholische Frömmigkeit beibrachte. Der Nachwuchs am Grazer Hof musste früh aufstehen, täglich dreimal beten und zwei Messen besuchen. Maria erwartete von ihren Kindern Gehorsamkeit und Pflichterfüllung und bestrafte sie im Fall der Unfolgsamkeit mit Rute und Sitzen bei Wasser und Brot.²⁰ Katrin Keller stellt fest, dass die Kinder Latein und wahrscheinlich auch Italienisch gelehrt wurden, Ferdinand lernte aber auch Zeichnen. Alle Kinder lernten noch Reiten und Fechten, anschließend beschäftigten sie sich auch mit Geographie und Musik, die am Grazer Hof eine wichtige Rolle spielte.²¹ Eine besonders tiefe Beziehung und Vertrauen wuchs insbesondere zwischen Maria und Ferdinand, der als designierter Nachfolger mit noch größerer Sorge erzogen wurde, denn Tugenden wie katholische Gläubigkeit und Gehorsam gegenüber den Eltern waren bei ihm nicht nur Etikette, sondern auch Politikum.²²

Als Ferdinand das zwölfte Lebensjahr erreichte, schickten ihn seine Eltern nach Ingolstadt in Bayern, um dort bei den Jesuiten in die Ausbildung zu gehen. Es gab mehrere Gründe dafür, dass er nicht in Graz studierte. Die Eltern wollten nämlich den protestantischen Einfluss auf den Thronfolger, der in Graz wegen des überwiegend protestantischen Adels sehr präsent war, vermeiden und ihm ein ruhiges Studium fort vom höfischen Leben ermöglichen. Die Wahl von Ingolstadt war aber gewiss auch durch die bayrische Herkunft Marias und durch die Bedeutung der Jesuiten begründet.²³

Söhne und zwei Töchter. Karl (7. August 1590–28. Dezember 1624) wurde einen Monat nach dem Tode seines Vaters geboren. Er wurde für den geistlichen Stand bestimmt und hatte mehrere Bistümer inne. Später wurde er zum portugiesischen Vizekönig auserwählt, dennoch starb er in Mailand, noch bevor er den hohen Dienst antreten konnte. Siehe: Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, 44–48.

¹⁹ Nur die Eheschließung mit dem Fürsten von Siebenbürgen ist gescheitert. (Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, 42–50). Siehe auch: Franzl, *Ferdinand II.*, 17.

²⁰ Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, 50–56.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 52–53.

²² *Ibid.*, 126–129.

²³ Bireley, *Ferdinand II.*, 11; Ferdinand wurde zwar schon im Alter von acht Jahren an der Grazer Universität immatrikuliert, es ist aber nicht bekannt, ob er tatsächlich die dortigen Vorlesungen besuchte (Franzl, *Ferdinand II.*, 19).

Der innerösterreichische Stammhalter verreiste am 11. Jänner 1590 mit einem kleinen Hofstaat nach Bayern und wurde in München von seinem Onkel, dem bayrischen Herzog Wilhelm V. in Empfang genommen. Später in Ingolstadt lernte der innerösterreichische Thronfolger auch den bayrischen Kollegen, seinen siebzehnjährigen Cousin Maximilian kennen.²⁴ Kurz nach Ferdinands Ankunft in Ingolstadt kam es aber auch zu einer ersten Auseinandersetzung zwischen den beiden Cousins, und zwar brach unter den Thronfolgern ein Präzedenzstreit aus, als Ferdinand eines Sonntags bei der Messe den Sitz vor Maximilian forderte. Der Streit hatte keine ernsten Konsequenzen, denn die beiden Thronfolger wurden von ihren Eltern ermahnt, sie seien noch keine Herrscher, sondern Studierende, und sollten einander wie Brüder behandeln.²⁵ Ähnliche Zerwürfnisse gab es auch später, als Ferdinand und Maximilian, zu jener Zeit zwar nicht mehr als Studierende sondern als herrschende Fürsten, in einem nicht immer harmonischen Bündnis das katholische Lager im Dreißigjährigen Krieg leiteten.

Ein halbes Jahr nach Ferdinands Abreise starb am 10. Juli 1590 sein Vater Karl II.²⁶ in Graz, wo schon ein paar Wochen vor Karls Tod wegen der landesfürstlichen Gegenreformation unter den Protestanten Unruhen ausbrachen.²⁷ Mit dem plötzlichen Tod Karls II. brach aber auch eine politische Krise an. Gemäß dem Testament Karls²⁸ übernahm Kaiser Rudolf II. die Führung eines innerösterreichischen „Regentschaftsrates“, außerdem wurden auch der Bayernherzog Wilhelm V., der Tiroler Landesfürst Ferdinand (II.)²⁹ und die verwitwete Erzherzogin Maria zu Vormunden ernannt. Zuerst vertraute der Kaiser als Regent die Leitung der Regierungsgeschäfte Innerösterreichs der Erzherzogin Maria an, die die Aufgabe am 18. Juli 1590 annahm.³⁰ Die verwitwete Erzherzogin stieß sofort auf den heftigen Widerstand der Stände und auch eine Auseinandersetzung mit anderen Mitgliedern des „Regentschaftsrates“ blieb ihr nicht erspart. Maria wollte nämlich bis zur Mündigkeit ihres älteren Sohnes die *gubernatio* der innerösterreichischen Länder selber durchführen und genoss bei diesen Plänen auch die Unterstützung ihres Bruders, des Bayernherzogs Wilhelm V., dennoch wünschten die beiden habsburgischen Höfe in Prag und Innsbruck keinen starken Einfluss der Wittelsbacher auf die Verwaltung Innerösterreichs. Außerdem stand der Erzherzogin wegen ihrer streng katholischen Haltung auch der überwiegend protestantische steirische Adel entgegen. Schließlich wurde der kaiserliche Bruder Erzherzog Ernst³¹ zum *Gubernator* ernannt, was am 26. Dezember 1590 auch Maria akzeptieren musste.³² Doch wurde die politische Krise in Innerösterreich damit noch nicht beendet, der neue *Gubernator* hatte nämlich noch die Erbhuldigungen

²⁴ Bireley, *Ferdinand II.*, 11–12.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

²⁶ Bireley, *Ferdinand II.*, 13; Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, 41.

²⁷ Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, 114.

²⁸ Karl II. verfasste sein Testament am 1. Juni 1584. Siehe: Hurter, *Geschichte Kaiser Ferdinands II.*, 522–534.

²⁹ Über Ferdinand II. von Tirol siehe: Hirn, *Erzherzog Ferdinand II.*

³⁰ Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, 114.

³¹ Erzherzog Ernst (15. Juni 1553, Wien–20. Februar 1595, Brüssel). Siehe: Hartmann et alii, *Die Kaiser*, 526; Dimitz, *Geschichte Krains*, 235–236; Valvasor, *Die Ehre*, 10:351.

³² Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, 113–121; Bireley, *Ferdinand II.*, 13–14.

der innerösterreichischen Länder entgegenzunehmen, was von den Landesständen mit der Bestätigung konfessioneller Privilegien bedingt wurde. Der „Erbhuldigungsstreit“, wie ihn die Geschichtsschreibung nennt,³³ zog sich bis zur Entscheidung von Kaiser Rudolf II., der schließlich beschloss, bei den Religionsangelegenheiten in Innerösterreich bleibe bis zum Regierungsantritt Ferdinands alles so, wie es unter Karl II. war.³⁴

Ernst wurde schon am 6. September 1593 durch seinen jüngeren Bruder Maximilian,³⁵ der erst zu Beginn des nächsten Jahres in Graz eintraf, als *Gubernator* ersetzt.³⁶ Maria stellte sich auch gegen ihn. Der neue habsburgische *Gubernator* war ihrer Meinung nach einerseits unerfahren in Regierungsgeschäften, andererseits schenkte Maria ihm kein Vertrauen, weil er zutiefst in den polnischen innenpolitischen Angelegenheiten verwickelt war. Maximilian hatte sich nämlich im Jahre 1587 um die polnische Krone beworben, verlor aber den Wahlkampf gegen Sigismund III. Wasa. Der neue polnische König aus dem Hause Wasa heiratete dann im Jahre 1592 Erzherzogin Anna (von Innerösterreich) und wurde damit Marias Schwiegersohn. Weil der kaiserliche Bruder, der zu jener Zeit die Verwaltung Innerösterreichs zu übernehmen hatte, seinen Anspruch auf den polnischen Thron nie aufgegeben hat, fürchtete sich Maria um die Stellung ihrer Tochter – der polnischen Königin Anna.³⁷ Maria hätte es lieber gesehen, dass, statt des neuen *Gubernators* Maximilian, Ferdinand vorzeitig für mündig erklärt und die Regierung übernehmen würde, oder dass sie alleine die Verwaltung Innerösterreichs übernehmen würde. Doch die anderen Vormunde widersprachen erneut Marias Plänen.³⁸ Einer vorgezogenen Rückkehr Ferdinands aus Ingolstadt widersetzte sich schon seit dem Jahre 1592 auch der Papst.³⁹ Maria musste somit erneut nachgeben und Maximilian hinnehmen.⁴⁰ Trotzdem stieß der neue *Gubernator* auf den Widerstand der Stände, diesmal kam es zu einer Verwicklung in Ljubljana (Laibach). Die krainischen Stände lehnten die Erbhuldigung an die Kommissäre Maximilians ab, solange ein protestantischer Bürger von Ljubljana namens Andree Alexandrin (slow. Andrej Aleksandrin) nicht aus der Haft entlassen würde. Die Ablehnung der Erbhuldigung bedeutete eine große Schande für die Kommissäre.⁴¹

Hinsichtlich der Stellung Marias zur Zeit der Regentschaft zwischen 1590 und 1596

³³ Siehe: Loserth, „Der Huldigungsstreit“.

³⁴ Loserth, *Akten Ferdinand II.*, 2:XVII. Siehe auch: Gruden, *Zgodovina*, 799–800; Nared, „Kranjski deželni privilegiji“, 60; Kočevar, „Patent nadvojvode“, 37.

³⁵ Erzherzog Maximilian III. (12. Oktober 1558, Wiener Neustadt–2. November 1618, Wien). Maximilian führte die Verwaltung Innerösterreichs bis zur Rückkehr Ferdinands nach Graz beziehungsweise bis zur Ausschreibung der Huldigungslandtage ein Jahr später, als er seinen Rücktritt erklärte. Danach übernahm Maximilian 1602 Tirol als *Gubernator* und wurde 1612 zum Tiroler Landesfürsten (Hartmann et alii, *Die Kaiser*, 527).

³⁶ Bireley, *Ferdinand II.*, 19.

³⁷ Über die innerösterreichische Erzherzogin und polnische Königin Anna siehe: Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, 43.

³⁸ Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, 125.

³⁹ Siehe die päpstliche Instruktion Clements VIII. vom 13. April 1592. Veröffentlichung: Benedik, „Instrukcija“, 16–41.

⁴⁰ Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, 125.

⁴¹ ARS, SI AS 2, Deželni stanovi za Kranjsko, 1. reg., šk. 837, Peritzhoff: Regesten der Landtagsabhandlungen 1507–1698, 1594. Siehe auch: Dimitz, *Geschichte Krains*, 249–250;

stellt Katrin Keller fest, die Erzherzogin habe den Kampf um die *Gubernatio* zwar verloren und den Brüdern Ernst und Maximilian überlassen müssen, dennoch habe die Witwe, obwohl kein Dekret in ihrem Namen erschien, Einfluss behalten und, wie Keller feststellt, schließlich manche Entscheidungen bedeutend mitgeprägt.⁴² Außer der innenpolitischen und konfessionellen Gegensätze waren die innerösterreichischen Länder zu jener Zeit auch von der türkischen Aggression bedroht. Am 22. Juni 1593 brach schließlich mit einer für die christliche Seite siegreichen Schlacht bei Sisak (Sisek) im heutigen Kroatien eine offene kriegerische Auseinandersetzung mit den Türken aus. Der sogenannte Lange Türkenkrieg zog sich danach bis zum Jahre 1606.⁴³

In der Zwischenszeit vollendete Ferdinand seine fünfjährige Ausbildung in Ingolstadt, wo er für drei Jahre im Jesuitenkolleg und zwei Jahre an der dortigen Universität studierte.⁴⁴ Im Sommer 1594 besuchte der junge Erzherzog Regensburg, wo er auf dem Reichstag das Oberhaupt der Dynastie, seinen sechsundzwanzig Jahre älteren Cousin Rudolf II. traf.⁴⁵ Der Kaiser versprach ihm, er dürfe bald nach Graz zurückkehren.⁴⁶ Danach verließ Ferdinand im Dezember 1594 Ingolstadt und traf nach einem Aufenthalt in München im Februar 1595 in Graz ein, wo er feierlich empfangen wurde. Am 3. Mai 1595 ernannte der Kaiser Erzherzog Ferdinand auf Ratschlag Maximilians zum Regenten Innerösterreichs unter der Bedingung, sich in wichtigen Angelegenheiten mit Erzherzog Maximilian zu beraten. Der Kaiser riet ihm außerdem, bis zu seiner Volljährigkeit keine Veränderungen in der Regierung vorzunehmen, was Ferdinand auch berücksichtigte.⁴⁷

Als Ferdinand am 9. Juli 1596 sein achtzehntes Lebensjahr, und damit, wie Karls Testament bestimmte,⁴⁸ die Volljährigkeit erreichte, brach die Zeit für seine endgültige Übernahme der landesfürstlichen Herrschaft in Innerösterreich an. Aus diesem Grund schrieb der Kaiser im Herbst 1596 die Huldigungslandtage der innerösterreichischen Länder aus, alle Vormunde ernannten ihre Kommissäre, Maximilian trat aber als *Gubernator* zurück.⁴⁹ Angesichts der bevorstehenden Erbhuldigungen fürchteten sich die innerösterreichischen katholischen Kreise mit Erzherzogin Maria an der Spitze sowie die damit verwickelten katholischen Höfe und Rom, dass es zu einem erneuten Konflikt über die Bestätigung der Brücker Pazifikation mit den Landesständen kommen werde,⁵⁰

Gruden, *Zgodovina*, 800–801; Fabjančič, *Ljubljanski sodniki*, 264–265; Kočevar, „Patent nadvojvode“, 37; Kočevar, „Dedna poklonitev“, 207–208.

⁴² Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, 124–125. Auf den Einfluss der Erzherzogin weist auch die Tatsache hin, dass die krainischen Landstände ihr Verzeichnis vom 3. Dezember 1590 an Maria richteten (ARS, SI AS 2, Deželni stanovi za Kranjsko, 1. reg., šk. 432 (fasc. 290a), Verzeichnus der Herren vnd Landleuth von allen vier Stenden des Fürssthumbs Crain so zu Einem Landtag fürnemlich zuerfordern).

⁴³ Siehe: Simoniti, „Bitka pri Sisku“, 15–28; Simoniti, *Fanfare nasilja*, 80–127; Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 19.

⁴⁴ Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 15.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁴⁶ Hartmann et alii, *Die Kaiser*, 542.

⁴⁷ Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 20.

⁴⁸ Siehe: Hurter, *Geschichte Kaiser Ferdinands II.*, 522–534.

⁴⁹ Kočevar, „Dedna poklonitev“, 209, 214.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 222–223.

denn der Kaiser beschloss schon im Jahre 1592, dass bis zu Ferdinands Machtübernahme ein *status quo* in Geltung bleiben soll.⁵¹ Die Erzherzogin bemühte sich deswegen um die Ernennung ihres jüngeren Bruders Ernst, der Kölner Bischof und Kurfürst war, zum Huldigungskommissären, um dadurch die katholische Seite bei den Verhandlungen mit den überwiegend protestantischen Landesständen zu stärken. Diese Bemühungen scheiterten zwar, doch der junge Erzherzog verteidigte seinen Standpunkt, dass die Religionsfragen nicht mit der Erbhuldigung verbunden seien, trotzdem standhaft und erfolgreich. Die innerösterreichischen Erbhuldigungen verliefen wider die Erwartungen der katholischen Kreise ohne bedeutende Schwierigkeiten.⁵² Die Steirer leisteten ihre Erbhuldigung am 12. Dezember 1596, die Kärntner am 28. Jänner 1597 und die Krainer am 13. Februar 1597.⁵³

Nach den Erbhuldigungen reiste der neue innerösterreichische Landesfürst zum Kaiser Rudolf II., um sich bei ihm für die Regentschaft während seiner Minderjährigkeit persönlich zu bedanken. Außerdem brauchte Ferdinand die Erlaubnis des Kaisers, seine bayrische Cousine heiraten zu dürfen.⁵⁴ In der Gefolgschaft des jungen Erzherzogs, die den Hradschin besuchte, waren auch die ständischen Vertreter, die sich bei dem Kaiser vornehmlich um die Hilfe gegen die Türken und die Lösung der ständischen *Gravamina* bemühten.⁵⁵ Später inspizierte Ferdinand im Sommer 1597 Nagykanizsa (Kanischa), eine strategisch wichtige Festung in Ungarn, die sein Leben kurz darauf bedeutend prägen sollte. Den Rest des Jahres 1597 widmete Ferdinand der Übernahme der Regierungsgeschäfte, in den konfessionellen Angelegenheiten seiner Länder behielt er aber derzeit den *status quo* bei. Zu jener Zeit trat jedoch der neunundzwanzigjährige steirische Adlige Johann Ulrich von Eggenberg in den Dienst am Grazer Hof. Dieser wurde bald zum einflussreichsten Berater Ferdinands und behielt diese Stellung bis zum Sturz Wallensteins im Jahre 1634.⁵⁶ Einen großen Einfluss auf den Hofstaat erlangte zur gleichen Zeit auch der aus den Spanischen Niederlanden stammende Jesuit Bartholomäus Viller, der zwischen den Jahren 1596 und 1597 auch Rektor der Grazer Universität war. Viller wurde außerdem zum Beichtvater Ferdinands, was er bis zur Verlegung des Hofes nach Wien blieb.⁵⁷

Im nächsten Frühling begab sich Ferdinand auf eine Italienreise, die vom 22. April bis zum 20. Juni 1598 dauerte.⁵⁸ Die Reise verlief von Graz nach Venedig, Padua und Ferrara, wo er den Papst Clement VIII. traf. Von Ferrara reiste Ferdinand weiter nach Loreto. Einige Biografen berichten, Ferdinand habe dort beeidigt, den katholischen Glauben in den innerösterreichischen Ländern zu erneuern.⁵⁹ Die nächste Station war Rom, dort besuchte Ferdinand den General der Jesuitenorden Claudio Acquaviva und

⁵¹ Loserth, *Akten Ferdinand II.*, 2:XVII. Siehe auch: Kočevar, „Dedna poklonitev“, 206–207.

⁵² Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, 130–131.

⁵³ Gruden, *Zgodovina*, 816; Kočevar, „Dedna poklonitev“, 201–232; Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 22–24.

⁵⁴ Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 24.

⁵⁵ Siehe: ARS, SI AS 2, Deželni stanovi za Kranjsko, 1. reg., šk. 837, Peritzhoff: Regesten der Landtagsabhandlungen 1507–1698, 1597.

⁵⁶ Albrecht, „Ferdinand II.“, 130; Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 20.

⁵⁷ Hartmann et alii, *Die Kaiser*, 542; Pörtner, *Counter-Reformation*, 114–115; Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 21–22.

⁵⁸ Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 25–30.

⁵⁹ Über den Eid des innerösterreichischen Landesfürsten berichtete als erster der langjährige

reiste danach über Siena nach Florenz und von dort nach Bologna und Mantua. Danach kehrte Ferdinand mit seinem Gefolge über Brixen nach Graz zurück.⁶⁰ Während Ferdinands Abwesenheit verbreiteten sich in Graz Gerüchte, der Landesfürst werde mit einem Heer aus Italien zurückkehren und den Protestantismus in Innerösterreich blutig niederringen,⁶¹ immerhin begann die Gegenreformation, die ohne Blutvergießen durchgeführt wurde, erst ein gutes Jahr später. Ferdinand bat zuerst den innerösterreichischen Statthalter und Bischof von Seckau Georg Stobäus (Bischof 1584–1618) um seinen Rat.⁶² Der Bischof legte in einer besonderen Denkschrift, die vermutlich auf den 20. August 1598 datiert war, sein legalistisch-pragmatisches Vorhaben dar, das eine schrittweise Abschaffung des Protestantismus in den innerösterreichischen Ländern vorsah. Die Denkschrift von Georg Stobäus beruhte teilweise auf verschiedenen Plänen, die für die Durchführung der Gegenreformation schon seit der geheimen Münchner Konferenz im Oktober 1578 in München, Rom und Graz geschmiedet wurden.⁶³

Im September 1598 begann Ferdinand gemäß den von Stobäus ausgearbeiteten Richtlinien die Durchführung der Gegenreformation mit der Auflösung der protestantischen Schulwesen und dem Landesverweis der Prädikanten zuerst aus Graz, im Oktober kamen auch Ljubljana und Judenburg an die Reihe.⁶⁴ Die Ausweisung der Prädikanten und der protestantischen Schulleute versetzte dem Protestantismus in Innerösterreich einen schweren Schlag, sowohl auf konfessionellem, als auch auf politischem Gebiet, denn damit wurden seine institutionellen Zentren – die protestantischen Landeskirchen zerstört.⁶⁵ Die landesfürstlichen September- und Oktoberdekrete hatten eine heftige Reaktion der steirischen, kärntnerischen und krainischen Stände zufolge. Der politische Konflikt mit den innerösterreichischen Landesständen, der im Herbst 1598 ausbrach, zog sich noch lange in das nächste Jahr hinein,⁶⁶ und hat nach Meinung von Robert Bireley die politische Entwicklung des jungen Landesfürsten wichtig gezeichnet.⁶⁷ Der äußerst gespannten Lage und manchen Zwischenfällen⁶⁸ zum Trotz brachen in den innerösterreichischen Ländern keine bewaffneten Auseinandersetzungen oder Aufstände aus,⁶⁹ wie es Georg

Beichtvater Ferdinands und sein erster Biograf Villem Lamormaini in seinem Werk *Ferdinandi II. Romanorum Imperatoris Virtutes*, das 1638 herausgegeben wurde (Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 28).

⁶⁰ Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 25–30.

⁶¹ Gruden, *Zgodovina*, 817; Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 30.

⁶² Gruden, *Zgodovina*, 817.

⁶³ Die Regesten der Denkschrift wurden von Johann Loserth herausgegeben. Siehe: Loserth, *Akten Ferdinand II.*, 1. Band, Nr. 434, 297. Siehe auch: Gruden, *Zgodovina*, 818; Franzl, *Ferdinand II.*, 61–62; Pörtner, *Counter-Reformation*, 119; Dolinar, „Die Gegenreformation“, 332; Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 32–33; Kočevar, „Patent nadvojvode“, 35.

⁶⁴ Siehe: Gruden, *Zgodovina*, 824–826; Pörtner, *Counter-Reformation*, 120–122; Dolinar, „Die Gegenreformation“, 332.

⁶⁵ Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 34–35.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 31; Dimitz, *Geschichte Krains*, 291–296.

⁶⁷ Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 31.

⁶⁸ Über die Zwischenfälle, die zu jener Zeit in Ljubljana ausbrachen, siehe: Fabjančič, *Ljubljanski sodniki*, 281.

⁶⁹ Die Jesuiten in Ljubljana fürchteten sogar, wie das Jahrbuch des Jesuitenkollegs zu Ljubljana beweist, dass die Protestanten mit ihnen blutig abrechnen könnten und jammerten über die

Stobäus richtig vorausgesehen hatte. Die Stände verweigerten die Steuerbewilligung für die Truppen und die Militärgrenze, wurden aber schließlich zum Nachlassen bezwungen; die Steirer gaben im Mai nach, die Krainer aber erst im August 1599.⁷⁰ Ungeachtet dieser politischen Niederlage, die langfristige Folgen für die konfessionelle Angehörigkeit ihrer Länder hatte, versuchten die Stände beim Landesfürsten die Konzessionen für die *Confessio Augustana* wieder zu erringen. Sie knüpften Kontakte mit den protestantischen Ständen benachbarter Länder, einige steirische Landsleute sollten noch in den Jahren 1609 und 1610, als die innerösterreichischen Stände zum letzten Mal die Unterstützung in Wien, Prag und Bratislava (Pressburg/Pozsony) suchten, Bewaffnung im Heiligen Römischen Reich einholen. Eine Rebellion gegen den Landesfürsten blieb aber wiederholt aus.⁷¹

Nach der Abschaffung der protestantischen Landeskirchen sowie des Schulwesens begann die Gegenreformation in Städten, Märkten und auf dem Lande. Der zweite Schritt der Gegenreformation wurde von den landesfürstlichen (gegen)reformatorischen Kommissionen, die die Protestanten austrieben, protestantische Kirchen niederrissen und verbotene Bücher verbrannten, durchgeführt. Historiker schätzen, dass Innerösterreich zwischen den Jahren 1598 und 1605 als Folge der gegenreformatorischen Maßnahmen von 11.000 Einwohnern verlassen wurde.⁷²

Erzherzog Ferdinand seinerseits heiratete am 23. April 1600 in Graz seine bayrische Cousine Maria Anna,⁷³ womit die steirischen Habsburger sich noch enger mit den bayrischen Wittelsbachern, deren Führung inzwischen von Ferdinands Cousin und Kommilitonen aus Ingolstadt Maximilian I. übernommen wurde, verbunden haben.⁷⁴ Maria Anna gebar Ferdinand sieben Kinder,⁷⁵ von denen vier die Kindheit überlebten, und zwar: der Erbfolger Ferdinand III., Maria Anna, die 1635 den damals schon zweiundsechzigjährigen Bayernherzog Maximilian I. heiratete und ihm einen lang ersehnten Nachfolger gebar, Cäcilia Renate, die zu einer polnischen Königin wurde, und Leopold Wilhelm, der als Bischof mehrere Bistümer innehatte und sich als kaiserlicher General am Dreißigjährigen Krieg beteiligte.⁷⁶ Ferdinand hat also mit den Eheschließungen seiner Kinder nur die bereits bestehenden dynastischen Netzwerke bekräftigt.⁷⁷

Übermacht der Protestanten, die die gesamte Verwaltung des Landes in ihren Händen hatten. (*Historia annua*, 31).

⁷⁰ Dimitz, *Geschichte Krains*, 291–296.

⁷¹ Strohmeyer, *Svoboda politike*, 183–195; Jerše, „Vera, upanje, oblast“, 85–86.

⁷² Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 40.

⁷³ Maria Anna (18. Dezember 1574, München–8. März 1616, Graz). Siehe: Hartmann et alii, *Die Kaiser*, 541.

⁷⁴ Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 42.

⁷⁵ Ferdinand und Maria Anna bekamen sieben Kinder: Christine (25. Mai 1601–12. Juni 1601), Karl (25. Mai 1603), Johann Karl (1. November 1605–26. Dezember 1619), Ferdinand III. (13. Juli 1608–2. April 1657), Maria Anna (13. Jänner, 1610–25. September 1665), Cäcilia Renata (16. Juli 1611–24. März 1644) und Leopold Wilhelm (16. Jänner 1614). Siehe: Hartmann et alii, *Die Kaiser*, 548–549.

⁷⁶ Hartmann et alii, *Die Kaiser*, 548–549.

⁷⁷ Insbesondere die Eheschließung des Thronfolgers Ferdinand III. mit der spanischen Infantin Maria Anna war von großer Bedeutung für die Kräftigung des Bündnisses mit Spanien. Siehe: Kočevar, „Vojvodina Kranjska“, 374–418.

Im Herbst 1600 wurden die innerösterreichischen Länder durch den Fall der strategisch wichtigen Festung Nagykanizsa erschüttert: Die Türken eroberten diese am 20. Oktober und bedrohten damit unmittelbar die östliche Grenze der Steiermark.⁷⁸ Um die verlorene Festung in Ungarn zurückzuerobern, zog Ferdinand im nächsten Jahr 1601 an der Spitze eines christlichen Heeres ins Feld. Dieses Unternehmen war Ferdinands erster und letzter Auftritt als Feldherr. Der Feldzug dauerte von September bis November 1601 und endete mit einer Katastrophe der christlichen Truppen, die nach gescheiterten Wiedereroberungsversuchen das Feld räumen mussten und beim Abzug alle Kanonen und viele Verwundete zurückließen.⁷⁹

In den Jahren 1604 und 1605 tobte in den Wirren des Krieges im habsburgischen Teil Ungarns noch eine Revolte gegen die gegenreformatorischen Maßnahmen des Kaisers Rudolf II. An der Spitze der rebellierenden ungarischen Adeligen stand der Fürst von Siebenbürgen Stefan Bocskay, der den Kaiserlichen mit türkischer Hilfe viele Verluste versetzte.⁸⁰ Schließlich wurde am 23. Juni 1606 der Friede von Wien geschlossen, womit der Erzherzog Matthias im Namen des Hauses Österreich Stefan Bocskay als einen Fürsten von Siebenbürgen anerkannte, die ungarischen Landstände bekamen aber die Religionsfreiheit.⁸¹ Dem Wiener Abkommen folgte der Frieden von Zsitvatorok, der zwischen den Vertretern des Hauses Österreich und der Hohen Pforte am 11. November 1606 für zwanzig Jahre geschlossen wurde.⁸²

Nach dem Ende des langen Türkenkrieges brach die einzige Friedensperiode (1606–1615) in Ferdinands Regierungszeit an. Jedoch war diese Zeit von inneren Spannungen unter den Habsburgern gekennzeichnet. Zwischen dem Kaiser Rudolf II. und seinem jüngeren Bruder Erzherzog Matthias brach der sogenannte Bruderzwist aus. Weil der Kaiser keinen legitimen Nachkommen hatte, stand er unter dem Druck seiner Brüder und der spanischen Verwandtschaft, einen habsburgischen Erzherzog zum römischen König wählen zu lassen und damit die Nachfolge auf dem kaiserlichen Thron zu sichern. Dennoch wollte der von Geisteskrankheiten geplagte Kaiser nichts davon hören. Deswegen begannen seine Verwandten heimlich zu tagen und seine Absetzung zu planen. An diesen Gesprächen nahm, allerdings ungen, auch Erzherzog Ferdinand teil.⁸³

Danach vertrat Ferdinand im Jahre 1608 als ein Kommissär den Kaiser Rudolf II. auf dem Reichstag in Regensburg und griff damit zum ersten Mal in seiner politischen Karriere in die Angelegenheiten des ganzen Reiches ein. Auf dem Reichstag ging sogar das Gerücht um, der Kaiser wolle den innerösterreichischen Erzherzog anstatt seines fünf Jahre jüngeren Bruders Matthias zum römischen König vorschlagen, denn Ferdinand hatte

⁷⁸ Siehe: Cerwinka, „Die Eroberung der Festung Kanizsa“, 409–512; Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 31, 43.

⁷⁹ Simoniti, *Fanfare nasilja*, 97–127; Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 43–44.

⁸⁰ Simoniti, *Fanfare nasilja*, 103–104, 113; Kontler, *Madžarska zgodovina*, 133–134.

⁸¹ Eine Abschrift des lateinischen Wiener Friedens zwischen dem Erzherzog Matthias und dem Fürsten Bocskay wurde auch den krainischen Landständen vermittelt. Siehe: ARS, SI AS 2, Deželni stanovi za Kranjsko, šk. 454 (fasc. 292e), fol. 681–710, Der wienerischen capitulationsabschrift etc.

⁸² Simoniti, *Fanfare nasilja*, 103–104, 113; Press, „Matthias“, 117; Kontler, *Madžarska zgodovina*, 133–134; Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 46; Kampmann, *Europa und das Reich*, 16.

⁸³ Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 46–51.

zu jener Zeit im Unterschied zu seinen Verwandten schon legitime Nachfolger und wurde dadurch zu einem ernst zu nehmenden Kandidaten für die Nachfolge im österreichischen Zweig der Habsburger.⁸⁴ Im Übrigen war der Reichstag im Jahre 1608 vom Zusammenbruch der Reichsinstitutionen, von innenpolitischen Spannungen und vom Bruderzwist im Hause Habsburg geprägt. Unter dem Eindruck gegenseitigen Misstrauens unter den katholischen und protestantischen Reichständen, das vom neuerlichen Zwischenfall in Donauwörth⁸⁵ ausgelöst wurde, formierten sich im Schatten des Regensburger Reichstags zwei konfessionelle Bündnisse. Auf der einen Seite entwickelte sich unter der Anführung des Bayernherzogs Maximilian I. eine katholische Allianz, die aber bei der Gründung auf einige Schwierigkeiten stieß.⁸⁶ Auf der anderen Seite gründeten die Protestanten ihr Bündnis. Die von der calvinistischen Kurpfalz geleitete protestantische Union wurde schon am 12. Mai 1608 in Auhausen errichtet.⁸⁷

In der Zwischenzeit erhielt auch der Bruderzwist zwischen den habsburgischen Brüdern seinen ersten Epilog. Rudolf II. musste seinem Bruder Matthias Ungarn, Österreich ober und unter der Enns sowie Mähren abtreten. Darüber hinaus musste der Kaiser seinem Bruder auch die Nachfolge in Böhmen zuerkennen, obwohl er dieses Land neben der Kaiserkrone damals noch hat behalten können.⁸⁸

Noch bevor Ferdinand aus Regensburg zurück nach Graz kam, starb am 29. April 1608 seine geliebte Mutter Maria Anna.⁸⁹ Die Trauer um die verstorbene Erzherzogin dauerte am innerösterreichischen Hof eine lange Zeit. Auch bei der Hochzeit von Ferdinands Schwester Maria Magdalena mit dem Großherzog von Toskana Cosimo II., die am 14. September 1608 in Graz stattfand, trugen alle Hochzeitsgäste Trauerkleider.⁹⁰

Nach einer vorläufigen Beilegung des Bruderzwistes traten aber erneut die schwierigen Verhältnisse zwischen dem katholischen Haus Österreich und den überwiegend protestantischen Ständen seiner Länder hervor. Während die Mähren ihrem neuen Landesfürsten Matthias gegen das Versprechen, dass er die Protestanten nicht verfolgen werde, Erbhuldigung leisteten, bedingten die Stände Österreichs ober und unter der Enns ihre Erbhuldigungen mit einer Erweiterung der konfessionellen Rechte und drohten Matthias sogar zu Rudolf II. zurückzukehren, wenn er ihre Forderungen nicht akzeptierte. Der im Bruderzwist siegreiche Matthias musste schließlich am 19. März 1609 den Ständen nachgeben. Am 29. April nahm er demgemäß die Erbhuldigung der protestantischen Stände Österreichs unter der Enns entgegen, denn die Katholiken huldigten ihn schon ein halbes Jahr früher (16. Oktober 1608),⁹¹ am 17. Mai 1609 huldigten ihn aber auch die Stände Österreichs ober der Enns.⁹² Die Erfolge ihrer österreichischen Kollegen blieben nicht ohne Nachhall in Böhmen, wo die dortigen Stände von Rudolf II. am 9. Juli 1609 den

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 51–56.

⁸⁵ Parker, *The Thirty Years'*, 22–34; Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 57.

⁸⁶ Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 55–56, 61–62, 64.

⁸⁷ Parker, *The Thirty Years'*, 20–22; Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 56–57.

⁸⁸ Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 57.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 59–60.

⁹¹ Gmoser, „Die Erbhuldigungen“, 74–86; Press, „Matthias“, 119.

⁹² Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 60,

Majestätsbrief erlangten, der weite Konzessionen für die *Confessio Bohemica* erteilte.⁹³ Die Erfolge der Stände in den benachbarten Ländern regten auch die Hoffnung auf eine erneute Anerkennung der freien Religionsausübung bei den innerösterreichischen Adeligen, die zu jener Zeit noch zum letzten Mal versuchten, Unterstützung im Ausland zu erhalten. Doch waren ihre Versuche erfolglos und eine angebliche Revolte der einzigen steirischen Adeligen, die in Deutschland Waffen eingekauft haben sollen, blieb aus.⁹⁴

Mittlerweile spitzte sich auch die Lage im Reich zu, und zwar drohte sich der Erbfolgestreit um die Herzogtümer Jülich, Kleve und Berg in einen offenen Krieg unter Beteiligung von Frankreich umzuwandeln. Doch die Lage im Reich beruhigte sich allmählich, nachdem der französische König Heinrich IV. am 14. Mai 1610 einem Attentat zum Opfer fiel, und Frankreich führungslos blieb. Der Streit wurde am Ende einvernehmlich mit dem Vertrag von Xanten 1614 abgeschlossen.⁹⁵ Im Jahre 1609, als der Jülich-Klevische Erbfolgestreit ausbrach, kam aber auch ein Bündnis der katholischen Reichsstände – die katholische Liga, die früher in einen oberdeutschen und einen rheinischen Teil geteilt war, endgültig zustande.⁹⁶

Kaum entschärfte sich die Lage im Reich, entflammte sich wieder der Bruderzwist. Rudolf II. weigerte sich Matthias als seinen Nachfolger zu bestimmen und war stattdessen geneigt, Leopold V.,⁹⁷ einen jüngeren Bruder des innerösterreichischen Landesfürsten Ferdinands, der das Bischofsamt in Passau und Straßburg bekleidete, zum Nachfolger zu ernennen. Als sich Leopold V. mit dem Passauer Kriegsvolk im Auftrag des Kaisers auf den Weg nach Prag begab, drohte eine Eskalation, denn die böhmischen Stände riefen Matthias zur Hilfe. Der Eingriff Leopolds V. scheiterte letztlich,⁹⁸ Matthias marschierte am 23. Mai 1611 in Prag ein und wurde nach Bestätigung des Majestätsbriefs zum böhmischen König gekrönt. Der Bruderzwist im Hause Habsburg war damit beendet. Dem besiegten Rudolf II., der alle Ländereien verlor, blieb lediglich die Kaiserkrone, außerdem durfte er noch weiter in Hradschin residieren. Die nächste Habsburgerfamilienkonferenz, die im Dezember 1611 in Wien stattfand, unterstützte die Wahl Matthias zum römischen König.⁹⁹

Trotz aller ständischen Erfolge in den beiden österreichischen Erzherzogtümern und in den Ländern der böhmischen Krone behielt Ferdinand seine Stellung in Innerösterreich erfolgreich und wurde zu einem ernsthaften Kandidaten für die Nachfolge in seiner Dynastie. Am 20. Jänner 1612 starb Kaiser Rudolf II. ohne eheliche Nachkommenschaft, worauf am 13. Juni 1612 Matthias zum Kaiser gewählt und gekrönt wurde.¹⁰⁰ Der neue Kaiser verlegte am Ende des Jahres 1612 seinen Hof aus Prag nach Wien, womit die Hofburg nach 1583, als Rudolf II. den Hof nach Hradschin verlegte, wieder zum Mittelpunkt der

⁹³ Ibid., 65–66.

⁹⁴ Strohmeier, *Svoboda politike*, 183–195; Jerše, „Vera, upanje, oblast“, 85.

⁹⁵ Parker, *The Thirty Years’*, 23–24; Press, „Matthias“, 120; Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 66–67.

⁹⁶ Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 62; Parker, *The Thirty Years’*, 27–28, 30–31.

⁹⁷ Erzherzog Leopold V. (9. Oktober 1586–15. September 1532) wurde später im Jahre 1618 Statthalter in Tirol. Im Jahre 1625 legte er alle Reichsdienste nieder und wurde 1632 Landesfürst von Tirol (Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, 47).

⁹⁸ Press, „Rudolf II.“, 110–111; Press, „Matthias“, 119.

⁹⁹ Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 67–69.

¹⁰⁰ Hartmann et alii, *Die Kaiser*, 535; Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 71.

österreichischen Habsburger wurde.¹⁰¹ Dennoch war auch Matthias ohne Nachkommen, denn ihm wurde die Heirat von Rudolf II. als Familienoberhaupt für eine lange Zeit verboten.¹⁰² Der vierundfünfzigjährige Matthias heiratete zwar sofort nach dem Sieg im Bruderzwist im Dezember 1611 seine sechsundzwanzigjährige Verwandte aus dem Tiroler Zweig der Habsburger, doch blieb die Ehe kinderlos.¹⁰³ Nachdem die übrigen habsburgischen Erzherzöge, die auch ohne Nachkommenschaft waren, auf ihren Thronanspruch zugunsten Ferdinands verzichtet haben, standen der Erbfolge des innerösterreichischen Landesfürsten noch zwei Hindernisse im Wege, nämlich der Bischof Klesl, der im Auftrag Matthias seine politischen Geschäfte führte, und der spanische König Philip III., der auf seine Erbrechte auf die ungarische und böhmische Krone nicht verzichten wollte.¹⁰⁴

Immerhin hatte Ferdinand das Glück auf seiner Seite. Ende des Jahres 1615 adoptierte ihn Matthias, was ein Zeichen dafür war, dass er ihn als seinen Nachfolger betrachtete. Diese Absicht bestätigte der Kaiser am 14. März 1616 mit einer besonderen Resolution.¹⁰⁵ Außer den politischen Erfolgen brachte das Jahr 1616 dem designierten Oberhaupt der Dynastie auch Verluste, denn er verlor seine erste Frau Anna Maria und den jüngeren Bruder Maximilian Ernest, der im Auftrag Ferdinands viele politische Aufgaben durchführte.¹⁰⁶ Nach langwierigen Verhandlungen mit dem spanischen Gesandten Íñigo Vélez de Guevara, Conde de Oñate schloss Ferdinand am 3. März 1617 eine geheime Vereinbarung, den Spaniern Elsas, Hagenau und Ortenau im Tausch für die Anerkennung seiner Erbfolge nach Matthias zu überlassen. Außerdem bekam Ferdinand von Spanien eine ausgiebige finanzielle Hilfe, um seinen Krieg mit der Republik von Venedig, der schon seit dem Jahre 1615 tobte, weiterzuführen.¹⁰⁷ Der endgültige Abschluss des Oñate-Vertrages wurde im Juni 1617 veröffentlicht und bekam auch eine kaiserliche Bestätigung.¹⁰⁸ Dadurch wurde Ferdinand von Innerösterreich zu Matthias Nachfolger in seinen Ländern sowie zum Kandidaten für die Kaiserwahl.

Als Ferdinands politischer Aufstieg 1615 in Schwung kam, endete die einzige friedliche Periode seiner Herrschaft. In demselben Jahr, als *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus* in Venedig gedruckt wurde, brachen die sich lange Zeit anhäufenden Konflikte zwischen Innerösterreich und der Republik des Heiligen Markus in einer kriegerischen Auseinandersetzung aus. Der sogenannte Friauler oder Uskokenkrieg betraf vor allem Görz und manche Teile Krains, besonders Istrien wurde durch den Krieg verwüstet. Die Festung Gradisca, das Bollwerk der habsburgischen Verteidigung im Westen, wurde den größten Teil des Krieges von venezianischen Truppen belagert, doch hielt allen Angriffen stand. Ferdinands Krieg mit *Serenissima*, der schließlich auf Betreiben Spaniens mit dem

¹⁰¹ Press, „Matthias“, 119–120; Vache et alii, *Habsburžani*, 156.

¹⁰² Hartmann et alii, *Die Kaiser*, 536–539.

¹⁰³ Press, „Matthias“, 120; Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 71; Hartmann et alii, *Die Kaiser*, 535–539.

¹⁰⁴ Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 75; Hartmann et alii, *Die Kaiser*, 537–538, 543.

¹⁰⁵ Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 76–77.

¹⁰⁶ Erzherzog Maximilian Ernst (17. Oktober 1583–18. Februar 1616). Ibid., 89; Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, 46.

¹⁰⁷ Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 80; Simoniti, *Fanfare nasilja*, 128–156.

¹⁰⁸ Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 80.

Friedensvertrag von Madrid am 26. September 1617 offiziell beendet wurde, hallte als eine Ouvertüre des Dreißigjährigen Krieges aus.¹⁰⁹

Während der Krieg im Südwesten noch tobte, nahm Ferdinand die Erbhuldigungen der Länder, wo ihm die Nachfolge gemäß dem Oñate-Vertrag zuerkannt wurde, entgegen. In Böhmen musste der neue König jedoch noch vor der Krönung beeidigen, den Majestätsbrief zu berücksichtigen. Danach wurde Ferdinand am 29. Juni 1617 im Veitsdom auf der Prager Burg zum böhmischen König gekrönt.¹¹⁰ Anschließend reiste Ferdinand II. nach Dresden, wo er mit dem sächsischen Kurfürsten seine Kaiserwahl erörterte. Später besuchte er noch die anderen Länder der böhmischen Krone: Mähren, Schlesien sowie die Ober- und Niederlausitz und nahm deren Erbhuldigungen entgegen.¹¹¹ Den böhmischen Ländern folgte das Königreich Ungarn. Im Frühling 1618 führte Ferdinand lange Verhandlungen über seine Krönung mit den auf dem Landtag zu Bratislava versammelten ungarischen Ständen. Während der Verhandlungen erfuhr Ferdinand am 27. Mai 1618, dass vier Tage zuvor in Prag ein Aufstand der böhmischen Stände ausgebrochen war. Ungeachtet der Ereignisse in Böhmen, hatten die Verhandlungen mit den Ungarn schließlich Erfolg und Ferdinand wurde am 1. Juli 1618 im Martinsdom in Bratislava zum ungarischen König gekrönt.¹¹²

Der zweite Prager Fenstersturz (23. Mai 1618), der in der Zwischenzeit passiert war, löste eine Spirale der Gewalt aus, die allmählich viele europäische Mächte einsog und für drei Jahrzehnte ganz Mitteleuropa verwüstete. Als Folge der böhmischen Revolte wurde in Wien der mächtige Kardinal Klesl gestürzt, der für eine Aussöhnung mit den aufständischen böhmischen Ständen plädierte. Am 20. Juli 1618 entledigte sich Ferdinand seines alten Gegners, als Klesl abgesetzt und später in Tirol konfiniert wurde. Die Führung des Geheimen Rates übernahm Ferdinands Ratgeber Johann Ulrich von Eggenberg.¹¹³

Zu Beginn der ersten Episode des Dreißigjährigen Krieges, des sogenannten Böhmischo-pfälzischen Krieges (1618–1623), fand sich Ferdinand II. in einer prekären Lage, weil sich der böhmische Aufstand in die benachbarten Länder ausbreitete. Als sich die Konfrontation zuspitzte, starb am 20. März 1619 der Kaiser Matthias in Wien,¹¹⁴ womit die Zeit für eine neue Kaiserwahl anbrach. Doch standen bereits im Juni 1619 die böhmischen ständischen Truppen vor Wien, die protestantischen Stände Österreichs unter der Enns versuchten aber mit einer Sturmpetition an Ferdinand II. die konfessionellen Rechte und den Frieden mit den Böhmen zu erreichen, was Ferdinand II. allerdings zurückwies. Das böhmische Heer musste schließlich das Feld räumen.¹¹⁵

Schließlich begab sich Ferdinand zur Kaiserwahl nach Frankfurt, die böhmischen Stände setzten ihn aber als ihren König am 26. August 1619 ab und wählten Friedrich V. von der Kurpfalz zum neuen böhmischen König, der später von den Gegnern als „Winterkönig“

¹⁰⁹Siehe: Simoniti, *Fanfare nasilja*, 128–156; Kalan, „Kranjska in avstrijsko-beneška“; Bireley, *Ferdinand II.*, 81–83.

¹¹⁰Hartmann et alii, *Die Kaiser*, 541, 543; Albrecht, „Ferdinand II.“, 129.

¹¹¹Bireley, *Ferdinand II.*, 86–87.

¹¹²Ibid., 88; Hartmann et alii, *Die Kaiser*, 541.

¹¹³Albrecht, „Ferdinand II.“, 130.

¹¹⁴Kaiser Matthias wurde als erster Habsburger in der Kapuzinergruft in Wien begraben (Press, „Matthias“, 123; Hartmann et alii, *Die Kaiser*, 535).

¹¹⁵Kleindel, *Österreich*, 137; Franzl, *Ferdinand II.*, 157–160.

verspottet wurde.¹¹⁶ Zwei Tage später wurde Ferdinand zum neuen Kaiser gewählt und am 9. September 1619 in Frankfurt als römischer Kaiser Ferdinand II. gekrönt.¹¹⁷ Mit der Erbfolge nach Matthias vereinigte Ferdinand unter seiner Herrschaft wieder die habsburgischen Länder, die seit 1564 von mehreren Landesfürsten regiert wurden, nur Tirol und Vorderösterreich blieben bis 1665 unter einer Seitenlinie der Dynastie. Außerdem verlegte Ferdinand II. seinen Hof von Graz nach Wien.¹¹⁸

Schluss

Die Motettensammlung *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus* entstand in einer turbulenten Epoche. Der Erzherzog und späterer Kaiser Ferdinand II., ein großer Verehrer italienischer und insbesondere venezianischer Musik, zögerte trotzdem nicht, seine Interessen gegen die Republik des Heiligen Markus entschlossen zu verteidigen, auch wenn das einen Krieg bedeutete. Als *Parnassus* 1615 in Venedig gedruckt wurde, stand Ferdinand an der Schwelle zu seinem Aufstieg. In den vergangenen zwei Jahrzehnten schlug er die protestantische ständische Opposition seiner Länder nieder. In diesem Jahr, 1615, adoptierte ihn Kaiser Matthias, was ihm faktisch die Nachfolge sicherte. Allerdings brach zu dieser Zeit auch der schwelende Konflikt mit den Venezianern in offenen kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen aus, der Krieg wurde noch weitere drei Jahre mit wechselndem Kriegsglück gekämpft.

Im Zeitraum von 1617 bis 1619 bekam Ferdinand drei Kronen, zwei königliche von Böhmen und Ungarn sowie auch die kaiserliche. Doch war sein Regierungsantritt in manchen Ländern von Revolten der protestantischen Ständischen gekennzeichnet, denn die Durchführung der Gegenreformation verlief nicht überall nach dem innerösterreichischen Szenario. Die kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen mit den Aufständischen lösten einen großen Krieg aus, der die nächsten drei Jahrzehnte andauerte und dessen Ende Ferdinand II. nicht mehr erlebte. Obwohl er in den ersten drei Epochen des Dreißigjährigen Krieges siegreich war, musste der Kaiser schwere Verluste hinnehmen. Als sich im Jahre 1635 Frankreich aktiv am Krieg beteiligte, brach die schrecklichste und längste Phase des Krieges an. Erst am 22. Dezember 1636 gelang es dem Kaiser, auf dem Kurfürstentag in Regensburg die Wahl seines Sohnes Ferdinand III. zum römischen König durchzusetzen. Nach seiner Rückkehr aus Regensburg starb Ferdinand II. am 15. Februar 1637 in Wien.¹¹⁹

Wahrscheinlich wurde kein anderer Habsburger, mit Ausnahme von Karl I. im Jahre 1916, mit einem schwierigeren Erbe konfrontiert als Ferdinand III. im Jahre 1637. Der Dreißigjährige Krieg tobte noch bis 1648 weiter.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶Hartmann et alii, *Die Kaiser*, 543.

¹¹⁷Ibid., 543.

¹¹⁸Gruden, *Zgodovina*, 875; Bireley, „Ferdinand II“, 227; Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, 58.

¹¹⁹Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 303; Hartmann et alii, *Die Kaiser*, 547; Albrecht, „Ferdinand II.“, 141.

¹²⁰Siehe: Repgen, „Ferdinand III.“.

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FERDINAND II.
OD NOTRANJEAVSTRIJSKEGA DEŽELNEGA KNEZA
DO SVETEGA RIMSKEGA CESARJA

Povzetek

Prispevek obravnava življenjepis nadvojvode Ferdinanda, ki mu je bil posvečen *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*, od rojstva leta 1578 do njegove izvolitve za rimskega cesarja leta 1619, torej za čas, ki ga je nadvojvoda preživel kot naslednik in nato deželni knez notranjeavstrijskih dežel. Poleg Ferdinandovega življenjepisa je pozornost posvečena tudi orisu politično-zgodovinskih in vojaških razmer v obravnavanem času.

Notranjeavstrijske dežele so med letoma 1564 in 1619 namreč predstavljale posebno državno telo znotraj Svetega rimskega cesarstva (nemške narodnosti), ki mu je vladala lastna veja habsburške dinastije s sedežem v štajerskem Gradcu. Štajerska ali notranjeavstrijska veja Avstrijske hiše je dve generaciji vladala le Notranji Avstriji, nato pa je z izvolitvijo Ferdinanda II. za cesarja naposled združila večino dežel avstrijskih Habsburžanov. Graški dvor se je s pregovorno spretno poročno politiko dobro vpel v evropske dinastične mreže svojega časa in imel sorodstvene vezi z drugimi habsburškimi dvori v Pragi in Innsbrucku kot tudi s špansko vejo dinastije. Močna sorodstvena, politična in konfesionalna je bila tudi navezava na bavarske Wittelsbache, katoliško vejo hiše Wasa na Poljskem, Medičejce v Firencah in hišo Gonzaga v Mantovi.

Notranjo Avstrijo so tako kot ostalo Evropo tega časa močno zaznamovali medkonfesionalni boji, ki so v času, ko je imela veroizpoved osrednjo vlogo, pomembno oblikovali tudi politično življenje. Katoliškim Habsburžanom so tako stali nasproti pretežno protestantski deželni stanovi njihovih dednih dežel, ki so se od svojih deželnih knezov razlikovali ne le po konfesionalni pripadnosti, temveč tudi po političnih pogledih, saj so si prizadevali za kar čim večjo avtonomijo. Poleg notranjih konfesionalnih in političnih napetosti so notranjeavstrijske dežele ogrožali tudi zunanji dejavniki. Najhujšo grožnjo je predstavljal osmanski prodor v Evropo, ki je deželno unijo ogrožal z juga in vzhoda. Neprestane napetosti na meji z Osmanskim imperijem so občasno prerasle v odprte vojne. Takšna je bila »dolga vojna«, ki je ob notranjeavstrijskih mejah divjala med letoma 1593 in 1606. Drugo krizno žarišče so predstavljali težavni odnosi z jugozahodnim sosedom – Beneško republiko. V istem letu kot je bila v Benetkah natisnjena zbirka motetov, posvečena Ferdinandu, se je notranjeavstrijski nadvojvoda zapletel v vojno z Republiko sv. Marka, ki se je nato nadaljevala do leta 1618.

Ferdinand II. se je v zgodovino zapisal predvsem kot vodja neizprosne protireformacije, ki jo je od leta 1598 dalje izvajal v svojih dednih deželah, kjer je postopno in brez prelivanja krvi, vendar temeljito odpravil protestantizem. Ko pa je notranjeavstrijski deželni knez podedoval češko in ogrsko krono ter se naposled povzpел še na cesarski prestol, so v mnogih deželah proti njegovi protireformacijski politiki izbruhnili oboroženi upori tamkajšnjih protestantskih stanov. Upori in vojne so naposled prerasli v vseevropski spopad – tridesetletno vojno, katere konca pa Ferdinand II. ni več doživel.

ARCHDUKE FERDINAND'S MUSICAL PARNASSUS IN GRAZ

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Izvleček: Notranjeavstrijski nadvojvoda Ferdinand ni bil le naslovnik antologije Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus – že samo ta je bogat dokument o širokih glasbenih zanimanjih bodočega cesarja Svetega rimskega cesarstva – temveč je njegov graški dvor zaradi vladarjevega zanimanja za glasbo ter številnih premišljeno načrtovanih družinskih zvez v celoti postal eno izmed vodilnih glasbenih središč v prvih dveh desetletjih 17. stoletja. Razprava prinaša pregledno sliko te zapletene mreže, ki je ustvarila Ferdinandov graški Parnas.

Ključne besede: Gradec, nadvojvoda Ferdinand II., glasbeno mecenstvo, glasbeno središče, začetek 17. stoletja, italijanski glasbeni idiom.

Abstract: Archduke Ferdinand of Inner Austria was not only the dedicatee of the anthology Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus – in itself a rich document of the future Holy Roman Emperor's wide-ranging musical connections – but his court in Graz also became – on account of his personal music interests and the opportunities provided by carefully planned family connections – a major hub of the leading musical trends of the first two decades of the seventeenth century. The paper provides an overview of this intricate web forming Ferdinand's musical "Parnassus" in Graz.
Keywords: Graz, Archduke Ferdinand II, musical patronage, musical centre, early seventeenth century, Italian musical idiom.

By 1615 Archduke Ferdinand's court in the Inner-Austrian capital of Graz had been publicly recognised as *Parnassus* – the mythical home of the nine Muses, symbols of artistic inspiration and goddesses of music, poetry and dance often depicted in artistic works with musical instruments. And indeed: Archduke Ferdinand was by then not only praised for his artistic endeavours expressed in numerous poetical works but also justly acclaimed as a famously generous patron of musicians and promoter of music at large.

This article is intended as a short overview serving as a reminder of, and provider of further insight into, some already-known facts assembled here to establish the wider music framework that led the compiler of the 1615 anthology of small-scale motets to name it "Ferdinand's Musical Parnassus".¹ It intentionally comes after the political and religious

¹ Even though this subject has not yet really been thoroughly researched in recent times, a number of authors dealing with music connected to the Habsburg dynasty have touched on the subject of Ferdinand's archducal musical chapel in Graz and its importance for the development of the later Imperial musical chapel in Vienna. The most important, and later most widely cited, among

portrait of Ferdinand contributed by Vanja Kočevar² and before the numerous contributions published in the present volume of *De musica disserenda* that variously explore in some detail selected composers, dedications, musicians and musical compositions forming an integral part of the intricate web of the Graz court chapel and its European connections.³

Archduke Ferdinand's residence – his court in Graz – was itself a work of art. It was built in three major phases, starting in the mid-fifteenth century, by his royal Habsburg ancestors, the Holy Roman Emperors Friedrich III and Maximilian I, and his father, the Inner-Austrian Archduke Karl II, all of whom were also known music-lovers and patrons of the arts. The best available artists were engaged to perform the required tasks. The palace together with the church – the court chapel – was commissioned by Friedrich III and after completion became his favourite residence. It was later often used by Emperor Maximilian I, the great-grandfather of Archduke Ferdinand. It was, however, Ferdinand's father, Archduke Karl of Inner Austria, who enlarged the complex to its maximum size, before it slowly fell into disuse following the removal of Ferdinand's court from Graz to Vienna after he was elected Holy Roman Emperor in 1619.⁴

Ferdinand's "Parnassus", however, owed much to the previous efforts of his parents Archduke Karl, educated at the Habsburg Court in Innsbruck, and especially Princess Maria of Bavaria, daughter of the Wittelsbach Duke Albrecht V, whom he had married in 1571. Already in Karl's time the court boasted a distinguished musical establishment that in the words, uttered in 1571, of a contemporary Venetian ambassador "exceeded that of any prince in both quantity and quality".⁵ Although Karl's musical chapel was dissolved after his death in 1590, when Ferdinand was not yet of an age to rule, the latter restored it after 1596 to an even greater splendour and size by virtue, especially, of his inclination towards Italian contemporary music and his engagement of numerous Italian musicians to serve the musical needs of his court.

these is Hellmut Federhofer, especially in his still unsurpassed 1967 monograph *Musikpflege und Musiker am Grazer Habsburgerhof der Erzherzöge Karl und Ferdinand von Innerösterreich (1564–1619)* and his 1955 article "Graz Court Musicians and their Contributions to the *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus* (1615)". Among earlier authors, music at the court of Graz had already been considered by Alfred Einstein in 1934 (Einstein, "Italienische Musik", 10–52); more recent contributions have been made by Steven Saunders (1995), and naturally also by authors writing on music in Graz in general, including Federhofer as well as Flotzinger, "Musik in der Steiermark", 30–39, and Staudacher, "Musik in Graz", 670–673. The present article, too, relies greatly on documentation provided by Federhofer and Saunders. Among my own previous articles on the subject, see Kokole, "From Graz to Today's Central Slovenia" (with further literature especially concerning the cultural connections to the southern Habsburg territories effected through the influence and legacy of the Inner-Austrian Governor and Prince-Bishop of Ljubljana Tomaž Hren).

² Kočevar, "Ferdinand II." (in this volume).

³ See especially the contributions by Marina Toffetti, Klemen Grabnar, Aleksandra Patalas, Herbert Seifert, Katharina Haun, Chiara Comparin, Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska and Peter Király contained in this volume.

⁴ For a historical overview of Ferdinand's youth and heritage, see, for example, the first chapter of the very recent monograph by Robert Bireley. Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 1–60.

⁵ On this period Federhofer's monograph of 1967 is still unsurpassed. The Venetian ambassador was Giovanni Michieli. See Federhofer, *Musikpflege*, 23n5.

Ferdinand's court – like his father's – was in general a sanctuary for music. Secular madrigals, *canzonette*, *villanelle*, instrumental *canzone*, dance music and also sacred vocal chamber music were performed daily in the more or less private setting of rooms lying within the residential part of the palace,⁶ while the court chapel, the church of St Aegidius, today the cathedral of Graz, which was formerly connected via a direct passage to the Archducal residence, witnessed music of the (for those times) greatest quality and scale,⁷ including large-scale polychoral compositions by the leading Italian composers of the time, monumental choral compositions in the *stile antico*, the parody masses so popular at the time,⁸ modern *concertato* compositions with or without *obbligato* instruments and, last but not least, the then newly fashionable and intimate few-voiced motets, including dialogues and monodies. Fifty-seven pieces of this last-mentioned type form the anthology dedicated to Ferdinand in 1615⁹ as representations of the summit of contemporary musical production for his Graz Parnassus.

As I have already mentioned, Ferdinand reactivated the music chapel of his court from 1596 onwards and substantially increased its musical personnel – from 21 members of the chapel in 1596 to 53 in 1619. Italian court musicians were until 1611 mostly recruited from Venice by the chapel master Pietro Antonio Bianco (c. 1540 in Venice – 1611 in Graz). Bianco was already (from 1578) serving Archduke Karl as a *Hofkaplan* and singer, and was one of the few musicians who remained at the court after Karl's death in 1590. He was undoubtedly a protégé of the Dowager Archduchess Maria and was already in 1595 appointed chapel master. Until his death in 1611 he was the key person responsible for the engagement of new musicians as well as the coordinator of many of the musical dedications addressed to his employer. Good fortune enabled him to engage some of the leading musicians of the time, including composers, for the Graz court chapel. Finally – and particularly significantly – he sent some local musicians, for example Georg Poss (c. 1570–post-1633) and Alessandro Tadei (c. 1585–1667), to study music with the foremost Venetian masters, especially Giovanni Gabrieli.

The Graz court chapel was structured hierarchically.¹⁰ The highest-ranking position

⁶ The secular repertoire can easily be reconstructed through the various surviving music prints dedicated to Karl, Ferdinand and their courtiers, especially the members of the powerful Khisl family. Federhofer, *Musikpflege*, 23–54; also Saunders, *Cross, Sword, and Lyre*, 1–17 and 129–137. For the dedications to his courtiers from Lower Styria and Carniola, see also Kokole, “The Musical Repertoire”, 173–181 (identifying further literature).

⁷ On this repertoire, see Federhofer, *Musikpflege*, 280–295.

⁸ See Saunders, *Cross, Sword, and Lyre*, 38–40 and 61–88, and also some very recent studies by Klemen Grabnar: Grabnar, *Parodične maše*; Grabnar, *Izbrana dela*; Grabnar, “From Graz to Ljubljana?”; Grabnar, “Odnos med posvetnim in sakralnim”; and Grabnar, “Litaniarum liber”.

⁹ The complete original edition preserved today in the Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica di Bologna (I-Bc) is available online through IMSLP (Petrucci Music Library). This very important document concerning the early reception of the Italian monodic style in Austria has only recently been published in a modern edition: Antonicek, *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*. On Parnassus in general see especially Federhofer, “Graz Court Musicians”.

¹⁰ A table of court musicians/composers at the time of the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus* is published in Kokole, “From Graz to Today's Central Slovenia”, 338. For details, see Federhofer, *Musikpflege*, 251–255 and 267–271; and Saunders, *Cross, Sword, and Lyre*, 225–232.

was that of the *Kapellmeister* (chapel master), who had to be a proficient composer. There were two chapel masters in the period under discussion, both Italians: Pietro Antonio Bianco (1595–1611; he was also *Elemosinarius*) and Giovanni Priuli (from 1614/15 up to the departure of the court musicians to Vienna). A chapel master's responsibilities were: the engagement of court musicians; the acquisition of instruments and printed music; the organisation of court entertainments; and the education of choirboys, in which task he was assisted by the *Kapellknabenpræzeptor*. Next in rank to the chapel master were the court organists. In 1619, for example, there were three of these, all of them also important composers: Alessandro Tadei (from 1606); Alessandro Bontempo (from 1607); and last but not least Giovanni Valentini (from 1614). In comparison with the number of instrumentalists, the number of choirboys became scaled down in the later years of the Graz chapel. At the time of its relocation in 1619 there were eighteen boys and twenty-three instrumentalists. At the suggestion of the Archduke himself, choirboys were recruited mostly from the Inner-Austrian provinces – including many from Carniola – and, when their voices broke, were granted scholarships for further education. A number of former choirboys later became court instrumentalists. The three especially noteworthy instrumentalists at the Graz court – all of them composers – were Georg Poss (in service from 1607 to 1618), Giovanni Sansoni (from 1613) and Raimundo Ballestra (1602–1616).¹¹

The musical repertoire of the court chapel in Graz¹² was diligently assembled and supervised by the chapel master in charge. He personally acquired music appropriate for performance before the ruler on different occasions. To this list must be added works ordered from selected composers, especially members of the *Musikkapelle*, as well as ones dedicated either to the Archduke himself or to his family members and courtiers. The official sacred repertoire of the court can be reconstructed from a number of preserved choirbooks compiled for the needs of the chapel. These were mostly copied by the court bass singer Georg Kuglmann and are today preserved in Vienna,¹³ Graz and Ljubljana.¹⁴ Further information on the musical repertoire of the Graz court can be gleaned from the preserved inventories of music, especially two lists dating from 1590 and 1672, respectively.¹⁵ The inventories and choirbooks principally contain information on the sacred repertoire, while the publications dedicated to court officials and the compositions of the court musicians themselves evidence the variety of musical genres performed at the court. These published compositions include a smallish number of secular works, notably ones by Pietro Antonio Bianco, Matthia Ferrabosco, Francesco Stivori, Bartolomeo Mutis and Giovanni Valentini. Allowing for the presence of older Flemish music, headed by

¹¹ For Ballestra's links to Giovanni Gabrieli and Venetian music, see Kokole, "Echoes of Giovanni Gabrieli's Style", 52–53.

¹² For a general overview, see Federhofer, *Musikpflege*, 45–46; and Saunders, *Cross, Sword, and Lyre*, 38–40 and 119–137.

¹³ For selected Viennese codices, see Saunders, *Cross, Sword, and Lyre*, 38–57.

¹⁴ For the Graz court repertoire today kept in Ljubljana, see the new findings and identifications of composers and copyists contained in Grabnar, *Parodične maše*, Grabnar, *Izbrana dela*, and especially Grabnar, "From Graz to Ljubljana?"

¹⁵ The last one, dated 1672, is an inventory of the Court Archive in Graz. Federhofer, *Musikpflege*, 286–295.

compositions of Orlando di Lasso, Italian and especially Venetian composers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries are prominently represented.

According to present knowledge, around twenty collections were written for, dedicated to or indirectly presented to Archduke Ferdinand and his family from about 1597 up to 1619. Only six of the listed collections contain secular music, all the others featuring sacred works. Ferdinand's preferences and strategy to defeat Protestantism also by employing musical means are well illustrated by this list (see the list in the Attachment). Among the names of the principal composers and editors – marked in bold in my list – are ten names directly linked to the court

chapel in Graz (anthologies are excluded from this computation). The presence of the leading court musicians – Simone Gatto, Annibale Perini, Raimundo Ballestra, Giovanni Valentini and Giovanni Priuli – is hardly surprising.

Some of the composers were “direct” dedicators, while others acted on the advice of – for example – the court chapel master (this is true, for instance, of Orazio Vecchi's *Il convito musicale*, a collection of witty madrigals, *canzonette*, dialogues etc. published in 1597, which came about through a recommendation from Pietro Antonio Bianco),¹⁶ or else were dedicated instead by the publisher (for example, Giacomo Vincenti, who in 1610 dedicated to Ferdinand Viadana's *Sinfonie sacrae*). Some other works were actually addressed to Ferdinand in the role of a merely “collateral” dedicatee for the sake of a major financial reward, as was the case with Tomas Luis de Victoria's *Masses, Magnificat, motets and psalms* of 1600. This print was dedicated officially to the Spanish King Philip III;¹⁷



Figure 1

Archduke Ferdinand's coat-of-arms taken from the title page of Gabriello Puliti's *Baci ardenti* (1609; Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Florence [I-Fn], Mus. Ant. 16; after *Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae*, 44 [with kind permission])

¹⁶ Vecchi, *Convito musicale*. The dedicatory letter concludes: “E mi giova di sapere, che esso le debba essere non affatto discaro, poiche alli giorni passati il M. Reuer. Sig. D. Pietro Antonio Bianchi Maestro di Capella, & Elemosinario di V. A. mi disse ch'ella si compiace alle volte di passeggiare co i piedi del suo purgato vdito per la mia SELVA di varia ricreatione. Talche s'ella s'è degnata di gustar frutti Selvatici, vengo in speranza, ch'ella sia per gustar maggiormente queste viuande condite col sale della ciuile harmonia; Così voglia la mia buona fortuna, che il mio CONVITO habbia tal sapore, che possa adescare il suo delicato gusto, e produrre in Lei quell'effetto di far l'inuito à V. A. con vua particolar deuotione verso di Lei, Allaquale incinandomi con ogni debita riuerenza, a me le raccomando in gratia.”

¹⁷ See Appendix.

the latter was, however, related to Ferdinand through his wife Margareta, Ferdinand's sister, whom he married in 1599.¹⁸

All the dedicatory letters without exception heap praises on Ferdinand's religious devotion, high musical standards, exquisite musical taste, generosity and protection of capable musicians. Protection under the wings of the "Great Eagle" was, for example, openly sought by Gabriello Puliti (c. 1583–1644), then organist at the cathedral of Koper and member of an academy, who in 1609 dedicated "Al Sereniss[imo] Principe Ferdinando Arciduca d'Austria, etc." his second book of madrigals, entitled *Baci ardenti*.¹⁹ This collection also contains two secondary dedications indicated above two of the madrigals – *L'Aura de mertì tuoi* and *Ecco di mill'e mille* – which are dedicated to Archduke Maximilian Ernest of Austria, Ferdinand's younger brother, who died in 1616.²⁰

Another interesting example is a collection of Latin motets, *Motectorum*, for four to eight, ten and twelve voices by two already deceased court composers, Simone Gatto and Annibale Perini,²¹ published in 1604 by Orazio Sardena, court trumpeter and cornettist.²² Orazio Sardena dated the introductory text containing the dedication in Graz on 1 March 1604 and sent it to Venice for printing by Ricciardo Amadini. We learn from Sardena's dedication that Gatto and Perini had been his good friends and fellow musicians under Ferdinand's father Karl, and that Gatto had also taught him. He praises Ferdinand's musicians of "all kinds" likening them and their Christian piety to David with his lyre, and he naturally does not fail to compliment Ferdinand on his patronage and generosity.²³ Some

¹⁸ See footnote 31, below.

¹⁹ The collection was edited by Bojan Bujic in 2003 in Puliti, *Baci ardenti (1609)*, 1–85. The letter of dedication was dated 25 February 1609 at Venice by the composer, and the collection was printed by Giacomo Vincenti. The edition is embellished on the title page with Ferdinand's coat-of-arms, another sign of great reverence. Here is the passage in which Puliti seeks protection: "Perilche stando in me stesso un giorno frà gli altri, mi venne in pensiero (havendo già inteso quanto sia vaga dell'arte, et numeri armonici) di comporre li presenti Madrigali, intitolati BACI ARDENTI, atti per aventura ad esprimer la mia devota servitù, et l'animo mio affettuoso verso il merito di V. Altezza Serenissima, la quale non sdegherà, che restino segnati nella fronte del suo temuto, et riverito nome, per assicurarli sotto l'ali di sì grand'AQVILA da gli oltraggi del tempo, et del'ingiuria delle male lingue."

²⁰ Maximilian's name actually appears also in the texts of both madrigals. See the comments by Bojan Bujic in his edition: Puliti, *Baci ardenti (1609)*, XXIV and 69–80 (the music of both madrigals).

²¹ Gatto and Perini, *Motectorum*.

²² Federhofer, *Musikpflege*, 129–131.

²³ "[...] Atque mihi certum est munus hoc etsi levidense et opus exiguum, ac tanto Archiduce forsitan indignum, eundem tamen, quem in Musicis velut alterum Regium psalten cum cantoribus decantatnem et citharis pulsantem Davidem totus personat Christianus orbis, omnis generis Musicorum Archiducem seu etiam divinum quempiam Orpheum ex siderum arce ad terram demissum silvarum arbores saxaque montium et cuncta ad se viventia suavissimo suo instrumentorum ac totius generis Musicorum concentu trahentem vestram luce meridiana longè splendidiorem conspicit, admiratur, predicat serenitatem. Uterque superstes adhuc Author praefatus Paternae Musices Patronum Archiducem et Mecaenatem Principem esse summis apud supremum Dominum votis exposcebat gaudens Serenitatem vestram atqui praeventus mortalitate hanc mihi unico provinciam unice demandavit uterque. Feci itaque Serenissimè Archidux hoc

of the pieces are in dialogue form, and some for two choirs. One is even a dialogue for twelve voices in Italian: Gatto's *Hor che la noua vaga primavera*. This selection of polychoral sacred music in dialogue form by two favoured court instrumentalists presented alongside a pastoral polychoral dialogue in Italian undoubtedly reflects both the authors' training in the Venetian style²⁴ and Ferdinand's personal inclination towards such music, an inclination actually also evident from other extant *musicalia* of the Graz court chapel. This anthology concludes with Perini's monumental twelve-part *Kyrie eleison*.

Before I say a few more words about the dedication and the collection *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus*, published approximately four hundred years ago, let me introduce another particularly interesting and exceptionally fine item from the mentioned list: *Musica Austriaca*, a collection of nineteen madrigals composed in the summer of 1604 by Ferdinand's court organist Francesco Stivori, who had been recruited for the Graz chapel, probably by Pietro Antonio Bianco, in 1602. The dedicatory letter addressed to the "Serenissima et alta Principessa Madamma Maria", born Duchess of Bavaria but now Archduchess of Austria,²⁵ was signed in Venice on 15 February 1605, shortly before the composer's death. This collection, which survives incompletely (only nine out of a probable twelve partbooks being extant), was printed in Venice by Ricciardo Amadino.²⁶

From the dedication we learn that the music was actually commissioned by Maria's children, the "Altezze Serenissimi de Principi et Principesse", apparently in order to please their mother, and that the music was performed to celebrate Maria's recovery from some illness; possibly – as already mooted by Alfred Einstein – as *intermedia* for a pastoral drama performed during the visit to Graz of her brother, Wilhelm V of Bavaria.²⁷ Stivori explains that he had composed the pieces during the previous summer and expresses his gratitude for the prestigious task entrusted to him. Taken as a whole, the collection is a worthy monument to the archducal house of Graz, Maria's "Casa Sua", as much on account of its formal organisation as for its musical contents.

Twelve out of the nineteen madrigals in *Musica Austriaca* are encomiastic and glorify the "incomparable grandeur and virtues" (gl'incomparabili grandezze et virtudi) of the living and the more important deceased members of the family (see the list below). Seven pieces appearing at the end of the collection, all dedicated to Ferdinand, are settings of

atque omnium Motectorum Utrius praedicti opus nunquam simul aut ante visum in unum Collegi et Serenitati vestra mea summum erga Serenitatem vestram deuotionis et observantiae affectum intuendum dicaui. Cuius arbitrio ac tutelae hoc munus xenij ergo, mea omnia et memetipsum demum commendo atque trado. [...]" Passage from the dedicatory letter of Gatto and Perini in *Motectorum*.

²⁴ An indebtedness to Giovanni Gabrieli is clear from the structure of the motets and in addition through the choice of texts and subjects. On Gabrieli's legacy and its influence on the Graz court repertoire, see also Kokole, "Echoes of Giovanni Gabrieli's Style", 51–57.

²⁵ On Archduchess Maria, see footnote 29, below. Ferdinand, together with his mother, was the dedicatee also of an anthology compiled by Vincenzo Lilius in Cracow in 1605. The dedication is transcribed in Szweykowska and Szweykowski, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej*, 248–249.

²⁶ Stivori, *Musica Austriaca*. The British Library, London (GB-Lbl) holds a complete set of parts for the third choir, while an assortment of parts from three of the choirs is preserved in the Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Augsburg (D-As) (I: S, A; II: S, T, B; III: S, T).

²⁷ Einstein, "Italienische Musik", 48.

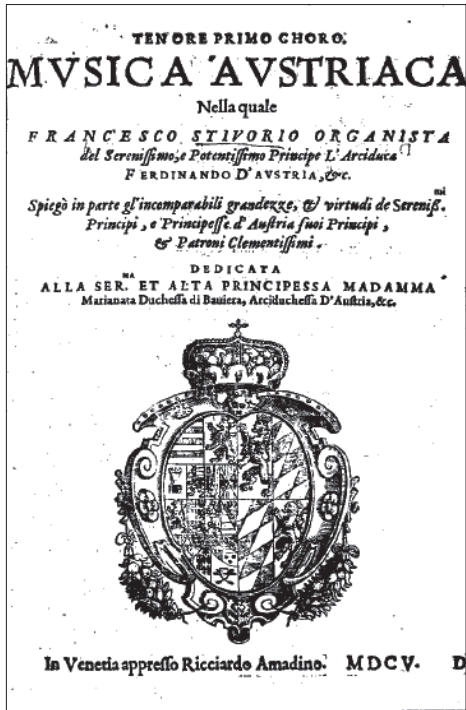


Figure 2

Title page of Francesco Stivori's *Musica Austriaca* (1605; D-As, Tonk Schl 145 [with kind permission])

pastoral poetry. The dedicatee, Maria, is appropriately praised in the opening piece, *Serenissima Donna*. The following madrigal praises the ruler (and possibly commissioner), Archduke Ferdinand. This is – also appropriately for Ferdinand's position at the court – the only piece for sixteen voices, probably distributed among four choirs. These two pieces are followed by seven eight-part madrigals for two choirs, each praising Maria's other children. Foremost among them is *Il bel Augusto volto* in honour of Archduchess Margareta, then holding a supreme position

as Queen of Spain. The only person celebrated who had already died by that time is Archduchess Anna, who breathed her last as Queen of Poland in 1598²⁸ She is celebrated with a madrigal, *Per te donna Reale*. Maria's only child to be praised in more than one composition is her youngest son, who was possibly the closest to her heart, since he had been born after her husband's death and named Karl after his father. This new Karl later became Bishop of Passau and Strasbourg and Archduke of Outer Austria. *Musica Austriaca* is indeed a collection worthy to celebrate a musical family of royal patrons – and is fittingly distinguished by a printed family coat-of-arms on the title page.

The list of Maria's children praised in the *Musica Austriaca* is also most informative for a discussion of the family's European contacts, since music and musicians were regularly exchanged between Ferdinand's court in Graz (from 1619 in Vienna) and the various courts where his family members were either intimately connected with the rulers or ruling themselves. We find there: (i) Ferdinand's uncles, who were rulers in Innsbruck, Vienna and Prague; (ii) members of his mother's family, the Bavarian Wittelsbachs with their court in Munich (made famous especially by the presence there of Orlando di Lasso, Maria's music teacher and friend);²⁹ (iii) his own brothers and sisters, whose political

²⁸ See footnote 30, below.

²⁹ The literature on the musical endeavours of Maria of Bavaria is relatively abundant. Most recent are the following studies: Koldau, *Frauen – Musik – Kultur*, 69–79; and Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*

and religious positions had been carefully planned by their father, Archduke Karl, and Archduchess Maria; and lastly (iv) Ferdinand's relatives acquired through his two marriages. In 1600 he wedded his cousin Maria Anna of Bavaria – thereby strengthening contacts with the Munich court chapel even further – and in 1622 the Medici Princess Eleonora from the Tuscan court.

Internal dedications in the *Musica Austriaca* by Francesco Stivori (1605)

1. Madre Madamma **Maria nata Duchessa di Baviera** (1551–1608) → **Bavarian court**
Serenissima Donna, a 8; 2 choirs
2. Arciduca **Ferdinando** (1578–1637) → **Inner Austrian court; later Imperial court**
Selve beate e care, a 16; 4 choirs
3. Arciduchessa **Maria Anna** (1573–1598) → **Polish court**
Per te Donna Regale, a 8, 2 choirs
4. Arciduchessa **Maria Christierna** (1574–1621) → **Transylvanian court**
Questa ch' in tanti raggi, a 8, 2 choirs
5. Arciduca **Massimiliano** (Maximilian Ernst, 1583–1616)
Poiche dall' Indo al Tile, a 8, 2 choirs
6. Arciduchessa **Leonora** (Eleonora, 1582–1620)
Nimfe leggiadre, a 8, 2 choirs
7. Arciduchessa **Margarita**, hoggidi **Regina di Spagna** (1584–1611) → **Spanish court**
Il bell' Augusto volto, a 8, 2 choirs
8. Arciduca **Leopoldo** (1586–1632) → **Bishop of Passau and Strassbourg**
Scetro Manto, e Corona, a 8, 2 choirs
9. Arciduchessa **Maddalena** (1589–1631) → **Tuscan court**
L'animosa Latina, a 8, 2 choirs
10. Arciduchessa **Constanza** (1588–1631) → **Polish court**
Il magnanimo cor, a 8, 2 choirs
11. & 12. Arciduca **Carlo** (the Posthumous, 1590–1624) → **Bishop of Wroclaw and Brixen**
O Carlo pargoletto & Ben delle gratie prendi, a 8 & a 16, 2 & 3 choirs
- 13.–19. Arciduca **Ferdinando**
(seven pastoral madrigals a 12 for 3 choirs)

Two of Ferdinand's sisters were married in succession to the Polish King Sigismund III: first Archduchess Anna in 1592, and then in 1605 Archduchess Constanza.³⁰ The exchange of musicians between the court of Graz and those of Warsaw and Munich is actually rather well documented. The family succeeded also in marrying his two other sisters to mighty rulers of the “Latin” world. Margareta became Queen of Spain, Portugal, Naples and Sicily in 1599, subsequently also consort of the ruler of Milan,³¹ and in 1608 the reportedly beautiful, lively and most pious Maria Magdalena married the future Grand

von Innerösterreich (1551–1608). On the musical relations between the courts in Munich and Graz and their influence on other Inner-Austrian regions, see also Kokole, “Musical Repertoire”.

³⁰ On the musical relations between the Graz court and the Polish royal court, see Federhofer, “Musikalische Beziehungen”; Szweykowska and Szweykowski, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej*, 16–21 (on the marriage of 1592); and Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *History of Music in Poland*, 57–80.

³¹ For more documentation on this wedding, see Antonicek, “Italienische Musikerlebnisse”, 108–109.

Duke of Florence, Cosimo II.³² Margareta and Maria Magdalena remained alike closely connected to their brother and to their native Graz. Ferdinand's brothers, too, achieved influence through their ecclesiastical posts and associated chapels.

In view of all these important European connections forged by Ferdinand's music-loving family, it comes as no surprise that his native home in Graz was termed in 1615 "Ferdinand's Musical Parnassus". The extensive print with this title was published by the Venetian printer Giacomo Vincenti.³³ It was compiled by Giovanni Battista Bonometti (or Buonometti), then a tenor singer at the Graz court chapel. It came out in five partbooks: Cantus, Altus, Tenor, Bassus and Partitura, the last-named volume providing the instrumental bass in two alternative forms: as a *Partitura* on two staves (the lower for basso and the upper, untexted, for one of the vocal parts) and as a single figured bass line called *Basso Continuo* or *Basso Principale*.

In Bonometti's dedication, dated 30 April 1615 in Graz, the Court is referred to as the "Parnassus", thereby alluding to the Archduke's role as promoter and patron of the arts.³⁴ Bonometti also refers to Milanese friends who had encouraged him to undertake such an enterprise.³⁵ His contact with a Milanese music circle comes, of course, as no surprise, considering that Ferdinand's sister Margareta was the consort of the ruler in Milan and that four Milanese musicians had been engaged for Ferdinand's marriage to Maria Anna of Bavaria in Graz in 1600.³⁶ We also learn from this dedication that the best Italian and other musicians serving Ferdinand in Graz had been asked to contribute music, in addition to some of the most illustrious composers in Italy itself.

Out of 32 composers, nine were Graz court musicians, including some South-German

³² On Maria Magdalena's Florentine marriage, see Carter, "Florentine Wedding of 1608".

³³ Bonometti, *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus* (RISM 1615¹³); and Antonicek, *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus* (the complete modern edition). The most exhaustive study on this anthology remains Federhofer, "Graz Court Musicians". See also Saunders, *Cross, Sword, and Lyre*, 129–137. Some individual motets have been published earlier also in Priuli, *Vier Generalbaßmotetten*; and Saunders, *Fourteen Motets*.

³⁴ "Musica, quae ex mente Aristotelis est ex iucundissimis, quae sunt secundum naturam, quod motibus naturalibus delectari datum sit omnibus a natura, et inter motus ille sit naturae familiarior, qui est ordinatus. Quare Serenissime Ferdinande, ut honestissimam, tantoque Principe dignam, quam Musice studio hauris voluptatem auferem hunc **Parnassum Musicum Ferdinandaicum** congerendum, tuaeque Serenitati consecrandum esse iudicavi. Offero ergo **montem Musicum**, ut Musicae suavissimis irritamentis in illo frui quaeas. [...] Tam suavis, mihi crede, Serenissime Ferdinande, ex **hoc monte** harmonia etiam ad dissitas Italia urbes diffunditur, ut omnis illarum in Musica suavitas insuavis, concinnitas inconcinna videatur."

³⁵ "Ut Vero Serenitatis tuae aura prouocatus Graecium veni, ut harmonicos vocum contentus, quos sola fama ante cognoram, auribus hausi, statim in hanc mentem suauivolentia sum pertractus, ut (quod alias Mediolani amicorum armatis precibus persuasus aggressus fueram) seligerem optimorum mela suavissima, et latialibus cygnis Graecensis Philomelas tuas, quasi coronae gemmas infererem, et publicum productas in Parnassum Musicum Ferdinandeum magni tui nominis titulo gloriosum, collocarem." On the composers of the Lombard region, see also the contributions by Marina Toffetti ("Da Milano a Graz") and Chiara Comparin ("*Il secondo libro*") in the present volume.

³⁶ Dominico Moeta, Alexandro Morat, Damiano Marcellin and Lorenzo Arrihin. See Federhofer, "Graz Court Musicians", 172n15.

Figure 3

Verso of the title page of the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus* (1615; available online on <http://imslp.org>)



and Austrian composers, such as Georg Poss (represented in the anthology with two motets), Raimundo Ballestra (four motets) and Alessandro Tadei (one motet). Still, most of the composers were Italians: characteristically, in quantitative terms Giovanni Valentini heads the list with five motets (*Benedicam Dominum* for bass, *O Maria, quid ploras ad monumentum*, and *Deus Misereatur nostri* both for soprano and bass, *O dulcis amor Jesu* for soprano, tenor and bass, and *Vulnerasti cor meum* for two tenors and bass). Valentini is followed by Giovanni Priuli with four motets, Bartolomeo Mutis, Michelangelo Rizzi, Giovanni Sansoni (all represented by two pieces), and Alessandro Bontempo (one motet).³⁷

Alphabetical list of composers in the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus*

Composer	Number of motets and voices
Arnone, Guglielmo	1 a 4
Ballestra, Raimundo	1 a 3 & 1 a 4
Barbarino, Bartolomeo “il Pesarino”	1 a 1

³⁷ On Sansoni, see also the Herbert Seifert’s contribution “Giovanni Sansoni”; and on Cocciola that by Aleksandra Patalas, “Giovanni Battista Cocciola’s Activity” (both in this volume).

Composer	Number of motets and voices
Biumi, Giacomo Filippo	1 a 2
Bontempo, Alessandro	1 a 2
Borgo, Cesare	1 a 4
Brignoli, Giacomo	1 a 3 & 1 a 4
Casati, Francesco	1 a 2 & 1 a 4
Cavaccio, Giovanni	1 a 1 & 1 a 4
Cima, Andrea	1 a 3
Cocciola, Giovanni Battista	1 a 3
Coda, Federico	1 a 2 & 1 a 4
Comanedo, Flaminio	1 a 4
Coradini, Niccolò	1 a 1
Gabutio (Gabussi), Giulio Cesare	1 a 2
Ghizzolo, Giovanni	1 a 3 & 1 a 4
Monteverdi, Claudio	1 a 2
Mutis, Bartolomeo (Conte di Cesana)	2 a 2
Nanterni, Horatio (Orazio)	1 a 4
Osculati, Giulio	1 a 4
Pasti, Giovanni	1 a 2
Pellegrini, Vincenzo	1 a 1 & 1 a 2 & 1 a 3 & 1 a 4 & 1 a 5
Poss, Giorgio (Georg)	1 a 2 & 1 a 4
Priuli, Giovanni	2 a 1 & 1 a 2 & 1 a 4
Re, Benedetto	2 a 2
Rizzi (Rizzio), Michelangelo	1 a 2 & 1 a 3
Rognoni, [Giovanni?] Domenico	1 a 2 & 1 a 4
Sansoni, Giovanni	2 a 2
Sirena, Galeazzo	1 a 2
Tadei, Alessandro	1 a 3
Turini, Francesco	1 a 1
Valentini, Giovanni	1 a 1 & 2 a 2 & 2 a 3

The importance of the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinadaeus* lies not only in the fact that it transmits a cross-section of the motet repertoire performed and composed at the Archduke's court in Graz in the middle of the second decade of the seventeenth century, but also in the fact that it constitutes, along with the *Musiche a una, doi e tre voci* by Bartolomeo Mutis, conte di Cesana, (1613)³⁸ and a collection of *concertato* motets for two to eight voices by Heinrich Pfendner (1614), one of the earliest collections of sacred concertos for a few voices with *basso continuo* printed north of the Alps – an anthology that paved the way for the early Baroque sacred style in the Austrian lands at large.³⁹

³⁸ For a further discussion of this collection, see Katharina Haun's contribution "Music by Bartolomeo Mutis" in the present volume.

³⁹ For a discussion of early sacred monody of this type in other Inner-Austrian centres and beyond, see also Kokole, "Venetian Influence", and Kokole, *Isaac Posch, 177–235* (a chapter on a similarly structured collection of 1623, *Harmonia Concertans*). See also the contributions by Barbara

Appendix

The list of known musical homages to Archduke Ferdinand and his family in Graz (1597–1619)

- 1597⁴⁰ **Orazio Vecchi:** *Convito musicale nel quale si contengono varij sogetti, et capricci, a tre, quattro, cinque, sei, sette, & otto voci, novamente composto, & dato in luce.* (RISM V 1050)
- 1598 Antonio Mogavero: *Il III. Libro de madrigali a 5 voci intitolati Vezzi amorosi.* [indirect evidence through payment] (RISM M 2919)
- 1600 Tomás Luis de Victoria: *Missæ Magnificat, Motecta Psalmi, & alia qua[m] plurima.* [printed in Madrid; dedicated to Philip III, King of Spain; indirectly also to Ferdinand, as evidenced by a letter accompanying the collection sent to Graz] (RISM V 1435)
- 1603 **Jacob Regnart:** *Corollarium missarum sacrarum, ad imitationem selectissimarum cantionum suavissima harmonia a quatuor, quinque, sex, octo & decem vocibus.* [printed in Frankfurt] (RISM R and RR 736)
- 1604 **Lambert de Sayve:** manuscript “Mass” and “Magnificat” [indirect evidence through payment] (RISM 540200492 and 540200450)
- 1604 **Simone Gatto** and **Annibale Perini:** *Motectorum IIII. V. VI. VII. VIII. X. & XII. vocibus Simonis Gatti [...] tum Annibalis Perini [...] insequens opus hoc levidense noviter collectorum, autore Horatio Sardena.* [edited by **Orazio Sardena**] (RISM G 575)
- 1604 *Melodiae sacrae* [printed in Cracow, edited by **Vincenzo Gigli (Lilius)**; contributions by various court musicians of King Sigismund III of Poland] (RISM 1604²)
- 1605 **Francesco Stivori:** *Musica austriaca.* (RISM S 6456)
- 1607 **Georg Poss:** *Liber primus missarum octonis et senis vocibus.* [printed in Graz] (RISM P 5245)
- 1607 **Georg Poss:** *Orpheus mixtus vel, si mavis concentus musici, tam sacris, quam profanis usibus elaborati, tam simulatis instrumentorum [...] quibus vox octava initium sextadecima finem scribit.* [printed in Graz] (RISM P 5246)
- 1609 **Pietro Antonio Bianco:** *Sacri concentus octonis vocibus, tum vivae vocis, tum omnium instrumentorum genere decantandi.* (RISM B and BB 2595)
- 1609 **Gabriello Puliti:** *Baci ardenti. Secondo libro de' madrigali a cinque voci.* (RISM P 5649)

Przybyszewska-Jarmińska (“Music-Related Contacts”), Peter Király (“Foreign Musicians”), Rudolf Flotzinger (“Monastic Manuscript Parallel”) and Martin Fiala (“P. Sebastian Ertel”) in the present volume.

⁴⁰ Published in Venice unless stated otherwise. The present list is mostly based on documentation given in Federhofer, *Musikpflege*, 46–47.

- 1610 Lodovico Viadana: *Sinfonie musicali a otto voci [...] commode per concertare con ogni sorte di stromenti, con il suo basso generale per l'organo, novamente composte, & date in luce, opera XVIII*. [edited and dedicated to Ferdinand by **Giacomo Vincenti**] (RISM V 1407)
- 1610 **Sigismondo d'India**: *Liber secundus sacrorum concentuum [...] ternis, quaternis, quinis, senisque vocibus, concinendorum* ([bc:] *Basso continuo del secondo libro de concerti a 3. 4. 5. & 6. voci*). (RISM I 17)
- 1611 **Raimundo Ballestra**: *Sacrae symphoniae [...] septem, octo, decem, duodecim vocibus, liber primus, editio nova*. [indirect evidence through payment] (RISM B 769)
- 1613 Giovanni Battista Grillo: manuscript collection [indirect evidence]
- 1613 Giovanni Andrea Cocciola: some manuscript compositions [indirect evidence]
- 1615 [various authors]: *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus* [edited and dedicated by **Giovanni Battista Bonometti**] (RISM 1615¹³)
- 1616 **Giovanni Valentini**: *Secondo libro de madrigali a 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, & 11. concertati con voci, & istromenti*. (RISM V 88)
- 1618 and 1619 **Giovanni Priuli**: *Sacrorum concentuum [...] in duas partes distributorum, pars prima [and] pars altera*. (RISM P 5476 and 5477)

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PARNAS NADVOJVODE FERDIANADA V GRADCU

Povzetek

Leta 1615, ko je urednik notranjeavstrijskemu nadvojvodi Ferdinandu posvečenega glasbenega tiska le-tega naslovil “Ferdinandov glasbeni Parnas”, je bil njegov dvor v Gradcu že vsesplošno znan kot umetniški Parnas, kraj druženja muz oz. umetnikov, predvsem glasbenikov. Prispevek podaja kratek pregled in vpogled v razvejano mrežo glasbenikov in njihovih povezav z graško dvorno kapelo oziroma z vladarjem Ferdinandom in člani njegove družine med približno 1598 in 1619.

Kljub temu, da je bila leta 1590 glasbena kapela njegovega očeta Karla – dvor slednjega in njegove soproge Marije Bavarske v glasbenem okusu in zanimanju za vrhunsko glasbo svojega časa ni dosti zaostajal za sinovim – razpuščena, jo je Ferdinand kmalu po prevzemu vladavine 1696 obudil, jo povečal iz prejšnjih 18 članov na 53 v letu 1619, jo posodobil ter ji dal še večji sijaj in pomen, osnovo za pozneje cvetočo glasbeno kapelo enega najpomembnejših evropskih dvorov, cesarsko dvorno kapelo na Dunaju.

Glasbena kapela je delovala po točno določenem vzorcu in je bila urejena strogo hierarhično. Vodil jo je kapelnik, ki je moral biti tudi skladatelj in je s pomočjo pomočnika skrbel tudi za deške pevce. V obravnavanem času sta bila to Pietro Antonio Bianco (kapelnik med 1595 in 1611) in Giovanni Priuli (1614/15 do odhoda na Dunaj 1519). Tako kapelnik kot tudi drugi vodilni glasbeniki, organisti (npr. Giovanni Valentini) in instrumentalisti, od katerih jih je mnogo tudi skladalo, so prihajali iz svetovnega glasbenega središča italijanskih Benetk ali pa so bili tam oz. v severni Italiji glasbeno šolani.

Glasbeni Parnas v Gradcu pa ni bil le dom teh glasbenikov, temveč so k razcvetu glasbene umetnosti v njem prispevali tudi številni drugi skladatelji, ki so svoja dela namenjali oziroma posvečali glasbi naklonjenemu vladarju Ferdinandu in njegovi družini. Ta repertoar je znan iz ohranjenih glasbenih tiskov, rokopisov, inventarjev in drugih arhivskih virov.

Med okoli dvajsetimi glasbenimi deli, ki so bila med 1597 in 1619 posvečena nadvojvodi Ferdinandu oz. njegovi družini, so jih deset prispevali njegovi dvorni glasbeniki, na primer Simone Gatto, Annibale Perini, Raimundo Ballestra, Giovanni Valentini in Giovanni Priuli. Vsa posvetilna pisma, ki običajno uvajajo glasbene tiske, hvalijo Ferdinandov izjemen glasbeni okus, visoke standarde in seveda naklonjenost in darežljivost do glasbenikov.

Med omenjenimi posvetilnimi tiski izstopa zbirka devetnajstih madrigalov graškega dvornega organista Francesca Stivorija *Musica austriaca*. Ustvaril jo je poleti leta 1604 ter jo maja 1605, le malo pred svojo smrtjo, naslovil na Ferdinandovo mater, vdovo Marijo. Zbirko so očitno pri skladatelju naročili Marijini otroci, vsi glasbi naklonjeni in povezani z nekaterimi najpomembnejšimi evropskimi posvetnimi in cerkvenimi dvori ter glasbenimi središči: španskim, poljskim, toskanskim, bavarskim, transilvanskim itd. Skladatelj kar v dvanajstih madrigalih tudi glasbeno slavi “nepriemerljivo pomembnost in vrlino” raznih takrat živečih in tudi že umrlih članov Marijine “hiše”; seveda tudi najstarejšega sina Ferdinanda, ki mu je namenil najmogočnejšo skladbo za kar šestnajst glasov in verjetno štiri zборе.

Med glasbenimi deli oz. tiski, posvečenimi Ferdinandu, po številu avtorjev in neposredni omembi Ferdinandove naklonjenosti glasbi in mogočnosti njegovega glasbenega Parnasa izstopa antologija *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*, ki jo je dal 1615 v Benetkah natisniti Giovanni Battista Bonometti, iz lombardskega kroga izhajajoč glasbenik in pevec graške dvorne kapele. V njej je objavil 57 motetov za enega do štiri glasove in basso continuo 32 pretežno italijanskih skladateljev. Poleg velikega števila lombardskih skladateljev je slabo tretjino motetov prispevalo devet graških dvornih glasbenikov, poleg kapelnika Priulija še prvi organist Valentini, pa Bartolomeo Musit, Giovanni Sansoni, Michelangelo Rizzi ter Georg Poss, Raimundo Ballestra in Alessandro Tadei. V zbirki ne manjka niti motet slavnega Claudia Monteverdija, katerega ime daje Ferdinandovemu Parnasu še posebno težo.

FERDINANDOV GLASBENI REPERTOAR

FERDINAND'S MUSICAL REPERTOIRE

DA MILANO A GRAZ COMPOSITORI MILANESI E LOMBARDI NEL *PARNASSUS MUSICUS FERDINANDAEUS*

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Izvešček: Zbirka *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus* vsebuje 55 motetov 32 imenovanih in dveh neznanih skladateljev. Več kot polovica motetov je prispevalo 18 skladateljev lombardskega izvora, 12 je bilo aktivnih v Milanu. Štirje od teh (Arnone, Borgo, Comanedo in Pellegrini) so delovali v milanski katedrali skupaj z urednikom zbirke Giovannijem Battisto Bonomettijem, ki je pozneje odšel v graško dvorno kapelo. Druga polovica motetov je pripisana nekaterim glasbenikom italijanskega izvora, ki so bili člani graške dvorne kapele. Razprava se ukvarja s kulturnimi stiki med vojvodino Milano in graškim nadvojvodskim dvorom, prinaša biografski portret Bonomettija in povzema značilnosti motetov milanskih avtorjev.

Ključne besede: Milano, mali moteti, milanska katedrala, Ferdinand II., graški dvor.

Abstract: *The Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus* includes 55 motets attributed to 32 composers and 2 anonymous motets. More than half of the motets are attributed to 18 composers of Lombard origin, including 12 composers active in Milan. Four composers (Arnone, Borgo, Comanedo and Pellegrini) were active at Milan Cathedral, together with the editor of the collection, Giovanni Battista Bonometti, who subsequently moved to the Graz court chapel. The remaining motets in the collection, comprising around half, are attributed to certain musicians in the Graz court chapel, who were, in turn, nearly all Italian by origin. The article examines cultural relations between the Duchy of Milan and the Graz court, the biography of Bonometti and the characteristics of Milanese motets.

Keywords: Milan, small-scale motet, Duomo of Milan, Ferdinand II, Graz court.

Nel 1615, allorché il futuro Ferdinando II, imperatore del Sacro Romano Impero a partire dal 1619, festeggiava il suo ventesimo anno come arciduca dell’Austria Interiore, l’officina veneziana di Giacomo Vincenti licenziava il *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*, una monumentale raccolta di mottetti a lui dedicata, curata da un cantore di origini bergamasche attivo presso la cappella di corte di Graz.¹ Per assemblare il volume il curatore della silloge, tal Giovanni Battista Bonometti, doveva essersi messo all’opera almeno un paio d’anni prima, quando era ancora al servizio del Duomo di Milano. All’epoca doveva avere raccolto una trentina di mottetti di compositori di area lombarda,² la maggior parte dei

¹ La raccolta include 55 mottetti da una a cinque voci e basso continuo attribuiti a 32 compositori e due mottetti a due voci di autore incerto. Edizione moderna: Antonicek, *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*.

² La silloge include 28 mottetti di 18 compositori attivi in area lombarda.

quali attribuiti a dodici compositori milanesi, o comunque legati all'ambiente musicale milanese.³ Fra questi, gli organisti Guglielmo Arnone e Cesare Borgo e il cantore Flaminio Comanedo erano colleghi di Bonometti presso la cappella musicale del Duomo – che fino al 1612 era stata diretta da Giulio Cesare Gabussi, mentre Vincenzo Pellegrini era il suo maestro di cappella.⁴ Inoltre, a partire dal 1623, vi avrebbe prestato servizio come organista anche Giacomo Filippo Biumi, a sua volta incluso nella raccolta.

Come si evince dalla dedica, dopo essersi trasferito a Graz Bonometti riprese il progetto dell'antologia e decise di ampliarla introducendo una ventina di mottetti del maestro della cappella di corte Giovanni Priuli e dei principali musicisti al servizio di Ferdinando, che nel frattempo erano diventati i suoi nuovi colleghi: Raimondo Balestra, Alessandro Bontempi, Bartolomeo Mutis conte di Cesana, Georg Poss (l'unico musicista di origini tedesche), Michelangelo Riccio (Rizzio), Giovanni Sansoni, Alessandro Taddei e Giovanni Valentini.⁵

L'importanza storica e musicale di questa raccolta è già stata messa in rilievo in diversi contributi, a partire dall'ampio articolo di Hellmut Federhofer.⁶ Quest'ultimo, tuttavia, si limita a prendere in esame i mottetti dei compositori legati alla corte di Graz. Considerato che i compositori di area lombarda sono responsabili di più della metà delle composizioni della raccolta, e che la produzione milanese e lombarda vi è rappresentata in proporzione maggiore rispetto a quella della cappella di corte del destinatario del prestigioso omaggio, è parso opportuno riconsiderare l'intera silloge, anche alla luce dei più recenti lavori sul mottetto del primo Seicento in area milanese.⁷

Dopo una breve introduzione sul contesto storico, politico e culturale della raccolta, l'articolo prenderà in esame i compositori milanesi rappresentati nel *Parnassus*, fornendo alcune integrazioni ai loro percorsi biografici sulla scorta di alcuni documenti inediti; infine verranno illustrate le principali caratteristiche dei mottetti dei compositori milanesi, raffrontandole (laddove ritenuto proficuo) con quelle dei mottetti dei compositori legati alla cappella di Graz.

La raccolta e il suo significato simbolico e celebrativo

Il *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus* rappresenta un prestigioso omaggio musicale, dotato di un'esplicita valenza celebrativa e concepito da un cantore della cappella del Duomo di Milano, trasferitosi a Graz prima della pubblicazione del volume, che aveva

³ La raccolta include 18 mottetti attribuiti a 12 compositori milanesi o attivi a Milano: Guglielmo Arnone, Giacomo Filippo Biumi, Cesare Borgo, Francesco Casati, Andrea Cima, Federico Coda, Flaminio Comanedo, Giulio Cesare Gabussi, Giovanni Ghizzolo, Orazio Nantermi, Vincenzo Pellegrini e Giovanni Domenico Rognoni.

⁴ Ai cinque colleghi di Bonometti attivi in Duomo sono attribuiti complessivamente nove mottetti.

⁵ Ai 9 compositori legati alla corte di Graz sono attribuiti 21 mottetti: Balestra (4), Bontempo (1), Mutis conte di Cesana (2), Poss (2), Priuli (4), Rizzio (2), Sansoni (2), Taddei (1) Valentini (5).

⁶ Federhofer, "Graz Court Musicians". L'articolo fornisce anche numerose informazioni inedite sul conto di musicisti della corte di Graz.

⁷ Torelli, *Benedetto Binago*.

saputo coinvolgere nell'impresa le maggiori forze musicali milanesi, ma anche alcuni musicisti della cappella musicale di Ferdinando. Per meglio comprendere il significato di questa importante operazione culturale occorrerà allora considerare i complessi legami fra l'arciducato d'Austria, retto da Ferdinando, e il ducato di Milano, sottoposto al re di Spagna sotto il controllo del governatore.

Capitale del ducato e baluardo del governo spagnolo in Italia, Milano era sempre stata teatro di sontuosi festeggiamenti organizzati in occasione di nascite, matrimoni o funerali di esponenti della casa regnante: si pensi ai solenni ingressi delle future sovrane in viaggio da o per Madrid: Margherita d'Austria, sposa di Filippo III re di Spagna, in viaggio da Graz a Madrid nel 1598; Maria Anna d'Austria, sposa di Filippo IV, in viaggio da Vienna a Madrid nel 1649; sua figlia Margherita Teresa di Spagna, in viaggio da Madrid a Vienna nel 1666.⁸ Altrettanto sontuosi erano stati anche i festeggiamenti per l'entrata in Milano dell'arciduca Carlo d'Austria, arcivescovo di Bratislava, e della sorella Maria Maddalena, duchessa di Toscana, avvenuta il 19 luglio 1624.⁹

Celebrazioni particolarmente sfarzose erano state organizzate nel 1598, quando Milano era governata da Juan Fernández de Velasco,¹⁰ allorché Margherita d'Austria, sorella di Ferdinando,¹¹ era diventata regina consorte di Spagna e Portogallo dopo essere andata in sposa al re Filippo III¹² all'età di soli quattordici anni.¹³ In quel frangente Margherita, accompagnata dalla madre Maria, aveva seguito un percorso da Porta Romana sino al Duomo fra le allegrezze della cittadinanza. Alla regina fu intitolato anche un salone (denominato in suo onore 'salone Margherita') all'interno del palazzo Ducale (oggi palazzo Reale), che rappresenta il primo teatro stabile cittadino, poi rimpiazzato dal Teatro Regio Ducale.

L'anno successivo la serenissima infante Isabella d'Austria fece la sua solenne entrata a Milano con l'arciduca Alberto d'Austria suo marito. Nel quadro dei festeggiamenti fu organizzata anche una festa nel teatro del palazzo Ducale, durante la quale fu messa in scena un'azione pastorale di Giovan Battista Visconti inframmezzata dai balletti del coreografo Cesare Negri e accompagnata da una canzone celebrativa di Gherardo Borgogni in onore delle case d'Austria e di Spagna.¹⁴

In epoca più prossima alla pubblicazione del *Parnassus* il vescovo triestino Ursino de Bertis (1559–1620), figura di spicco nell'*entourage* di Ferdinando¹⁵ e amante della

⁸ Sugli ingressi trionfali delle tre regine di Spagna cfr. Cenzato e Rovaris, ““Comparvero finalmente gl'aspettati soli””.

⁹ Si veda la dedica dei vesperi di Girolamo Ferrari Mondondone (op. I). Cfr. Kendrick, *Sounds of Milan*, 158–159 e 480.

¹⁰ Juan Fernández de Velasco, duca di Ferias, fu governatore del ducato di Milano dal 1592 al 1595, dal 1595 al 1600 e dal 1610 al 1612.

¹¹ Margherita d'Austria-Stiria (Graz, 1584 – San Lorenzo de L'Escorial, 1611), arciduchessa d'Austria.

¹² Filippo III di Spagna, ultimogenito di Filippo II e della sua quarta moglie Anna d'Austria.

¹³ Sui festeggiamenti in onore della nuova regina di Spagna, e in particolare sui loro aspetti scenografici e musicali, si veda Kendrick, *Sounds of Milan*, 3–9.

¹⁴ Tizzoni, “L'istanza tragicomica”.

¹⁵ Sacerdote sin dal 1591 e quindi vescovo di Trieste, Ursino fu dapprima segretario dell'arciduca Carlo, in seguito consigliere di Ferdinando, come si legge nel frontespizio della raccolta di *contrafacta* di Cavaglieri: “Sereniss[imo] D.D. Ferdinandi Archiducis Austriae à Consilijs”.

musica (come dimostra la presenza di Gabriello Puliti in veste di maestro di cappella della cattedrale di San Giusto a Trieste),¹⁶ aveva intrattenuto rapporti con alcuni esponenti della scena musicale milanese, fra cui Girolamo Cavaglieri, che gli avrebbe dedicato i suoi *Madrigali de diversi auttori, accomodati per concerti spirituali* (Loano, 1616).¹⁷ Dalla dedica di questa raccolta apprendiamo che qualche anno prima – probabilmente intorno agli anni 1614–1616¹⁸ – Ursino si era recato a Milano e aveva assistito ad alcune celebrazioni liturgiche con musica presso la chiesa dei santi Cosma e Damiano.¹⁹ Non si può escludere che in una delle sue visite il vescovo de Bertis fosse entrato in contatto anche con alcuni musicisti locali che figurano nel *Parnassus*.

I legami fra la corte di Ferdinando e l'ambiente musicale milanese sono testimoniati anche dalla presenza, in un libro corale prodotto per la corte di Graz attorno al 1615, di alcuni inni di Orfeo Vecchi sinora non rintracciati in nessuna raccolta nota di questo compositore.²⁰

Alcuni testi messi in musica nel *Parnassus* sono connessi con altrettante occasioni liturgiche che venivano celebrate con particolare solennità presso il Duomo di Milano. Quivi viene tuttora solennemente celebrato il rito della ‘nivola’, una sorta di ascensore a forma di nuvola (da cui il nome) che consente all’officiante di elevarsi sino a quaranta metri di altezza per recuperare la preziosissima reliquia del Santo Chiodo, che si dice essere uno dei chiodi della croce ritrovato da Sant’Elena nel IV secolo. Alla festività dell’invenzione (o esaltazione) della Santa Croce (14 settembre) fa riferimento il testo *O Crux benedicta*, musicato a due voci da Giulio Cesare Gabussi, già maestro di cappella del Duomo di Milano (l’unico compositore scomparso alla data della pubblicazione del *Parnassus*), ma anche a quattro voci da Giovanni Priuli, maestro della cappella di corte di Graz. I mottetti *Hic est Beatum Carolum* di Georg Poss e *O beatum Carolum* di Alessandro Taddei alludono invece, con ogni evidenza, alla recente beatificazione di Carlo Borromeo (1602), venerato con particolare fervore nella diocesi milanese. Sebbene la fama e il culto di Carlo Borromeo si fossero ben presto diffusi in tutta Europa, il fatto che gli unici due mottetti a lui dedicati siano opera di compositori estranei all’ambiente milanese (e legati invece alla corte di Ferdinando) si potrebbe spiegare ipotizzando che Bonometti li avesse ‘commissionati’ ai colleghi di Graz quando era ancora attivo a Milano. Il fatto che il Duomo di Milano sia intitolato alla Natività della Vergine, e che quindi vi si celebrino con particolare solennità le festività mariane, spiega invece la presenza, all’interno della raccolta, di un discreto numero di mottetti su testi d’argomento mariano (*Sacrificemus Reginae Caeli* di Francesco Turini, *O Maria quid ploras* di Giovanni Valentini, *Una es o Maria* di Giovanni Domenico Rognoni, *Ave gratia plena* di Giacomo Brignoli, *Ave mundi spes Maria* di Giovanni Battista Cacciola, e infine *Inviolata, integra et casta es Maria*

¹⁶ Bujjić e Cavallini, “Puliti, Gabriello”.

¹⁷ Cavaglieri, *Madrigali de diversi auttori*.

¹⁸ Cfr. Delfino, “Geronimo Cavaglieri”, 185.

¹⁹ “Vir, seu potius heros egregiarum splendore virtutum [...] has nostras SS. Cosmae et Damiani aedes illustravit [...]”

²⁰ Cfr. Kendrick, *Sounds of Milan*, 416 (n. 82).

di Giovanni Cavaccio), che il curatore potrebbe avere scelto fra i tanti già composti per le più diverse istituzioni musicali dell'epoca.

Giovanni Battista Bonometti cantore presso il Duomo di Milano

Un ruolo chiave nell'ideazione della raccolta fu certamente giocato dal suo curatore, che non figura fra i compositori²¹ – sempre che non corrisponda all'autore di uno o di entrambi i mottetti anonimi – ma che fu certamente il principale responsabile della scelta degli autori e delle composizioni e dell'elaborazione della struttura complessiva dell'opera. Di Giovanni Battista Bonometti non si sa molto. Il periodo trascorso a Milano, dove fu ammesso come tenore nella cappella del Duomo il primo di dicembre 1608²² e si trattenne almeno sino alla metà del 1614, risulta essere il meglio documentato. Sappiamo che Bonometti, inizialmente pagato ogni trimestre come tutti gli altri membri della cappella, percepiva un salario di cinque scudi aurei al mese, pari a 90 lire al trimestre (360 lire annue).²³ A quell'epoca il cantore meglio pagato nella sezione dei tenori, Giovanni Antonio Breda, percepiva ogni anno 576 lire. Già dall'inizio del 1610 Bonometti, dopo avere ottenuto un aumento di stipendio, si era visto adeguare il salario agli altri tenori della cappella, che percepivano 432 lire annue. È interessante quanto si apprende da uno stato delle anime della parrocchia di San Michele al Duomo datato 28 marzo 1610, in cui si legge che

²¹ A Giovanni Battista [Bonometti] sono attribuite in forma dubitativa alcune composizioni pervenuteci manoscritte; tutte le attribuzioni che interessano questo compositore sono problematiche (cfr. RISM 452512079, 305000311) o conflittuali (cfr. RISM 450105187, 455023991, 450103822).

²² Cfr. Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Milano (AVFD), *Ordinazioni Capitolari* (da ora in poi *O.C.*), 21, f. 197 (1 dicembre 1608): “Lecto memoriali porrecto per magistrum musicorum ipsius maioris Ecclesiae nomine Johannis Baptistae Bonometi de eum conducendo in cantorem ipsius Ecclesiae tenoris videl. Ponatur, attenta dicta propositione et fide idoneitatis ipsius Bonometi supplicantis eum admitterunt et admittunt ad faciendum dictam partem tenoris ad beneplacitum Venerandi Capituli cum salario scutorum quinque auri singulo mense pro toto eo quod petere possit.”

²³ Il primo mandato di pagamento in cui compare il nome di Bonometti è quello datato 13 aprile 1609, relativo al primo trimestre del 1609. In quell'occasione Bonometti aveva percepito 90 lire, a fronte delle 144 lire percepite da Giovanni Antonio Breda e delle 108 lire percepite dagli altri tre tenori (Flaminio Comanedi, Giulio Vialardi, Roberto Caneveti). Nei mandati relativi ai tre trimestri successivi (datati 1 luglio, 5 ottobre e 22 dicembre 1609) la situazione appare immutata. Cfr. AVFD, *Mandati*, 33/2, 33/3, 34/2, 34/3. Dieci giorni dopo la sua assunzione, il capitolo della Veneranda Fabbrica prese in esame le richieste avanzate da alcuni cantori, e fra queste quelle contenute nel memoriale di un certo Giovanni Battista bergamasco: “Lecto memoriali Johannis Baptistae Bergamaschi cantoris videlicet, [ordi]naverunt quod multum illustres et multum Reverendi Domini Terzagus Decanus et Reverta Rector uti edocti de mente Venerandi Capituli super petitis provideant prout ipsis magis conveniens videbitur.” Oltre a Bonometti, effettivamente di origini bergamasche, la cappella annoverava altri tre cantori chiamati Giovanni Battista: Lambrugo, Corradi e Petri. Non possiamo escludere che il memoriale in questione, del resto attualmente non reperibile, fosse stato presentato da qualcuno di questi cantori. Cfr. AVFD, *O.C.*, 21, f. 203 (11 dicembre 1608).

Bonometti, allora dell'età di 24 anni, risiedeva nella casa del maestro di cappella Giulio Cesare Gabussi (allora quarantottenne) insieme all'amico Giacomo Filippo Ferrari (dell'età di 27 anni) e ad altri inquilini.²⁴ Oltre a dare indicazioni sull'età del maestro di cappella e dei due cantori, il documento offre una testimonianza del precoce legame fra i due cantori.

A partire dal 26 maggio 1611 i cantori “forestieri” – e fra questi lo stesso Bonometti – ottennero di poter essere pagati una volta al mese anziché ogni tre mesi (il che ha consentito di monitorare la presenza di Bonometti presso la cappella con cadenze più ravvicinate).²⁵ Nello stesso periodo Bonometti ottenne un ulteriore aumento,²⁶ arrivando a percepire sette scudi aurei (504 lire) all'anno.²⁷ Nell'agosto del 1613 Bonometti, insieme a Giacomo Filippo Ferrari,²⁸ avanzò al capitolo ulteriori richieste, ma in occasione della successiva riunione i fabbricieri non deliberarono nulla in proposito.²⁹ Essendo andati dispersi i memoriali dei due cantori, ignoriamo cosa avessero chiesto al capitolo della Veneranda Fabbrica; non possiamo tuttavia escludere che avessero chiesto una licenza per mettersi in contatto con la corte di Graz, dove entrambi si sarebbero trasferiti di lì a poco. In compenso sappiamo che il 5 settembre dello stesso anno Bonometti avrebbe ottenuto una licenza di otto giorni;³⁰ e che il 19 dello stesso mese sarebbe stata concessa una licenza anche a Flaminio Comanedo, a sua volta incluso fra i compositori del *Parnassus*.³¹ Nel dicembre dello stesso anno Bonometti chiese un ulteriore aumento di salario, ma questa

²⁴ Cfr. Archivio Storico Diocesano di Milano (ASDM) X, *Metropolitana* V. Citato da Kendrick, *Sounds of Milan*, 484 (n. 43).

²⁵ AVFD, *O.C.*, 23, f. 50 v. (26 maggio 1611): “Lectis precibus cantorum dictae Ecclesiae Maioris forensium tenoris videlicet ponatur tenor, dictum fuit in posterum ipsis cantoribus forensibus tantum solvendum esse eorum salarium in fine cuiuslibet mensis.”

²⁶ AVFD, *O.C.*, 23, f. 52 (13 giugno 1611): “Lectis precibus Johannis Baptistae Bonometi cantoris tenoris vid. Ponatur tenor, dictum fuit supplicanti augendum esse eius salarium usque ad scuta septem singulo mense.”

²⁷ Dal giorno 11 ottobre 1611, Bonometti iniziò a percepire un compenso mensile pari a 42 lire. Cfr. AVFD, *Mandati*, 38/2. Analogo pagamento è registrato nei mandati del 30 dicembre 1611 (38/3), 31 marzo 1612 (39/2), 30 giugno 1612 (39/3). Dal 30 settembre 1612 il suo nome scompare dai mandati trimestrali, per ricomparire nei mandati del 30 giugno 1613 (41/3) e del 30 settembre 1613 (42/2), quando percepisce il solito compenso di 42 lire per un mese. Nuovamente assente nel mandato del 31 dicembre 1613 (42/3), ricompare nel mandato del 25 marzo 1614 (43/2).

²⁸ Dedicatario del motetto *O Maria, quid ploras?* di Giovanni Ghizzolo pubblicato nel suo secondo libro di *Concerti all'uso moderno*, Milano 1611 (Ghizzolo, *Concerti*) e di un mottetto di G. Santo Pietro del Negri (1616), Giacomo Filippo era lo zio di Gerolamo Ferrari da Mondondone.

²⁹ AVFD, *O.C.*, 24, f. 44 v. (22 agosto 1613): “Lectis precibus Johannes Baptistae Bonometi et Presbiteri Jacobi Philippi Ferarii cantorum in ipsa maiori Ecclesia tenoris videlicet ponatur dictum fuit nihil pro nunc super petitis decernendum.”

³⁰ AVFD, *O.C.*, 24, f. 49 (5 settembre 1613): “Lectis precibus Johannis Baptistae Bonometi cantoris tenoris videlicet ponatur tenor, dictum fuit concedendam esse prout concedunt supplicanti petitam per eum licentiam per octo tantum dies facto tamen prius verbo cum Magistro capelle ad effectum ne deficiatur in servitio fabricae.”

³¹ AVFD, *O.C.*, 24, f. 53 v. (19 settembre 1613): “Lecto memoriali Flaminii Comanedi cantoris in ipsa maiori Ecclesia tenoris ponatur etc. dictum fuit petitam licentiam eidem concedendam esse prout concedunt.”

volta, dopo avere messo ai voti la proposta con scrutinio segreto, l'aumento gli fu negato.³² Comanedo invece riuscì a ottenere l'aumento richiesto insieme al tenore Canevetti.³³ È probabile che a quelle date Bonometti, forse insieme ad altri membri della cappella (fra cui Comanedo), stesse negoziando con i fabbricieri per ottenere condizioni economiche migliori, forse perché già attratto dall'ambiente musicale di Graz che ben presto l'avrebbe attirato definitivamente. In ogni caso, forse in previsione di imminenti defezioni fra i cantori, entro la metà di gennaio dell'anno successivo i fabbricieri avevano già assunto un nuovo tenore e un nuovo contralto.³⁴ L'ultimo mandato di pagamento in cui compare il nome di Bonometti, datato 27 giugno 1614, registra il compenso (liquidato il 3 luglio) di 42 lire per il suo ultimo mese di lavoro.³⁵ L'ultima traccia di Bonometti nei documenti dell'archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo risale allo stesso 3 luglio 1614, quando i fabbricieri misero ai voti un'ennesima richiesta di aumento e stabilirono di non accordargliela.³⁶ A fronte di questo diniego, i rapporti fra Bonometti e la Fabbrica si interruppero definitivamente, ed è probabile che a quel punto (e non già nel 1613, come erroneamente ritenuto da Federhofer)³⁷ il cantore si fosse stabilito a Graz presso la corte dell'arciduca Ferdinando.

Bonometti e Giacomo Filippo Ferrari (detto il Mondondone), attivo come contralto presso il Duomo di Milano dal 26 dicembre 1607 al 30 giugno 1612,³⁸ sarebbero stati legati per tutta la vita: dopo essersi trasferiti a Graz, avrebbero seguito la corte imperiale di Ferdinando a Vienna; e anche dopo la morte di Bonometti il nome di Ferrari, qualificato

³² AVFD, *O.C.*, 24, f. 57 v. (5 dicembre 1613): "Lectis precibus Johannis Baptistae Bonometi cantoris tenoris videlicet ponatur, ordinatum fuit assumenda pariter esse suffragia secreta et eis assumptis maiores voces fuerunt quod nullum sibi fiat augmentum."

³³ AVFD, *O.C.*, 24, f. 62 (19 dicembre 1613): "Lectis precibus Flamini Comanedi musici tenoris vid. Ponatur tenor, sumptisque suffragiis ut supra et prout supra scilicet an fieri debeat augmentum vel ne et exinde an fieri debeat de dimidio vel uno scuto singulo mense, dictum est concedendum esse de uno scuto singulo mense."

³⁴ AVFD, *O.C.*, 24, f. 84 (14 aprile 1614): "Facta propositione per dictum illustrem et Multum Reverendum dominum Mazentam qualiter Magister Capelle dictae Maioris Ecclesiae monuit ipsum de defectu in Ecclesia unius tenoris et unius alti et quod habet prae manibus Jacobum Rosam pro tenore et Reverendum Sacerdotem Johannem Franciscum Mandolinum pro parte alti, quos ambos in dictis vocibus Magister Capella habet idoneos, iccirco eos elegerunt et eligunt in cantores et Musicos ipsius Fabrice attenda fide dicti Magistri Capelle et ulterius elegerunt eundem illustrissimum et Multum Reverendum Dominum Mazentam et Illustrissimum dominum Equitem Scottum ad eis singulis prescribendum salarium condecens singulo mense."

³⁵ AVFD, *Mandati*, 44/1 (27 giugno 1614).

³⁶ AVFD, *O.C.*, 24, f. 93 (3 luglio 1614): "Lectis precibus Johannis Baptistae Bonometti musici tenoris videlicet ponatur, sumptisque de more suffragiis an eius petitio sit admittenda et faciendum augmentum vel ne, dictum est dictum augmentum non esse faciendum."

³⁷ Secondo Federhofer, Bonometti si trovava a Graz già nel 1613. Questa asserzione si basa su quanto si evince da una petizione datata 22 agosto 1620, in cui Bonometti afferma di avere ottenuto soltanto 150 fiorini in sette anni di servizio; tuttavia in una petizione dell'anno precedente (27 febbraio 1619) Bonometti afferma "già sarà cinque anni, ch'io sono al servizio della Maestà Vostra". Cfr. Federhofer, "Graz Court Musicians", 178, 217–218.

³⁸ Toffetti, "La cappella musicale del Duomo", 553.

come contralto e *Hofkaplan* imperiale, viene menzionato nel testamento della vedova di Bonometti (28 dicembre 1639), che lo aveva nominato suo esecutore testamentario.³⁹

La lettera dedicatoria

Se è vero che i firmatari delle lettere dedicatorie non risultano sempre presenti nel luogo in cui esse sono state firmate alla data della sottoscrizione,⁴⁰ è tuttavia probabile che Bonometti si trovasse effettivamente a Graz il 30 aprile del 1615, quando fu sottoscritta la dedica del *Parnassus*. Contrariamente a quanto accade nella maggior parte delle dediche dell'epoca, questa pagina fornisce molte informazioni di interesse sia sulle circostanze in cui è stata assemblata la raccolta, sia sulle caratteristiche delle composizioni che vi compaiono. Dopo un esordio piuttosto convenzionale sulla necessità di alternare momenti di *otium* e di *negotium* – massimamente per chi, come Ferdinando, si affaticava oltremodo nella cura di questioni politiche e religiose di rilevanza universale – Bonometti consiglia al principe di dedicarsi alla musica, che già Aristotele riteneva uno degli svaghi più dilettevoli che esistano in natura.⁴¹

Bonometti dichiara di essersi risolto a raccogliere questa collana di composizioni e a dedicarla a un personaggio tanto illustre per aumentare il piacere dell'ascolto, degno non solo di un principe come Ferdinando, ma della più profonda conoscenza dell'arte musicale.⁴² Quindi, riecheggiando alcune pagine del Cantico dei Cantici, si avvale di doppi sensi per introdurre termini musicali che illustrino alcune caratteristiche delle composizioni della raccolta, alludendo alla presenza di fiere che si inseguono a vicenda in fughe, di cui gli ascoltatori possono seguire le orme senza correre alcun pericolo e con gran diletto;⁴³ al digradare delle linee dei monti in dolci intervalli;⁴⁴ o ancora alla presenza di Eco, che percepisce gradevoli frasi musicali e si diletta a ripeterle (effetto eco).⁴⁵ La gradevolezza dei concerti a più voci è evocata anche nella descrizione dei gorgheggi degli uccelli, che concorrono, nella loro diversità, a un risultato sonoro tanto vario quanto armonioso.⁴⁶

³⁹ Federhofer, "Graz Court Musicians", 179.

⁴⁰ Si pensi, fra i tanti, al caso di Mikołaj Zieleński, che si trovava in Polonia al momento della stesura della dedica della sua raccolta di *Offertoria e Communiones* (Venezia: Giacomo Vincenti, 1611), sottoscritta "Venetijs Kalend. Martij 1611". Cfr. Dunicz, "Do biografji Mikołaja Zieleńskiego", 96.

⁴¹ "Unum autem in reliquis, meo quidem iudicio, tibi Serenissime Ferdinande, assiduis patriae, Ecclesiae, orbis universi causa fluctibus anxie aestuanti mentis tranquillitatem, animique malaciam parere (sic) potest; musica, quae ex mente Aristotelis est ex iucundissimis, quae sunt secundum naturam."

⁴² "[...] ut honestissimam, tantoque Principe dignam, quam Musicae studio hauris voluptatem auge-rem hunc Parnassum Musicum Ferdinandaicum congerendum, tuaeque Serenitati consecrandum esse iudicavi."

⁴³ "Nec desunt hoc in monte ferae, quas vigentibus se se mutuo fugarum, ut musici vocant vestigijs insistens sine periculo, summa cum iucunditate persequaris."

⁴⁴ "Salit in his ingeniosae Dianae montibus, et transilit colles, intervallaque linearum dilectus tuus similis capreae, hinulloque cervorum."

⁴⁵ "[...] Echo, grata vocis acceptae reverberatione aures delectat."

⁴⁶ "[...] aut discors variarum avium in garritu concordia."

Ormai definitivamente trasferito presso la corte di Graz, Bonometti si spinge ad affermare che da questo Parnaso musicale si sprigionano armonie di una tale soavità, da far sì che in confronto tutte le musiche prodotte nelle città italiane paiano disarmoniche.⁴⁷

I paragrafi successivi chiarificano ulteriormente le circostanze in cui la raccolta è stata concepita. Bonometti dichiara di avere conosciuto alcune composizioni dei musicisti della corte di Graz quando era ancora attivo presso la cappella del Duomo di Milano.⁴⁸ Tuttavia, così come da lontano i suoni vengono percepiti in maniera più attutita, allo stesso modo la fama dei musicisti di corte di Ferdinando non poteva pienamente eguagliare il loro valore.⁴⁹ Perciò Bonometti, incitato dallo stesso Ferdinando, si era risolto ad andare a Graz, dove ebbe finalmente modo di ascoltare direttamente i concerti dei musicisti locali di cui, sino a quel momento, aveva soltanto sentito parlare. L'esperienza fu tale da indurlo a riprendere il progetto della raccolta di questa collana, che aveva iniziato tempo addietro a Milano spinto dall'insistenza di alcuni amici. Fu così che si risolse a introdurre, fra le composizioni dei 'cigni latini' (gli autori milanesi e lombardi), alcune composizioni degli 'usignoli di Graz' (i maestri della corte di Ferdinando, a loro volta, con una sola eccezione, originari dalla penisola) come gemme preziose in una corona, per poi pubblicare i frutti migliori di questa collezione sotto il nome glorioso di Ferdinando.⁵⁰

Come si è visto, nella dedica Bonometti aveva anche affermato che, all'interno del *Parnassus*, le composizioni dei maestri della corte di Graz, contraddistinte soprattutto dalla loro simmetria, si contrappongono in dolci tenzoni a quelle dei musicisti attivi nella penisola.⁵¹ Data la presenza, nella raccolta, di tre coppie di mottetti accomunate dall'intonazione dello stesso testo,⁵² ci si è chiesti se tale circostanza potesse riflettere la presenza di procedimenti di *aemulatio* intenzionali o persino pianificati dal curatore della raccolta, e se il passaggio della dedica in cui si allude a tenzoni fra musicisti potesse in qualche modo riferirsi ad alcuni di essi. Nel caso del salmo *Cantate Domino*, messo in

⁴⁷ "Tam suavis, mihi crede, serenissime Ferdinande, ex hoc monte harmonia etiam addissitas Italia urbes diffunditur, ut omnis illarum in Musica suavitas insuavis, concinnitas inconcinna videatur."

⁴⁸ "Perceperam ego quidem adhuc Mediolani cum existerem, et musicam meam operam Metropolitanae domui locarem, philomelarum tuarum, quarum in hoc monte voces argutae praereliquis dulcia certamina movent, suavissima Symmetria ordinatos cantus."

⁴⁹ "[...] sed, ut ad longe voces tenuiores excipiuntur, quam sint, ubi eduntur; ita minor fama et suavitas, quam reapse illis insit, ad me fuit delata."

⁵⁰ "Ut vero Serenitatis tuae aura provocatus Graecium veni; ut harmonicis vocum contentus, quos sola fama ante cognov[...], auribus hausi, statim in hanc mentem suavi violentia sum pertractus, ut (quod alias Mediolani amicorum armatis precibus persuasus aggressus fueram) seligerem optimorum mela suavissima, et latalibus cygnis Graecensis Philomelas tuas, quasi coronae gemmas insererem, et in publicum productas in Parnassum Musicum Ferdinandaem magni tui nominis titulo gloriosum, collocarem."

⁵¹ Cfr. nota 48.

⁵² Di *Vulnerasti cor meum* troviamo una versione per contralto e tenore (o canto) di Vincenzo Pellegrini e una per due tenori e basso di Giovanni Valentini; di *Cantate Domino* troviamo una versione a quattro voci di Orazio Nantermi e una a due canti o tenori di Claudio Monteverdi; di *O crux benedicta* troviamo una versione a due contralti di Giulio Cesare Gabussi e una a quattro voci di Giovanni Priuli.

musica dal milanese Orazio Nantermi e da Claudio Monteverdi, ci sentiremmo di escluderlo, considerato che quest'ultimo non aveva alcun legame con la corte di Graz. Negli altri due casi i compositori erano (o erano stati) legati gli uni alla cappella del Duomo di Milano (il maestro di cappella Giulio Cesare Gabussi, scomparso quattro anni prima della pubblicazione della raccolta, e il suo successore Vincenzo Pellegrini) e gli altri a quella di Graz (il maestro di cappella Giovanni Priuli e il suo successore Giovanni Valentini). Il concerto *O crux benedicta* di Giovanni Priuli non presenta elementi che richiamino l'analogo mottetto di Gabussi. L'episodio iniziale del mottetto *Vulnerasti cor meum* di Giovanni Valentini a due tenori e basso presenta invece significative affinità con il mottetto di Pellegrini basato sullo stesso testo, tanto da insinuare il dubbio che uno dei due mottetti potesse alludere all'altro.⁵³ In ogni caso, tutte le composizioni accomunate dall'adozione dello stesso testo presentano una tessitura diversa, il che porterebbe a escludere che si fosse trattato di procedimenti di emulazione intenzionali o pianificati del curatore della raccolta.

I musicisti del Duomo di Milano rappresentati nel *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*

Allorché Bonometti iniziò a concepire il suo progetto, i musicisti più vicini al suo *entourage* erano i suoi colleghi della cappella musicale del Duomo, e fra questi il maestro di cappella Vincenzo Pellegrini, ossia il musicista dal quale maggiormente, in quegli anni, dipendeva la sua carriera musicale. Non ci si deve allora stupire se, all'interno del *Parnassus*, gli fu riservata una posizione di eccezionale rilievo. Insieme a Valentini, Pellegrini è l'unico musicista di cui siano stati inclusi cinque mottetti, peraltro collocati, con una sola eccezione, all'inizio di ciascuna sezione della raccolta, allo scopo evidente di conferire al loro autore il massimo prestigio. Inoltre Pellegrini è l'unico compositore ad avere potuto sfoggiare le sue competenze in tutte le tessiture rappresentate nella raccolta, da una a cinque voci.

Il suo mottetto a canto solo (o tenore) *Dominus regit me* con cui si apre la raccolta presenta stilemi tipici della monodia accompagnata (uso frequente di crome, ritmi puntati di sapore strumentale, tirate di semiminime, diminuzioni scritte) e una forma *durchkomponiert* del tutto priva di elementi di simmetria, ma risulta complessivamente piuttosto prolisso. Il mottetto a contralto e tenore (o canto) *Vulnerasti cor meum* (cfr. es. mus. 1) non è posto all'inizio della sezione dedicata alle due voci e basso continuo (una posizione riservata a un mottetto di Giovanni Priuli, allora maestro della cappella di corte di Graz).⁵⁴ Come si è visto, nel *Parnassus* figura anche un mottetto di Giovanni Valentini a due tenori e basso basato sullo stesso testo (cfr. es. mus. 2), il cui episodio iniziale presenta vistose affinità ritmiche (e in parte anche melodiche) con il mottetto di Pellegrini. In questo caso non si può escludere che Valentini, forse coinvolto successivamente, avesse voluto mostrare la propria superiorità nei confronti del collega attivo a Milano.

⁵³ Cfr. *infra*.

⁵⁴ Come il mottetto a voce sola di Pellegrini, anche questo concerto a due voci presenta una scrittura fluida, ricca di diminuzioni scritte e di figurazioni puntate, oltre ad alcune sezioni di carattere declamatorio che fanno un largo impiego dei suoni ribattuti.

Esempio musicale 1

Vincenzo Pellegrini, *Vulnerasti cor meum* a contralto e tenore (o canto), bb. 1–4

The musical score for Example 1 consists of two staves. The top staff is for the Tenor (T) and the bottom staff is for the Contralto (bc). Both staves are in a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The lyrics for the Tenor part are: "Vul - ne - ra - sti cor me - - - um, cor me - um, cor me -". The Contralto part has a few notes but no lyrics are provided for it.

Esempio musicale 2

Giovanni Valentini, *Vulnerasti cor meum* a due tenori e basso, bb. 1–4

The musical score for Example 2 consists of four staves. The top two staves are for Tenor 1 (T 1) and Tenor 2 (T 2), and the bottom two are for Bass (B) and Contralto (bc). All staves are in a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The lyrics for T 1 and T 2 are: "Vul - ne - ra - sti cor me - um so - ror me - a spon - sa". The lyrics for B are: "so - ror me - a spon - sa. Vul - ne -". The Contralto part has a few notes but no lyrics are provided for it.

Il concerto *Laudate Dominum* di Pellegrini a due canti e tenore, posto all’inizio della sezione dei mottetti a tre voci, presenta invece una scrittura molto più tradizionale, come si nota sin dall’episodio iniziale “Laudate Dominum in Sanctis ejus”, in cui lo stesso motivo, piuttosto scialbo, viene esposto dapprima dal primo canto, poi dal secondo canto insieme al tenore, e infine da tutte e tre le voci insieme. Nel mottetto a quattro voci *Vincenti dabo* si alternano episodi imitativi basati su motivi molto tradizionali ed episodi più verticalizzati, con occasionali inserzioni di frammenti affidati a varie combinazioni di due-tre voci. Conclude la silloge il mottetto a cinque voci *Non turbetur cor vestrum*, l’unico per questo organico in tutta la raccolta, basato sul contrasto fra episodi a voce sola ed episodi omoritmici di carattere declamatorio affidati a tutte le voci. Dei mottetti *Laudate Dominum in Sanctis eius* e *Non turbetur cor vestrum* si conservano copie manoscritte presso la collezione Santini di Münster.⁵⁵

Ci si è chiesti se le qualità musicali dei mottetti di Pellegrini fossero tali da giustificare la loro collocazione in posizione preminente. La risposta è apparentemente negativa giacché, come si è visto, la loro scrittura monodica spesso disinvolta e aggiornata non è esente da debolezze e non presenta elementi di particolare originalità.

Il mottetto a quattro voci *Consolamini popule meus* (cfr. es. mus. 3) di Guglielmo Arnone, organista del Duomo dal 1590 al 1626, presenta una struttura molto schematica che lo accomuna al mottetto *Cantate Domino* di Orazio Nanterni per lo stesso organico: in entrambi episodi in cui si avvicendano le coppie canto-tenore e alto-basso si alternano a episodi in cui cantano tutte le voci, quasi si trattasse di altrettante riduzioni a quattro voci

⁵⁵ Münster, Santini-Bibliothek: Hs 1207, n. 57, RISM 451016069; SANT Hs 1188 n. 19, RISM 451004434.

Esempio musicale 4

Guglielmo Arnone, *Consolamini popule meus* a 8, bb. 1–5 (da Arnone, *Missa una* [Venezia: Gardano presso Bartolomeo Magni, 1625]; cfr. Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan*, 311)

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C 1
Con - so - la - mi - ni, con - so - la - mi - ni et e - xul-

A 1
Con - so - la - mi - ni, con - so - la - mi - ni et e - xul-

T 1
Con - so - la - mi - ni, con - so - la - mi - ni et e -

B 1
Con - so - la - mi - ni, con - so - la - mi - ni et e - xul-

bc 1

C 2
Con - so - la - mi - ni, con - so - la - mi - ni et e - xul-

A 2
Con - so - la - mi - ni, con - so - la - mi - ni et e - xul-

T 2
Con - so - la - mi - ni, con - so - la - mi - ni et e - xul-

B 2
Con - so - la - mi - ni, con - so - la - mi - ni et e - xul-

bc 2

Anche il mottetto a quattro voci *Euge serve bone* di Cesare Borgo condivide con quello del collega Arnone e con quello di Orazio Nantermi l'impostazione schematica a coppie vocali alternate; in alcuni punti, tuttavia, Borgo giunge a esiti compositivi più elaborati e interessanti, introducendo combinazioni vocali più varie e passaggi solistici abbastanza estesi, come accade nell'episodio pre-conclusivo in mensura ternaria. Già organista presso la chiesa di San Pietro in Gessate dei benedettini cassinesi, Borgo era entrato al servizio del Duomo l'11 ottobre 1590, quando aveva sostituito Gasparo Costa al nuovo organo costruito da Cristoforo Valvassori. Dopo la morte di Giovanni Battista Morsellino, Borgo sarebbe passato al vecchio organo Antegnati, di cui sarebbe stato organista titolare sino alla morte, avvenuta nei primi mesi del 1623.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ G. F. Biumi fu eletto organista il 30 marzo 1623. Toffetti, "La cappella musicale del Duomo", 453.

Alla morte di Borgo, il posto di organista dell'organo vecchio sarebbe passato a Giacomo Filippo Biumi. Attivo dapprima presso la chiesa di Santa Maria della Passione, negli anni in cui fu assemblato il *Parnassus* Biumi era organista in Sant'Ambrogio maggiore (1612–1617).⁵⁸ Al *Parnassus* Biumi contribuì con il mottetto *Veni in hortum meum* a due canti (o tenori) e continuo, una pagina scorrevole e particolarmente riuscita, in larga parte giocata sull'effetto eco e sull'avvicendamento delle due voci.⁵⁹ Lo stesso mottetto sarebbe ricomparso due anni dopo come prima composizione della *Seconda aggiunta alli concerti* raccolti da Francesco Lucino (Milano, 1617).⁶⁰

All'epoca della pubblicazione del *Parnassus*, Flaminio Comanedo doveva essere uno dei cantori più apprezzati della cappella del Duomo: un paio d'anni dopo, infatti, i fabbricieri presero in considerazione che egli potesse succedere a Francesco Lucino nell'incarico di vicemaestro di cappella.⁶¹ A proposito di Comanedo Filippo Picinelli, nel suo *Ateneo de' letterati milanesi*, si sarebbe espresso in termini non meno che encomiastici: “Ma sbizzarrissero a voglia loro i più svegliati maestri di musica, che vivevano a i giorni di Flaminio Comanedo, che esso ebbe talento di gareggiare, e d'ugguagliare in quest'arte i più eccellenti de i suoi giorni, dandone un evidente autentico con la stampa di sei opere”.⁶² Anche all'interno del *Parnassus* il suo mottetto *Gaudens gaudebo* a quattro voci si distingue dai concerti – prevalentemente *durchkomponiert* – dei suoi colleghi milanesi e lombardi:⁶³ qui infatti la struttura musicale dell'episodio iniziale (bb. 1–15: “*Gaudens gaudebo in Domino*”) è ripetuta pressoché identica nell'episodio conclusivo (bb. 108–121), dove la stessa musica è associata all'iterazione della parola *alleluja*.⁶⁴

L'unico compositore scomparso prima della pubblicazione del *Parnassus*, come si è visto, era Giulio Cesare Gabussi, che aveva diretto la cappella del Duomo dal 1583 al 1611 con un'interruzione fra il 1601 e il 1602, durante la quale si era recato presso la corte polacca. La sua presenza all'interno della raccolta rivela quanto viva fosse la sua memoria presso il Duomo anche dopo la sua scomparsa, rappresentando nel contempo un omaggio tributato alla sua figura da un cantore, come Bonometti, che doveva essergli stato legato in maniera particolarmente stretta,⁶⁵ e per il quale non doveva essere stato difficile entrare in

⁵⁸ Donà, “Biumi, Giacomo Filippo”, 97.

⁵⁹ Le voci vengono sovrapposte e procedono raddoppiandosi alla distanza di una terza solo sporadicamente in corrispondenza di una cadenza intermedia e nella cadenza finale.

⁶⁰ *Seconda Aggiunta alli Concerti*. RISM 1617².

⁶¹ A un solo giorno dalla morte di Francesco Lucino, avvenuta il 10 dicembre 1617, il contralto Giovanni Battista Corradi gli succedette al posto di vicemaestro della cappella, che avrebbe svolto sino alla sua morte, avvenuta durante la peste del 1630. Tre giorni dopo, tuttavia, il Capitolo della Veneranda Fabbrica tornò a considerare la questione della successione di Lucino, prendendo in considerazione la candidatura di Comanedo. Cfr. Toffetti, *La cappella musicale del Duomo*, 489–492.

⁶² Picinelli, *Ateneo de' letterati*, 278. Citato in Toffetti, *La cappella musicale del Duomo*, 491.

⁶³ All'interno del *Parnassus* i casi di ripetizione di uno stesso episodio sono infrequenti nei mottetti per qualunque organico. Fra i concerti a una o due voci e continuo, ad esempio, soltanto i mottetti *Paratum cor meum* a tenore solo di Giovanni Cavaccio e *Cantate Domino* a due soprani o tenori di Claudio Monteverdi presentano una o più ripetizioni di un episodio in mensura ternaria.

⁶⁴ Kendrick, *Sounds of Milan*, 265, 271–272.

⁶⁵ Cfr. nota 24.

possesto di una sua composizione ancora inedita, o comunque reperirla fra i manoscritti conservati presso l'Archivio della Fabbrica del Duomo. Il suo mottetto per due contralti *O Crux benedicta* è una pagina *durchkomponiert* in cui le voci si avvicinano nell'esposizione di frasi relativamente estese, che iniziano con valori molto lunghi e proseguono con valori sempre più diminuiti, introducendo episodicamente alcune figurazioni puntate.⁶⁶ Tuttavia la natura spesso involuta dei motivi, l'infrequente sovrapposizione fra le due voci e l'interesse relativamente scarso della composizione nel suo insieme potrebbero anche indurre a ritenere che questo mottetto, che ci è noto solo grazie a questa pubblicazione postuma, potesse essere stato pubblicato da Bonometti non solo senza che il suo autore avesse potuto rivederlo, ma anche a dispetto del fatto che non ne avesse mai autorizzato la stampa. Il mottetto di Giovanni Priuli incluso nel *Parnassus* e basato sullo stesso testo presenta maggiore interesse sia per la struttura formale, vivacizzata dai frequenti episodi in mensura ternaria, dall'agile avvicendamento di brevi episodi di carattere contrastante e dall'alternanza di interventi solistici e corali, sia per il maggiore grado di elaborazione contrappuntistica, reso possibile dalla tessitura a quattro voci.

Mottetti di compositori milanesi nel *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*

Oltre alle composizioni dei maestri attivi presso la cappella del Duomo, nel *Parnassus* si trovano composizioni di alcuni fra i compositori milanesi più illustri, fra cui Giovanni Andrea Cima, fratello del celebre Giovanni Paolo e considerato uno dei migliori compositori di concerti sulla piazza milanese. Un anno prima del *Parnassus* Andrea Cima aveva pubblicato il suo primo libro di concerti a due, tre e quattro voci,⁶⁷ includendovi composizioni del fratello Giovanni Paolo e di sette suoi colleghi, alcuni dei quali (Cesare Borgo, Giovanni Cavaccio, Giovanni Ghizzolo e Giovanni Domenico Rognoni) presenti anche nel *Parnassus*.

Due anni dopo la pubblicazione del *Parnassus* due sue canzoni strumentali a quattro (*La Gratiiosa* e *La Gentile*) e due suoi mottetti a quattro voci (*Ave Virgo gratiosa* e *Vineam meam*) sarebbero stati inclusi nella *Seconda Aggiunta alli concerti raccolti da Francesco Lucino*,⁶⁸ basso e vicemaestro della cappella del Duomo. Organista in Santa Maria del Carmine nel 1614, in Santa Maria della Rosa per lo meno dal 1617 al 1627 e in Santa Maria delle Grazie nel 1627, Giovanni Andrea Cima è annoverato fra “i musici, che in Milano sogliono maggiormente apprezzarsi come professori proprii di tal'arte [la musica]” nel *Supplimento della nobiltà di Milano* di Girolamo Borsieri, dal quale si apprende altresì che aveva composto “varii concerti per chiesa, e per camera, molto conformi al gusto del tempo”.⁶⁹

Il suo mottetto a canto, tenore e basso *Heu quem diligit anima mea* mette in musica un

⁶⁶ Si veda ad esempio il trattamento ritmico adottato nel frammento testuale “*quae sola fuisti digna portare talentum mundi*”, alle bb. 16–22.

⁶⁷ Cima, *Primo libro delli concerti*. Cfr. Torelli, *Benedetto Binago*, 98–107.

⁶⁸ Lucino, *Seconda Aggiunta*.

⁶⁹ Borsieri, *Supplimento*, 56–57. Corsivo dell'autore.

testo tratto dal Cantico dei Cantici e musicato pochi anni prima da Giovanni Ghizzolo,⁷⁰ comunemente adottato nelle festività della natività e dell'assunzione della Vergine. Avvalendosi di una scrittura monodica particolarmente efficace e aggiornata, il concerto mette in scena un dialogo – un genere particolarmente amato dai compositori dell'ambiente milanese⁷¹ – fra la protagonista femminile del Cantico (affidata alle voci di canto e di tenore) e il suo interlocutore (affidato al basso).

Fra i compositori del *Parnassus* è annoverato anche Orazio Nantermi, cantore, organista, maestro di cappella e compositore celebrato dai suoi contemporanei.⁷² Nantermi fu attivo in Santa Maria presso San Celso dal 1570 circa al 1607, quando fu licenziato dal capitolo, insieme al figlio Michelangelo, per alcuni dissapori con l'organista Giovanni Paolo Cima. Nei anni successivi (1610-1616) Nantermi fu ripetutamente reclutato per cantare da tenore nelle festività più solenni (San Carlo, la Natività della Vergine) presso il Duomo di Milano, dove era stato ingaggiato anche per dirigere uno dei diversi cori durante le esecuzioni poliorali.

Come si è visto, le tecniche della polioralità trovano impiego anche nel suo mottetto a quattro *Cantate Domino*,⁷³ strutturalmente analogo ai mottetti di Guglielmo Arnone e di Cesare Borgo per lo stesso organico, in cui la retorica compositiva basata sulla contrapposizione stereofonica di masse corali, propria del repertorio poliorale, appare inserita in una compagine vocale più agile e moderna.

Oltre al concerto incluso nel *Parnassus*, almeno sei mottetti di Nantermi furono pubblicati in antologie dell'epoca: i concerti *Tu gloria Ierusalem* a due (il cui testo veniva impiegato nella festa della Visitazione della Beata Vergine) ed *Exultate Deo* a quattro voci compaiono nei *Concerti* (Milano, 1608) raccolti da Francesco Lucino; altri quattro nella silloge di concerti a due, tre, quattro e cinque voci *Symbolae diversorum musicorum* (Venezia, 1620; ²1621) raccolta da Lorenzo Calvi. Fra questi il mottetto *Quae est ista?* a quattro voci, probabilmente uno dei suoi ultimi lavori, è ormai lontano dallo stile imitativo dei suoi primi mottetti e si presenta come una successione di frasi solistiche e duetti che culminano in brevi e intensi momenti d'insieme.⁷⁴ Inoltre il basso continuo del suo mottetto *O Domine Iesu Christe* figura in un manoscritto datato 1613.⁷⁵

Figlio di Riccardo, Giovanni Domenico Rognoni Taeggio trascorse probabilmente tutta la sua vita a Milano, dove fu attivo come organista in San Marco e come maestro di cappella in San Sepolcro e presso la corte regia ducale.⁷⁶ Come compositore pubblicò almeno quattro raccolte individuali, dedicandosi a diversi generi di musica vocale sacra

⁷⁰ Ghizzolo, *Concerti all'uso moderno*.

⁷¹ Kendrick, *Sounds of Milan*, 137.

⁷² Ne *La nobiltà di Milano* Paolo Morigia lo descrive come un “delicato musico, e intelligente e lodato”, mentre Filippo Picinelli, nel suo *Ateneo*, lo paragona all'omonimo poeta latino, definendolo “nelle cose musicali raro, ed ammirato”. Cfr. Morigia, *Nobiltà*, 180, 186; Picinelli, *Ateneo*, 535.

⁷³ Data la differenza di organico, il confronto con il mottetto a due canti o tenori di Monteverdi incluso nella stessa raccolta e basato sullo stesso testo risulta poco significativo.

⁷⁴ Kendrick, *Sounds of Milan*, 171–175.

⁷⁵ Dixon, “Giovanni Amigone”.

⁷⁶ Lattes e Toffetti, “Rognoni”.

(messe e mottetti), profana (madrigali e canzonette) e strumentale (canzoni da sonare). Al genere del concerto sacro si dedicò per lo meno dal 1608, quando un suo mottetto a due voci e due a quattro furono inclusi nei *Concerti* raccolti da Francesco Lucino, e probabilmente sino alla morte, avvenuta prima dell'ottobre del 1624. Ne *Il secondo libro de concerti* da una a quattro voci di Michelangelo Grancini (1624)⁷⁷ troviamo infatti ben diciassette composizioni di Giovanni Domenico che l'autore doveva avere lasciato fra i suoi manoscritti non ancora pubblicati: un mottetto a voce sola, cinque mottetti a due, quattro a tre voci, e cinque mottetti, una messa e le litanie ambrosiane a quattro voci.

All'interno del *Parnassus* il suo concerto *Una es, o Maria* a canto e basso mostra un discreto grado di elaborazione motivica: una caratteristica che, nella raccolta, si riscontra per lo più nei mottetti dei compositori della corte di Graz.⁷⁸ I motivi esposti nell'episodio iniziale, ad esempio, si ripresentano variamente modificati nel corso dell'intera composizione, contribuendo in maniera significativa a unificare l'intero costruito.⁷⁹

Il nome di Francesco Casati oggi non suona particolarmente illustre. Dalla *Seconda aggiunta* assemblata da Francesco Lucino, al cui interno troviamo ben tre composizioni di questo autore (un mottetto a due e uno a quattro voci, e la canzone da sonare a quattro voci detta "La Pecchia"), apprendiamo tuttavia che all'epoca Casati era attivo come organista in San Marco, una delle chiese più importanti della città di Milano. Il suo mottetto a quattro *Oculi ejus sicut columbae* presenta una scrittura fittamente imitativa e rivela la capacità di modellare i motivi prestando particolare attenzione all'efficace declamazione delle parole.

I mottetti dei compositori di area lombarda nel *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*

La presenza nel *Parnassus* di due mottetti di Giovanni Cavaccio (*Paratum cor meum* a tenore e basso continuo e *Inviolata, integra et casta* a quattro voci) si deve probabilmente al fatto che questo compositore era un concittadino di Giovanni Battista Bonometti. Nel caso del vercellese Giovanni Battista Cocciola, che era entrato al servizio del gran cancelliere di Lituania Lew Sapieha sin dai primi anni del Seicento, è probabile invece che l'inclusione di un suo mottetto all'interno del *Parnassus* sia connessa con la presenza di un suo parente presso la corte di Ferdinando.⁸⁰

Fra i compositori rappresentati nel *Parnassus*, quello più in vista doveva essere Claudio Monteverdi. All'epoca della preparazione della raccolta la sua fama era giunta sino a Milano, dove il compositore si era recato a più riprese, e dove potrebbe essere entrato in contatto anche con il curatore del *Parnassus*. A Milano risiedeva, in veste di ambasciatore

⁷⁷ Grancini, *Il Secondo libro de concerti*.

⁷⁸ Si veda, p. es., il mottetto *O Crux benedicta* di Giovanni Priuli.

⁷⁹ Per una breve analisi di questo mottetto cfr. Kendrick, *Sounds of Milan*, 263–265.

⁸⁰ Presso la corte di Graz è documentata la presenza del soprano castrato Andrea Battista Cocciola dal 1603 al 1615. Cfr. Patalas (in questo volume). Il mottetto *Ave mundi spes Maria* di Giovanni Battista compare anche in una delle due intavolature manoscritte di Oliwa. Cfr. Przybyszewska-Jarminska, *History of Music*, 292.

del duca di Mantova, anche Alessandro Striggio, che il 10 ottobre 1612 scriveva: “Tanto è lontano dal vero che il Monteverdi siasi partito con poca riputazion da questa città, che anzi è stato onoratissimo da’ cavalieri, e dai virtuosi benvenuto et accarezzato al possibile, e le sue opere si cantano qui con gran lode nei più notabili ridotti”.⁸¹ Nel suo mottetto incluso nel *Parnassus*, di cui ci è pervenuta anche una copia manoscritta,⁸² Monteverdi impiega i primi due versetti del Salmo 97 (“Cantate Domino canticum novum”) alla stregua di un *refrain*, con le due voci superiori che si imitano sopra un basso che presenta alcuni moduli ripetuti, alternando frammenti contraddistinti da una scrittura più armonica e verticalizzata, suscettibili di eventuali raddoppi con funzione di ripieno, e frammenti fittamente diminuiti.⁸³

I due mottetti di Ghizzolo inclusi nel *Parnassus* meritano una breve digressione. Bresciano di origine, Ghizzolo era entrato al servizio del principe Siro da Correggio negli ultimi mesi del 1613 e vi si sarebbe trattenuto sino ai primi mesi del 1615. Del periodo immediatamente precedente (dal 22 aprile 1611 alla fine del 1613) non si hanno sue notizie certe, ma numerose informazioni desumibili da alcune raccolte sue e dei suoi colleghi lasciano intendere che i suoi legami con l’ambiente musicale milanese dovevano essere stati particolarmente stretti. A Milano era stato pubblicato anche il suo secondo libro di *Concerti all’uso moderno* (1611),⁸⁴ dedicato a Gabriele Carcano, commissario generale dei frati minori conventuali della provincia di Milano. All’interno del volume compaiono un componimento encomiastico in latino di Cesare Millefanti, canonico in Santa Maria della Scala, e numerose dediche interne riferite ad altrettanti musicisti lombardi, fra cui Benedetto Binago, maestro di cappella della chiesa ducale di Milano, e cinque cantori del Duomo (incluso Giovanni Battista Bonometti).⁸⁵ Le dediche indirizzate ai musicisti del Duomo dovettero sortire i loro effetti, se nel 1612 un suo mottetto era già stato incluso nei *Concerti de diversi eccellentissimi autori*⁸⁶ raccolti da Francesco Lucino insieme a composizioni di Giulio Cesare Ardemanio e Benedetto Binago, entrambi attivi presso la collegiata di Santa Maria della Scala, Giovanni Domenico Rognoni, organista della corte regia ducale, e Fulgenzio Valesi. Sempre a Milano nel 1613 sarebbe uscito anche il suo volume di *Messe, motetti, Magnificat*,⁸⁷ con una dedica datata 1 novembre 1612.

I concerti di Ghizzolo inclusi nel *Parnassus* sono due: *Super flumina Babylonis* a tre voci e *Confitemini gentes* a quattro, entrambi corredati di partitura, ed entrambi inclusi anche nel *Terzo libro di mottetti* dello stesso autore,⁸⁸ pubblicato a Milano pochi mesi prima del *Parnassus*.⁸⁹ Mentre il mottetto *Confitemini gentes* si presenta sostanzialmente immu-

⁸¹ Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, 176.

⁸² Kremsmünster, Benediktinerstift, Musikarchiv, L 76, ff. 14–21 (partitura manoscritta ca 1620). RISM 600153518.

⁸³ Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, 203.

⁸⁴ Ghizzolo, *Concerti all’uso moderno*.

⁸⁵ Filippo Ferrari detto il Mondondone, alto; Aurelio Mazzani (*recte*: Mazzoni), Giovanni Battista Bonometti e Cristoforo Migliarino, tenori; Eleuterio Marliani, basso.

⁸⁶ Lucino, *Concerti*.

⁸⁷ Ghizzolo, *Messe*.

⁸⁸ Ghizzolo, *Il terzo libro delli concerti*.

⁸⁹ La dedica della raccolta individuale è datata 1 gennaio 1615, mentre quella apposta al *Parnassus* è datata 30 aprile.

tato nelle due raccolte, le due versioni di *Super flumina Babylonis* presentano numerose varianti, fra cui le battute iniziali della composizione (cfr. es. mus. 5).

Esempio musicale 5a

Giovanni Ghizzolo, *Super flumina Babylonis*, bb. 1–4

Example 5a shows the beginning of the piece. The vocal parts (C, T, B) and the Part. line are in common time (C). The lyrics are: Il - lic Il - lic Su - per flu - mi - na Ba - by - lo - nis.

Esempio musicale 5b

Giovanni Ghizzolo, *Super flumina Babylonis*, bb. 1–4 (da Ghizzolo, *Il terzo libro delli concerti* [Venezia: Alessandro Vincenti, 1623])

Example 5b shows the beginning of the piece. The vocal parts (C, T, B) and the Part. line are in common time (C). The lyrics are: Il - lic Il - lic Su - per flu - mi - na Ba - by - lo - nis.

La modifica più macroscopica consiste nella presenza di un'ampia sezione in tempo ternario a conclusione della versione inclusa nel *Parnassus*, del tutto assente in quella inclusa nella raccolta individuale (cfr. es. mus. 6). Considerando il tempo necessario per raccogliere i materiali per una miscellanea delle dimensioni del *Parnassus*, è probabile che la versione inclusa nella silloge collettiva fosse stata realizzata prima di quella confluita nella prima edizione della raccolta individuale. Quest'ultima, peraltro, ricompare sostanzialmente immutata nella seconda edizione riveduta dello stesso libro, pubblicata a Venezia nel 1623, il che dimostra che l'autore doveva preferirla a quella del *Parnassus*.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Ghizzolo, *Il terzo libro delli concerti*.

Esempio musicale 6b

Giovanni Ghizzolo, *Super flumina Babylonis*, bb. 35–42 (da Ghizzolo, *Il terzo libro delli concerti* [Venezia: Alessandro Vincenti, 1623])

35

C -ro Hie - ru - sa - lem in prin - ci - pi - o lae - ti - ti - ae, lae - ti -

T -ro Hie - ru - sa - lem lae - ti - ti - ae in prin - ci - pi - o lae -

B in prin - ci - pi - o lae - ti - ti - ae lae -

Part.

39

C ti - ae, lae - ti - ti - ae me - ae.

T ti - ae me - ae.

B ti - ae me - ae.

Part.

Nativo di Lodi, Giulio Osculati fu attivo presso la cappella reale polacca di Sigismondo III Vasa dal 1601 al 1614, quando fece ritorno nella sua città natale, dove nell'ottobre del 1614 rivestiva la carica di maestro di cappella della chiesa di Santa Maria Incoronata.⁹¹ Restano da chiarire i canali attraverso i quali egli dovette far pervenire a Giovanni Battista Bonometti, trasferitosi a Graz attorno al mese di luglio del 1614, il mottetto a quattro voci *Quid moraris* che troviamo incluso nel *Parnassus*.

Il reverendo Benedetto Re (o Regio), maestro di cappella del Duomo di Pavia, è meglio noto come maestro di contrappunto di Caterina Assandra, suora compositrice la cui fama superò quella del maestro. Nel 1609 Caterina aveva pubblicato a Milano una raccolta di mottetti a due e tre voci, al cui interno troviamo anche una canzone strumentale a otto ridotta a quattro voci e le litanie a sei voci del suo maestro.⁹² Di Benedetto Re nel *Parnassus* troviamo il mottetto a tre voci e continuo *Jubilate Deo*, ma sappiamo che questo compositore continuò a dedicarsi al genere del mottetto a poche voci, e che nel 1618 pubblicò a Venezia una stampa individuale di concerti da due a quattro voci.⁹³

Nel *Parnassus* trovano spazio anche alcuni compositori cremonesi, fra cui Nicolò Corradini, l'unico compositore menzionato solo per cognome nella tavola delle composizioni

⁹¹ Szweykowski, "Osculati, Giulio", 770.

⁹² Assandra, *Motetti a due e tre voci*.

⁹³ Re, *Sacrarum cantionum*.

della raccolta, rappresentato con il mottetto *Attende, Domine, ad me* per canto e organo.⁹⁴ Secondo Steven Saunders,⁹⁵ Corradini fu invitato per ben due volte a entrare al servizio di Ferdinando II in qualità di organista. La presenza di questa composizione nella raccolta dedicata a Ferdinando potrebbe essere legata al primo dei due inviti – mentre sappiamo che il secondo si colloca nel 1625, probabilmente in occasione della morte di Alessandro Bontempi. Come osserva Rodobaldo Tibaldi, questo mottetto presenta caratteristiche piuttosto tradizionali, nello stile di Viadana, con le parti del canto e del basso per l'organo che sembrano estrapolate da un mottetto a quattro voci, seppur di scrittura moderna. La scrittura a voce sola – con o senza strumenti – doveva essere particolarmente congeniale a Corradini, che ci ha lasciato complessivamente nove concerti a voce sola (di cui due con l'aggiunta di due strumenti e due con l'aggiunta di tre strumenti) nella sua raccolta individuale del 1624, e tre in altrettante antologie.

Di origini cremonesi era anche Galeazzo Sirena, organista nella chiesa di Sant'Agostino. Da una lettera di Claudio Monteverdi ad Alessandro Striggio del 1609 apprendiamo che il principe Francesco Gonzaga, intenzionato a reclutare Sirena a Mantova come organista, aveva chiesto informazioni sul suo conto a Claudio Monteverdi. Quest'ultimo, che conosceva bene il suo concittadino, ne tracciò un profilo esaustivo, ma nel contempo ambivalente, descrivendolo come un individuo dal carattere difficile, incline ad auto-elogiarsi e costretto dalle difficoltà economiche a dedicarsi alla professione di organista nonostante le sue scarse abilità tecniche alla tastiera. Sirena dichiarò a Monteverdi “che la mente sua non era d'andare a servire principe, ma che desiderava andare a stare a Milano per maestro di cappella nella Scala”, “come ben certi cantori milanesi gli avevano promesso di farle avere tal loco”,⁹⁶ dove si sarebbe certamente arricchito dedicandosi anche alle attività di maestro di musica, liutaio e cembalario, e dove dal 1608 vacava il posto di maestro di cappella in seguito alle dimissioni di Giovanni Battista Stefanini. Non possiamo escludere che fra i cantori milanesi in contatto con Sirena vi fosse anche Giovanni Battista Bonometti, che era attivo in Duomo dal 1608 e doveva essere ben introdotto negli ambienti musicali cittadini. A quell'epoca Sirena non aveva ancora pubblicato nessuna composizione; l'introduzione di un suo mottetto nel *Parnassus* dovette pertanto segnare l'esordio di una carriera – presumibilmente non brillantissima – che sarebbe culminata nel 1626 con la pubblicazione di un volume di messe a quattro e otto voci.⁹⁷

Fra i compositori inclusi nel *Parnassus*, Federico Coda è oggi probabilmente uno dei meno noti. Un suo mottetto compare all'interno di una miscellanea curata dal cantore pavese Lorenzo Calvi nel 1620.⁹⁸ Sappiamo inoltre che nel 1626, allorché un suo mottetto

⁹⁴ Oltre alla citata edizione della collana DTÖ, il mottetto è stato pubblicato in edizione critica in Corradini, *Motetti*, 109–112.

⁹⁵ Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 225.

⁹⁶ Monteverdi, *Lettere dediche e prefazioni*, 43–47; Monteverdi, *Lettere*, 26–30; citata e commentata in Torelli, *Benedetto Binago*, 77–79 e in Barbierato e Tibaldi, *MusiCremona*, 124, 152–156, 158–161.

⁹⁷ Sirena, *Misse Duae quaternis vocibus*.

⁹⁸ Calvi, *Symbolae Diversorum Musicorum*. A Lorenzo Calvi è dedicato un mottetto incluso nel secondo libro di *Concerti all'uso moderno* di Giovanni Ghizzolo (Milano, 1611). Cfr. Ghizzolo, *Concerti*.

fu incluso fra i *Flores prestantissimorum virorum* assemblati e pubblicati a Milano da Filippo Lomazzo,⁹⁹ Coda era attivo come maestro di cappella della cattedrale di Tortona, nello stato di Milano.¹⁰⁰

Conclusioni

Inizialmente concepito nel contesto dell'ambiente musicale milanese e lombardo, il volume assemblato da Bonometti, per varie vicissitudini legate al percorso biografico di questo musicista tanto intraprendente quanto ambizioso, finì per includere anche numerose composizioni dei più illustri musicisti della corte di Graz. Questi ultimi, con la sola eccezione di Georg Poss, provenivano a loro volta da ogni parte della penisola, ma si erano formati prevalentemente nell'area veneziana. Grazie alla sua peculiare gestazione e alla sua forma definitiva, la raccolta ci offre dunque un ricco spaccato della produzione mottettistica alla metà del secondo decennio del Seicento, in una fase in cui il genere del concerto a poche voci e basso continuo, mossi i suoi primi passi in area romana, iniziava il suo lungo percorso di diffusione nelle principali cappelle musicali italiane ed europee.

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⁹⁹ Lomazzo, *Flores praestantissimorum virorum*.

¹⁰⁰ "Federicus Cauda Musicae Praefectus in Ecclesia (sic) Cathedrali Civitatis Derthonae Status Mediolani".

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IZ MILANA V GRADEC
MILANSKI IN LOMBARDSKI SKLADATELJI V ZBIRKI *PARNASSUS*
MUSICUS FERDINANDAEUS

Povzetek

Tako zgodovinski kot tudi glasbeni pomen monumentalne zbirke motetov *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*, ki je izšla v Benetkah leta 1615 pri tiskarju Giacomu Vincentiju, pripravil in nadvojvodi Ferdinandu (pozneje cesar Svetega rimskega cesarstva Ferdinand II.) posvetil pa jo je Giovanni Battista Bonometti, sta bila že večkrat opredeljena.

Doslej najtemeljitejše delo o tej zbirki, ki vsebuje 55 motetov za enega do pet glasov in basso continuo 32 imenovanih in dveh neznanih skladateljev, je razprava Hellmuta Federhoferja, ki se v prvi vrsti posveča motetom skladateljev, povezanih z graškim dvorom, in o njih navaja številne prej neznane biografske podatke. Federhofer obravnava devet skladateljev (skoraj tretjino vseh prisotnih v omenjeni zbirki), ki so skupaj prispevali 21 motetov: Raimundo Ballestra (avtor 4 motetov), Alessandro Bontempo (1), Bartolomeo Mutis conte di Cesana (2), Georg Poss (2), Giovanni Priuli (4), Michelangelo Rizzio (2), Giovanni Sansoni (2), Alessandro Tadei (1) in Giovanni Valentini (5).

Vendar pa je število lombardskih (predvsem tistih, povezanih z Milanom) skladateljev v antologiji *Parnassus* še večje: 18 skladateljev, ki so bili aktivni v Lombardiji in so avtorji skupaj 28 motetov. Med njimi 12 Milančanov, oziroma tistih, ki so bili pomembneje povezani s tamkajšnjimi glasbenimi krogi (Arnone, Biumi, Borgo, Casati, Andrea Cima, Coda, Comanedo, Gabussi, Ghizzolo, Orazio Nantermi, Pellegrini in Domenico Rognoni); ti so skupaj prispevali 18 motetov. Štirje od teh – avtorji osmih motetov – so bili v času izida antologije *Parnassus* aktivni v kapeli milanske katedrale. V kapeli, ki jo je do leta 1612 vodil Giulio Cesare Gabussi, je delal tudi urednik obravnavane antologije Giovanni Battista Bonometti in od leta 1623 je bil tamkajšnji organist Giacomo Filippo Biumi. V zbirki *Parnassus* so bili torej lombardski skladatelji odgovorni za več kot polovico objavljenih skladb in milanska glasbena kapela je bila v tem smislu pomembnejša od kapele uglednega naslovnika posvetila. V luči najnovejših raziskav o motetu zgodnjega 17. stoletja v Milanu in okolici so v tem prispevku ovrednoteni moteti lombardskih glasbenih krogov, objavljeni leta 1615 v zbirki *Parnassus*.

Razpravo uvaja kratek pregled zgodovinskega, kulturnega in glasbenega ozadja, nato se avtorica posveča milanskim skladateljem in dopolni njihove biografije s podatki nekaterih doslej še neobjavljenih dokumentov ter na koncu označi glavne skladateljske značilnosti motetov milanskih avtorjev in jih primerja s skladatelji kroga graške dvorne kapele.

PARALLELVERTONUNGEN IN GIOVANNI BATTISTA BONOMETTIS SAMMLUNG *PARNASSUS MUSICUS* *FERDINANDAEUS*

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Izvilleček: Zbirka *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaicus* odlikava nabor repertoarja malih motetov v severni Italiji in habsburških deželah okoli leta 1615. Primerjava treh parov skladb na enaka besedila, ki so jih prispevali Gabussi in Priuli, Pellegrini in Valentini ter Nantermi in Monteverdi, razkriva nenavadno bogastvo različnih skladateljskih pristopov.

Ključne besede: Giulio Cesare Gabussi, Claudio Monteverdi, Orazio Nantermi, *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaicus*, Vincenzo Pellegrini, Giovanni Priuli, Giovanni Valentini.

Abstract: The collection *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaicus* constitutes a snapshot of the small-scale motet repertoire in northern Italy and the Habsburg lands around 1615. A comparison of three pairs of compositions on the same text respectively by Gabussi and Priuli, Pellegrini and Valentini, and Nantermi and Monteverdi reveals an unusual variety of compositional approaches.

Keywords: Giulio Cesare Gabussi, Claudio Monteverdi, Orazio Nantermi, *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaicus*, Vincenzo Pellegrini, Giovanni Priuli, Giovanni Valentini.

Obwohl seit der Drucklegung von Lodovico Viadanas *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* für ein bis vier Singstimmen und Basso continuo op. 12 im Jahre 1602 in Italien in rascher Folge eine größere Zahl an Einzeldrucken mit Werken eines einzelnen Komponisten mit einstimmigen bzw. geringstimmig besetzten Motetten sowie einer instrumentalen Basstimme erschien, blieb in diesen ersten Jahren die Veröffentlichung von Sammeldrucken mit Beiträgen unterschiedlicher Autoren zu diesem neuen Repertoire zunächst eher noch eine Seltenheit. Den Anfang machten zwei in Mailand erschienene Sammlungen, die mehrfach nachgedruckten *Concerti de diversi excell. autori, a due, tre, et quattro voci* aus dem Jahre 1608,¹ die von Francesco Lucino herausgegeben wurden und 40 Kompositionen von 11 in Mailand tätigen Komponisten enthielten (RISM 1608¹³), sowie als Ergänzung die 1612 erschienene *Aggiunta nuova delli concerti de diversi excell. autori*, die diesmal von Filippo Lomazzo, dem Drucker beider Sammlungen, zusammengestellt wurde und insgesamt 14 Stücke von 5 Mailänder Komponisten aufwies (RISM 1612⁹); einige Jahre später folgte dann 1617 sogar noch eine *Seconda aggiunta alli concerti raccolti dal molto*

¹ Nachdrucke erschienen 1612⁸ und 1616⁹ ebenfalls in Mailand.

Reverendo Don Francesco Lucino, ebenfalls für zwei bis vier Stimmen (RISM 1617²). Als chronologisch gesehen dritter Sammeldruck mit geringstimmigem Motettenrepertoire erschien dann 1615 in Venedig der *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus* mit 57 Werken von 32 namentlich aufgeführten Komponisten (zwei der Stücke sind ohne Nennung eines Komponisten aufgenommen), der bereits im Titel auf den Widmungsträger Erzherzog Ferdinand von Innerösterreich verweist, den späteren Kaiser Ferdinand II., und damit auch auf seine von Italienern dominierte Grazer Hofkapelle.²

In den folgenden Jahren erblickten mehrere weitere Sammeldrucke mit geringstimmigen Motetten das Licht der Öffentlichkeit: 21 römische Komponisten mit 27 Werken stellte Fabio Costantini in den *Selectae cantiones excellentissimum auctorum* von 1616 (RISM 1616¹) zusammen, Giovanni Battista Robletti folgte 1621 mit der 14 Stücke von 10 gleichfalls römischen Komponisten umfassenden *Raccolta de varii concerti musicali a una e due voci. De diversi eccellentissimi autori* (RISM 1621¹⁶) und im gleichen Jahr nochmals mit den *Lilia campi* für zwei bis vier Stimmen (RISM 1621³) von 13 römischen Komponisten. Musiker aus dem Umfeld der Mantuaner Hofkapelle vereinigte dagegen die von Federico Malgarini herausgegebene Sammlung *Motetti a una, due, tre et quattro voci* aus dem Jahre 1618 (RISM 1618⁴),³ während Komponisten aus Venedig und dem nordöstlichen Italien im Vordergrund von Lorenzo Calvis *Symbolae diversorum musicorum* für zwei bis fünf Stimmen von 1620 (RISM 1620²) und seiner *Seconda raccolta de' sacri canti* für zwei bis vier Stimmen standen (RISM 1624²).

Gegenüber diesen, primär auf ein bestimmtes lokales oder regionales Zentrum bezogenen Sammlungen enthielten die beiden umfangreichen, von Georg Victorinus in München herausgegebenen Drucke *Siren coelestis* (RISM 1616², Nachdruck 1623³) und *Philomela coelestis* (RISM 1624¹), in denen insgesamt 200 Kompositionen von zahlreichen deutschen und italienischen Komponisten aus unterschiedlichen Kontexten nebeneinander stehen,⁴ ein Repertoire weit heterogenerer Herkunft. Dies gilt ebenso für die drei noch weitaus umfangreicheren, von Johann Donfried in Straßburg herausgegebenen Sammlungen *Promptuarii musici concentus ecclesiasticos* (RISM 1622², 1623² und 1627¹) zu zwei bis vier Stimmen, die insgesamt die erstaunliche Zahl von 892 Kompositionen aus der Feder von 127 verschiedenen Komponisten enthalten.⁵

Auch wenn Bonomettis *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus* mit 57 Motetten von 32 Komponisten weit weniger monumental ausfällt als die zuletzt erwähnten Sammlungen von Victorinus und Donfried, so handelt es sich doch um ein Werk, das besondere Beachtung verdient, kann es doch aus einer Reihe von Gründen als eine frühe, schlaglichtartige Momentaufnahme des rasch sich wandelnden geringstimmig besetzten lateinischen

² Unlängst erschien eine vollständige Edition der Sammlung, auf die sich auch die folgenden Ausführungen beziehen in Antonicek, *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*.

³ Eine moderne Edition der Sammlung wurde kürzlich von Licia Mari herausgegeben, vgl. Mari, *Motetti*.

⁴ Vgl. Fisher, „Celestial Sirens and Nightingales“.

⁵ Vgl. hierzu *ibid.*, Absatz 2.4.

Motettenrepertoires in Norditalien und benachbarten Regionen zur Zeit seines Erscheinens 1615 angesehen werden:

Anders als bei Donfried und Victorinus, die bei ihren Kompilationen auf Stücke aus zahlreichen früheren Drucken zurückgriffen, scheint es sich bei den Kompositionen in Bonomettis Sammlung weitestgehend um Erstveröffentlichungen zu handeln,⁶ die auf Grund der erst wenige Jahr zuvor neu entstandenen musikalischen Faktur zudem neueren oder neuesten Entstehungsdatums gewesen sein müssen. Selbst im Falle des Duett für zwei Altstimmen *O Crux benedicta*, der einzigen aufgenommenen Komposition des bereits 1611 verstorbenen Giulio Cesare Gabussi, muss es sich auf Grund der Besetzung um ein spätes Werk des langjährigen Mailänder Domkapellmeisters gehandelt haben,⁷ alle anderen in der Sammlung vertretenen Komponisten lebten wohl zum Zeitpunkt der Veröffentlichung noch. Der *Parnassus* enthält Stücke für eine bis zu fünf Stimmen und Basso continuo, doch sogar das einzige Stück für eine anscheinend traditionell fünfstimmige Besetzung (CCATB), Vincenzo Pellegrini's *Non turbetur cor vestrum* am Ende des Bandes, wird durch ein die gesamte erste Sektion umfassendes Tenorsolo eröffnet (Takte 1–14), bevor der erste vollstimmige Abschnitt mit Wechsel zum tempus perfectum anschließt, und auch im weiteren Verlauf alternieren ein- und zweistimmige Abschnitte mit Tutti passages. Insofern kann das Stück keinesfalls mehr als eine polyphone Motette alter Faktur verstanden werden, sondern vielmehr als moderner *motetto concertato* mit unterschiedlich besetzten Abschnitten.⁸ Den weitaus größten Teil der Sammlung machen gegenüber dieser vereinzelt fünfstimmigen Vertonung 8 Solostücke für Sopran, Alt, Tenor und Bass sowie 23 Duette, 10 Trios und 15 Quartette für vielfältige vokale, vereinzelt auch vokal-instrumentale Besetzungen aus.

Die im *Parnassus* vertretenen Komponisten gehören vom Lebensalter her mehreren Generationen an, die ältesten unter ihnen wie Orazio Nantermi, Gabussi und Giovanni Cavaccio wurden bereits in den 1550er Jahre geboren (Cavaccio war bei Drucklegung des *Parnassus* fast 60 Jahre alt), zu den jüngsten zählte dagegen Francesco Turini, der wohl 1589 in Prag zur Welt kam und somit zum Zeitpunkt der Veröffentlichung kaum älter als 25 Jahre war. Auf Grund der unterschiedlichen Generationenzugehörigkeit dürften auch die kompositorische Ausbildung sowie die Erfahrungen im jeweiligen musikalischen Umfeld im Einzelfall recht unterschiedlich gewesen sein, nicht zuletzt vor dem Hintergrund des tiefgreifenden musikalischen Wandels, der sich in den letzten Jahrzehnten des 16. Jahrhunderts vollzog und gleichermaßen strukturelle wie expressive kompositorische Mittel betraf, so etwa die Fundierung des Satzes auf einer fortlaufenden instrumentalen Bassstimme, das dadurch geänderte Verhältnis der Stimmen im Satz zueinander, Dialog- und Concertato-Techniken⁹ und damit zusammenhängende gezielt kontrastierende Abschnittsbildungen,

⁶ Fünf der hier versammelten Stücke finden sich auch im Manuskript L 76 aus Kremsmünster, allerdings ist die Vermutung von Rudolf Flotzinger, Druck wie Manuskript könnten sich gleichermaßen auf ältere Quellen zurückbeziehen, bislang bloße Spekulation, da keine konkreten Quellen hierfür bekannt sind; vgl. hierzu das Vorwort zur Neuausgabe des *Parnassus*. Antonicek, *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandeus*, XIV.

⁷ Eine frühere Veröffentlichung ist nicht nachweisbar.

⁸ Antonicek, *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandeus*, 282–291.

⁹ Zwei Kompositionen der Sammlung sind gezielt als Dialoge angelegt, Giacomo Brignolis

unterschiedliche Versuche zur musikalisch-formalen Vereinheitlichung¹⁰ sowie vielfältige deklamatorische und harmonisch-expressive Experimente.

Den dritten wichtigen Aspekt der Sammlung bildet schließlich die breite geographische Streuung der darin vertretenen Komponisten, nicht nur was deren jeweilige Anstellungen um das Jahr 1615 angeht, sondern auch die z.T. vielfältigen Verbindungen zu anderen musikalischen Institutionen und Zentren. Neben dem Kompilator der Sammlung, dem 1613 vom Mailänder Dom nach Graz gekommenen Tenoristen Giovanni Battista Bonometti, der offenbar keine eigene Komposition beisteuerte,¹¹ sind insgesamt neun weitere von den Grazer Hofkapellisten und –instrumentisten im Dienste Erzherzog Ferdinands in der Sammlung vertreten: Neben Kapellmeister Giovanni Priuli auch die drei Organisten Giovanni Valentini, Alessandro Bontempo und Alessandro Tadei, die Sänger Michel Angelo Rizzio und Bartolomeo de Mutis, Graf von Cesana, sowie die drei Instrumentalisten Georg Poss, Raimundo Ballestra und Giovanni Sansoni. Federhofer vermutet, dass zudem der in Litauen tätige Giovanni Battista Cocciola ein Verwandter des Grazer Sopranisten Giovanni Andrea Cocciola gewesen sein könnte,¹² der somit vielleicht zumindest indirekt ebenfalls mit der Grazer Hofkapelle in Verbindung stand.

Von gleicher Größe und Bedeutung für die Sammlung ist die Zahl in Mailand tätiger Komponisten: Neben dem früheren Domkapellmeister Gabussi und seinem seit Anfang 1613 amtierenden Nachfolger Vincenzo Pellegrini (zwei Stücke von ihm eröffnen und beschließen die Sammlung), den beiden Domorganisten Cesare Borgo und Guglielmo Arnone, einem Schüler Claudio Merulos, sowie dem gleichfalls am Dom angestellten Tenoristen Flaminio Comanedo sind fünf weitere, an verschiedenen anderen Mailänder Kirchen tätige Organisten und Komponisten im *Parnassus* vertreten: Giacomo Filippo Biumi, Francesco Casati, Andrea Cima, Orazio Nantermi sowie Giovanni Domenico Rognoni-Taeggio. In den Mailänder Umkreis gehört zudem der Franziskanermönch Giovanni Ghizzolo, der dort einen Großteil seiner früheren Werke veröffentlichte; allerdings stand er in den Jahren 1613–1615 als Kapellmeister in Diensten des Prinzen von Correggio und war insofern vermutlich nicht mehr unmittelbar in Mailand tätig. In der Lombardei und damit politisch gesehen im direkten Mailänder Einflussbereich wirkten darüber hinaus Galeazzo Sirena und Niccolò Corradini, die als Kapellmeister bzw. Organist an der Kathedrale in Cremona tätig waren, Giulio Osculati, Kapellmeister an der Chiesa dell’Incoronata in Lodi, sowie Benedetto Re, Domorganist in Pavia.

Vergleichsweise gering fällt dagegen auf den ersten Blick die Präsenz von venezianischen Komponisten im *Parnassus* aus: Neben dem erst seit kurzem ernannten Markuskapellmeister Claudio Monteverdi sind hier zunächst nur noch der in jenen Jahren offenbar ohne feste Anstellung in Venedig tätige Bartolomeo Barbarino sowie Francesco

dreistimmiges *Ave, gratia plena* (ibid., 139–144) sowie Giovanni Valentinis *O Maria quid ploras ad monumentum* (ibid., 27–33).

¹⁰ So ist besitzt etwa Raimundo Ballestras vierstimmige Motette *Salve aeterni* durch instrumentale Ritornelle eine sehr klare Architektur und verwendet zudem passagenweise das Ruggieromodell bzw. Varianten davon, in der Edition des *Parnassus*. Ibid., 250–258.

¹¹ Es sei denn, Bonometti habe seine Identität selbst gezielt hinter der Anonymität zweier Stücke in der Sammlung verborgen.

¹² Federhofer, *Musikpflege*, 159.

Turini zu nennen, der sich nach seiner Rückkehr nach Italien 1612 vermutlich zunächst nach Padua und Venedig gewandt hatte. Monteverdi ist mit einem Duett, Barbarino und Turini sind ebenfalls jeweils nur einmal mit einer einstimmigen Motette vertreten. Allerdings ist zu bedenken, dass mehrere Komponisten der Grazer Kapelle ebenfalls einen eindeutig venezianischen Hintergrund hatten – insbesondere Giovanni Priuli, der mehrere Jahre selbst an San Marco gewirkt hatte, Giovanni Valentini, der in der Lagunenstadt seine Ausbildung erhalten hatte, und vermutlich auch Giovanni Sansoni.¹³ Erzherzog Ferdinand hatte zudem den jungen Alessandro Tadei für zweieinhalb Jahre zu Giovanni Gabrieli und auch Georg Poss für drei Jahre zur Ausbildung nach Venedig geschickt, vielleicht ebenso Raimundo Ballestra.¹⁴ Bereits dies legt den Schluss nahe, dass gerade venezianische Musikkultur von größter Bedeutung für die musikalische und kompositorische Praxis am Grazer Hof gewesen sein dürfte.¹⁵

Bedeutsam ist darüber hinaus, dass mehrere der in der Sammlung vertretenen Komponisten selbst an anderen habsburgischen oder an eng mit den Habsburgern verbündeten Höfen gearbeitet hatten: Francesco Turini war am Kaiserhof Rudolfs II. in Prag aufgewachsen und von diesem zur weiteren musikalischen Ausbildung nach Rom und Venedig geschickt worden. Giulio Cesare Gabussi wie auch Giulio Osculati und Giovanni Valentini waren Mitglied der Hofkapelle des polnischen Königs Zygmunt III. in Warschau gewesen, die beiden letztgenannten sogar für mehrere Jahre;¹⁶ Giovanni Battista Cocciola stand dagegen als Musikdirektor in Diensten des seit 1609 eng mit dem polnischen König verbündeten litauischen Kanzlers und Magnaten Lew Sapieha.¹⁷

Mit zahlreichen Höfen in ganz Europa besaßen die Habsburger enge dynastische Verbindungen, insofern waren auch der Wechsel von Musikern zwischen den Kapellen bzw. Kontakte zwischen Musikern unterschiedlicher Kapellen keine Seltenheit, so kam etwa Valentini direkt von einer Anstellung in Polen nach Graz. Um nur wenige Beispiele für jene vielfältigen dynastischen Verflechtungen aus dem unmittelbaren Umfeld von Erzherzog Ferdinand zu nennen: Ferdinand selbst war zur Zeit des Erscheinens des *Parnassus* mit der Wittelsbacher Prinzessin Anna Maria von Bayern verheiratet, Ferdinands Schwestern Anna und später dann auch die 15 Jahre jüngere Konstanze wurden durch Heirat mit Zymund III. polnische Königinnen, seine Schwester Margarethe hatte 1599 König Philipp III. von Spanien geheiratet und eine weitere Schwester Ferdinands, Maria Magdalena von Österreich, war seit 1608 mit dem Großherzog der Toskana vermählt und fungierte nach dem Tod Cosimos II. dort für mehrere Jahre als Regentin. Über diese engen

¹³ Ibid., 209; vgl. zu Sansoni auch der Beitrag von Herbert Seifert in diesem Band.

¹⁴ Federhofer, *Musikpflege*, 217, 195 und 145.

¹⁵ Ob die drei weiteren in der Sammlung namentlich genannten Komponisten ebenfalls den hier beschriebenen regionalen Kontexten zuzurechnen sein könnten, ist bislang ungeklärt: Über den mit einem Duett und einem Quartett repräsentierten Federico Coda sowie über Giovanni Pasti (wohl kaum identisch mit dem erst 1604 geborenen Giovanni Pasta) ist über die im *Parnassus* abgedruckten Stücke hinaus nichts bekannt. Von Giacomo Brignoli lassen sich zumindest zwei weitere Instrumentalstücke im Straßburger *Tabulatur Buch* (RISM 1607²⁹) nachweisen, doch sind auch über ihn ansonsten keinerlei biografische Daten verfügbar.

¹⁶ Vgl. hierzu den Beitrag von Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarminska in diesem Band.

¹⁷ Vgl. hierzu den Beitrag von Aleksandra Patalas in diesem Band.

verwandtschaftlichen und damit zugleich politischen Bande hinaus sind zweifelsohne auch vielfältige kulturelle Kontakte und Austauschprozesse anzunehmen, auch wenn diese nur partiell etwa durch Briefe, Reisen, Widmungen von Drucken oder auch den dokumentierten Austausch von Musikern heute dokumentierbar sind. Zur unmittelbaren habsburgischen Sphäre gehörten über den spanischen Zweig der Familie auf italienischem Gebiet neben Neapel und Sizilien auch Mailand und die Lombardei, so dass die Sammlung des *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus* nicht zuletzt auch als Manifestation jenes vielfältigen und komplexen, europaweiten politisch-kulturellen Netzwerks der Habsburger mit dem späteren Kaisers Ferdinand II. im Zentrum verstanden werden kann.

Um vor diesem Hintergrund das kompositorische Spektrum und den Stellenwert der Sammlung für die Entwicklung des noch relativ jungen Repertoires geringstimmig besetzter Motetten einordnen zu können, sollen im Folgenden exemplarisch jene Kompositionen aus dem *Parnassus* untersucht werden, denen der gleiche Text zugrundegelegt wurde, da dadurch ein direkter Vergleich kompositorischer Entscheidungen und Strategien verschiedener Komponisten im Umgang mit einer bestimmten Textvorlage ermöglicht wird. Es gibt insgesamt drei Texte, die innerhalb der Sammlung in zwei musikalischen Umsetzungen vorliegen, es sind dies *O crux benedicta* in einer zweistimmigen Fassung von Giulio Cesare Gabussi und einer vierstimmigen Version von Giovanni Priuli, *Vulnerasti cor meum* in einer zweistimmigen Vertonung von Vincenzo Pellegrini sowie einer dreistimmigen Umsetzung von Giovanni Valentini und schließlich *Cantate Domino* in einer vierstimmigen Fassung von Orazio Nantermi sowie einer zweistimmigen von Claudio Monteverdi. In jedem Fall der drei von der Art der Textvorlagen her sehr unterschiedlichen Parallelvertonungen sind von den Komponisten unterschiedlich große Besetzungen mit verschiedenen Stimmlagen gewählt, zudem ergibt sich vermutlich eher zufällig auch jeweils ein Vergleich zwischen einer Vertonung aus Mailand und einer aus Venedig bzw. Graz, so dass auch eventuell vorhandene lokal bzw. regional unterschiedliche stilistische Ansätze zum Zeitpunkt der Veröffentlichung des Bandes im direkten Vergleich hervortreten könnten.

***O crux benedicta* in Vertonungen von Giulio Cesare Gabussi und Giovanni Priuli**

Der Text von *O crux benedicta* ist aus mehreren Textvorlagen zusammengestellt, einer Antiphon für die Vesper am Fest der Sieben Schmerzen Mariens (Festum Septem Dolorum B. M. V. in Vesperis)¹⁸ sowie dem *Alleluja* am Fest der Auffindung und Erhöhung des Heiligen Kreuzes (Festum Inventionem Sanctae Crucis in I. Vesperis).¹⁹ Die Worte „Dulce lignum, dulce claves“ verweisen zudem auf den zweiten Refrainabschnitt, der

¹⁸ Im heutigen liturgischen Kalender am 15. September, jahrhundertlang aber am Freitag vor dem Passionssonntag; der Text der Antiphon lautet: „O crux benedicta! quae sola fuisti digna portare Regem caelorum et Dominum. Alleluja“ (*Liber Usualis*, 1631f).

¹⁹ Im heutigen liturgischen Kalender am 14. September; der Text des Alleluja lautet: „Alleluja. Dulce lignum, dulces clavos / Dulcia ferens pondera / Quae sola fuistis digna sustinere / Regem coelorum et Dominum“.

am Karfreitag in den Improperien zwischen den Strophen des Kreuzhymnus *Pange lingua gloriosi* gesungen wird und auf die achte Strophe der frühesten Version dieses Hymnus bei Venantius Fortunatus zurückgeht.²⁰ Die mit geringfügigen Varianten in beiden Versionen im *Parnassus* zugrunde gelegte Textkompilation ist schon mehrfach zuvor in mehrstimmigen Vertonungen nachweisbar, weitgehend übereinstimmend vor allem bei Cipriano de Rore;²¹ mehrere, z.T. eng verwandte Textvarianten mit verkürztem Text oder dem Textanfang „O crux splendidior“ finden sich u.a. bei Andrea Gabrieli,²² Orlando di Lasso,²³ Claudio Merulo,²⁴ Luca Marenzio²⁵ und Carlo Gesualdo,²⁶ die letzten vier Textzeilen wurden auch von Stefano Bernardi vertont.²⁷ Hier der Text im Wortlaut, wie er sich bei Priuli und Gabussi findet:

O crux benedicta
quae sola fuisti digna portare talentum mundi.
Dulce lignum, dulces clavos, dulcia ferens pondera,
super omnia ligna cedrorum, tu sola excelsior,
in qua vita mundi salus pependit,
in qua Christus triumphavit,
et mors mortem superavit in aeternum.

O gesegnetes Kreuz,
du allein bist würdig gewesen, das Gewicht der Welt zu tragen.
Süßes Holz, süße Nägel, ihr tragt süße Last.
Über alle Zedernhölzer bist du allein erhaben.
An dir hat gehangen das Leben der Welt,
an dir hat Christus triumphiert,
und der Tod den Tod überwunden in Ewigkeit.

Gabussi wählte für seine Vertonung eine Besetzung für zwei Altstimmen in C3-Schlüsselung mit instrumentalem Generalbass.²⁸ Auf sehr geschickte Art und Weise adaptiert er darin ältere polyphone Kompositionstechniken an die Erfordernisse der gewählten geringstimmigen Besetzung. Über weite Strecken ist der Satz nicht als ein moderner Triosatz gedacht, worin der Basso für die beiden Oberstimmen primär ein harmonisches Gerüst bildet, sondern ganz kontrapunktisch mit dem Basso als zweiter bzw. dritter gleichberechtigter Stimme neben den Vokalstimmen. Schon beim eröffnenden Abschnitt „O crux benedicta“ (Takte 1–15), bei dem die beiden Altstimmen im Wechsel zweimal bis auf die Schlussnote exakt die gleiche Melodie mit einem ersten ausgedehnten Melisma auf der ersten Silbe von „benedicta“ singen, wird dies deutlich. Die Continuostimme verläuft gemäß den Regeln des klassischen Kontrapunkts bis auf eine einzige Stelle immer in Gegenbewegung zu den Singstimmen, dabei umfasst in beiden Textdurchgängen der Basso jeweils sechs Noten. Dies entspricht exakt der Anzahl der vertonten Textsilben, und in der Tat ließe sich prinzipiell der Bassstimme, so wie sie notiert ist, zweimal der Text unterlegen und es

²⁰ Dort heißt die entsprechende Passage: „Cruce fidelis, inter omnes arbor una nobilis, / Nulla talem silva profert flore, fronde, germine, / Dulce lignum dulce clavo dulce pondus sustinens.“

²¹ Für eine tiefe vierstimmige Besetzung TTTB in den *Motetta D. Cipriani de Rore et aliorum auctorum quatuor vocum parium*, erschienen 1563 bei G. Scotto in Venedig.

²² Version zu acht Stimmen in den *Concerti di Andrea et di Gio. Gabrieli, libro primo* (Venedig, 1587).

²³ Version zu sechs Stimmen in Lassos *Selectissimae cantiones* (Nürnberg, 1568).

²⁴ Version zu fünf Stimmen in Merulos *Liber secundus sacrarum cantionum* (Venedig, 1578).

²⁵ Version zu vier Stimmen in Marenzios *Liber motectorum pro festis totius anni* (Rom, 1585).

²⁶ Version zu fünf Stimmen in Gesualdos *Sacrarum Cantionum Liber Primus* (Neapel, 1603).

²⁷ Veröffentlicht in dessen *Motetti in Cantilena a quattro voci* 1613 in Venedig.

²⁸ Antonicek, *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*, 98–101.

entstünde damit prinzipiell eine sinnvoll singbare dritte Stimme; eleganter wäre es noch, die dritte und vierte Note im Basso als kleines Melisma der ersten Silbe von „benedicta“ zuzuordnen und dafür im Gegenzug das *c* als Abschluss der ersten Kadenz in Takt 9 in zwei halbe Noten aufzuspalten. Anders als in vielen anderen zeitgenössischen Duetten, bei denen meist bei einer wörtlichen Wiederholung der Vokalstimme auch der Basso gleich erklingt, ist hier die Continuostimme im zweiten Durchgang anfangs abgeändert, was zunächst auch eine leicht veränderte Harmonisierung mit sich führt. Dies hängt vor allem damit zusammen, dass der Alto secondo bereits vor Abschluss des ersten Durchgangs auf der vorletzten Textsilbe und damit noch innerhalb der Kadenzwendung einsetzt. Während Alto primo mit einer Tenorklausel und der Basso mit einer Bassklausel die Phrase mit einer gemeinsamen Kadenz nach *C* abschließen, führt der melodische Terzfall der Mittelstimme zur Terz dieses *C*-Dur-Klangs und verringert dadurch den Grad der abschließenden Wirkung der beiden Klauseln in den anderen Stimmen – ein seit Jahrhunderten gebräuchliches Verfahren zur Vermeidung perfekter Schlüsse und zur Gewährleistung eines kontinuierlich fließenden polyphonen Satzes. Es ist auffällig, dass die einzige melodische Änderung beim zweiten Textdurchgang darin besteht, dass der Alto secondo am Ende nicht wie der Alto primo mit einer Tenorklausel zum Akkordgrundton *c*

Beispiel 1

Giulio Cesare Gabussi, *O crux benedicta*

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with three staves: Alto 1 (A1), Alto 2 (A2), and Bass (bc). The lyrics are in Latin and are distributed across the staves as follows:

System 1:

- A1: O crux be - ne - di - cta
- A2: O crux be -
- bc: [O crux be - ne - di - cta o crux

System 2 (starting at measure 5):

- A1: quae so - la fu - i - sti
- A2: ne - di - cta
- bc: be - ne - di - cta quae so - la fu - i -

System 3 (starting at measure 10):

- A1: di - gna
- A2: quae so - la fu - i - sti di - gna por - ta -
- bc: - sti di - gna, quae so - la fu - i - sti di - gna por - ta]

absteigt, sondern zur Terz *e* ausweicht, so dass auch an dieser Stelle nun auf andere Weise die Schlusswirkung abgeschwächt und der Satz zur nachfolgenden Passage hin geöffnet wird. Die erste Stimme setzt nun allerdings erst nach Erreichen des Schlussakkords und damit nicht wie zuvor überlappend mit dem zweiten Soggetto ein.

Der am Beispiel des Eröffnungsabschnitts gemachte Befund bestätigt sich auch im weiteren Verlauf der Komposition: Gabussis Bassstimme ist vielfach homorhythmisch mit einer der vokalen Stimmen geführt und könnte insofern über weite Strecken recht problemlos mit dem vertonten Text unterlegt werden, nur bei überlappenden Einsätzen müssten gelegentlich – ähnlich wie für den Anfangsabschnitt dargelegt – Unterteilungen von Notenwerten vorgenommen werden. Der Basso continuo ist insofern von der Faktur des Satzes her nicht als Instrumentalstimme konzipiert, sondern nimmt eigentlich den Platz einer dritten Vokalstimme (ohne Text) ein, die sich im Grunde nur durch ein geringeres Maß an Melismen von den beiden vokalen Altstimmen unterscheidet. Die primär kontrapunktisch angelegte Stimmführung in den drei Stimmen zeigt sich auch im Folgenden u.a. an der häufigen Verwendung von Klauseln in der Melodiebildung, mehrfach sogar in direkter Aneinanderreihung. So vollziehen etwa in den Takten 30–33 der zweite Alt mit einer Diskantklausel und der Basso mit einer Tenorklausel eine Kadenzwendung nach *d*, die dann aber durch den nachfolgenden Quintfall im Basso nach *g* umgedeutet wird, während die Altstimme, nun gleichsam als *clausula altizans* zu verstehen, auf *d* liegenbleibt. Gleich drei Klauselwendungen hintereinander finden sich in den Takten 81–84 im Alto primo und im Basso: Zunächst eine phrygische Wendung nach *e* mit Diskantklausel im Basso und Tenorklausel im Alto (auf den Worten „mors mortem“ sicher keine zufällige Bezugnahme auf die althergebrachte Verwendung des phrygischen Modus auf *e* im Zusammenhang mit Klage und Tod). Es schließt sich ein Quintfall im Basso als Bassklausel an, während der Alto mit einer Altklausel auf *e* verharret, und dann folgt im Basso als weitere Bassklausel noch ein Quartsprung nach *d*, während gleichzeitig der Alto mit einer Tenorklausel ebenfalls nach *d* einen Ganzton abwärts geführt wird. De facto entsteht durch die Aneinanderreihung von althergebrachten Klauseln in den beiden Stimmen harmonisch eine durchaus moderne Quintfallsequenz e-Moll / a-Moll / d-Moll, die anschließend vermittelt durch einen weiteren e-Moll-Klang dann in zwei ebenfalls unmittelbar aufeinanderfolgende, nun harmonisch ganz modern gedachte IV–V–I-Kadenzwendungen modern gesprochen zur Tonika des Satzes einmündet (C-Dur / D-Dur / G-Dur, Takte 85–87); doch sorgt ein neuer Einsatz im Alto primo bei Erreichen des Schlussakkords auf dem Grundton dafür, dass selbst damit keine vollständige Schlusswirkung entsteht. In ähnlicher Weise ergibt sich eine Quintfallsequenz noch einmal kurz vor Ende der Komposition in den Takten 94–96, wobei im Basso wiederum nacheinander zwei Bassklauseln und im Alto secondo Diskant- sowie Altklausel eingesetzt werden. Allerdings sorgt nun der vorgezogene Einsatz des Alto primo innerhalb der ersten Kadenzwendung mit Gang abwärts zur Terz des G-Dur-Klangs dafür, dass auch die anschließende Wendung nach C-Dur trotz Verwendung einer Diskantklausel in der Oberstimme als dritter paralleler Klausel keine abschließende Wirkung, ja nicht einmal ein Innehalten erzeugt, da der Satz unmittelbar weitergeführt wird. Es ist nach diesen Beispielen sicherlich kaum ein Zufall, dass einzig und allein ganz am Ende der Komposition alle drei Stimmen gemeinsam eine perfekte Kadenz bilden mit Quintfallklausel im Basso und Tenorklausel bzw. Diskantklausel in

den beiden Vokalstimmen, so dass alle drei Stimmen in unterschiedlichen Oktavlagen auf dem Finalton *g* enden.

Wenn auch die Stimmführung und die Kadenzwendungen überwiegend älteren musikalischen Denkformen entsprechen und auf ein weitgehend kontinuierliches Fließen des Satzes ohne klare Zäsuren abzielen, so weist Gabussis Vertonung doch auch eine Reihe von modernen Elementen auf. Dies beginnt bei den z.T. ausgedehnteren melismatischen Passagen, die auf einzelnen hervorgehobenen Worten platziert sind – in Achtelbewegung mit teilweisen Punktierungen auf der ersten Silbe von „benedicta“ (Takte 3 und 6) sowie auf den betonten Silben von „pependit“ (Takte 65–66 und 72–73), „triumphavit“ (Takte 77–79) und „aeternum“ (Takte 89, 93 und 97), in Sechzehntelbewegung zudem auf den betonten Silben von „pondera“ (Takt 42), „ligna“ (Takte 44 und 47) sowie „excelsior“ (Takt 60). Modern wirken auch vereinzelt Passagen wie die Terzparallelen zwischen Singstimme und Basso bei „triumphavit“ (Takte 76–78) oder gelegentliche Ketten von Synkopierungen mit Vorhaltbildungen. Diese gehen allerdings niemals über das von der zeitgenössischen Theorie – etwa bei Zarlino – Erlaubte hinaus und werden fast immer den Stimmführungsregeln entsprechend aufgelöst, so etwa die Nonen- und Septimvorhalte bei „talentum“ (Takt 30), die zur Oktave bzw. zur großen Sexte weitergeführt werden, oder auch bei „tu sola excelsior“ (Takte 50–54), wo zunächst aufsteigend und dann absteigend Sextvorhalte eingeführt und meist zur Quinte aufgelöst werden, allein im vorletzten Takt der Passage wird die Sexte noch einmal unmittelbar vor der Kadenzwendung zur Septime verschärft. Harmonisch durchaus modern wirken auch die zweimalige Quintfallsequenz (F – C – G – d – A – D) bei „salus pependit“ (Takte 64–66 und 71–73) sowie gelegentliche unerwartete harmonische Kontraste, vor allem der unvermittelte Wechsel von G-Dur in das harmonisch entfernte E-Dur (Takte 33–34) beim Einsatz der Oberstimme auf „Dulce lignum“. Dieser E-Dur-Klang kehrt jeweils auf der ersten Silbe von „dulce“, „dulces“ und „dulcia“ wieder und wird damit im Kontext der Vertonung Sinnbild für Süße, dabei ist die letzte der drei Stellen harmonisch besonders pointiert, denn hier bilden zuvor der Alto secondo mit kleinem Sekundschritt abwärts und der Basso mit großem Sekundschritt aufwärts nach *e* eine phrygische Kadenz aus, deren Schluss der Alto primo durch Einsatz auf der großen Terz dann allerdings erneut nach E-Dur umdeutet – darin mag die durchaus bittere Süße des Kreuzes, der Nägel und des Körpers Christi, wovon im Text die Rede ist, musikalisch chiffriert sein. Insgesamt wirken die dargestellten modernen Elemente von Gabussis Vertonung wie frische Farbtupfer, die geschickt in einen primär kontrapunktisch geprägten polyphonen Satztypus älterer Denkweise integriert werden, jedoch bedeuten sie kaum einmal den Schritt darüber hinaus in eine genuin moderne Satzstruktur.

Ein weitgehend anderes Bild bietet dagegen Giovanni Priulis Version von *O crux benedicta*: Man könnte vermuten, die gewählte vierstimmige Vokalbesetzung würde eine eher noch traditionellere Satzkonzeption als bei Gabussi implizieren, doch das genaue Gegenteil ist der Fall – Priulis Motette gehört trotz der größeren Besetzung sicherlich zu den modernsten Stücken des gesamten *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*.²⁹ Dies

²⁹ Die vier Motetten Priulis im *Parnassus* sind seine frühesten datierbaren geistlichen Kompositionen, die erste eigene geistliche Sammlung *Sacrorum concentuum [...] pars prima* zu fünf bis acht Stimmen erschien erst 1618 im Druck.

zeigt sich bereits an der äußeren formalen Anlage: Anstelle eines Satzes mit fließenden Übergängen ohne wirkliche Zäsuren wie bei Gabussi bildet Priuli klar abgegrenzte, in sich geschlossene musikalische Abschnitte, die den syntaktischen Abschnitten der Textvorlage korrespondieren und jeweils durch eindeutige Kadenzen, durch Wechsel der Besetzung und mehrfach zudem durch Taktwechsel markiert und voneinander abgesetzt sind. So werden insgesamt acht kürzere oder längere Abschnitte konstituiert, von denen drei einstimmig für Tenore, Canto bzw. Basso (Abschnitte 2, 4 und 5), der erste und die drei letzten Abschnitte vierstimmig und der dritte Abschnitt mehrteilig in zwei Textdurchgängen je unterschiedlich mit C / T / CATB bzw. CT / AB / CATB besetzt sind, wie die folgende Formübersicht über Giovanni Priulis *O crux benedicta* verdeutlicht.³⁰

		Abschnitt	Tactus	Takte	Besetzung
1	O crux benedicta	A	C	1–15	CATB
2	quae sola fuisti digna portare talentum mundi.	B	(C)	15–22	T
3	Dulce lignum, dulces clavos, dulcia ferens / pondera, (Dulce lignum, dulces clavos, dulcia ferens / pondera)	C	3/1	23–35	C / T / CATB
		C'	3/1	36–48	CT / AB / CATB
4	super omnium ligna cedrorum tu sola excelsior,	D	(C)	49–55	C
5	in qua vita mundi salus pependit,	E	(C)	56–61	B
6	in qua Christus triumphavit,	F	(C)	62–69	CATB
7	et mors mortem superavit in aeternum.	G	3/1	70–92	CATB
8	Alleluja	H	C	93–121	CATB

Der fraglos bemerkenswerteste Zug von Priulis Vertonung liegt darin, dass der Mannigfaltigkeit der einzelnen Abschnitte hinsichtlich Besetzung und Taktvorschrift eine erstaunliche Einheitlichkeit und Kohärenz des musikalischen Materials gegenübersteht, denn im Wesentlichen basieren alle Abschnitte auf einer einzigen motivischen Idee, die immer wieder anders musikalisch verarbeitet und neu kontextualisiert wird. Dies ist vor dem Hintergrund der Motettentradition des 16. Jahrhunderts ein radikal neuartiger Gedanke, denn in der älteren Tradition stand bei Stücken ohne cantus firmus bzw. ohne Parodievorlage meist umgekehrt eher gerade eine prägnante Vielfalt unterschiedlicher Soggetti für die einzelnen Textabschnitte im Vordergrund.

Beispiel 2

Motivtabelle von Giovanni Priulis *O crux benedicta*

a) Canto, T. 1–8

C

O crux _____ be - ne - di - - - - - eta

b) Tenore, T. 16–22

T

quae so - la fu - i - sti di - gna por - ta - re ta - len - tum mun - di

³⁰ Antonicek, *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*, 174–181, sowie in Priuli, *Vier Generalbaßmotetten*.

c) Tutti, T. 36-39

C
36
Dul - ce li - gnum

A
dul - ces cla - vos

T
8
Dul - ce lig - num

B
dul - ces cla - vos

bc

d) Canto, T. 49-52

C
49
Si - cut om - ni - a li - gna ce - dro - rum tu so - la

e) Basso, T. 55-61

B
55
in qua mun - di sa - lus, mun - di sa - lus pe - pen - dit

f) Tenore, T. 61-64

T
61
in qua Chri - stus tri - um - pha - vit

g) Tutti, T. 76–81

h) Tutti, T. 118–121

Das Hauptmotiv in Priulis *O crux benedicta* besteht aus einem Quartsprung aufwärts mit einem anschließenden kleinen (oder auch großen) Sekundschritt abwärts. In dieser Form wird es erstmals in den ersten drei Takten im Canto für die ersten drei Silben von „O crux be(nedicta)“ eingesetzt, wobei ein langsames Metrum in Semibreven vorherrschend ist, das der *gravitas* des Gegenstandes angemessen ist und nur bei der punktierten Gruppe zu Beginn von „benedicta“ kurzzeitig zur Viertelbewegung beschleunigt wird. In Engführung setzen die beiden Unterstimmen im Abstand von je einer Semibrevis ein, wobei der Quartsprung zur Quinte ausgeweitet wird und durch die konstitutiven Punktierungen auf „crux“ jeweils expressive Quart- bzw. Sekundvorhalte entstehen. Insgesamt erklingt das meist in einen Quartgang abwärts mündende Soggetto in diesem ersten, 15 Takte umfassenden, ganz polyphon gearbeiteten Abschnitt je zweimal in allen Stimmen, wobei beim zweiten Durchgang die Reihenfolge der Einsätze variiert ist.

Im zweiten, nur sieben Takte umfassenden Abschnitt, der allein dem Tenore vorbehalten ist, greift Priuli in der Singstimme gleich zu Beginn auf den Silben „quae sola fu-“ die

ersten drei Noten des Canto vom Anfang in z.T. verkürzten Notenwerten auf. Nach einem Terzsprung wird auf den Silben „-isti digna portare talen-“ dann zweimal hintereinander und im Sekundabstand abwärts sequenziert die Umkehrung dieser Tongruppe angefügt, also nunmehr in Gestalt eines Quartfalls mit anschließendem großem Sekundschritt aufwärts, bevor dieser zweite Abschnitt mit einer Schlusswendung bereits zum Abschluss gebracht wird. Anders als im ersten Abschnitt, wo der Instrumentalbass nur gelegentlich über die Rolle eines basso seguente hinausgeht und einmal auch das Hauptmotiv mitspielt, bildet er im zweiten Abschnitt eine eigenständige Stimme aus, in der Quart- und Quintintervalle dominieren; harmonisch wird dabei ein Gang vom C-Dur-Bereich des ersten Abschnitts nach D-Dur beschrieben, das auch im Folgeabschnitt zunächst das Zentrum bildet.

Der dritte Abschnitt wechselt erstmals in einen 3/1-Takt, und auch hier dominiert von Beginn an das Hauptmotiv in zweitaktigen, parataktisch aneinandergereihten Bausteinen. Zunächst erscheint es in Umkehrung zweimal solistisch im Canto und Tenore im Quintabstand zu den Worten „dulce lignum“ und „dulces claves“ (Takte 23–26), bei der anschließenden vierstimmigen Wiederholung werden dann im Tenore das hier auf den Quartsprung verkürzte Motiv und im Canto seine Umkehrung gleichzeitig präsentiert (Takte 27–28), bevor es dann noch einmal im Canto, Alto und Basso zusätzlich durch Dezimparallelen in der Umkehrungsvariante sogar in dreifacher Schichtung erklingt (Takte 29–30). Im anschließenden „dulcia ferens“ wird schließlich der Quartfall der Umkehrung zur Terz abgeändert, und in dieser Variante mit kleiner Terz sowie kleiner Sekund erscheint das Motiv in Umkehrung im Bass und als Krebs im Alto (Takte 31–32), bevor dieser erste Textdurchgang mit Rückkehr zur Taktvorschrift C zum Abschluss gebracht wird. Die Musik für den anschließenden zweiten Textdurchgang ist abgesehen von zwei kleineren Veränderungen am Anfang und am Ende weitgehend eine Wiederholung des ersten: In den ersten vier Takten werden die beiden Umkehrungen des Motivs in gleicher Form im Canto und dann eine Oktave höher als beim ersten Mal im Alto vorgetragen. Geändert ist vor allem die Begleitung, die nun statt einer harmonischen Quintfallsequenz (D – G – C – F) in der Continuostimme aus Dezimparallelen zu den Oberstimmen in den unteren beiden Vokalstimmen sowie colla-parte-Führung im Continuo besteht, so dass nun das Hauptmotiv in der Umkehrungsvariante erstmals in Parallelführung erscheint. Die zweite Änderung betrifft das Ende des zweiten Textdurchgangs, an dem Priuli nun statt nach D-Dur nach C-Dur kadenziiert und damit harmonisch wiederum zum nächsten Abschnitt hinleitet.

Die folgenden drei Abschnitte sind mit 7, 6 bzw. 8 Takten wieder sehr kurz gehalten. Im vierten Abschnitt für Canto solo taucht das Hauptmotiv zweimal eher versteckt innerhalb einer ausgedehnten melodischen Linie auf, erstmals in Umkehrung auf „ligna cedrorum“ (Takte 50–51) und dann noch einmal in Grundform, aber nun als Teil der vokalen Kadenzwendung auf „excelsi-“ und insofern wegen der Einbindung in die Diskantklausel mit alteriertem *cis* (Takte 54–55). Im Solo für den Basso des fünften Abschnitts ist das Motiv in der Melodiebildung dann wieder omnipräsent. Eine erste Anspielung findet sich bereits im eröffnenden Quartsprung auf „in qua“, auf den nächsten drei Tönen folgt es in Umkehrung (Takte 55–57) und, sofern man die Tonwiederholung auf *c* außer Acht lässt, noch ein weiteres Mal eine Sekund abwärts sequenziert auf „mundi sa-“ (Takte 58–59). Man könnte jedoch zusätzlich von der Tonwiederholung ausgehend auch noch einen

Krebs der Umkehrung des Motivs auf „-lus mundi“ (Takt 58) ausmachen, so dass damit gleichzeitig mehrere Motivvarianten ineinander verschachtelt wären. Im sechsten, nur acht Takte umfassenden Abschnitt kehrt Priuli vergleichbar dem ersten Abschnitt zu einer vierstimmigen polyphonen Verarbeitung des nun allerdings aus kürzeren Notenwerten bestehenden Motivs zurück. Die insgesamt wiederum acht Einsätze erfolgen auch hier in Engführung, wobei der Einsatzabstand nun zur Minima verkürzt ist und zudem die Einsätze nicht mehr ganz regelmäßig auf die Stimmen verteilt sind – nur die beiden Unterstimmen weisen erneut zwei Einsätze auf, der Alto dagegen nur einen und der Canto drei.

Für den siebten Abschnitt kehrt Priuli noch einmal zum 3/1-Takt des dritten Abschnitts zurück, doch stehen nun nicht so sehr verschiedene Kombinationen des Motivs und seiner engsten kontrapunktischen Transformationen wie Umkehrungen und Krebsformen im Vordergrund als vielmehr melodische Varianten, wie sie bislang nur ansatzweise aufgetreten waren, und zwar erneut in Verbindung mit der Idee von Umkehrung und Krebs. Mit der charakteristischen Quarte tritt das Motiv im siebten Abschnitt überhaupt nur einmal als Krebs der Umkehrung im Basso bei „superavit“ auf (Takte 71–72), mit Quinte dann ebenfalls einmal beim gleichen Text in Umkehrungsform (Takte 83–84). Stattdessen sind verschiedene melodische Varianten anzutreffen; eine davon mit kleiner Terz und kleiner Sekunde findet sich in Krebsform bei „-raviv“ im Canto (Takte 72–73) sowie bei „et mors mortem“ im Tenore (Takte 78–79), als Umkehrung dagegen ebenfalls bei „et mors mortem“ im Canto (Takte 79–80) und im Alto (Takte 83–84). Besonders hervorzuheben sind zwei weitere, besonders expressive melodische Varianten im Basso, zunächst in Krebsform mit kleiner Sekunde und verminderter Quinte (Takte 76–77) sowie als Umkehrung mit kleinem Sextfall und kleiner Sekunde (Takte 82–83), in beiden Fällen erneut auf den Worten „et mors mortem“. Angesichts dieses Befunds könnte eine weitere auf der gleichen Textstelle anzutreffende melodische Figur mit kleinem Terzfall und anschließendem kleinen Sekundfall vielleicht ebenfalls noch als eine weitere, wenn auch noch deutlich entferntere melodische Variante des Hauptmotivs angesehen werden; in dieser Gestalt findet sie sich im Canto (Takte 76–77) sowie gleich anschließend im Alto (Takte 77–78). Diese melodischen Varianten schaffen vor allem im Hinblick auf die Textstelle „et mors mortem“ und einer im Verhältnis zu den übrigen Abschnitten deutlich verdichteten Harmonik noch einmal eine gezielte expressive Intensivierung, dabei ist die Verarbeitung erneut ganz polyphon, jedoch auf Grund der vielfältigen Soggettotransformationen deutlich weniger streng als in den vorausgegangenen vierstimmigen Abschnitten.

Im ausgedehnten letzten Abschnitt, der dem „Alleluja“ vorbehalten ist, verzichtet Priuli zunächst gänzlich auf das dem Kreuz bzw. dem Kreuzestod zuzuordnende Hauptmotiv, das in allen vorausgehenden Abschnitten in unterschiedlichen Formen und Verarbeitungstechniken anzutreffen war. Anfangs wird das Wort „Alleluja“ vierfach aneinandergereiht in Achtelbewegung in allen Stimmen durchgeführt, wobei durch die Sequenzierung eines kleinen Motivs aus Sekundschrift aufwärts und Terzfall auf den Hauptbetonungen melodisch insgesamt ein Quartgang abwärts beschrieben ist.³¹

³¹ Es wäre wohl in der Tat ein wenig gewaltsam, auch in diesem Motiv noch eine Variante des Hauptmotivs sehen zu wollen, allenfalls ließe sich der Quartgang als Verweis auf den Quartsprung des Hauptmotivs deuten.

Obwohl im Zusammenhang mit diesem Quartgang erstmals b-Vorzeichnungen und Molleintrübungen anzutreffen sind, lassen die rasche syllabische Deklamation und das jubelnde „Alleluja“-Wort einen klagenden Gestus allenfalls als implizite sekundäre Sinnschicht erkennen, die aber durch den Tod Christi am Kreuz überwunden ist. Nachdem dieses Soggetto zunächst solistisch im Tenore und dann im Canto vorgetragen wird, greifen alle vier Vokalstimmen es auf, sogar der Basso continuo doppelt in einer Passage die Achtelbewegung in Tenore und Basso (Takte 101–103). Der implizit klagende Charakter tritt vielleicht noch deutlicher hervor in einer Variante dieses ersten „Alleluja“-Motiv, die nun in synkopisch gegen den Takt versetzter punktierter Viertelbewegung abwärts zusätzlich noch zu einigen Vorhaltbildungen führt, zunächst im Alto (Takte 101–103) und gleich anschließend im Tenore (Takte 103–105).

Erst in einem zweiten Schritt wird im letzten Abschnitt dann ein weiteres „Alleluja“-Soggetto eingeführt, das nun wieder aus dem Hauptmotiv der gesamten Motette generiert ist und allmählich immer mehr in den Vordergrund tritt. Es beginnt mit einem auftaktigen Quartsprung und löst sich nach einer Überbindung in einer melismatischen Sechszehntelfiguration auf, deren erstes Intervall wie im Hauptmotiv einen Sekundschritt abwärts beschreibt. Es handelt sich abgesehen von einem vereinzelt knappen Melisma im Basso auf „aeternum“ (Takt 80), wo sich der Jubel des „Alleluja“ über den durch den Tod Christi am Kreuz besiegten Tod bereits vorab einmal kurz andeutet, um die erste ausgedehntere melismatische Passage der gesamten Komposition, in der die ansonsten vorherrschende rein syllabische Textvertongung aufgegeben wurde. Dieses zweite „Alleluja“-Soggetto wird erstmals im Canto präsentiert (Takte 105–107) und im letzten Binnenabschnitt der Komposition dann von allen Stimmen aufgegriffen, z.T. mit punktierten Varianten der Melismen, in denen das Hauptmotiv als Soggetto-Kopf aber weiterhin deutlich erkennbar bleibt. Verknüpft wird dieses zweite „Alleluja“-Soggetto noch mit einem dritten „Alleluja“-Motiv, dessen Kern aus einem Terzfall mit anschließendem kleinem Sekundfall besteht und damit vermutlich auf eine der beschriebenen Motivvarianten bei „et mors mortem“ im vorletzten Abschnitt rekurriert, erstmals angedeutet im Alto (Takt 109), besonders hervorgehoben dann in den Schlusstakten in Dezimparallelen im Alto und Basso (Takte 119–120). Damit wären am Ende dieses „Alleluja“ durch die Anwesenheit des auf das Kreuz zu beziehenden Hauptmotivs der Motette sowie jener Motivvariante, die auf die Überwindung des Todes durch den Tod bezogen ist, im Erklingen des Jubelrufes selbst semantisch auch die Ursachen für den angestimmten Jubel präsent.

Priulis Motette besteht zwar aus einer Reihung von klar in sich abgeschlossenen, durch Besetzung und Taktvorzeichnung kontrastierenden Abschnitten, doch nicht mehr wie in einem älteren Motettentypus durch eine aufeinanderfolgende Verarbeitung möglichst unterschiedlicher, am Text entwickelter charakteristischer Soggetti. Stattdessen stehen aus einem relativ einfachen musikalischen Kerngedanken entwickelte, höchst scharfsinnige und kunstvolle Motivableitungen, -transformationen und -variationen sowie deren ingeniose, vielfältige Verarbeitungsformen in polyphoner Verschränkung, Aneinanderreihung, Parallelführung oder anderen Überlagerungsformen im Vordergrund des musikalischen Denkens, die eine enge Verknüpfung und raffinierte Integration der äußerlich wechselnden Abschnitte und damit aller Teile erlauben, zugleich jedoch jeweils auch auf die grundlegende Idee des Kreuzes zurückverweisen, dem das Hauptmotiv

zugeordnet ist. Es handelt sich um einen Typus von Textvertونung, der eher instrumental gedachte Kompositionstechniken auf vokales Komponieren überträgt und wenig später vor allem im Bereich der weltlichen Vokalmusik etwa im Zusammenhang mit konzeptistischen Textvorlagen von Giambattista Marino anzutreffen ist, etwa bei Giovanni Valentini und Tarquinio Merula.³² Im geistlichen Bereich dürfte dagegen Priulis *O crux benedicta* zu den frühesten Beispielen eines derartigen musikalischen *conzettismo* gehören.

***Vulnerasti cor meum* in Vertونungen von Vincenzo Pellegrini und Giovanni Valentini**

Das zweite Beispiel für Parallelvertونungen im *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus* bilden zwei Vertونungen von Vincenzo Pellegrini und Giovanni Valentini, in denen ein häufig vertonter Text aus dem Hohen Lied Salomons zugrunde gelegt wird, genauer gesagt handelt es sich um die Verse 9, 10 und 11 aus dem vierten Kapitel, die in der lateinischen Version der Vulgata wie folgt lauten:

9 (*Vulnerasti cor meum, soror mea, sponsa;*)
vulnerasti cor meum in uno oculorum tuorum,
et in uno crine colli tui.

10 Quam pulchrae sunt mammae tuae, *soror mea sponsa!*
pulchriora sunt ubera tua vino,
et odor unguentorum tuorum super omnia aromata.

11 Favus distillans labia tua, sponsa;
mel et lac sub lingua tua:
(*et odor vestimentorum tuorum sicut odor thuris.*)

Vincenzo Pellegrini lässt in seiner Version von *Vulnerasti cor meum*³³ den ersten Halbvers von Vers 9 sowie den letzten Halbvers von Vers 11 aus und zieht zudem das „soror mea sponsa“ vom Ende des ersten Halbverses von Vers 10 an den Anfang dieses Verses vor. Er sieht eine zweistimmige Besetzung für Alto und Tenore mit Continuobegleitung vor, wobei die im Druck angegebene Variante der Besetzung der Tenorstimme mit einer Diskantstimme (Tenore ò Canto) ein wenig unerwartet anmutet, da dadurch das Verhältnis der Stimmen zueinander sich umkehren würde und gelegentlich weniger plausible Zusammenklänge entstehen könnten. Pellegrinis Vertонung ist über weite Strecken als moderner Triosatz im tempus imperfectum alla breve angelegt, der Instrumentalbass bildet überwiegend eine harmonische Stützstimme, nur passagenweise ist er noch als eigenständige Melodiestimme zu verstehen, so etwa am ehesten im ersten ungeradtaktigen Abschnitt (Takte 38–46), weiterhin bei „super omnia aromata“ (Takte 63–66), wo der Basso als in Gegenbewegung Note-gegen-Note geführte Stimme zum Tenore fungiert, sowie streckenweise auch im

³² Vgl. hierzu Steinheuer, „Marino, Giambattista“.

³³ Antonicek, *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandeus*, 67–70.

geradtaktigen Schlussabschnitt (Takte 85–99), wo der Basso dann gleichsam syllabisch ohne Verzerrungen wie in den Vokalstimmen zu verstehen wäre – diese drei genannten Passagen wären ähnlich wie in Gabussis Motette auch prinzipiell noch textierbar, jedoch umfassen sie nicht einmal ein Drittel der Komposition.

Die formale Anlage von Pellegrinis Duett basiert auf der Aneinanderreihung von ganz unterschiedlich langen, musikalisch verschiedenartigen und nicht motivisch aufeinander bezogenen Abschnitten, in denen jeweils eine kurze Textpassage mit eigenem musikalischem Material bzw. unterschiedlichen Soggetti in Musik gesetzt ist. Ein Hauptaugenmerk des Komponisten liegt dabei nicht so sehr auf Vereinheitlichung als ganz im Gegenteil auf *Varietas*, dies betrifft nicht nur das Verhältnis der Abschnitte, sondern etwa in dialogisch angelegten Passagen innerhalb eines Abschnitts auch das Verhältnis der beiden Singstimmen zueinander.

Letzteres verdeutlicht bereits der eröffnende Abschnitt (Takte 1–19), worin der Text in zwei nicht überlappenden, durch vollständige Kadenzenden abgeschlossen und klar voneinander getrennten Binnenabschnitten zunächst im Tenore und dann im Alto vorgetragen wird. Der Tenore deklamiert die Anfangsworte „vulnerasti cor“ über einem harmonisch unbewegten d-Moll-Klang, allein der Quartfall vom Grundton in der Oberoktave abwärts zur Quinte sorgt für melodische Bewegung (nicht jedoch für harmonische Spannung), worauf auf „meum“ ein erstes punktiertes Melisma anhebt, das zunächst zu einer regulären Kadenzwendung nach D-Dur führt. Bei den beiden Textwiederholungen von „cor meum“ schließen sich gleich zwei weitere gleichgebaute Kadenzen nach g-Moll und schließlich C-Dur an, wobei der Basso einzig aus den Quintfällen bzw. Quartsprüngen der zugehörigen Bassklauseln besteht und die Singstimme immer die gleiche Diskantklausel durchmisst. Die Erwartung, dass die zweite Solostimme bei ihrem neuerlichen Textdurchgang im Wesentlichen diese Ideen noch ein weiteres Mal in ihrer Lage vorstellt, erfüllt sich einzig im anfänglichen melodischen Quartfall, der eine Quinte höher nun allerdings auf der Terz eines F-Klangs beginnt und erst dann nach a-Moll gewendet wird. Im weiteren Verlauf vertont Pellegrini den Text nun mit einem neuen Melisma, einem zusätzlichen *soggetto* bei der zuvor nicht aufgetretenen Wiederholung des „vulnerasti“ sowie unter Verzicht auf die harmonische Quintfallsequenz durch Einschub zusätzlicher Tonstufen im Basso sowie die Rückkehr zur Durvariante der Grundtonart g-Moll (bzw. g-dorisch) statt einer Wendung nach C-Dur wie im ersten Textdurchgang. Nicht eine unmittelbare Entsprechung der Binnenabschnitte, sondern umgekehrt ihre Abänderung und variierte Behandlung stehen in diesem ersten dialogischen Abschnitt im Vordergrund des kompositorischen Interesses.

Ähnliches lässt sich auch an vielen weiteren Passagen der Vertonung beobachten: Nach einem knappen zweiten Abschnitt, in dem die Singstimmen überwiegend in Terzparallelen und streckenweise mit einem dem vorgeschriebenen geraden Takt im *tempus imperfectum alla breve* entgegengesetzten impliziten Dreiermetrum geführt werden (Takte 20–25), schließt sich ein ebenso kurzer, nun wieder dialogischer dritter Abschnitt an (Takte 26–32), der in beiden Stimmen mit einem Quintgang aufwärts mit anschließendem Quartgang abwärts anhebt, beim ersten Mal jedoch im Basso in Dezimparallelen begleitet wird, während Pellegrini beim zweiten Durchgang im Tenore merkwürdigerweise darauf verzichtet und eine andere Begleitung wählt. Besonders deutlich treten solche

Abwandlungsverfahren dann im vierten Abschnitt bei der Vertonung der Worte „quam pulchrae sunt mammae tuae“ hervor (Takte 33–45), wo Pellegrini eine allmählich sich steigernde Wirkung herbeizuführen sucht: Den Quartgang abwärts zu Beginn im Alto mit expressiver phrygischer Tenorklausel zum vierten Ton hin wiederholt er noch einmal vom Zielton der Oberstimme ausgehend im Tenore, doch wird der letzte Ton nun zur Achtel verkürzt und es schließt sich auf „mammae tuae“ ein fast zweitaktiges Melisma an, das im Alto fehlt und einen Dezimambitus aufwärts durchschreitet. Auf diese kleine eröffnende dialogische Passage folgen zwei weitere vollständige Textdurchgänge, in denen zwar jeweils erneut vom Quartgangmotiv abwärts ausgegangen wird, allerdings nun weitgehend anders kontextualisiert durch den Wechsel in einen 3/1-Takt sowie durch Parallelführung in Terzen bzw. Sexten in den beiden Singstimmen. Der Taktwechsel dient hier insofern nicht zur Herausbildung eines abgegrenzten Formabschnitts, sondern als Höhepunkt einer Steigerungspassage.

Der nachfolgende fünfte Abschnitt (Takte 47–53) ist wieder geradtaktig und sieht erneut zwei Textdurchgänge vor, wobei gegenüber dem eröffnenden viertaktigen Tenorsolo beim anschließenden, nur drei Takte umfassenden zweistimmigen Durchgang neue Motivik, ein beschleunigtes Deklamationstempo sowie eine nach Es-Dur und c-Moll ausweichende, intensiviertere Harmonik vorherrschen. Der sechste Abschnitt (Takte 54–62) sieht abgesehen von den abgewandelten drei Anfangstönen eine strenge Imitation zwischen den beiden Singstimmen im Quintabstand vor, während der viertaktige siebte Abschnitt nur aus dem bereits erwähnten knappen Tenorsolo mit Note gegen Note geführter Basstimme besteht (Takte 63–66). Im fünftaktigen achten Abschnitt nehmen nur die beiden gleichsam komplementär nacheinander erklingenden Achtmelismen in den Singstimmen Bezug aufeinander, der neunte Abschnitt auf „labia tua“ bietet zunächst beim zweiten Einsatz in der Oberquinte strenge Imitation, bevor dann in einer verkürzten Variante im zweiten Textdurchgang Parallelführung vorherrscht. Der zehnte und letzte Abschnitt ist wieder zweiteilig und beginnt nach einem erneuten Wechsel zum 3/1-Takt mit einem in den Singstimmen überwiegend parallel geführten ersten Binnenabschnitt mit zwei vollständigen Textdurchgängen, bevor nach Rückkehr zum Tempus imperfectum alla breve die abschließenden Worte „sub lingua tua“ zunächst abwechselnd und dann gemeinsam in den beiden Stimmen unter Einbeziehung punktierter melismatischer Gruppen noch dreimal und dann noch ein letztes Mal, nunmehr verlangsamt in erneuter Eintrübung nach c-Moll mit expressiv hervorgehobener Vorhaltbildung wiederholt werden.

Pellegrini ist in seinem Duett vor allem an immer neuen Gestaltungen einzelner Textpassagen interessiert, so bilden nicht einmal die beiden Passagen im 3/1-Takt eigene, in sich geschlossene Abschnitte aus, sondern erweisen sich jeweils als Varianten bei der Umsetzung eines bestimmten Textglieds, das daneben auch noch im tempus imperfectum alla breve erscheint. Klare formale Strukturen, korrespondierende Abschnittsbildungen oder gar eine Vereinheitlichung des musikalischen Satzes stehen dabei ebenso wenig im Vordergrund wie besonders hervorgehobene Momente expressiver Textausdeutung in Melodiebildung oder Harmonik. Pellegrinis Motette verwendet zwar überwiegend einen modernen Triosatz, doch verzichtet er dabei auf jegliche Art formaler oder expressiver Experimente.

Giovanni Valentinis dreistimmige Version von *Vulnerasti cor meum*³⁴ für zwei Tenorstimmen, eine Bassstimme und Continuo besitzt dagegen einen ganz andersartigen Fokus. Im Unterschied zu Pellegrini sind die beiden Verse 9 und 10 aus dem vierten Kapitel des Hohen Liedes Salomons vollständig und ohne Textumstellungen zugrunde gelegt, und Valentini gliedert seine Komposition in insgesamt sieben formal durch vollständige Kadenzen klar voneinander abgehobene Abschnitte, von denen die ersten sechs den je drei syntaktischen Gliedern der beiden Hoheliedverse korrespondieren, während der letzte Abschnitt ein hinzugefügtes „Alleluja“ als Textbasis verwendet. Die Tonart ist g-Dorisch mit b-Vorzeichnung, die Binnenkadenzen am Ende der Abschnitte führen alternierend nach D-Dur (Abschnitte II, IV und VI) sowie jeweils zur Finalis in Form eines G-Dur-Klang (Abschnitte I, III, V und VII), wobei jeweils die beiden Tenorstimmen Diskant- und Tenorklausel, Basso und Continuo Stimme gemeinsam die Bassklausel verwenden. Valentini nutzt in dieser Komposition anders als etwa Priuli die Abschnittsbildung nicht unmittelbar für Besetzungskontraste; alle drei Vokalstimmen sind in jedem der Abschnitte beteiligt, doch finden sich im Innern der Abschnitte vielfältig wechselnde Solo-, Duo- und Triopassagen. Zusätzlich hervorgehoben ist der Mittelabschnitt, der ins Tempus perfectum (3/1) wechselt und mit der letzten Textsilbe des Abschnitts zum ansonsten vorgeschriebenen Tempus imperfectum zurückkehrt. Vom Satztypus her handelt es sich fast durchgehend um einen modernen Triosatz mit den beiden Tenorstimmen als Oberstimmenpaar und dem Basso als dritter Stimme, die Continuo Stimme fungiert in den dreistimmigen Passagen als basso seguente und doppelt dabei meist den Basso, in den anderen Passagen ersetzt sie jedoch den Vokalbass als tiefste Stimme.

		Abschnitt	Tactus	Takte	Finalis	Besetzung
9	Vulnerasti cor meum, soror mea, sponsa;	I	C	1–15	g	TTB, Bc
	vulnerasti cor meum in uno oculorum tuorum,	II	(C)	16–27	d	TTB, Bc
	et in uno crine colli tui.	III	(C)	27–34	g	TTB, Bc
10	Quam pulchræ sunt mammæ tuæ, soror mea sponsa!	IV	3/1 – C	35–44	d	TTB, Bc
	pulchriora sunt ubera tua vino,	V	(C)	44–52	g	TTB, Bc
	et odor unguentorum tuorum super omnia aromata.	VI	(C)	52–60	d	TTB, Bc
	Alleluja.	VII	(C)	60–77	g	TTB, Bc

Ähnlich wie in Priulis *O crux benedicta* sind auch in Valentinis Motette die motivischen Verknüpfungen zwischen den Abschnitten der wohl bemerkenswerteste Aspekt der Vertonung. Gleich zu Beginn wird der Motivkern auf dem Wort „vulnerasti“ im ersten Tenore vorgestellt, er besteht wie bei Pellegrinis Eröffnungssoggetto aus einem Quartfall, doch wird die Quint des d-Moll-Klangs bei Valentini dann gleich wieder mit einem melodisch prägnanten kleinen Sekundschritt aufwärts zur kleinen Sexte verlassen,

³⁴ Ibid., 147–151. Es gibt zwei weitere Editionen des Stückes; die erste in Saunders, *Cross, Sword, and Lyre*, 9–14; die zweite online in QUICS (<http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/md/zegk/quics/valentini-2.pdf>).

wodurch zugleich bei liegendem Bass ein spannungsvoller Quartsextakkord entsteht, der durch Rückkehr zum d-Moll-Klang wieder aufgelöst wird – bei Pellegrini war an dieser Stelle keinerlei harmonische Spannung aufgebaut worden. Der zweite Tenore wiederholt auf der gleichen Tonstufe die gesamte Melodie dergestalt noch einmal, dass bei seinem neuerlichen kleinen Sekundschritt aufwärts nun erster Tenor und Bc erstmals mit Tenor- und Bassklauseln zur Finalis geführt werden, doch kommt der Stelle wegen der Weiterführung im zweiten Tenore keine abschließende Wirkung zu. Als der zweite Tenore seinerseits nach g kadenziert, setzen die beiden anderen Vokalstimmen mit dem Continuo in Terzparallelen mit dem nächsten Textglied „soror mea sponsa“ ein, dessen *soggetto* vordergründig ganz anders mit einem diatonischen Quartgang abwärts in Achtelbewegung anhebt. Doch handelt es sich nur um eine Variante des Hauptmotivs, bei der der Quartfall nun durch ein stufenweises Durchschreiten des Quartraums ersetzt wird, woran sich im Basso wegen des nunmehr alterierten *es* ein kleiner Sekundschritt aufwärts anschließt, so dass an der Ableitung aus dem Hauptmotiv kein Zweifel bestehen kann, auch wenn sich die enge Beziehung beim Hören vielleicht nicht unmittelbar erschließt. Die beiden Tenorstimmen verwenden das gleiche Motiv wie im Basso eine Terz bzw. eine Quart höher von *b* bzw. *c'* aus, nur dass hier sich jeweils ein großer Sekundschritt aufwärts an den Quartgang anschließt. Der erste Abschnitt wird vervollständigt durch einen zweiten Textdurchgang, in dem nun zunächst auch der Basso das erste *Soggetto* für „vulnerasti cor meum“ nachholt; anschließend tragen die drei Stimmen die erste Variante nun in neuer Kombination vor, bevor eine verlangsamte Fassung noch einmal weitgehend getreu die Takte 6–7 nunmehr in Viertelbewegung wiederholt (Takte 13–15).

Zu Beginn des zweiten Abschnitts werden die Worte „Vulnerasti cor meum“ wie in der Textvorlage wiederholt, doch verzichtet Valentini auf eine durchaus naheliegende musikalische Refrainbildung, stattdessen wählt er dafür eine weitere Variante des Hauptmotivs, die als dessen Krebsumkehrung zu verstehen ist, also mit einem kleinen Sekundschritt aufwärts anhebt und dann nach der hier zusätzlich eingeschobenen Terz auch die Quarte abwärts anschließt. Die Beantwortung auf „in uno oculorum tuorum“ erfolgt auch in diesem Abschnitt mit einer Achtelbewegung abwärts, die allerdings nun zur Sexte bzw. Oktave erweitert ist. Der dritte Abschnitt verwendet ein einziges, je zweimal in allen drei Stimmen aufgegriffenes *Soggetto*, das mit einer vierten Variante des Hauptmotivs anhebt: Hier wird die Quarte abwärts nach einer Tonwiederholung des Ausgangstons in Achtelbewegung mit Sekund- und Terzfall ausgefüllt, woran sich wieder der charakteristische Sekundschritt aufwärts anschließt; der damit erreichte Ton wird gleichzeitig wieder zum Ausgangspunkt für einen Krebsdurchgang, bei dem nunmehr die Quarte aufwärts stufenweise durchschritten wird, so dass abgesehen von den unterschiedlichen Schlüssen hier eine spiegelsymmetrische Verknüpfung von Grundform und Krebs vorliegt.

Im mittleren vierten Abschnitt im Dreiertakt setzt Valentini das Hauptmotiv insbesondere auf „soror mea sponsa“ zweimal in Terzparallelen in den beiden Tenorstimmen ein, wobei in beiden Fällen der Quartambitus stufenweise abwärts durchschritten und durch synkopierte Gruppen ein weiteres Mal anders rhythmisiert wird. Selbst im Beginn „quam pulchrae sunt mam-“ lassen sich die drei Töne des Hauptmotivs ausmachen, auch wenn die Quarte hier auf betonter Zählzeit zur Quinte weitergeführt wird und damit auch der Sekundschritt *de facto* zur Terz erweitert ist. Im kurzen fünften Abschnitt scheint das

Beispiel 3Motivtabelle von Giovanni Valentinis *Vulnerasti cor meum*

a) T. 1-7

T 1
Vul - ne - ra - sti cor me - um so - ror me - a spon - sa

T 2
Vul - ne - ra - sti cor me - um so - ror me - a spon - sa

B
so - ror me - a spon - sa

bc

b) T. 27-33

T 1
-rum et in u - no cri - ne col - li tu - i, et in u - no

T 2
-rum et in u - no cri - ne col - li tu - i, et

B
et in u - no cri - ne col - li tu - i et in u - no cri - ne col - li tu -

bc

c) T. 35-39

T 1
quam pul - chrae sunt mam - mae tu - ae so - ror me - a spon - sa

T 2
so - ror me - a spon - sa

B

bc

d) T. 62–67

The musical score consists of four staves labeled T1, T2, B, and bc. The time signature is 8/8. The lyrics 'Al-le-lu-ja' are written below the vocal staves. The T1 and T2 parts have a similar melodic line with some rhythmic variation. The B part has a more complex, rhythmic line. The bc part provides a bass line with various intervals and rhythms.

Motiv vordergründig abwesend zu sein, doch weisen schon die zweimaligen Quartgänge auf eine Substanzgemeinschaft mit dem Hauptmotiv hin, und in der Tat lassen sich im Tenore primo und im Basso bei den Silben „-ra sunt ubera“ die drei Gerüsttöne in Grundform, in allen drei Stimmen bei „-bera tua vi-“ dagegen in Umkehrung als Basis der Motivkonstruktion erkennen, die Synkopierung auf der ersten Silbe von „ubera“ in allen Stimmen bildet zudem eine Parallele zum vorangegangenen Abschnitt. Im sechsten Abschnitt fehlen überraschend direkte Bezugnahmen auf das Hauptmotiv; allein im Basso wird der Anfangsteil „et odor unguentorum tuorum“ zweimal vorgetragen, beim ersten Mal reiht Valentini drei konsekutive Terzen aufwärts aneinander und vermeidet damit das Intervall der Quarte ganz gezielt, während in der zweiten, den beiden Tenorstimmen vorbehaltenen Textpassage „super omnia aromata“ ein Terzgang aufwärts mit anschließendem Sekundschritt abwärts im Vordergrund steht, der wie eine von der Quart zur Terz reduzierte Variante des Hauptmotivs erscheint – es lässt sich kaum davon sprechen, dass Valentini in diesem Abschnitt neues motivisches Material einführt, zu sehr ähnelt der Abschnitt vom Gestus her den bisherigen Formteilen.

Im abschließenden Alleluja-Abschnitt ist das Hauptmotiv dann wieder omnipräsent: Erneut in Terzparallelen erscheint es in kurzen Abständen jeweils synkopisch einsetzend zweimal in Grundgestalt in den beiden Oberstimmen, nur getrennt durch ein zweites Alleluja-Motiv in Achtelbewegung im Basso, das zunächst mit leittönig erhöhter dritter Stufe einen Quartgang aufwärts und dann umgekehrt einen Quartgang abwärts mit erniedrigter zweiter Stufe umschreibt und somit als Verknüpfung von Varianten der Grundform und des Krebses der Grundform in asymmetrisch um den höchsten Ton gespiegelter Weise erscheint. Es ist dieses zweite Motiv in Achtelbewegung, das Valentini anschließend in allen Stimmen mit verschiedenen kleinen Veränderungen polyphon durchführt, bevor abschließend die drei Stimmen noch einmal zu einer verlangsamten Schlussgeste zusammenfinden.

Valentinis Hoheliedmotette besitzt stilistisch viele Gemeinsamkeiten mit Priulis *O crux benedicta*, insbesondere was die weitgehend kohärente Ableitung der gesamten Vertonung aus einem einzigen motivischen Kern angeht, auch wenn diese Ableitungen

und Transformationen hier vielfach noch weit versteckter als bei Priuli auftreten. Durch die fast durchgängig syllabische Textumsetzung unter Vermeidung von wirklichen Melismen, eine immer wieder rhythmisch prägnante Deklamation etwa mittels wirkungsvoller Synkopierungen und eine nur selten noch genuin polyphon, stattdessen immer wieder dialogisch konzipierte Faktur des musikalischen Satzes setzt Valentini z.T. durchaus andere Akzente als Priuli, was sicher nicht zuletzt auch durch die Semantik der Textvorlage bedingt ist, deren erotische Diesseitigkeit von der symbolischen Überhöhung der Kreuzesanbetung weit entfernt ist. Vielleicht liegt es auch daran, dass es in Valentinis Motette nicht so sehr naheliegt, die spezifische Art der musikalischen Konstruktion mit einem bestimmten Grundgedanken der Textvorlage im Sinne des *concettismo* zu assoziieren, es sei denn, man wollte im „vulnerasti“, im Verletztwerden durch die Schönheit der Geliebten, ein solches Moment sehen.

***Cantate Domino* in Vertonungen von Orazio Nantermi und Claudio Monteverdi**

Textgrundlage im dritten Beispiel mit Parallelvertonungen im *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandeus*, den beiden *Cantate Domino*-Versionen von Orazio Nantermi und Claudio Monteverdi, ist der häufig vertonte Anfang von Psalm 97, der nicht nur gleich zu Beginn das Singen neuer Lieder zum Lobe des Herrn als Aufforderung zur Musikausübung direkt thematisiert, sondern im späteren Verlauf des Textes mit Harfen, Trompeten und Posaunen zudem einige jener Instrumente direkt benennt, die dafür eingesetzt werden sollen (Doppelverse 5 und 6).

Nantermi verwendet für sein vierstimmiges *Cantate Domino*³⁵ die vollständigen ersten vier Verse ohne Kürzungen oder Umstellungen. Seine insgesamt 146 Takte umfassende Vertonung lässt sich am besten beschreiben als eine geringstimmig besetzte doppelchörige Motette, wobei der erste hohe Chor aus dem Stimmpaar Sopran / Tenore, der zweite tiefere Chor aus dem verbleibenden Stimmpaar Alto / Basso besteht. Durchgehend alternieren diese beiden unveränderlich eingesetzten zweistimmigen Chöre regelmäßig miteinander oder werden passagenweise auch zu einem vierstimmigen Ensemble vereint (so vor allem Takte 15–22, 90–97, 124–129 sowie abschließend 140–146), sei es für kürzere oder gelegentlich auch für umfangreichere Passagen der vier verwendeten Psalmverse. Keine anderen Stimmkombinationen sind anzutreffen, und nur in einer der Wiederholungen des letzten Verses bei den Worten „cantate, et exsultate, et psallite“ (Takte 130–140) ist ein einziges Mal ein Solo für die Bassstimme allein eingeschoben, das von der klaren Aufteilung in einen Doppelchor mit hohem und tiefem Stimmpaar abweicht. Der Continuopart ist keine unabhängige Stimme, sondern durchgehend ein bloßer basso seguente, der jeweils der tiefsten Stimme in den verschiedenen Abschnitten folgt, also entweder dem Basso oder dem Tenore. Es handelt sich dabei sicherlich um eine wichtige Unterstützung der Singstimmen, welche zudem die Akkorde in den zweistimmigen Passagen zu vervollständigen hilft, doch streng genommen ist der Instrumentalbass nicht erforderlich für das musikalische Verständnis – mit Ausnahme des bereits erwähnten Bassosolos könnte

³⁵ Antonicek, *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandeus*, 214–224.

Nantermis Motette prinzipiell auch ohne Instrumentalbegleitung aufgeführt werden. Es handelt sich auf Grund dieses Befundes bei Nantermis Motette um die Adaption des Typus einer großbesetzten mehrhörigen Anlage für eine geringstimmige, vermutlich durchgehend solistische Besetzung, ohne dass dabei jedoch der Versuch unternommen würde, gezielt die neuartigen Möglichkeiten kleinerer Besetzungen auszuloten.

Der eröffnende Abschnitt (Takte 1–22) steht fast vollständig im *Tempus perfectum* und stellt die drei wichtigsten Besetzungsmöglichkeiten erstmals nacheinander vor (AB / ST / Tutti); dabei wird die strenge Parallelität der drei im Prinzip jeweils sieben Takte umfassenden Abschnitte in der vollstimmigen Version am Ende nur durch den vorzeitigen Wechsel ins *Tempus imperfectum* abgemildert, das dann für den Rest der Komposition vorgezeichnet bleibt. Auch über den ersten Abschnitt hinaus stehen parallele Textdeklamation und Note-gegen-Note-Satz meist im Vordergrund, manchmal sind einzelne Passagen leicht gegeneinander verschoben, doch wirklich polyphone Schreibart scheint nur für kurze Momente auf, etwa in der Engführung bei „quia mirabilia fecit“ (Takt 29), die auch für vielfältige Vorhaltbildungen genutzt wird, oder beim Anfang von Vers 4 „Jubilate Deo omnis terra“, wo ein kurzes Motiv sequenzierend durch alle Stimmen wandert (Takte 102–114). Nur gelegentlich sieht Nantermi ausführlichere melismatische Passagen vor, insbesondere auf „misericordiae suae“ (Takte 70–82) sowie noch einmal unmittelbar wortausdeutend auf „cantate et exultate“ (Takte 115–122 und 130–140). Die Harmonik kommt insgesamt ohne auffällige Experimente aus, doch verwendet Nantermi immer wieder zusätzliche Alterationszeichen, primär im Hinblick auf einen raschen Wechsel von Dur- und Moll-Klängen, sowie gelegentlich Ansätze von modernen Quintfallsequenzen, so etwa am Ende des Eröffnungsabschnitts (a / D / G / C⁶ – Takte 18–19) oder deutlicher noch kurz vor Schluss (F / C / g / d / A – Takte 142–145), doch bleiben auch diese Momente im Rahmen dessen, was in der Mehrhörigkeit seit der Wende zum 17. Jahrhundert üblich war.

Claudio Monteverdis zweistimmige Vertonung von *Cantate Domino*³⁶ im *Parnassus* für zwei Diskant- oder Tenorstimmen stellt im Unterschied zu Nantermis Version eine ganz moderne Komposition dar, in der die neuen Möglichkeiten eines geringstimmigen Satzes auf vielfältige Weise genutzt werden. Bereits der Umgang mit der Textvorlage macht deutlich, dass Monteverdi nicht, wie sonst meist üblich, die einzelnen Psalmverse nacheinander in Musik setzt, sondern eine eigene konstruktive Idee entwickelt. Zunächst einmal verwendet er im Unterschied zu Nantermi nur die Doppelverse 1, 2 und 4; in einem zweiten Schritt löst er mit „Cantate Domino“ und „quia mirabilia fecit“ zwei Passagen aus dem ersten Halbvers heraus und wiederholt diese nach dem zweiten Halbvers von Vers 1 noch einmal als eine Art variierten Refrain, in den aber zugleich mit „et exultate, et psallite“ eine Passage aus Vers 4 vorgezogen und interpoliert wird. Am Ende erklingen diese vorgezogenen Worte dann nicht noch einmal vollständig, stattdessen greift Monteverdi dann noch ein zweites Mal die Bausteine „Cantate Domino“ und „quia mirabilia fecit“ auf und verknüpft sie wiederum auf freie Weise mit Textpassagen aus Vers 4. Auf diese Weise schafft Monteverdi eine fünf- bzw. sechsteilige Textanlage, in der der erste, der

³⁶ Ibid., 84–90; weitere Editionen finden sich zudem in den einschlägigen Gesamtausgaben des Komponisten.

mittlere und der fünfte Abschnitt zwar nicht ganz identisch sind, jedoch stark refrainhafte Züge aufweisen, während im zweiten und vierten Abschnitt kontrastierend andere Texte zugrunde gelegt werden; abschließend ist noch ein zusätzlicher sechster, zwölf Takte umfassender Abschnitt angehängt, in dem die letzten Worte „mirabilia fecit“ noch einmal auf neue Weise in überbordenden Melismen vertont sind.

	Vulgata Psalm 97				
	Text Nantermi: Verse 1–4:	Text Monteverdi: Freie Kompilation aus Versen 1, 2, 4	Formteile Monteverdi:	Binnen- abschnitte	Takt
1	Psalmus ipsi David. Cantate Domino canticum novum, quia mirabilia fecit. Salvavit sibi dextera ejus, et brachium sanctum ejus.	Cantate Domino canticum novum, quia mirabilia fecit. Salvavit sibi dextera ejus, et brachium sanctum ejus	A / 1-33 B / 34–61	a / b / c / d	3/2 C
		Cantate Domino, et exultate, et psallite, quia mirabilia fecit.	A1 / 62–103	a / e / c	3/2
2	Notum fecit Dominus salutare suum; in conspectu gentium revelavit justitiam suam.	Notum fecit Dominus salutare suum; in conspectum gentium revelavit [...]	C / 101–134	f	C
3	Recordatus est misericordiae suae, et veritatis suae domui Israël. Viderunt omnes termini terrae salutare Dei nostri.	-			
4	Jubilare Deo, omnis terra; cantate, et exultate, et psallite.	Cantate Domino, cantate et exultate, jubilate Deo omnis terra quia mirabilia fecit, quia mirabilia fecit.	A2 / 135–171 (D) / 172–183	a / g / c / h	3/2 C

Die drei refrainartigen Abschnitte stehen durchgängig im ungeradtaktigen 3/2-Takt und weisen ganz parallel jeweils einen dreiteiligen Aufbau auf, der die rondoartige Struktur der Gesamtarchitektur der fünf bzw. sechs Formteile noch einmal dadurch verstärkt, dass der erste und dritte Binnenabschnitt jeweils identisch sind, während der mittlere Abschnitt umgekehrt neuen Text und kontrastierende Musik vorstellt.

Der erste Binnenabschnitt a besteht aus drei Viertaktern mit drei Durchgängen des ersten Textabschnitts „cantate, cantate Domino“, denen in der Continuostimme dreimal das gleiche einfache Kadenzmodell mit nur geringfügig abweichender Rhythmisierung zugrunde gelegt wird. In den Singstimmen macht sich Monteverdi ein einfaches Permutationsverfahren zunutze: Dem ersten Canto bleibt der erste Textdurchgang allein vorbehalten, melodisch mit stufenweisem Aufstieg zur Oberquarte und Rückgang zum Grundton. Während der erste Canto im zweiten und dritten Durchgang bis zur kleinen Sexte bzw. zur Oktave aufsteigt, wird er vom zweiten Canto jeweils in der Unterterz begleitet, indem dieser nun in einer Art permutativer Kombinatorik den ersten und dann den zweiten melodischen Abschnitt der Oberstimme wiederholt.

Der dritte, ebenfalls in allen Refrainteilen wiederholte Binnenabschnitt c basiert harmonisch auf der Quintfallsequenz D / G / C / F / B / Es, woran sich durch einen kleinen Sekundschrift abwärts zum d eine Kadenz zur Finalis anschließt. Melodisch hebt das Sogetto mit einem Quintfall (später zum Terzfall verengt) an, worauf ein Quintgang aufwärts mit jeweils erhöhter großer Terz folgt. Der Satz ist über weite Strecken ein Kanon zwischen den beiden Singstimmen: Zweimal setzt der Canto primo im zweitaktigen Abstand in der Oberquarte zum Canto secondo ein, erst vier Takte vor Schluss lässt Monteverdi die beiden Singstimmen in Terzparallelen den Satz zum Abschluss bringen, doch gehören die ersten beiden Takte der Oberstimme dabei gleichzeitig noch zum kanonischen Teil der zweiten Stimme. Trotz streng polyphoner Satztechnik schafft Monteverdi durch die moderne, fünf konsekutive Quintfälle umfassende Harmonisierung sowie den Schluss in Terzparallelen einen ausgesprochen modern wirkenden Satztypus.

Eingeschoben zwischen diese beiden im engeren Sinne als Refrainabschnitte zu verstehenden Binnenabschnitte a und c, die in den drei Abschnitten A, A¹ und A² einen Rahmen bilden, sind kürzere kontrastierende Passagen mit jeweils unterschiedlichem Text, die jedoch wie die umgebenden Abschnitte im 3/2-Takt stehen und wie der Schlussabschnitt des Refrainteils polyphon gebaut sind. Der erste dieser Abschnitte b (Takte 17–22) hebt an mit einem sechs Takte umfassenden strengen Kanon der beiden Singstimmen in der Unterquarte im eintaktigen Abstand, der in einem ausgedehnten, am Ende freien Melisma endet. Der zweite entsprechende Abschnitt e (Takte 73–89) umfasst dagegen zwei kanonische Binnenabschnitte, die beide mit dem Canto secondo beginnen und im eintaktigen bzw. zweitaktigen Abstand in der Oberquarte vom Canto primo beantwortet werden; kanonisch sind die ersten sechs bzw. fünf Takte, dann werden beide Binnenabschnitte freier zu Ende geführt, nach dem zweiten Kanon in Sextparallelen. Im dritten und zugleich längsten dieser Abschnitte g (Takte 146–160) sind es wiederum zwei Kanonabschnitte, diesmal im eintaktigen Einsatzabstand und erstmals mit wechselnder Einsatzfolge in unterschiedlichen Intervallrelationen, wobei Monteverdi die parallel gebauten Melismen auf „jubilate“ und „omnes“ vielfach auch für melodische Parallelführung der Stimmen nutzt. Ähnlich wie im dritten Binnenabschnitt der Refrainteile haben auch in den mittleren Abschnitten die eigentlich polyphon gebauten Singstimmen durch die Fundierung über einem Instrumentalbass, den Dreiertakt und die gelegentlich formelhaft wiederholte oder sequenzierend fortschreitende Harmonik einen ausgesprochen modernen Charakter.

Auch in den übrigen drei Abschnitten, deren Geradtaktigkeit zu den Refrainabschnitten im 3/2-Takt jeweils einen deutlich markierten Kontrast bildet, findet sich in vergleichbarer Weise eine Synthese polyphoner Verfahren und moderner Satztechniken. In Abschnitt B verwendet Monteverdi insgesamt drei Soggetti für die drei Textbausteine: das knappe erste Sogetto für „salvavit sibi“ ist bis auf eine kurze Achtelkette auf der vorletzten Silbe syllabisch, anfangs umschreibt es einen Terzsprung mit anschließender Rückkehr zum Ausgangston, das anschließende eintaktige Melisma setzt einen Ton höher ein und führt zwar noch nicht beim ersten Auftreten, dann aber in der Mehrzahl der Verwendungen des Soggettos zum Ausgangston zurück. Das zweite Sogetto für „dextera eius“ ist melodisch als Umkehrung des ersten zu verstehen, wobei nunmehr die Rahmenintervalle Terzfall und Terzsprung stufenweise aufgefüllt werden und sich, ebenfalls in Umkehrung zur

Ausgangsidee, dann von der Untersekunde des Ausgangstons ein diesmal viertaktiges Melisma mit raschem Trillo und anschließender Sechszehntelbewegung entwickelt. Das dritte Soggetto für „et brachium sanctum eius“ bietet ebenfalls Melismen auf den Hauptsilben der beiden letzten Wörter mit verwandten Sechszehntelfigurationen und einem diesmal abschließenden trillo.

Diese drei soggetti werden auf vielfältige Weise miteinander verknüpft: Zunächst trägt Canto primo die beiden ersten Soggetti nacheinander vor, nach fünf Takten wiederholt die zweite Stimme beides in der Unterquart mit dem Unterschied, dass Monteverdi am Ende des ersten Soggettos nun eine vollständige Kadenz mit Klauseln in allen drei Stimmen nach d vorsieht und damit die zweite Stimme erst einen Takt später mit dem zweiten Soggetto beginnt. Hierzu wiederholt die Oberstimme zweimal das erste Soggetto, worauf sich ein weiteres Mal im contrapposto beide Soggettoköpfe überlagern. Erst nach 16 Takten setzt in Takt 50 erstmals das dritte soggetto in der Oberstimme ein, das dann drei Takte später in der Oberquarte vom Canto secondo beantwortet wird, bevor beide Stimmen gemeinsam den Abschnitt jeweils in einem ausgedehnten, parallel und dann abschließend komplementär geführten Melisma beenden.

Ein vergleichbares Bild findet sich auch im Abschnitt D, allerdings verwendet Monteverdi hier nur zwei Soggetti. Das erste, acht Takte umfassende Soggetto beginnt auch hier syllabisch, um dann nach drei Takten in ein viertaktiges Melisma überzugehen. Fünf Takte nach dem Einsatz des Canto primo wiederholt die zweite Stimme in einem Kanon all'unisono das gesamte achttaktige Soggetto mit nur einer kleinen Schlussvariante, wird aber ab dem vierten Takt von der ersten Stimme in der Oberterz parallel begleitet, so dass die eigentlich polyphone Satztechnik homophon umgedeutet wird und kaum mehr in ihrer ursprünglichen Bedeutung erkennbar ist. Ab Takt 114 wird dann noch einmal in beiden Stimmen das vollständige Soggetto mit leichten Abwandlungen in parallelen Terzen vorgetragen. Das zweite soggetto von Abschnitt D ist demgegenüber nur fünftaktig und die Virtuosität der Melismen ist deutlich zurückgenommen und verlangsamt zur Achtelbewegung; markant ist dabei vor allem eine Achtelpause auf betonter Zählzeit im vierten Takt. Ähnlich wie im ersten Binnenabschnitt wird das soggetto zunächst polyphon verarbeitet, wobei die Oberstimme sechs Viertel nach der zweiten Stimme einsetzt, bevor beide Stimmen das gesamte Soggetto noch einmal parallel vortragen (Takte 127–134).

Vom Gestus her ähnelt auch der kurze Schlussabschnitt F den beiden soeben beschriebenen Abschnitten B und D. In diesem codaartigen Abschnitt lässt Monteverdi zunächst in den beiden Singstimmen ein kurzes aufsteigendes Motiv in der Unterquinte bzw. der nun durch Alteration zur Mollterz umgedeuteten Unterterz erklingen und pendelt dabei harmonisch gesehen taktweise zwischen G-Dur- und c-Moll-Klängen. Anschließend tragen beide Stimmen das Motiv einmal parallel vor, was aber dann in ein fünf Takte andauerndes, rasches melismatisches Spiel in komplementärer Sechszehntelbewegung in den beiden Singstimmen überführt wird, das den virtuosenden Schlusspunkt der Komposition bildet und erst mit der Schlusskadenz mit nochmaliger expressiver Vorhaltbildung endet.

Monteverdi konstruiert in seinem Duett *Cantate Dominum* eine raffinierte, ausgesprochen durchdachte formale Architektur, für die es im zeitgenössischen Motettenrepertoire keinerlei Vorbilder geben dürfte, nicht einmal in seiner eigenen, fünf Jahre zuvor veröffentlichten *Marienvesper*, mit der die besprochene Motette die höchst originelle Verbindung

älter polyphoner Techniken und neuer melodischer wie harmonischer Denkweisen teilt. Ausgangspunkt für diese konsequent durchdachte, aber dennoch immer wieder variierte musikalische Architektur ist eine freie Refrainbildung auf der Ebene des Textes, wie Monteverdi sie, wenn auch in ganz anderer Weise und zu anderen Zwecken im weltlichen Bereich u.a. in der Vertonung von Marinos *Qui rise, o Tirsi* im sechsten Madrigalbuch von 1614 erprobt hatte. Die Kontraste zwischen den Abschnitten wie auch zwischen den Binnenabschnitten sind bis ins Detail genau kalkuliert und doch niemals schematisch angewendet. Es ist diese musikalische Architektur selbst, die weit mehr noch als die vielfältigen Melismen, das anfängliche kurze Kadenzostinato oder der neue Triosatz mit seiner Einbeziehung polyphoner Denkweisen auf eine durchaus programmatische wie unerwartete Weise jenes „canticum novum“ repräsentiert und einlöst, von dem der erste Vers des Psalms spricht.

Nicht zufällig mag Monteverdi gerade diese hochexperimentelle Komposition, seine erste Veröffentlichung eines geistlichen Werks seit dem Druck von 1610 und vor allem seit seinem Amtsantritt als Markuskapellmeister,³⁷ als seinen einzigen Beitrag zum *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus* ausgewählt haben. Für deren grundlegende Neuartigkeit, deren Bedeutung im Hinblick auf Monteverdis eigene kompositorische Entwicklung bislang sicher unterschätzt worden ist, mag er gerade am Hofe Erzherzog Ferdinands in Graz Verständnis und offene Ohren zu finden gehofft haben. Auch in der Folgezeit stand Monteverdi immer wieder in Kontakt mit dem 1619 zum Kaiser gekrönten Ferdinand II. – im Dezember 1633 unterstützte dieser den Komponisten mit einem persönlichen Schreiben für den Erhalt eines Kanonikats in Cremona, mehrfach sandte Monteverdi eigene Kompositionen nach Wien, darunter den *Combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda*, und der Komponist beabsichtigte schließlich, dem Kaiser sein ebenfalls hochexperimentelles achtes Madrigalbuch zuzueignen, was nur durch dessen Tod kurz vor der Veröffentlichung verhindert wurde und dann zur Widmung an dessen Sohn, Kaiser Ferdinand III., führte.

Fazit:

Bereits die exemplarische Untersuchung der drei Fälle paralleler Textvertونungen im *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus* macht die ungewöhnliche stilistische Bandbreite der darin enthaltenen Stücke deutlich, worin sich die eingangs geäußerte Vermutung bestätigt findet, dass hier so etwas wie eine schlaglichtartige Momentaufnahme des Komponierens im Medium geringstimmiger lateinischer Motetten in Norditalien und den angrenzenden Gebieten um das Jahr 1615 vorliegen könnte. Die drei Mailänder Komponisten unternehmen auf unterschiedliche Weise den Versuch, überwiegend traditionelle kompositorische Ideen auf einen geringstimmigen Satz zu übertragen – bei Gabussi ist der Instrumentalbass de facto über weite Strecken noch eine zweite bzw. dritte polyphone Stimme, die ohne weiteres

³⁷ Im gleichen Jahr 1615 erschienen bei Kauffmann in Nürnberg in der von Georg Gruber herausgegebenen Sammlung *Reliquiae sacrorum concertuum* (1615²) noch als Nachdrucke die beiden ersten Stücke aus der Marienvesper *Domine ad adjuvandum* sowie das *Dixit Dominus* in einer leicht geänderten Fassung.

textierbar wäre, bei Nantermi wird ein Alternieren zweier üblicherweise groß besetzter Chöre auf eine geringstimmige Besetzung projiziert, so dass eine Art Polychoralität en miniature entsteht, und Pellegrini bleibt trotz einiger der neuen Zeit zugewandten melismatischen Passagen grundsätzlich der Idee variativer Soggettoverarbeitung eines älteren durchkomponierten Motettentypus ohne klare Abschnittsbildung verpflichtet. Demgegenüber zeigen die Grazer bzw. Venezianer in den drei behandelten Kompositionen ganz neuartige Möglichkeiten der Vertonung lateinischer Texte im Medium geringstimmiger Besetzungen auf, die interessanterweise in allen drei Fällen in keiner Weise an den weltlichen Experimenten dieser Jahre wie etwa dem *Stile recitativo* oder auch einer bis ins letzte ausgereizten expressiven Harmonik orientiert sind.³⁸ Priuli und Valentini experimentieren in ihren Kompositionen mit immer neuen Ableitungen und Variantenbildungen eines einzigen motivischen Kerns, aus dem im Wesentlichen die gesamten, durch klare Abschnittsbildungen geprägten Kompositionen entwickelt und damit auf genuin musikalische Weise vereinheitlicht und zu außerordentlicher Geschlossenheit geführt werden, fast mag man darin schon eine Art motivisch-thematischer Arbeit ante litteram sehen, die vielleicht sogar als Wesensmerkmal eines spezifisch Grazer Stils der Hofkapelle Ferdinands II. angesehen werden könnte.³⁹

Monteverdi experimentiert dagegen nicht mit einer Vereinheitlichung auf der Ebene der Motivbildung, sondern mit einer gezielten Verknüpfung älterer und neuerer kompositorischer Techniken sowie einer hochkomplexen musikalischen Architektur, in der die verschiedenen Formteile sich nicht mehr eher zufällig zueinander verhalten, sondern in ein übergeordnetes Formkonzept integriert werden. Gerade diese letzten drei Kompositionen verdeutlichen, in wie hohem Maße Komponisten dieser Jahre auch im Bereich der lateinischen Motette ganz neuartige Wege beschritten, die nicht als gleichsam sekundäre Übernahmen der Errungenschaften der weltlichen Musik jener Zeit zu verstehen sind, sondern als eigenständige, ganz genuine Entwicklungen im geistlichen lateinischen Repertoire. Der *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus* insgesamt bildet damit gerade in derartigen Beispielen einen höchst eindrucksvollen Beleg für den Neuanfang und die selbständige Weiterentwicklung der zeitgenössischen geistlichen Kompositionspraxis in dieser Zeit des musikalischen Umbruchs.

³⁸ Giovanni Valentini gehört etwa zu jenen Komponisten, die auch im Bereich der lateinischen Motetten mit allen Möglichkeiten expressiver Wortausdeutung gearbeitet hat, die hinter den harmonischen Experimenten der weltlichen Musik in keiner Weise zurückstehen. Vgl. hierzu v.a. Saunders, *Cross, Sword, and Lyre* sowie Steinheuer, „Jenseits des *stile recitativo*“, 74–83 (den Teil zu Valentinis *Parce mihi Domine*).

³⁹ Auch in jüngeren weltlichen Werken verwendeten Priuli und vor allem Valentini ähnliche kompositorische Techniken.

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VZPOREDNE UGLASBITVE V ZBIRKI *PARNASSUS MUSICUS*
FERDINANDAEUS GIOVANNIJA BATTISTA BONOMETTIJA

Povzetek

Antologija *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus* predstavlja posnetek precej raznolikih možnih postopkov skladanja repertoarja malih motetov v severni Italiji in habsburških deželah okoli leta 1615. Slogovna raznolikost je prikazana s primerjavo treh parov uglasbitev enakih besedil. Prvi moteti v parih so dela milanskih skladateljev in drugi beneških oz. tistih, ki so delovali v Gradcu: *O crux benedicta* (Giulio Cesare Gabussi in Giovanni Priuli), *Vulnerasti cor meum* (Vincenzo Pellegrini in Giovanni Valentini) ter *Cantate Domino* (Orazio Nantermi in Claudio Monteverdi).

Milanski skladatelji so na različne načine starejše skladateljske tehnike povezovali z novim slogom malih motetov – v Gabussijevem duetu je na primer inštrumentalni bas de facto drugi oziroma tretji polifoni glas, ki bi mu zlahka lahko podpisali enako besedilo kot v drugih dveh glasovih. Nantermi pa za razliko idejo dveh izmenjujočih se zborov, ki so bili navadno napisani za mnogo številčnejše sestave, uresniči s štirimi solističnimi glasovi, ki jih razcepi na dva stabilna dueta, in tako ustvari nekakšno polifonijo »v malem«. Čeprav se Pellegrini poslužuje tudi melizmatičnega okrasja, ostaja zvest tradicionalni polifoni zasnovi moteta, pri čemer uporablja različne in stalno spreminjajoče se teme za vsak odsek besedila ter se izogiba jasnim oblikovnim razmejitvam.

Vse tri vzporedne uglasbitve beneških mojstrov oz. skladateljev, povezanih s tem krogom, kažejo veliko več oblikovnega eksperimentiranja in novih skladateljskih rešitev. Tako Priuli kot Valentini, oba takrat delujoča na dvoru Ferdinanda II. v Gradcu, sta v svoji skladbi vgradila jasno oblikovane in (predvsem Priuli) kontrastne dele, in sicer tako, da sta teme izvajala iz različnih delov besedil, predvsem od enega samega motivičnega jedra, ki je podvrženo različnim preoblikovanjem, in je tako dosežena visoka raven povsem glasbene homogenosti. Po drugi strani Monteverdi eksperimentira s prefinjeno uporabo tako starejših polifonih kot tudi novih koncertantnih tehnik, ki so spojene v kompleksno formalno arhitekturo z nizanjem različnih mer, refrenom podobnih struktur in tudi precej virtuoznimi melizmatičnimi pasażami.

Predvsem zadnja tri dela jasno kažejo, da se je zvrst malega koncertantnega moteta razvila precej neodvisno od sodobne posvetne glasbe. Skladatelji so v tem času temeljnih slogovnih premikov v duhovni glasbi iskali samosvoje rešitve.

**PIETRO ANTONIO BIANCO'S
MISSA PERCUSSIT SAUL MILLE
A PRECURSOR OF THE HABSBURG IMPERIAL
MUSICA POLITICA OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY**

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Izvleček: V prispevku je rekonstruiran najverjetnejši okvir, v katerem lahko razumemo nastanek skladbe *Missa Percussit Saul mille* Pietra Antonia Bianca. Zdi se, da je leta 1601 notranjeavstrijski nadvojvoda Ferdinand II. pri svojem vodji glasbene kapele naročil mašo, osnovano na militarističnem motetu *Percussit Saul mille* Giovannija Croceja, in sicer za obhajanje slovesne maše pred Ferdinandovim odhodom v bitko pri Kaniži. Biancova maša se tako kaže kot glasbeni izraz političnih idej in izkazuje funkcijo, konvencijo in ideologijo, v katero je bila vpeta slovesna cerkvena glasba na graškem dvoru na prelomu v 17. stoletje. Na ta način odraža političnoglasbeno kulturo, ki je še v večji meri cvetela po tem, ko je Ferdinand postal cesar.

Abstract: The article establishes the most appropriate context for understanding Pietro Antonio Bianco's *Missa Percussit Saul mille*. In 1601 the Inner-Austrian Archduke Ferdinand II appears to have commissioned a Mass based on Giovanni Croce's militaristic motet *Percussit Saul mille* for a solemn Mass celebrated before his departure for the battle of Kanisza. Its composition was entrusted to Ferdinand's kapellmeister, Bianco. The latter's Mass seems to be a musical statement of political ideas and demonstrates the function, convention and ideology of ceremonial sacred music at the Graz court around the turn of the sixteenth century. It reflects a political-musical culture that flourished even more greatly after Ferdinand became Emperor.

Ključne besede: parodična maša, Giovanni Croce, Pietro Antonio Bianco, Ferdinand II., *musica politica*.

Keywords: parody Mass, Giovanni Croce, Pietro Antonio Bianco, Ferdinand II, *musica politica*.

As Steven Saunders has convincingly argued, there is a strong connection between the sacred music written for Ferdinand II and the politics of the period when he was Emperor.¹ This connection was also very strong later on, and emerges, for instance, in Ferdinand III's patronage of sacred music, which – as has been shown by Andrew H. Weaver – can be considered as a vehicle for his monarchical representation.² Many of the compositions written for Ferdinand and his Imperial successors contained significant musical statements

¹ Saunders, "Hapsburg Court of Ferdinand II", 359–403. With some changes, this article was later incorporated in Saunders's book entitled *Cross, Sword and Lyre*. In both essays Saunders employs the term *musica politica*, which was already used in the seventeenth century: for instance, by Athanasius Kircher and Giovanni Andrea Bontempi. See also Scherliess, "Musica politica".

² Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image*.

of political ideas. Much less about this kind of connection is known from the preceding period, when Ferdinand was Inner-Austrian Archduke. This article therefore aims to show how sacred music began already under the patronage of Archduke Ferdinand to be employed as a tool for propagating his triumphant public image. It also endeavours to reach an understanding of how he modified this use of sacred music when he became Emperor. On the basis of a brief and tentative textual, musical and political-historical analysis it is proposed that Pietro Antonio Bianco wrote his Mass for a special occasion at which sacred music was an important aid to communicating to the public Ferdinand's image as a powerful, victorious ruler.

Following his installation as Regent in 1595 Ferdinand assumed the government of Inner Austria in 1596. Without hesitation he speedily reconstituted the *Hofmusikkapelle*, which had been disbanded after his father's death in 1590. Even more than his predecessor Karl, Ferdinand harboured an unmistakable inclination towards Italian musicians, appointing to the principal musical post a Venetian, Pietro Antonio Bianco (c. 1540–1611), whose predecessor, Simone Gatto (c. 1545–1594/5), had likewise been a Venetian. In order to recruit musicians Bianco was sent to Venice; he visited that city several times, and Venetian music accordingly became the most important musical influence at the Graz court.³

Two years later, in 1598, Ferdinand himself set out on a journey to Italy that would have a great impact on him, both politically and musically.⁴ This visit is discussed in a very informative article by Theophil Antonicek, which focuses exclusively on Ferdinand's musical experiences. Which compositions the young Archduke actually heard is not known. However, a solitary exception is the motet *Percussit Saul mille* by Giovanni Croce, to which he had undoubtedly listened at Santa Maria della Pietà in Venice on 1 May. Ferdinand was obviously so impressed by Croce's piece that he went to the lengths of ordering a copy of the motet for his own *Kapelle*.⁵

Giovanni Croce (c. 1557–1609) lived all his life in Venice, and served the churches of San Marco and Santa Maria Formosa. His works were very popular at the turn of the sixteenth century, a fact attested by the numerous reprints of his collections and the presence of his pieces in several anthologies. Croce's *Percussit Saul mille* was published in his first book of eight-voice, double-choir motets entitled *Motetti a otto voci [...] comodi per le voci, e per cantar con ogni stromento*, the original edition of which was published by Giacomo Vincenti in Venice in 1594. This edition went through no fewer than six reprints.⁶ The text, based in part on the *Vulgate*, is drawn from the words of the Israelite women following David's slaying of Goliath:

Percussit Saul mille,
et David decem millia,
quia manus Domini erat cum illo.

³ On the interest in Italian music at the Graz court, see Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker am Grazer Habsburgerhof*.

⁴ Saunders, *Cross, Sword, and Lyre*, 6.

⁵ Antonicek, "Italienische Musikerlebnisse Ferdinands II.": The principal source of information for Antonicek was the diary of the journey kept by Ferdinand's secretary, Peter Casal.

⁶ The collection was reprinted in 1596, 1599, 1603, 1607, 1615 and 1622. Modern edition: Croce, *First Book of Motets for Eight Voices and Organ*.

Percussit Philistaeum
et abstulit opprobrium ex Israel.
Nonne iste David
de quo canebat in choro dicentes:
percussit Saul mille,
et David decem millia,
quia manus Domini erat cum illo?⁷

A variant of the present text was used as a responsory in the Roman liturgy on the Monday after Trinity Sunday and the third Sunday after Pentecost. Richard Charteris and Michael Procter have pointed out that Croce's setting was probably regarded as an acceptable liturgical variant, although it may have been composed for extra-liturgical use.⁸

This composition is one of two pieces in Croce's first book of motets that are linked to more or less recent military events (the other is a *Benedictus Dominus Deus Sabaoth*). Martin Morell has concluded that these works were composed to celebrate either the victory at the battle of Sisak (which took place in Croatia on 22 June 1593) or the naval victory at the battle of Lepanto (this battle had taken place on 7 October 1571, which means that the work might have been written for one of its annual commemorations).⁹

Percussit Saul mille is a rather typical representative of Croce's livelier, or – as Anthony Carver calls it – “lighter”, style, with its fanfare-like writing. It opens with concise and lively imitation leading to music in the battle idiom for “et David decem millia”, represented by rapid repeated notes (see music example 1 in the appendix).¹⁰ For the most part, the motet divides into short phrases, each repeated antiphonally (there are only a few instances of minor adjustments of scoring and harmony). Because both choirs have the same cleffing, the antiphonal repetitions occur at the unison. They increasingly overlap, which is the classic constructional device of polychoral music. The function of tutti sections is to portray or emphasize a phrase of text and provide musical punctuation. Croce's tonal orbit is here rather restricted, and he may even be – as Carver has put it – “guilty of tonal monotony.”¹¹ The motet has a great deal of melodic material, however – enough,

⁷ In English translation:
“Saul hath slain a thousand,
and David ten thousand,
for the hand of the Lord was with him.
He hath slain the Philistines
and taken away the shame of Israel.
Is not this that David
of whom the multitude sang, saying:
Saul hath slain a thousand,
and David ten thousand,
for the hand of the Lord was with him?”

⁸ Charteris and Procter, “Texts and translations”, in Croce, *First Book of Motets for Eight Voices and Organ*, LXII.

⁹ *Ibid.*, LXIII.

¹⁰ Carver, *Cori spezzati*, 174.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 176.

indeed, for Croce himself to have written a parody Mass on it. *Missa Percussit Saul mille* is the first of three Masses published in his 1596 collection of *Messe a otto voci*, being immediately, and significantly, followed by a *Missa la battaglia*.¹² As Gernot Gruber has established, Croce's motet also served as the model for two further compositions, which are a Mass and a Magnificat by Ferdinand's *Kapellmeister* in Graz, Pietro Antonio Bianco.¹³

Bianco's Mass adheres closely to the structural principles of settings of the Ordinary of the Mass popular at the Graz court: a rather extended, tripartite Kyrie (Kyrie I, Christe, Kyrie II); a relatively compact Gloria in two sections (Et in terra, Qui tollis); a Credo in four sections, the third of which is scored for a reduced number of voices (Patrem, Et incarnatus est, Crucifixus, Et in Spiritum); a tripartite Sanctus, with the Benedictus scored for a smaller number of voices and with only one Osanna (placed at the end) in triple time (Sanctus [*sine* Osanna], Benedictus, Osanna); and an exceedingly brief single Agnus Dei. It is no coincidence that a fair number of Masses by Orlando di Lasso – and also by Simone Gatto, who worked in Munich for a while – adopt a similar structure.¹⁴ Bianco's Mass is rather short, possibly reflecting the brevity of the model itself. The selection of a model that projects a sense of cantus/bassus polarity inevitably conditioned Bianco's parody technique. Much of the Mass, in fact, consists of adaptations taken from all voices of the motet at their original pitch. Some sections of the Mass differ from the original only through small adjustments to the rhythm and the length of phrases necessitated by differences between the two texts. At many other points in the Mass, too, Bianco "lifted" passages from the motet with only minimal adaptation. The transposition of phrases taken from the motet is relatively rare. Phrases in the Mass almost always begin at the same pitch as the equivalent material from the model. However, a few of the Mass's phrases are rewritten so as to lead to a cadential destination different from that in the motet. But the tonal ambit expands primarily in the newly inserted portions (in fact, there are even some entirely newly composed sections – for example, the Crucifixus and Osanna). In these instances Bianco's treatment of the two bass parts is more independent than Croce's. Additionally, Croce's texture tends to be simple and very clear-cut; however, Bianco's is a little more varied. In contrast to the motet, the Mass sometimes features an alternation of the choirs where each choir adds a new idea to the discourse, while here and there an entire passage is given over to a single choir.

If we compare the Masses of Croce and Bianco, we can recognize some similar traits. Moreover, certain factors even suggest that Bianco could have been familiar with Croce's Mass. For example, Kyrie I is modelled exclusively on the introductory polyphonic music material of the model in a very similar way, besides being of exactly the same length (see music examples 2a and 2b in the appendix). Further, the cadences ending all

¹² The collection was published in Venice by Giacomo Vincenti and was later reprinted four times (in 1600, 1604, 1607 and 1612). Modern edition: Croce, *Messe a 8 voci*.

¹³ Gruber, "Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kompositionstechnik des Parodiemagnificat", 130. The modern edition of Bianco's Mass is available in Grabnar, *Selected Works from the Hren Choirbooks*, while an edition of his Magnificat is available in Gruber, *Parodiemagnificat aus dem Umkreis der Grazer Hofkapelle*.

¹⁴ See Orlich, *Die Parodiemessen von Orlando di Lasso*.

the principal sections are (with one exception) the same, and some passages even utilize the same music, as occurs, for example, at the “Deum de Deo” in the Credo (see music example 3 in the appendix). Likewise, the ending of the Gloria is strikingly similar (see music example 4 in the appendix).

Of course, there are also a fair number of differences. For example, the section for a reduced number of voices – the Crucifixus – is free in Bianco’s Mass, but develops ideas from the model in Croce’s. Speaking generally, there is a notable amount of fairly literal quotation in Bianco’s Mass, while Croce draws on the model in a much less literal fashion. Moreover, Bianco’s Mass contains both literal quotation and “free” music, while Croce’s contains in addition some lengthy sections featuring a more remote derivation of material. Nevertheless, definite skill is shown in the way in which Bianco juxtaposes and joins together the various portions of the motet.

At Ferdinand’s court Croce’s Masses were well known. There are at least two Masses by him contained in choirbooks of Graz origin: the already mentioned *Missa la battaglia* and his *Missa Jubilate Deo* for sixteen voices.¹⁵ The question then arises: why would Bianco write a Mass on Croce’s motet *Percussit Saul mille* if there was a Mass on the same model by Croce himself to hand? There could certainly not be any aesthetic reasons arising from a view that the second piece was of low quality, for Croce’s Mass is, as Denis Arnold wrote, “a particularly splendid work, full of virile rhythms and containing harmonic asperities not unlike those of English composers of the period.”¹⁶

It is known that the performance of new works was by no means the norm, and newly composed settings of the Ordinary probably constituted only a small fraction of those performed (it is significant in this respect that Bianco’s opus contains only one Mass). Accordingly, new music was composed only for particularly festive occasions. It would therefore appear that Bianco’s Mass arose from some sort of a commission for a very special occasion. But what would that occasion have been, and when would it have occurred?

Without doubt, the Mass was written between 1598, by which time both the model and the Mass by Croce were published, and 1611, the year of Bianco’s death. Since the text of the model was unmistakably associated with a battle, the Mass, too, must have been written for a battle commemoration or something similar.¹⁷ Because this is a unique instance of such a commission of which we have knowledge, this occasion must have possessed especial *gravitas*. One such instance stands out. This occurred at St. Aegidius in Graz on 23 August 1601 and would fit the circumstances perfectly. It was a solemn

¹⁵ The first is contained in one of the Hren choirbooks (SI-Lnr, Ms 339), while the second is preserved in Vienna (A-Wn, Ms 16702).

¹⁶ Arnold, “Croce, Giovanni”, 711.

¹⁷ There is a whole series of compositions descriptive of, or linked in one or another way, to battles in sixteenth-century music. The most celebrated and influential of this kind of pieces was the chanson *La guerre* by Clément Janequin (also known as *La bataille* or *Escoutez tous gentils*), which commemorates the victory of François I of France over the forces of Duke Ercole Sforza of Milan at the Battle of Marignano in 1515. The above-mentioned *Missa la battaglia* by Croce is one of several parody Masses modelled on Janequin’s chanson. See Croce, *Messe a 8 voci*. More on some of the other parody Masses of this kind, see for instance Gudmundson, “Parody and Symbolism in Three Battle Masses”.

Mass celebrated before Ferdinand's departure for Kanisza in Lower Hungary, where he personally led his soldiers into battle against the Turks. As Robert Bireley writes, after the Mass "the nuncio presented Ferdinand with a banner, and prayers were ordered to be said in all the churches of Inner Austria throughout the campaign."¹⁸ As things turned out, the operation proved a disaster. Because of the swampy terrain, cold, snow and a sharp wind, the army withdrew. Bireley records that "[s]ix thousand wounded and sick were left on the battlefield, to be subsequently beheaded by the Turks."¹⁹ In the absence of any other prominent occasions of similar type and taking other circumstantial evidence into account, it seems fairly certainly that the Mass dates from 1601.

It must be said that there is a more profound reason why Ferdinand was so enthusiastic about Croce's militaristic motet with its unmistakable overtones of victory over enemies and perhaps required Bianco to compose a Mass based on it for this particular occasion in the political-religious life of the Inner-Austrian court: like King David, to whom Ferdinand compared himself, he trusted in God to defend him from all his enemies, the foremost of whom were the Turks.²⁰ As Ferdinand was also a major proponent of the Counter-Reformation in Inner-Austria, Bianco's Mass must have been in the same time perceived by (at least some of the) contemporary listeners as a strongly anti-Protestant statement. The function of this kind of music was thus not merely a courtly representation but also a demonstration of the authority and majesty of the ruler. The Mass must certainly have pleased the Archduke – an outcome also suggested by the high incidence of quoted or paraphrased material taken from the model.

The Mass is thus a significant musical legacy of Ferdinand's Italian journey, one that could be seen as an addition to the Italian musical souvenirs collected elsewhere in a choirbook today held by the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna.²¹ The works it contains are by Croce, both Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli and other Italian composers. After Ferdinand became Emperor this manuscript was transferred from Graz to Vienna. It is interesting that at least three of its motets served as models for parody Masses by composers working in Ferdinand's *Hofmusikkapelle*: Bianco employed Croce's motet *Percussit Saul mille*; Georg Poss, Giovanni Gabrieli's motet *Hoc tegitur*; and Giovanni Valentini, another motet by Gabrieli, *Diligam te Domine*.²² This is clear evidence that these motets were highly appreciated by Ferdinand.

Although Ferdinand took his most admired music with him to Vienna – Croce's *Percussit Saul mille* included – Bianco's Mass seems not to have formed part of the relocated repertoire. Perhaps there was some bitterness attached to the Mass, brought about by the fact that in 1601, at Kanisza, the Emperor had been forced to retreat. It seems Ferdinand realized it is better to celebrate a festive Mass in this vein only after

¹⁸ Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 43.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 44.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 37.

²¹ A-Wn, Ms 16703.

²² Annibale Perini's Mass based on the motet *Benedicite omnia opera Domini* by Ruggiero Giovannelli should most probably also be regarded as one of these parody compositions. Grabnar, *Selected Works from the Hren Choirbooks*, xxvi–xxviii.

the military success has been assured, as indicated for instance by Giovanni Valentini's seven-choir *Jubilate Deo*.²³

Bianco's Mass can be seen as an example of the function, convention and ideology of music in Graz court ceremonies. At Ferdinand's court in Graz sacred compositions were already showing an increasingly militant expression. Bianco's Mass (like his Magnificat) provides clear illustrations of these tendencies. It therefore represents a fine example of *musica politica*, a political-musical culture that is traceable already from Ferdinand's Graz years when he was Inner-Austrian Archduke but flourished even more greatly after he became Emperor.

Appendix

Music example 1

Giovanni Croce, *Percussit Saul mille*, beginning

C 1
Per - cus-sit Sa-ul mil - le, per-cus-sit Sa-ul mil - le, per-cus-sit Sa-ul mil - le,

A 1
Per - cus-sit Sa-ul mil - le, per-cus-sit Sa - ul mil - le,

T 1
Per - cus-sit Sa-ul mil - le, per-cus-sit Sa - ul mil - le,

B 1
Per - cus-sit Sa-ul mil - le, Sa - ul mil - le,

C 2
Per - cus-sit Sa-ul mil - le, per-cus-sit

A 2
Per - cus-sit Sa-ul mil - le, per-cus-sit

T 2
Per - cus-sit Sa-ul mil -

B 2
Per - cus-sit

²³ Saunders, *Cross, Sword, and Lyre*, 105–106.

Music example 1

(continued)

6

C 1 et Da-vid de-cem mil-li - a, et Da-vid de-cem mil-li - a, et Da - vid

A 1 et Da-vid de-cem mil-li - a, et Da-vid de-cem mil-li - a, et Da - vid

T 1 et Da-vid de-cem mil-li - a, et Da-vid de-cem mil-li - a, et Da - vid de-

B 1 et Da-vid de-cem mil-li - a, et Da-vid de-cem mil-li - a, et Da-vid de - -

C 2 Sa-ul mil - le, per-cus-sit Sa-ul mil - le, e Da-vid de-cem mil-li - a, et Da-vid de-cem mil-li - a, de -

A 2 Sa - ul mil - le, et Da-vid de-cem mil-li - a, et Da-vid de-cem mil-li - a, et Da - -

T 2 - le, per-cus-sit Sa - ul mil - le, et Da-vid de-cem mil-li - a, et Da-vid de-cem mil-li - a, et Da-vid

B 2 Sa-ul mil - le, Sa - ul mil - le, et Da-vid de-cem mil-li - a, et Da-vid de-cem mil-li - a, et Da-

Music example 2a
Giovanni Croce, *Missa Percussit Saul mille*, beginning

C1 Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei -

A1 Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei -

T1 Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei -

B1 Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei -

C2 Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky -

A2 Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

T2 Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

B2 Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

Music example 2b
Pietro Antonio Bianco, *Missa Percussit Saul mille*, beginning

C1 Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - -

A1 Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - -

T1 Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - -

B1 Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - -

C2 Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - -

A2 Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - -

T2 Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - -

B2 Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - -

Music example 3

Left, Giovanni Croce, Missa Percussit Saul mille, Credo (excerpt)

Right, Pietro Antonio Bianco, Missa Percussit Saul mille, Credo (excerpt)

21

C 1 De-um de De - o lu - men de
A 1 De-um de De - o lu - men de
T 1 De-um de De - o lu - men de
B 1 De-um de De - o lu - men de
C 2 se - cu - la De - um de De - o
A 2 - - cu - la De - um de De - o
T 2 a se - cu - la De - um de De - o
B 2 - - cu - la De - um de De - o

23

C 1 - a sae - cu - la. De-um de De - o,
A 1 - a sae - cu - la. De-um de De - o,
T 1 - a sae - cu - la. De-um de De - o,
B 1 - a sae - cu - la. De-um de De - o,
C 2 De-um de De - o, lu - men de
A 2 De-um de De - o, lu - men de
T 2 De-um de De - o, lu - men de
B 2 De-um de De - o, lu - men de

Music example 4

Left, Giovanni Croce, *Missa Percussit Saul mille*, Gloria (ending)

Right, Pietro Antonio Bianco, *Missa Percussit Saul mille*, Gloria (ending)

Left page (Giovanni Croce):

- C 1: A - - - men.
- A 1: A - - - men.
- T 1: A - - - men.
- B 1: A - - - men.
- C 2: A - - - men.
- A 2: A - - - men.
- T 2: A - - - men.
- B 2: A - - - men.

Right page (Pietro Antonio Bianco):

- C 1: a - - - men.
- A 1: a - - - men.
- T 1: a - - - men.
- B 1: a - - - men.
- C 2: -i Pa - tris, a - - - men.
- A 2: -i Pa - tris, a - - - men.
- T 2: -i Pa - tris, a - - - men.
- B 2: -i Pa - tris, a - - - men.

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MISSA PERCUSSIT SAUL MILLE PIETRA ANTONIA BIANCA
Z NANILKA HABSBURŠKE CESARSKE MUSICAE POLITICAE
SEDEMNAJSTEGA STOLETJA

Povzetek

Leta 1598 se je notranjeavstrijski nadvojvoda Ferdinand II. odpravil v Italijo na potovanja, ki je pomembno vplivalo na njegovo politiko in na njegov pogled na glasbo. Katere skladbe je mladi nadvojvoda tam poslušal, ni znano, z izjemo moteta *Percussit Saul mille* Giovannija Croceja. Ferdinand je bil nad motetom tako navdušen, da je za svojo kapelo naročil prepis te skladbe. Croce sam je na osnovi svojega moteta oblikoval mašo, njegov motet pa je služil tudi kot predloga maši in magnifikatu Ferdinandovega vodje kapele v Gradcu, Pietra Antonia Bianca (ok. 1540–1611). Če med seboj primerjamo Crocejevo in Biancovo mašo, lahko prepoznamo nekatere skupne značilnosti. Posamezni elementi celo nakazujejo, da je Bianco poznal Crocejevo mašo. Tako se postavlja vprašanje, zakaj bi Bianco napisal mašo na osnovi Crocejevega moteta *Percussit Saul mille*, če je bila maša, ki temelji na istem modelu in izpod peresa Croceja samega, že pri roki. Znano je, da je bilo izvajanje novih del redko in da so nove uglasbitve besedil mašnega ordinarija predstavljale le majhen delež vseh izvajanih maš. Nova glasba je bila torej zložena le za posebne slavnosti. Zato se na podlagi okoliščin zdi, da je bila Biancova maša plod naročila za posebno priložnost, in sicer za slovesno mašo – darovano 23. avgusta 1601 v cerkvi sv. Egidija v Gradcu – pred odhodom Ferdinanda v bitko na Madžarsko (Kaniža), v kateri je Ferdinand osebno vodil vojsko v boj s Turki. Zaradi ujemajočih se okoliščin in dejstva, da kakšen drug primerljivo pomemben dogodek ni znan, se zdi tako zelo verjetno, da je Bianco mašo napisal leta 1601. Njegovo mašo lahko vidimo kot primer ideologije in funkcije, ki jo je imela glasba pri slovesnostih na graškem dvoru; že na Ferdinandovem graškem dvoru je sakralna glasba izkazovala militanten izraz. Biancova maša tako predstavlja primer *musicae politicae*, politično-glasbene kulture, ki je še v večji meri cvetela potem, ko je Ferdinand postal cesar.

SKLADATELJI ZBIRKE
PARNASSUS MUSICUS FERDINANDAEUS

COMPOSERS OF THE
PARNASSUS MUSICUS FERDINANDAEUS

GIOVANNI BATTISTA COCCIOLA'S ACTIVITY IN THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH AND HIS CONCERTO *AVE MUNDI SPES MARIA* FROM THE *PARNASSUS MUSICUS FERDINANDAEUS*

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Izveček: Giovanni Battista Cocciola je bil italijanski skladatelj 17. stoletja, ki je nekaj časa deloval tudi v Poljsko-litovski zvezi. Njegova glasbena zapuščina, ki se je le deloma ohranila in je v mednarodni muzikološki literaturi tako rekoč neznana, obsega motete, cerkvene koncerte, kanconete in maše. Med drugim je napisal tudi en motet za antologijo *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*.

Ključne besede: cerkveni koncert, Giovanni Battista Cocciola, glasba na Poljskem, glasba v Litvi, glasba 17. stoletja.

Abstract: Giovanni Battista Cocciola was one of the seventeenth-century Italian composers active for a period in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. His musical legacy, only partially preserved and unknown to the international musicological literature, comprises motets, church concertos, canzonettas and masses. Cocciola is also the author of one concerto included in the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus*.

Keywords: church concerto, Giovanni Battista Cocciola, music in Poland, music in Lithuania, seventeenth-century music.

Giovanni Battista Cocciola belongs to that group of seventeenth-century Italian musicians and composers which spent part of their artistic lives in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Cocciola's legacy remains little known in the international musicological literature; one notices the absence of his name in Italian encyclopaedias and reference books, as well as in the German *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. His music still awaits performances and recordings. So far, the main persons to have considered Cocciola's music are Alina Osostowicz-Sutkowska¹ and Irena Bieńkowska. Bieńkowska has presented a summary of his life and work in her unpublished doctoral dissertation,²

¹ Osostowicz-Sutkowska, "Twórczość Giovanniego Battisty Coccioli"; Osostowicz-Sutkowska, "G. B. Cocciola".

² Bieńkowska, "Muzyka Giovanniego Battisty Coccioli".

in several articles,³ and especially in her critical edition of Cocciola's collected works.⁴ To the facts and hypotheses offered by Bieńkowska I have been able to add a few details.

Giovanni Battista Cocciola was born in Vercelli (in Piedmont). This information comes from the title page of his concertato motets from 1625.⁵ He must have come to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth before 1606, because in that year he was in the service of the bishop of Warmia,⁶ Szymon Rudnicki (who held this office from 1604 to 1621). An inscription in the Alto part of the composition *Tribulationes cordis mei* provides information on Cocciola's employment at the court of the bishop, who was himself a lover of music: "Joan. Battistae | Gozzolae Mus.[ici] | R[everendi]^s Episc[opi] Varmen[sis] | Ao. 1606." This manuscript, held by the University Library in Uppsala,⁷ originates from the Jesuit College of Braunsberg (today, Braniewo in the diocese of Warmia) and was probably stolen by Swedish troops during their invasion in the years 1626–1629. Cocciola's activity at the bishop's court may have been linked to the reform of liturgical singing in the Warmia diocese, which was overseen by Adam Steinhallen, a student of Annibale Stabile in Rome who was earlier associated with the Polish royal court. Steinhallen could have asked Cocciola to help him with this reform. The religious character of Rudnicki's court⁸ could have encouraged Cocciola to compose church music requiring a smaller number of voices. It is worth noting that in the monumental organ tablature created between 1620 and 1640 in the Cistercian monastery in Pelplin⁹ (likewise in Royal Prussia) there is at the very beginning of the manuscript a series of fourteen vocal religious compositions by Cocciola for two and three voices, to which a further three pieces were added later.¹⁰ It seems possible that these come from a lost collection of musical works by him, one either printed or planned for publication.

The exact year when Cocciola arrived in the Commonwealth is unknown. Irena Bieńkowska offers the plausible hypothesis that he was recruited by the court of King

³ Bieńkowska, "Ukształtowania drobnoodcinkowe"; Bieńkowska, "Polychoral Works of G. B. Cocciola"; Bieńkowska, "Religious Works of Giovanni Battista Cocciola"; Bieńkowska, "Concerti ecclesiastici".

⁴ Cocciola, *Dziela zebrane*.

⁵ The contents of the title page of the Bassus partbook: "CONCENTVS | HARMONICI | ECCLESIASTICI. | Duabus, Tribus, Quatuor, & Quinque | Vocibus. | *Cum Basso Continuo ad Organum*. | IOANNIS BAPTISTAE COCCIOLAE | VERCELLENSIS. | Illustrissimi Domini D. Leonis Sapihae Cancellarij Magni | Ducatus Lituaniae Musicae Magistri. | BASSVS. | ANTVERPIAE, | APVD PETRVM PHALESIVM | ad insigne Daudis Regis | M. D. CXXV." The unique copy belongs to the Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent, shelfmark B-Gu Res. 672(11) (RISM 00000991016406).

⁶ Warmia is a region in northern Poland, then part of Royal Prussia belonging to the Polish Crown. The seat of the bishops of Warmia was the castle in Lidzbark Warmiński.

⁷ The manuscript no. 396 (the Tenor partbook) of the Universitetsbibliothek Carolina Rediviva in Uppsala, shelfmark Utl. vok. mus. i tr. 395–396 (RISM 190008600).

⁸ Cf. note 6.

⁹ The source known as Tabulatura Pelplińska is housed in the Muzeum Diecezjalne in Pelplin. Cf. Sutkowski and Osostowicz-Sutkowska, *Pelplin Tablature*.

¹⁰ Cf. the compositions numbered 1–17 in the list of Cocciola's compositions inscribed in the Pelplin tablature. Cocciola, *Dziela zebrane*, 16–17.

Sigismund III Vasa at the end of the sixteenth century, when an intensive reorganization of the royal music chapel took place. As Archduke Ferdinand also did in Graz, Sigismund III sought to Italianise his musical ensemble. In 1595 many Italian musicians appeared in Poland, among them Luca Marenzio in the role of choirmaster, followed by Giulio Cesare Gabussi and Asprilio Pacelli (the last-named musician spent a long period of time in Poland – from 1602 until his death in 1623). Regarding Cocciola, in the account books of the Polish royal court for February 1598 and September 1599 one finds the names of an alto singer named Johannes Baptista, and a castrato named Andreas. Bieńkowska¹¹ tentatively identifies the two singers with Giovanni Battista Cocciola and Giovanni Andrea Cocciola – the latter being a soprano at the court in Graz during the years 1603–1615. Giovanni Andrea likewise came from Vercelli and was a relative, maybe a brother, of Giovanni Battista. Bishop Rudnicki maintained close contact with the Polish royal court, which could have facilitated Cocciola's connection with Warmia.

Before the year 1613 Giovanni Battista Cocciola published in Gdańsk a collection of canzonettas, probably for two and three voices. The source of this information is an inventory of books drawn up after the death of the bookseller Jacob Mertzenich, who was active in Cracow during the years 1610–1613.¹² One of the books Mertzenich had in stock was catalogued as “Canzonetti [sic] Cocciola duo volumina in 4^{to} Gedani”, which denotes a pair of partbooks printed in *quarto* format by an unknown Gdańsk printing house. One should remember that at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the first demonstration of compositional skill was often the publication of a set of madrigals or canzonettas. We may suppose that the lost edition mentioned above was the formal initiation of Cocciola's career as a composer. The fact of its publication in Gdańsk (in Royal Prussia) may be associated with Cocciola's activity in that area, although the secular nature of the compositions suggests that they were connected with the environment of the royal chapel of Sigismund III rather than with the court of Bishop Rudnicki.

Before 1619 Cocciola had apparently committed to print a collection of small-scale motets, which are mentioned by Michael Praetorius in his *Syntagma Musicum*.¹³ When Praetorius discusses – among other things – the meanings of the terms motet and concerto, which are applied interchangeably, he gives examples of their use by various authors, and – most intriguingly – mentions Cocciola as a member of a group of composers who have written pieces for a small number of voices (from one to five) and called these “Motetti”. Today we do not know of any publication of this kind by Cocciola. Of course, any such collection must have been issued no later than 1619. It seems likely that Praetorius was referring to Cocciola's lost collection of small-scale motets inscribed in the organ tablature from Pelplin.

In the same year, 1619, a catalogue of the publishing house of Alessandro Vincenti

¹¹ Warsaw, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, shelfmark ASK I, 296, fol. 79r. See Cocciola, *Dziela zebrane*, 11.

¹² Mertzenich's inventory is part of a larger manuscript preserved in the National Archives in Cracow, Department III (in Polish: Archiwum Narodowe, Oddział III), where it is catalogued as *Acta Advocatialis Cracoviensis* no. 235, fols. 1534–1593.

¹³ Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, 7.

was printed. In the section numbered XII, consisting of “Messe a più voci con il basso per sonar”, there is mention of “Messa, motetti Cociola à 8”.¹⁴ This information was inaccurately recorded in the late eighteenth century by Ernst Ludwig Gerber, who stated that already in 1612 Cocciola had published in Venice one motet and an eight-voice mass with basso continuo in *quarto* format.¹⁵ The date given by Gerber seems questionable. We can be certain only that Cocciola’s collection must have been printed before 1619. No copy of this publication has come down to us. We may, however, suspect that the fourteen double-choir motets by Cocciola copied into the Pelplin organ tablature originate from the print in question.¹⁶

From at least 1623 Cocciola was a choirmaster at the court of Leon Sapieha (1557–1633), one of the most prominent politicians and diplomats in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This man established the power of the Sapieha family and brought it into the political elite of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. From the end of the sixteenth century Sapieha maintained a private musical ensemble with over twenty members. In 1589 he received the title of Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Published in 1625, Cocciola’s collection of concertato motets entitled *Concentus Harmonici* is connected with Sapieha in his post of Chancellor. However, already in February 1623 Sapieha was raised to the even higher position of Palatine of Vilnius, and in July 1625 he became the Grand Hetman of Lithuania. All these circumstances allow us to believe that Cocciola must have started working for Sapieha and initiated the preparation of the collection before February 1623.¹⁷ Bieńkowska suspects that Cocciola joined Sapieha’s court around 1612.¹⁸ The collection of 1625 contains 20 compositions for a small number of voices (from one to five) plus organ. The title page describes the author as chapel master of the most illustrious Lord Leon Sapieha, Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.¹⁹ The print originated from the publishing house of Pierre Phalèse in Antwerp. It is worth noting that the composers working in the Commonwealth rarely published their music there because of the underdeveloped state of music printing. If any of them was fortunate enough to find a patron willing to finance the publication, it was entrusted to a printer either in Italy (Venice or Rome) or in the Netherlands, as in Cocciola’s case. The *Concentus Harmonici* collection was offered for sale at the Frankfurt Book Fair in the autumn of 1625 and also in the spring of 1626.²⁰

For the period when the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus* was being prepared

¹⁴ Vincenti, *Indice di tutte le opere*, 11.

¹⁵ Gerber, *Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon*, 291: “Cocciola (Gio. Battista) ein berühmter Komponist des vorigen Jahrhunderts aus Vercelli in Savoyen, war Kapellmeister des Lithauischen[sic] Canzlers Leonis Sapieha und ließ im J. 1612 zu Venedig eine Motette nebst einer 8 stimmigen Missa cum B. C. in 4 drucken. Auch findet man in des Bergameno Parnasso music. verschiedene Motetten von seiner Arbeit.”

¹⁶ The list of the compositions (no. 18–31) in Cocciola, *Dziela zebrańe*, 16–17.

¹⁷ As Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska states, the first edition of this collection was published already in 1621 (cf. her article in the present volume of *De musica disserenda*).

¹⁸ Cocciola, *Dziela zebrańe*, 12.

¹⁹ Cf. note 5.

²⁰ Göhler, “Die Messkataloge”, 37.

there is no certain information about Cocciola's activities. Perhaps he was already in the service of Sapieha in Vilnius. Maybe he attempted to obtain a position at the court of Archduke Ferdinand in Graz. He could have counted on the mediation of Giovanni Andrea Cocciola, at that time still in archducal service. Or perhaps he sought financial support from Archduke Ferdinand for a further publication? In the first quarter of the seventeenth century a nucleus of talented Italian composers – Asprilio Pacelli, Giovanni Valentini and later Tarquinio Merula – worked in the royal chapel of Sigismund III. Perhaps in this environment Cocciola did not come up to scratch, and he had to settle for work in less prestigious ensembles, such as those in the chapels of bishop Rudnicki or Leon Sapieha. Hence, perhaps, his efforts to secure a post in Graz, where, however, it was equally difficult to find rewarding employment. In 1616, after thirteen years of service, the castrato Giovanni Andrea Cocciola quitted his post and made plans to return to Italy. The reason was stated to be his poor health and the unsatisfactory financial conditions. There is no more information on Giovanni Battista Cocciola's subsequent musical career. The date and place of his death remain unknown.

Cocciola's compositional achievements centre on four musical genres: canzonettas, polychoral motets, masses and small-scale concertato motets (see table 1). Cocciola devoted most effort to the composition of *concerti ecclesiastici* for a small number of voices, a genre that corresponded perfectly to the needs of typical ensembles of that time. It was also this kind of work that was published in the anthology *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus*. Although it is known that concertato motets – still harking back strongly to the polyphonic motet style – were being composed in Poland around 1610, the number of surviving sources for this type of music is very small (some compositions by Mikołaj Zieleński and one by Asprilio Pacelli fall into this category). Against this background Cocciola's compositions form a large and important group. They give the opportunity to observe, how – gradually – the Renaissance motet was replaced by compositions of newer type.

In the two printed anthologies (of 1615 and 1627) we find two fully preserved three-part *concerti ecclesiastici* with basso continuo. Twenty pieces, at present incomplete (only the Basso part has come down to us), were published in 1625 (probably with a first edition in 1621) under the title of *Concentus Harmonici Ecclesiastici*. Around 1700 the same print formed part of the famous Ballard collection. From its description we learn that it consisted of five partbooks in *quarto* format.²¹

Among the manuscript sources of Cocciola's music the most important place is occupied by the great organ tablature from Pelplin. As I mentioned earlier, this tablature contains his seventeen small-scale concertato motets, the first fourteen of which were inscribed in an uninterrupted sequence at the start of the manuscript. They are ordered according to the number of voices. First come the pieces for two voices, then the three-part compositions. An analysis of the Pelplin tablature establishes that its principal copyist drew upon printed music available to him in order to form the collection.²² Accordingly, he sometimes copied a largish number of works by the same author. The ordering of

²¹ Guillo, "La bibliothèque de musique des Ballard", 209–210.

²² Cf., for example, Patalas, "Asprilio Pacelli in Poland".

Cocciola's works in the manuscript suggests that he simply copied them directly from a print that today is missing, and which I would identify with the one to which Praetorius referred in 1619. So this collection, assembled before 1619, could have contained works for two, three and four voices with basso continuo.

Table 1

Giovanni Battista Cocciola's compositions (according to their musical genres)

canzonette	<i>Canzonette</i> [2–3 voices?], ed. before 1613	Lost print, mentioned in Mertzzenich's inventory
Motets (14) for 2 choruses	In mss: • Pelplin organ tablature (PL-PE) • Oliwa organ tablature (Lt-Va)	Pieces coming probably from a lost collection printed in Venice before 1619 (cf. Alessandro Vincenti's catalogue of 1619)
Mass	<i>Missa Defunctorum</i> a 4 (ms. in D-B 40073)	Only 1 voice-part preserved
Church concertos (43) for 2–5 voices and organ	See table 2	

Cocciola's known musical legacy belonging to the genre of the concertato motet comprises forty-three pieces preserved in manuscripts and prints (see table 2).

Table 2

Cocciola's church concertos (43), for 2–5 voices and organ

in print (22):	
One piece in the <i>Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus</i> (1615)	No known concordances in mss
20 pieces in <i>Concentus Harmonici Ecclesiastici</i> , 2–5 voices, organ, Antwerp, P. Phalesius, 1625	Incomplete (Basso only) (B-Gu)
One piece in Donfried's anthology (1627)	No known concordances in mss
in manuscript (21):	
17 pieces in the Pelplin organ tablatures (PL-PE)	Incomplete; probably from the lost edition for 2–4 voices printed before 1619.
One piece in Uppsala (S-Uu)	Incomplete; dated 1606; no known concordances
14 pieces in PL-Kj 40063	Incomplete (Basso continuo only): • 8 pieces = the Pelplin organ tablature • 3 pieces = 1625 print • 3 pieces: no known concordances
Four pieces in the Oliwa organ tablature (Lt-Bn)	Incomplete = the same 4 pieces as in the Pelplin organ tablature (PL-PE) • probably from the lost edition for 2–4 voices printed before 1619
One piece in Bardejov (H-Bn)	Incomplete = the same piece as in the Pelplin organ tablature

The Pelplin intabulations of Cocciola's concertato motets constitute incomplete testimonies. The copyist wrote down only the vocal parts, although – of course – on their basis any organist could have created an appropriate accompaniment. The existence of an original organ part is confirmed by a manuscript copy (shelfmark 40063) held by the Jagiellonian

Library in Cracow. This is a continuo partbook containing a couple of hundred compositions by various authors, including fourteen by Cocciola. As many as eight of these have concordances in the Pelplin tablature, while three others correspond to works contained in Cocciola's print of 1625. The continuo part fits perfectly the vocal parts inscribed in the tablature. The need for an organ accompaniment is clearly apparent when we examine the texture of certain compositions, such as, for example, *Tibi laus, tibi gloria* (see Figure 1). The instrumental basso often doubles its vocal counterpart, but it sometimes becomes an independent instrumental accompaniment resembling Viadana's continuo parts.

Only two printed *concerti ecclesiastici* by Cocciola are preserved in complete form. One is an *Ave mundi spes Maria* from the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus* anthology.²³ This composition calls for three vocal parts ("due canti e basso") plus organ, a combination very typical for the time as well as for Cocciola himself. *Ave mundi spes Maria* shares most of the features of his other concertato motets, which form a fairly homogeneous group. In that composition one can still observe strong links to motet-like techniques characterized, among other things, by the equal status of the voices, the use in them of imitation alongside frequent parallel motion and the presence of rather long melodic phrases. On the other hand, however, the piece is distinguished by the use of quite bold contrasts of setting and texture, obtained through the abundant deployment of concertato technique, as well as by alert, but not over-radical, subordination of the music to the words. Its strophic text is taken from a medieval sequence addressed to the Virgin Mary (see table 3). This begins with praise of the Mother of God as benevolent, radiating hope and goodness. The second stanza refers to Christ and the Virgin's care for him. The third stanza is a plea to Mary as a ruler able to comfort any believer, even one immersed in sin. The text is marked by interesting changes of affect. One way in which the composer mirrors those changes occurs on the level of modality. In the last stanza he introduces the notes B and C sharp which lie outside the principal G-Hypodorian mode, as well as *clausulae peregrine* leading to A and E, which result in *commixtio tonorum*.

Table 3

G. B. Cocciola, Formal features of *Ave mundi spes Maria* (line of the text / number of syllables in the line / scoring / tonal destination)

Ave mundi spes Maria	8a	CI	clausula finalis: G
Ave mitis, ave pia	8a	C II – C II+B	clausula G – cadentia D
Ave plena gratia	7a	tutti	pause on F
Omnis boni copia.	7a	tutti	cadentia G
Ave virgo Mater Christi	8b	C II+B	pause on F
tu quae sola meruisti	8b	CI	cadentia D
esse Mater sine vero	8c	tutti	cadentia G
et lactare more miro.	8c	tutti	cadentia D
Angelorum imperatrix	8d	tutti	pause on D

²³ Cf. Antonicek, *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*.

peccatorum consolatrix	8d	tutti	cadentia B flat
consolare me lugentem	8e	C I+C II	clausula <i>in mi</i> to a
in peccatis iam faentem	8e	C I+B	pause on A
consolare me lugentem	8e	C II	clausula <i>in mi</i> to e
in peccatis iam faentem.	8e	tutti	cadentia A – <i>peregrina</i> , then D and G

Changes in the scoring and texture, which occur after each verse, bring into relief not only the structure of the text but also its meaning. This is aurally evident from the very start of the piece. Cocciola makes great use of word-painting, such as for the exclamations employing the repeated word “Ave”, which appear in the two Canto voices in echo fashion. For “ave plena [...] omnis bonitas” (bar 7) all the voices appear together. At “tu quae sola” (b. 15) Cocciola introduces a short solo for Canto I alone. It is easy to discover textually illustrative rhetorical figures such as a *kathabasis* for the words “in peccatis” and a *saltus duriusculus* for “consolare”.

Although the expressive means used by Cocciola in *Ave mundi spes Maria* are not avant-garde, they evidence his general knowledge of the concept of *musica moderna*. Even if his European career was rather brief and circumscribed Cocciola played an important role in the process of transplantation of the Italian idea of the church concerto into the territory of the Commonwealth.

Music example

Giovanni Battista Cocciola, *Tibi laus, tibi gloria*, from the Peplin tablature (transcription by Aleksandra Patalas)

The musical score consists of three staves labeled C1, C2, and B. C1 and C2 are in treble clef, and B is in bass clef. The music is in 3/4 time and has one flat in the key signature. The lyrics are: C1: Ti - bi laus ti - bi glo - ri - a ti - bi laus ti - bi; C2: Ti - bi laus ti - bi glo - ri - a; B: Ti - bi laus ti - bi glo - ri - a ti - bi laus ti - bi.

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DELOVANJE GIOVANNIJA BATTISTE COCCIOLE V POLJSKO-LITOVSKI
ZVEZI IN NJEGOV MOTET *AVE MUNDI SPES MARIA* IZ ZBIRKE
PARNASSUS MUSICUS FERDINANDAEUS

Povzetek

Giovanni Battista Cocciola se je rodil v italijanskem Vercelliju, a je deloval predvsem v Poljsko-litovski zvezi. Njegova glasbena zapuščina je v mednarodni muzikološki literaturi le malo znana. Z glasbo Cocciola sta se doslej ukvarjali predvsem Alina Osostowicz - Sutkowska in Irena Bieńkowska. Cocciola bi lahko bil eden izmed italijanskih glasbenikov, ki so bili konec 16. stoletja zaposleni v dvorni glasbeni kapeli poljskega kralja Sigismunda III. Vase. Vsaj od leta 1606 je bil v službi škofa Szymona Rudnickija v Warmii (tedaj v kraljevi Prusiji). Zanimivo je, da je prav na začetku monumentalnega rokopisa z orgelskimi tabulaturami, ki je nastal med 1620 in 1640 v cistercijanskem samostanu v Pelplinu (tedaj prav tako v kraljevi Prusiji), zapisana skupina štirinajstih Cocciolovih cerkvenih skladb za dva do tri glasove. Tem so pozneje dodali še nekaj drugih njegovih kompozicij. Možno bi bilo, da so bile te skladbe prepisane iz pozneje izgubljene zbirke duhovnih koncertov, tiskane ali pa pripravljene za natis. Cocciola je v Gdansku tiskal danes izgubljeno zbirko kanconet, verjetno za dva in tri glasove, ki jo je imel krakovski knjigarnar na zalogi še leta 1613. Sklepali bi lahko, da se je prav s to izdajo začela Cocciolova skladateljska pot.

Vsaj od leta 1623 je bil Cocciola kapelnik na dvoru Leona Sapiehe (1557–1633), enega najpomembnejših politikov in diplomatov Poljsko-litovske zveze. O skladateljevi povezavi s Sapieho priča izdaja (verjetno prvi ponatis) njegove zbirke koncertantnih motetov *Concentus Harmonici* leta 1625. Zbirka vsebuje 20 skladb za nekaj glasov (enega do pet) in orgle. Cocciolov skladateljski opus sicer obsega štiri večje glasbene zvrsti: kanconete, večzbarske motete, maše in male koncertantne motete, imenovane tudi cerkveni koncerti. Njegova glavna zvrst so bili *concerti ecclesiastici* za nekaj glasov, ki so bili za tedaj značilne glasbene skupine najbolj primerni. Ta tip skladbe je tudi motet *Ave mundi spes Maria*, ki je bil uvrščen tudi v antologijo *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*. Čeprav izrazna sredstva, ki jih je Cocciola uporabil v tej skladbi, niso med najnaprednejšimi, pričajo o njegovem poznavanju koncepta tedaj nove glasbe. In čeprav je bila evropska kariera tega skladatelja precej omejena, je odigral pomembno vlogo v procesu prenosa in udomačitve italijanskega cerkvenega koncerta na ozemlju Poljsko-litovske zveze.

GIOVANNI SANSONI CORNETTIST, *MAESTRO DEI CONCERTI* AND COMPOSER IN VENICE, GRAZ AND VIENNA

HERBERT SEIFERT
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Izvešček: Sansoni je igral na cink, pozavno in fagot, najprej pri sv. Marku v Benetkah nato pa v graški dvorni kapeli in v cesarski kapeli na Dunaju, kjer je bil vodilni instrumentalist. Napisal je tudi nekaj motetov. V prispevku sta analizirana dva, ki sta bila natisnjena leta 1615.

Ključne besede: Giovanni Sansoni, Ferdinand III. (cesar), cink, Gradec, Dunaj.

Abstract: Sansoni was a player of the cornetto, trombone and bassoon at San Marco in Venice, at the court in Graz and finally at the Imperial chapel in Vienna, where he died as the senior instrumentalist. He composed a few motets. Two of them were printed in 1615 and are the objects of an analysis.

Keywords: Giovanni Sansoni, Ferdinand III (Emperor), cornetto, Graz, Vienna.

Two of the motets for two singers in *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus* name as their author Giovanni Sansoni. In the first part of this paper I shall give biographical data for this musician, following which I am going to take a look at these compositions.

Sansoni was born around 1593, because at his death, on 15 November 1648, his age is given as 55 years,¹ which, as experience has shown me, is unlikely to be absolutely precise. The composer Romano Micheli, in his collection of motets by various authors entitled *Musica vaga et artificiosa* (Venice, 1615),² calls him a “Musicus di Venezia”, so he could have been born in the Serenissima. In this context, it is interesting to find a trombone player named Gaspare Sansoni employed at San Marco in Venice in 1593, the possible year of Giovanni’s birth;³ this could have been his father or some other relative. The earliest documentation we have is the admission of “Zaneto Sanson” to the *cappella* of San Marco in Venice on 7 December 1614, when he was aged about 21, together with 15 other instrumentalists⁴ engaged by Claudio Monteverdi soon after his appointment as *maestro di cappella*; another of the new musicians was Giovanni Chilese, who was to

¹ Federhofer, “Graz Court Musicians”, 202.

² Micheli, *Musica vaga*, 41.

³ Selfridge-Field, *Venetian Instrumental Music*, 298.

⁴ Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, 129.

leave San Marco in 1617⁵ and become Sansoni's colleague in Vienna for more than two decades, starting in 1619. Romano Micheli, who styled Sansoni "di Venezia", was himself the *maestro di canto* at San Marco in July 1614.⁶ His already mentioned collection, *Musica vaga et artificiosa*, was printed in the same year, and by the same publisher, as the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus*: i. e., in 1615 by Giacomo Vincenti. It contains several pointers to Micheli's connection with the court of Graz – most notably, its dedication to Baron Hanns Jacob Khisl (Khisel) von Kaltenbrunn (1565–1638), at that time a privy councillor of Archduke Ferdinand and steward of the Archduchess. Some of the canons in it were composed by Micheli on *soggetti* taken from madrigals: one was given to him by Alessandro Orologio, the *vice maestro di cappella* of Emperor Matthias, and improvised in the presence of both Francesco degl'Atti, a chamber musician of Ferdinand, and the Venetian publisher Bartolomeo Magni. Another madrigal, composed by Luca Marenzio, had been sent to him by Giovanni Priuli, the Archduke's *maestro di cappella*. Two others, with music by Priuli himself, were given to him by "Sig. Giovanni Sansone, Musico di Venetia", with no mention made of the latter's employment in Graz. And the fourth canon was composed at the request of Degl'Atti on another *soggetto* by Priuli.

Strangely enough, in a petition for a rise in his salary, written to Archduke Ferdinand early in 1619, Sansoni claimed to have been in the latter's service for about five years, which would place the start of his employment in Graz at least in early 1614: i. e., before his engagement in Venice. Sansoni also stated in this letter to Ferdinand that he had been twice to Italy and had often travelled with his patron during his service. In response, Ferdinand awarded him 800 *gulden* (florins) as a gratuity.⁷ When Sansoni's application for a knighthood was granted in Regensburg on 5 January 1623, the length of his employment by Ferdinand was stated to be as long as ten years,⁸ which would take its commencement back to early 1613, but one knows of many other instances of the generous rounding-up of years of employment that appear in Viennese documents.

This apparent contradiction would result in the improbable notion that Sansoni was hired first in Graz and then in Venice, while still remaining in the service of the Inner-Austrian court. More convincing would be the temporal sequence of beginning at San Marco and soon afterwards, perhaps early in 1615, relocating to Graz. At all events, Sansoni played wind instruments with cup-shaped mouthpieces such as the cornetto, at that time very much in use, and the trombone,⁹ plus the bassoon, a double-reed woodwind instrument. These facts are confirmed much later by the bassoonist and cornettist Giovanni Antonio Bertoli, five years younger than Sansoni,¹⁰ who, in the preface to his collection of solo sonatas for bassoon entitled *Compositioni musicali* (1645), called his older colleague "nel Fagotto & nel Cornetto eccellentissimo". Bertoli claims that Sansoni, together with his

⁵ Selfridge-Field, *Venetian Instrumental Music*, 299.

⁶ Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, 296.

⁷ Federhofer, "Graz Court Musicians", 240–241.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 241–242.

⁹ This instrument is given as one of those played by him in Venice in Selfridge-Field, *Venetian Instrumental Music*, 299.

¹⁰ Bonomo, "Bertoli, Giovanni Antonio", 462–463.

colleague Antonio Bertali, a violinist, had encouraged him to publish his sonatas.¹¹ In documents, however, Sansoni usually styled himself merely “cornetista”.

The year 1619 was a good one not only for the Archduke, who acquired the Imperial crown, but also for his court musician Sansoni. In February the musician was awarded an extra payment of 800 guilders by Ferdinand, and on 16 April, before the new Emperor’s move with the whole of his court to Vienna, Sansoni married in Graz the oldest chambermaid of the archducal and royal children, Susanne Leobnegg. He invited to the marriage Ferdinand, at that time King of Hungary and Bohemia, who sent in his stead his *Kapellmeister*, Giovanni Priuli, bearing a present in the form of a goblet worth 30 gulden.¹² Less than three years later, in January 1623, Sansoni was ennobled by the Emperor – not an altogether unusual honour for court musicians. In the Latin document confirming this title Ferdinand stated that Sansoni had served him for ten years with punctiliousness, modesty, integrity and diligence at home and abroad, on both stringed and wind instruments, and in an excellent manner.¹³ If one can trust these flattering characterizations, Sansoni appears to have occasionally performed on string instruments as well.

We know of four children whom Sansoni had baptized in the church adjoining the Imperial palace, St. Michael, during the early 1620s.¹⁴ Most noteworthy is the godmother of his daughter Caecilia Elisabeth on 12 November 1625: Princess Maria Margaretha von Eggenberg, daughter of the Imperial Steward and Governor of Inner Austria, Prince Johann Ulrich von Eggenberg, a very influential man.

The Emperor expressed his esteem for Sansoni also by awarding him high-value gratuities over and above his specified salary: In 1628 he was given 8,000 gulden,¹⁵ in 1637 a further 4,000, and in 1648, shortly before his death, 6,000 more gulden, which were paid to his widow.

Moreover, Sansoni was remembered with legacies in the wills of fellow court musicians. The retired *vice maestro di cappella* of emperors Rudolf and Matthias, Alessandro Orologio, not only designated him and Pietro Verdina as his sole heirs in his will of February 1633, but in addition left him a house in Udine.¹⁶

The earliest evidence for Sansoni’s activity as a teacher of instrumentalists comes from 1618, when he declared his willingness to teach, in Graz, the young Paul Rauch, Georg Poss’s stepson,¹⁷ who from 1619 would likewise serve in Vienna up to his death in 1641. When Rauch married there in 1633, Sansoni was his best man,¹⁸ in which function he served on the occasion of several other marriages of his colleagues, almost all of them instrumentalists such as Pietro Verdina;¹⁹ the sole singer among them was, in 1642,

¹¹ Sartori, *Bibliografia*, 394.

¹² Federhofer, *Graz Court Musicians*, 241.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 141–142.

¹⁴ Vienna, Pfarre St. Michael, *Taufbuch*.

¹⁵ Saunders, “Sacred Music”, 873.

¹⁶ Vienna, Stadt- und Landesarchiv.

¹⁷ Federhofer, *Graz Court Musicians*, 202.

¹⁸ Vienna, Pfarre Schotten.

¹⁹ Vienna, Pfarre St. Stephan. Verdina married in 1634, when he was *maestro di cappella* of Archduke Ferdinand (as Emperor, Ferdinand III); from 1637 until his death in 1643 he held the

the tenor and prolific composer Giovanni Felice Sances.²⁰ When the court organist Carlo Ferdinando Simonelli married in 1643, Sansoni was even sent by the Emperor as his deputy to act as best man, together with his *Kapellmeister* Giovanni Valentini.²¹

But Sansoni was not only a much sought-after best man – I know of ten marriages – but also a renowned teacher. Heinrich Schütz recommended in 1627 and again one year later, that the Saxon Elector, Johann Georg I, should send Johann Vierdanck from Dresden to Vienna to study with Sansoni, but the Elector thought this would be too expensive and refused to do so.²² Schütz made a similar recommendation around the same time for a choirboy, Gabriel Günther, whose voice had broken,²³ but we lack evidence that the latter actually went to Vienna. But between about 1638 and 1640²⁴ Friedrich Werner (1621–1667) was sent by *Kurprinz* Johann Georg II to study with Sansoni in Vienna, where he was still resident in 1647, at least seven years later.²⁵ Werner would later, in 1663, become a senior-ranking instrumentalist in Dresden.²⁶ In March 1648 the *Kurprinz* wrote Sansoni a letter of gratitude for this tuition and sent him a gift.²⁷ Here, the cornettist is addressed as “maestro de’ concerti nella musica della Sacra Cesarea Maestà”, an official title confirmed by a petition that Sansoni himself had written to the Emperor in 1639,²⁸ and again after his death, when, in 1654, his successor Burghard Kugler petitioned for his own ennoblement and the Emperor stated in response that he had decided to entrust to Kugler Sansoni’s post of concertmaster after the latter’s death.²⁹

From the beginning of 1637 at the latest up to his death, Giovanni Sansoni accommodated in his household about four to six *Kapellknaben*, boy singers in the chapel. He was paid not only for their board and lodging but also for their tuition and their instruments.³⁰ One or two years later he made a request for permission to choose on a regular basis three or four boys as “extraordinary” *Kapellknaben* in order to teach them music and thereby provide a reservoir for the court chapel. This dispensation was granted to him.³¹ When some of these boys later were admitted to the court chapel, almost all of them served as instrumentalists rather than singers. Two of these pupils of Sansoni were the already mentioned organist Simonelli – to whose marriage he was later delegated as his

post of Ferdinand’s *vice maestro di cappella*. Earlier, between 1616 and 1620, Verdina had played the cornetto at the cathedral of Verona.

²⁰ Vienna, Pfarre St. Michael, *Traungsbuch*, 245. From 1649 to 1669 Sances served as Imperial *vice maestro*, and from 1669 to 1679 as *maestro di cappella*.

²¹ Vienna, Pfarre St. Michael, *Traungsbuch*, 238.

²² Köhler, “Der Stralsunder Komponist Johann Vierdanck”, 404.

²³ Johnston, *Heinrich Schütz Reader*, 46–47.

²⁴ This early date is given in Federhofer, *Graz Court Musicians*, 202.

²⁵ Johnston, *Heinrich Schütz Reader*, 151.

²⁶ Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte der Musik*, 25.

²⁷ Johnston, *Heinrich Schütz Reader*, 161–162.

²⁸ La Mara, “Briefe”, 14.

²⁹ Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, *Familienakten B*.

³⁰ Vienna, Hofkammerarchiv, Hofzahlamtsbücher; Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, *Obersthofmeisteramt*.

³¹ Knaus, *Die Musiker*, 38.

representative by the Emperor – and his own successor, the cornettist Kugler.³² In February 1645 Sansoni wrote to the Emperor that the four poor “putti di capella” (*Kapellknaben*) undergoing the rigours of a horrible winter should immediately receive new clothes; this autograph petition serves posterity as a specimen of his handwriting. Ferdinand III commanded that the money be paid: “Lasts also außfertig[en] F[erdinand]” (see the Figure at the end of this article).³³

In good time before the Christmas of 1644 Sansoni received a handsome quantity of wine from Western Hungary, today the Burgenland in Austria: more precisely, from Németeresztúr (Ger. Deutschkreutz), where Count Ferenc III Nádasdy had his residence. On 7 December of that year this nobleman sent Sansoni as a gift 6.5 “Eymer” (i. e. buckets) of wine,³⁴ equivalent to at least about 354 litres – a volume that the musician could have consumed with his household possibly in a year, or could partly have sold. Red wines from this region are still today highly rated. One of Sansoni’s pupils, the *Kapellknabe* Johann Baptist Herbst, had been engaged in July 1643 as a player of the *violone* in the Imperial court chapel, but early in 1647 Herbst entered the small musical establishment of this Hungarian count in Németeresztúr for a period of less than two years;³⁵ he subsequently returned to Imperial service, in which he remained until his death in 1669.

This information on Sansoni’s biography may suffice; many more, not so informative items could be extracted from the archives. The important facts are that he was the senior instrumentalist at the Imperial court, its concertmaster and a highly esteemed teacher. When we consider him as a composer, it should not go unmentioned that the late Gunther Morche from Heidelberg University states in his article on Sansoni published in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* in 2005 that in his motets preserved in Kremsmünster, to be identified later, Sansoni barely stands back behind his model, the chapel master Giovanni Valentini,³⁶ who was certainly a prolific composer whose output was very well known to Morche.

But in 1615, when the *Parnassus* was published, Valentini could not have been Sansoni’s model, since they were both new members of the Graz chapel. According to Morche, Sansoni’s motets published there brought the current state of musical development in Venice to a repertory of Milanese provenance, similarly to Alessandro Grandi, who was about the same age but came to Venice from Ferrara only some time after Sansoni, who probably originated from the Serenissima and had been educated in its local style. And certainly, Sansoni was one of the youngest composers represented in the collection.

Both of Sansoni’s motets in *Parnassus* are set for two equal voices and figured basso continuo. For *Ego dormio et cor meum vigilat*³⁷ he chose two altos. This well-known text, which was set to music several times in the early seventeenth century (e. g., by Monteverdi

³² Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, *Obersthofmeisteramt*.

³³ Vienna, Hofkammerarchiv, *Autographen*.

³⁴ Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos levéltár, A Magyar Kamara archívuma, E 185, Archivum familiae Nádasdy, 30 t., Számadások és vegyes anyag, quoted in Király, “Nádasdy (III.) Ferenc”, 981.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Morche, “Sansoni, Giovanni”.

³⁷ Antonicek, *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*, 101–104.

and Schütz) is taken from the *Canticum canticorum*: verse 2 and the beginnings of verses 3 and 5 of chapter 5 were selected for setting by Sansoni:

- 2 Ego dormio et cor meum vigilat vox dilecti mei pulsantis aperi mihi soror mea amica mea columba mea immaculata mea quia caput meum plenum est rore et cincinni mei guttis noctium
I sleep, and my heart watcheth: the voice of my beloved knocking: Open to me, my sister, my love, my dove, my undefiled: for my head is full of dew, and my locks of the drops of the nights.
- 3 expoliavi me tunica mea quomodo induar illa lavi pedes meos quomodo inquinabo illos
I have put off my garment, how shall I put it on? I have washed my feet, how shall I defile them?
- 4 dilectus meus misit manum suam per foramen et venter meus intremuit ad tactum eius
My beloved put his hand through the key hole, and my bowels were moved at his touch.
- 5 surrexi ut aperirem dilecto meo manus meae stillaverunt murra digiti mei pleni murra probatissima
I arose up to open to my beloved: my hands dropped with myrrh, and my fingers were full of the choicest myrrh.

Not unexpectedly, our composer provides musical illustration of the antithetical character of the first sentence: “Ego dormio” is recited in long note-values on a monotone, while “et cor meum vigilat” receives short notes and a melisma. From the entry of the second, imitating voice onwards the two figures are combined. Before the repetition of these three bars the continuo alone takes up the first figure, providing one of several instances of its participation in the motivic interplay of the voices. In bars 10 to 17 the second figure is treated separately in imitation in a rising sequence.

The next section is once again opened by the second alto, but there is no imitation. In a dramatic manner the first alto presents his solo in the role of a lover who asks his beloved to let him in, calling her his sister, dove, friend and undefiled person. In the first three of these four invocations Sansoni mirrors the parallelism of the text: “soror mea, amica mea, columba mea” employ the same motive. The repetition of this section of text begins in parallel thirds; the invocations now alternate, only the last one being set in thirds again for climactic effect.

The avoidance of polyphony is maintained in the next section, featuring an alternating repetition of the first part of the text; only the end of verse 2 is set in imitative style, once again as a means of achieving a climax. The rhetorical question of the next verse is likewise sung by the first alto as a solo; it ending with a rising repetition of the interrogative “quomodo” and a rhetorically correct ending of this question with a rising interval.

The first sentence of the fifth verse returns to the narration: The woman has finally risen to open the door. Sansoni switches to triple time; the second alto begins in solo fashion with an upward leap of a fourth, repeating the word “surrexi” a fourth higher. The other voice starts to imitate only after eight bars. The triple-time section ends with singing in thirds; a brief return to common time takes up again the motives for “ut aperirem” and “dilecto meo”, with an adapted rhythm and in continuous imitation.

The second motet is a composition for two bass voices setting psalm 132/133, *Ecce quam bonum et quam iucundum*:³⁸

³⁸ Ibid., 107–110.

Ecce quam bonum et quam iucundum habitare fratres in unum:
Behold, how good and how pleasing it is for brothers to dwell in unity.
Sicut unguentum in capite, quod descendit in barbam, barbam Aaron, Quod descendit in oram vestimenti eius:
It is like the ointment on the head that descended to the beard, the beard of Aaron, which descended to the hem of his garment.

sicut ros Hermon, qui descendit in montem Sion. Quoniam illic mandavit Dominus benedictionem, et vitam usque in sæculum.
It is like the dew of Hermon, which descended from mount Zion. For in that place, the Lord has commanded a blessing, and life, even unto eternity.


The overall structure is similar to that of *Ego dormio*, with long solos, imitative passages, homophonic parallel motion, a triple-time section and a return to common time for the ending, which reintroduces motives first heard in the triple-time section. I wish to highlight just a few special features.

One is a short introduction by the continuo alone; the word “unum” ends both times on a unison, similarly to the “unum sunt” in Monteverdi’s *Duo Seraphim*. The melodic descents for “descendit” are quite extensive, and the mountain of “montem Sion” is formed by wide upward and downward leaps. Here, the second bass voice on two occasions lies an octave beneath the continuo, which is not always a *basso seguente* but often constitutes the lowest note of a triad or has an independent line.

The only other known compositions by Giovanni Sansoni are two motets written for Anton Wolfradt, the Abbot of the monastery of Kremsmünster and the Prince-Bishop of Vienna, in a collection of scores copied between 1633 and 1639 by Father Benedict Lechler and preserved in the library of that monastery.³⁹ *Laetentur caeli* is a polychoral work for two equal choirs and organ for the occasion of the feast of St. Anthony (i. e., for the Abbot’s name-day), whereas *Beatus Antonius* is a modern, few-voiced composition for two sopranos, two tenors, two violins and organ celebrating Wolfradt’s birthday.

In conclusion: we have become acquainted with Giovanni Sansoni as a highly esteemed instrumentalist in the Imperial chapels of the two Ferdinands, a teacher of far-reaching renown and the composer of a very small number of motets that have come down to us, but which seem to demonstrate considerable merit.

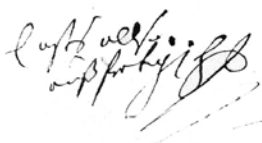
³⁹ Benediktinerstift, Musikarchiv, Kremsmünster, L 13; cf. Kellner, *Musikgeschichte*, 217–218.



Suae ces. Maesta

Ho supplicato già alcuni mesi per li
 vestiti de' patti di capella che non
 possono esser più necessitosi di quello
 che sono, hauendo passato quest'horrido
 inuerno tutti stracciati il che riesce di
 cattiva conseguenza al procedere di
 altri vedendo questi così mal trattati; et
 sin' hora non ho potuto ottenere la risoluzi-
 one che in Linz ho fatto sollecitare,
 et non si e ritrovata la supplica; per
 tanto ricorro di nuovo a la clemenza
 sua supplicando che uogli dar subito ordine
 che imediate il payator di corte coman-
 di qui a suoi ministri che questi paueri
 quattro patti sieno quanto prima vestiti
 con che humilit. me le inchino.

Della sac. ces. Ma. Vostra



 Humiliss. et deuotiss.º
 seruitore

Giovanni Sansoni
 1645

Figure

The autograph petition of Giovanni Sansoni to Emperor Ferdinand III, February 1645 (Vienna, Hofkammerarchiv, *Autographen*, Sansoni [reproduced with kind permission])

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GIOVANNI SANSONI
KORNETIST, MAESTRO DEI CONCERTI IN SKLADATELJ
V BENETKAH, GRADCU IN NA DUNAJU

Povzetek

Giovanni Sansoni, ki se je rodil okoli leta 1593 v Benetkah, je bil kornetist, pozavnist in fagotist. Leta 1614 ga je za kapelo sv. Marka v Benetkah najel Claudio Monteverdi, od okoli 1615 je bil član nadvojvodske kapele v Gradcu, od leta 1619 dalje pa je deloval v cesarski dvorni kapeli na Dunaju, kjer je bil vsaj od leta 1639 pa do svoje smrti leta 1648 vodilni inštrumentalist (koncertni mojster). Leta 1623 je bil povzdignjen v plemiški stan in je od cesarjev Ferdinanda II. in Ferdinanda III. poleg plače prejemal tudi dodatna darila in volila od svojih kolegov glasbenikov. Najpozneje od leta 1637 pa do smrti je bil zadolžen za vzgojo deških pevcev dvorne kapele. Njegova učiteljska slava se je širila. Heinrich Schütz ga je na primer priporočal saškemu elektorju. Od okoli 1638/40 je elektorski princ Johann Georg II. v uk k Sansoniju poslal Friedricha Wernerja (1621–1667), ki je po sedmih letih 1647 še vedno prebival na Dunaju. Leta 1663 bi moral postati zaslužni inštrumentalist v Dresdnu. Sansoni pa je imel zveze tudi na dvoru madžarskega grofa Ferenca Nádasdyja v Németerkesztúru (nem. Deutschkreutz), danes v Avstriji.

Sansoni je bil tudi skladatelj manjšega števila ohranjenih in sorazmerno kvalitetnih motetov. Dva od teh, ki ju analizira pričujoči prispevek, sta bila objavljena leta 1615 v antologiji *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus* in Sansoni je bil eden od najmlajših skladateljev, ki so zanj prispevali svoja dela. Oba moteta sta dvoglasna za par enakih glasov (dva altovska oz. dva basovska) in basso continuo. Njuna zgradba je podobna, z dolgimi solističnimi odseki, malo polifono imitativno ali homofono vzporedno vodenima glasovoma, s kontrastnim večkrat ponovljenim delom v tridobni meri in zaključnim povratkom v dvodobnost. Na več mestih je v polifono igro pevskih glasov vključena tudi basovska inštrumentalna melodija.

Edini drugi znani Sansonijevi skladbi sta moteta za Antona Wolfradta, opata benediktinskega samostana v Kremsmünstru in dunajskega knezoškofa. Ohranila sta se v zbirki, ki jo je sestavil med 1633 in 1639 p. Benedikt Lechler in je še danes ohranjena v knjižnici tega samostana.

THE MUSIC OF BARTOLOMEO MUTIS, CONTE DI CESANA

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Izvleček: Bartolomeo Mutis, grof iz Cesane, je bil dvorni kaplan in pevec v glasbeni kapeli nadvojvode Ferdinanda v Gradcu. Leta 1613 je izšla njegova zbirka, v kateri je bilo kar štirinajst monodičnih skladb in malih duhovnih koncertov, in je ena od prvih takih zbirk, ki so izšle izven Italije. Mutisov slog je analiziran v primerjavi z drugimi njemu sodobnimi glasbenimi viri.

Ključne besede: zgodnja monodija, Bartolomeo Mutis, italijanski dvorni glasbeniki v Avstriji.

Abstract: Bartolomeo Mutis, Conte di Cesana, was a court chaplain and singer in the court chapel of Archduke Ferdinand in Graz. In 1613 he published one of the first collections of monodies (numbering fourteen) and small-scale concertos by a composer living outside Italy. Mutis's compositional style is analysed and compared with that of contemporaries.

Keywords: early monody, Bartolomeo Mutis, Italian court musicians in Austria.

This article will present the sparse biographical details known for Mutis and introduce his collection of monodies and small-scale concertos. As examples, some of them will be analysed and compared with the sacred concertos he contributed to the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus*, being examined in the light of the performance practice of the time. For this reason it will be put into context with the more well-known monodies by Giulio Caccini in *Le nuove musiche* and the statements from a letter by Luigi Zenobi from about 1600, in which he explains the qualities of a good musician. In addition Johann Andreas Herbst's *Musica Prattica* from 1653 will be looked at for diminution examples.

We know little about Bartolomeo Mutis, Conte di Cesana.¹ Born into a noble family in the city of Belluno between 1575 and 1580, he came to the Graz court of Ferdinand II in 1604. He was employed as the court chaplain and as a tenor singer. Next to these employments, he was most probably also almoner to Ferdinand's brother Archduke Maximilian Ernst, to whom Mutis' collection of monodies was dedicated. As an employee highly valued by the Imperial family, he accompanied Ferdinand's sister Constanze to her wedding with Sigismund III in Poland in 1605, and joined Ferdinand himself for the

¹ Federhofer, *Musikpflege*, 185–187; Federhofer, “Mutis, Bartolomeo, Count of Cesana”; Grassl, “Mutis, Bartolomeo Conte di Cesana”.

wedding of King Matthias in Vienna in 1611. Mutis moved with the court to Vienna and died in 1623 or 1624.

What makes him particularly interesting, however, is the fact that he was one of the first composers to publish a collection of monodies and small-scale madrigals while working outside of Italy.

In 1613 his *Musiche a una doi et tre voci per cantare et sonare con chitarroni, overo con altri istromenti di corpo* was printed in Venice.² This comprises fourteen pieces and was dedicated to Archduke Maximilian Ernst. One of the pieces was composed by Mutis's colleague Francesco degli Atti, being the latter's only known composition.³

A facsimile of the collection made from the example in the Library of Congress can be found online⁴ and a modern edition of it has appeared in the series *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* in a volume entitled *Frühmeister des Stile Nuovo*.⁵

In *Musiche a una doi et tre voci* we find two monodic pieces, six pieces for two equal voices and five for three voices. The monodies are in many ways comparable to Caccini's well-known pieces from *Le nuove musiche*. The duets are written in three different styles. Two of them are in a dialogue form. In "O come sei gentile" one of the voices represents a bird. In "Aminta tu" one of the voices poses questions and the second one responds. "Press'un fiume" is a *villanella* – a form with four stanzas that describe nature and in each verse oscillates between duple and triple meter and singing alternately and in thirds. The remaining three are mostly in thirds with some short passages where the two voices are imitating each other.

"Chi nutrice", a *terzetto*, is in a similar style to that of the duets, with the tenor voice asking questions and the two sopranos responding in parallel thirds. The other four *terzettos*, for three unequal voices, are very madrigal-like, containing both homophonic and polyphonic passages.

Mutis' collection gives an overview of the types of secular songs of the time. The pieces are fairly simple in contrapuntal terms and show no real difficulties in regard to dissonances or unpredictable leaps or lines. As we will see shortly, Mutis was able to compose with more complexity, as becomes evident in his contributions to the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandeus*, but in his own collection he chose to practise greater restraint.

In order to evaluate the pieces in this collection fully, one has first to examine the sources of the time that discuss performance practice and musical quality. Luigi Zenobi, a famous cornetto player, who was employed at multiple courts in Europe in the course of his life, writes one of the sources to be looked at in this area. He was in the service of seeking singers to join the Ferrarese court in 1597 and was the singing teacher to Anna of Austria, daughter of Maximilian II. Zenobi was employed at Maximilian's court from 1569 to 1573 and was knighted probably by Rudolf II, which clearly links him to the Habsburg Empire and shows that his opinion on what makes a good musician is valued. Around

² Mutis, *Musiche*.

³ *Ibid.*, 161–162.

⁴ The Library of Congress, Music Division, Washington, D.C. (US-Wc), M1490.C35 M8: <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/ihas/loc.natlib.ihas.200154732/default.html>.

⁵ Wessely, *Frühmeister*, 3–48.

1600 he was asked multiple times by an unknown prince, what a perfect musician must be able to do and know.⁶ Zenobi's response is that a good singer must have a knowledge of counterpoint, sing very fast notes and cope with leaps in large and small note-values, syncopation mixed with artful dissonances, chromatics, proportions, musical signs and mensurations occurring in a composition. In addition to these practical skills, a singer, most importantly, must sing with good taste and grace and be able to express the words with his voice dynamically and with appropriate timbre. He must also be able to express the affect both with and without *passaggi*. Zenobi identifies a further quality: when encountering a mistake in the composition made by either the composer or a copyist, a singer should be able to improvise a correct counterpoint and find his way back into his own notated part. As the terminology for ornaments is very similar to the one Caccini uses in his preface to *Le nuove musiche* the two sources chosen to give contemporary context are also closely linked to one another.

Giulio Caccini's collection was well known then and is now. Many sources refer to his monodies and they are taken as a model by composers for writing monodies for the following decades after its printing in 1601. Looking at the main parameters such as print format, written-out *passaggi* and basso continuo parts, we find many similarities to Mutis' collection.

Mutis primary parameter in composing lies on expressing the words with the melodies and he does this in a very evident manner. He, like Giulio Caccini a few years before, puts the music as a servant to the words. Wide leaps, chromatic lines, syncopation, dissonances and proportions – the musical difficulties, that Zenobi mentions, a singer must know how to treat – occur from time to time but not constantly. He writes out some *passaggi*, to be sung in order to emphasize the important words in the text, but would certainly expect a singer to add more.

If we compare these pieces with Caccini's songs, we see that in *Le nuove musiche* the written-out *passaggi* use even shorter note-values, whereas Mutis keeps *semifusae* as his shortest notes. The bass line and the written-out *gropi* and *cascati* look very similar in the two collections being compared. Caccini pays more attention to the realization of the bass line, writing down numerals, while Mutis is content to write a sharp when he wants a major rather than a minor chord and only very rarely inserts a 6 to indicate a six-three chord. Both composers use texts that were well known and used by many composers of the time.⁷ The prints are in score and upright format, a common option for printed monodies in the first half of the seventeenth century. Besides Caccini's monodies, the collections *Le varie musiche* (1609) by Jacopo Peri and *Le musiche da cantar solo* (1609) by Sigismondo d'India are printed in that manner.

Looking further into detail at the songs "La misera farfalla" – one of the monodies – and "Ah dolente Partita" – one of the three part madrigals – one can identify typical and atypical compositional details of Mutis and his time. Mutis's lyrics are often well-known

⁶ Blackburn and Lowinsky, "Luigi Zenobi", 61–114.

⁷ Wessely, *Frühmeister*, V–VIII.

texts. There are many madrigals set to the text of Battista Guarini’s “Ah dolente Partita”, including compositions by Claudio Monteverdi, Antonio Cifra, Stefano Bernardi and others.⁸

In these scores it is specified that either a cantus or a tenor can sing the upper part notwithstanding the uniform presence of the soprano clef. Such flexibility is typical for composers working outside Italy. Rasi, for example, prescribes the same option in his collection,⁹ whereas Caccini does not (although this naturally gives no indication that his pieces would not have been sung with “natural” male voices).

“La misera farfalla”¹⁰ is a text by Girolamo Casoni also used for example by Giovanni Croce in a five-part madrigal to be found in the *Novi pensieri a cinque voci* (Venice, 1594). In Mutis’ composition, the story of the miserable butterfly is in D-Dorian. Already in the first phrase we can see that the emphasis and meaning of words are important to Mutis. In order to imitate the flutter of wings, the word “farfalla” never occurs without a *passaggio*. Likewise, the word “intorno” (bb. 15–17),¹¹ meaning “around”, is sung with *passaggi* in order to imitate a circling motion. When the words “volar” (“fly”) and “scherzar” (“jest”) appear, the bass moves more quickly, and there are more syllabically set notes, the composer’s intention being to pack more text into a shorter length of time, thereby generating a feeling of energy and power (bb. 12–14).

Music example 1

Excerpt from page 3 of *Musiche a una doi e tre voce* (the Library of Congress, Music Division, Washington, D.C. [US-Wc], M1490.C35 M8; available online)

The image shows a musical score for two voices, Cantus (C) and Bass (bc), in common time. The Cantus part is written on a soprano clef and the Bass part on a bass clef. The lyrics are: "di vo - lar di scher-zar, di vo - lar di scher-zar, di scher - zar in to - n' il fo - co." The score shows parallel fifths at the words "di volar" and "la terza".

There are parallel fifths at the words “di volar” and “la terza” in the second part (bb. 26–27), which can easily be disguised via ornamentation. Even though these are obvious solecisms in formal contrapuntal terms, the lines in which they occur are written in a beautiful way. The third section of the text likens the singer to a butterfly that can fly merrily in the vicinity of a luminous gaze, but in the end will inevitably burn itself. This part reserves *passaggi* for the important words, but the affect itself – the sad conclusion that the

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Rasi, *Musiche da camera e da chiesa*.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ The bar numbers are referring to the edition by Wessely, *Frühmeister*.

butterfly will in the end burn – is not expressed by harmony or melody and is therefore left for the singer to interpret. Mutis sets the phrase “di dover” (bb. 45–46), meaning “justly”, plainly – in strong contrast to the final, heavily ornamented “scherzando” (bb. 42–44).

Music example 2

Excerpt from page 4 of *Musiche a una doi e tre voce* (as for music example 1)



The singer should emphasize this contrast with additional *passaggi*, *tremoli*, *trilli*, effects of timbre, dynamics and *rubato*. Of course, all these techniques would have been expected of a singer of the time. Zenobis states: “He must use different *passaggi* in the same songs [...] when repeating the same thing he must always sing new ones. He must know how to sing the piece in its simple form, that is, without any *passaggio*, but only with *grace*, *trillo*, *tremolo*, *ondeggiamento*, and *esclamazione*.”¹²

Caccini complains that the singers of his time overload pieces with *passaggi*, rendering the text incomprehensible,¹³ but at the same time points out where he wishes the singer to add *passaggi*, *tremolo* and *trilli* and to impart dynamic variety. Even the amount he suggests is more than most singers of today would venture to introduce. In many sources, including Caccini and Zenobi, the importance of employing diverse *passaggi*, and of being inventive, spontaneous and never repetitive is pointed out. Cadences, above all, should not remain unembellished. Since cadential ornamentation was so common, it did not necessarily have to be written out on paper. In the final cadence of the second part there is an unornamented *Soprano Clausula*, for which we find an abundance of possibilities in diminution treatises of the time. One might refer to examples by Johann Andreas Herbst that appear in his treatise *Musica Pratica* (1653), which was a well-known source in its day. Herbst was close in age to Mutis and his treatise is written to show “the Italian singing manner” to the Germans, which is therefore an important source for today’s musicians to ornament music in the Italian style in the first half of the seventeenth century. On pages 59 and 60 he gives examples for a cadence in *d*, exactly like the one in the monody at hand. One can therefore simply take the exact *passaggio* Herbst suggests and sing it instead of the written part.

Returning to “La misera farfalla” and looking at the lines of *fusae* we have much evidence, that there should be variety in the way they were sung. Caccini suggests, as does Brunelli in *Varii esercitii* among others, that two *fusae* should not be sung with equal length, but instead in dotted or lombardic manner or something in between. He mentions

¹² Blackburn and Lowinsky, “Luigi Zenobi”, 101.

¹³ “[...] che non se ne intendeva parola per la multitude die passaggi, tanto nelle sillabe brevi quanto lunghe, et in ogni qualità di musiche [...]”. Caccini, *Le Nuove Musiche*.

the keyword “sprezzatura”, which denotes a certain freedom and artful carelessness that one should apply to the music.¹⁴

Music example 3

Excerpts from pages 59 and 60 of the *Musica Moderna Prattica* (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich [D-Mbs], 4 Mus.th. 642)

The treatment of dissonance in Mutis’s solo and duet compositions is quite simple. There are passing notes and suspensions that resolve downwards. In his terzettos there is more frequent use made of dissonances, especially in “Ah dolente partita”, where their presence is certainly related to the more tragic text. In the madrigal for “Canto, Alto e Basso” there is a 4–3 dissonance already on the second semibreve (b. 2) in order to emphasize the word “dolente” for the first time. The initial phrase of the piece in the transposed G-Dorian mode ends with a very typical cadential motion in *d*, where the soprano has a discant clausula, the alto a tenor clausula and the *Basso generale* a bass clausula (b. 6). Additionally, the short diminution for the first syllable of “partita” in the alto part constitutes a very typical progression exhibiting in written-out fashion the inequality of quavers mentioned earlier (b. 4).

Music example 4

Excerpt from page 29 of *Musiche a una doi e tre voce* (as for music example 1)

¹⁴ This concept of “sprezzatura” comes from Baldassare Castiglione. Javitch, “Il Cortegiano”, 319–328.

The bass responds with the second line of text, including a long diminution on the word “vita” (bb. 8–9). Using rapid motion in *semifusae* on the words “e” and “i” (bb. 27–29), the composer creates a feeling of agitation, before he returns to 6/4-suspensions (bb. 34–35) and 4/3 chains in combination with a *bassus duriusculus* (b. 38) to express “la morte” and “la pena”.

Music example 5

Excerpt from page 29 of *Musiche a una doi e tre voce* (as for music example 1)

The musical score consists of two systems of four staves each, labeled C, A, B, and bc. The first system covers measures 1 through 6, and the second system covers measures 7 through 12. The lyrics are in Italian and are written below the vocal staves. The bass line (bc) provides a harmonic accompaniment.

System 1 (Measures 1-6):

- C:** e non mo - ro? e pur
- A:** da te part' e non mo - ro? e pur i' pro -
- B:** part' e non mo - ro? e pur i'
- bc:** (bass line accompaniment)

System 2 (Measures 7-12):

- C:** i' pro - vo la pe - na de la mor - te la
- A:** vo la pe - na de la mor - te la
- B:** pro - vo la pe - na de la mor
- bc:** (bass line accompaniment)

A short, homophonic phrase (bb. 42–43) introduces the next passage. The words “vivace morire” (“to die lively”) are expressed with music written in *fusae*, which propel the text forward but do not align syllabically and frequently change chord, which creates a fast harmonic rhythm (bb. 45–46). In the following passage the harmonic rhythm decelerates once more, in order to give each part the opportunity for a downward scale on “immortalmente” (bb. 49, 51, 52, 54, 55 and 56). This resolves into a cadence featuring a discant clausula in the vocal bass line and a bass clausula in the *Basso generale*, which produces the only four-part cadence in the piece (bb. 57–58).

Music example 6

Excerpt from page 30 of *Musiche a una doi e tre voce* (as for music example 1)

C
mo-ia immor-tal-ment' im-mor-tal - ment' il co - re

A
per far che mo - ia immor-tal - ment' im-mor-tal-ment' il co - re

B
per far che mo-ia immor-tal-ment' im - mor - tal - ment' il co - re

bc

After repeating two phrases in exactly the same manner as before, Mutis writes eight consecutive semibreves on the pitch *d* in the bass, while the two upper voices imitate one another with motives in D major an octave apart (bb. 67–74), before proceeding to a final *g* cadence. This results in a very long penultimate chord, affording an opportunity for improvisation (in this case, written-out), just as almost all treatises of the time recommend. The very end of the cadence is once again unornamented, creating an opportunity for the musician.

Music example 7

Excerpt from page 31 of *Musiche a una doi e tre voce* (as for music example 1)

C
per far che mo-ia immor-tal-men - te per far che mo - ia per far che mo-ia immor-tal-

A
per far che mo - ia per far che mo-ia immor-tal-men - te

B
mo-ia immor - tal - ment' im - mor -

bc

5
C
men - te per far che mo - ia im-mor-tal-men - te per far che mo-ia immor-tal-ment' il co - re.

A
per far che mo - ia per far che mo - ia per far che mo-ia immor-tal - ment' il co - re.

B
tal - ment' il co - - - re.

bc

In both pieces *tremoli*, *trilli* and dynamic variety should be applied frequently – not in a spirit of pure decoration but rather as a means towards “grace”. This gives an idea of how closely connected these devices were to the musical performance practice of the time. The affective impression of a performance should be treated as an absolute priority. This point is difficult, however, for modern audiences to grasp on account of its indefinable nature.

When one compares this collection with the two pieces that Mutis contributed to the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus*, it seems obvious that the composer chose there to compose in a different style. As Zenobi puts it, “He must sing in one style in church, in another in the chamber, and in the third one in the open air”.¹⁵ Because the *Parnassus* is a collection of sacred pieces and therefore has more profound topics informing the music, Mutis composes with more dissonances and a more sophisticated counterpoint. The lines are less stereotyped in contour, and there is supplementary numerical figuring in the bass.

In “*Quemadmodum desiderat*”, a motet for “Canto e Basso”, some interesting dissonances already appear in the first three bars. The soprano enters on a dissonance, then creates another one two bars later, where a major seventh moves initially to an augmented sixth and is only then resolved.

Music example 8

Bars 1–6 from “*Quemadmodum desiderat*” from the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus*

The image shows a musical score for two voices: Soprano (C) and Bass (B). The music is in common time (C) and the key signature has one flat (B-flat). The Soprano part (C) begins with a whole rest in the first bar, followed by a half rest in the second bar. In the third bar, it starts on a whole note G4. The Bass part (B) begins with a whole note G3 in the first bar. The lyrics are: "Quem - ad - mo - dum de - si - de - rat".

The next two phrases begin with leaps. On the whole, Mutis employs more leaps than steps and introduces many dissonant passing notes, which lends an over-arching morbid character to the piece. He uses both dotted and lombardic rhythms: something observable less frequently in his collection of madrigals, where a singer might be expected to introduce such rhythms anyway without a need to express them in notation. Speaking more generally, we encounter an unusual manner of constructing the counterpoint, since even though the setting is polyphonic, the parts very often do not imitate each other at all. Another very interesting section follows. On the word “*lacrimae*” the bass leaps down a diminished fourth and lands a tritone away from the soprano. This dissonant interval resolves a *semiminima* later, but the progression nevertheless violates every principle of voice leading.

¹⁵ Blackburn and Lowinsky, “Luigi Zenobi”, 101–102

Music example 9

Bars 53–55 from “Quemadmodum desiderat” from the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus*

C
la - cri - mae me - ae pa - nes

B
la - cri - mae me - ae

A few notes later the soprano leaps down a minor sixth and goes to the tritone, before this interval resolves to a perfect fifth. The next section, in triple metre, is unusual because the bass part includes syncopated notes, a rare feature. Syncopated basses normally appear only in conjunction with dance-like forms that are homophonic or at least simple in structure. Immediately after a return to quadruple metre we have close-knit polyphony, which creates an agitated mood. In the last part of the piece Mutis displays an up-to-date approach by writing an independent instrumental bass line for the soprano solo, even allowing the continuo part to play the soprano motive twice in pre-imitation. Mutis adds *passaggi* in the affective phrases of the concluding section and ends on a final cadence in *g*.

Other than the aforementioned collection and Mutis' contribution to the *Parnassus*, there is no further evidence of compositions by him that have been preserved. Research in the different libraries in- and outside of Austria had no result in that regard.

The pieces we have prove that Mutis' style was very much up to the standard of his contemporaries. The variety of sacred and secular small-scale concertos and monodies gives a good overview of the genres at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The many similarities it has to Caccini's songs, the connections we find to Zenobi's letter and the possibilities to insert Herbst's examples of diminution give us an idea of how to interpret such pieces without tending to judge the mere melody and bass line written on the piece of paper. Only by following the instructions of the time about diminution, interpretation and grace, we have a chance to recreate what might have been performed four hundred years ago.

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GLASBA BARTOLOMEA MUTISA, GROFA IZ CESANE

Povzetek

Le malo je znanega o prvem skladatelju, ki je izven Italije objavil zbirko monodičnih skladb. Bartolomeo Mutis, grof is Cesane se je rodil med 1575 in 1580. Leta 1604 so ga najeli za kaplana in pevca v dvorni glasbeni kapeli nadvojvode Ferdinanda II. v Gradcu. Kot cenjen član te dvorne ustanove je bil leta 1605 v spremstvu Ferdinandove sestre, ki se je poročila na dvor poljskega kralja Sigismunda III., pozneje leta 1611 pa je bil tudi v spremstvu nadvojvode, ko se je na Dunaju udeležil poroke bratranca nadvojvode Matije Avstrijskega. Mutis je umrl na Dunaju leta 1623 kot član Ferdinandove cesarske dvorne kapele.

Še preden je prispeval dva moteta v antologijo *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandeus* (1615), je leta 1613 izdal svojo zbirko posvetnih pesmi *Musiche a una, doi et tre voci per cantare et sonare con chitaroni, overo con altri istromenti di corpo*. To je bila prva zbirka, ki je vsebovala tudi monodične skladbe, in je izšla izven Italije. Posvečena je nadvojvodi Maximilianu Ernstu in vsebuje 14 posvetnih skladb. V razpravi so obravnavane tri skladbe: enoglasna *La misera farfalla* in triglasna *Ah dolente partita* iz zbirke *Musiche a una, doi et tre voci* in motet *Quemadmodum desiderat* iz antologije *Parnassus*. Skladbe so analizirane in primerjane s sodobnimi viri, kot je zbirka *Le nuove musiche* Giulia Caccinija, teoretskim *Pismom o popolnem glasbeniku* Luigija Zenobija in primeri iz traktata *Musica practica* Johanna Andreasa Herbsta.

Mutisov slog se v obeh zvrsteh – posvetna pesem in duhovni motet – bistveno razlikuje. V posvetni glasbi po uporabi disonanc in v motetih po kompleksnejšem kontrapunktu. Najpomembnejši zunanji vpliv za kompozicijo predstavlja pomen besedila. Z izpisanimi pasażami, različnimi načini uglasbitve besed (silabičnih in polifonih delov) ustvarja učinkovito posvetno monodijo in monodični motet. V kadencah pogosto ne izpisuje diminucij, kar izvajalcem daje proste roke pri lastnem improviziranju, ki je bilo v času renesanse in zgodnjega baroka povsem ustaljena praksa.

Zbirka *Musiche a una, doi et tre voci* Bartolomea Mutisa prinaša pregled raznih posvetnih zvrsti svojega časa, od monodij, vilanel, polifonih madrigalov do dramatskih skladb v obliki dialoga v preprostem kontrapunktu. Nedvomno je od pevcev pričakoval dobro mero improvizacije z uporabo različnih diminucij, okraskov in rubatov, ki so sodili v novi slog zgodnjega 17. stoletja. Z ozirom na jasne napotke omenjenih virov o izvajalni praksi si je lahko predstavljati, kaj se je od tedanjih izvajalcev pričakovalo in koliko svobode tudi današnja historična izvajalna praksa pušča glasbenikom, od katerih se pričakuje mnogo več, kot je zapisanega v notah. Oboje skupaj pa je treba upoštevati pri slogovni analizi zgodnje monodije.

IL SECONDO LIBRO DE MOTTETTI A UNA E DUE VOCI DI ANTONIO GUALTIERI E IL *PARNASSUS MUSICUS FERDINANDAEUS*

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Izveček: Razprava osvetljuje glavne značilnosti zbirke Antonia Gualtierija iz leta 1612 in vzporeja nekatere motete iz te zbirke s tistimi Gualtierjevimi moteti, objavljenimi v antologiji *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*, ki imajo enako zasedbo in kažejo podobne kompozicijske značilnosti.

Ključne besede: Antonio Gualtieri, mali duhovni koncerti, 17. stoletje.

Abstract: This paper illustrates the main features of Antonio Gualtieri's collection of 1612 and compares some of Gualtieri's motets with certain compositions included in the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus* that feature the same scoring and exhibit similar compositional procedures.

Keywords: Antonio Gualtieri, small-scale motets, seventeenth century.

Antonio Gualtieri rientra in una categoria di musicisti sinora relegati ai margini della ricerca a dispetto dell'interesse musicale della loro produzione.¹ Nel presente contributo intendo mettere in luce alcuni risultati emersi in tempi più recenti,² concentrandomi in particolare sul suo secondo libro di mottetti a una e due voci stampato a Venezia nel 1612, soltanto tre anni prima della raccolta *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*, e proponendo alcuni confronti fra le composizioni di Gualtieri e quelle incluse nel *Parnassus* che presentano lo stesso organico. Ho scelto di limitare il confronto ai mottetti a voce sola e basso continuo e ai mottetti a due voci che presentano lo stesso organico in considerazione del fatto che, dei nove mottetti a due voci e basso continuo della raccolta di Gualtieri, ben sette presentano due voci pari, mentre è del tutto assente la combinazione soprano e basso, la quale invece risulta prevalente all'interno del *Parnassus*.³

Nato a Monselice nel 1574, Antonio Gualtieri compì i suoi studi presso la cattedrale di Padova e, dopo un periodo di attività come organista e maestro di cappella presso

¹ *Dizionario Enciclopedico della Musica e dei Musicisti*, s.v. "Gualtieri, Antonio"; J. Roche e E. Roche, "Gualtieri, Antonio", 472–473; Morche, "Gualtieri, Antonio", 140–142; Colussi, "Gualtieri, Antonio", 1385–1388; Colussi, "Tracce di musica policorale", 101–158; Comparin, "Antonio Gualtieri"; Lovato, "Musica e liturgia", 231–249; Passadore, *Musica e musicisti a Rovigo*, 48–56.

² Comparin, "Antonio Gualtieri".

³ Nel presente contributo sono quindi 14 i mottetti tratti dal *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus* oggetto delle nostre considerazioni: Antonicek, ed., *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*, 1–22, 84–104, 107–110.

diversi centri della Serenissima (San Daniele del Friuli, Monselice, Montagnana), nel 1632 approdò a Venezia, dove venne assunto dapprima presso l'Ospedale della Pietà con il compito di “insegnar di musica et sonar alle fie di questo loco” e, qualche anno più tardi, venne eletto “maestro delli zagli della chiesa di San Marco” e maestro dei chierici del seminario di San Marco. Gualtieri si trovò dunque a operare in una delle più prestigiose istituzioni musicali del XVII secolo negli stessi anni in cui Claudio Monteverdi ne dirigeva la cappella musicale.⁴

La produzione musicale di Gualtieri, a quanto ci consta, doveva comprendere complessivamente sette raccolte, tutte stampate a Venezia tra il 1604 e il 1630: i *Motecta octonis vocibus* (1604), gli *Amorosi diletti a tre voci* (1608), i *Motecta duabus vocibus* (1611) menzionati da Robert Eitner e attualmente non reperibili,⁵ *Il secondo libro de mottetti a una e due voci* (1612), *Il secondo libro de' madrigali a cinque voci* (1613), i *Madrigali concertati a una, due et tre voci* (1625) e i *Mottetti a una, doi, tre et quatro voci con le littanie della B. Vergine a 4* (1630).⁶

Anche a un primo sguardo, possiamo osservare che l'opera di Gualtieri si inserisce nel clima culturale del primo Seicento, dal momento che il compositore si è dedicato ai generi allora più diffusi: nella produzione profana si cimenta con i generi di maggior fortuna, come la canzonetta e il madrigale concertato; in quella sacra, invece, facendo proprie le diverse esperienze degli anni di formazione presso la cattedrale di Padova e di attività come maestro di cappella, egli spazia dai mottetti a otto voci, legati alla produzione poliorale diffusa in area veneta – e in particolare nell'area padovana – ai concerti a una, due, tre voci e basso continuo del 1612 e del 1630. In queste due raccolte Gualtieri approda allo stile concertato, arricchito dall'apporto strumentale di violini e tromboni e nella cui scrittura fa propri stilemi che ebbero probabilmente fra i loro modelli di riferimento i *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* (1601) di Lodovico Grossi da Viadana. Sappiamo infatti che Gualtieri, strettamente legato al vescovo Marco Cornaro, poteva essere entrato in contatto con le numerose musiche che questi era solito riportare a Padova dai suoi numerosi viaggi a Roma.⁷ A questo proposito non possiamo trascurare la grande importanza che Marco II Cornaro, vescovo di Padova dal 1595 al 1625, ebbe nella formazione musicale di Gualtieri e, più in generale, nella vita musicale padovana. Le diverse raccolte a lui dedicate, tra le quali si annovera anche il *Completorium Romanum* (Venezia, 1597) di Ludovico Grossi da Viadana, testimoniano l'importanza della sua presenza nel mondo musicale – e non solo in quello padovano – sia per le attività promosse, sia per la costante attenzione rivolta a cantori e musicisti.⁸ Gli interessi musicali del vescovo emergono chiaramente

⁴ Venezia, Archivio di Stato, *Ospedali e luoghi pii diversi*, bs. 892, *Ospedale della Pietà, Terminazioni (1618–1655)*, c. 75rv; *Procuratia de Supra Chiesa S. Marco*, bs. 89, proc. 200, *Maestro di canto (1485–1734)*, c. 10r e v; *Procuratia de Supra del Seminario*, bs. 156, proc. 316, *Maestro di canto del Seminario di Castello (1579–1781)*, c. 7v.

⁵ Una copia era presente nella Biblioteca Universitaria di Königsberg, è oggi dispersa. Eitner, *Quellen-Lexicon*, 398–399; Müller, *Die musikalischen Schätze*, 189–190.

⁶ RISM G 4791–4796.

⁷ Lovato, “La musica sacra”, 37–41.

⁸ La prima opera dedicata a Marco II Cornaro fu *Il quinto libro di madrigali a 5 voci* (Venezia, 1587) di Marc'Antonio Pordenon. Dieci anni più tardi, oltre alla già citata raccolta di Viadana,

dalla dedicatoria dei *Motecta octonis vocibus* di Gualtieri, che, al di là delle consuete formule di circostanza che i musicisti rivolgevano a mecenati e protettori, esprime la sua riconoscenza per essere stato sostenuto nello studio.⁹

Le principali istituzioni musicali padovane dell'epoca erano la cappella della basilica di Sant'Antonio e la cappella della cattedrale. Come era consuetudine nelle più importanti realtà musicali del periodo, anche a Padova l'attività delle cappelle era arricchita dalla presenza di organisti, cantori e strumentisti.¹⁰ I documenti che riportano gli organici delle cappelle padovane attestano che, in occasione di particolari festività liturgiche, la formazione veniva ampliata da musicisti provenienti da altre città e nazioni. Allo stesso modo, nomi di musicisti padovani figuravano nelle cappelle musicali di altre importanti città. Nei primi quindici anni del Seicento, alla guida delle due cappelle padovane troviamo personalità come Costanzo Porta e Luigi Balbi (tab. 1).¹¹

Tabella 1

Maestri di cappella della Basilica del Santo e della cattedrale di Padova nei primi trent'anni del Seicento

Basilica del Santo		Cattedrale	
1595–1601	Costanzo Porta	1598–1604	Lelio Bertani
1601–1606	Bartolomeo Ratti	1604–1616	Bartolomeo Favaretto
1606–1608	Giulio Belli		
1608–1613	Bartolomeo Ratti		
1614–1615	Gian Antonio Filippini "da Cento"		
1615–1621	Luigi Balbi	1618–1624	Girolamo Boni
1621–1623	Giovanni Ghizzolo	1624–1634	Antonio Vicentino
1623–1631	Leandro Gallerano		

Nelle loro raccolte musicali i maestri attivi a Padova in questo periodo prediligono il repertorio sacro, senza però trascurare quello profano, con raccolte di madrigali e canzonette (Appendice 1).

La frequente presenza di composizioni di musicisti attivi a Padova all'interno di numerose raccolte stampate in Italia e all'estero (Appendice 2) mostra come Padova non fosse un centro isolato, ma, al contrario, avesse una vivace vita musicale, come dimostra anche la cospicua circolazione di cantori e musicisti provenienti da altre realtà. Fra questi va ricordato Bartolomeo Barbarino, suonatore di chitarrone presso la basilica del Santo, musico del vescovo Marco Cornaro tra il 1606 e il 1608 e successivamente maestro di

vennero indirizzate al vescovo patavino anche la *Vespertina omnium solemnitatium psalmodia* di Giovanni Croce e l'*Antiphonarium vespertinum* di Girolamo Lambardi. A seguire i *Motecta octonis vocibus* (Venezia, 1604), che rappresenta la prima raccolta di Gualtieri, il *Primo libro dei madrigali a 5 voci* di Stefano Landi (Venezia, 1619) e le *Messe parte per capella et parte per concerto* di Giovanni Ghizzolo (Venezia, 1625).

⁹ Sull'importanza del vescovo Marco II Cornaro nella vita musicale di Padova: Garbelotto, *Un vescovo musicista*; Lovato, "La musica sacra".

¹⁰ Cattin e Massaro, "La musica e le istituzioni musicali"; Morelli, "Il Seicento".

¹¹ Per il presente contributo si è scelto di porre come limite temporale il 1615, anno di pubblicazione del *Parnassus*.

cappella presso la cattedrale, che troviamo rappresentato in diverse raccolte dell'epoca e anche all'interno del *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus* con il suo mottetto *Omnes sitientes*.¹² Un altro musicista legato all'ambiente padovano che trova spazio all'interno del *Parnassus* con due mottetti, *Super flumina Babylonis* (a tre voci, Canto, Tenore e Basso) e *Confitemini gentes* (a quattro voci), è il bresciano Giovanni Ghizzolo. Allievo di Costanzo Porta, Ghizzolo subentrò a Luigi Balbi alla guida della cappella musicale della basilica del Santo nel 1621 e vi rimase fino al 1623, quando si trasferì a Novara e fu sostituito da Leandro Gallerano, suo concittadino. Alcuni mottetti dei due maestri bresciani verranno inclusi anche nella *Ghirlanda sacra* curata da Leonardo Simonetti e stampata a Venezia presso Bartolomeo Magni nel 1625.¹³ Nella stessa raccolta, oltre a un mottetto di Giovanni Rovetta e a quattro composizioni di Claudio Monteverdi, troviamo anche due mottetti di un altro allievo di Costanzo Porta, Amadio Freddi, cantore presso la cappella antoniana dal 1594 e successivamente maestro di cappella della cattedrale di Padova dal 1634 fino alla morte, avvenuta pochi mesi dopo la nomina.

In questo clima di vivace produzione vedono la luce le due raccolte di mottetti a poche voci e basso continuo di Antonio Gualtieri, edite rispettivamente nel 1612 e nel 1630. In questo periodo il compositore era attivo come maestro di cappella a Monselice e a Montagnana, due centri periferici nelle vicinanze di Padova che disponevano di cappelle musicali meno numerose rispetto a quelle dei centri più prestigiosi come Padova e Venezia, ma pur sempre in grado di svolgere attività musicali durante le celebrazioni dell'intero anno liturgico.¹⁴

Il secondo libro de mottetti a una e due voci, stampato presso l'erede di Angelo Gardano nel 1612, è dedicato al non altrimenti noto Giulio Gallo, "cittadino" della Magnifica Comunità di Monselice.¹⁵ La raccolta, conservata in un'unica copia presso la Westminster Abbey Library a Londra, contiene diciotto composizioni: quattro a voce sola, nove a due voci e cinque "Salmi che si cantano alle Compiete" per due tenori e basso, tutte sostenute dal basso continuo. In linea con molte altre raccolte sacre dell'epoca, questa raccolta prevede l'impiego di diversi organici e dunque poteva rispondere anche alle esigenze delle cappelle musicali meno numerose, come potevano essere quelle di Monselice e Montagnana, presso le quali si trovò a operare lo stesso Gualtieri (tab. 2).

Per quanto riguarda i testi musicati nella raccolta di Gualtieri, otto sono biblici e due si possono reperire nell'Antifonale monastico; *Franciscus pauper et humilis* e *Salve sancte Pater* sono dedicati al santo di Assisi, mentre i restanti mottetti impiegano testi religiosi o devozionali in prosa latina.

¹² Con i quarantanove mottetti a voce sola, stampati nelle sue raccolte del 1610 e 1615, Barbarino risulta sicuramente essere, tra i musicisti attivi in ambito padovano, uno dei più prolifici compositori di mottetti monodici.

¹³ RISM 1625².

¹⁴ Lovato, "Musica e liturgia", 231-249; Scattolin, "La cappella musicale".

¹⁵ La dedica non fornisce elementi che possano consentire l'identificazione del dedicatario o chiarire le circostanze per le quali la collezione venne composta.

Tabella 2

Antonio Gualtieri, *Il secondo libro de mottetti a una e due voci* (1612): incipit dei testi e organico

Incipit dei testi	Organico	Provenienza
1. <i>Assumpta est Maria</i>	A e bc	
2. <i>Egredimini et videte filiae</i>	A e bc	Cantico dei cantici, 3, 11
3. <i>Confirma hoc Deus</i>	S e bc	Ps. 67, 29–30
4. <i>Adiuvo vos filiae</i>	T e bc	
5. <i>Angelus ad pastores ait</i>	2 T e bc	Ant. <i>In Nativitate Domini</i>
6. <i>Consolamini pastores quia hodie</i>	2 T e bc	
7. <i>Veni pulchritudo animae</i>	2 S e bc	
8. <i>Franciscus pauper et humilis</i>	2 T e bc	
9. <i>Salve sancte Pater</i>	2 T e bc	Inno per le Stimmate di San Francesco
10. <i>Carole maiorum generosa</i>	2 T e bc	
11. <i>Audi Domine hymnum</i>	S, T e bc	III Libro dei Re, 8, 28–29
12. <i>Iubilemus omnes et diem</i>	2 T e bc	
13. <i>Estote fortes in bello</i>	T, B e bc	Ant. <i>Commune Apostolorum et Evangelistarum (extra tempus paschale)</i>
14. <i>Cum invocarem exaudivit</i>	2 T, B e bc	Ps. 4, 2, 3, 5, 7, 9
15. <i>In te Domine speravi</i>	2 T, B e bc	Ps. 30, 2, 3, 5
16. <i>Qui habitat in adiutorio</i>	2 T, B e bc	Ps. 90, 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15
17. <i>Ecce nunc benedicite Dominum</i>	2 T, B e bc	Ps. 133, 1–2
18. <i>Nunc dimittis servum tuum</i>	2 T, B e bc	Lc, 2, 29, 31

Dal punto di vista della scrittura musicale, le figure ritmiche utilizzate vanno dalla semicroma alla *longa*, come possiamo riscontrare anche nel *Parnassus*, al cui interno, tuttavia, le ricche diminuzioni sono ulteriormente impreziosite dall'utilizzo delle biscrome. In linea generale possiamo affermare che nei mottetti di Gualtieri i passaggi particolarmente diminuiti sono riservati ai mottetti a voce sola, mentre le composizioni a due o più voci prevedono una scrittura meno virtuosistica. All'interno del *Parnassus*, invece, anche le composizioni a più voci presentano diminuzioni più numerose ed elaborate (si veda, ad esempio, la lunga successione di semicrome in corrispondenza della parola "aromata", posta in chiusura del mottetto *Veni in hortum* di Giacomo Filippo Biumi).¹⁶

Come dimostra l'esempio seguente, Gualtieri generalmente annota per esteso tutte le diminuzioni che un cantante dell'epoca avrebbe probabilmente eseguito comunque (es. mus. 1a). Epurata la linea dalle diminuzioni, risulta la seguente struttura melodica basilare che, pur nella sua essenziale semplicità, si rivela comunque compiuta (es. mus. 1b).

Esempio musicale 1a

Antonio Gualtieri, *Assumpta est Maria*, bb. 38–39

A 

¹⁶ Antonicek, *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*, 94 (bb. 112–117).

Esempio musicale 1bAntonio Gualtieri, *Assumpta est Maria*, bb. 38–39 senza diminuzioni

A

Si tratta di un procedimento comune a molti compositori dell'epoca, ed è probabile che qualunque cantore professionista, di fronte a una simile struttura semplificata, avrebbe comunque introdotto una o più diminuzioni per arricchire e variare la linea della melodia, specialmente in corrispondenza della parola *alleluja*. Lo stesso ribattuto di gola indicato dalla successione di quattro semicrome (cfr. l'esempio seguente) dimostra come Gualtieri fosse solito indicare in maniera pedissequa alcuni dettagli musicali di uso comune, la cui esplicitazione si sarebbe potuta omettere (es. mus. 2). Anche in diversi mottetti presenti nel *Parnassus* troviamo indicate *in extenso* diminuzioni afferenti alla sfera della prassi, come accade nel mottetto *Cantate Domino* di Monteverdi (es. mus. 3).¹⁷

Esempio musicale 2Antonio Gualtieri, *Assumpta est Maria*, bb. 26–28

A

Esempio musicale 3Claudio Monteverdi, *Cantate Domino*, bb. 117–119

S 1

È probabile che la raccolta di Gualtieri fosse destinata a cantanti poco più che amatoriali, o comunque poco avvezzi a introdurre adeguate diminuzioni, a meno che non se le trovassero scritte. In alternativa, il compositore potrebbe aver voluto indicare la precisa modalità di esecuzione della sua musica, manifestando la medesima consapevolezza espressa da Lodovico da Viadana negli avvertimenti “a’ benigni lettori” apposti ai suoi *Cento concerti ecclesiastici*.¹⁸

Per quanto riguarda l’aspetto mensurale, come nei mottetti del *Parnassus*, anche nella raccolta di Gualtieri il *tactus* comunemente impiegato è il *tempus imperfectum non*

¹⁷ Ibid., 84–90.

¹⁸ “Et prima, che questa sorte di concerti deve cantarsi gentilmente con discrezione et leggiadria, usando gli acenti con ragione et passaggi con misura et a’ suoi lochi, sopra tutto non aggiungendo alcuna cosa più di quello che in loro si ritrova stampato; perciocché vi sono talhora certi cantanti i quali, perché si trovano favoriti dalla natura d’un poco di garante, mai cantano nella maniera che fanno i canti, non si accorgendo essi che hoggidi questi tali non sono grati, anzi sono pochissimo stimati particolarmente in Roma, dove fiorisce la vera professione del cantar bene”. Viadana, “Concerti”, prefazione.

diminutum, tranne per il mottetto *Iubilemus omnes et diem* composto in *tempus perfectum diminutum*.¹⁹ Se si eccettuano cinque mottetti (*Egredimini et videte filiae*, *Veni pulchritudo animae*, *Franciscus pauper et humilis*, *Salve sancte Pater* e *Audi Domine hymnum*), gli altri hanno una o più sezioni in tempo ternario notate in 3 o in 3/2. Questi episodi assumono funzioni diverse e servono per descrivere le parole che invitano al canto e alla gioia, come “gaudent angeli”, “alleluia” e “iubilemus omnes”, oppure evidenziano incisi testuali dal significato pregnante quali possono essere, a titolo esemplificativo, “semper benedicite” e “et glorificabo eum”. In altre situazioni il ritmo ternario ha la funzione di enfatizzare ulteriormente le espressioni di esortazione presenti nel testo (“dicite”, “pugnate cum antiquo serpente”, “irascimini”). Tra i quattordici mottetti del *Parnassus* presi in considerazione, sette composizioni presentano una o più sezioni in tempo ternario, mentre i restanti propongono il *tempus imperfectum* per l’intera composizione. Una caratteristica ricorrente della scrittura di Gualtieri che possiamo riscontrare anche in due mottetti del *Parnassus* è la riproposizione di intere sezioni – generalmente in *mensura* ternaria e in corrispondenza delle parole di giubilo – ripetute identiche all’interno della composizione (creando l’effetto tipico dell’*epiphora*).²⁰

Osservando la disposizione delle chiavi e l’estensione delle singole parti nella raccolta di Gualtieri (tab. 3) e nel *Parnassus* (tab. 4), si nota che quando i mottetti sono destinati a due voci dello stesso registro la tessitura è la medesima, per cui c’è una totale omogeneità tra le due linee che si alternano e si intersecano sullo stesso piano vocale. Negli altri casi la tessitura rispetta la normale estensione del timbro vocale prescelto, per cui non ci sono linee che si estendono fino all’estremo acuto o grave. Fa eccezione il mottetto *Ecce quam bonum* di Giovanni Sansoni, in cui il basso secondo si spinge fino al do_1 .²¹

Tabella 3

A. Gualtieri, *Il secondo libro de mottetti a una e due voci* (1612): chiavi ed estensioni vocali

Incipit dei testi	Canto	Alto	Tenore	Basso
1. <i>Assumpta est Maria</i>		Do ³	si ₂ -la ₃	
2. <i>Egredimini et videte filiae</i>		Do ³	si ₂ -la ₃	
3. <i>Confirma hoc Deus</i>	VI	fa ₃ -sol ₄		
4. <i>Adiuvo vos filiae</i>			Do ⁴	fa ₂ -re ₃
5. <i>Angelus ad pastores ait</i>		Do ⁴	sol ₂ -la ₃	Do ⁴
6. <i>Consolamini pastores quia hodie</i>		Do ⁴	do ₂ -re ₃	Do ⁴
7. <i>Veni pulchritudo animae</i>	Do ¹	mi ₃ -mi ₄	Do ¹	mi ₃ -mi ₄
8. <i>Franciscus pauper et humilis</i>		Do ⁴	do ₂ -mi ₃	Do ⁴
9. <i>Salve sancte pater</i>		Do ⁴	re ₂ -mi ₃	Do ⁴
10. <i>Carole maiorum generosa</i>		Do ⁴	re ₂ -mi ₃	Do ⁴
11. <i>Audi Domine hymnum</i>	VI	sol ₃ -sol ₄		Do ³

¹⁹ Dei quattordici mottetti del *Parnassus* presi in considerazione soltanto il mottetto *Cantate Domino* di Claudio Monteverdi presenta un incipit in *tempus perfectum diminutum*.

²⁰ Antonicek, *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaus*, 9–11 e 84–91; Gualtieri, “Il secondo libro”, n. 3, 4, 6 e 12.

²¹ Antonicek, *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaus*, 107–110.

Incipit dei testi	Canto	Alto	Tenore	Basso
12. <i>Iubilemus omnes et diem</i>		Do ³ fa ₇ , -la ₄	Do ³ sol ₂ , -la ₃	
13. <i>Estote fortes in bello</i>			Do ⁴ re ₂ , -mi ₃	Fa ⁴ sol ₁ , -do ₃
14. <i>Cum invocarem exaudivit</i>		Do ⁴ do ₂ , -mi ₄	Do ⁴ do ₂ , -mi ₃	Fa ⁴ sol ₁ , -la ₂
15. <i>In te Domine speravi</i>		Do ³ fa ₇ , -la ₃	Do ³ fa ₇ , -la ₃	Fa ³ sol ₁ , -re ₃
16. <i>Qui habitat in adiutorio</i>		Do ⁴ do ₂ , -re ₃	Do ⁴ do ₂ , -re ₃	Fa ⁴ fa ₁ , -si ₂
17. <i>Ecce nunc benedicite Dominum</i>		Do ³ sol ₂ , -la ₃	Do ³ fa ₇ , -la ₃	Fa ⁴ si ₁ , -re ₃
18. <i>Nunc dimittis servum tuum</i>		Do ⁴ mi ₂ , -mi ₃	Do ⁴ mi ₂ , -mi ₃	Fa ⁴ sol ₁ , -sol ₂

Tabella 4

Parnassus, Mottetti a una voce e due voci pari, estensione

Mottetto	Voce	Chiave	Esten-sione	Voce	Chiave	Esten-sione
Pellegrini, <i>Dominus regit me</i>	C	Do ¹	re ₃ , -mi ₁			
Priuli, <i>Egredimini filiae Sion</i>	C	Do ¹	Re ₃ , -mi ₄			
Valentini, <i>Benedicam Dominum</i>	B	Fa ⁴	fa ₁ , -do ₃			
Cavaccio, <i>Paratum cor meum</i>	T	Do ⁴	mi ₂ , -fa ₃			
Barbarini, <i>Omnnes sitiennes</i>	T	Do ⁴	re ₂ , -fa ₃			
Priuli, <i>Adoramus te Domine</i>	A	Do ³	mi ₂ , -la ₃			
Turini, <i>Sacrificemus Reginae Caeli</i>	A	Do ³	fa ₂ , -la ₃			
Corradini, <i>Attende Domine</i>	C	Do ¹	do ₃ , -fa ₄			
Monteverdi, <i>Cantate Domino</i>	CI	Do ¹	do ₃ , -fa ₄	CII	Do ¹	si ₃ , -fa ₄
Biumi, <i>Veni in hortum</i>	CI	Do ¹	do ₃ , -fa ₄	CII	Do ¹	do ₃ , -fa ₄
Bontempi, <i>Quam breve festum</i>	TI	Do ⁴	do ₇ , -mi ₃	TII	Do ⁴	do ₇ , -mi ₃
Gabussi, <i>O crux benedicta</i>	AI	Do ³	sol ₂ , -si ₃	AII	Do ³	sol ₂ , -si ₃
Sansoni, <i>Ego dormio</i>	AI	Do ³	fa ₇ , -la ₃	AII	Do ³	fa ₇ , -la ₃
Sansoni, <i>Ecce quam bonum</i>	BI	Fa ⁴	mi ₁ , -si ₂	BII	Fa ⁴	do ₁ , -la ₂

Nella raccolta di Gualtieri del 1612 compare, per la prima volta nelle sue opere, una parte di “basso per l’organo” con alcune indicazioni per la realizzazione armonica. Queste indicazioni non sono ancora così specifiche come quelle che si rilevano nella successiva raccolta di mottetti, nella quale viene indicata anche la cifratura del basso continuo (che in questa raccolta è assente e che possiamo trovare nella parte del basso di alcuni mottetti inclusi nel *Parnassus*). Nelle composizioni di Gualtieri, così come in quelle della raccolta dedicata all’arciduca Ferdinando, la principale funzione del basso per l’organo è quella di accompagnamento e sostegno armonico alla linea o alle linee vocali. Infatti la parte affidata allo strumento è prevalentemente “seguinte”, ossia riprende quella della voce più grave, formando una linea grave continua. In alcuni casi, più rari ma non così sporadici, il basso strumentale ha un ruolo concertante e imitativo, proponendo un dialogo, seppur breve, con una o più voci soliste.

Dal punto di vista armonico, la raccolta di Gualtieri non presenta una scrittura particolarmente arida, anche se alcuni passaggi sono resi interessanti dall’uso del ritardo o dell’anticipo di un’armonia. Caratteristici risultano alcuni rari intervalli di seconda aumentata, come accade nella voce del Tenore secondo nel mottetto *Franciscus pauper*

et humilis, non comuni nella pratica compositiva e, proprio per questo, particolarmente adatti a rendere gli incisi maggiormente interessanti (es. mus. 4).

Esempio musicae 4

Antonio Gualtieri, *Franciscus pauper et humilis*, bb. 32–34

In sede di cadenza finale prevale la cadenza perfetta (V–I), mentre la cadenza plagale (IV–I) viene impiegata solo in tre casi. È abbastanza frequente il ricorso a procedimenti di progressione, che rendono incalzante l’andamento melodico. Questa preferenza in sede di cadenza è confermata anche dai quattordici mottetti del *Parnassus* oggetto del nostro confronto, fra cui soltanto *Veni in hortum meum* di Giacomo Filippo Biumi impiega la cadenza plagale, mentre gli altri tredici ricorrono alla cadenza perfetta.²²

È particolarmente interessante notare l’attenzione che i compositori prestano al rapporto tra testo e musica. Per sottolineare determinate parole o frasi del testo, Gualtieri, come molti altri compositori, ricorre all’impiego di diminuzioni, al trattamento omoritmico delle voci e all’espedito dell’*interruptio*. In altre occasioni, invece, i termini vengono resi musicalmente grazie al ricorso a figure retoriche. Ad esempio, parole come “assumpta” e “coelum” (es. mus. 5) sono rese con un moto ascendente della melodia (*anabasis*), espedito che possiamo trovare anche in corrispondenza della parola “surrexi” nel mottetto *Ego dormio* di Giovanni Sansoni. In questo caso la parola è descritta attraverso una linea melodica caratterizzata dall’intervallo di quarta ascendente e che porta l’alto secondo all’apice melodico dell’intera composizione.²³

All’opposto, il verbo “cadent” (es. mus. 6) è descritto da tutte le voci con un intervallo di ottava discendente, generando l’effetto di *katabasis*. La stessa cosa avviene anche nel mottetto *Ecce quam bonum* di Giovanni Sansoni in corrispondenza del verbo “descendit”, valorizzato e reso ancora più pregnante dal ritmo puntato e dal raggiungimento delle due note più gravi della composizione, re₁ e do₁.²⁴

Esempio musicale 5

Antonio Gualtieri, *Assumpta est Maria*, bb. 1–5

²² Ibid., 91–94.

²³ Ibid., 76–77, bb. 52–57.

²⁴ Ibid., 107–110, bb. 34–62.

Esempio musicale 6Antonio Gualtieri, *Qui habitat in adiutorio*, bb. 29–30

T1 29
 Ca - dent a la - te - re
 T2 8
 Ca - dent a la - te - re tu - o mil -
 B
 Ca - dent a la - te - re tu - o mil - le et

Frequente, all'interno della raccolta di Gualtieri, è l'uso di due figure retoriche simili, caratterizzate dall'iterazione di formule melodiche o dalla ripetizioni di frasi melodiche: l'*anafora* o *repetitio*, cioè la ripetizione di uno stesso inciso alla stessa altezza, e il *polipoton*, ossia la ripetizione della stessa frase melodica nelle diverse voci. Tra i molteplici casi di utilizzo di queste figure retoriche nell'esempio seguente è possibile incontrare le due figure retoriche all'interno dello stesso segmento musicale (es. mus. 7).

Esempio musicale 7Antonio Gualtieri, *Qui habitat in adiutorio*, bb. 36–38

T1 36
 tem non ap-pro-pin-qua - bit, non ap-pro-pin-qua - bit, non ap-pro-pin-
 T2 8
 non ap-pro-pin-qua - bit, non ap-pro-pin-qua - -
 B
 non ap-pro-pin-qua - bit, non ap-pro-pin-qua - bit, non ap-pro-pin-qua - -

Anche l'*interruptio* ricorre spesso in questa raccolta di mottetti, dove viene utilizzata per separare le battute finali dal resto della composizione, oppure per porre in evidenza determinati incisi testuali grazie a una pausa che coinvolge tutte le voci. In ogni caso si tratta di un espediente che il compositore adopera per richiamare l'attenzione su un frammento testuale che altrimenti rischierebbe di passare inosservato.

Vi sono alcuni procedimenti compositivi che Gualtieri utilizza soltanto nei mottetti a voce sola, come l'uso ricorrente della figurazione ritmica Semicroma–Croma puntata, ossia il cosiddetto ritmo 'lombardo' o 'alla zoppa' tanto caro sia a Claudio Monteverdi, sia a molti compositori del primo Seicento. Questo ritmo irregolare che, proprio per la sua atipicità, riesce a dare vivacità alla frase, ritorna infatti anche in diverse composizioni a voce sola o a poche voci e basso continuo dei maestri attivi nel territorio padovano e veneziano durante la prima metà del Seicento, trovando ampio uso anche all'interno della sillode dedicata all'arciduca Ferdinando.

All'interno della raccolta di Gualtieri merita particolare attenzione il mottetto *Adiuro vos filiae*, introdotto dalla prescrizione "Tenore voce sola in echo", in cui le ultime sillabe di alcune parole vengono puntualmente ripetute in forma di risposta sonora. La scrittura

in eco non era certo insolita tra le raccolte del primo Seicento, e lo stesso Gualtieri aveva già utilizzato questa tecnica nel mottetto a otto voci *Confitemini Domino*. In *Adiuro vos* l'aspetto più significativo è, però, la presenza di indicazioni dinamiche, per cui ogni sillaba in eco viene indicata con la lettera "P" (e doveva quindi esser eseguita piano), mentre la frase che segue è indicata con la lettera "F", per suggerire un aumento dell'intensità. Le indicazioni diventano ancora più specifiche a conclusione del brano, prescrivendo la realizzazione delle ultime note in decrescendo, dal piano ("P") al pianissimo (indicato come "P.P." e talvolta anche come "PPP").²⁵

Altre peculiarità sono invece proprie dei nove mottetti a due voci e basso continuo, che hanno una costruzione simile tra loro. Ad eccezione dei mottetti *Salve sancte Pater*, in cui le due voci intonano la parola "salve" con valori lati procedendo per terze, ed *Estote fortes in bello*, dove l'imitazione non è rigorosa come negli altri casi, nella maggior parte dei casi l'incipit è affidato a una voce che propone il tema, successivamente riproposto dall'altra (es. mus. 8). Lo stesso procedimento è riscontrabile nei mottetti a due voci e basso continuo del *Parnassus*. L'omioritmia viene utilizzata principalmente per mettere in evidenza o per enfatizzare un determinato inciso testuale. Molto frequente è la contrapposizione tra sezioni omioritmiche ed episodi in contrappunto per descrivere particolari concetti descritti nel testo.

Esempio musicale 8

Antonio Gualtieri, *Carole maiorum generosa*, bb. 1-4

The image shows a musical score for two voices (T1 and T2) and basso continuo. T1 starts with 'Ca - ro - le, ma - io - rum,' and T2 starts with 'Ca - ro - le, ma - io - rum'. The music is in a simple, homorhythmic style with a common time signature.

Per concludere, un breve accenno agli ultimi cinque mottetti della raccolta di Gualtieri, i "Salmi che si cantano alle Compiete", che si differenziano marcatamente dagli altri. Innanzitutto l'organico è composto da tre voci maschili (T 1, T 2, B) accompagnate da un basso continuo e la linea vocale più grave ha una funzione di sostegno, confermata dal fatto che corrisponde, quasi sempre esattamente, alla linea dell'organo. La differenza più notevole, però, sta nel tipo di scrittura, che in questa sezione è caratterizzata da un andamento prevalentemente accordale e omioritmico. Alcuni brevi spunti imitativi e sezioni in *mensura* ternaria introducono qualche elemento di varietà, mentre sono del tutto assenti le ricche diminuzioni dei mottetti a voce sola. Pertanto, queste composizioni presentano un carattere più corale rispetto agli altri mottetti, chiaramente destinati a un'esecuzione solistica; inoltre, sebbene nel Salmo 90 alcuni versetti siano affidati a una voce solista, la

²⁵ L'indicazione proposta da Gualtieri di eseguire una frase piano o forte si trova impiegata già alla fine del Cinquecento per segnalare un effetto di eco, ad esempio in alcune composizioni del *Primo libro delle villanelle* (1596) di Aurelio Bonelli. La stessa indicazione veniva utilizzata per segnalare l'alternanza tra due cori o gruppi strumentali, come nella *Sonata pian e forte* di Giovanni Gabrieli. Nella produzione di Gualtieri, tuttavia, il mottetto *Adiuro vos filiae* è l'unica composizione in cui compaiono simili indicazioni dinamiche.

scrittura rimane coerente con il resto della composizione essendo priva di diminuzioni o passaggi particolarmente ardit.

Ad eccezione del cantico *Nunc dimittis servum tuum*, i quattro salmi conclusivi, come di consueto, sono introdotti dall'intonazione gregoriana. Anzi, poiché Gualtieri intona soltanto alcuni versetti dispari dei salmi,²⁶ è probabile che la loro esecuzione avvenisse secondo la pratica altrettanto tradizionale e diffusa di alternare sezioni polifoniche ad altre in canto piano o con l'organo. Questa raccolta, infatti, è stata pubblicata nel 1612, quando Gualtieri era maestro di cappella nella collegiata di Monselice, dove il canto monodico costituiva il compito principale del capitolo obbligato alla liturgia corale.²⁷

In conclusione possiamo affermare che Antonio Gualtieri, un autore sinora poco conosciuto, seppe far proprie le nuove tecniche compositive aggiornando la sua scrittura musicale. Il confronto fra le composizioni incluse nel suo primo libro di mottetti a una e due voci e continuo, pubblicato nel 1612, e le composizioni di diversi autori dotate di un medesimo organico incluse nel *Parnassus*, pubblicato soltanto tre anni dopo, ha infatti mostrato come la scrittura di Gualtieri si riveli del tutto in linea con le principali caratteristiche di composizioni prodotte in altre aree della penisola e importate nella cappella musicale di Graz.

Appendice 1

Raccolte individuali dei compositori attivi a Padova nei primi quindici anni del Seicento.

Anno	Titolo dell'opera	Città, editore
COSTANZO PORTA (RISM P 5171-5190)		
1555	<i>Motectorum [...] liber primus, quinque vocibus.</i>	Venezia, Antonio Gardano
1555	<i>Il primo libro de madrigali a quattro voci.</i>	Venezia, Antonio Gardano
1559	<i>Liber primus motectorum quatuor vocum.</i>	Venezia, Antonio Gardano
1591	<i>Liber primus motectorum quatuor vocum.</i>	Venezia, Antonio Gardano
1559	<i>Il primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci.</i>	Venezia, Antonio Gardano
1565	<i>Musica in introitus missarum</i> (RISM PP 5173a)	Venezia, Francesco Rampazetto
1566a	<i>Quinque vocum musica in introitus missarum, quae in diebus dominicis toto anno celebrantur, iuxta morem Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae.</i>	Venezia, Claudio Correggio e Fausto Betanio
1588 ² a	<i>[...] nunc ab auctore diligentissime emendata.</i>	Venezia, Angelo Gardano

²⁶ Fa eccezione solo il mottetto *Ecce nunc benedicite*, in cui Gualtieri mette in musica solamente i primi due versetti del salmo 133, prevedendo l'intonazione gregoriana soltanto per l'emistichio iniziale.

²⁷ Lovato, "Musica e liturgia", 231-249.

Anno	Titolo dell'opera	Città, editore
1566b	<i>Quinque vocum musica in introitus missarum, quae in solemnitatibus sanctorum omnium toto anno celebrantur, iuxta morem Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae.</i>	Venezia, Claudio Correggio e Fausto Betanio
1588 ^b	<i>Quinque vocum musica in introitus missarum, quae in solemnitatibus sanctorum omnium toto anno celebrantur, iuxta morem Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae.</i>	Venezia, Angelo Gardano
1569	<i>Il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci.</i>	Venezia, Antonio Gardano
1571	<i>Musica sex canenda vocibus, in nonnulla ex sacris litteris collecta verba, liber primus.</i>	Venezia, gli figliuoli di Antonio Gardano
1573	<i>Il terzo libro de madrigali a cinque voci.</i>	Venezia, gli figliuoli di Antonio Gardano
1575	<i>Litaniae Deiparae Virginis Mariae ex saxra scriptura depromptae, quae in alma domo Lauretana omnibus diebus sabbati, vigiliamrum, & festorum eiusdem Beatae Virginis decantari solent, cum musca octo vocum.</i>	Venezia, Giorgio Angelieri
1578	<i>Missarum [a 4, 5 & 6 v] liber primus.</i>	Venezia, Angelo Gardano
1580	<i>Liber quinquaginta duorum motectorum, quatuor, quinque, sex, septem, & octo vocum.</i>	Venezia, Angelo Gardano
1585	<i>Musica sex canenda vocibus in nonnulla ex sacris litteris collecta verba [...] liber tertius.</i>	Venezia, Angelo Gardano
1586	<i>Il quarto libro de madrigali a cinque voci, novamente da Marsilio Cristofori raccolti</i>	Venezia, Angelo Gardano
1602	<i>Hymnodia sacra totius per anni circulum quatuor vocibus.</i>	Venezia, Angelo Gardano
1605a	<i>Motectorum quinque vocum.</i>	Venezia, Angelo Gardano
1605b	<i>Psalmodia vespertina omnium solemnitatum octo vocibus decantanda [...] cum quattuor canticis B. Virginis itidem octo vocum, uno tantum excepto bis octo vocibus concinnendo.</i>	Venezia, Angelo Gardano
BARTOLOMEO RATTI (RISM R 324–328)		
1594	<i>Cantiones in laudem Deiparae Virginis Mariae [...] liber primus, cum quinque vocibus.</i>	Venezia, Ricciardo Amadino
1594	<i>Amorosi fiori colti in vago, a delizioso giardino, madrigali a quatro voci con uno a otto in fine, composti in stil di canzonette.</i>	Venezia, Ricciardo Amadino
1596	<i>Ghirlanda de varii fiori amorosi. Secondo libro de madrigali a quattro voci, composti in stil di canzonette, con un sonetto a otto in fine, & un dialogo a otto fatto nelle sontuose nozze dell'illustre signor Giovan Martin Marchesi con l'illustre signora Lucina Savorgnana.</i>	Venezia, Ricciardo Amadino
1599	<i>Ardori amorosi, madrigali e canzonette a tre voci.</i>	Venezia, Ricciardo Amadino
1605	<i>Li brevi salmi intieri, che nelli vespri di tutte le solenità si cantano, secondo il rito del sacro Concilio di Trento, a cinque voci con il basso continuo per commodità de gl'organisti</i>	Venezia, Ricciardo Amadino

Anno	Titolo dell'opera	Città, editore
GIULIO BELLI (RISM B 1745-1778)		
1584	<i>Canzonette [...] libro primo a quattro voci.</i>	Venezia, Angelo Gardano
1586 ²	<i>Canzonette [...] libro primo a quattro voci.</i>	Milano, Francesco & eredi di Simon Tini
1595 ³	<i>[...] aggiuntovi due canzonette nove.</i>	Venezia, Angelo Gardano
1586 1597 ² 1603b ³ 1604a ⁴	<i>Missarum cum quinque vocibus liber primus.</i>	Venezia, Angelo Gardano
1589	<i>Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque, et a sei voci.</i>	Venezia, Angelo Gardano
1592	<i>Il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque et a sei voci.</i>	Venezia, Ricciardo Amadino
1593	<i>Il secondo libro delle canzonette a quatro voci [...] con alcune romane a tre voci.</i>	Venezia, Ricciardo Amadino
1593	<i>Psalmi ad vespas in totius anni solemnitatibus [...] quinque vocibus [...] nunc primum in lucem editi (RISM BB 1755a)</i>	Venezia, Ricciardo Amadino
1598 ²	<i>Psalmi ad vespas in totius anni solemnitatibus [...] quinque vocibus, duoque cantica B. Virginis, & in fine addito Te Deum laudamus, secunda impressio</i>	Venezia, Ricciardo Amadino
1606 ³	<i>[...] tertia editio.</i>	Venezia, Ricciardo Amadino
1595	<i>Missarum, sacrarumque cantionum octo vocibus liber primus.</i>	Venezia, Ricciardo Amadino
1607 ^{2c}	<i>[...] nunc denuo ab ipso autore recognitarum, ac etiam additae partes infimae, ad beneplacitum organum pulsantis.</i>	Venezia, Ricciardo Amadino
1608 ^{3b}	<i>Basso generale per l'organo, delle messe et motetti a otto voci.</i>	Venezia, Ricciardo Amadino
1596	<i>Psalmi ad vespas in totius anni solemnitatibus octo voc., duoque cantica Beatae Virginis.</i>	Venezia, Angelo Gardano
1600 ^b	<i>Psalmi ad vespas in totius anni solemnitatibus octo voc., duoque cantica Beatae Virginis.</i>	Venezia, Angelo Gardano
1607	<i>Basso generale per l'organo dei salmi a otto voci. Che si cantano in tutte le feste de l'anno.</i>	Venezia, Angelo Gardano e fratelli
1615 ³	<i>Psalmi ad vespas in totius anni solemnitatibus octo vocibus, duoque Cantica Beatae Virginis. Tertia impressione [...] con bc</i>	Venezia, stampa del Gardano, appresso Bartolomeo Magni
1597 ²	<i>Il primo libro de Madrigali a 5 et 6 voci novamente composte e dato in luce</i>	Venezia, Angelo Gardano

Anno	Titolo dell'opera	Città, editore
1599	<i>Missarum quatuor vocibus liber primus.</i>	Venezia, Angelo Gardano
1615 ^{2b}	[...] & <i>missa pro defunctis, tertia impressione, cum basso continuato.</i>	Venezia, stampa del Gardano, appresso Bartolomeo Magni
1622 ³	[...] <i>quarta impressione, cum basso continuo.</i>	Sub signo Gardani, appresso Bartolomeo Magni
1600a	<i>Sacrarum cantionum quatuor, quinque, sex, octo et duodecim vocibus cum litanijs Beatae Virginis Mariae, liber primus</i>	Venezia, Angelo Gardano
1603a	<i>Psalmi ad Vesperas in totius anni festivitibus, ac tria cantica B. Virginis Mariae, sex vocibus.</i>	Venezia, Angelo Gardano
1604 ^{2b}	<i>Psalmi ad Vesperas in totius anni festivitibus, ac tria cantica B. Virginis Mariae, sex vocibus.</i>	Venezia, Angelo Gardano
1607 ^{3d}	<i>Salmi vespertini a sei voci che si cantano in tutte le feste dell'anno [con bc].</i>	Venezia, Angelo Gardano e fratelli
1605	<i>Compieta, mottetti, & letanie della Madonna a otto voci, falsi bordoni sopra li otto toni a dui chori spezzati, con li Sicut erat interi.</i>	Venezia, Angelo Gardano
1607a	<i>Compieta, falsi bordoni, mottetti, et litanie della Madonna a sei voci, co'l basso generale per l'organo.</i>	Venezia, Alessandro Raverii
1607b	<i>Compieta, falsi bordoni, antifone, et litanie della Madonna a quattro voci, co'l basso generale per l'organo [...] primo choro.</i>	Venezia, Alessandro Raverii
1607e	[...] <i>a cinque voci [...] secondo choro.</i>	Venezia, Alessandro Raverii
1608a	<i>Missae sacrae quae cum quatuor, quinque, sex et octo vocibus concinuntur, cum basso generali per organo.</i>	Venezia, Angelo Gardano et fratelli
1613 ^{2b}	<i>Missae sacrae quae cum quatuor, quinque, sex et octo vocibus concinuntur, cum basso generali per organo.</i>	Aere Bartolomei Magni
1613a	<i>Concerti ecclesiastici a due et a tre voci</i>	Venezia, Bartolomeo Magni
1621 ²	<i>Concerti ecclesiastici a due et a tre voci</i>	Frankfurt, Nikolaus Stein
1622	<i>Concerti ecclesiastici binis et trinis vocibus, cum basso continuo ad organum</i> (RISM BB 1772a)	Antwerpen, Pierre Phalèse
LUIGI BALBI (RISM B 748–749)		
1606	<i>Ecclesiastici concentus canendi una, duabus, tribus & quatuor vocibus, aut organo, aut alijs quibusvis instrumentis eiusdem generis, [...] liber primus.</i>	Venezia, Alessandro Raverii
1606	<i>Partitura delli concerti ecclesiastici a una, doi, tre, quattro, cinque, sette et otto voci, per sonare nell'organo o altri instrumenti con una canzone a quattro [...] libro primo.</i>	Venezia, Alessandro Raverii

Anno	Titolo dell'opera	Città, editore
LELIO BERTANI (RISM B 2114-2116)		
1584	<i>Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci.</i>	Brescia, Pietro Maria Marchetti
1585 1607	<i>Il primo libro de' madrigali a sei voci</i>	Venezia, Angelo Gardano Venezia, Angelo Gardano e fratelli
1585	<i>Madrigali spirituali a tre voci</i> (manca in RISM)	Brescia, Vincenzo Sabbio
BARTOLOMEO FAVARETTO (RISM F 149)		
1604	<i>Laude spirituali a quattro voci nella Assomptione della gloriosa Vergine Maria</i>	Venezia, Giacomo Vincenti

Appendice 2

Raccolte stampate tra il 1600 e il 1615 che includono composizioni di maestri attivi a Padova nei primi quindici anni del Seicento.

RISM B/I	Titolo della raccolta	Compositori	RISM B/I della prima stampa o delle ristampe successive
1600 ^{5a}	<i>Flores musicae, hoc est, suavissimae et lepidissimae cantiones, madrigalia vulgus nominat, una cum variis pavanis, paduanis, galliardis [...]</i> (Heidelberg, Voegelin)	Lelio Bertani	
1600 ⁷	<i>Madrigali pastorali descritti da diversi et posti in musica da altri tanti autori a sei voci intitolati Il Bon Bacio di novo ristampati et corretti.</i> (Venezia, Angelo Gardano)	Lelio Bertani Costanzo Porta	1594 ⁶ 1604 ¹⁰
1600 ⁸	<i>De floridi virtuosi d'Italia madrigali a cinque voci ridotti in un corpo. Nuovamente con ogni diligentia stampati & seguendo l'ordine de suoi toni posti in luce.</i> (Antwerpen, Pietro Phalèse)	Giulio Belli Lelio Bertani	
1600 ⁹	<i>Spoglia amorosa. Madrigali a cinque voci de diversi ecc.^{mi} musici di novo ristampata et con diligentia corretta.</i> (Venezia, Angelo Gardano)	Costanzo Porta (2)	1592 ¹⁵
1601 ¹	<i>Falsi bordonum omnium tonorum a diversis excellentissimis auctoribus modulati, partim plena, et partim pari voce, cum quatuor, quinque, et sex vocibus concinendi: ac etiam duobus choris si placet.</i> [...] (Venezia, Angelo Gardano)	Costanzo Porta (2)	
1601 ⁵	<i>Ghirlanda di madrigali a sei voci, di diversi eccellentissimi autori de nostri tempi. Raccolta di giardini di fiori odoriferi musicali. Nuovamente posta in luce.</i> (Antwerpen, Pietro Phalèse)	Lelio Bertani	

RISM B/I	Titolo della raccolta	Compositori	RISM B/I della prima stampa o delle ristampe successive
1601 ⁶	<i>Il trionfo di dori descritto da diversi et posti in musica, da altrettanti autori. A sei voci.</i> (Antwerpen, Pietro Phalèse)	Lelio Bertani	1592 ¹¹ 1595 ² 1596 ⁹ 1599 ¹⁰ 1614 ¹¹ 1628 ¹²
1601 ⁷	<i>I diporti della villa in ogni stagione spiegati in quattro canzoni dell'ill. Francesco Bozza Cavaliere, et posti in musica da diversi famosi autori, a cinque voci, novamente dati in luce.</i> (Venezia, Angelo Gardano)	Lelio Bertani	
1604 ⁸	<i>Musica di diversi eccellentissimi autori. A cinque voci. Sopra i pietosi affetti, del M. R. P. D. Angelo Grillo raccolta per il padre D. Massimiano Gabbiani da Brescia, monaco cassinese. Novamente posta in luce.</i> (Venezia, Angelo Gardano)	Giulio Belli Lelio Bertani (2) Amadio Freddi Costanzo Porta	
1604 ¹³	<i>Fiori musicali a tre voci de diversi eccellentissimi auttori. Di novo stampati & seguendo l'ordine de suoi toni posti in luce.</i> (Antwerpen, Pietro Phalèse)	Giulio Belli (2)	1618 ¹⁰
1607 ⁴	<i>La Terza con il Te Deum et Litanie della B. Vergine et Santi a otto voci di Pietro Lappi fiorentino maestro della musica di S. Maria delle Grazie in Brescia.</i> (Venezia, Alessandro Raveri)	Lelio Bertani	
1607 ⁶	<i>Musarum Sioniar: motectae et psalmi latini, Michaëlis Praetorij C. apud sereniss. Principem Henricum Julium duces Brunsv. & Lunaeb., chori musici magistri, IV. V. VI. VII. VIII. IX. X. XII. XVI. Vocum, choro et organis accommodatae. I. Pars.</i> (Nürnberg, Abraham Wagenmann)	Costanzo Porta	
1607 ⁸	<i>Concerti per sonare et cantare. Di Giulio Radino padovano cioè canzone, & ricercari a quattro, & otto, mottetti, messe, salmi, & Magnificat, a cinque, sei, sette, dieci, dodici, & sedeci voci. Novamente dati alle stampe da Gio. Maria Radino suo padre.</i> (Venezia, Angelo Gardano).	Bartolomeo Favaretto Amadio Freddi (2)	
1607 ⁹	<i>Concerti ecclesiastici a una, a due, a tre et a quarto voci, con il basso continuo per sonar nell'organo, di Lodovico Viadana, raccolti da fra Danielle de Perugia minore osservante. Libro secondo, nuovamenti composti et dati in luce. Opera XVII.</i> (Venezia, Giacomo Vincenti)	Costanzo Porta (2)	

RISM B/I	Titolo della raccolta	Compositori	RISM B/I della prima stampa o delle ristampe successive
1608 ¹⁷	<i>Amilla libro secondo di canzonette a tre voci di Nicolo Legname padovano sonatore di lauto. Novamente composte, et date in luce.</i> (Venezia, Alessandro Raverii)	Bartolomeo Barbarino Amadio Freddi	
1609 ¹	<i>Florilegium sacrarum cantionum quinque vocum pro diebus dominicis & festis totius anni, e celeberrimis nostri temporis musicis, ...</i> (Antwerpen, Pietro Phalèse)	Giulio Belli (2)	
1609 ⁷	<i>Concerti ecclesiastici a una, a due, a tre et a quarto voci, con il basso continuo per sonar nell'organo, di Lodovico Viadana, libro secondo, di nuovo in questa terza impressione corretto, et ristampato. Opera XVII.</i> (Venezia, Giacomo Vincenti)	Costanzo Porta	
1609 ¹⁵	<i>Hortus musicalis, variis antea diversorum authorum Italiae floribus consitus, jam vero latinis fructus, mira suavitate & artificio. V. VI. VII. VIII. & pluribus vocibus concinendos, pie & religiose parturiens. [...]</i> (Monaco, A. Berg)	Lelio Bertani (2) Amaio Freddi Costanzo Porta	
1609 ¹⁷	<i>Sonetti novi di Fabio Petrozzi romano, sopra le ville di Frascati, et altri, posti in musica a cinque voci da diversi eccellenti musici, con una a otto in fine.</i> (Roma, Giovanni Battista Robletti)	Lelio Bertani Amadio Freddi	
1610 ¹⁰	<i>Nova Metamorfosi de diversi autori opera del R.P.F. Geronimo Cavaglieri dell'Ordine di S. Basilio dell'Armeni. Libro terzo a sei voci.</i> (Milano, Melchiorre erede di Ag. Tradate)	Giulio Belli	
1611 ¹²	<i>Symphonia angelica de diversi excellentissimi auctori a quatro, cinque et sei voci raccolta da Huberto Waelrant. Nella quale si contengono i più eccellenti madrigali che hoggide si cantino. Novamente ritampata.</i> (Antwerpen, Pietro Phalèse)	Lelio Bertani	1590 ¹⁷ 1594 ⁸ 1629 ⁸
1612 ⁵	<i>Concerti ecclesiastici a una, a due, a tre, & a quatro voci, con il basso continuo per sonar nell'organo di Lodovico Viadana libro secondo di nuovo in questa quarta impressione corretto & ristampato. Opera XVII.</i> (Venezia, Giacomo Vincenti)	Costanzo Porta	
1613 ²	<i>Promptuarii musici, sacras harmonias sive motetas V. VI. VII. & VIII. Vocum, e diversis, iisque clarissimis hujus et superioris aetatis auctoribus collectas comprehendentis, pars tertia: [...]</i> (Strasbourg, Karl Kieffer)	Giulio Belli (2) Costanzo Porta (2)	

RISM B/I	Titolo della raccolta	Compositori	RISM B/I della prima stampa o delle ristampe successive
1613 ³	<i>Canoro pianto di Maria Vergine sopra la faccia di Christo estinto in poesia del Rev. abate Grillo raccolta per D. Angelico Patto accademico giustiniano, et posta in musica da diversi auttori con un dialogo, et madrigale tramutati da l'istesso. A una voce da cantar nel chitarone o altri instramenti simili. Novamente stampati.</i> (Venezia, Bartolomeo Magni)	Bartolomeo Barbarino (6) Amadio Freddi (2)	
1613 ⁶	<i>Opera omnia sacrorum concertum I. II. III. et IV. vocom, iam convenineter collecta. Cum basso continuo et generali organo adplicato; [...]</i> (Frankfurt, N. Stein)	Costanzo Porta	
1613 ¹⁰	<i>Il Parnasso, madrigali de diversi eccellentissimi musici a sei voci nuovamente raccolti & dati in luce.</i> (Antwerpen, P. Phalèse)	Amadio Freddi (2)	
1613 ¹³	<i>Rest musicalisches Streitkränzleins: hiebenvorn von den allerfürtrefflichsten [...]</i> (Nürnberg, B. Scherff)	Luigi Balbi Lelio Bertani Costanzo Porta	
1615 ³	<i>Musia vaga et artificiosa continete motetti con oblighi, et canoni diveri, tanto per quelli, che si diletano sentire varie curiosità, quanto per quelli, che vorranno professare d'intendere diversi studii della musica. Di D. Romano Micheli romani. Novamente composta, et data in luce.</i> (Venezia, Giacomo Vincenti)	Luigi Balbi	
1615 ¹³	<i>Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus in quo musici nobilissimi, qua suavitate, qua arte prorsus admirabili & divina ludunt 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. vocom, a Joanne Baptista Bonometti bergomate serenissimi Ferdinandi archiducis Austriae &c. musico congestus</i> (Venezia, Giacomo Vincenti).	Bartolomeo Barbarino Giovanni Ghizzolo (2)	

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IL SECONDO LIBRO DE MOTTETTI A UNA E DUE VOCI ANTONIJA
GUALTIERIJA IN PARNASSUS MUSICUS FERDINANDAEUS

Povzetek

Leta 1612, samo tri leta pred izidom antologije *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*, je v Benetkah zagledala luč sveta druga knjiga motetov za enega do dva glasova in basso continuo Antonija Gualtierija. Gualtieri je delal kot *musices magister* in kapelnik v Furlaniji in na Beneškem, med kraji Monselice, Montagnana in Benetke. Nekoliko pozneje je Gualtieri izdal še eno knjigo motetov za nekaj glasov in basso continuo: *Motetti a una, doi, tre et quarto voci con le litanie della Beata Vergine a Quattro* (Benetke, 1630).

Gualtierijeva ustvarjalnost v celoti odseva kulturno klimo zgodnjega 17. stoletja. Začel je s polifonimi moteti, v katerih je jasno zaznaven vpliv najpomembnejših padovanskih mojstrov. Potem je v svojih duhovnih delih slogovno napredoval do bolj izdelanih motetov za nekaj glasov in basso continuo; nekateri od teh so bili obogateni z glasovi za glasbila, kot so violine in pozavne. V šestintridesetih motetih za enega do štiri glasove in continuo, objavljenih v zbirkah iz let 1612 in 1630, je Gualtieri dosegel precej moderen koncertantni slog in je opustil polifono oblikovanje iz svojega prvotiska *Motecta octonis vocibus* (Benetke, 1604).

V razpravi so osvetljene glavne značilnosti Gualtierijeve zbirke iz leta 1612 v primerjavi z njegovimi moteti, objavljenimi tri leta pozneje v antologiji *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*. Ti moteti kažejo podobno zgradbo in uporabo kompozicijskih sredstev. V Gualtierijevih motetih tako najdemo splošne značilnosti in principe, kot so jih uporabljali tudi drugi sodobni skladatelji. Uporabljal je inovativne tehnike, ki se jih je naučil v Padovi in v Benetkah, ter jih prilagodil praktičnim izvajalskim potrebam manjših glasbenih središč, kjer je deloval.

Primerjava Gualtierijevih motetov z mnogimi moteti zbirke *Parnassus* razkrije podobnosti s slogom skladateljev, ki so delovali po drugih pokrajinah italijanskega polotoka in so njihova dela prodrla do Gradca.

HABSURŽANI IN ITALIJANSKA GLASBA

THE HABSBURGS AND ITALIAN MUSIC

“VON HAUBAUS” ESEMPI DI MOBILITÀ DEI MUSICISTI CESAREI AI TEMPI DI RODOLFO II

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Izvleček: Prispevek se osredotoča na nekatere primere mobilnosti cesarskih glasbenikov v pozni renesansi. Naslanja se na nedavno sistematično raziskavo računskih knjig habsburške glasbene kapele in nekaterih drugih neglasbenih fondov iz časa cesarja Rudolfa II. (1576–1612), ki se danes nahajajo v dunajskem državnem arhivu.

Ključne besede: Rudolf II., cesarski glasbeniki, mobilnost, renesansa, srednja Evropa, Habsburžani.

Abstract: The author focuses in this paper on the Imperial musicians' mobility in the late Renaissance giving some example based on her systematic research of the Habsburg accounting ledgers and other important non-musical sources regarding the government of Rudolf II (1576–1612) available today in the State Archives in Vienna.

Keywords: Rudolf II, Imperial musicians, mobility, Renaissance, Central Europe, the Habsburgs.

Il tema della mobilità è un aspetto molto interessante e pertanto sempre più frequentemente approfondito dalle varie discipline storiche.¹ Il convegno internazionale di musicologia *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus (1615)* è stato organizzato sotto il patrocinio di un ampio progetto internazionale che ha posto al centro dell'attenzione proprio la mobilità dei musicisti nell'era moderna.² Infatti, sempre più studiosi di varie discipline storiche si domandano in maniera sistematica perché e in quale contesto avvenivano gli spostamenti degli artisti nei secoli passati.³ Nel nostro caso, tali nozioni servono a capire meglio le modalità di reclutamento dei musicisti, le mansioni secondarie o parallele del loro servizio, lo scambio del personale tra le corti, le vie per l'approvvigionamento delle nuove musiche, dei testi poetici e degli strumenti musicali. Simili indagini di conseguenza contribuiscono alla conoscenza sulla diffusione dei nuovi stili, diventando un ulteriore

¹ Un esempio di questo crescente interesse è la monografia di Kim, *Traveling Artist*.

² Progetto HERA MusMig (Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age: the Meeting of the European East, West and South; 2013–2016).

³ Praga ha ospitato nei giorni 22 e 23 settembre 2016 un convegno intitolato *Oltrepassare le frontiere: migrazione e mobilità nella storia dell'arte e in altre discipline storiche* (Překračování hranic: Mezioborovost, migrace a mobilita v dějinách umění a příbuzných oborech). Accesso online 22 gennaio 2017. <http://www.konference-udu.cz/>.

strumento utile ad affiancare l'analisi musicale dei brani rinascimentali e lo studio della loro trasmissione. Lo spoglio dei volumi contabili delle singole corti si è rivelato in tal senso un valido contributo alla ricerca: ad esempio, i libri di conti imperiali relativi al governo di Rodolfo II d'Asburgo (1576–1612) sono una fonte importante, ricca di dati difficilmente reperibili da altri documenti.⁴

Nel 1583, dopo alcuni più o meno lunghi periodi passati a Praga, l'imperatore ha trasferito in maniera stabile la sua residenza da Vienna, sede dei suoi predecessori, nella capitale del Regno Boemo. Con lui si è trasferita anche tutta la corte imperiale.⁵ Già Lindell osservava che nella varietà delle nazioni riscontrabile tra i servitori presso la corte si può osservare una certa distribuzione delle mansioni musicali: i discantisti erano spagnoli, altri cantanti erano fiamminghi o tedeschi.⁶ Tra i trombettieri spiccavano già dai tempi dell'imperatore Massimiliano II, padre di Rodolfo, molti italiani; essi provenivano soprattutto dalle città facenti parte della Repubblica di Venezia: da Brescia, Verona, Venezia e Udine. I musicisti da camera e i violinisti erano prevalentemente cremonesi. Esclusivamente tedeschi erano i timpanisti, per generazioni membri della stessa famiglia, i Wolff. È noto che presso la corte erano attive famiglie intere, e questo vale non solo per mansioni musicali e non solo per i tedeschi.⁷ Così, hanno servito gli Asburgo per intere generazioni i cantanti fiamminghi Cupers, Vreuen, Le Febure o De Sayve, i musicisti

⁴ In seguito all'importante edizione degli elenchi di corte (*Hofstaats*) di Hausenblasová, *Der Hof Kaiser Rudolfs II*, l'autrice del presente saggio ha svolto progetti di ricerca commissionati dall'Associazione per gli studi culturali dell'Europa centrale e finanziati dalla Fondazione Ceca per le Scienze (GAČR progetti no. 408/06/0449 e P409/10/1028). I primi risultati di questo ampio studio sono stati anticipati nel 2012 (Žáčková Rossi, "The Musicians at the Court of Rudolf II", 330–339); recentemente è stato pubblicato il primo volume della monografia, dedicato alla ricostruzione dell'intero personale musicale di Rodolfo II con le liste delle rispettive paghe (*Hofbesoldung*) nei singoli anni *Musicians at the Court of Rudolf II: The Musical Entourage of Rudolf II (1576–1612) Reconstructed from the Imperial Accounting Ledgers* (Praga: KLP, 2017). Esempi di mobilità riportati in questo articolo sono invece risultato della seconda fase di ricerca, finanziata dall'Università di Carlo IV di Praga (GAUK – progetto no. 1288213), in cui sono stati analizzati tutti gli altri tipi di pagamenti – ordinari e straordinari – contenuti nei volumi contabili della *Hofkammer* – soldi per abbigliamento, supplementi allo stipendio, premi di Nuovo Anno, pensioni, provvigioni, soldi per i viaggi, soldi concessi per grazia dell'Imperatore, *Extraordinari* ecc. I risultati di queste ricerche sono state riassunte nella tesi del dottorato presentata dall'autrice nel 2016 all'Università di Carlo IV a Praga. Parallelamente è stata avviata con piccole sonde una terza fase dedicata ad altre tipologie di fonti conservate negli archivi viennesi. Si ringrazia la Direzione dell'Archivio di Stato di Vienna e in particolare dr. Herbert Hutterer e i suoi colleghi del Finanz- und Hofkammer Archiv per il loro generoso sostegno e preziosi consigli durante tutto il progetto. Cf. Hengerer, "Die Abrechnungsbücher", Sapper, "Die Zahlamtsbücher", e Pánek, "Knihy habsburské Dvorské pokladny" per ulteriori notizie sui libri contabili della corte imperiale d'Asburgo.

⁵ Per una recente bibliografia dedicata alla cultura musicale rodolfina cf. Daněk, *Auswahlbibliographie*.

⁶ Lindell, "Hudební život na dvoře Rudolfa II.", 100–101. Nello stesso articolo Lindell dedica un paragrafo anche ai soggiorni presso la corte cesarea dei musicisti viaggianti: Stefano Rossetto, Stefano Felis, Michael Maier e Tiburzio Massaino – vedi anche Lindell, "Music at the Court of Rudolf II", 163–164.

⁷ Janáček, "Italové v předbělohorské Praze", 97.

da camera Ardesi, i trombettieri italiani Cappa, Rizzo, Mosto ma anche i de Leon, gli Schoendorff e soprattutto i Zigotta. Tuttavia, i rapporti di parentela erano molto più ampi anche laddove non lo si evince direttamente dal cognome: ad esempio, il trombettiere Florindo Sertorio era zio di Anthonio Anthonino,⁸ un altro trombettiere e più tardi anche il superiore sopra tutti i trombettieri, Domenico Gentili, ha sposato la figlia del cantante Bonaventura Le Febure, Barbara.⁹ Infine, c'è da tenere presente che spesso anche altri membri di queste famiglie erano al servizio imperiale come guardie del corpo, lavandaie ecc.

Mobilità dei musicisti per entrare al servizio di Rodolfo II

Era piuttosto comune che più membri della stessa famiglia fossero al servizio dell'Imperatore. Questo avveniva in successione, piuttosto che contemporaneamente: una volta che un membro era già attivo presso la corte, un figlio o un fratello lo raggiungeva per essere ammesso anche lui al servizio. Così, il trombettiere Lucas Zigotta, da tempo al servizio di Rodolfo II, è diventato nei primi anni '80 maestro dei suoi due fratelli minori, i giovani apprendisti trombettieri¹⁰ Georg e poco dopo anche Paul.¹¹ Similmente Protasio Celotti, un altro trombettiere, ha introdotto a corte nel 1590, dopo quattro anni del servizio imperiale, suo fratello Zuanjosepo Celotti. I due, però, già alla fine del 1592 hanno lasciato insieme Praga, per tornare in patria. Con sé portavano un attestato nobiliare concesso appena prima di partire.¹²

Altre volte le famiglie si formavano progressivamente con il tempo, sposandosi e avendo figli dopo l'inizio del servizio a corte. In effetti, i rapporti tra i connazionali o perfino tra concittadini avevano un ruolo importante nell'ambito delle corti. Poter affrontare il lungo e spesso pericoloso viaggio dalla propria regione in gruppo, era sicuramente più sicuro e comodo sotto molti punti di vista. Tale tipo di mobilità è ben illustrato dal caso dei musicisti italiani che sono giunti insieme alla corte imperiale nel 1578: Alessandro Orologio, Andrea Mosto, Florindo Sertorio e Francisco Sagabria che precedentemente facevano parte della ricostituita compagnia strumentale di Udine, nel Friuli, "sciolta nel gennaio 1571 per far fronte alle necessità economiche derivanti dai preparativi alla guerra contro i turchi" e ricostituita nel 1573.¹³ Sappiamo che questi quattro musicisti erano in realtà strumentisti polivalenti. A giudicare dai documenti presentati all'amministrazione

⁸ Vedi la nota 18.

⁹ Il matrimonio del trombettiere Domenico Gentili con Barbara Le Febure è testimoniato da alcune fonti praguesi, tra cui Libri delle nascite e degli spozalizi conservati nell'Archivio Municipale di Praga (AHMP) sotto la segnatura JAK N1a O1a.

¹⁰ "Trommetter Lehrjungen".

¹¹ Žáčková Rossi, *Musicians at the Court of Rudolf II*, allegati con le liste del personale musicale, dei maestri degli apprendisti trombettieri, dei *Singerknaben* ecc.

¹² Žáčková Rossi, "Da Udine a Praga", 267–268, 492 dove è pubblicato anche il facsimile della supplica per la concessione della nobilitazione. Cf. Frank, *Standeserhebungen und Gnadenakte*, e Margreiter, "Briefe an den Kaiser" per l'approfondimento su altri musicisti che hanno ottenuto la nobilitazione.

¹³ Colussi, "Introduzione", iv.

comunale udinese da Alessandro Orologio, è stata presumibilmente l'insoddisfazione per il loro trattamento economico presso la compagnia strumentale a spingerli a presentare le loro dimissioni il 6 aprile¹⁴ 1578 e a cercare miglior fortuna come aspiranti trombettieri cesarei nel cuore d'Europa.¹⁵ Il caso dei quattro udinesi non è isolato anche se di solito, per quanto ne sappiamo, i musicisti si muovevano dalla stessa regione o città in due o al massimo in tre. Ne è dimostrazione l'assunzione dei due trombettieri veronesi – Cesare Bendinelli e Jacob Veruna (Zenar) – dal già citato imperatore Massimiliano II, padre di Rodolfo.¹⁶ Va precisato però che non solo i trombettieri si muovevano in gruppo. Ad esempio, nel 1591 sono giunti a corte due cappellani cantanti – Vincenzo Neriti e Teodoro Bachini – per andarsene, di nuovo presumibilmente insieme, nel 1594.¹⁷

Anche dopo l'arrivo nella città residenziale i rapporti tra i connazionali continuavano ad essere importanti. Anzi, lo erano ancora di più, soprattutto nella gestione delle esigenze quotidiane. La comunità italiana nella Praga rodolfina era in tal senso particolarmente consistente e coesa. Gli atti notarili di Giovanni Battista Colombino di Terlago (Trento), notaio attivo a Praga negli anni 1579– 1593, aprono un interessante e per molti aspetti curioso scorcio su questa realtà.¹⁸

Non necessariamente i musicisti dovevano essere della stessa nazionalità per muoversi insieme tra un impiego e l'altro. I libri dei conti imperiali registrano nel 1590 il cornettista Francesco Mosto¹⁹ in compagnia dei cantanti Christoph Porro ed Evangelista Vacino, tutti venuti a Praga da Graz.²⁰ In effetti, sappiamo che nel 1590, dopo la morte dell'arciduca Carlo di Stiria, Rodolfo II ha rivolto il suo interesse alla cappella musicale di Graz per procurare alla propria corte alcuni affermati musicisti prima che l'organico dell'arciduca scomparso venisse sciolto dal suo successore.²¹

¹⁴ Ibid., vi.

¹⁵ Particolari su questo interessante ed emblematico caso sono stati pubblicati nel già citato saggio Žáčková Rossi, “Da Udine a Praga”, 266–267. È da notare che nel 1587 Alessandro Orologio, di nuovo insieme a Francisco Sagabria ha lasciato Praga per Dresda, per ritornare solo dopo molti anni per coprire il posto di vicemaestro di cappella imperiale in seguito alla scomparsa di Philippe de Monte.

¹⁶ Bendinelli e Veruna entrarono al servizio di Massimiliano a partire dall' 1 agosto 1567. Cf. Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 180, 194, 207.

¹⁷ Archivio di Stato di Vienna, libri contabili (*Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Hofzahlamtsbücher*): ÖstA – HKA, HZAB 1591, ff. 221v–222r, e ÖstA – HKA, HZAB 1594, ff. 234v–235v. Vincenzo Neriti componeva anche musiche.

¹⁸ Gli atti sono oggi conservati nell'Archivio di Stato di Trento, Notarile, Giudizio di Trento; per le notizie su vari musicisti, tra cui anche Florindo Sertorio e Anthonio Anthonino (Antonio de Antoni) vedi Lunelli, “Notizie di alcuni musicisti”.

¹⁹ Francesco era cugino del sopracitato Andrea Mosto. Cf. Lunelli, “Notizie di alcuni musicisti”, 139.

²⁰ ÖstA – HKA, HZAB 1591, *Zehrung und Verehrung*, ff. 360r–361r.

²¹ Federhofer, *Musikpflege*, 50, 99–100.

Mobilità dei musicisti durante il servizio presso la corte imperiale

Dopo aver accennato ad alcune delle modalità di come i musicisti entravano alla corte di Rodolfo II, vediamo adesso quali tipi di mobilità si verificavano durante il loro servizio. Una delle ragioni più frequenti dell'allontanamento dalla residenza era sicuramente quella di procurare nuovi musicisti, strumenti musicali, musiche o poesie per musica. Così nel tardo 1577 il trombettiere Lucas Zigotta ha ricevuto 50 fiorini renani per un imminente viaggio in Italia:²² non è escluso che proprio in quella occasione Zigotta abbia incontrato anche i citati quattro musicisti della banda strumentale di Udine – Alessandro Orologio, Andrea Mosto, Francesco Sagabria e Florindo Sertorio – visto che questi hanno lasciato la città friulana per andare alla corte cesarea in aprile 1578.

Un altro motivo di allontanamento dalla corte era l'accompagnamento di un membro della famiglia arciducale o imperiale in viaggio verso le altre residenze degli Asburgo. Questo è il caso del discantista Francisco Caruda (detto anche Navarra) e del cappellano cantante Mateo Flecha che a fine estate del 1581 hanno accompagnato la madre di Rodolfo, Maria d'Asburgo, nella sua nativa Spagna e là ci sono rimasti per più anni:²³ Flecha è tornato nel 1585,²⁴ Caruda solo l'anno successivo.²⁵

In altri casi un musicista riconosciuto poteva essere richiesto per il suo servizio presso un'altra corte asburgica come è stato ad esempio per il vicemaestro di cappella Jacob Regnart che nel 1582 è passato a Innsbruck su richiesta esplicita dell'arciduca Ferdinando di Tirolo come si legge nella lettera del maestro di cappella imperiale, Philippe de Monte: "L'Apportatore de la presente sarà Giacomo Regnart al quale sua Maestà Cesarea ha data benigna licenza senza difficoltà alcuna, sapendo che Vostra Altezza lo desiderava."²⁶ Regnart rimarrà a Innsbruck per sedici anni, e tornerà a Praga solo dal 1 gennaio 1598, di nuovo come vicemaestro di cappella.²⁷

Mentre di regola sia i cantanti e i musicisti della cappella imperiale (la *Capellnparthey*) sia i trombettieri con i timpanisti, appartenenti amministrativamente alla stalla (la *Stallparthey*), dovevano svolgere servizio fisso presso la corte, ci sono state alcune eccezioni riconosciute ufficialmente. Diversi erano infatti gli obblighi dei "servitori con due cavalli" (*Hofdiener auf zwei Pferden*). Anche se il personale di questa particolare categoria nella sua stragrande maggioranza non era musicale e svolgeva mansioni varie, ciò nonostante spiccano tra i servitori di corte nomi di due importanti compositori del tardo rinascimento. Hans Leo Hassler e Nicolaus Zangius. Hassler, attivo dal primo gennaio 1602,²⁸ è

²² ÖstA – HKA, HZAB 1577, *Gnadengeld*, f. 659v.

²³ ÖstA – HKA, HZAB 1581, *Hofbesoldung*, ff. 292r–292v e HZAB 1581 *Claidergeld*, ff. 380r–380v (F. Caruda); ÖstA – HKA, HZAB 1581, *Hofbesoldung*, ff. 279v–280r e HZAB 1581 *Claidergeld*, ff. 378r–378v (M. Flecha).

²⁴ ÖstA – HKA, HZAB 1586, *Hofbesoldung*, f. 210r e HZAB 1588 *Claidergeld*, f. 401r (M. Flecha).

²⁵ ÖstA – HKA, HZAB 1586, *Hofbesoldung*, ff. 219r–219v e HZAB 1587 *Claidergeld*, f. 229v (F. Caruda).

²⁶ Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 80.

²⁷ ÖstA – HKA, HZAB 1598, *Hofbesoldung*, f. 208v e HZAB 1600 *Claidergeld*, ff. 280v–281r.

²⁸ ÖstA – HKA, HZAB 1605, *Hofbesoldung*, ff. 328v–329r; Hassler è stato pagato per la prima

registrato nei documenti imperiali “fuori dalla Casa” (*von haußaus*)²⁹ e questa periodica assenza è testimoniata anche da alcuni pagamenti per i suoi tre viaggi da Ulm per Praga nel 1605, 1606 e 1607.³⁰ Zangius, al servizio dal primo ottobre dello stesso 1602 almeno fino a dicembre 1605,³¹ godeva probabilmente della stessa libertà di movimento, dato che al più tardi nel 1604 è stato chiamato in Moravia al servizio di Karl von Liechtenstein e parallelamente era maestro di cappella della chiesa luterana a Danzica.³²

Quello che era permesso ai “servitori con 2 cavalli” non era tollerato però ai regolari servitori, pur essendo anch’essi di un certo livello. Ne è testimonianza una nota nel volume contabile del 1601 secondo la quale Lucas Zigotta, musicista e capo dei trombettieri e autore di due composizioni musicali nella raccolta *Odae Suavissimae* in onore dell’elemosiniere della corte imperiale Jacob Chimarhaeus, ricevette su propria supplica la concessione dei 12 fiorini mensili in aggiunta al suo regolare stipendio per aver insegnato da tanto tempo e a proprie spese a molti giovani la tromba, ogni sorta di strumento e “l’arte di musica” in generale. La nota contiene una significativa parentesi in cui si dice che Zigotta non deve più servire anche altri principi e signori senza che l’imperatore lo sapesse e lo permettesse.³³

Mobilità dei musicisti in seguito alla conclusione del servizio presso la corte cesarea

Rimane da accennare in conclusione alla tipologia della fine del servizio dei musicisti di Rodolfo II. Per certi versi, il modo in cui i servitori se ne andavano era simile a quello in cui venivano, ovvero a volte più persone insieme: Alessandro Orologio e Francisco Sagabria, due dei quattro udinesi, hanno lasciato Praga nel 1587 probabilmente per Dresda. Anche i due cappellani cantanti Neriti e Bachini, dopo che sono venuti insieme, sono anche partiti insieme nel 1594.

Del tutto particolare è il caso dell’intero gruppo di persone (prevalentemente tenori e contralti) che sono state rilasciate tutte al 31 dicembre 1576³⁴ probabilmente in relazione alla morte di Massimiliano II e ai conseguenti cambiamenti all’interno della corte: Martin Clericus, Alphonso Coradino, Georg Furtter, Michael de La Follia, Bonaventura Le Febure, Johannes Lotinus, Carl Luython, Daniel de Motta, Jacob von der Pruck, Bartholomeus Schmidt, Simon Sträels. Alcuni di loro sono tornati più tardi di nuovo in servizio: Luython già il 11 gennaio 1577, Lotinus il primo giugno 1582, de Motta il primo novembre 1582, Le Febure il primo gennaio 1586 e Furtter il primo febbraio 1592.

Alcuni musicisti avevano famiglia dove rifugiarsi alla conclusione del servizio per vecchiaia, altri no. Un bellissimo epitaffio posto sotto le arcate al lato della chiesa di frati minori di Vienna (*Minoritenkirche*) racconta la vita del contraltista Hieronymus Ramires

volta solo dopo tre anni dall’inizio del suo servizio, presentando due quietanze, datate 8 aprile e 20 maggio 1605.

²⁹ Hausenblasová, *Der Hof Kaiser Rudolfs II.*, 267.

³⁰ ÖstA – HKA, HZAB 1609, *Zehrung*, f. 291r–291v.

³¹ ÖstA – HKA, HZAB 1603, *Hofbesoldung*, f. 111r.

³² Mañas, “Dobový soupis motet Nicolause Zangia”, 7.

³³ ÖstA – HKA, HZAB 1601, *Zupuesgeld*, ff. 119v–120r.

³⁴ “[...] mit Gnaden verlassen worden”.

che ha nella sua lunghissima carriera servito fedelmente quattro imperatori e alla fine ha preferito andarsene da Praga per finire i suoi giorni a Vienna. Non tutti hanno avuto tuttavia la fortuna di avere un posto dove andare a fine carriera. I cosiddetti *Panis Briefe*,³⁵ le richieste di assistenza presso qualche monastero, sono quindi una fonte importante per capire meglio la fase di fine servizio e le condizioni sociali di alcuni musicisti. A Vienna sono conservate molte con la firma autografa del richiedente, tra cui anche quelle firmate dai cantanti di Rodolfo II come Christian Hug, Georg Khnes, Andreas Salzman e Michel Bayr, dal trombettiere Anthonio Anthonino, dal musicista da camera Georg Kötterle e altri ancora.³⁶ Sul verso di queste richieste, in anni diversi, hanno apportato di propria mano la loro raccomandazione il maestro di cappella Philippe de Monte, il vicemaestro Alessandro Orologio oppure il capo trombettiere Dominico Gentili. Anche per questo motivo i *Panis Briefe* sono una fonte d'archivio fondamentale per la storia culturale (e non solo musicale) e saranno prossimamente l'oggetto di uno studio approfondito dell'autrice di questo saggio.

Appendice 1

Personale musicale alla morte di Rodolfo II

Tabella 1

TIPOLOGIE DI CONCLUSIONE SERVIZIO DEI MUSICISTI AL SERVIZIO DI RODOLFO II		
Tipologia di conclusione servizio	Numero musicisti	Note
Musicisti che sono rimasti al servizio di Rodolfo II fino alla morte	78	
Musicisti che hanno concluso il servizio e sono stati "rilasciati con grazia"	44	
Musicisti con pagamenti non conclusi (pagamenti in sospeso), di cui non conosciamo con precisione la data della fine del servizio	133	
Musicisti passati con certezza al servizio dell'Imperatore Mattia (1612)	47	Dopo il 1600 i pagamenti rodolfini cominciano ad accumulare ritardi e sono segnati con sempre maggiori ritardi; probabilmente altri musicisti sono passati al servizio dell'imperatore Mattia

Tabella 2

PERSONALE MUSICALE ALL'INIZIO GOVERNO DI RODOLFO II		
Stato all'inizio del governo	Numero musicisti	Note
Musicisti passati al servizio di Rodolfo II alla morte dell'Imperatore Massimiliano II (ottobre 1576)	76	Si tratta dei musicisti di Massimiliano II ai quali sono stati pagati i loro stipendi con continuità e senza ritardi già nei volumi 1576 e 1577

³⁵ Hirschmann, "Vom kaiserlichen Recht".

³⁶ ÖStA – HHStA, Reichsakten in Specie, no. 64, 65a e 65b.

Musicisti presumibilmente passati al servizio di Rodolfo II alla morte dell'Imperatore Massimiliano II (ottobre 1576)	46	I tre volumi contabili degli anni 1578-1580, contenenti molti pagamenti degli anni precedenti, sono andati persi; tra questi potevano esserci pagamenti ad altri musicisti relativi agli anni 1576-1577
Musicisti rilasciati alla morte dell'Imperatore Massimiliano II (31.12.1576)	11	I musicisti che hanno lasciato il servizio alla fine del 1576 erano prevalentemente cantanti; alcuni di loro sono rientrati più tardi di nuovo al servizio imperiale.

Appendice 2

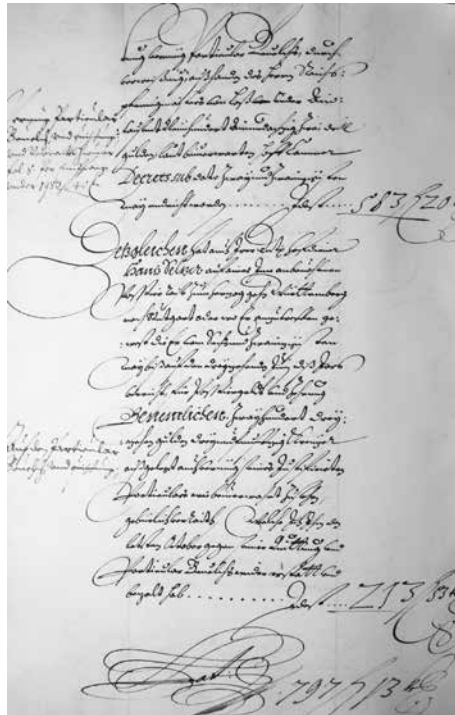
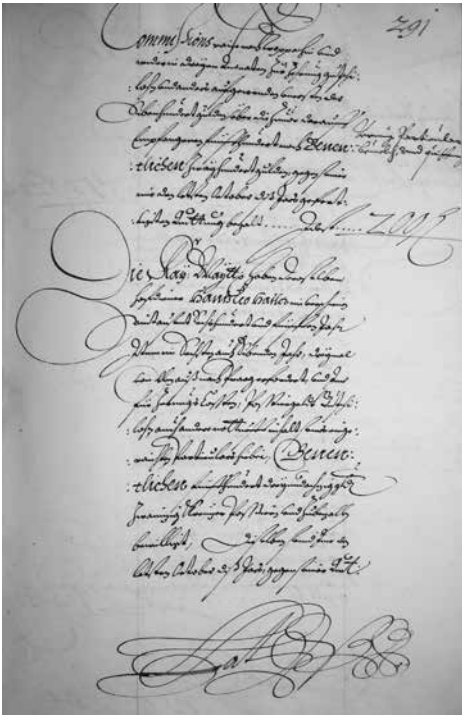


Figura 1

Rimborso a Hans Leo Hassler per i suoi viaggi da Ulm a Praga negli anni 1605, 1606 e 1607 (HKA, HZB1609, 291r-291v)

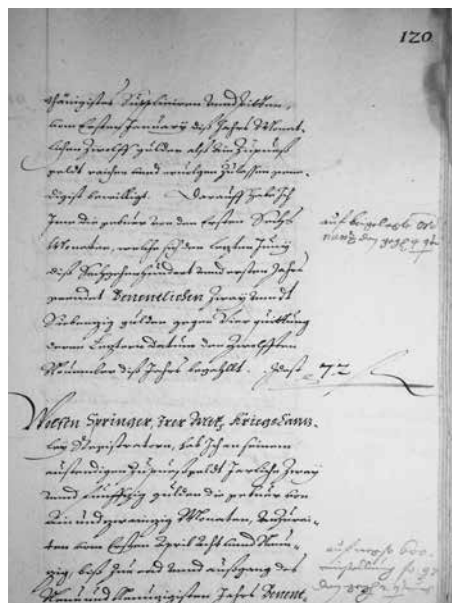
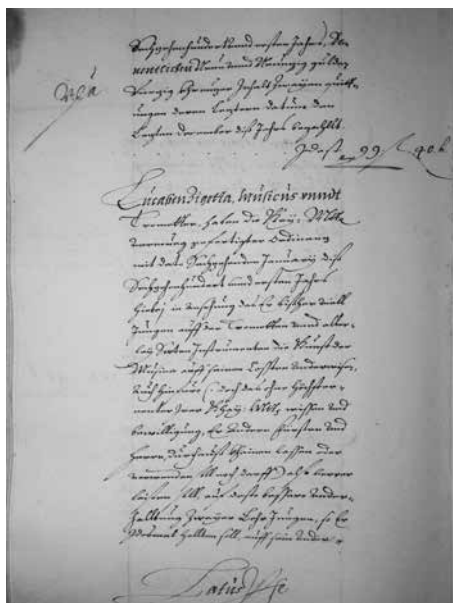


Figura 2

Pagamento dello stipendio supplementare a Lucas Zigotta, per aver insegnato da tanto tempo e a proprie spese a molti giovani la tromba, ogni sorta di strumento e "l'arte della musica" in generale 1607 (HKA, HZB1601, 119v–120r)



Figura 3

Epitaffio posizionato nel portico esterno della chiesa dei Frati minori a Vienna che ricorda Hieronymus Ramires, cantante dei quattro imperatori: Ferdinando I, Carlo V, Massimiliano II e Rodolfo II d'Asburgo



Figura 4
Portico esterno della chiesa dei Frati minori a Vienna (Minoritenkirche)

Documenti d'archivio e bibliografia

DOCUMENTI D'ARCHIVIO

Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Hofkammerarchiv – Hofzahlamtsbücher (ÖstA – HKA).

Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv – Adelsakten (ÖstA – AVA).

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»VON HAUBAUS«

PRIMERI CESARSKIH GLASBENIKOV V ČASU RUDOLFA II.

Povzetek

Prispevek je osnovan na dolgoletnem in sistematičnem preučevanju knjig izdatkov habsburške vladarske hiše v času vladavine cesarja Rudolfa II. (1576–1612), oziroma iz administrativnih razlogov vse do leta 1615. Potem ko je bila na podlagi dokumentov o izplačilih plač predlagana rekonstrukcija stanja cesarske kapele in glasbenega osebja, so se raziskali še drugi pomembni viri, ki jih danes hrani Dunajski državni arhiv.

Pričujoča razprava se osredotoča na primere mobilnosti cesarskih glasbenikov v času pozne renesanse. Na podlagi dokumentov so opredeljeni različni tipi mobilnosti, povezani z njihovim služenjem na cesarskem dvoru Rudolfa II. Razkriti so razlogi, kako in zakaj so jih zaposlili, iz kakšnih razlogov so v času svoje službe na dvoru potovali in na kakšen način so zaključevali svoje delo v kapeli.

Kot primer zaposlitve glasbenikov na cesarskem dvoru prispevek obravnava primer glasbenikov, ki so prispeli po smrti štajerskega nadvojvode Karla in se pojavijo v cesarskih obračunskih knjigah v letih 1590 in 1591. Glasbeniki so se v času svoje službe na dvoru podajali na bolj ali manj dolge poti iz različnih razlogov; nekateri so šli na druge dvore ali pa so bili poslani, da poiščejo nove glasbenike, glasbo ali glasbila za cesarja. Ko so glasbeniki svoje delo v kapeli zaključevali, so v dokumentih večkrat omenjeni kot tisti, ki »se jih milostno odpusti« (*mit Gnaden verlassen*). Vprašanje pa je, kaj so te osebe počele, ko so zapustile dvor. Tako imenovani *Panis Briefe*, pa prošnje za plemenitenje, oporoke in ponavljajoče se prošnje za zamudna plačila, ki se v virih pogosto pojavljajo še več let po zaključku službe (vlagali so jih celo posmrtno njihovi dediči), predstavljajo pomemben in bogat vir biografskih podatkov in avtobiografskih opomb o mnogih cesarskih glasbenikih.

THE MUSICAL PATRONAGE OF THE HOUSE OF HABSBERG IN JESUIT SILESIA

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Izvilleček: Eden od pomembnih dejavnikov v rekatolizaciji Šlezije v 17. stoletju je bila glasbena umetnost po vzorih sodobnega italijanskega sloga, ki so jo širili predvsem krogi, povezani z jezuiti. Finančno jih je podpirala tedanja politična elita obravnavanega prostora, pretežno povezana s Habsburžani.

Ključne besede: podporniki glasbe, jezuiti, Habsburžani, Šlezija.

Abstract: An important factor in the Catholic reconquest of Silesia in the seventeenth century was the cultivation of music modelled on the Italian style, which was promoted by circles connected with the Society of Jesus and financed by the new political elites of this region, ones predominantly linked to the House of Habsburg.

Keywords: musical patronage, Jesuits, Habsburgs, Silesia.

The Roman polymath Athanasius Kircher dedicated the first edition of his monumental treatise *Musurgia universalis* (1650)¹ to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria (1614–1662), who was also Governor of the Spanish Netherlands and Prince-Bishop of Halberstadt, Passau, Breslau, Olomouc and Strasbourg. The Prince administered these dioceses by virtue of a political appointment despite not possessing the appropriate canonical qualifications. On the dedication page of Kircher's treatise (figure 1) he is shown wearing a bishop's robes, but the portrait is captioned with his secular titles, "Archidux Austriae Belgii et Burgundiae Gubernator", and accompanied with military emblems.

Confusing the appurtenances of spiritual and secular power can be considered a *signum temporis* during the period of the Thirty Years' War, when politics was tied up with religion in what can be seen as a Gordian knot. That the Muses did not fall silent during that time was a consequence of the practical functions assigned to art by both secular and ecclesiastical rulers in Europe, including the House of Habsburg, which controlled half of the continent. The Habsburgs' achievements as patrons of art have been widely acknowledged and are associated with a specific type of piety that left a permanent mark on the artistic culture of the social milieus subjected to Habsburg influence. The Jesuits played a major role in the formation of the *Pietas Austriaca*. Although their influence was supposed to be limited to the spiritual sphere, in their role as confessors to emperors,

¹ Kircher, *Musurgia*.



Figure 1
The dedication page of *Musurgia universalis* by Athanasius Kircher (1650; available online on <http://imslp.org>)

kings and princes the maintenance of this kind of strict division between spirituality and politics proved impossible. By engaging in politics, the Society of Jesus entered into a kind of symbiosis with the structures of power in Catholic countries, and this relationship brought advantages important to the functioning of both parties.²

One of the beneficiaries of this symbiosis was music cultivated at the meeting point of both worlds, which similarly owed much to the Jesuits. This culture flourished especially well in territories considered by the Jesuits to be areas of missionary activity where musical practice was to be permitted on a much larger scale than elsewhere. Of special interest in this context is the Catholic musical tradition of Silesia, revived in the period

² Bireley, *Religion and Politics*, 9–31.

of the Thirty Years' War, which was particularly difficult for that region.³ The historical backdrop for these phenomena is provided by the musical tradition at the court of the Austrian dukes in Graz, who later also gained the imperial crown. This fact was of much consequence for the artistic culture of countries where supreme power was held by the Holy Roman Emperors, and which at the lower levels of authority were frequently also ruled by members of the Habsburg family.⁴

This cultural symbiosis between Habsburgs and Jesuits yielded its first fruits in Austria itself, where the Jesuits had settled with the active support of Karl II, Archduke of Austria (1540–1590) and, later, his son Ferdinand (1578–1637), both of whom were renowned patrons of art who never spared any expense for music, especially when this formed part of the religious affairs.⁵ Ferdinand's cultural ambitions become evident if we consider the significant number of Italian musicians in his employ and the Italianate style of the music they performed. A large portion of the ensemble's repertoire consisted of *concerti sacri* for small voice-combinations in the manner of the *seconda pratica*, as published in the anthology *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandeus*, which was compiled by Giovanni Battista Bonometti and dedicated to the Archduke.⁶ The concertos in this anthology were composed almost exclusively by Italian musicians serving at Ferdinand's court. One exception is Georg Poss (c. 1570–post-1633), a native of Franconia who, however, studied for three years in Venice.⁷ The last composer's oeuvre sheds light on the ideological context for the activity of the Archduke's *Hofkapelle*, which served Ferdinand as "an effective instrument for the *propaganda fides catholica*".⁸ Symptomatically for this context, one of Poss's works contained in the above-mentioned anthology (*Hic est beatus Carolus*) was in veneration of St Carlo Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan and a Tridentine cardinal, who became a patron of the post-Tridentine Catholic revival.

Poss's surviving output of compositions includes two single-authored publications (from several years earlier), one of which contains several *missae parodiae*⁹ – a genre that enjoyed especial popularity among some post-Tridentine Catholic circles, who praised the intelligibility of the texts. The other print is an atypical collection in which strictly liturgical motets are juxtaposed with rather secular occasional pieces dedicated to members of the Archduke's family.¹⁰ This collection likewise betrays the influence of Jesuit teaching in motets dedicated to three leading Jesuits: Ignatius of Loyola, Francis

³ Jeż, *Kultura muzyczna jezuitów na Śląsku*, 26–82.

⁴ Saunders, *Cross, Sword, and Lyre*.

⁵ Lamormaini, *Ferdinandi II. Römischen Khaysers Tugenden*, 86.

⁶ Federhofer, "Graz Court Musicians", 167–244.

⁷ Federhofer, *Musikpflege*, 195–198.

⁸ Federhofer, "Graz Court Musicians", 169.

⁹ Poss, *Liber primus missarum*.

¹⁰ Poss, *Orpheus mixtus*, 30–31. *Mollia purpureas pingunt – O Coniunx per chare. Pro nuptijs Serenissimi Ferdinandi Archiducis Austriae*; 32. *Arctoi perimit frigora syderis. In faelicem ex Polonia reditum Serenissimae Matris & Sobolum Archiducum Austriae*; 42. *Quantis Austriadum. Gratulatio in recens natum Ioannem Carolum Archiducem Austriae*; 43. *O orbis inclytum decus. In faelicem ex Italia reditum Serenissimi Maximiliani Ernesti Archiducis Austriae*; 44. *Frà quante il sol alluma. In lode del Serenissimo Ferdinando e della sua Serenissima Marianna*.

Xavier and Edmund Campion – none of whom had at the time of publication been either beatified or canonised.¹¹ A similar precedent was established in 1619, when the famous portrait of Ignatius of Loyola by Peter Paul Rubens with a discreetly painted halo was presented for liturgical use.¹²

Other motets from Bonometti's anthology display similar features of post-Tridentine spirituality. These include some composed by two Italian musicians serving in Archduke Ferdinand's orchestra. When Ferdinand became Emperor (1619), these two men successively held the post of *Kapellmeister* in his Viennese *Hofkapelle*. The style of musical narration displayed in motets by Giovanni Valentini (c. 1582–1649) is highly emotional. For instance, *O dulcis amor Jesu* makes use of the meditations by St Bernard of Clairvaux, popular in Jesuit circles and practised by Ferdinand II himself, while *Anima Christi* sets the text of the famous Eucharist prayer by Ignatius of Loyola.¹³ The same Jesuit-influenced focus of religious references is present in Valentini's Passion motets from his *Sacri concerti*, a collection published already during the composer's Viennese period.¹⁴ Compositions such as *Salve tremendum* show a close affinity to the meditations on the wounds of Christ popularised by Jesuit writings from that period, which played a major role in the development of the Viennese genre known as the *sepolcro*, forerunners of which were the semi-dramatic motets of Giovanni Valentini.¹⁵

A diametrically opposed style is represented by the occasional pieces for the Viennese *Hofkapelle* composed for the coronations of emperors or in celebration of their military victories. Valentini proved highly proficient in this genre; he combined Biblical texts for liturgical use with political propaganda.¹⁶ This peculiar blend of piety and *Machtpolitik* found its musical manifestation in large-scale monumental settings enriched by additional trumpet parts and featuring vocal melodies in similar style. Liturgical music for ordinary (ferial) days of the week was similarly performed in front of the Emperor and his guests, and could therefore also be imbued with political meanings. Eulogistic operatic spectacles¹⁷ and the related genre of Jesuit school drama¹⁸ likewise served the purposes of a propagandistic demonstration of the *pax austriaca*. This tradition was cultivated by Ferdinand II and continued by his son, Ferdinand III (1608–1657), for whom “cultural hegemony was crucial to maintaining political cohesion”.¹⁹ Music played a key role in

¹¹ They are the following works: 24. *Dum vultum in superos Ignatius emigrat orbes. De B. P. Ignatio*; 25. *Funera mille premunt Franciscæ pericula. De B. P. Xaverio*; 26. *Spectamur coelo mundo spectamur. De B. P. Edmundo*. The three Jesuits were beatified (respectively) in 1609, 1619 and 1886, and canonised as late as 1622, 1622 and 1970.

¹² Peter Paul Rubens, *The Miracles of Saint Ignatius of Loyola*, oil on canvas, 535 × 395 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

¹³ The second piece was published in Valentini, *Salmi, hinni*. Cf. Saunders, *Cross, Sword, and Lyre*, 6, 132.

¹⁴ Valentini, *Sacri concerti* (print not listed in RISM A/I). Saunders, *Cross, Sword, and Lyre*, 205–219.

¹⁵ Saunders, *Cross, Sword, and Lyre*, 55.

¹⁶ Saunders, “The Hapsburg Court of Ferdinand II”, 378–379.

¹⁷ Seifert, *Die Oper*.

¹⁸ Federhofer, *Musikpflege*, 41–42.

¹⁹ Saunders, “Der Kaiser als Künstler”, 187.

this effort as a perfect instrument of persuasion in the service of Counter-Reformation propaganda.

A similar ideological background to musical performances can be postulated also for the court of Ferdinand II's youngest brother, Karl Habsburg (1590–1628), who completed a Jesuit education and served as a canon in Salzburg (1602), Brixen and Passau (1605). In 1608 he became the Bishop of Breslau and five years later (1613) also that of Brixen, and in 1619 he was made Grand Master of the Teutonic Order. Following in the footsteps of his parents and siblings, Karl Habsburg created at his residence in Neisse a fully-fledged musical ensemble, for which, in 1614, he secured several musicians in the service of Archduke Ferdinand, including Giovanni Valentini.²⁰ Before this composer was recalled by Ferdinand to his court in Vienna, he dedicated to the Bishop of Breslau one of his prints published in 1618.²¹ Although the composer signed his dedication when back in Graz, the compositions contained in this volume may arguably have been performed also in Silesia – for example, during Ferdinand's visit to Breslau and Neisse in September 1617, on which occasions the Archduke's orchestra, travelling with the archduke, performed a *Te Deum*.²²

Testimony to the widespread popularity of Valentini's music in Silesia can be found in the manuscript Bohn 204 from the collection of Michael Büttner – cantor of the Church of St Mary Magdalene in Breslau in 1634–1662,²³ which includes copies of five large-scale liturgical compositions by Valentini: two Masses (*Missa primi toni a 10* and *Missa concertata a 8 o 16*), a Magnificat parody (*Magnificat tertii toni super Beata viscera a 17*), two mixed vocal-instrumental concertos, *Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore a 14* for three choirs and *Gelobet sei der Herr der Herrlichkeit a 17* for four choirs, and finally an instrumental *Sonata a 5*. In the Bohn 20 tablature from the collection of the same church one can find the concerto *Deus misereatur nostri a C e B* for a small number of voices, and in Ms Bohn 37 another solo piece by Valentini: *Confitebor tibi Domine a T vel C solo*.

In 1618–1622 the post of *Kapellmeister* at Karl Habsburg's court was held by Georg Poss, who had also previously served in the Graz orchestra.²⁴ Traces of his presence in Silesia have been preserved in the tablature Bohn 20 from Breslau, which contains a copy of his *Missa super Jubilate Deo a 8*²⁵ included in the already mentioned print of Masses.²⁶ Evidence of the Silesian bishop's preference for the Italian style can also be found in his correspondence, which reflects his efforts to secure Italian musicians for his ensemble.²⁷ His negotiations led to the employment in 1622 of Stefano Bernardi (1577–1637), previously the *maestro di capella* at Verona Cathedral, and of Antonio Cifra (1584–1629), the former *Kapellmeister* of the Collegio Germanico in Rome and Santa Casa in Loreto. The

²⁰ Przybyszewska-Jarminińska, “Starania biskupa wrocławskiego”, 129.

²¹ Valentini, *Salmi, hinni*.

²² Kastner, *Archiv für die Geschichte*, 170–171.

²³ Bohn, *Die musikalischen Handschriften*, 173–174; Wiermann, *Die Entwicklung*, 465–475. Manuscripts from the Bohn collection are now held by the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Musikabteilung, Berlin (D-Bds).

²⁴ Federhofer, “Graz Court Musicians”, 181.

²⁵ D-Bds, Slg. Bohn 20, 276.

²⁶ Poss, *Liber primus missarum*.

²⁷ Przybyszewska-Jarminińska, “Starania biskupa wrocławskiego”, 129–132.

six pieces by Cifra copied into the Silesian organ tablature Bohn 46, also published in three consecutive books of his motets,²⁸ come from the period of the composer's close collaboration with the Roman Jesuits (1605–1609). Two of them are settings of texts typical of Jesuit spirituality: *Jesu dulcis memoria* and *O Jesu mi dulcissime*. It was Cifra who made an inventory of Karl Habsburg's property after the bishop's death.

One of Karl Habsburg's first decisions as bishop was to invite the Jesuits to Silesia, where they established their missionary stations in Neisse and Ratibor. Before he founded Jesuit colleges in Silesia, Karl bequeathed to the Jesuits from nearby Glatz a foundation (1614) that allowed the order to open a boarding school in that city²⁹ and finance music education for twelve students from Silesia. During their education the students were obliged to provide liturgical music for the parish church administered by the Jesuits. At the Jesuit college in Glatz (established already in 1597) music performances had also taken place earlier – for instance, in 1605, when the college played host to the Archdukes Ferdinand and Maximilian, who were escorting their sister to her wedding to King Sigismund III Vasa. On that occasion, the Jesuits from Glatz staged a spectacle for their honoured guests, the performers for which were students from the Jesuit *gymnasium*.³⁰ From what we know of the musical tastes of the Austrian Archdukes, such a spectacle would not have been mounted without music. Moreover, on their journeys between Graz and Cracow the Habsburgs were usually accompanied by Italian musicians (Bartolomeo Mutis, Antonio Patart, Hippolito Bonanni and Giovanni Valentini)³¹ seeking employment at the court of the Polish king or returning from service in Poland.

The college students from Glatz also presented musical-theatrical spectacles in honour of their benefactor, bishop Karl Habsburg. During one of his visits (1609) they staged for him a play about St Paulinus,³² and two years later they performed *vocali ad coenae nobiles variis concertationibus* and presented a short drama with elements of dance.³³ It was Karl's ambition to open a Catholic *studium universale* in Silesia.³⁴ When the first phase of the Thirty Years' War subsided, the Bishop of Breslau founded in Neisse a Jesuit college (1622) and a *gymnasium* under Jesuit administration with an extended syllabus in philosophy and theology (later known as the Collegium Carolinum), which was conceived as the starting point for a future university. In the first year of its operation two plays were staged in honour of the founder: *Justus et Castor* at the start of the school year and *Joannes Callybita* for the end of the first year of study.³⁵

After Karl Habsburg's death the Breslau bishopric was taken over by Karl Ferdinand

²⁸ Cifra, *Motecta* [...] *liber primus*; Cifra, *Motecta* [...] *liber secundus*, and Cifra, *Motecta* [...] *liber tertius*. All three prints are today preserved at the Biblioteka Uniwersytecka in Warsaw (PL-Wu). Cf. Bohn, *Bibliographie der Musik-Druckwerke*, 101.

²⁹ Schmidl, *Historiae Societatis Jesu*, 2:718.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 2:408.

³¹ Federhofer, *Musikpflege*, 51.

³² Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (hereafter, ARSI), Austr. 133, 168.

³³ Prague, Národní knihovna, Oddělení rukopisů a starých tisků (hereafter, CZ-Pn, ORST) XXIII C 105/1, 114r.

³⁴ Hoffmann, "Zur Vorgeschichte der Breslauer Jesuiten-Universität", 109–110.

³⁵ Kroess, *Geschichte*, 2:1:303.

Vasa (1613–1655), who resided mainly in Warsaw, Wyszaków and Brok. When he came to Neisse, however, Vasa was honoured with theatrical spectacles staged by the students of the local *gymnasium*.³⁶ The Jesuits of Neisse canvassed the support of the new diocesan bishop, since the further development of their teaching centre depended on his donations. They were also directly involved in the promotion of the new musical repertoire. One instance of their involvement is the first Catholic songbook printed in Silesia since the Reformation, which was published by Johann Schubart in 1625.³⁷ Thanks to a foundation established by Anna Gebauer, the Jesuits also opened a boarding school in Neisse (1630),³⁸ and the musicians educated there took active part in the city's musical life. The level of their performances must have been high, to judge from the fact that Karl Ferdinand eagerly listened to them on his visits to Neisse and even preferred them to his own private, professional ensemble.³⁹

The musicians from the Jesuit boarding school in Neisse took part in catechetical street spectacles with a didactic purpose, such as some *tableaux vivants* staged in 1630, which represented the teachings of the Creed, the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer.⁴⁰ Such spectacles were presented during processions which passed under triumphal arches specially erected for the occasion. These spectacles were accompanied by *gratissima phonascorum vocibus, instrumentis, canentium harmonia*.⁴¹ The student-musicians from Neisse additionally performed during school spectacles organised by the college, frequently ones on hagiographical subjects. At a spectacle dedicated to St Vitus, for instance, they sang a song in honour of that saint, and the text of the song was also distributed among the audience as an occasional publication.⁴² Two similar spectacles likewise honoured Karl Ferdinand during his visits to Neisse. On these occasions the plays were dedicated to the bishop's patron saints, St Carlo Borromeo (1650)⁴³ and St Ferdinand (1652).⁴⁴ Chroniclers noted that both spectacles were accompanied by music. The prelate beheld these spectacles *magna voluptate*,⁴⁵ which may explain why he bequeathed his wealth to the Jesuits of Neisse for the purpose of building a new church, college and boarding school.⁴⁶

This plan was carried out later, under the following Bishops of the Breslau diocese, which returned to Habsburg rule for another decade. Leopold Wilhelm, who was elected Bishop of Breslau in 1656, had already maintained a private musical ensemble, to which he recruited musicians from Saint Mark's in Venice, employing the mediation of the

³⁶ Already before Vasa's installation as bishop two dramas had been staged there on the subjects of St Gregory the Martyr and St Ignatius of Loyola. Schmidl, *Historiae Societatis Jesu*, 3:594–595.

³⁷ *Catholische Kirchengesänge*.

³⁸ Schmidl, *Historiae Societatis Jesu*, 3:1069–1070.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 4:2:622.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 3:1039–1040.

⁴¹ CZ-Pn, ORST XXIII D 147, 177r.

⁴² Schmidl, *Historiae Societatis Jesu*, 3:1058.

⁴³ ARSI Boh. 96, 578r.

⁴⁴ Schmidl, *Historiae Societatis Jesu*, 4:2:853.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 622–623.

⁴⁶ ARSI Boh. 196, 248r–v.

Jesuit Giacinto Cornacchioli.⁴⁷ We have no information about his ensemble dating from the years of his residence in Neisse, but we know that he acted as the patron of several spectacles staged by students from the local *gymnasium*.⁴⁸ Eulogistic *licenze* at the close of the final act were an indispensable element of such spectacles; in these the *dramatis personae* paid their homage to the bishop.⁴⁹ From the musical point of view, such scenes were usually through-composed, a fact confirmed by chronicles from the time of the next Bishop of Breslau, Karl Joseph Habsburg (1649–1664). The teenage son of Ferdinand III, Holy Roman Emperor, was entertained by the Breslau boarding school musicians with musical-theatrical spectacles enriched *ad choros musicos harmonia et concinuis ad eosdem numeros saltus*.⁵⁰

Jesuit authors from Schweidnitz, too, declared their political loyalty to the Habsburgs. This is evident from their mythological-historical dramas staged in that city, which pragmatically emphasise the links between the Duchy and the Emperor's rule.⁵¹ Even hagiographical plays celebrating the canonisation of Stanislaus Kostka and Aloysius Gonzaga⁵² were not free from this obsequious quality. The panegyric elements were especially prominent in spectacles presented by Jesuit colleges on the occasion of visits from members of the ruling dynasty. For Eleanor of Austria, Queen of Poland (1653–1697), the college in Neisse staged, in July 1675, a specially dedicated play in which the queen is likened to the moon, and her brother, Emperor Leopold I (1640–1705), to the sun.⁵³

The list of participants attached to the *perioche* (summary) of this play names more than a hundred actors and 24 musicians, who – like the actors playing the main roles – were most likely pupils from the boarding school of St Anna in Neisse. Although the music for this spectacle does not survive, it evidently had a musical setting, as is also confirmed by the chronicler.⁵⁴ The presence of a musical setting also finds corroboration in Johann Bernhardt Staudt's play *Ferdinandus quintus rex Hispaniae*, comparable in form and content but with an extant musical score in addition to the *perioche* and libretto.⁵⁵ The last-named spectacle was revived several years later by students at the Jesuit college in Vienna. A contemporary source of that Viennese spectacle establishes that several parts were through-composed, including an epilogue taking the form of a eulogistic *licenza*.⁵⁶

The Jesuit music played for Habsburg dynasts was also cultivated in the borderlands between Silesia and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Jesuits of Tarnowskie Góry, a town in the Cracow diocese, were financially supported by a foundation established by

⁴⁷ Saunders, *Cross, Sword, and Lyre*, 7.

⁴⁸ These were, for instance, spectacles on the subject of Solomon (CZ-Pn, ORST XXIII C 105/2, 213v), the Japanese Martyrs (ARSI Boh. 97 I, 348), St John the Baptist (ARSI Boh. 97 II, 463r), St Sebastian, St Ignatius of Loyola and David and Goliath (ARSI Boh. 98, 304).

⁴⁹ *Christianus agon*.

⁵⁰ ARSI Boh. 98, 629.

⁵¹ *Aquila Principaliorum Duorum Sanctorum; Bolcopolis seu nobile Schwidnicium*.

⁵² *Cultus Angelicus*. Hoffmann, *Die Jesuiten in Schweidnitz*, 125–126.

⁵³ *Luna Austriaca*.

⁵⁴ ARSI Boh. 102, 557–558.

⁵⁵ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 18875.

⁵⁶ Staudt, *Ferdinandus Quintus*.

Eleanor of Austria but belonged to the Czech-speaking regions of the same province of the Society, thus being more likely to represent the interests of the Viennese Habsburgs rather than those of Andrzej IV Trzebicki, Bishop of Cracow.⁵⁷ Their mission was of strategic importance not only from a political, but also from a religious, standpoint, since it was placed in charge of the church in Piekary, where the recently recovered image of *Mater Admirabilis* became the subject of a growing cult that was not, however, approved of by Bishop Trzebicki within his diocese.⁵⁸ For the Jesuits, the image of Our Lady of Piekary afforded an ideal pretext for the cultivation of the vernacular repertoire, including Polish-language songs performed during the liturgy.⁵⁹ Marian songs, too, were sung in front of a copy of Cranach's *Maria Hilf*, which in 1698 was moved to the Jesuit church in Breslau from the collection of Bishop Leopold Wilhelm. Originally, this votive painting attracted secular worshippers, who sang a German version of the *Ave Maria*;⁶⁰ later, the Jesuits established a regular foundation for the singing of the antiphon *Salve Regina* on Saturday afternoons and Marian feast-days, and on the vigil of major feasts in the liturgical year. The antiphon was performed by an eight-strong mixed vocal-instrumental ensemble made up of boarders from the Jesuit school and funded by the interest on the capital invested in the foundation.⁶¹

Habsburg patronage also provided support for the sodalities founded by the Jesuits, whose honorary members – frequently from the ruling dynasty – contributed higher-than-normal donations to their budget. This was true not only of Karl Habsburg, listed among the members of the Congregation of the Annunciation of the Holy Virgin Mary in Neisse,⁶² but also of Emperor Ferdinand II, Archduke Leopold Wilhelm and Cecilia Renata of Austria, who left entries in the album of that sodality.⁶³ The importance of imperial patronage for the Jesuit sodalities distinctly emerges from the album of the Corpus Christi Confraternity of Schweidnitz, which opens with a card dedicated to the cult of the Eucharist, whose dominant graphic elements are the eagle and the coats of arms of the *Domus Austriacae* (figure 2).⁶⁴ Habsburg patronage also allowed the art created in Jesuit circles to be disseminated on a geographically very extensive scale, making that art universal while at the same time spreading the political propaganda prescribed by the court in Vienna.

The participation of members of the Emperor's family and its supporters in public Corpus Christi processions endowed the proud countenance of *Ecclesia triumphans* with definitive personal features. It was simultaneously a manifestation of their secular power and a celebration of their political triumphs. Victorious generals returning from the battlefield rode under triumphal arches constructed by Jesuit architects, while Jesuit

⁵⁷ Kroess, *Geschichte*, 3:901.

⁵⁸ Hoffmann, *Die Jesuiten in Oppeln*, 215.

⁵⁹ Hoffmann, *Die Jesuiten in Oppeln*, 262.

⁶⁰ Kuźmak, *Bractwa Matki Boskiej*, 65–68.

⁶¹ ARSI Boh. 152, 277.

⁶² Schmidl, *Historiae Societatis Jesu*, 3:563.

⁶³ *Album Almae Congregationis Annunciatae* (1739). Hoffmann, *Die Jesuiten in Glogau*, 62–63.

⁶⁴ Album of the Corpus Christi Confraternity in Schweidnitz, Świdnica, Library of St Wenceslas and St Stanislas Cathedral (no shelfmark).



Figure 2
Album of the Corpus Christi Confraternity in Świdnica (Ger. Schweidnitz), Library of St Wenceslas and St Stanislas Cathedral (reproduced with kind permission)

school students placed upon these arches played music for the victors. College principals made propagandistic statements evaluating the victories and interpreting them to the public.⁶⁵ The military successes of the imperial armies during the anti-Turkish campaign in Hungary⁶⁶ and the War of the Spanish Succession⁶⁷ were celebrated with a solemn *Tē Deum*. In Silesian Jesuit churches special celebrations were held to mark imperial elections, enthronements and coronations, and to pay homage to the rulers. On his tour of the Silesian cities the newly elected Czech king Ferdinand IV was greeted and honoured as overlord in Breslau, Neisse, Glatz and Schweidnitz, which had only recently become

⁶⁵ ARSI Boh. 96, 417.

⁶⁶ ARSI Boh. 104 II, 722.

⁶⁷ ARSI Boh. 122, 107.

absorbed into the imperial territories. The *pompa festiva* held in the last city had a special propagandistic significance: it included a votive Mass to the Holy Ghost and a *Te Deum inter tympanorum et tubarum applausus*.⁶⁸

Most spectacular, however, were the celebrations held for the birth of heirs to the imperial throne, such as that of Ferdinand Wenceslaus, the first-born son of Leopold I, and later that of Leopold Joseph.⁶⁹ On the first occasion, a solemn votive Mass *de S. Trinitate* and a *Te Deum* was sung in Glatz.⁷⁰ The name-days and birthdays of Emperor Leopold I, benefactor of the Jesuit order⁷¹ and founder of Breslau Academy (named the *Leopoldina* after his name⁷²), were even celebrated with a special liturgy. The *pompaefunebres* organised in Jesuit churches after the deaths of the Habsburg bishops Karl⁷³ and Leopold Wilhelm,⁷⁴ as well as those of the successive emperors, can similarly be regarded as a vehicle for political propaganda. These liturgies were accompanied by several-day-long exequies and by *exquisitus musicorum concentus*,⁷⁵ which aimed to convince the audience that the relationship between the Jesuits (representing the Church) and the secular power extended beyond the time and space of the visible world.

The political function of such musical performances derived mostly from their persuasive-propagandistic and representative qualities, of which practical advantage was taken on a large scale.⁷⁶ Through the ceremonials of authority music came to constitute a kind of “mediastrategic system for the creation and maintenance of power”.⁷⁷ This idea was not only the actual practice of the elites ruling over the major part of our continent: it was even advocated as a doctrine by Athanasius Kircher, who in one of the last chapters of his *Musurgia universalis (Symphonismus mundi politici sive de musica politica)*⁷⁸ formulated the theory of *musica politica*.⁷⁹ In addition to describing political reality, Kircher’s conception sought and found arguments to justify this partisan role in a well-governed monarchy, which he regarded as the best of all political systems on the basis of its similarity to the harmonic order of both the physical and metaphysical constituents of Nature.

Translated by Tomasz Zymer

⁶⁸ Wrocław, Archive of the Wrocław Archdiocese (further referred to as WAAW), V 46, 33.

⁶⁹ WAAW V 45, 104r.

⁷⁰ CZ-Pn, ORST XXIII D 168, 216.

⁷¹ ARSI Boh. 102, 682.

⁷² ARSI Boh. 114, 347.

⁷³ ARSI Boh. 93, 253.

⁷⁴ ARSI Boh. 98, 628.

⁷⁵ CZ-Pn, ORST XXIII C 105/2, 198r.

⁷⁶ Spohr, “Concealed Music in Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial”, 19–20 and 35–36.

⁷⁷ Berns, “Instrumental Sound and Ruling Spaces”, 479.

⁷⁸ Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, 432–440.

⁷⁹ Scherliess, “Musica politica”, 270–283.

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GLASBENO MECENSTVO HABSBURŠKE DINASTIJE V JEZUITSKI ŠLEZIJI

Povzetek

V procesu širjenja novega italijanskega sloga duhovne monodije po Evropi zgodnjega 17. stoletja so pomembno vlogo odigrali Habsburžani. Njihovemu siceršnjemu pomenu za zgodovino in kulturo svojega časa je treba dodati še tesne stike nekaterih družinskih članov, ki so vladali v številnih predelih tedanje Evrope, z jezuiti, ki so tedaj sodili med najpomembnejše cerkvene redove. Dolgoročne zveze med posvetnimi oblastmi in duhovno elito so v potridentskem času ustvarile posebno družbeno simbiozo, katere poznavanje je za razumevanje zgodnje novoveške kulture prvorazrednega pomena.

Ta fenomen zlahka opazimo predvsem na področjih velikih verskih konfrontacij, kot je bila na primer tudi Šlezija, ki jo je tedaj doletela tako posvetna kot tudi verska preobrazba. Eno od učinkovitih orožij v tej kulturni preobrazbeni vojni je bila glasba, ki so jo v teh krajih izvajali učenci v jezuitskih internatskih šolah in ki so jih financirali Habsburžani: tako več zaporednih cesarjev kot tudi nekateri njihovi otroci, ki so imeli v Šleziji pomembne politične položaje. Obe strani sta glasbo pojmovali kot svoj družbeno prepoznavni jezik in orodje prenove identitete lokalne družbe na najrazličnejših ravneh: od župnij, mest, vojvodin in dežel do cesarstva in stvarstva.

Stalna prizadevanja za podporo glasbi, ki so jo stimulirali Habsburžani in jo izvajali jezuitski krogi, se niso omejevala na rezidence in domače cerkve podpornikov. Nova zvočnost te kulture se je hitro udomačila v mestni svetih, šolah ter mestnih ulicah in trgih. Glasba, ki se je izvajala v teh okoljih, je v prvi vrsti pragmatično sledila trenutnim praktičnim potrebam. Te žal niso bile v prid njenemu ohranjanju za prihodnost. Zavedajoč se glasbenega okusa članov habsburške dinastije ne gre podcenjevati tudi njene same umetniške vrednosti. Arhivski viri, ki sovpadajo z ohranjenimi muzikalijami iz omenjenih okolij, to tudi potrjujejo.

**GLASBENI USTANOVI POLJSKEGA IN
TRANSILVANSKEGA DVORA**

**THE MUSICAL ESTABLISHMENTS OF THE POLISH
AND TRANSYLVANIAN COURTS**

MUSIC-RELATED CONTACTS BETWEEN THE COURTS OF THE POLISH KING AND THE ARCHDUKES OF INNER AUSTRIA AND THE DISSEMINATION OF *MUSICA MODERNA* IN CENTRAL AND EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE

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Izvilleček: Poroki poljskega kralja Sigismunda III. Vasa z Ano (1592) in pozneje Constanzo (1605), članicama dinastije notranjeavstrijskih nadvojvod, sta imeli veliko kulturnih posledic. Razprava povzema podatke o obojesmernih migracijah glasbenikov in glasbenega repertoarja med Krakovom (tudi Varšavo) in Gradcem konec 16. in v prvih dveh desetletjih 17. stoletja.

Ključne besede: duhovna glasba, mali moteti, italijanski glasbeniki, Sigismund III. Vasa, notranjeavstrijski nadvojvoda Ferdinand II., Krakov, Gradec.

Abstract: The marriages of the King of Poland Sigismund III Vasa with Anna (1592) and subsequently her sister Constance (1605), who were descendants of the dynasty of Archdukes of Inner Austria, had many cultural consequences. The article recalls some facts on the migrations of musicians and musical repertoires in both directions between Cracow (also Warsaw) and Graz at the end of the sixteenth century and during the first two decades of the seventeenth century.

Keywords: sacred music, small-scale motets, Italian musicians, Sigismund III Vasa, Archduke of Inner Austria Ferdinand II, Cracow, Graz.

The close ties between the court of King Sigismund III Vasa of Poland (who reigned during the years 1587–1632) and the court of the Archdukes of Inner Austria – ties that existed especially during the period 1592–1619 – extended also to musical life. The close relationships between the courts were a consequence of Sigismund’s consecutive marriages with two daughters of Archduke Karl II and Maria née Wittelsbach: Archduchess Anna (Queen of Poland during the years 1592–1598), and – following her death – her sister Constance (1605–1631). Until 1619, when Archduke Ferdinand, Sigismund’s brother in law, became Emperor, contacts were maintained between the Polish royal court (which was essentially mobile, but during the first years of Sigismund’s reign had its primary residence in Cracow, in the years 1609–1612 in Vilnius, and later in Warsaw) and Graz, the home of Anna and Constance of Habsburg. The strong relationships between the Polish Vasas and the Austrian Habsburgs did not cease when Ferdinand ascended the imperial

throne and moved to Vienna, the continuing family ties being of great significance for musical life in Poland.¹

Austrian musicologists (especially Hellmut Federhofer and Herbert Seifert) and Polish researchers (especially Hieronim Feicht, Anna Szweykowska, Zygmunt M. Szweykowski and myself) have investigated the migrations in both directions between Cracow or Warsaw and Graz and, to some extent, also the transmission of repertoire between these centres.² Drawing on the available results from existing research, I would like to address the question of the significance of the royal marriages between the Polish monarch and the Archduchesses of Inner Austria for the dissemination of *musica moderna* in Central and East-Central Europe.

On their journeys to Poland the Austrian Archduchesses, wedded by Sigismund III *per procura* in Vienna and Graz, respectively, were accompanied by retinues including *inter alia* musicians and dancers. They contributed to the wedding celebrations held in Cracow. Only exceptionally was their stay at the Polish court extended. Such were the circumstances of the arrival in Cracow, among the court members accompanying Anna of Austria, of Pietro Antonio Bianco, an Italian tenor singer, who was chapel master of the Graz ensemble from 1595 until his death in 1611, and the Italian dancing-master Ambrosio Bontempo.³ In the royal retinue of Constance of Austria, who arrived in Cracow in December 1605, there were Italian musicians working at the Graz court, including Bartolomeo Mutis, count of Cesena (died November 1623 in Vienna), who was soon to become the author of the first collection of monodies penned in Austria, which was entitled *Musiche a una, doi e tre voci* (Venice 1613).⁴ Commemorations of that royal wedding in the work of Graz composers can be found, for example, in a composition for eight parts by one of the musicians active at that court, Georg Poss. Entitled *In faelicem ex Polonia reditum Serenissimae Matris et Sobolum Archiducum Austriae*, this was written to celebrate the return of Constance's mother, Archduchess Maria, from Cracow, where she had attended the festivities. The composition was published in Poss's collection *Orpheus mixtus vel si mavis concentus musici* (Graz, 1607).⁵ It must be concluded that musicians employed at the court of the Archduke, who ruled Inner Austria during the years 1596–1619, not only travelled to Poland as visiting performers on the occasions when the Archduchesses were married, but sometimes also exchanged employers and entered the service of Sigismund III. During the period when Ferdinand still resided in Graz, a bilateral exchange of musicians continued between the courts of the Archduke and the Polish king. So far as can be inferred from the sparse sources that have survived, the migration of personnel between the two centres was not very large-scale.⁶

¹ See Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "The Music-Related Contacts", 157–203.

² Federhofer, "Graz Court Musicians", 167–244; Federhofer, "Musikalische Beziehungen", 522–526; Federhofer, *Musikpflege*; Seifert, "Polonica–Austriaca", 249–258; Feicht, "Musikalische Beziehungen", 121–128; Szweykowska and Szweykowski, *Włosi w kapeli*; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "Włoskie wesela", 3–27; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "Italian Schools of Polychorality", 53–74; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "The Music-Related Contacts", 157–203.

³ Federhofer, *Musikpflege*, 50 and 60.

⁴ Federhofer, "Musikalische Beziehungen", 523.

⁵ Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "Początek opery", 165, 365.

⁶ See Federhofer, "Musikalische Beziehungen", 522–526; Feicht, "Musikalische Beziehungen",

Although in 1595, when Ferdinand had just come of age and was about to assume the throne in Graz, Sigismund formed his Italian ensemble by importing musicians directly from Italy, mainly Rome (the first Italian chapel masters of the Polish royal ensemble were Annibale Stabile and Luca Marenzio, recruited from the Eternal City),⁷ they were soon joined by individual Italians who had previously performed at Ferdinand's or his parents' court. In 1595 or 1596 Vincenzo Gigli (Vincentius Lilius), a tenor singer and composer from Rome, journeyed from Graz to Cracow.⁸ Gigli secured a place in the history of music above all by preparing the publication of an anthology of sacred music composed by musicians working at the court of Sigismund III and entitled *Melodiae sacrae* (Cracow, 1604; it is worth noting that this collection, published a year before the second royal wedding, was dedicated by Gigli to Archduke Ferdinand).⁹

Vincenzo Gigli stayed in Poland for the rest of his life; his son Franciszek (known also by the Latinized name of Lilius), an organist and composer who is regarded as a Polish musician, rendered great services as a teacher of music to local singers and composers (his students included Marcin Mielczewski, the most eminent Polish composer of the seventeenth century).¹⁰

On the other hand, there are no reasons to believe that Queen Anna of Habsburg (or her family) influenced the appointment of Luca Marenzio to the position of chapel master of the royal ensemble of Sigismund III. It cannot be excluded, however, that Marenzio's short sojourn at the Polish court (less than two years after his arrival in Cracow in December 1595) affected the reception of his music in Graz and then Vienna. This eminent composer of madrigals wrote highly acclaimed sacred polychoral compositions during his period of activity as royal *maestro di cappella*. Some of them have survived as unique copies in the manuscript choirbooks written in Graz at the beginning of the seventeenth century, today preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna and in Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica in Ljubljana (Marenzio's sacred compositions that were, or may have been, composed at the court of Sigismund III have also survived in manuscript form in Bohemia, Wrocław and Dresden, as well as in Gdańsk and Pelplin in the north of Poland).¹¹

As early as the end of the sixteenth century Sigismund Vasa's court was joined by Antonio Patart, a trombonist previously connected with Graz and Munich.¹² Another musician, Andrea Battista Cocciola, who found employment at the Graz court not later than 1603 and stayed there at least until 1615, can possibly be identified as a castrato singer

121–122; Seifert, "Polonica–Austriaca", 249–250.

⁷ See Bizzarini, *Marenzio*, 208–214; Przybyszewska-Jarminińska, "Annibale Stabile", 93–98; Przybyszewska-Jarminińska, "Stabile, Marenzio, Gabussi e Pacelli", 89–91.

⁸ Szweykowska and Szweykowski, *Włosi w kapeli*, 44–45.

⁹ Przybyszewska-Jarminińska, "*Melodiae sacrae*", 34–36.

¹⁰ Przybyszewska-Jarminińska, *Marcin Mielczewski*, 47–52.

¹¹ Jackson, "Marenzio, Poland", 622–631; Jackson, "Marenzio's Polish Sojourn", 503–525; Jackson, "Masses of Marenzio", 171–184; Jackson, "Marenzio Luca", 837; Przybyszewska-Jarminińska, "Introduction", 5–6.

¹² Szweykowska and Szweykowski, *Włosi w kapeli*, 39, 44–45; Przybyszewska-Jarminińska, "W poszukiwaniu", 99.

named Andrea who is mentioned in the financial records of the Polish royal court, starting in 1599.¹³ It is almost certain that this man was related to the composer Giovanni Battista Cacciola, born in Vercelli in Piedmont, who lived and worked in Poland probably for about two decades: at the court of Sigismund III during the final years of the sixteenth century; in the ensemble of the bishop of Warmia, in northern Poland, Szymon Rudnicki, during the first decade of the seventeenth century; and later under the patronage of Leo Sapieha (1557–1633), who was the chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania for over 20 years after 1589 and therefore spent a lot of time in the circle of the monarch.

Giovanni Battista Cacciola was the author of the small-scale motet *Ave mundi spes Maria* included in the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus* (Venice, 1615).¹⁴ I would like, however, to pay attention to his collection of small-scale church concertos for 2–5 parts with basso continuo entitled *Concentus harmonici ecclesiastici* (Antwerp, 1625), which has survived in incomplete form (only the bass partbook is extant). The title page of this edition names the composer as chapel master in the service of the chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Leo Sapieha.¹⁵ On the basis of this information scholars have accepted 1625 as the *terminus ad quem* of Cacciola's service at Sapieha's court. It appears likely, however, that the compilation of the volume was completed, making it ready for the printer, two or more years earlier, because at the beginning of 1623 Sapieha was appointed to the position of voivode of Vilnius,¹⁶ a much more prestigious title that would certainly have been mentioned in a collection finalized in 1625. From the fact that an edition of Cacciola's *Concentus harmonici ecclesiastici* was listed (unfortunately without stating the date and place of publication) in an inventory of musical documents in Gurk Cathedral prepared by the organist Johannes Beer on 19 September 1622¹⁷ we may infer that the Antwerp print was in fact a reprint of an earlier edition unknown to us.¹⁸ It is very likely that the two editions differed in detail, since in the Gurk inventory mention is made of a "partitura" (i.e., a *partitura per organo*), whereas in the print of 1625 the equivalent term is "basso continuo ad organum". If this hypothesis is correct, the belief that Cacciola was still employed at Sapieha's court in 1625 founders. But if it is incorrect, and there was actually only a single edition of the *Concentus harmonici ecclesiastici*, one might alternatively imagine that its date is stated inaccurately. This is, however, unlikely, since the Antwerp print of 1625 is listed in the catalogues of the Frankfurt book fair among the stock of a bookseller from Augsburg, Georg Willer, in the autumn of 1625 and spring of 1626.¹⁹

Another musician among those who decided to leave the court of the Polish king, finding employment at the Archducal court in Graz, during the second decade of the seventeenth century was an alto singer and composer, Ippolito Bonanni, who travelled

¹³ Bieńkowska, "Introduction", 11.

¹⁴ Federhofer, *Musikpflege*, 47, 159 and 200; Bieńkowska, "Introduction", 11–12; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Muzyczne dwory*, individual entries in „Słownik muzyków”.

¹⁵ See the title page of the edition in: Giovanni Battista Cacciola, 307.

¹⁶ Lulewicz, "Sapieha Lew”.

¹⁷ Federhofer, "Italienische Musik", 172 and 175.

¹⁸ The latest identified print mentioned in the inventory was published in 1618.

¹⁹ Göhler, *Die Messkataloge*, 37; Bieńkowska, "Introduction", 10.

to Poland from Rome but was a native of the Duchy of Urbino.²⁰ Bonanni is the author of the double-choir motet *Congratulamini mihi omnes* included in the previously mentioned anthology *Melodiae sacrae* dedicated to Archduke Ferdinand. This singer left Sigismund's court around 1611 to join the court ensemble in Graz, where he remained until 1619.²¹

It was Giovanni Valentini, however, who forged the most brilliant career at Austrian courts. Having served Sigismund III for ten years, he became Archduke Ferdinand's organist in 1614, held the post of imperial organist in Vienna from 1619 and then during a period stretching from 1626 until his death in 1649 was chapel master of the imperial ensemble, an acclaimed composer and tutor of the Emperor's children. In recognition of his merit he was ennobled.²² His small-scale concertos were likewise published in the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus*; their high number (five) attracts attention (one concerto for a solo voice and basso continuo, two for two voices and two for three voices, always with the organ bass notated in the form of a *partitura*²³). In this collection Valentini is represented by the greatest number of compositions except for Vincenzo Pellegrini, who held the position of maestro di cappella in Milan Cathedral from 1614. Moreover, the fact that within each group of compositions, categorized in accordance with the number of vocal parts (for one, two or three voices), Valentini's motets are always placed among the first (coming immediately after the works of Vincenzo Pellegrini or Giovanni Priuli, the newly-appointed chapel master of the Archducal ensemble in Graz) appears to confirm that soon after his arrival from Warsaw Valentini was held in high regard at the court of Archduke Ferdinand. It seems unlikely that he had not already started composing his small-scale concertos before joining the Archducal court – all the more so since the time between his arrival in Graz and the publication of the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus* did not exceed a dozen or so months.²⁴ However, Valentini's activity in this domain during his period of service in the ensemble of Sigismund III is not documented in any extant sources.

Among other composers of music for a small number of voices included in the volume there appear two other former members of the cappella of Sigismund III Vasa: the former royal chapel master Giulio Cesare Gabussi (his contribution to the volume is the concerto *O crux benedicta* for two contraltos and basso continuo) and Giulio Osculati, royal tenor and composer, whose output during his stay in Poland included at least two published collections (Bonometti's volume contains the composition *Quid morire* for CATB and basso continuo).

²⁰ Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "Muzycy z Cappella Giulia", 38; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "The Music-Related Contacts", 171.

²¹ Federhofer, *Musikpflege*, 525.

²² Szweykowska and Szweykowski, *Włosi w kapeli*, 54–57; Saunders, *Cross, Sword, and Lyre*, 24–25, *passim*.

²³ *Benedicam Dominum* (B and b.c.), *Maria quid ploras* (CB and *partitura*), *Deus miseratur nostri* (CB and *partitura*), *O dulcis amor Jesu* (CTB and *partitura*) and *Vulnerasti cor meum* (TTB and *partitura*).

²⁴ Left Warsaw probably in the middle of February or later and reached the court in Graz in May 1614 the latest (see Saunders, *Cross, Sword, and Lyre*, 194; Szweykowska and Szweykowski, *Włosi w kapeli*, 57).

The presence in the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus* of works by musicians formerly employed by Sigismund III does not necessarily imply that small-scale sacred music was composed at the Polish royal court before 1615. A comparison of the royal and archducal ensembles reveals that the former was dominated by musicians from Rome, whereas in the case of the Graz music chapel, the majority of members had arrived from the north of Italy, especially from Venice. The musicians' origin reflected the stylistic preferences of their patrons and of chapel masters, which were mirrored also by the known repertoires.²⁵ The manifestations of family ties between patrons were more evident in the music performed at the courts of Archduke Ferdinand and the duke of Bavaria Maximilian I than in the case of Ferdinand and Sigismund III. The differences consisted mainly in the prevailing techniques of composing polychoral compositions and in the absence of any sources that would confirm the Polish reception of *Magnificats ad imitationem*, despite their large number in the repertoire performed in Munich and their popularity in Graz: even though Ferdinando di Lasso dedicated to Sigismund III the collection *Cantiones sacrae*, published in Munich in 1602 and including *Magnificats ad imitationem* written by himself and by his father Orlando di Lasso, the Polish sources contain no evidence that these compositions were ever performed, or that Magnificats using polyphonic pre-compositional material were composed there.²⁶

As far as monodies and small-scale church concertos are concerned, it is certain that Italian collections dating from the first decade of the seventeenth century were available in Poland. The bookshop of the Cracow bookseller Jacob Mertzenich, who supplied the royal court with books, had in stock, among other items, the two volumes of *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* (1602 and 1607) and the *Litaniae* Op. 14 (1605) by Lodovico Viadana, *Le nuove musiche* by Giulio Caccini (1602) and the *Vesperae* by Claudio Monteverdi (1610).²⁷ It is highly probable that it took a long time for newer prints, published around 1610–1612, to reach the royal musicians at court because of their sojourn of almost three years in Lithuania, where the court resided during 1609–1612 in connection with the siege of Smoleńsk. Although no relevant sources are available to researchers, we may speculate that after the monarch and his court had returned from Vilnius in 1612 to take up residence in Warsaw, music-related novelties reached the court without any hindrance. As for the subsequent years of the second decade of the seventeenth century and up to the end of the period when Asprilio Pacelli from Rome stood at the helm of the ensemble (1602–1623), there are no sources to confirm that royal musicians composed monodies and small-scale church concertos. These were written, however, by the organist and composer from Cremona Tarquinio Merula, who arrived in Warsaw in 1621. Unfortunately, Merula's volume of compositions for solo voice, entitled *Il Canore Aprile* and reportedly published in 1622, has not survived.²⁸ Thus the earliest extant

²⁵ Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "Italian Schools of Polychorality", 53–74.

²⁶ See Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "*Cantiones sacrae* (RISM 1602)", 452.

²⁷ See Ms in: Narodowe Archiwum w Krakowie, Akta Miasta Krakowa 235 (*Acta controversiarum officii advocatialis Cracoviensis, 5 stycznia 1613 – 15 grudnia 1616*), 1580, 1584–1585. I am deeply grateful to Aleksandra Patalas for information about this source.

²⁸ Pontiroli, "Notizie di musicisti cremonesi", 149–192; Szwejkowska and Szwejkowski, *Włosi w*

sources of small-scale music composed by Merula are the three volumes published in Venice after Pacelli's death: *Il primo libro de' madrigaletti* for three voices and basso continuo, *Il primo libro de' madrigali concertati* for 2–8 voices and basso continuo, and *Il primo libro de' motetti e sonate* for 2–5 voices and basso continuo (including *inter alia* compositions for solo voice with an added violin part). It is noteworthy that a collection of madrigals was dedicated by Merula to Sigismund's brother-in-law and future Emperor, Ferdinand of Habsburg.

The dedication is one of the many testimonies to the enduring music-related ties between the Polish and the Austrian courts, which extended also to the courts in northern Italy linked to Austria through marriages with the offspring of Karl II and Maria of Bavaria, who were siblings of Anna and Constance, married off to the Polish King. The contacts of Sigismund's son Prince Ladislaus (the would-be King Ladislaus IV of Poland) with his aunts – the duchess of Tuscany Maria Maddalena, the empress Eleonora Gonzaga and the archduchess of Tyrol Claudia de' Medici – contributed crucially to the establishment of a royal operatic theatre at Ladislaus's court and to the penning in Poland during the first half of the seventeenth century of at least ten Italian *drammi per musica*, which were later staged not only in Warsaw but also in Vilnius and Gdańsk. These achievements, however, belong to a completely different story.

Table 1

Singers, instrumentalists and dancers who joined the court of the king of Poland, Sigismund III Vasa, during or after serving the Archdukes of Inner Austria

Name	Function	Years of activity in Poland
Pietro Antonio Bianco	tenor singer	1592; as a guest
Ambrosio Bontempo	dancing-master	1592; as a guest
Vincenzo Gigli (Vincentius Lilius)	tenor singer	from 1595 until his death after 1639, but before 1641
Bartolomeo Mutis, Duke of Cesana	tenor singer	1605; as a guest
Antonio Patart	trombonist	from 1598 or earlier (not earlier than 1596) until 1612 or later (not later than 1614; died before 14 May 1614)

Table 2

Singers and instrumentalists who joined the court of Ferdinand, archduke of Inner Austria, after serving the king of Poland, Sigismund III Vasa

Name	Function	Years of activity at the courts of Habsburgs
Ippolito Bonanni	alto singer	from 1611 until 1619 or later
Andrea Battista Cocciola?	soprano singer	1603–15
Giovanni Valentini	organist (at the court of Archduke Ferdinand, Emperor since 1619), from 1626 onwards imperial maestro di cappella	1614–49

Table 3

Works by composers active before 1615 at the Polish royal court included in the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus*

Composer	Title
Giovanni Battista Cocciola	<i>Ave mundi spes Maria</i> (CC and b.c.)
Giovanni Valentini	<i>Benedicam Dominum</i> (B and b.c.)
Giovanni Valentini	<i>Maria quid ploras</i> (CB and <i>partitura</i>)
Giovanni Valentini	<i>Deus miseratur nostri</i> (CB and <i>partitura</i>)
Giovanni Valentini	<i>O dulcis amor Jesu</i> (CTB and <i>partitura</i>)
Giovanni Valentini	<i>Vulnerasti cor meum</i> (TTB and <i>partitura</i>)
Giulio Cesare Gabussi	<i>O crux benedicta</i> (2 contrA and b.c.)
Giulio Osculati	<i>Quid morire</i> (CATB and b.c.)

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GLASBENI STIKI MED DVOROMA POLJSKEGA KRALJA IN
NOTRANJEAVSTRIJSKIH NADVOJVOD TER ŠIRJENJE *MUSICAE*
MODERNAE PO SREDNJI IN SREDNJE-VZHODNI EVROPI

Povzetek

Poroki poljskega kralja Sigismunda III. Vase z Ano (1592) in pozneje z njeno sestro Constanzo (1605), obe iz dinastije notranjeavstrijskih nadvojvod, sta pomembno vplivali na kulturno življenje. Muzikologi so se že v preteklosti trudili raziskati glasbene odnose med dvoroma Sigismunda III. in nadvojvode Ferdinanda, od leta 1596 vladarja Notranje Avstrije in od leta 1619 cesarja Ferdinanda II. Razprava povzema podatke o obojesmernih migracijah glasbenikov in glasbenega repertoarja med Krakovom (tudi Varšavo) in Gradcem konec 16. in v prvih dveh desetletjih 17. stoletja. Avtorica omenja glasbenike, sprva zaposlene na notranjeavstrijskem dvoru v Gradcu, ki so v spremstvu nadvojvodinj Ane in Constanze odpotovali v Krakov. Med temi so bili italijanski tenorist Pietro Antonio Bianco, od leta 1595 do svoje smrti leta 1611 kapelnik graškega dvornega ansambla, plesni mojster Ambrosio Bontempo in Bartolomeo Mutis grof iz Cesane, avtor prve zbirke monodične glasbe v Avstriji *Musiche a una, doi e tre voci* (Benetke 1613). V spomin na poljsko poroko Constanze je na primer skladatelj Georg Poss, ki je deloval v graški dvorni kapeli, napisal osemglasno skladbo z naslovom *In faelicem ex Polonia redivitum Serenissimae Matris et Sobolum Archiducum Austriae*, ki obeležuje vrnitev nevestine matere nadvojvodinje Marije iz Krakova, kjer se je udeležila poročnega slavja. Skladbo je vključil v svojo zbirko *Orpheus mixtus vel si mavis concentus musici*, ki je izšla leta 1607 v Gradcu. Razprava se na drugi strani osredotoča tudi na vlogo, ki so jo imeli nekateri italijanski glasbeniki, ki so delovali na kraljevem dvoru Sigismunda III. Vase pri širjenju novega italijanskega sloga v srednji in srednjevzhodni Evropi. Med temi so bili na primer Luca Marenzio, Vincenzo Gigli (Vincentius Lilius), ki je bil urednik zbirke *Melodiae sacrae* (Krakov 1604), posvečene nadvojvodi Ferdinandu, pa Giovanni Valentini, ki je leta 1614 iz Varšave odpotoval v Gradec, in Tarquinio Merula. Avtorica poda kratke življenjepise Ippolita Bonannija, Giovanija Battiste Cocciole, Giulie Cesara Gabussija in Giovannija Valentinja, štirih skladateljev malih duhovnih motetov, ki so izšli v zbirki *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*, in so pred letom 1615 delovali na dvoru kralja Sigismunda III. Vase.

FOREIGN MUSICIANS AT THE TRANSYLVANIAN COURT OF SIGISMUND BÁTHORY

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Izvleček: *Transilvanski princ Sigismund Báthory (1572–1613), ki mu je bilo med 1590 in 1599 posvečenih pet beneških glasbenih tiskov, je imel v svoji službi številne tuje glasbenike. Veliko je bilo Italijanov, a tudi nekaj Nemcev in Poljakov. Trenutno je znanih ducat imen italijanskih glasbenikov, med katerimi je tudi skladatelj in urednik Giovanni Battista Mosto iz italijanskega Vidma ter organist in skladatelj Antonio Romanini iz Benetk. Zaposlitve njegovih tujih glasbenikov kažejo značilnosti, ki so vidne v poznejšem glasbenem življenju na transilvanskih dvorih v 17. stoletju in na nekaterih dvorih madžarskih aristokratskih družin.*

Ključne besede: *Sigismund Báthory, Transilvanija, Marija Christierna von Habsburg, posvetila, italijanski glasbeniki, Giovanni Battista Mosto, Antonio Romanini.*

Abstract: *Sigismund Báthory (1572–1613), Prince of Transylvania, to whom five Venetian music editions were dedicated between 1590 and 1599, had several foreign musicians in his service: mainly Italians, but also some Germans and Poles. The names of more than a dozen Italians are currently known, among them those of the composer and publisher Giovanni Battista Mosto of Udine, and the Venetian organist and composer Antonio Romanini. The employment of foreign musicians shares several features of the musical life of seventeenth-century Transylvanian courts, and that of Hungarian aristocratic families.*

Keywords: *Sigismund Báthory, Transylvania, Maria Christierna von Habsburg, dedications, Italian musicians, Giovanni Battista Mosto, Antonio Romanini.*

Historical data from the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries show that from the time of John Sigismund Zapolya (1559–1571) until the mid-1640s¹ musicians from abroad were employed more or less continuously by the Princes of Transylvania. This is especially true for Sigismund Báthory (1572–1613), who reigned with interruptions from 1581 until 1601 (1581–1588 as a minor, 1588–1597/98, 1598–1599, 1601), and who had several foreign musicians, mainly Italians, in his service.²

¹ From the period before the rule of John Sigismund Zapolya no similar sources that might provide a clear picture of the court musicians survive. The very Italianate music of Valentin Bakfark, however, suggests that this musician had an Italian master who taught at the royal court, which moved to Transylvania after the fall of Buda in 1541. See Király, “Valentin Bakfark”, 201–210. Király, “An Internationally Renowned Virtuoso”, 65–66.

² On Báthory, there is a short chapter with an extensive bibliography: Bárdos, “Fejedelmi és főúri zeneélet”, 106–109.

Along with some neighbouring counties, Transylvania, at that time in south-east Hungary, became separated from Hungary as a result of the Ottoman invasion leading to the fall of Buda in 1541. During the 1550s a principality was founded there that depended greatly on the Ottoman Sublime Porte. The Transylvanian Princes, like most of the inhabitants, were Calvinist Protestants. Exceptionally, the rulers belonging to the House of Báthory were Catholics. When Sigismund Báthory, then aged sixteen, was enthroned in 1588, hopes of a “recatholization” arose. The young prince, an orphan, had been educated by the Jesuits. Although he never visited Italy, he spoke Italian well. He received a great deal of support from Italy, as well as from the Habsburgs – Báthory was the only Transylvanian Prince ever to marry a Habsburg Princess. His supporters were aiming at the recatholization of Transylvania, a goal never realized.

Contemporary and later sources – mostly written by Protestants – repeatedly complain about the influence of the Jesuits and the Italians, who, as it was claimed, “corrupted his soul” with Italian idleness.³ Báthory was indeed obviously fond of music. One of the works dedicated to him, *Il Transilvano* (1593) by the Venetian Franciscan monk Girolamo Diruta, characterizes Báthory as a “cordialissimo amatore di musica e di concerti”.⁴ Although Diruta must have received this information at second hand, since he never visited Transylvania, others sources confirm it. The diplomatic emissary Franco Sivori of Genoa stated in a report written in 1590 that earlier, while visiting Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia in Romania) in 1584, he had come across musicians, to which he appended the comment “de quali musici il Principe sempre tiene una quantita con honorato trattamento”.⁵ One of Báthory’s Italian musicians, Pietro Busto, characterized the Prince in 1595 as “bonissimo musico in ogni sorte d’ istromento[,] et compone opere di musica al pari de piu eccelenti Autori”, and for his pleasure the Prince had “una compagnia de buoni musici”.⁶ The German traveller Veit Marchthaler of Ulm, who stayed in Hungary some time between 1588 and 1600, noted that the Prince “hat zimblich *studiert*, kan guet Walsch, *Voluptas* bringt auch schon *Venerem*, auf Tanczen, Springen, Fechten, *Musica*, Orgeln und dergleichen last er vil gehoren”.⁷ After his first resignation of the Principality in 1597, while

³ Consider, for example, the opinion expressed by Prince János Kemény (reigned 1661–1662), who was present at the court from the early 1620s: “although Sigismund was taught with good intentions, but according to the behaviour of Italians and other foreign nations [...]. His mind was taken up by music and other idleness; he squandered much on account of such idleness” (“Zsigmondot, elhiszem jó végre ugyan, mindazáltal olaszos és egyéb idegen nemzetek conversatiójában nevelvén [...]. Muzsika s egyéb hijába valóság fogta el elméjét, mely haszontalanságokra sokat is tékozlot”). Windisch, *Kemény János*, 21. See also Marchthaler’s report referred to in note 7, below.

⁴ Haraszti, “Sigismund Báthory”, 195; Haraszti, “‘Il Transilvano’ di Girolamo Diruta”, 117.

⁵ Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 285: “in un cantone molti musichi con li istrumenti alla italiana, con un organo suavissimo, de quali musici il Principe sempre tiene una quantita con honorato trattamento [...]. Et al suono de varij Instrumenti, hebbi un regio bachelto alla Ittaliana”. The original manuscript is in Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Fondo Ferraiuoli, no. 43: “Memoriale delle cose occorse a me Franco Sivori del Signor Benedetto doppo della mia partenze di Genoua l’anno 1581 per andar in Vallachia. 1590.”

⁶ Bascapè, *Le Relazioni*, 171; Constantinescu, “Muzica în Transilvania”, 175n184.

⁷ Németh S., “Erdélyi fejedelmi udvar Marchthaler útleírásában”, 335. I have viewed the German

on his way to Oppeln (Opole in Poland), Báthory reached Breslau (Wrocław) on 13 July 1598, where he “auch die Orgel [...] wol besichtigt”.⁸ Typically for the Prince, when his bride from Graz, Maria Christierna Leonora of Habsburg, arrived in Transylvanian territory with her retinue in the summer of 1595, Báthory, according to a contemporary, went along incognito “con pochi suoi fedeli servitori Ongari et alcuni Italiani” to see her, hiding among his musicians.⁹

Table 1

Five Italian musical editions printed in Venice were dedicated to Báthory

Giovanni Battista Mosto	Motecta quinque vocum	1590	RISM M 3815
Girolamo Diruta	Il Transilvano (The title “Il Transilvano” refers to Báthory)	1593	RISM D 3134 RISM 15939
Giovanni Battista Mosto	Il primo libro de madrigali	1595	RISM M 3816
Philippe de Monte	Il decimosettimo libro de madrigali	1595	RISM M 3388
Giovanni Bassano	Concerti ecclesiastici	1599	RISM B 1234

Music histories frequently cite these dedications as proof of Báthory’s fondness for music (see table 1). But one should not forget that, leaving aside Mosto’s publications, the dedications did not reflect personal contacts at all. They were commissioned by intermediaries. Such dedications were, in fact, frequently employed as political instruments.¹⁰ This was probably also true in Báthory’s case.

In the light of what has been said, one might easily assume that it was Báthory’s education, his close contacts with Italians and the Habsburgs and especially his personal taste, that shaped the character of his court and lay behind his distinctive music ensembles, which have been supposed by later observers and modern scholars to be unique among the courts of the Transylvanian Princes. A few decades later, however, Gabriel Bethlen, a Protestant Prince who had received a different education and was politically opposed to the Habsburgs, maintained a similar court between 1613 and 1629. Bethlen likewise employed a substantial number of foreign musicians – although probably fewer from Italy.¹¹ It appears that the courtly life and the court music of Báthory and Bethlen were influenced, rather, by the fact that they wished to conform to international standards, aspiring towards a court displaying the magnificence that an important ruler should cultivate according to contemporary opinion.

Concerning Báthory’s court musicians, we possess a lot of scattered information that more often than not comes from untrustworthy secondary sources. The most important documents of the court administration (e.g., contracts with musicians, lists of court musicians, payment records) are unfortunately lost as a result of the occupation, pillage and disastrous burning of Gyulafehérvár by Ottomans and Tartars in 1658. Researchers have to depend on little titbits of information gleaned from other sources. Although there is

original by courtesy of Ms. Katalin Németh S.

⁸ Büsching, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 188.

⁹ Haraszti, “Sigismund Báthory”, 206.

¹⁰ Lindell, “Das Musikleben am Hof Rudolfs II.”, 81.

¹¹ See, for instance, Király, “Foreign musicians”, 256–257.

a considerable quantity of data confirming that many different foreign musicians were employed, information that contains more than hints about their origins, instruments or musical function is scarce. Full names are rarely given, and it is rare that anything is known about the former or later life and activity of any musician.

Of course, in addition to the foreigners, there were more than a few local musicians employed by Báthory. But even here it is not always easy to achieve certainty. Several cases underline the fact that foreign musicians were also referred to in Hungarian documents in the customary way among Hungarians; with a first name in the specific form used among Hungarians, attached to the name of the instrument they played (or musical function they held). To give just one example: Antonio Romanini – to whom we will return later – is named in Hungarian in one of the city records of Kolozsvár (Clausenburg, Cluj in Romania) “Antal urunk orgonása” (“Antal the organ player of our Lord”). In other cases, where we lack the additional information present in Romanini’s case, it remains unclear whether any foreigners – and if so, how many – lie concealed behind similar Hungarian name-forms.

Notwithstanding the above reservations, the names of more than a dozen Italians have so far been unearthed for the years of Báthory’s reign. But in all likelihood there were more. In a papal brief of Clement VIII written on 10 March 1592 for the legate Attilio Amalteo we find the statement: “Sono in Transilvania in servitio del prencipe una buona quantità di musici italiani”.¹² Much later, in the city records of Kolozsvár (20 May 1596), we find mention of two carriages packed with Italian musicians.¹³

Báthory’s Italians originated (or possibly arrived in Transylvania) from cities such as Ancona, Bologna, Brescia, Genoa, Roma and Udine, and – unsurprisingly – in their majority from Venice. At least in a few cases, we know something about their former activities in cities such as Padua and Venice, or as court musicians in Florence, Mantua, Graz and Innsbruck. Documents show that some of the Italians brought their families with them; and there were others, such as Mosto and Zephyro Spira from Venice, who married in Transylvania. Additionally, some foreigners died and were interred in Gyulaféhérvár or elsewhere in Transylvania, such as Mosto, Spira and a certain “Matheus germanus musicus” (1593).¹⁴

It was supposed by earlier scholars – based on a misinterpretation of a remark by the Transylvanian archivist, historian and chronicler István Szamosközy, a contemporary of Báthory – that these Italian musicians first arrived in Transylvania around 1592,¹⁵ but sources indicate that they had probably commenced activity already during the 1580s.

¹² Veress, *Erdélyországi pápai követek jelentései*, 5.

¹³ Arhivele Statului Cluj, fond Primăria Cluj, city records (hereafter referred to as “Kolozsvár city records”), 1596, 6/XXIX, 32: “ket zekerre valo olaz musikusokat viznek Desre, portekalkal egietembe”.

¹⁴ “HIC IACET MAT / THEVS GERMANVS MVSICVS QUO / NDAM ILLVSTRI / SSIMI PRINCIPIS TRANSSYLVANIAE QVI / [I!] ANNO NDXCIII [!] DIE 10 F / EB[ruarii] ANIMA / M DEO RED/DIDIT / 159[?]” – courtesy of András Kovács (Cluj).

¹⁵ See Szilágyi, *Szamosközy István történelmi maradványai*, 25; Abbaffy and Kozocsa, *Szamosközy István*, 179. See also Bethlen, *Historia*, 3:15. This erroneous, but even today widely accepted, view has been questioned by Albert Gárdonyi on the basis of the strong general Italian influence on the Báthory court long before 1592. Gárdonyi, “A Báthoryak”, 34.

The Genoese traveller Sivori remarked in a report that in 1584 in Gyulaféhérvár he had seen “molti musichi con li istrumenti alla italiana”.¹⁶ Sivori, admittedly, did not state that the musicians were Italians; similarly, Pietro Busto, who in 1595 wrote only that in replacement of the Jesuits, who in 1588 had been forced by the Transylvanian assembly to leave the country, the Prince had “una compagnia de buoni musici”.¹⁷ Then the Jesuit Campano stated on 17 May 1590 only that the Prince “Optimam capellam excellentibus musicis refertam sustentare”.¹⁸

Other sources, fortunately, are clearer: On 5 October 1590 the city of Beszterce (Nössen, Bistritz, Bistrița in Romania) transported an Italian lute-player in the Prince’s service,¹⁹ and Giovanni Battista Mosto was already styling himself on the title page of his *Motecta quinque vocum* (the foreword to which is dated 1 October 1590) “apud Serenissimum principem Transilvanie [...] musices moderator”.²⁰ Pope Clement’s already mentioned brief of 1592 similarly confirms the employment of “una buona quantità di musici italiani”.

The contemporary historian and chronicler István Szamosközy – an important and trustworthy witness – listed some of Báthory’s musicians whom he remembered. In this account there appears a certain “Franciscus magister capellae, musicus, Anconitanus, Italus”.²¹ If this person was identical with the musician identified only by the forename “Francisco” who on 24 April 1590 was transported together with Báthory’s other musicians by the city of Kolozsvár,²² it would appear that Francesco of Ancona preceded as *magister capellae* Mosto, who – as we have just seen – was already calling himself on 1 October 1590 “apud Serenissimum principem Transilvanie [...] musices moderator”.

At the moment nothing else is known about Francisco of Ancona. This is not the case with the northern Italian Giovanni Battista Mosto from Udine, a renowned composer whose life and work are quite well documented. Mosto served in Transylvania in a formal role from around 1590 until 1595–1596, but after 1593 with interruptions: so to speak,

¹⁶ See note 5, above.

¹⁷ Gárdonyi, “A Báthoryak”, 35: “in luogho di quelli volse per suo diporto una compagnia de buoni musici”.

¹⁸ Lukács, *Monumenta Antiquae Hungariae*, 535. I have this information courtesy of Péter Erdősi.

¹⁹ Arhivele Statului Cluj, fond 44 Bistrița, city records (hereafter referred to as Beszterce city records) IVa 25, 20: “Vectura in dypsa testudinarii Ill[ustrissi]mi principis”; also Arhivele Statului Cluj, fond 44 Bistrița, Missiles nr. 1590/36, 3: “Jtem f[ürstlichen] gnaden Welschen Lattynisten ghen Neumarck gefuret vnndt ihn frayen kosten gehalten fl. 8.”.

²⁰ RISM M 3815, only known example: Kassel, Landesbibliothek, 4° Mus. 6 [Internet: <http://orka.bibliothek.uni-kassel.de/viewer/image/1407319467807/117/> (16 September 2015)]; For the description of the colligatum to which the Mosto edition belongs, see: Horstmann, *Katalog der Musikdrucke*, 65–69.; Király, “Giovanni Battista Mosto figyelembe nem vett kiadványa”, 384–387.

²¹ Szilágyi, *Szamosközy történelmi maradványai*, 76–77; Abbaffy and Kozocsa, *Szamosközy István*, 32; Haraszti, “Sigismund Báthory”, 202, with a French translation of Szamosközy’s remarks. For a German translation of Szamosközy’s listing, see: Főkövi, “Die Zigeunermusik in Ungarn”, 147–148.

²² Kolozsvár city records, 1590, 4/XXI, 81: “Vitte konikol [Konkoly] Demeter Hynnyadra 4 Loyal vayda Musikassit, franciscot es teob egyetembe”.

“always on the run”.²³ After the Prince – because of a rumoured Turkish attack – dispatched his musicians to Cracow in September 1593 Mosto returned only around the turn of 1594–1595, and obviously only briefly. In March 1595, already in Venice, he published his *Il primo libro de madrigali*. It is in this second work dedicated to Báthory that Mosto claimed to have composed his madrigals mainly in Transylvania: “Sono la maggior parte di questi miei Madrigali o composti per commandamento di V.A.S. o nelli amenissimi, e fertilissimi Paesi del suo sempre felice stato di Transilvania.” He probably presented the new edition to the Prince, who at some point prior to May 1595 made over to Mosto a house in Gyulafehérvár in the “olasz utca” (Italian street),²⁴ and made him, according to Mosto’s foreword to the *Madrigali*, a “Gentil’huomo della sua camera”. It is likely that the musician participated, in the summer of 1595, as *magister capellae* for the wedding festivities of Sigismund Báthory and Maria Christierna of Habsburg. But soon afterwards Mosto returned to Italy, where – possibly without Báthory’s permission – he resumed his former post at the Duomo of Padua. Revisiting Gyulafehérvár in order to bring his family to Italy, he died in the spring or summer of 1596. He was buried in the Cathedral of Gyulafehérvár.²⁵

Another noteworthy musician, Don Matteo Foresto, belonged at least during the period 1587–1591, to a musical ensemble in Mantua directed by Giaches de Wert.²⁶ Foresto was sent, armed with letters from the Duke of Mantova, Vincenzo Gonzaga, to Poland and Transylvania. He clearly joined Báthory’s musicians there – possibly shortly before September 1593, when the Italians hurriedly escaped to Cracow because of an expected Ottoman attack. Foresto is most probably identical with a “Matthaeus Mantuanus musicus” listed by Szamosközy. In the summer of 1594 Mosto and Foresto turned up in Regensburg, when they joined the *Hofstaat* of the Archbishop of Köln, Ernst von Wittelsbach.²⁷ Unlike in Mosto’s case, we have no evidence that Foresto ever returned to Transylvania.

²³ On Mosto, see Király, “Giovanni Battista Mosto”, 540–541; Király, “Giovanbattista Mosto ‘száguldó muzsikus’”, 53–68.

²⁴ Arhivele Statului Cluj, Acte fasciculate IV, 104; Veress, *Documente*, 216; Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 294: On 8 May 1595 Báthory donated a house to his musician Pietro Busto, and according to the description of its location, it was situated in the “Italian street” (“Olasz utca”) close to Mosto’s house: “in platea Olasz ucza vocata, intra muros civitatis huius Alben[is], in vicinitatib[us] domorum ab unius Generosi Ioannis Baptistae Musto Magistri Chori Musicorum n[ost]rorum”.

²⁵ The tombstone was transcribed by Johannes Georgius Vett in 1697 as follows: “Nobili Johanni Baptistae mastro [Mosto] Veneto | Serenissimi Transylvaniae Principis Sigismundi Chori Praefecto: | Altima marito et Petrus Angelus Musitanus socero dilectissimo | Et desideratissimo moerentes re[.]erunt | Vixit annos, menses huius Saeculi MDXCVI.” See: Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 305–306; Mosto’s father-in-law, “Petrus Angelus Musitanus”, mentioned on the tombstone, might be the same person as the equerry “Petrus Angelus Senex”, as mentioned by Szamosközy. Szamosközy mistakenly gives 1597 as the date of Mosto’s death. See Abbaffy and Kozocsa, *Szamosközy István*, 32.

²⁶ Mantova, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Gonzaga, busta 395, fol. 156v; also busta 410B, Reg. 43, fol 43/[18]; Canal, *Della musica in Mantova*, 87, mentions Foresto as a musician in 1587.

²⁷ Mantova, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Gonzaga, busta 525. (29. 07. 1594, Foresto’s letter to the Duke of Mantua). Haraszti, “Sigismund Báthory”, 204; Szilágyi, *Szamosközy történelmi*

Simone Ponte – according to Szamosközy, “Simon Ponte Florentinus, musicus” – served between 1567 and 1569 as a musician at another important Italian court: that of Cosimo de’ Medici.²⁸

Not much is known about Pietro Busto, to whom we owe a report on Báthory’s court: a possibly fictional letter by Busto to his brother dated 21 January 1595.²⁹ Szamosközy identifies him as “Petrus Busti, musicus, Brixianus”, thus from Brescia, also remarking that a painter called Nicolaus married his daughter.³⁰ Prince Báthory granted Busto (“Nobilis Petri Busti Itali, musici nostri”) a house in Gyulafehérvár in the neighbourhood of Mosto’s house on 8 May 1595; the deed recording this mentions that Busto has been serving the Prince for years and is about to continue to do so.³¹ However, it is not known how long Busto in the event remained in Transylvania. His earlier and later life is still undocumented.³²

There is a little information about three of Báthory’s Italian keyboard players. Szamosközy mentions two of them. About a certain “Gothardus Romanus organista”³³ whom he lists, further information is still missing. The same is true of the “virginalist of His Highness”, in Hungarian fashion called in the city records Olasz Gáspár (Gasparo the Italian), who was given transport on 6 July 1595 by Kolozsvár.³⁴ However, on 23 September of the same year a certain Italian, named in the records in Hungarian as “Bellyci Gaspar Olasz”, was transported, together with several other Italians.³⁵ If he was the same keyboard

maradványai, 76–77; Abbaffy and Kozocsa, *Szamosközy István*, 32; Fleischman von Puntzelwitz, *Kurtze vnd aigentliche Beschreibung*, [unpaginated]; Mosto is listed among the “Cammerdiener”, and “Matheo Foresto” among the musicians; Mantua, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Gonzaga, busta 468, fasc. II 2, fols 196–199 (on 26 May 1594 Enea Gonzaga reports a meeting between the Duke of Mantua and Foresto in Regensburg). Also busta 525 (Foresto’s letter to the Duke).

²⁸ Szilágyi, *Szamosközy történelmi maradványai*, 76–77; Abbaffy and Kozocsa, *Szamosközy István*, 32; Ponte is described in one payment record in Florence as “ciciliano anzi venetiano”. See Kirkendale, *Court Musicians in Florence*, 103 (no. 24). I have this information courtesy of Péter Erdősi.

²⁹ Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb.lat. 817. pt. 2, 337r–350v: Busto, Pietro: “Descrizione della Transilvania fatta da me ms. Pietro Busto bresciano musico di quel sereniss[im]o Principe [Zsigmond Báthory] l’anno 1595 Sommario Con notizie sul principe stesso”, dated: “Alba Giulia, 21 genn. 1595”. Other copies in: Paris Bibliothèque nationale, Milan Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Cambridge Trinity College.

³⁰ Szilágyi, *Szamosközy történelmi maradványai*, 76–77; Abbaffy and Kozocsa, *Szamosközy István*, 32: “ennek leányat vötte az Pictor Nicolaus”. His son-in-law might be identical with a Greek painter from Crete mentioned by Szamosközy, who, according to his account, was still living in Kolozsvár in 1607: “Nicolaus Grecus Cretensis, Pictor, ezt mostis él Colosuarat, 1607”.

³¹ Arhivele Statului Cluj, Acte fasciculate IV, 104; Veress, *Documente*, 216–217: “Nobilis Petri Busti Itali musici nostri, quae ipse serenit[at]i n[ost]rae, in hac arte sua iam ab aliquot annis fideliter exhibuit et impendit, ac in futurum quoque exhibiturus et impensurus est”.

³² Emil Haraszti reports that he tried without success to find traces of Busto in Brescia. Haraszti, “Sigismund Báthory”, 197.

³³ Szilágyi, *Szamosközy történelmi maradványai*, 76–77; Abbaffy and Kozocsa, *Szamosközy István*, 32.

³⁴ Kolozsvár city records, 1595, 6/XVIIa, 79: “Olasz Gaspart Wrunk Öf[elsé]ge Virginassat vitte Zillahig Pap István”.

³⁵ Kolozsvár city records, 1595, 6/XVIIa, 101: “Bellyci Gaspart Olaft: Az olaz Loassok felet, és egy bör Bekeret, mely 8 olazzal rakwa wolt, Darabos Janostol Vitte Thordara 6 loal Kalmar Istwan”.

musician, his name might be Bellis or something similar, which might serve as a starting point for future research.

Much more substantial information is available about an organist called by Szamosközy “Antonetto Venetus”, who turns up in 1592 and 1597 in the transportation records of Kolozsvár.³⁶ This musician mentioned by Szamosközy – as earlier scholars have found out – was Antonio Romanini from Venice, a pupil of Andrea Gabrieli, who in 1586 failed to obtain the post of second organist at San Marco, which had become vacant after Gabrieli’s death.³⁷ Romanini is mentioned by Diruta in *Il Transilvano* as Báthory’s organist, who had informed this author about the noble soul and rare qualities of the Prince.³⁸ Diruta published a “[Toccatà] dell’ octavo tono di Antonio Romanini”,³⁹ which is one of the two known pieces ascribable to Romanini, while Giovanni Bassano described Romanini in the dedication to Báthory of his own *Concerti ecclesiastici* (1599) as his friend and the Prince’s organist.⁴⁰

Szamosközy described “Antonetto Venetus” as a priest guilty of fornication and murder. While nothing is known about criminal activity of this kind, according to a Kolozsvár transportation record Romanini had a wife and child with him in February 1597,⁴¹ which – if he was indeed a priest – could at least partly support Szamosközy’s accusation. One might ask: could this be the reason why Romanini, unlike the other Italians, remained in Transylvania for a long time? He stayed there at the latest from the summer of 1592 until 1598/1599 at the earliest. At all events, Antonio Romanini clearly played an important role as an intermediary between Venetian musicians and Báthory’s court in Gyulafehérvár.

The Prince also employed lute players from Italy. We know of three such players at the moment. On 5 October 1590 an Italian lutenist of unknown name, already mentioned, was given transport by the city of Beszterce.⁴² On 27 April 1595 Kolozsvár transported the Venetian knight and diplomat Giovanni Michele (Giovanni Michele, Juan Michiel

³⁶ Kolozsvár city records, 1592, 5/XIV, 290, 297: 6 July 1592: “6 lovan vyzik postan az feyedelem organosat antaltt Tordara”, 25 October 1592: “Antalt vrunk Organosat: Postan vijzi Beil Mihaly: 4 Lovan[n] Tordara”; Kolozsvár city records, 1597, 7/XIV, 72: 24 February 1597: “Wrwnk w felsege organosat Antoniusz widte felesegestwl germekestwl Sal[v]us Conductus wala Nalla widtek [...] 6 lovon szekeren Tordaig”.

³⁷ Caffi, *Storia della musica sacra*, 189: “Andrea Gabrieli, sornomato da Canareggio, sel disputarono tre di lui allievi: Vincenzo Bellaver (Bell’Haver) Paolo Giusto, dello da Castello, ed Antonio Romanini”. The position of organist was given to Vincenzo Bellavere (Bell’Havere) on 30 December 1586.

³⁸ “[...] per relatione dall’ Eccellentiss. M. Antonio Romanini Suo Organista”; Barlay and Pernye, “Diruta: Il Transilvano”, 50.

³⁹ On pages 43–46 of the 1597 edition of Diruta’s *Il Transilvano*. See: <http://purl.org/rism/BI/1597/25>; Haraszti, “Sigismund Báthory”, 203n2. On Romanini’s Toccata, see Zászkaliczky, Pernye and Barlay, *Il Transilvano*.

⁴⁰ Gaspari, *Catalogo*, 378. Bassano is not mentioned in musicological studies concerning Báthory, the only exception being Barlay and Pernye, “Diruta: Il Transilvano”, 50.

⁴¹ Abbaffy and Kozocsa, *Szamosközy István*, 32: “Antonetto Venetus, organista, ez egÿ gilkos parazna lator pap vala.” See also note 36, above (24 February 1597).

⁴² See note 19, above.

etc.), as well as another Venetian nobleman plus a lutenist of the Prince, who all returned to their “patria” – thus obviously to Venice.⁴³

As a result of the rumoured attack of the Ottoman Turks, two Italian musicians in the Prince’s service, Pompeius and Julius, both from Bologna, reached Beszterce around the end of 1593 *en route* from Transylvania towards southern Poland.⁴⁴ Báthory’s *salvus conductus*, issued at Gyulafehérvár on 20 September, for “Nobilis Julius Crema Bononiens[is]”, still exists.⁴⁵ This musician, Julio Camillo Crema or Crodi belonged between 1581 and some time before 1586 to the *Hofkapelle* of Archduke Ferdinand in Innsbruck as a tenor and lutenist.⁴⁶ Unlike the others, Crema/Crodi returned after 1593 to Transylvania. Szamosközy refers to him as “Julius Crodi Bononiensis, Cubicularius Sigismundi, 1598”.⁴⁷ The musicians finally departed from Transylvania via Poland to Italy, obviously after Báthory’s abdication in 1599.⁴⁸

Crema or Crodi’s companion during their flight of 1593 appears in Szamosközy’s list as “Pompejus Bononiensis, musicus”.⁴⁹ Pompeius likewise returned to Báthory probably around the turn of 1594/1595, and he made his reappearance together with Mosto.⁵⁰ How long Pompeius remained thereafter in Transylvania is not known, but it is likely that he was among the musicians performing at the Prince’s wedding.

Besides the names already mentioned, the following Italian musicians are also listed by Szamosközy: a certain “Zephyrus Spira, Venetus”, who married the daughter of one

⁴³ Kolozsvár city records, 1595, 6/XVIIa 56, 172: “Donatus Hector Nobilis Venetus, Cavallir Urammal jött vala be: És vele vala urunk 1 Lantossa: Redeunt in Patriam”, “Donatus Hector nobilis Venetus és Wrunk ő felsége egyik Lontossat [sic !] [...] Desig vitte Böl András”. Already referred to (without citation of the text and giving an erroneous date of 17 April) in Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 231.

⁴⁴ Beszterce city records, IV a 25 (1590–1623), 102, 117: “expense hospitalittis in Pompeium et Julium Italos III[ustrissi]mi principis Musicos fatte ex mandato III[ustrissi]mi principis [fl.] 18 [d] 57”, “aurige qui eos in Rettek usque direxit [d.] 75”, “Thome dobos cum illis misso in Lapos sumptus [d.] 60”, also 3 December: “Sumptus Thome dobos in Huzt cum Italis Musicis III[ustrissi]mi principis ex mandato eiusd[em] Cels[itudinis] [fl.] 1 [d] 50”.

⁴⁵ Arhivele Statului Cluj, fond 44 Bistrița, IIIa. nr. 8. (Magistratsprotokoll), 143.

⁴⁶ Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 125.

⁴⁷ Abbaffy and Kozocsa, *Szamosközy István*, 32.

⁴⁸ Crodi, together with another Italian, was arrested *en route* in June by the Habsburg authorities in response to political accusations. They were soon released. Tiroler Landesarchiv, Innsbruck, Regierungskopialbuch, 82: “Von der Kaiserlichen Majestät”, 1595–1599, fol. 490 (1 June 1599); fols 507v–509 (7 August 1599); fols 507r–v (15 August 1599); as well as Regierungskopialbuch, 84: “An die Kaiserl. Majestät”, 1598/1599, fol. 451 (11 June 1599); fols 493–495 (19 July 1599); fols 525–526 (26 July 1599); fols 522v–523 (9 August 1599); fols 523v–524v (30 August 1599). The case is briefly discussed in Waldner, “Verzeichnis”, 173. See also Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 125.

⁴⁹ Szilágyi, *Szamosközy történelmi maradványai*, 76–77; Abbaffy and Kozocsa, *Szamosközy István*, 32.

⁵⁰ On 6 January 1595, writing from Gyulafehérvár, Arnulf Uchański informed Cinzio Aldobrandini in Rome about Mosto and Pompeius, two Italians who had arrived from Cracow (“veniunt duo itali Mustus et Pompeius Cracovia”), and reported on Cardinal Andreas Báthory’s speech in the Polish *Sejm* against Sigismund Báthory. Rome, Archivio Doria-Pamphilij Fondo Aldobrandini, busta 5, fols 124r–126v. I have this information courtesy of Tamás Kruppa.

of the City Councillors of Gyulafehérvár and died in that city.⁵¹ Szamosközy also records “Nicoletto Menti cantor, venetus”,⁵² who might possibly be the “Nicolaus Musicus” mentioned briefly by the historian Farkas Bethlen in his description of the turbulent year 1602.⁵³ The last Italian in Szamosközy’s list is “Johannes Maria Rodolphus Genuensis, musicus”.⁵⁴ Finally, a certain “Musicus Vinantius” is mentioned in the city records of Kolozsvár in 1594; this man was given transport in the company of an Italian priest serving the Prince.⁵⁵ It is not clear, however, whether this musician was similarly an Italian.

Besides Italians, some other foreigners, mainly Germans, are known to have been members of Báthory’s court. At all events, they do not seem to have been as numerous as the Italians, and we possess at present even fewer details about their lives and careers.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the musicians from German-speaking lands who were employed in Hungary were mainly players of wind instruments, especially trumpeters. This might well be the case with the Germans at Báthory’s court. Szamosközy remarks of “Joannes Chalibus, Halberstadensis, Saxo musicus”, that he married the former wife of a trumpeter, Trombitás Ferencz,⁵⁶ which could be a marriage to the widow of a deceased colleague. Two musicians from Prussia, “Joannes Borussus, musicus” and “Constantinus musicus, Borossus”, are also listed by Szamosközy. Further documentation on either is missing. Also, in the ambulatory to the Cathedral of Gyulafehérvár there is a tombstone for a certain “Mattheus germanus musicus” in Báthory’s service, who died on 10 February 1593.⁵⁷ During Báthory’s third return to Transylvania, on 2 April 1601, according to the city records of Beszterce, the city paid a German trumpeter in Báthory’s employ.⁵⁸ Finally, on 10 April 1597 a German “Zenkenblaser” (cornettist), who might have belonged either to the court of Báthory or to that of his wife Maria Christierna, received a payment.⁵⁹

In the light of the usually close connections to Poland, surprisingly only one musician

⁵¹ Szilágyi, *Szamosközy történelmi maradványai*, 76–77; Abbaffy and Kozocsa, *Szamosközy István*, 32: “Zephyrus Spira, Venetus, musicus et hic Zephyrus mortuus Albae; ez vötte el volt az Nyirő István leányát”; Nyiró was a City Councillor of Gyulafehérvár during the 1590s. See Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 297–298; also Kovács, *Gyulafehérvár város jegyzőkönyvei*, 25 and 145.

⁵² Szilágyi, *Szamosközy történelmi maradványai*, 76–77; Abbaffy and Kozocsa, *Szamosközy István*, 32.

⁵³ Bethlen, *Historia*, 5:165.

⁵⁴ Szilágyi, *Szamosközy történelmi maradványai*, 76–77; Abbaffy and Kozocsa, *Szamosközy István*, 32.

⁵⁵ Kolozsvár city records, 1594. 6/IV. 10. Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 231.

⁵⁶ Szilágyi, *Szamosközy történelmi maradványai*, 76–77; Abbaffy and Kozocsa, *Szamosközy István*, 32–33: “ez vötte feleségül Fejérvárat Trombitás Ferencznét”.

⁵⁷ See note 14, above.

⁵⁸ Beszterce city records, IV a 25 (1590–1623), 358: “Germano Tubicinj qui [...] in occursum Ser[eniss]imi principis venit bibale [d.] 50”. Kramer, “Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Bistritz”, 406n1.

⁵⁹ Beszterce city records, IV a 25 (1590–1623), 221: “Musico instrumentiste Germano Zenkenblaser [d.] 50”.

from that country is so far known: a certain “Christophorus Polonus, musicus”, mentioned – once again – by Szamosközy.⁶⁰

In 1594 Báthory confiscated the belongings of one of his nephews, István Báthory junior, but on 28 September the Prince ordered the belongings of his nephew’s former organist, named Hieremias, to be restored to their owner.⁶¹ Szamosközy lists a French organist with the same surname, remarking that he died in October 1604 in Kassa (Kosice in Slovakia).⁶² This Hieremias might be identical with the former musician of István Báthory, who might therefore have served at the court of the Prince from 1594 onwards.

As a result of Prince Báthory’s – ultimately unfortunate – marriage to Maria Christierna Leonora (1574–1621), some musicians followed her in 1595 from Graz to Transylvania. Sadly, we lack any list for these. An Italian report written on 7 July from Kassa mentions the mandatory trumpeters and drummer in Maria Christierna’s retinue. Also, the city records of Kolozsvár (4 July 1595) report the transportation of musicians of the Emperor in three carriages. Although the record employs the widely used Hungarian general term “hegedűs” (violinists), this description was commonly applied at that time to players of various kinds of “soft” instrument.⁶³

Among Maria Christierna’s musicians, “Petrus Paulus Veronensis, musicus” is mentioned by Szamosközy as one of the Italian musicians at the Báthory court. Identifiable as Pietro Paolo Salvo, he had belonged for the previous fourteen years to the court chapel of Graz, where he “die Große Posaune bläse”,⁶⁴ and then for four more years (1595–1599) served Maria Christierna in Transylvania.

The bassist and music copyist of the Graz court, Georg Khuglmann (Kuglmann), followed her slightly later, some time after the summer of 1596. He mentioned in a petition of 1609 that he had “vor etlich Jaren auch dergleichen büecher in Siebenbürgen geschriben, welche von ihr Frl. Drl. Ihren geliebten Herrn brwedern Erzherzog Leopoldo bischoffen zu Passaw etc. geschenkt”. These books consisted of Masses and “andern musikalischen Stuckhen”.⁶⁵ Kuglmann’s Transylvanian manuscript, which was very likely burned in 1662 in Passau, may be similar to other surviving manuscripts today in Vienna, Graz and Ljubljana that were copied by Kuglmann and contain compositions by his contemporaries. Apart from this remark, we know of no musical sources connected with the Transylvanian court; nor are there even any traces of music inventories.

There were certainly more singers in Maria Christierna’s service than Kuglmann:

⁶⁰ Szilágyi, *Szamosközy történelmi maradványai*, 76–77; Abbaffy and Kozocsa, *Szamosközy István*, 32.

⁶¹ Peteri, *Szilágy vármegye monographiája*, 227; Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 346.

⁶² Abbaffy and Kozocsa, *Szamosközy István*, 32: “Jeremias Organista, Gallus, Ez Cassa[n] holt megh, 1604, mense octobri[s]”.

⁶³ Kolozsvár city records, 1595, 6/XV, 132: “Brassay Geörgi vitte az Chiazar éo felsege hegedwsit Thordara 6 lovan zekere[n], [...] Pap Janos vitte vgian Azokat 3 lovan Thordaign, [...] Thorday Varga Janos vitte ugian Azokat 4 lova[n] Thord[a]jig”.

⁶⁴ Federhofer, *Musikpflege*, 208.

⁶⁵ Federhofer, *Musikpflege*, 95 and 97. Kuglmann appears on the payroll of the Graz court between January and July 1596. Wallner, *Musikalische Denkmäler der Steinätzkunst*, 446; Federhofer, “Matthia Ferrabosco”, 232; Federhofer, *Musikpflege*, 263 and 265.

on 25 September 1597 and also on 30 October 1598 Kolozsvár transported her singers (“Cantores”).⁶⁶

It is not known how foreigners were recruited into Báthory’s court. But Prince Gabriel Bethlen’s correspondence shows that he ordered his diplomats, or often other subjects (e.g., merchants or students), who were travelling abroad to find and engage appropriate musicians. It might have been similar for Báthory. One can imagine that the Italians – and not only the musicians among them – informed their countrymen in Italy, and also at other courts, that the Prince was looking for good musicians. Another factor is the already mentioned drive towards recatholization, which naturally encouraged the movement of musicians – all Catholics – from Italy to Transylvania.

Yet there is another aspect to consider: historical sources turn up more than a few people who were forced to leave their countries, former homes and places of activity to seek asylum in faraway Hungary and particularly in Transylvania, which lay far beyond the territories occupied by the Ottoman Empire. It is not very likely that the Catholic Báthory harboured Protestant refugees – who often turn up among the foreign refugees in Hungary –, but it is possible that he welcomed some people who were forced to move for other serious reasons such as debt or criminal acts. At least one hint of such a motivation has already been mentioned: the accusations against Antonio Romanini mentioned by Szamosközy.

In addition to the foreigners employed by Báthory, there were also visitors. In 1594, acting as a diplomat for Ferdinando de’ Medici, the Florentine merchant Cosimo Bottegari (1554–1620) went to Gyulaféhérvár and presented some silk textiles to the Prince.⁶⁷ During the 1570s Bottegari had been attached to the Bavarian court as a singer and lutenist. A miscellaneous manuscript collection of lute songs and other music from around 1574 is known to be his. Bottegari also published a collection of compositions by Bavarian court musicians.⁶⁸ It is questionable, however, whether around twenty years later, now a merchant-cum-diplomat, he still sang to his lute or played anything at all in Transylvania.

A short period of time was spent in Transylvania by the already mentioned musicians of the Emperor and King of Hungary, Rudolf II, who arrived in the summer of 1595, a few days in advance of Maria Christierna. But they probably left Gyulaféhérvár soon after

⁶⁶ Kolozsvár city records, 1597, 7/XII, 81: “Makkos Janos vitte 2 Loan posta[n] Tordara Azzoniunk Cantorat”; Kolozsvár city records, 1598, 8/V, 180: “faalma Jakab vitt azzonjunknak egj kantort az klastrombol 2 lova[n] zekeren Desre”.

⁶⁷ Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Kézirattár, Veress-hagyaték [Documents copied by Endre Veress], Ms. 423, 92–93, 95. – I have this information courtesy of Péter Erdősi. For Bottegari, see: Kirkendale, *Court Musicians in Florence*, 251–255.

⁶⁸ Sandberger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der bayerischen Hofkapelle*, 109–110. Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Ms. mus. C. 311 (c. 1574). MacClintock, “A Court Musician’s Songbook”, 177–192. *Il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci de floridi virtuosi del serenissimo Duca di Baviera* (Venezia: Scotto, 1575), presenting works by Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli, Orlando di Lasso, Gioseffo Guami, Ivo de Vento and Anton Gosswin, plus a madrigal by Francesco Mosto, brother of Giovanni Battista Mosto.

the wedding. Unfortunately, there are no known sources that identify these Habsburg musicians, so we do not know who participated in the “gig” of celebratory music for it.⁶⁹

Don Cesare Viadana (not the same man as Ludovico Grossi, called Viadana), a chaplain and singer serving Archduke Ferdinand of Innsbruck, reported on 5 December 1595, in a letter to the Duke of Mantua, Vincenzo Gonzaga, his impressions of Transylvania, remarking apropos of Maria Christierna “che oltre il sonare et cantare eccelentemente, che son stato fatto degno io cantare con l’Altezza Sua Ser[enissi]ma alcune delle mie Villanelle”.⁷⁰

Báthory’s employment of musicians from abroad, and the migration of these musicians, share several features of what we know about the musical life of other Transylvanian courts, as well as music at the residences of the foremost Hungarian aristocratic families during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially that of the Nádasdys, Batthyánys and Esterházys. Although earlier research assumed a kind of musical independence in the case of Hungary – a sort of self-sufficient musical autarchy especially marked with regard to the aristocracy – archival research of the past few decades has clearly shown that court music in Hungary indeed had a very mixed, international character. Among the musicians a great number of foreigners were active. Báthory’s, and later on Gabriel Bethlen’s, court are obviously not singular phenomena: they appear, rather, as two outstanding exemplifications of general trends.

Hungarian court music was clearly part of – let’s simply call it – western European musical culture. On the other hand, one observes equally that Hungary, and especially Transylvania, was in a peripheral situation: its musical life and music were mixed with elements peculiar to the region. This was probably also true, albeit to a lesser extent, for Báthory’s court, filled as it was with Italian musicians.

As this overview has shown, our knowledge about most of Báthory’s foreign musicians is uncertain. Only in a few cases are we in the possession of substantial details concerning their lives, careers and work: the relevant information mostly remains hidden. Still, the facts that we can glean – especially if we consider not only Báthory’s reign but also court music in Hungary more generally, reveal that the foreign court musicians in Hungary belonged – so to speak – to the second tier by international standards. If such musicians were composers, we would unhesitatingly categorize them as *Kleinmeister*. So far we know at present, no genuinely first-class composer or instrumentalist apart from Mosto can be detected in Hungarian employment during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is likely that even if we could gather more precise new information on some hitherto unidentified musician, the general picture would remain unchanged. Any newly discovered

⁶⁹ A similar “gig” involving Habsburg musicians occurred in February 1643 in celebration of the wedding of the future prince Georg Rákóczi II and Zsófia Báthory. According to contemporary reports, this was celebrated with great pomp: during the period 3–6 February 1643 numerous musicians – possibly as many as seventeen – were imported from Vienna. Kolozsvár city records, 1642, 23/X, 68, 171; 1643, 24/IV, 77–78, 222; 1643, 24/I.b, 57, 59–60, 289. See Király, “Az erdélyi fejedelmi udvar zeneélete”, 1232.

⁷⁰ Veress, *Documente*, 216. For Cesare Viadana, see: Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 129. The mentioned *Villanelle* by Cesare Viadana are unknown.

musician would belong to the same category as those already known. Nevertheless, it is probably worth emphasizing that these were nevertheless well-trained musicians.

While there is some – in certain cases much – information about Báthory’s court musicians, we know regrettably little about the music they played. This is generally true for all the Transylvanian courts, as also for the residences of the Hungarian aristocracy. What repertoire was played in Báthory’s period – what pieces or even simply what kind of music, in what arrangement, and how well or how badly – all this remains hidden from us. At best, we can arrive at some general conclusions and assumptions based on the diverse and scattered data.

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TUJI GLASBENIKI NA TRANSILVANSKEM DVORU SIGISMUNDA BÁTHORYJA

Povzetek

Zgodovinski viri iz 16. in 17. stoletja pričajo o tem, da so transilvanski vladarji med izteka-jočim se petim desetletjem 16. stoletja in sredino četrtega desetletja naslednjega stoletja bolj ali manj stalno zaposlovali tudi tuje glasbenike. To še posebej velja za Sigismunda Báthoryja (1572–1613, s presledki je vladal od 1581 do 1601), ki je imel v svoji službi vrsto glasbenikov iz tujine. Gerolamo (običajno Girolamo) Diruta je Báthoryja označil kot »srčnega ljubitelja glasbe in koncertov«. Sigismundu Báthoryju so med 1590 in 1599 skladatelji Giovanni Battista Mosto, Gerolamo Diruta, Philippe de Monte in Giovanni Bassano posvetili pet v Benetkah tiskanih glasbenih zbirk.

V službi transilvanskega kneza Báthoryja so bili številni tuji glasbeniki, največ je bilo Italijanov, a tudi nekaj glasbenikov nemškega izvora in presenetljivo samo en Poljak. Trenutno je znanih malo več kot ducat imen italijanskih glasbenikov, ki so bili aktivni v času njegove vladavine (1581/1588–1599) in ki so prišli ali izhajali iz naslednjih italijanskih krajev: Ancona, Bologna, Brescia, Genova, Rim, Videm in predvsem Benetke. Njihovo predhodno delo v italijanskih središčih, kot sta Padova ali Benetke, ali pa na dvorih v Firencah, v Mantovi ali v Gradcu in Salzburgu, je večinoma sorazmerno dobro znano. Nekateri viri nakazujejo celo, da so bili italijanski glasbeniki v Transilvaniji prisotni že v osemdesetih letih 16. stoletja.

Znani skladatelj Giovanni Battista Mosto iz Vidma je od okoli 1590 do 1595/96 (a po 1593 s prekinitvami) služil kot Báthoryjev *magister capellae*. Umrli je v Transilvaniji spomladi ali poleti leta 1596 in je pokopan v katedrali mesta Gyulaféhérvár. Mosto je transilvanskemu knezu posvetil dva od svojih tiskov: *Motecta quinque vocum* leta 1590 in *Il primo libro de madrigali* leta 1595. Tam objavljene skladbe naj bi ustvaril predvsem v Transilvaniji.

Antonio Romanini iz Benetk, učenec Andree Gabriellije, je nastopil službo pri Báthoryju v Transilvaniji najpozneje poleti leta 1592 in je tam ostal vsaj do 1598/99. Romanini je odigral pomembno vlogo kot posrednik med beneškimi glasbeniki in Báthoryjevim dvorom v Gyulaféhérváru.

Posledica poroke kneza Báthoryja s habsburško nadvojvodinjo Marijo Christierno (Christino) leta 1595 je bil tudi prihod več glasbenikov iz Gradca. Med njimi je bil tudi basist in graški dvorni kopist Georg Khuglmann (Kuglman).

Báthoryjevo zaposlovanje tujih glasbenikov je podobno tistemu, ki ga poznamo iz glasbenega življenja poznejših transilvanskih dvorov v 17. stoletju, kot tudi mecenstvu najvplivnejših madžarskih plemiških družin v 16. in 17. stoletju, še predvsem Nádasdyjev, Batthyányjev in Etserházyjev.

NAJŠIRŠI ODMEVI SLOGA ZBIRKE PARNASSUS

THE PARNASSUS STYLE AT LARGE

A MONASTIC MANUSCRIPT PARALLEL TO THE *PARNASSUS MUSICUS FERDINANDAEUS*

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Izvleček: Med vsebino in okoliščinami tiskane antologije *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*, ki je bila leta 1615 posvečena notranjeavstrijskemu vladarju v Gradcu, in rokopisno zbirko, ki je bila okoli leta 1625 pripravljena za rabo menihov v samostanu Kremsmünster (Ms. L76), je veliko paralel. Obe odsevata zgodnje širjenje repertoarja in sloga italijanske duhovne monodije v avstrijskih deželah, ki ga deloma lahko pripisujemo tudi osebnim stikom med domačimi glasbeniki in njihovimi italijanskimi vrstniki.

Ključne besede: italijanska glasba, mali duhovni motet, Avstrija, glasbeni rokopis A-KR, L76, *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*, glasbeni kontekst.

Abstract: There are many parallels in the context and content of the printed anthology *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus*, dedicated in 1615 to the Inner-Austrian ruler in Graz, and the manuscript collection assembled around 1625 for the use of the monks at the Kremsmünster monastery (Ms L76). They reflect alike the early diffusion of the Italian sacred monodic repertoire and style in regions of Austria, thanks partly to personal contact between native-born musicians and their Italian contemporaries.

Keywords: Italian music, the small-scale motet, Austria, music manuscript A-KR, L76, *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus*, musical context.

The core subject of the conference *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus (1615)* of 2015 was a music print from a courtly environment taken as a characteristic exemplar for the dissemination of Italian music in Europe. Closely related to this publication is the legendary marriage strategy of the Habsburg family, which involved various European musical centres: from Naples up to Venice and from there outlining a wide arc of courts already (or soon to be) refashioned on Italian lines stretching from Graz via Cracow to Alba Julia north of the Alps. Also requiring inclusion are ecclesiastical centres such as the residence of the bishop of Breslau (i. e., the former Archduke) Karl (1590–1624) in Neisse (Silesia) and that of bishop Leopold (1586–1632) in Strasbourg (Zabern in Alsace) and Passau. If musical criteria were to be foregrounded, other centres, too, would be worth a mention: at the very least, Salzburg under archbishop Marcus Sitticus von Hohenems (1612–1619) and probably also Gurk under prince-bishop Johann Jakob von Lamberg (1603–1630) in Straßburg (Carinthia).

It is obvious that governments, especially when in flux, were always open to new ideas, to other persons and things: in short, to so-called cultural transfer. And of course

one should never overlook the contemporary political situations, the actual meanings of words and even the lack of modern terms and the concomitant problem of projection: for example, whenever concepts such as state, border, region, identification, language and mentality are employed. It is also evident that each strand belonging to such a transfer stands for many, if not innumerable, constituents of “pathways” that would finally create networks but only rarely led in a single direction.

Certainly, all these aspects of modern historiography are visible when one uses the *Parnassus* as an example. In this connection, I wish to draw attention to a different network, one at least as successful as that of family connections and literally “operational” since the early Middle Ages in fields such as music: namely, that present within the Christian church, for example between religious orders and their monasteries. I cannot reveal any hitherto unknown sources, but I shall suggest an interpretation under the general rubric of cultural transfer. I leave out of consideration the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus* anthology as such, noting only the fact that it was not quite the first representative of its genre to appear in Graz, and I will similarly pass over its direct forerunners, such as Bartolomeo Mutis de Cesana’s *Musiche a una, doi e tre voci* (Venice, 1613) and Heinrich Pfendner’s *Delli motetti* (Graz, 1614).¹

Already half a century ago in my typescript dissertation,² and subsequently in a separate publication, I offered up for discussion two small manuscripts written out around 1625 by a presumably clerical Italian scribe and today preserved in the music library of the Benedictine Abbey of Kremsmünster³ in Upper Austria. One (shelfmark L64) is a collection of parts for various sacred and secular musical works; the other (shelfmark L76) is a more distinctive music manuscript containing 39 compositions, mostly motets for a few voices with basso continuo (the list of composers is provided in table 1). This homogeneity makes the second manuscript directly comparable with the printed *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus* from 1615 (see also table 2). How and when both manuscripts came to Kremsmünster is not known precisely. I will revisit my earlier arguments and conclusions in the hope of adding to their solidity.

Nearly every year during the period when father Wolfgang Christan (d. 1625) was *regens chori* there one or more new compositions were bought for the Kremsmünster music library. In 1632/33 father Christan’s successor, father Benedict Lechler (d. 1659), together with a fellow monk, made a trip to Italy (Venice, Rome, Naples) to visit the mother house of Monte Casino in order to study there all kinds of “modern” church music. From this trip Lechner brought home (as can be proved) a manuscript containing *falsobordone* settings, together with some newly published Venetian collections by Laurentio Ratti (1628), Giacomo Finetti, Pietro Francesco Garzi and Alessandro Grandi (all 1629) and, finally, Stefano Bernardi (1632). Between 1633 and 1649 Lechler entered further material of a similar kind into his five manuscript volumes housing, in the form of scores (less

¹ For more on these collections see Federhofer, *Musikpflege* and Saunders, *Cross, Sword, and Lyre*.

² Flotzinger, “Die Lautentabulaturen des Stiftes Kremsmünster”.

³ Benediktinerstift, Musikarchiv, Kremsmünster, L76. See also Flotzinger, *Eine Quelle italienischer Frühmonodie*.

common at the time than partbooks), a variety of contemporary sacred compositions, some requiring many voices and instruments and multiple *cori*, and many of them by Italians. In alphabetical order, these authors were Giacomo Carissimi, Antonio Cifra, Alessandro Grandi, Lorenzo Ratti, Teodoro Riccio and Giovanni Sansoni. Lechner had met Carissimi and Ratti personally while staying in Rome at the Collegium Germanicum, and this surely incomplete roster of composers mirrors his itinerary exactly.

Lechler, who was born in 1594 in Füssen and from 1607 to 1615 studied at the imperial college in Vienna, repeated, over twenty years later, an experience that Heinrich Schütz (1585–1672) had enjoyed in Venice around 1610: he became one of those musicians from north of the Alps who, aided by a bursary or at least by leave of absence from their employers, were able to travel to Italy for the purpose of musical study and/or the collection of material. At first glance, it appears not improbable that Lechler brought back the manuscripts L64 and L76, together with a few others, in 1633. This allows the possibility that their works were at least some years older.

Another group of composers represented in Lechler's manuscripts consists of Italian composers formerly or at that time active in Vienna (the same names recur in Bonometti's print): Giovanni Priuli, Giovanni Sansoni, Alessandro Tadei, Giovanni Valentini and Pietro Verdina. It is striking that Lechler wrote out only one motet (*Hodie Maria virgo*) by Tadei (c. 1585–1667), and that this occurred only in his last manuscript (post-1649). Tadei, presumed to have been a native of Graz and a pupil of Giovanni Gabrieli (1557–1613), became a court organist in Graz and Vienna – but in 1628/29 he also served for half a year as [*saecularis*] *musicae praefectus* in Kremsmünster during the period when Lechler was *regens chori [ecclesiastici]* there.⁴

The external, visible differences between the printed and manuscript collections under discussion (the *Parnassus* and L76) are of less interest than the internal differences – or similarities – between their respective compositions. In both instances, the intention – leaving aside the possible role of the compositions as models for imitation by native musicians – was to obtain new, up-to-date ecclesiastical compositions for the liturgy. In this regard, there is no major divergence between the perspectives of secular and religious courts and monasteries from that time. Quite the reverse is true: it is astonishing how quickly church music absorbed and adopted an altogether *nova maniera* (to use the words of the Florence singer-composer Giulio Caccini in the foreword to his *Nuove musiche* of 1601). In its common modern definition this *maniera* is characterized by its practice of “imitating the theatrical exaggeration of affective Italian speech”, an imitation that also calls for a new mode of singing.

Although this question does not stand here in the foreground, one has also to take account, when looking for influences beyond the avowedly secular theatrical genre, of the *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* (1602) by the Franciscan friar Ludovico Viadana from Mantua. These two publications represent two positions in a certain movement directed

⁴ Kellner, “P. Benedikt Lechler”. Excerpts from his dissertation were published in *Jahresberichte des Obergymnasiums der Benediktiner zu Kremsmünster* (1933–1936) under the title “P. Benedikt Lechler. Ein Meister der Musik aus der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges”.

against the traditional polyphony of that time by reducing the number of voices and combining them with a basso continuo to produce the sacred concerto style and monody.⁵

These divergent polarities in the *Parnassus* and our manuscript L76 actually appear as complementary, and that in several aspects: concerning their provenance and destination (court / monastery), their content (theatrical vs. clerical, more ostentatious vs. simple) and their performance and practicability – one to five vocal parts with basso continuo in the one vs. only one or two voices in the other. The latter option is also much easier to accommodate in relatively indigent and small institutions. This fact obviously corresponds not by chance to the clerical tradition of Viadana; nevertheless, Caccini's and Viadana's publications shared a high, almost identical, reputation: that of being the most up-to-date. Therefore, the fact that Viadana was a Franciscan friar (a so-called Mendicant) is of importance for our present-day understanding because it unites the modesty of those orders (practised not only by the Mendicants but also, for example, in the proverbial Franciscan Mass) with the reputation of the sacred concerto and monody, which was inspired by the brand-new theatrical genres (namely, *rappresentazione*, opera and oratorio). But while the reality of practical performance brings out striking differences between these compositions, their styles are far from being reducible to the mere rejection of polyphony employing several voices. They at least offer further possibilities of differentiation of performance (including differences in compositional technique), but polyphony was not banished at all.

Nearly half of the content of Bonometti's printed collection published in Venice by Vincenti comes from only nine of his former colleagues (representing 15% of the 32 coeval composers) at the Graz court (see also table 2).⁶ Among them Giovanni Priuli (c. 1575/80–1626), the probably Venetian-born *Kapellmeister* in Graz and, after 1619, Vienna, who is represented by four motets, ranks comparatively highly, falling just short of the five by his only slightly junior organist, later to become his successor as *Kapellmeister*, Giovanni Valentini (c. 1582/83–1649). Priuli, with three motets, is the only Graz-related composer also to be found in manuscript L76 (the full list of composers is given in table 1). Here, Priuli's motets appear alongside the one motet each composed by Federico Coda (?–?)⁷ and Giacomo Filippo Bium(i)o (c. 1580–1653), who around 1625 were both organists in or in the vicinity of Milan;⁸ all three composers have just one, identical piece reproduced in the *Parnassus*.

These facts seem at first glance to have relevance for the musical knowledge of the copyist of the manuscript as well as for that of the editor Bonometti, since both men gravitate in their choices towards the region stretching from Milan to Venice. This consideration could also be of some importance, since Tadei, during his already mentioned activity in Kremsmünster, published in 1628 at Venice (with Magni) his *Psalmi vespertini [...] octo vocibus*,⁹ which he dedicated to abbot Anton Wolfradt (1581–1639), who at that time was

⁵ Flotzinger, “Die kirchliche Monodie”.

⁶ Federhofer, “Graz Court Musicians”.

⁷ Federicus Cauda was in 1626 *Musicae praefectus in Ecclesia Cathedrali Ciuitatis Derthonae Status Mediolani*.

⁸ *Flores praestantissimorum virorum*. “Musicorum nomina”.

⁹ Kellner, *Musikgeschichte*, 197.

also *Hofkammerpräsident* at the Viennese court and afterwards was very active in several other imperial roles.¹⁰ On the title page of the *Psalmi Tadei* is styled “R[everendus] D[ominus]”. This tells us that he had already by then (following the death of his wife) become a monk: it has been established that he became a member of the Carmelite order, another mendicant one, only in 1640.¹¹ In that light, it is not wholly improbable that our manuscripts came to Kremsmünster via Tadei.

The two manuscripts L64 and 76 differ in the already mentioned formal respects but are nevertheless both very likely of religious origin. The 39 settings (mostly motets) in L76 are more or less intended for liturgical use: 12 for the Office, 4 for the Mass; the remainder have texts taken from Scripture (psalms, the Song of Songs) or devotional poetry, all being closely connected with monastic life (with themes including Christmas, Mother Mary, the Guardian Angel, the Holy Trinity and the Passion). They could have found a use mainly in Vesper services, in which Lechler showed particular interest.¹² The content of the sister manuscript L64 is not unified to the same extent, since it clearly divides into four somewhat related parts:

- 1) texts taken from hymns and also the Song of Songs,
- 2) excerpts from Girolamo Diruta’s textbook *Il Transilvano*, vol. 2 (1609/25) concerning matters such as the intabulation of music for the lute,
- 3) 18 pieces in Italian lute tablature,
- 4) 45 French and Spanish airs with lute accompaniment.¹³

These items must have been no less interesting for Lechler, since from 1617 onwards, ten years before himself becoming a (Benedictine) monk, he had served in Kremsmünster as an “officer” and “Ir Gnaden Laudanist” (the abbot’s lutenist).¹⁴ The author Diruta (1554/64–1610) was a Franciscan friar and had written his two-part textbook *Il Transilvano* while studying in Venice with Gioseffo Zarlino, Costanzo Porta (both likewise Franciscan friars) and Claudio Merulo.¹⁵ The title of the book refers to the dedication of its first volume to Prince Zsigmond Báthory (1572–1613), husband of Archduke Ferdinand’s sister Maria Christina (in sources also Christierna) and regent of Transylvania between 1588 and 1598. Additionally, after the change in the political situation the posthumous reprint of *Il Transilvano* in 1625 made the book again in a certain sense topical. Certainly, all of this fits in well with several of the points mentioned earlier, but it ultimately tells us no more about the exact provenance of our manuscripts.

A striking point is that in both L64 and 76 the Florentine singer Caccini (c. 1550–1618) plays a certain role as a composer: while in the secular manuscript L64 several madrigals from his *Nuove musiche* (1601) are merely quoted (not notated), in the sacred collection L76 (for a maximum of two singers) we find – much more surprisingly – under the not

¹⁰ Kellner, *Profeßbuch des Stiftes Kremsmünster*, 205–207.

¹¹ Federhofer, “Alessandro Tadei”, 115–131; Federhofer, *Musikpflege*, 216–218.

¹² Kellner, *Musikgeschichte*, 201.

¹³ Most by Gabriel Bataille (c. 1575–1630); Flotzinger, *Die Lautentabulaturen des Stiftes Kremsmünster*, 17–18, 57–72 and 269–270.

¹⁴ Kellner, *Musikgeschichte*, 195; Kellner, *Profeßbuch des Stiftes Kremsmünster*, 213.

¹⁵ Navach, “Diruta”.

uncommon name “Giulio Romano” (the surname denoting the city of birth) – two *contrafacta* (love songs from the *Nuove musiche* in which new texts have been underlaid to the music, thereby transforming them in a single two-part Passion motet, *Movetevi a pieta / O domine Jesu + Queste lagrime amare / Mors enim tua*).¹⁶

In the same manuscript, in a similar way, Viadana (1564–1627) appears not only as the composer of the two anonymous numbers – 10 (*Bonum est confiteri Domino*) and 36 (*Congratulamini mihi omnes*) – but also of a third one for Basso solo, which is merely a reduced version of a four-voice motet: 16 (*Cantate Domino canticum novum*); all of them come from the *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* (several prints between 1602 and 1612).

The composer most strongly represented in L76 is Antonio Cifra (1584–1629), who in fact is one of the most successful users of concerto style and monody, whereas other pieces in this manuscript (for example, those by Biumi and Coda) merely experiment with the adaptation of traditional motets. Cifra was resident in the Papal State not only as a representative composer in the new styles but also as one of the earliest, which shows that these styles had arrived there quite early on and were openly nurtured. This matches well the fact that Cifra changed post in Rome several times (Collegium Germanicum, San Giovanni in Laterano) and also worked in Loreto (Santa Casa), at that time the most important place of pilgrimage. Loreto was not placed under the management of mendicant friars but was controlled by the newly established Jesuit order, which only later discovered music as useful for its interests. But from its beginnings, this order has to be viewed in close connection with the so-called Counter-Reformation, just as, for their part, the new styles, both musical and visual (baroque), were linked to the Council of Trent, which took place in the mid-sixteenth century.¹⁷

Altogether, the dates and provenance of the Kremsmünster manuscripts have become at best a little clearer, but are still far from precise. The one essential fact is that their copyist must have been a professional musician with a specific interest in “modern” church music. This unmistakably emerges in L76 from the *contrafacta* (probably the composer’s own) of songs by Caccini (Florence), the partly arranged pieces by Viadana (Mantua) and the settings by their successor Cifra (Rome). The adaptations provide clear evidence that this collector worked for himself or for usage within his house (monastery).

On the other hand, the copyist’s inclusion of individual motets by Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643) and Priuli could have been inspired by their connection with Venice as well as by their fame: Monteverdi may have been included simply by virtue of being a leading composer of the time, while Priuli may have qualified as a kind of specialist (at least in the collector’s eyes). This must also be the reason why Priuli, not Cifra, is the sole composer from the group of Graz musicians to be present both in the *Parnassus* and in L76. But to continue: the solitary examples in L76 by Biumi and Coda (both from Milan) and Turini (born in Prague, but from 1624 onwards organist at Brescia cathedral) all conform to the regional connection leading from Milan to Venice.

Indeed, only one name appears at present to be anomalous: that of Daniel Bollius

¹⁶ Flotzinger, *Eine Quelle italienischer Frühmonodie*, 20 and 23; Flotzinger, “Die kirchliche Monodie“, 78–79.

¹⁷ Flotzinger, “Die kirchliche Monodie“, 79.

(Bolle? c. 1590–c. 1638), who was born in Württemberg and from 1626 worked as the organist (and later the *Kapellmeister*) of Archbishop Johann Schweikard von Kronberg in Mainz (1553–1626).¹⁸ Only when we learn that he was “one of the earliest exponents in Germany of the Italian oratorio form” and that he in any case had a specific “interest in the Italian ornamental style of singing” are we able to recognize him as a musician coming from the “other” (north–south) axis – i. e., as an early German student of, or in, Italy (by what route is unknown, in contrast to Heinrich Pfendner and Vincenc Jelich with their Graz connections, for instance). Bollius’s *Repraesentatio harmoniaca* [...] *Sancti Joannis* (1619/25) could well be older than the *Historia der* [...] *Auferstehung* by Schütz (1623), and its composer might be seen as a Catholic counterpart to the Protestant Schütz in the role of a German intermediary to the north. Therefore, we can easily imagine that a well-informed Italian knew of him and admitted him to his collection.

This, then, not only fits in to, but matches perfectly, the diversity that the scribe of our manuscript displays by indirectly referencing not only Italian cities stretching from Rome, via Florence, Mantua, Milan and Brescia, to Venice, but also northerly Mainz. This diversity cements the impression that he must have been a genuine specialist. His biases and actions reveal basic differences from those of the editor Bonometti, who was not himself a composer. On account of the chronological gap of approximately ten years between the two motet collections, *Parnassus* and L76, the former naturally comes into question as a source for one piece or another in the latter, but there is no stronger evidence of direct transmission. All the compositions must have been well known to a potential user, and the collections were very likely made independently of each other. Matching the selection principles of the two collectors, as these have come to light after careful study, the liturgical aims of the musical material presented are comparably diverse. The music was usable not only within a normal liturgical framework but also for private devotions at a court (secular or religious).

These comparisons afford good insights into the problem of artistic transfer. It is clearly no devaluation to view the *Parnassus* under two aspects:

1) as an transfer into a new environment of pieces by the Archduke (later Emperor) Ferdinand’s own musicians by contemporaries then still living in Italy, and

2) in the light of the rising number of voices, a factor also introducing stylistic differentiation.

Only at a first glance (and only then, not surprisingly) has the impression emerged that the contents of L76 on the one hand and of the *Parnassus* excluding the Graz musicians on the other hand seem to refer to the same region of origin (Milan–Venice), whereas they have ended up appearing quite different in respect of the capacities and aims of the two collectors. But the most important difference between the two collections is that the *Parnassus* demonstrates normality, insofar as movements of persons represent the most successful carrier (media) for cultural transfer, whereas manuscripts are always tools in those persons’ hands: they have already worked for a longer time.

If I therefore had also included in my survey other prints dedicated to Archduke Ferdinand, such as Mutis di Cesana’s *Musiche a una, doi e tre voci* (1613), Pfendner’s

¹⁸ Kirwan and Johnston, “Bollius”.

Delli motetti (1614) and Vincenc Jelich's *Arion primus* and *Arion secundus* (1628), several details would have been added: Cesana (c. 1575/80–1623) was a singer and chaplain in Graz; Pfendner (c. 1588–1630) was a pupil of Cifra in Rome and around 1615 for some time an organist in Gurk and Graz; Jelich (1596–1636) studied with Matthias Ferrabosco (1550–1616) in Graz and in 1617 was summoned to Zabern by Archduke Leopold.¹⁹

These aspects confirm the importance of the Graz court, but they would have progressively deflected our interest from the central question of the dissemination of Italian music. The reason is that data supporting the comparison had to be assumed in advance. Such facts can always bring to light more interesting details that have nothing to do with the original topic,²⁰ since cultural transfer is not a method but a special question (“special” always means in addition “narrow”). Remember, for instance, that after the Council of Trent monasteries acquired important responsibilities with regard to music on account of the papal instruction that they should in future use chant books following the Roman liturgy and should embrace and disseminate new forms of church music. Only a considerable time later did musicologists recognize how closely bound up with these institutions most of the innovations that we classify under the term “baroque” – even including the completely new musico-dramatic and instrumental genres – actually were. But that is another story.

Table 1

Composers in Ms Kremsmünster L76

Biumi (Jacomo Filippo, c. 1580–1653)
Bollius (Daniel, c. 1590–c. 1642)
Caccini (Giulio, c. 1550–1618)
Cifra (Antonio, 1584–1629)
Coda (Federico, ?–?)
Monteverdi (Claudio, 1567–1643)
Priuli (Giovanni, c. 1575–1629)
Scaleta (Orazio, c. 1560–1630)
Turini (Francesco, c. 1589–1656)
Viadana (Ludovico, 1564–1627)

¹⁹ See the relevant articles by Wolfgang Suppan in the *Steirisches Musiklexikon*.

²⁰ For instance, the fact that Lechler around the same time (1628) became a priest, which could have been a reason why Tadei left Kremsmünster again after a very short time.

Table 2

Comparative table of composers included in the Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus (1615) and in the Kremsmünster manuscript L76

<i>Parnassus</i> (1615)	Ms L76 (1625)
Arnoni, G.	
<i>Ballestra, R.*</i>	
Barbarini, B.	
Biumi, I.	Biumi, I.
	Bollius, I. F.
<i>Bontempo, A.</i>	
Borgo, C.	
Brignoli, I.	
Caccini, G.	
Camanedo, F.	
Casati, F.	
Cavaccio, G.	
	Cifra, A.
Cima, A.	
Cocciola, G. B.	
Coda, F.	Coda, F.
Coradini	
Gabutio, G. C.	
Ghizzolo, G.	
Monteverdi, C.	Monteverdi, C.
<i>Mutis, B. Conte di Cesana</i>	
Nanterni, H.	
Osculati, G.	
Pasti, G.	
Pelegrini, V.	
<i>Poss, G.</i>	
<i>Priuli, G.</i>	Priuli, G.
Re, B.	
<i>Rizzi, M. A.</i>	
Rognoni, D.	
<i>Sansoni, G.</i>	
	Scaleta, O.
Sirena, G.	
<i>Tadei, A.</i>	
Turini, F.	Turini, F.
<i>Valentini, G.</i>	
	Viadana, L.

* Graz Court musicians are set in italic.

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MONASTIČNA VZPOREDNICA ZBIRKI PARNASSUS MUSICUS FERDINANDAEUS

Povzetek

Sodobno glasbeno zgodovinopisje, ki preučuje predmet opazovanja v najrazličnejših okoljih in povezavah, v zbirki *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus* (1615) najde vrsto zanimivih dejstev o kulturnih transferjih v začetku 17. stoletja, ki so bolj ali manj že znane in raziskane. Prispevek s tem bolj znanim glasbenim tiskom primerja malo manj znan rokopis s sorodnim glasbenim repertoarjem, ki je okoli leta 1625 nastal za praktično uporabo menihov benediktinskega samostana v avstrijskem Kremsmünstru (danes v A-KR pod signaturo L76). Ta je bil sicer že deležen obravnave v avtorjevem prispevku iz leta 1966 (*Eine Quelle italienischer Frühmonodie in Österreich*). Gre za zbirko 39 motetov s continuum, ki jih je zapisal en sam prepisovalec, verjetno italijanskega izvora, okoli leta 1625, v času, ko je bil tamkajšnji *regens chori* p. Wolfgang Christian (um. 1625). Ni izključeno, da bi rokopis iz Italije prinesel njegov sobrat in naslednik Benedikt Lechler (um. 1659), ki je verjetno osebno poznal vsaj skladatelje graškega in dunajskega kroga, imena, ki se pojavljajo v obeh primerjanih zbirkah. Alessandro Tadei je bil pol leta (1628/29) tudi osebno angažiran v Kremsmünstru in bi lahko tudi sam prinesel rokopis v samostan. Ker sta bila tako posvetni dvor kot tudi cerkveno središče, kot je bil samostan v Kremsmünstru, zainteresirana za najsodobnejši glasbeni repertoar, pa najsi je šlo za prevzemanje povsem posvetnega monodičnega sloga tedaj nove glasbenodramatske glasbe ali pa novega cerkvenega sloga s podobnimi glasbenimi značilnostmi, sorodnost med obema zbirkama ne preseneča. Predstavljene so paralele – sorodnosti in razlike – med mrežo družinskih povezav notranjeavstrijskega dvora in dvornih glasbenikov, pomembna za nastanek, vsebino in odmevnost antologije *Parnassus*, in mrežo cerkvenih osebnih poznanstev med domačimi in italijanskimi glasbeniki za rokopis L76.

P. SEBASTIAN ERTEL AND HIS SACRED WORKS

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Izvleček: Štajerski oz. zgornjeavstrijski skladatelj Sebastian Ertel (ok. 1550/60, Mariazell – 13. 7. 1618, Garsten) je v literaturi prisoten le s kratkimi biografskimi podatki in kritičnim katalogom, ki pa ostaja nepopoln. Kljub temu pa je ta skladatelj na Štajerskem in v Zgornji Avstriji zelo znan. Zapustil je obsežno zbirko duhovnih skladb iz časa med 1611 in 1617, ki pa večinoma doslej še niso bile temeljito analizirane. Z izjemo ene tiskane orgelske skladbe in nekaj zasebnih »prepisov« glasbeniki danes nimajo na voljo izvedbenega gradiva Ertlovih del. Prispevek odgovarja na vprašanja, kdo je bil benediktinski oče Sebastian Ertel in kaj ga povezuje s slavno leta 1615 tiskano antologijo *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*.

Ključne besede: beneška glasba, parodični magnifikati, parodične maše, Marijini himnusi, dvozborje, protireformacija.

Abstract: The Styrian – Upper-Austrian composer Sebastian Ertel (c. 1550/60 Mariazell – 13 July 1618 Garsten) appears in the literature only in the form of a brief outline of his biography and a catalogue raisonné of his music that omits some items. Nevertheless, he is a well-known figure in Styria and Upper Austria. He left an extensive collection of sacred compositions published in 1611–1617, most of which, however, have not yet been thoroughly analysed. Other than one single musical print for the organ and a few private manuscript “transcriptions” there are no musical scores or new published editions of his works that can be used in performances today. The article provides information on the identity of the Benedictine father Sebastian Ertel and on what connects him to the famous *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus* collection of 1615.

Keywords: Venetian music, parody Magnificat compositions, parody masses, Marian hymns, double choir, Counter-Reformation.

In his book *Die Musik im frühevangelischen Österreich*, published in 1954, Hans Joachim Moser characterized the musician and priest Sebastian Ertel very appropriately with the following words: “One should take a closer look at this Bavarian-Austrian ‘Gabrieli’.”¹

I choose to place this quotation by Moser at the beginning of my paper in order to introduce you to the many-sided figure of Sebastian Ertel and his extensive works with their consistently apparent connections to Venetian Music, thereby contributing, in a broader sense, to the topic of the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus* (1615). Allow me to start by listing the possible links between the works of Sebastian Ertel and this anthology:

¹ Moser, *Die Musik*, 41.

First, Ertel's fondness for the Italian and Venetian Music of his time should be mentioned. Significantly, he used as models for his parody Magnificat compositions and parody Masses, in addition to his own works, ones by other composers, notably Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli, Luca Marenzio, Leone Leoni and Annibale Perini (d. 1596 and working in Graz at that time) plus Georg Poss, who is similarly represented in the *Parnassus* anthology.

Further connections can be made through the political actions of Archduke Ferdinand II and the monastic links of the Benedictines to the ruling house and to Graz.

Sebastian Ertel lived at a time of inter-confessional disputes. Steyr, especially, was a hotbed of the Reformation, whereas the abbey in the neighbouring town of Garsten acted as its Catholic counterweight. Abbot Johann I Spindler of Garsten (1574–1589) was at the time striving to repress the Protestant religion in all parishes of the region under the control of the monastery in Garsten. In 1586 he declared his intention of once again staffing the parish church of Steyr "with Catholic priests from his abbey".² Abbot Johann I failed in this aspiration, however, through opposition from the Protestant city council.

After the decrees promulgated by Emperor Rudolf on 27 August and 6 October 1597 for the implementation of the policy of re-Catholicization in the territories above the Enns became known, the city council and clergy prepared for the upcoming fight. The people of Steyr were anxious, the atmosphere highly charged. It was dangerous for clergymen in some parts of Steyr to walk on the streets visibly dressed in their habit. Sebastian Ertel, for example, gives a personal report in a document from the year 1599, of how he was nearly stoned to death in an area of Steyr.³

Abbot Johann I Spindler, who was called in 1589 to the Benedictine abbey of Kremsmünster, was succeeded in 1591 by Martin Alopitius (1591–1600) as the new abbot of Garsten. The latter made vigorous attempts to complete the work of reconversion to the Catholic faith initiated by Spindler.

Sebastian Ertel, who took his monastic vows under Abbot Martin Alopitius in 1596, was sent to the Protestant communities of Gaffenz and probably also to Weyer as a priest from the monastery. It is worth noting that the abbot of Garsten may have recognized Ertel's superior abilities as a chaplain, preacher and musician and chosen him specifically for the task of re-Catholicizing those communities.

In geographical terms, these were strongly Protestant areas which, in some remote valleys, have remained Protestant to this day. In 1599 Abbot Martin Alopitius was called to the abbey of St. Lambrecht in Upper Styria at the behest of Archduke Ferdinand of Inner Austria.

"According to the chronicle of Father Peter Weixler, Maria of Bavaria, the widow of Karl II, who had made acquaintance with Abbot Martin in Mariazell, was the driving force behind the promotion of Alopitius to the abbacy of Lambrecht."⁴ Martin Alopitius continued

² Pritz, *Beschreibung und Geschichte der Stadt Steyr*, 223.

³ In the original: "Des Tumults zu Steyr jüngst 21. Juni abgeloffen, einfältiger eilender Entwurf und Abriss. Anno 1599 [...] Verzeichnus was sich mit mir Frater Sebastiano Ertelio den 21. Juni in Steyr begeben und zugetragen, da denselben Tag Frater Andreas, Schaffer, in Abwesenheit meines Gnädigen Herrn vom Kloster alhie aussgangen." See: Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv, Linz, Actenstück – Bericht über den Tumult zu Steyr 1599, Stiftsarchiv Garsten, Aktenband 69/ Nr. 12.

⁴ Plank, *Geschichte der Abtei St. Lambrecht*, 63.

his counter-reformatory efforts at his new place of activity. In order to achieve his aims he needed the best-educated clerics from the University of Graz. The influence that the Jesuit faculty in Graz, where most monks studied theology, wielded over the musical life of the monasteries is difficult to assess. The monks brought new musical supplies, including precious musical instruments. Martin Alopitius made efforts to enlarge his monastery, partly by recruiting monks from other monasteries. However, during his abbacy also new, young men joined the order.

Sebastian Ertel from Garsten was among those who followed the abbot's call, serving from 1600 to 1605 as a priest (in the years 1600, 1604 and 1605 he is mentioned in the parish registers of St. Lambrecht), as well as a music teacher for the choirboys and as a composer in Mariazell. In 1605 Ertel returned from St. Lambrecht to the monastery in Garsten, where he remained until his death in 1618.

Counter-reformatory intentions obviously lay behind Ertel's assignment to St. Lambrecht. The pilgrimage site Mariazell, which attracted prominent believers, was overseen by the St. Lambrecht monastery. The intention was, on the one hand, to celebrate the services liturgically in a festive and grand manner, and, on the other hand, to improve the quality of the church music – a goal to be achieved by varying and enriching the musical composition as a whole. If the annals of a contemporary, Wolfgang Lindner,⁵ are to be trusted, it is likely that the bulk of the Magnificat compositions and the Marian hymns were written either in or for Mariazell. Moreover, the construction of an additional organ points to the influence of the Venetian school. This is how it comes to be that a high proportion of Ertel's Magnificat compositions and Marian hymns are scored for double choir (and two organs).

Concerning Ertel's works

Sebastian Ertel appeared in public as a choirmaster, composing instrumental music (e.g., his *Tafelmusik* of 1615) in addition to an extensive corpus of vocal music, and dedicated a collection of printed sermons in the year 1616 to the still Protestant *Magistrat* in Steyr. Following Ertel's death in 1618, the retired Imperial *Kapellmeister*, Alessandro Orologio,⁶ was temporarily active in Garsten during the years 1618 and 1619.

Sebastian Ertel composed his works primarily for purposes relevant to his place of activity, and mainly for liturgical use (Mass and Divine Office). His compositions nevertheless gained recognition far beyond the monastic domain and even achieved publication.

There exist several prints that were produced in Munich from 1611 through 1617 (published by Nicolaus Heinrich), and some of Ertel's works are also preserved in (partly incomplete) manuscripts. Many of his compositions are written for six to ten voices, whereby the pieces for smaller-sized ensembles are laid out in the traditional polyphonic style, while the pieces for eight voices are mostly kept homophonic and written for double choir. But even in the compositions for double choir we also encounter densely woven polyphonic structures (e.g., at the beginning of the Sanctus of the *Missa super Benedictus*).

⁵ Moser and Weber, *Waidhofen an der Ybbs und Steyr im Blick*, 162–163.

⁶ Kellner, *Musikgeschichte des Stiftes Kremsmünster*, 158.

Ertel employs a simple, syllabic style without melismatic elaboration for especially meaningful textual passages, while also using intelligently chosen melismata to emphasize selected words through music. Sebastian Ertel's varied compositional styles show him to be an early seventeenth-century "transitional" composer who wrote in the old style yet was already willing to accept elements of the new Italian baroque style into his music. He is one of the first composers within the area of Austria and southern Germany to introduce the basso continuo. Ertel's printed works are (naturally) preserved in partbooks.

The publication of an extensive collection of Sebastian Ertel's compositions, his *Symphoniae sacrae*,⁷ containing a total of 62 motets and Magnificat settings for variously six, seven, eight, nine and ten voices, occurred when the composer was already 50 years old.

Since the pieces in this great collection were probably not written immediately prior to their publication, it is most likely that the collection contains works originating from more than one of Ertel's creative periods. This hypothesis is supported by the different stylistic elements found in the individual compositions. Another noteworthy fact is their dedication to Abbot Martin Alopitius, with whom Ertel would at this point have enjoyed close relations for already twenty years.

The year 1613 is similarly the date of a collection of ten Masses by Sebastian Ertel in six, seven, eight and ten voices that was published by Nicolaus Heinrich in Munich.⁸ At least eight of these Masses may be classified as parody Masses. The *Missa super Benedictus* for double choir is the eighth of these Masses. The model for this parody Mass was the motet *Benedictus es Salvator Israel* (no. XIII), likewise written for double choir, belonging to the collection *Orpheus mixtus* by Georg Poss. This had been published in Graz by Georg Widmanstetter in 1607.

Also, in this instance, the choice of model is suggestive of Ertel's counter-reformatory efforts, since his choice of a motet taken from a collection dedicated to the devoutly counter-reformatory Archduke Ferdinand of Inner Austria was not arbitrary.

The Masses' preface and their dedication to Johann Gottfried of Aschhausen (1575–1622, bishop of Bamberg and Würzburg) likewise testify strongly to Sebastian Ertel's counter-reformatory agenda. (Here, it should be added that the dedicatee was a prominent witch-hunter.)

Sebastian Ertel's Magnificat collection *Sacrosanctum* (1615) contains 35 pieces for double choir, among them numerous parody Magnificat compositions that demonstrate his connections to the composers attached to the court chapel in Graz. These uniformly scored compositions reveal a common inspiration: Orlando di Lasso.

⁷ Ertel, *Symphoniae sacrae*. I have consulted microfilms of all six parts (Cantus, Altus, Bassus, Quinta, Sexta, Septima) preserved in the collection of microfilms at the Musikwissenschaftliches Institut der Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz. The original prints used for microfilms are held today by Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Wrocław (PL-WRu, Mus 297 at D 139/1–6) and Proskesche Musikabteilung, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Regensburg (D-Rp, D 139/1–4 [Tenor, Octava]).

⁸ I have consulted digital copies of the parts (Altus, Tenor, Bassus, Quinta Vox) made available by Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (D-Mbs, 4 Mus.pr. 532) in the collection *Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum – Digitale Bibliothek*, and parts (Cantus, Altus, Tenor, Bassus, Sexta Vox, Septima Vox, Octava Vox, Pars pro Organo) from the already-mentioned collection of microfilms in Graz; the originals of which are found in D-Rp (A.R. 334).

Figure 1

Title page of the *Symphoniae sacrae* (1611) by Sebastian Ertel (Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg, Proskesche Musikabteilung, D 139/1–4; reproduced with kind permission)



Figure 2

Cantus title page of Ertel's *Missarum* of 1613 (Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg, Proskesche Musikabteilung, A.R. 334; reproduced with kind permission)



Sebastian Ertel's final collection, containing 22 vesper psalms for two choirs, was his *Psalmodiae vespertinae* (1617).⁹

The literature mentions, besides the definitely lost published work *Hymnus B. Jacoboni Tudertini* (for four voices, Munich, 1616 – probably a *Stabat Mater* composition), a set of *Falsobordoni* (for eight voices) as well as three Masses, five Magnificats and nine motets.¹⁰ The only print published in the twentieth century was that of Eberhard Kraus in the organ music series *Cantantibus Organis* (1962, which contains cadences in the eight church modes taken from the *Sacrosanctum magna et itemeratae Virginis canticum*¹¹ and an intabulation of a motet for eight voices, *Tota pulchra es amica mea*, taken from the tablature book FK 23 in the private library of the Thurn und Taxis family in Regensburg).

The final composition, *Suffragia communia a 4 voc.* (intercessions), contained in the manuscript collections of antiphons entitled *Antiphonae vespertinae* compiled by the choirmaster father Benedikt Lechler (1594–1659) from the Kremsmünster monastery, was likewise composed by Sebastian Ertel.

On Ertel's compositions in greater detail and in comparison with European composers of his time

A detailed analysis of Sebastian Ertel's extensive works would exceed the limits of this paper. Let me therefore focus on the subject of this conference and elaborate via a few selected examples his relationship with his contemporaries in Graz and Italy. In doing so, I am seeking to demonstrate through direct comparison Ertel's up-to-dateness and modernity for his time. I would like to start by comparing Ertel's parody Magnificat compositions from his 1615 collection with his respective models.

Especially noticeable and interesting is the fact that Sebastian Ertel takes several parameters, such as voice-leading, harmony, the melodic contour, the number of rests, the key signature, the number and arrangement of parts (and much more), directly from the models in question.

Gernot Gruber writes in his dissertation of 1964 on the adaptation of models in the parody Magnificat of the second half of the sixteenth century: "The characteristic technique in parodying is accordingly to begin with an opening that adheres strictly to the model and then increasingly departs from it [...] before returning at the end to a close adherence to the model."¹²

In appendix I give incipits for only the most significant correspondences between Ertel's Magnificats and his models. I have limited myself to comparisons with the previously

⁹ Ertel, *Psalmodiae vespertinae*. I have consulted the preserved partbooks (Cantus I & II, Altus I & II, Tenor I & II, Bassus I & II, Pars Pro Organo) in Benediktinerstift, Musikarchiv, Kremsmünster (A-KR, L33). This collection, edited by M. L. Fiala, is to be published in 2017 by the Cornettoverlag, Stuttgart.

¹⁰ Eitner, "Erthel", and Mutschlechner, "Ertl".

¹¹ Ertel, *Sacrosanctum*. I have consulted the preserved partbooks (Cantus, Altus, Tenor, Bassus, Quinta Vox, Sexta Vox, Septima Vox, Octava Vox, Pars pro Organo) in A-KR (L34).

¹² Gruber, *Beiträge*, 202.

Figure 3

The title page of Ertel's *Sacrosanctum magnae et intemeratae Virginis canticum* (Benediktinerstift Kremsmünster, L34; reproduced with kind permission)

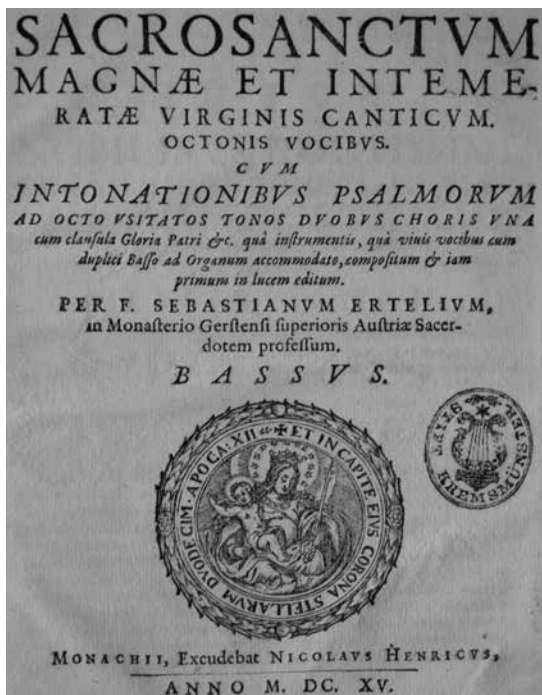
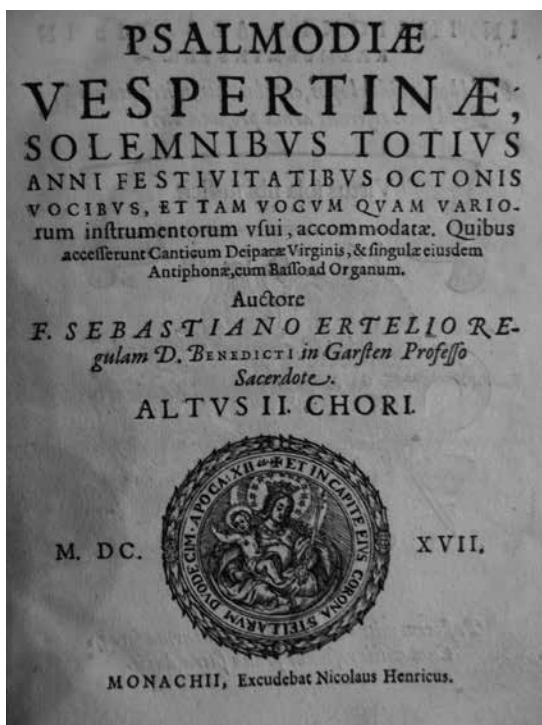


Figure 4

The title page of Ertel's *Psalmodiæ vespertinae* (Benediktinerstift Kremsmünster, L33; reproduced with kind permission)



mentioned composers. Several of the models were composed by Ertel himself, being taken from his published *Symphoniae sacrae* of 1611.

In conclusion, I would now also like to illustrate the significant correspondence between Ertel's parody Masses and their respective originals. The examples show the correspondence between the motet for double choir *Benedictus es Salvador Israel* from the collection *Orpheus mixtus* by Georg Poss and the *Missa super Benedictus* by Sebastian Ertel, based on Poss's motet in its Kyrie and also in its Gloria, Benedictus und Agnus Dei.

Music Example 1a

Georg Poss, *Benedictus es Salvador Israel*, bb.1–3¹³

choro 2

A Be - ne - dic - tus es Sal - va - tor Is -

T1 Be - ne - dic - tus es Sal - va - tor Is - ra -

T2 Be - ne - dic - tus es Sal - va - tor Is - -

B Be - ne - dic - tus es Sal - va - tor Is -

Music Example 1b

Sebastian Ertel, *Missa super Benedictus* (Kyrie), bb. 1–5

choro 2

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

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

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

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

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

As a further example from later in the composition, I quote a second motif by Georg Poss, which Ertel takes up on several occasions in the Kyrie (starting at bar 47), in the Gloria (starting at bar 32), in the Qui tollis (starting at bar 40) and in the Agnus Dei (starting at bar 24).

¹³ Poss, *Orpheus mixtus*. I have used the surviving print in D-Rp (A.R. 25–26).

Music Example 2a

Georg Poss, *Benedictus es Salvator Israel*, bb. 35–37

35 choro 1

C et com - mo - ve - an - tur, et com - mo - ve -

A 1 et com - mo - ve - an - tur, et com - mo - ve -

T 1 et com - mo - ve - an - tur, et com - mo - ve -

B 1 et com - mo - ve - an - tue, et com - mo - ve -

choro 2

A 2 rum, et com - mo - ve - an - tur, et com - mo - ve - an - tur,

T 2 rum, et com - mo - ve - an - tur, et com - mo - ve - an - tur,

T 3 rum, et com - mo - ve - an - tur, et com - mo - ve - an - tur,

B 2 rum, et com - mo - ve - an - tur, et com - mo - ve - an - tur,

Detailed description: This musical score is for a choral setting of a Benedictus. It is in 4/4 time and G major. The score is divided into two sections: 'choro 1' (measures 35-37) and 'choro 2' (measures 38-40). The first section features four vocal parts: Soprano (C), Alto 1 (A 1), Tenor 1 (T 1), and Bass 1 (B 1). The second section features four vocal parts: Alto 2 (A 2), Tenor 2 (T 2), Tenor 3 (T 3), and Bass 2 (B 2). The lyrics are Latin: 'et com - mo - ve - an - tur, et com - mo - ve -' for the first section, and 'rum, et com - mo - ve - an - tur, et com - mo - ve - an - tur,' for the second section. The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a common time signature (C). The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes.

Music Example 2bSebastian Ertel, *Missa super Benedictus* (Agnus Dei), bb. 21–25

The musical score is divided into two systems, each for a different chorus. The first system is for 'choro 1' and the second for 'choro 2'. Each system includes staves for Soprano (C), Alto (A), Tenor (T), Bass (B), and Organ (Org.). The lyrics are: '-ca - ta mun - di: do - na no - bis pa - cem, do - na no - bis pa - -'. The organ parts provide harmonic support with a steady bass line and moving upper voices.

Appendix

Selected incipits of Ertel's Magnificats from his 1615 collection *Sacrosanctum* and their respective models

Sebastian Ertel, *Magnificat super Ecco la vaga aurora* (no. I)

Octava vox Et ex-ul-ta - vit spi - ri-tus me - us, et ex-ul-ta - vit

Andrea Gabrieli, *Ecco la vaga aurora* (a 8) from *Concerti di Andrea, et di Gio. Gabrieli* (1587)

Sesto Ec - co la va - ga au - ro - ra, E'l sol, ch'a noi, [e'l sol, ch'a]

Sebastian Ertel, *Magnificat super Si qua rubent* (no. VII)

Octava vox A-ni-ma me-a Do-mi-num. Et ex-ul-ta-vit spi-ri-tus me-us in De-o

Annibale Perini, *Si qua rubent* (a 8) from a collective manuscript now in Växjö

[Bassus] Si qua ru-bent ves-tris frag-ran-ti-a mon-ti-bus al-mae

Sebastian Ertel, *Magnificat super Jubilate Deo* (no. VIII)

Tenor Et ex-ul-ta-vit spi-ri-tus

Andrea Gabrieli, *Jubilate Deo* (a 8) from *Concerti di Andrea, et di Gio. Gabrieli* (1587)

Tenor Ju-bi-la-te De-o om-nis ter-ra

Sebastian Ertel, *Magnificat super Iniquos odio habui* (no. XIV)

Cantus A-ni-ma me-a Do-mi-num

Luca Marenzio, *Iniquos odio habui* (a 8) from *Promptuarii musici [...] Pars Prima* (1611)

Cantus I-ni-qu-os o-dio ha-bu-i,

Sebastian Ertel, *Magnificat super Hoc tegitur* (no. XV)

Altus Et ex-ul-ta-vit spi-ri-tus me-us

Giovanni Gabrieli, *Hoc tegitur* (a 8) from *Sacrae symphoniae* (1597)

Sextus Hoc te-gi-tur sa-cro quis-nam ve-la-mi-ne

Sebastian Ertel, *Magnificat super Beati omnes* (no. XVIII)

Sexta vox Et ex-ul-ta-vit, [et ex-ul-ta-vit] spi-ri-tus


Giovanni Gabrieli, *Beati omnes* (a 8) from *Sacrae symphoniae* (1597)

Octavus Be-a-ti om-nes qui ti-ment Do-mi-num, qui ti-ment

Sebastian Ertel, *Magnificat super Domine quis habitabit* (no. XXVI)

Bassus A-ni-ma, a-ni-ma me-a Do-mi-num. Et ex-ul-ta-vit, [et ex-ul-ta-vit] spi-ri-tus

Leone Leoni, *Domine, quis habitabit* (a 8) from a collective manuscript now in Gdańsk

Bassus 

Do-mi-ne, quis ha-bi-ta-bit in ta-ber-na-cu-lo, in ta-ber-na-cu-lo

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P. SEBASTIAN ERTEL IN NJEGOVA DUHOVNA DELA

Povzetek

Kratek pregled življenja in dela benediktinskega očeta Sebastiana Ertla skuša prikazati možne povezave tega skladatelja in njegovega sloga z graško dvorno kapelo in drugimi glasbenimi središči, kot so bile Benetke in München. Tako širše zanimanje za »novi« fenomen v italijanski glasbi kot tudi osebna glasbena naklonjenost nadvojvode Ferdinanda sta nedvomno vplivala na glasbeno-slogovno usmeritev graške dvorne kapele, a ne samo te, temveč tudi na slog Sebastiana Ertla.

Ertlov kontakt z novo italijansko glasbo je razumljiv, saj je posledica živahnih stikov med benediktinci in univerzo ter mestom Gradec in tudi njegovih prizadevanj v protireformacijskem gibanju, še posebno v kraju St. Lambrecht in Mariazell na Štajerskem. Čeprav je bil Garsten, Ertlovo zadnje domovanje, pod močnim nemškimi vplivom, so zanj zelo pomembni tudi njegovi glasbeni vzori. Pri tem je treba omeniti, da je bil Steyer v skladateljevem času še pod močnim protestantskim vplivom in so v tamkajšnjih cerkvah izvajali glasbo skladateljev, kot so na primer Jakob Regnart, Leonhard Paminger, Orlando di Lasso in tudi Jacobus Handl - Gallus. V cerkvi evangeličanske šole v Steyerju je med 1609 in 1625 kot organist delal skladatelj Paul Peuerl in leta 1606 sta mestnemu svetu poklonila nekaj motetov Orlanda di Lassa njegova sinova Ferdinand in Rudolf di Lasso. Na tem mestu je treba poudariti tudi dejstvo, da je vse glasbene zbirke Sebastiana Ertla natisnil münchenski tiskar Nicolaus Heinrich.

Čeprav je Ertel skladal predvsem za potrebe svojih samostanov, je vsekakor tudi mednarodno zanimiv, še posebno, če njegova dela primerjamo z njegovimi italijanskimi vzori in modeli, kar bi bilo dobro še natančno raziskati. Zanimivo bi bilo preučiti, kaj je pripeljalo do dejstva, da se njegova dela danes nahajajo v številnih evropskih knjižnicah, od Berlina, Coburga, Strasbourga, Vroclava, Regensburga, Dresdna, Münchna do Levoče itd., in zakaj so številne skladbe iz njegovih zbirk *Symphoniae Sacrae* (1611) in *Sacrosanctum* (1615) prisotne v I., II., V. in VI. zvezku Peplinskih orgelskih tabulatur.

POROČILO O PROJEKTU MUSMIG
REPORT ON THE MUSMIG PROJECT

VINKO JELIĆ AND IVAN LUKAČIĆ TWO MIGRANTS BETWEEN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND CENTRAL EUROPE IN THE MUSMIG PROJECT AND ITS DATABASE

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Izvilleček: *Avtorica opisuje faze nastajanja podatkovne zbirke evropskega projekta HERA Glasbene migracije v zgodnjem novem veku: na stičišču evropskega vzhoda, zahoda in juga (2013–2016) na primeru dveh glasbenikov z današnje Hrvaške. Vinko Jelić z Reke in Ivan Lukačić iz Šibenika sta bila sodobnika generacije skladateljev, znanih iz zbirke Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus. Njunih skladb ta antologija ne vključuje. Podatki o njunem življenju, izobrazbi in delu so bili priobčeni v podatkovni zbirki projekta MusMig skupaj s tistimi o drugih 3500 tovrstnih evropskih glasbenikih. Rezultati iskanja po zbirki omogočajo vpogled v njuni časovnici in možne stike z drugimi glasbeniki.*

Ključne besede: *Vinko Jelić (1596 – po 1636), Ivan Lukačić (1587? – 1648), glasbeniki migranti, 17. stoletje, projekt HERA MusMig, podatkovna zbirka.*

Abstract: *The author presents phases in the work on the database within the European HERA project Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age: the Meeting of the European East, West and South (2013–2016), illustrated by two case studies from the Croatian lands. Vinko Jelić from Rijeka and Ivan Lukačić from Šibenik were contemporaries of the Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus generation but their output was not included in the anthology. The data on their life, education and work was entered in the database, as well as data on 3500 other European musicians investigated in the MusMig project. On the basis of the search results, their timelines and possible encounters with other musicians are outlined.*

Keywords: *Vinko Jelić (1596–after 1636), Ivan Lukačić (1587?–1648), migrant musicians, seventeenth century, HERA MusMig project, database.*

Elementary research on Vinko Jelić and Ivan Lukačić, two important musicians and composers from early seventeenth-century Croatia and contemporaries of the composers in *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus*, was begun some seventy to eighty years ago. After basic information on Jelić was published in the most notable historical lexicons (Walther, Gerber and Fétis),¹ more recently his work was mentioned in the PhD thesis *Die*

¹ In these secondary sources, data on Jelić were taken over from introductions to his own three published collections of *concerti ecclesiastici*: cf. Jelić, *Parnassia militaria*; Jelić, *Arion primus*; Jelić, *Arion secundus*.

Anfänge des geistlichen Konzerts by Adam Adrio in 1935;² Hellmut Federhofer supplied an extensive bibliography and further data on Jelić in 1955,³ followed by the publication of his music with introductory studies by Albe Vidaković in 1957,⁴ and by Lovro Županović in 1970s⁵ and 1980s.⁶ The first contemporary performance of some compositions by Jelić was organised by Dragan Plamenac in Zagreb in 1935, when three *ricercari* for *cornetto* and trombone were performed as part of his concert series “Iz hrvatske muzičke prošlosti” (From the Croatian musical past). In this concert series, compositions by the other composer under consideration here, Ivan Lukačić, were also included. The earliest information on him dates back to 1924⁷ and 1925,⁸ while Dragan Plamenac published updated results in Croatia and abroad of the research on his life and opus between 1935⁹ and 1969,¹⁰ with some later supplements by Ivan Bošković in 1977 and others.¹¹ These rudimentary data on both musicians have more or less served unaltered up to today, except for some later additions mostly concerning the context of their work. The biographical data on both of them are rather modest, and there are still some doubts relating to their timelines, musical encounters and compositional activities.

Within the existing literature, these uncertainties are partly explained and qualified by adequate hypotheses. However, when these data are about to be entered into a computer database, some problems occur and certain principles have to be established and followed in order to obtain the expected results. Examples of such dilemmas – applied to the life and activity of these two composers, elaborated within the European HERA project Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age: the Meeting of the European East, West and South (MusMig, 2013–2016) – are presented here within the context of the task of entering data on both composers – contemporaries and members of the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus* generation – into the database.

The MusMig project team consisted of six working groups, with the one from Berlin (Martin Albrecht-Hohmeier from Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften with collaborators) being in charge of the MusMig webpage¹² and the online database.¹³

² Adrio, *Die Anfänge des geistlichen Konzerts*.

³ Federhofer, “Vincenz Jelich”, 215–227.

⁴ Albe Vidaković published data on Vinko Jelić in 1957, as an introductory study of his collection of spiritual *concerti* and *ricercari* entitled *Parnassia militia* (cf. Vidaković, “Uvod” [with summaries in German, French and English]).

⁵ Županović, “Vinko Jelić”; Jelić, *Osemnaest moteta*.

⁶ Županović, *Centuries of Croatian music*, 86–98; Županović, “Umjetnost ranobaroknog hrvatskog skladatelja Vinka Jelića Riječanina”, 35–37. See also: Bujčić and Tuksar, “Jelić, Vincenz”, 940.

⁷ Kalogjera, “Povijesne crtice”.

⁸ Mantuani, “Glasbeniki iz reda sv. Frančiška”.

⁹ Plamenac published a selection of sixteen Lukačić’s motets with an initial study at Hrvatski glazbeni zavod (Plamenac, “Predgovor”).

¹⁰ One of the most thorough texts is Plamenac, “Tragom Ivana Lukačića”.

¹¹ For a thorough bibliography cf. Stipčević, *Ivan Lukačić*, 147–149. In this publication, Stipčević collected the majority of known data on Lukačić and his compositions and placed them in the cultural context of his time.

¹² <http://www.musmig.eu/>.

¹³ <http://www.musmig.eu/database-test3/>.

In the project plan, the establishment and the development of the database was conceived as follows:

- 1) The initial stage of information and research will consist of putting together already available and not yet interconnected data on migrating musicians in Eastern, Western and Southern Europe (...).
- 2) The second level of research is that of entering the material collected in this way into the central CRP database. This database already existed as a primary nucleus in the form of the previously developed computer database of the ANR-DFG project *Musici* (January 2010 – December 2012) on European musicians in Venice, Rome and Naples (1650–1750), which used a system for collecting and structuring of personal data (“Personendaten-Repositorym” – PDR), developed within a DFG-project of the Academy of Sciences in Berlin. The data in the database – more precisely in the “Archiv-Editor” computer program – include information on forms of names, dates of birth and death, relatives, teachers, schooling, general information on gender, profession and cultural origin (i.e., mother tongue), musical and other activities, memberships, journeys and sojourns (with dates and locations), patrons and salaries. In this way, the existing MUSICI-project was planned to be considerably enlarged with data on new music personalities and their activities, and other musical phenomena (social aspects, aesthetical aspects, compositional styles and performing practices), in order to become a shared tool making it possible to study the dynamics of the different directions of migration.
- 3) The third level of research has been the creation of a European map of migrating musicians (according to various parameters, concerning the special profiles of musicians according to nationality, musical education, professional activity etc.) which would produce a set of musical junctions as centres of the most intense musical life. In this way, the already established networks were enlarged with new locations, areas and regions of the common European musical-cultural space. (...)

All phases of the database work include the specifying of data fields and vocabulary, their modification according to new needs (specific types of information) and the adjustment of the “Archiv-Editor” in line with the possible changes occurring during the research process. The last phase includes the visualization of the database on migrant musicians and its online publication on the web page of the project.

The first two stages – i.e., collecting and entering data on musicians into the database via Archiv-Editor – lasted throughout the project and had been accomplished and made visible (and searchable) by its end (30 November 2016). During the project four research groups entered at total of 3502 historical names of musicians,¹⁴ comprising all known data such as biographical information and profession, name variants, schooling, employment, travels, works, bibliography etc.

The Lukačić case highlights some general principles when dealing with historical persons: his original given and monastic names (Marcus, Ioannes) as well as his family name (Lucacich, Luccacich, Lucacih) were Croaticised in the Croatian literature (Ivan

¹⁴ The partner group from Croatia: 515 names; the partner group from Mainz: 1,470 names; the two groups from Warsaw: 609 names; and the partner group from Slovenia: 638 names.

[Marko] Lukačić), and this version was established as the one appropriate for encyclopaedia entries. However, all variants have been entered into the MusMig database, where the standardised version¹⁵ is the main entry, in order to enable various search combinations. Another obstacle in this “Croatian case” discussed here proved to be the entry of his date of birth. This date has been discussed in almost all previously mentioned publications, but there are also sources of information on the internet that users frequently consult in the first instance. Thus it happens that they obtain incorrect or inadequate information, a point that has to be highlighted here: the Croatian *Wikipedia*¹⁶ gives very scanty information, stating, without any supporting arguments, that Lukačić was possibly born in 1575. Fortunately, other internet sources give more precise information derived from research – i.e., specifying the year 1585 or a year between 1585 and 1587¹⁷ as his date of birth – although the only known document of relevance is his baptismal certificate dated 1587.¹⁸ That date should accordingly be considered as the only reliable and undisputable piece of information, as Bojan Bujčić gives it in the *New Grove*.¹⁹ Conversely, the *New Grove* article contains a different error: namely that Lukačić’s sole musical collection, *Sacrae cantiones*, was published in Venice in 1629, and not in 1620 as stated correctly in the Croatian *Wikipedia*.²⁰ Since the first-named encyclopaedia is expected to offer information of the highest reliability, this error had to be commented on in the database.

The present facts about Ivan Lukačić tell us that he was baptized in Šibenik (Sebenico, in 1587); in 1597 he entered the Franciscan monastery there and in 1600 was sent to Italy for further education. In 1612 he gained the baccalaureate (at the age of 25?), and on 1 September of the same year he was elected *custode* of the Zadar Custody. After refusing to accept this post, he returned to Italy in 1613. The documentation attests that on 30 September 1614 he acted as the *maestro di cappella per la festa di S. Girolamo* in Rome, while soon afterwards Lukačić obtained the title of *magister musices* (23 March 1615). No information on his teachers, fellow students or meetings with contemporary musicians is given in the preserved documentation. The only possible hint of a “professional” encounter might concern the composer Gabriello Puliti, who was active in Istria and belonged to the same Franciscan province. However, the MusMig database, thanks to various entries, suggests some possible encounters by Lukačić during his sojourn in Rome (1613–1616): Bartol Kašić (Bartholomaeus Cassich) from Dubrovnik travelled in 1613 to Rome; between 1611 and 1621 Giovanni Francesco Anerio was active in Rome as *maestro di cappella* at the Church of Santa Maria dei Monti. Anerio also occasionally served as organist at the “Croatian church” of San Girolamo dei Schiavoni. The singer Pellegrino Muti served in 1614 as a court musician of Cardinal Alessandro Peretti di Montalto; and the cornettist Georg Simonidis was a member of the “Suonatori del Conversatori” in Rome until 1614.

¹⁵ The standardised version was taken over following RISM principles: i.e., in conformity with the main general and national music encyclopaedias (*New Grove*, *MGG*, etc.).

¹⁶ Cf. Croatian *Wikipedia*, s.v. “Lukačić, Ivan”.

¹⁷ Cf. *Nova Akropola*, s.v. “Lukačić, Ivan”.

¹⁸ As stated in the English *Wikipedia*, s.v. “Lukačić, Ivan”, and in the *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, s.v. “Lukačić, Ivan”.

¹⁹ Bujčić, “Lukačić”, 288.

²⁰ Unfortunately, the error of dating has not been corrected in the *Grove Online* version of 2013.

Possible new findings on Lukačić's education during the first decade of the seventeenth century could give rise to further speculation about his encounters.

In September 1616 Lukačić refused to accept once more his nomination as guardian of the Franciscan monastery in his native Šibenik and stayed in Italy for two more years before returning to Šibenik in 1618. Did Lukačić spend time in Venice, the musically important centre where in 1620 he published his collection *Sacrae cantiones*?²¹ Venetian publishers were popular with musicians coming not only from the eastern Adriatic coastline, such as Gabriele Sponga Usper, originating from Poreč (Parenzo) in Istria, who published his collections *Messa, e salmi* (1614) and *Compositioni armoniche* (1619) there and later acted as organist at the ducal church of S. Marco. At that time Pietro Paolo Meli from Reggio Emilia published his volumes entitled *Intavolatura di liuto attiorbato* (in 1614, 1616 and 1620), and in 1618 the first volume of *Sacrorum concertuum* by Giovanni Prioli (Priuli) was published there. Last but not least, in 1615 the *Parnassus* collection was printed there as well. However, in 1620 Lukačić moved from Šibenik to Split, where he remained for good, dying in 1648.

The second composer under consideration here is Vinko Jelić (1596–after 1636), in documents known mostly as Vincenz(o) Jelich (sometimes Jelich), who in 1606 left his native Rijeka (Fiume, Flumen Sancti Viti, St Veit am Pflaum) at the early age of eleven, together with his elder brother Petrus (who died in 1609). Their father sent them to Graz, where they were schooled and served in the court chapel of the Archduke Ferdinand. Their teacher was the Italian musician Matthia Ferrabosco. After a short sojourn in Rijeka (at the time when his voice broke, and after Petrus' death), Vincenz returned to Graz in 1610, entered the Ferdinandaeum and continued his education, acting initially as a treble in church music performances and then from 1615 onwards as an instrumentalist in the court chapel. In 1617 Jelić terminated his studies in theology, moving a year later to Alsace in the service of the court of Ferdinand's brother Leopold, Bishop of Strasbourg and Passau, who resided at Saverne (Ger. Zabern). There Jelić was ordained as a priest; in 1618 he became a vicar, and in 1622 a canon. At the same time he served as a musician in Leopold's court chapel: as a tenor and, later, an instrumentalist. His known and preserved oeuvre consists of three collections of *concerti spirituali* published in Strasbourg in 1622 (*Parnassia militia*)²² and 1628 (*Arion primus*,²³ *Arion secundus*).²⁴ The last document mentioning Jelić dates from 1636, when he is still named as a canon at the collegiate church of St Mary in Saverne. The battles and pestilences of the Thirty Years' War could well have lain behind his disappearance.

Thanks to the well-preserved documentation in Graz, a series of documents have survived. There are some letters by him and his father, as well as documentation regarding his professional life and movements. His teacher is known: Matthias Ferrabosco. Federhofer assumes that the singer and composer Raimundo Ballestra invited him to Saverne, and Jelić was undoubtedly known to Johannes Donfried, who in 1627 published

²¹ Lukačić, *Sacrae Cantiones*.

²² Jelich, *Parnassia militia*.

²³ Jelich, *Arion primus*.

²⁴ Jelich, *Arion secundus*.

two collections of church music in Strasbourg, where he included six of Jelić's works (as well as ones by Lukačić!),²⁵ along with motets by Anerio, Grandi, Hassler etc. Further on, we find a list of musicians active in Graz during Jelić's period at Ferdinand's court, these being men who also contributed to the *Parnassus* collection. Among musicians who might have been in contact with Jelić were Georg Poss, who stayed on as an instrumentalist in Ferdinand's court chapel until 1618; the already mentioned Giovanni Priuli (Prioli), who in 1614 or 1615 became *maestro di cappella* there before moving to Brixen; Giovanni Sansoni, from 1613 a cornett player in Graz, who later followed the Archduke to Vienna; Alessandro Tadei, since 1606 court organist in Graz, and Giovanni Valentini, who arrived at the Graz court in 1614 as the "newly appointed chamber organist from Poland". As emerges from the MusMig database, during Jelić's period in Graz many more singers or instrumentalists were active there, mostly in the court chapel of Archduke Ferdinand II, such as the altos Francesco Casani, Giulio Cesare Russini (Rosini) and Canciano Cividino, the instrumentalist Francesco Degli Atti, the instrumentalists and trumpeters Balthasar Pirnsteiner (Pernstein), Hans Fabricius (Fabrici), Heinrich Kholb and Ruprecht Pokhstaller, the *Kapellknaben* Jeremias de Leo, Wolfgang Cäpell (Capel), Nicolo Cavalletti Fiorentino and Alessandro Rossi, the bass player Elias Thaber and Johann Fabrus, the trumpeter and timpanist Andreas Speyrer, the trumpeter Reinhardt Stum and many others. Some of them returned to their native regions, some continued with their education (at the local Jesuit College or elsewhere), and some developed their musical career in Graz, Vienna, Prague or somewhere else.

Besides the already-mentioned Raimundo Ballestra, Georg Poss, Giovanni Priuli (Prioli), Giovanni Sansoni, Alessandro Tadei and Giovanni Valentini belonging to the list of 32 composers whose works were included in the *Parnassus* collection, only three further names occur in the database of our project: Giovanni Battista Cocciola, Giulio Osculati and Michelangelo Rizzio.

Coinciding (partly) with Vincenz Jelić's period of service in Graz, two ecclesiastics from Croatian lands were also there: Nicolaus Sartorius (Krajačević),²⁶ a Jesuit from Northern Croatia, who studied philosophy (1606–1609) and theology (1616–1617), later publishing texts of church songs translated from Latin into the Kajkavian dialect of the Croatian language (the first edition is lost; the second edition was published in Bratislava in 1740). The second one was Athanasius Georgigceus (Jurjević),²⁷ another Jesuit, writer and diplomat, originating from Split, who in 1611 completed his studies in philosophy at the Jesuit College there. In 1635 Georgigceus published in Vienna a collection of simple church songs *Pisni za naypoglavitiye, naysvetiye i nayveselye dni* (Songs for major, most holy and most joyous days) for voice and organ *basso continuo*.

As we have seen, the data on Jelić reveal, thanks to the rather ample information collected within the MusMig project, quite a lot of possible encounters with the active musicians who introduced the new Italian style into the church music of Central Europe. At the time when the *Parnassus* collection was assembled and published, he was obviously

²⁵ Cf. digitalized version: <http://dizbi.hazu.hr/object/3501>.

²⁶ Cf. Jembrih, "Krajačević".

²⁷ Breko, "Jurjević".

too young and inexperienced as a composer to contribute to it. Only seven years later was he to make public his compositional skills, becoming successful enough to have his music included in similar collections – the Donfried publications.

In the MusMig project such timelines and encounters, or junctions, as presented in the two case studies here, have been visualised in the form of chronologies/timelines and maps (see the two illustrations). The quality of the database is critically reliant on the quantity of input data. It will be available only during the next few months, according to the requirements of the HERA consortium agreement, and the members of the MusMig group are currently seeking the possibility of keeping this valuable part of the project work available for future use. Whatever happens, the aim of the database has been to serve as a basis for investigation and enable deeper insights into such junctions and/or meeting points, which can have brought both cooperation or rivalry to the lives of musicians, and which also create a point of departure for the investigation of their mutual influence.

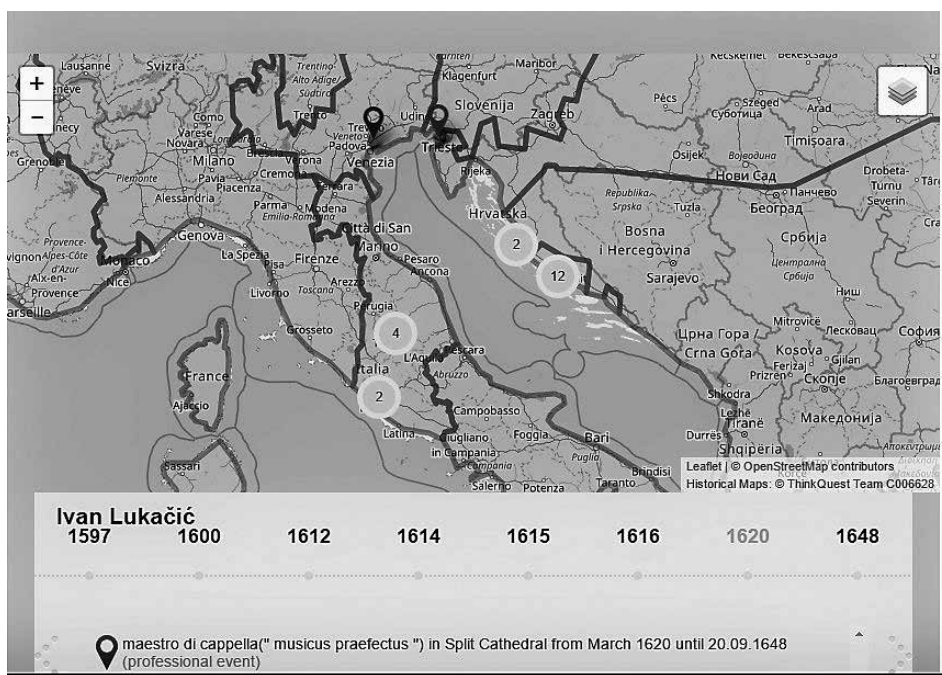


Figure 1
Activities of Ivan Lukačić in 1620, as presented on the timeline and interactive map of the MusMig database

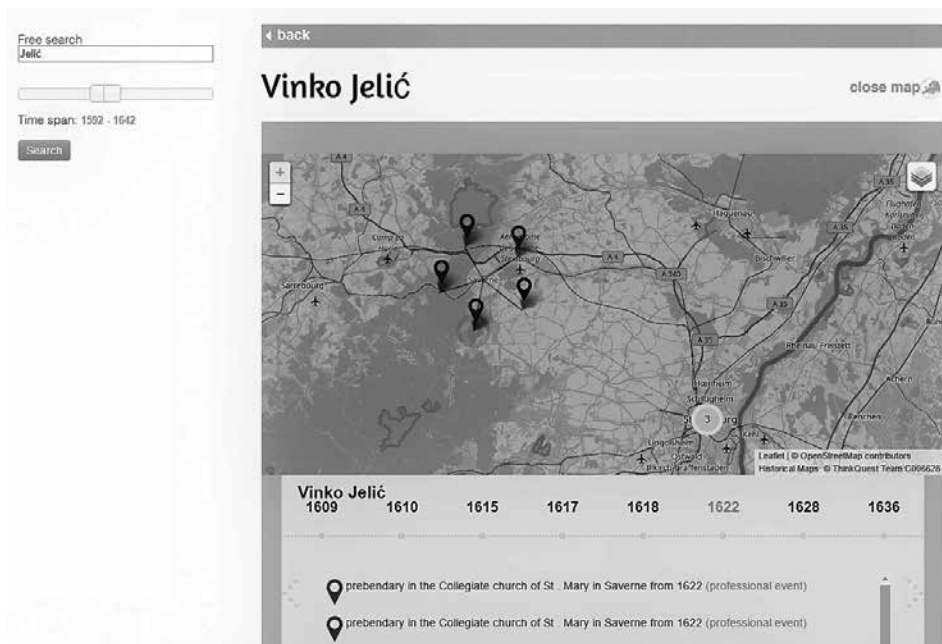


Figure 2

Activities of Vinko Jelić in 1622, during his sojourn in Saverne near Strasbourg, as presented on the timeline and interactive map of the MusMig database

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VINKO JELIĆ IN IVAN LUKAČIĆ
MIGRANTSKA GLASBENIKA MED MEDITERANOM IN SREDNJO EVROPO
V PROJEKTU MUSMIG IN NJEGOVI PODATKOVNI ZBIRKI

Povzetek

O dveh zgodnjebaročnih skladateljih na ozemlju današnje Hrvaške – Vinku Jeliću (Reka, 1596 – Saverne (?) po 1636) in Ivanu Lukačiču (Šibenik, krščen 1587 – Split, 1648) ne vemo veliko. Pogosto manjkajo celo najosnovnejši podatki, o dnevu rojstva ali smrti, o učiteljih in sodelavcih, o poteh. Lukačič se je šolal v Italiji, kjer je nekaj časa tudi deloval, medtem ko je Jelić svoje šolanje začel v Ferdinandeumu v Gradcu, a je pozneje deloval v alzaškem kraju Saverne, kjer se po letu 1636 za njim izgubi vsaka sled. Oba sta bila duhovnika, skladatelja in sodobnika generacije, ki je svoje skladbe prispevala za antologijo *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus* (1615). Njunih skladb v tej sicer ni. Jelić je bil premlad in Lukačič ni pripadal eminentnemu srednjeevropskemu krogu skladateljev omenjene zbirke.

V okviru raziskav evropskega projekta HERA Glasbene migracije v zgodnjem novem veku: na stičišču evropskega vzhoda, zahoda in juga (2013–2016) je bila deležna pozornosti tudi njuna mobilnost. Znani podatki o tej skladateljski dvojici in njunih objavljenih zbirkah so bili skupaj s podatki o drugih 3500 glasbenikih vključeni v interaktivno spletno zbirko podatkov. Iz tako pridobljenih časovnic njunih poti, mest srečevanj in križanj je v zvezi z njima prišlo na dan še nekaj drugih imen glasbenikov, s katerimi bi lahko Lukačič in Jelić med svojimi potovanji prišla v stik in si z njimi izmenjala glasbene, še posebno skladateljske izkušnje.

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