

DE MUSICA
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RAZPRAVE OB JUBILEJU
METODE KOKOLE

CREATION,
RECREATION,
NOTATION AND
RECEPTION OF MUSIC:
PAPERS IN HONOUR
OF METODA KOKOLE

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Predgovor

“My idea of good company, Mr Elliot, is the company of clever, well-informed people, who have a great deal of conversation; that is what I call good company.”

“You are mistaken,” said he gently, “that is not good company; that is the best. Good company requires only birth, education, and manners [...]”

— Jane Austen, *Persuasion*

Ko razmišljam o jubilantki, ki je navdihnila tokratno, nekoliko zajetnejšo številko revije *De musica disserenda*, lahko brez zadržkov zatrdim, da s svojo razgledanostjo, zanesljivostjo, skrbnostjo in predanostjo stroki – z dušo in srcem – prav zares predstavlja to, čemur gospod Elliot iz romana Jane Austen pravi »najboljša družba«. Metoda Kokole, ki je že več kot tri desetletja ena najdejavnejših, tako rekoč gonilnih sil Muzikološkega inštituta, s svojimi znanstvenimi prispevki bogati ne le nacionalno razumevanje slovenske glasbene preteklosti, temveč tudi širši evropski muzikološki diskurz.

Njena raznovrstna zanimanja so se kazala že od otroštva. Med drugim sta jo radovednost in nadarjenost že zgodaj pritegnili h glasbi, tako da je začela igrati klavir in pozneje čembalo. Kasneje sta jo prav tako navduševali klasična filologija in mitologija, pokazala je tudi izjemne sposobnosti za jezike, zato se je odločila za študij francoskega jezika in književnosti, ki ga je tudi uspešno končala. Hkrati je študirala muzikologijo, takrat edini akademski študij v Sloveniji za poglobljeno raziskovanje umetniške glasbe starejših obdobj.

Njena predanost muzikologiji je bila vse večja, kar se je odrazilo v zaključenem magistriju in nato doktoratu. Doktorska disertacija, v kateri je obravnavala življenje in delo Isaaca Posha, je bila nagrajena z zlatim znakom Znanstvenoraziskovalnega centra Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti (ZRC SAZU), priznanjem za najboljšo doktorske disertacije s področja humanistike. Njene nadaljnje akademske izkušnje so dodatno obogatile številne štipendije v tujini, vključno s študijskimi bivanji v Londonu, Parizu in Oxfordu.

Kmalu po končanem dodiplomskem študiju je začela svojo poklicno pot na Muzikološkem inštitutu ZRC SAZU. Metoda Kokole se je v času, ko je kot prva ženska na inštitutu doktorirala, soočala s številnimi izzivi, vendar so ji predanost, odločnost in neusahljiva energija omogočile, da se je z njimi uspešno spoprijela. Njena vztrajnost in vodstvene sposobnosti so sčasoma privedle do tega, da je bila leta 2004 imenovana za predstojnico inštituta, na katerem je uvedla številne novosti. Med njenimi pobudami so bili novi modeli financiranja inštituta in soustanovitve zbirke Slovenska glasbena dediščina, prve zbirke elektronskih znanstvenih izdaj gradiva in raziskav s področja nacionalne glasbene dediščine (vse od ustanovitve opravlja tudi funkcijo glavne in odgovorne urednice zbirke). Imela je tudi osrednjo vlogo pri ustanovitvi znanstvene revije *De musica disserenda* (od začetka je članica uredniškega odbora) in koncertnega cikla Harmonia concertans – Stara glasba na Novem trgu (katerega članica organizacijskega odbora je).

Prispevek Metode Kokole k uspešnemu delovanju ZRC SAZU, kjer dela več kot tri desetletja, od tega skoraj dvajset let kot predstojnica Muzikološkega inštituta, je neprecenljiv. Pod njenim vodstvom uspešno delujejo nacionalni raziskovalni program Raziskave glasbene preteklosti na Slovenskem in zbirka Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae skupaj s podzbirko Supplementa, v okviru katerih izhajajo znanstvenokritične edicije starejših glasbenih del iz zakladnice kulturne dediščine slovenskega prostora. Sadovi obeh projektov namreč prinašajo najvidnejše rezultate slovenske muzikologije o glasbi preteklih obdobij na Slovenskem tako slovenski kot mednarodni javnosti. Poleg tega je ali je bila članica oz. vodja številnih ekspertnih skupin oz. združenj pa tudi vodja slovenskih raziskovalnih projektov, sodelovala pa je tudi v evropskih projektih. Vrsto let je bila denimo vodja področne skupine RILM (New York) za Slovenijo, vodja Koordinacijskega odbora Historičnega seminarja ZRC SAZU in predsednica Slovenskega društva za preučevanje 18. stoletja, katerega ustanovna članica je (trenutno opravlja funkcijo podpredsednice tega društva). Bila je vodja številnih slovenskih muzikoloških raziskovalnih projektov, sodelovala pa je tudi v evropskih (bila je vodja slovenske partnerske skupine v evropskem raziskovalnem projektu HERA Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age: The Meeting of the European East, West and South (MusMig),

trenutno pa je članica upravnega odbora in so-vodja ene od delovnih skupin v projektu COST A New Ecosystem of Early Music Studies (EarlyMuse)).

Čeprav je njeno primarno področje raziskav zgodnjebaročna glasba, zlasti srednje-evropskega področja, so njena zanimanja – kot lahko razberemo že ob bežnem pogledu na njeno obsežno bibliografijo – mnogo širša in časovno segajo od 16. pa vse do zgodnjega 19. stoletja. Med drugim se je veliko posvečala italijanski operi 17. in 18. stoletja, širitvi italijanske glasbe v nekdanje notranjeavstrijske dežele pa tudi drugim glasbenim migracijam ter glasbeni ikonografiji. Njeno nenehno vpenjanje raziskav slovenske glasbene dediščine v srednjeevropski okvir ter skrbno in natančno pregledovanje arhivskega gradiva njenemu delu dajejo patino klasičnih historičnomuzikoloških raziskav, čeprav po vsebini in metodologiji pogosto sega izven meja historične muzikologije.

Svoje ugotovitve redno predstavlja v znanstvenih člankih, referatih na mednarodnih konferencah, v znanstvenih zbornikih, pa tudi v obliki gesel v enciklopedijah, leksikonih ter strokovnih in poljudnih člankov, dostopnih širšemu bralstvu. Zlasti so pomembne njene znanstvenokritične notne izdaje starejših glasbenih del iz zakladnice kulturne dediščine slovenskega prostora in pa monografija o Isaacu Poschu, ki je dostopna tako v slovenskem kot angleškem jeziku. Slednja pomeni pomembno prelomnico v raziskovanju zgodnjebaročne glasbe, saj bralcu razgrinja poseben primer glasbene ustvarjalnosti – glasba Isaaca Poscha namreč predstavlja zelo zanimiv primer združevanja elementov iz različnih evropskih slogov. Poleg vsega naštetega bi lahko izpostavili še marsikatero njene prispevke k razvijanju in popularizaciji muzikološke znanosti, med njimi razstave ter organizacijo številnih simpozijev in koncertov.

Enako pomembno je njeno uredniško delo. Poleg številnih kritičnih izdaj v zbirki *Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae* je uredila tudi več številk revije *De musica disserenda*. Pod njenim okriljem so spričo znanstvene natančnosti in uredniške kakovosti te publikacije dosegle mednarodno priznanje. Tisti, ki smo imeli srečo, da smo jo lahko spremljali in sodelovali z njo pri omenjenem uredniškem delu, smo se veliko naučili od njene predanosti, visokih standardov in natančnosti ter pridobili strokovno znanje, do katerega je sicer težko priti.

Poleg svojih publikacij je Metoda Kokole tudi na druge načine prispevala k promociji in širjenju muzikološkega znanja. Kot *spiritus agens* številnih dogodkov – simpozijev, razstav, delavnic in koncertov – je vztrajno krepila prepoznavnost stare glasbe v Sloveniji in širše. Zelo pomembno je tudi njeno pedagoško delo, zlasti mentorstvo doktorskim študentom, med katerimi sem bil tudi avtor teh vrstic. Njena natančnost, široko znanje, raziskovalne izkušnje ter skrbno vzpodbujanje in potrpežljivost pri doseganju

končnega rezultata, so bili zame neprecenljivi. Kot mentorica je tudi s svojim razumevanjem do težav svojih študentov in nesebičnim odpiranjem svojih raziskovalnih stikov z drugimi evropskimi vrhunskimi raziskovalci predstavljala zgled in odpirala poti do novih pomembnih izkušenj, ki so včasih segala tudi na neraziskovalna področja.

Pri svojem delu Metoda Kokole pri kolegh muzikologih poleg znanstvene odličnosti vzbuja tudi občudovanje na osebni ravni, saj se zna približati ljudem in biti izjemno pozorna in gostoljubna. Čeprav so ob njenem jubileju številni raziskovalci s celega sveta bili pripravljeni sodelovati pri nastanku pričujoče dvojne številke revije *De musica dis-serenda* in ji na ta način izkazati čast, so slednjo »nalogo« zaradi omejenega prostora lahko prevzeli le nekateri njeni raziskovalni kolegi. Ti kolegi in nabor njihovih tem pa priča o njeni razvejani mreži tistih, ki njeno delo zelo cenijo.

Namen pričujoče številke revije in tega predgovora je na prvem mestu zahvala – tako urednika številke in posameznih avtorjev člankov kot tudi številnih drugih kolegov, ki ji želimo še naprej vztrajnosti, poguma, znanstvene radovednosti in številnih raziskovalnih pa tudi neraziskovalnih dosežkov.

KLEMEN GRABNAR
urednik

Foreword

“My idea of good company, Mr Elliot, is the company of clever, well-informed people, who have a great deal of conversation; that is what I call good company.”

“You are mistaken,” said he gently, “that is not good company; that is the best. Good company requires only birth, education, and manners [...]”

— Jane Austen, *Persuasion*

It is a privilege to contribute this Foreword to a special issue of the journal *De musica disserenda* honouring Metoda Kokole and her jubilee. This eminent Slovenian musicologist's scholarly contributions have enriched not only the national understanding of Slovenia's musical past but also the wider European discourse in musicology. Her meticulous and original research has illuminated many aspects of cultural heritage of the Slovenian lands, situating it firmly within the broader European context.

Metoda Kokole's wide-ranging intellectual interests were evident from an early age. Her innate curiosity drew her towards music, leading her to play both the piano and, later, the harpsichord. Equally captivated by classical philology and mythology, she displayed an exceptional aptitude for languages, ultimately choosing to study French language and literature, a programme she successfully completed. Simultaneously, she pursued studies in musicology, which at that time was the sole academic discipline in Slovenia offering a profound exploration of art music from earlier periods — an area that resonated deeply with her burgeoning scholarly inclinations.

Her dedication to musicology grew, culminating in the completion of a Master's degree and subsequently a PhD. Her doctoral dissertation was recognized with the Silver Sign

of the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (ZRC SAZU), an accolade awarded for the best doctoral dissertations in the humanities. Her academic experience has been further enriched by numerous scholarships abroad, including study periods in London, Paris and Oxford, which have informed and enhanced her scholarly pursuits.

Shortly after completing her undergraduate studies, she began her career at the Institute of Musicology ZRC SAZU. At a time when she was the first woman at the Institute to obtain a PhD, Metoda Kokole faced challenges, yet her commitment, determination and dynamism enabled her to rise to these demands. Her perseverance and leadership skills eventually led to her appointment as the Institute's head in 2004, a position she used to introduce lasting innovations. Her initiatives include new funding models for the Institute, co-founding the Slovenian Music Heritage series, Slovenia's first online repository of critical editions of sources and monographs on the national musical heritage and serving as its General Editor. She also played a central role in establishing the academic journal *De musica disserenda* and the Harmonia concertans – Early Music at New Square concert series, where she is a member of the organising committee.

Metoda Kokole's contributions to ZRC SAZU, where she has served for over three decades, including nearly twenty years as Head of the Institute of Musicology, are invaluable. Under her leadership, the national research programme Researches in the History of Music in Slovenia flourishes, as do the series Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae and its Supplementa, which present critical editions of early musical works belonging to the treasures of the Slovenian cultural heritage. These initiatives have played a crucial role in sharing the rich musical history of Slovenia with both national and international audiences. In addition, she is or has been a member or leader of numerous groups or associations of experts (e.g., for numerous years she has been the Chair of the National Committee of Slovenia for RILM, New York, the President of the Coordination Committee of the Historical Seminar ZRC SAZU and the President of the Slovenian Society of Eighteenth-Century Studies, currently serving as a Vice-President of the Society), as well as a leader of many Slovenian musicological research projects. She has also participated in European projects as the leader of the Slovenian partner group in the HERA European research project Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age: The Meeting of the European East, West and South (MusMig) and is currently a member of the Management Committee and a co-leader of one of the working groups in the COST project A New Ecosystem of Early Music Studies (EarlyMuse).

Metoda Kokole's scholarship has been instrumental in expanding our knowledge of early music. While her principal research focus lies in early Baroque music, especially

within Central Europe, her academic interests extend far beyond. Her extensive bibliography reflects her knowledge of and proficiency in different languages, wide-ranging interests and engagement with topics spanning from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, including studies on Italian opera, the dissemination of Italian music into the former Inner Austrian lands, musical migrations, musical iconography etc. Her integration of Slovenian musical heritage into the Central European context, combined with her meticulous archival research, exemplifies the rigour and breadth of her scholarship. Without her contributions our understanding of the musical legacy associated with the Slovenian lands and its surrounding regions would be significantly diminished.

Her work spans a wide array of formats, including scientific articles, chapters in academic books, presentations at international conferences, and entries in encyclopaedias and lexicons. Among her many significant contributions, her critical editions of early musical works from Slovenia's cultural heritage are particularly noteworthy. Likewise, her monograph on Isaac Posch — which is available in both Slovenian and English — represents an important achievement in the study of early Baroque music. This work, which explores the unique synthesis of European stylistic elements in Posch's music, has provided scholars and enthusiasts alike with fresh insights into this fascinating repertoire. Importantly, she has made her research accessible also to broader audiences through popular articles and exhibitions, bridging the gap between the academic and public spheres.

Her editorial contributions are equally noteworthy. She has overseen the publication of numerous critical editions in the *Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae* series and edited multiple issues of *De musica disserenda*. Under her stewardship, these publications have achieved international recognition for their scholarly rigour and editorial excellence. Those fortunate enough to observe or collaborate with her on these projects have benefited greatly from her dedication, exacting standards and meticulous attention to detail, acquiring expertise that is otherwise hard to come by.

In addition to her publications, Metoda Kokole has made enduring contributions to the promotion and dissemination of musicological knowledge. As the *spiritus agens* behind numerous events — symposia, exhibitions, workshops and concerts — she has significantly enhanced the visibility of early music in Slovenia and beyond. The *Harmonia concertans* series, held in the Atrium of ZRC SAZU, exemplifies her commitment to sharing the beauty and significance of early music with as wide an audience as possible. Her work reflects not only her scholarly passion but also her genuine belief in the power of music to inspire and connect people.

Her influence extends beyond research to the pedagogical work at several Slovenian universities and especially mentorship, where she has guided PhD students, myself included, with patience, precision and generosity. Her ability to combine exacting academic standards with genuine care for her students' progress exemplifies her unique qualities as an academic and mentor. Personally, I am deeply grateful for the encouragement, insights and opportunities she provided during my doctoral studies, as well as for her unwavering support in navigating the challenges of research and beyond.

Metoda Kokole's contributions to the field are complemented by her warm and enthusiastic approach, which has earned her the admiration and affection of colleagues around the world. The contributors to this issue, though limited in number by space constraints, reflect the breadth of her professional network and the high regard in which her work is held.

On this joyous occasion of her jubilee, we — a company of well-meaning people who have something to say in the written form of articles — extend our heartfelt congratulations to Metoda Kokole. Her scholarly achievements in the field of musicology, her tireless dedication and her personal vigour inspire great respect among her colleagues. May this publication, compiled with the respect and affection of her colleagues, serve as good company for her: a source of both intellectual engagement and pleasant reading befitting her illustrious career and vibrant personality. We wish her continued success, inspiration and fulfilment, both in her research and beyond.

KLEMEN GRABNAR
editor

DINKO FABRIS

Università della Basilicata & Universiteit Leiden

THE EARLIEST *VILLANELLE* BY GIACOMO GORZANIS: NOTES ON THE LUTE MUS.MS. 1511 A IN MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK

IZVLEČEK: Gorzanis je bil v šestdesetih letih 16. stoletja uspešen skladatelj lutenjskih del. Njegov rokopis (1567) v knjižnici Bayerische Staatsbibliothek vsebuje sedem vilanel, od katerih štiri niso bile objavljene v dveh knjigah, ki ju je natisnil v letih 1570 in 1571. Rekonstrukcija ene od teh skladb iz tabulatur je predstavljena kot primer takrat razširjene izvajalske prakse.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: Giacomo Gorzanis, villanella, lutenjska tabulatura, družina Herwart, Münchenski Mus.Ms. 1511 a

ABSTRACT: Gorzanis was a successful lute composer during the period 1560–1570. His manuscript (1567) in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek contains seven *villanelle*, four of which are not in the two books he had published in 1570 and 1571. A reconstruction from the tablature of one of these pieces is proposed as an example of a widespread performance practice.

KEYWORDS: Giacomo Gorzanis, *villanella*, lute tablature, Herwart family, Munich Mus. Ms. 1511 a

Giacomo Gorzanis was a very successful lute player and composer active in middle of the sixteenth century in the territories comprising north-east Italy (Trieste), Slovenia (Ljubljana), South Tyrol and Austria. Even though he was blind, Gorzanis published in Venice six books containing his output in addition to producing a manuscript collection. Only on the title page of his first book (1561) is there any mention of his disability,¹ while the self-description “cieco” (blind) disappears from the second book onwards. Gorzanis mentions his blindness again only in the dedication to Vito de Dornberg of Gorizia in his *Terzo libro* from 1564:²

Non senza **maraviglia** saran riguardate queste mie fatiche, considerando che, **io, privo di lume**, hora pressuma di **darle in luce**. Ma chi rivolgera nell'animo che molti per darsi alla contemplatione delle cose: habitarono le proffonde caverne, & le oscure grotte, & che quel gran Philosopho Democrito voluntariamente si **privò del lume de gli occhi**, giudicando che i pensieri dell'animo sarianno più disposti & piu accuti nel contemplar le ragioni della natura, **se gli liberasse dalla vaghezza del vedere, lasciaria in tutto di maravigliarsi**. Né ciò dico perché mi tenga tale, che i miei pensieri ascendano all'altezza di così grandi huomini, ma perché se pur è ponto de pensiero in me, si sappia che più unitamente & con più accutezza possedo **io cieco** questo poco che non farei per aventura quel molto, **che la natura vedendo mi concedesse**. Ma come si sia, tale finalmente è stato il mio basso pensiero (non sia per arroganza detto,

1 Gorzanis, *Intabolatura di Liuto*.

2 Gorzanis, *Terzo libro*: “Not without wonderment will these labours of mine be contemplated, seeing that, I, bereft of light, have presumed to place them in the light. But whoever will recall that many seeking to give themselves over to the contemplation of things have inhabited deep caverns and dim caves, and that the great philosopher Democritus voluntarily deprived himself of the light of his own eyes, judging that the thoughts of the mind would be more readied and sharpened for contemplating the ways of nature, if such a person can free himself from the vagueness of sight, his amazement will cease. Nor do I say this in order to claim that my thoughts could ever rise to the heights of such great men, but so that if there is a scintilla of thought in me, let it be known that I, a blind person, more resolutely and with more acuity possess this small gift that I would not perchance turn into that large one which nature, on seeing it, could have granted me. But be that as it may, such has finally been my humble thought (let this be said not from arrogance but with truth) that it has been able not only to persuade, but almost to spur on the elevated thought of the most proficient musicians to publish these works of mine. And thinking to myself at length under whose name [i.e., patronage] these works should be offered to the public gaze [...]”. Two copies survive of this third book by Gorzanis: in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Thibault collection). See also the facsimile edition of Gorzanis’s Books 1, 2 and 3 based on the example in Paris (Geneva: Minkoff, 1981). In the original wording transcribed in the main text I use bold type for terms relating to Gorzanis’s blindness.

ma per verità) che ha potuto non solo indurre, ma quasi spronare l'alto pensiero de i valentissimi musici à dar fuori queste mie vigilie. Le quali fra me stesso lungamente ripensando sotto cui nome dovessero **comparire à gli occhi** delli huomini [...].

This autobiographical fragment written by Gorzanis can help us to appreciate how strange the growing success of a blind lutenist may have appeared to his contemporaries within the social group he was attending, at a time when he was making preparation, via a fitting action, for his promotion to the rank of a Citizen of, and official Lutenist to, the city of Trieste. The words “maraviglia” and “maravigliarsi” applied to works published by a sightless man (“privo di luce”) retain their validity today if one considers that this blind player was not only able to compose and to correct at least six books of varying types of music, but also to oversee personally the printing process in Venice, to travel from his native region of Puglia in southern Italy to Trieste and then move on from Trieste to Gorizia and the hinterland of Carniola on one hand, and also possibly visit Graz or Vienna in connection with the marriage of the Austrian Archduke.

Gorzanis had resided in Trieste since at least 1557, since on 4 May of that year his daughter Domenica Giacomina — from his marriage to Dorotea — was baptized there. Later came his son Maximilian, who edited his father's posthumous lute book *Opera nova*, published in 1579.³ It is likely that first his wife and then his children helped the blind composer prepare his tablatures for printing, but it is also noteworthy that the relevant method of printing, which used symbols that could be placed in relief, allowed some form of direct control through tactile contact by blind musicians. Throughout his artistic career Gorzanis enjoyed a continuous relationship with the wealthy bourgeoisie and the aristocracy of his time, as evidenced by the dedications of his prints: in particular, the Khisl family in Carniola, the Dietrichsteins of Radovljica and the Dornbergs of Gorizia. Thanks to his high standing with the nobility of Ljubljana and Gorizia, Gorzanis entered into contact with the court of Archduke Charles II of Austria: in the dedication to the latter, dated 15 July 1571, from his second book of *napolitane* for three voices,⁴ the composer addresses the archduke in terms that appear to show that he knew the latter personally (“the memory I have [...] as your most humble servant, and the real affection I have for you”) and nourished a hope of being taken into his service (“sustained, like a mighty column, by the desire of service [...] Fortune does not allow me to make any other sort of gift at present”), as also a hope of participating in the festivities for the wedding of Charles to Princess Maria of Bavaria, planned for that same summer of 1571. Gorzanis was evidently hoping to be engaged on a temporary basis for the occasion, but there is no

3 Gorzanis, *Opera nova*.

4 Gorzanis, *Il secondo libro delle napolitane*.

certainty that this happened. At all events, Archduke Charles must have looked with favour on the gift, for in the following year, 1572, he sent money to Trieste to pay for the education of Gorzanis's son.

All these elements can help us understand better the origin of Gorzanis's sole surviving manuscript book, today preserved in Munich. Mus.Ms. 1511 a in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek is an oblong volume very similar in size to one of Gorzanis's own lute prints published in Venice. It contains thirty-six folios laid out with four hexagrams per page to accommodate the lute tablature. The title page and dedication placed at the opening also reinforce the idea that this is a manuscript designed to be sent to a publisher for printing. The title page reads:

LIBRO DE INTABULATURA DI LIUTO.

Nel quale si contengano vinti quatro passa mezi dodeci per bemolle et | dodeci per be quadro sopra dodeci chiave. Novamente composte con alcune | napollitane de Jacomo Gorzanis Lautanista citadino de la mag.^{ca} | citta de Trieste scritta de trieste. etc. Del mille et cinque cento et sasanta sette. Annj.

The dedication, on the next folio, is a mere draft awaiting completion:

AL MOLTO MAGNIFICO SIGNOR ODORICO | Erbert patron suo sempre osservandissimo etc. | Della Signoria Vosstra. servitore. Jacomo Gorzanis | Lautanista de Trieste.

These two pages inform us that Gorzanis in 1567 had composed, and had the manuscript prepared, in Trieste, where, in that very year, he finally obtained the coveted title of "Citizen" (reserved for those who had resided in the city for at least ten years), which he immediately parades. The title page is in every way similar to those of his three previous lute books published in Venice respectively in 1561, 1563 and 1564. The volume was dedicated — and probably sent — to Udalricus Herwart, who a few years later would serve on Augsburg's Small Council (*Kleiner Rat*). In that same city the Herwart family was prominent during the whole of the sixteenth century as collectors and patrons of music. Not fortuitously, Udalricus was a cousin of the better-known Johann Heinrich Herwart (1520–1583), a merchant with business links to the Fuggers (another famous German family of music-lovers)⁵ and so fond of music that he amassed a collection of about 500 music books, which included as

5 By a strange coincidence, the copy of the *Il secondo libro delle napolitane* (1571) by Gorzanis preserved in Vienna comes from the library of Philipp Eduard Fugger.

many as 200 Italian books of madrigals and *villanelle*. After his death the collection was purchased by Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria and today constitutes a major part of the music collections of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. Moreover, the Herwart family was particularly interested in musical instruments and lute music, as evidenced by the large number of lute tablature manuscripts from the Herwarts that have been identified in the same library.⁶

The Munich manuscript, as indicated on the flyleaf in an annotation by Julius Joseph Maier, a custodian of the music collection during the nineteenth century, was identified as “Autograph”, and its contents described as “24 Passemezzi e Saltarelli | 7 Villanellen | 1 Ricercar, Von fremder Hand sind eingeschrieben 3 Villanellen, 1 Ricercar”.⁷

The *villanelle* are as follows:

- (1) fol. 34, no. 49: “**Se io vegio o dormo sempre | penso atene: Napolitana.**” = *S’io veglio o dormo sempre pens’a tene* (Gorzanis, *Il primo libro di napolitane*, no. 13);
- (2) [fol. 34v], no. 50: “**Ducha vevoio dir una novella napolitana d. Jacomo Gorzanis**” = *Duca vi voglio dir una novella* (Gorzanis, *Il primo libro di napolitane*, no. 7);
- (3) [fol. 34v/2], no. 51: “**Tu ma inganato col tuo dolce viso. Napolitana**” = *Tu m’hai gabbato col tuo dolce viso* (Gorzanis, *Il primo libro di napolitane*, no. 12);
- (4) fol. 35, no. 52: “**Tre giorni fa che mi dicesti vieni vieni Napolitana d. Jacopo Gorzanis**”;
- (5) [fol. 35v], no. 53: “**Damo fallano son gia stato morto**”;
- (6) fol. 36, no. 54: “**Bella che tieni li capelli doro**”;
- (7) [fol. 37v], no. 56: “**Donna io te amo nō mi fa morire Napolitana.**”

These seven pieces constitute the only known handwritten copies of Gorzanis’s *villanelle*, leaving aside a single piece copied in the so-called Dallis Lutebook:⁸

- 6 On the lute manuscripts from the Herwart collection, see Ness, “Herwart Lute Manuscripts”.
- 7 “Von fremder Hand sind eingeschrieben” means “in a different hand are inscribed”. A physical description of the manuscript is provided in Boettischer, *Handschriftlich Überlieferte Lauten- und Gitarrentabulaturen*, 218ff. Although this is unlikely to be an autograph of the blind lutenist Giacomo Gorzanis, the main hand is definitely Italian, belonging to a person close to the composer. In the manuscript, however, the presence on fols. 34 and 36v–37v of a different hand, labelled “scribe C” by Taricani, has been recognized. See Taricani, “Renaissance Bibliophile”, 1369–1370.
- 8 Trinity College Library, Dublin (IRL-Dtc), Ms. 410/1, [p. 176]. The full manuscript is available in digital form on the Trinity College Dublin website: <https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/concern/works/z89orz728?locale=en>. This volume was earlier reported and studied in Ward, *Dublin Virginal Manuscript*; Goodwin, *English Lute Song*; Craig-McFeely, “English Lute Manuscripts”.

(8) “Chi in Donna | giacomo Gorzanis” = *Chi in donna bella loca lo suo core* (Gorzanis, *Il secondo libro delle napolitane*, no. 1).

The peculiarity of the last-mentioned manuscript piece is that it is a version for soprano solo voice and lute accompaniment in tablature, whereas the printed original provided three separate partbooks for the three voices indicated by the title (C, T, B). However, the version copied in this Irish manuscript (belonging to a lute pupil of the composer Thomas Dallis), where the piece was included along with a few other songs and many instrumental dances prior to 1590, is written in French tablature for six-course lute, with no text provided for the melodic part (Cantus).⁹



Figure 1 | Giacomo Gorzanis, *Chi in donna*, from the Dallis Lutebook (IRL-Dtc, Ms. 410/1, [p. 176])

9 Gorzanis, *Il secondo libro delle napolitane*, originally printed in three partbooks, is edited together with the *Il primo libro di napolitane* by Alenka Bagarič in Gorzanis, *Il primo libro* (2007).

Of all the pieces copied in the Munich manuscript, only three have concordances in a known printed source by Gorzanis: namely, *Il primo libro di napolitane che si cantano et sonano in leuto* (Venice, 1570).¹⁰ Once again, the manuscript version differs from the printed one, since the three *villanelle* are presented solely in lute tablature, lacking the melodic Cantus part. However, already in the original printed version the tablature encompassed all three “ideal” voices belonging to the vocal original, including the Cantus, thereby suggesting a possible purely instrumental performance (as the lack of any text underlaid to the tablature’s figures already implies). This editorial practice causes difficulties for a modern performance of this repertoire, which obviously cannot tolerate an unvarying doubling of the vocal part by the instrument. Since I will publish all seven *villanelle* of the Munich manuscript, together with the other twenty-five instrumental compositions from the same source, in a volume of the so-called Gorzanis *Opera Omnia* planned for the series *Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae*, I will limit myself in this article to highlighting some elements that bring out the importance of this source.

The Munich manuscript reveals to us that in 1567 Giacomo Gorzanis decided to compile a fourth book of lute tablature (after the three already printed in Venice in the previous six years) and sent it to Udalricus, a member of the Herwart family in Augsburg, probably hoping to elicit a financial contribution sufficient to cover the printing costs (the dedication left blank suggests that the composer was waiting for a reply). We do not know where Giacomo had met the German merchant and whether the volume was ever printed, but it is unlikely that it could have been used in that precise form as printer’s copy, since the final section housing the *villanelle* is very disparate, some pieces having apparently been added at the last moment as fillers to augment the vocal section. There is another problem, one presented by the *napolitane* in the volume: it was rather unusual to include in a collection of lute music intabulations of vocal pieces not previously printed. Gorzanis’s *villanelle* all turn out to be not yet published, and only three would later (1570) be accepted into *Il primo libro di napolitane*. However, it has already been mentioned by Alenka Bagarič that precisely in 1567 Gorzanis received ten florins from the Carniolan administration for his “Carmina”. These could conceivably be a collection of (villanesque) songs of which we have no knowledge, one containing the pieces copied in the Munich manuscript.

Only in one case are there other settings of a text attributed to Gorzanis in the Bavarian source: *Bella che tieni li capigli d’oro* was inserted without an author’s name in the collection *Secondo libro delle muse a 3 voci. Canzon villanesche alla napolitana nuovamente raccolte, et date in luce* (Rome: Antonio Barré, 1557), no. 14, reprinted in *Li quattro libri delle villotte alla napolitana a 3 voci de diversi* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1562) and also in *Il Secondo libro delle villotte alla napoletana de diversi con due moresche*

10 See Appendix A.

(Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1560, no. 29; repr. 1566 and 1571). In 1566 *Bella che tieni li capigli d'oro* was likewise set in Antonio Scandello, *El primo libro de le canzoni napolitane a 4 voci* (Nürnberg: Ulrich Neuber and Theodoricus Gerlach, 1566).

After the Munich manuscript dated 1567 the same text was set also by Giovanni Zappasorgo, *Napolitane a tre voci. Libro primo* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1571). Thanks to the printed sources, it is possible to reconstruct the full text to be underlaid to the tablature in the manuscript version. From the manuscript tablature, conversely, it is easy to extrapolate the melodic line of the song contained therein. From the melody it appears that the required instrument is a lute in A, just as in two of the *villanelle* taken from Gorzanis's *Il primo libro di napolitane*. We have thus been able to reconstruct from the Munich manuscript a hitherto unpublished new *villanella* by Gorzanis.¹¹

The role of Gorzanis's first book of *villanelle* printed in 1570 is remarkable.¹² Exactly around that year, in fact, a new notational format was established for this genre of music, which by then had become widespread throughout Europe, but previously had always been printed in separate parts, as in the second book of *napolitane* (1571) by Gorzanis.¹³ A score format for solo voice and lute tablature had been adopted as early as 1509–1520 in prints by Franciscus Bossinensis, Bartolomeo Tromboncino and Marchetto Cara. But this notational format was not repeated in Italy until 1570, when almost simultaneously three authors published *villanelle* with solo voice and tablature in score: Giacomo Gorzanis, Cornelio Antonelli and Gasparo Fiorino (the latter one year later, in 1571).¹⁴ The Munich manuscript establishes that Gorzanis may be considered the earliest among *villanella* composers to produce an intabulated version of his own vocal pieces: “queste mie Napolitane, che si suonano, et si cantano”.

11 See Appendix B.

12 Gorzanis, *Il primo libro di napolitane* (1570).

13 Gorzanis, *Il secondo libro delle napolitane*.

14 Leaving aside those of Gorzanis, the other two books are: *Il Turturino. Il primo libro delle napolitane ariose da cantare et sonare nel leuto composte da diversi eccellentissimi musici, et novamente per il Rev. P. F. Cornelio Antonelli de Rimino detto il Turturino, accomodate sul leuto* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1570); *La Nobiltà di Roma. Versi in lode di cento gentildonne romane, et le villanelle a tre voci di Gasparo Fiorino della città di Rossano [...] intavolate dal magnifico M. Francesco di Parise, Musico eccellentissimo in Roma* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1573). Not by accident, the sole surviving copy of Gorzanis's *Il primo libro di napolitane*, preserved today in Florence, is bound together with Antonelli's and Fiorino's books. In 2002 I suggested that the three books by Gorzanis, Antonelli and Fiorino were all part of an editorial project by Girolamo Scotto, who had already embarked on comparable sustained projects with lute books. See Fabris, “Role of Solo Singing”.

At b. 5 the last chord repeats the triad c-e-g instead of a-c[#]-e; the repeat sign, which in the printed edition is inserted at the end of b. 6, appears in the Munich manuscript only at the end of b. 10; the last beat of b. 7 is a single semibreve chord instead of two minims with a repetition of the note c in the bass as in the printed edition; in b. 9 the second tactus repeats the two triads D-d-f, instead of inserting the diminution of the bass as four crotchets, D-E-F-G, as in the printed edition; in b. 11 the first tactus ends with a crotchet dyad B^b-d instead of the triad B^b-d-f found in the print; in b. 13 the two first triads include c[#] instead of c^b, as in b. 4; b. 14, the last minim adds a third note, D, to the bass instead of the dyad d-f found in the print.

2. *Duca vi voglio dir una novella* (Gorzanis, *Il primo libro di napolitane*, no. 9)¹⁶
The incorrect title in D-Mbs, Mus.Ms. 1511 a, fol. 34v, is as follows: *Ducha vevoio dir una novella napolitana d. Giacomo Gorzanis*. The title is inserted vertically in the left margin of the composition instead of at the top. As in the previous piece, the Munich manuscript indicates bars (absent in the print) after each double tactus (2 × ) but this time the typical signs of Italian lute tablature are used. In b. 1, the third chord uses the same notes as the print (F-f-a) but in a different position on the instrument, as indicated by the tablature; the last chord has a D in the bass instead of B^b:



Figure 5 | Giacomo Gorzanis, *Duca vi voglio dir una novella* (D-Mbs, Mus.Ms. 1511 a, fol. 34)

¹⁶ Modern edition *ibid.*, 15.

In b. 2 the manuscript adds a crotchet A to the bass, where the print has a rest; the second half of the same b. 2 repeats the triad C-e-g four times instead of varying the chords, as in the printed edition; in b. 3 the third chord uses the same notes of the print (F-f-a) — but in a different position on the instrument, as in b. 1; in b. 6 the first tactus uses only the bass motion of four crotchets instead of repeating on the third note the dyad d-f, as in the print; also in b. 6, similarly to b. 2; in triple time, b. 9 (and b. 12) differ from the print through the insertion of a diminution in the cantus part and a rhythmic shift. In b. 11 (and b. 13) the cadence resolves after the dissonance without repeating the bass note A, as the print does; the final chord adds the high notes f $\sharp$ and a, while the print has only a dyad D-d.

3. *Tu m'hai gabbato col tuo dolce riso* (Gorzanis, *Il primo libro di napolitane*, no. 14)¹⁷
In the Munich manuscript, fol. 34v², an incorrect title is inserted under the tablature at the bottom of the page: *Tu ma inganato col tuo dolce viso. Napolitana*. Once again, the rhythmic notation typical of mensural notation is used instead of the signs typical of Italian lute tablature. The division into bars follows the usage of the previous pieces.

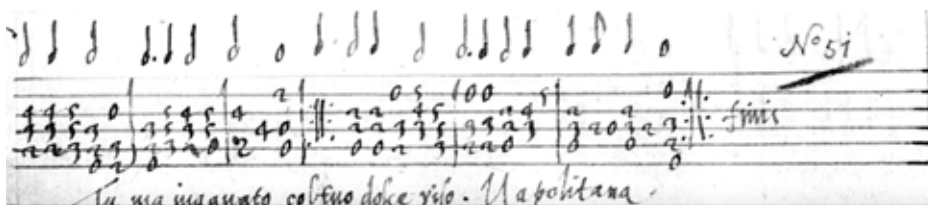


Figure 6 | Giacomo Gorzanis, *Tu m'hai gabbato col tuo dolce riso* (D-Mbs, Mus.Ms. 1511 a, fol. 34v²)

In b. 2 the manuscript adds in the last movement a third minim d to the dyad Bb-d, which aids the part-writing in the next cadence; in b. 5 the first two chords have C as the bass note instead of A, as in the print; in the final bar the chord is completed with the two high semibreves e-g added to the dyad C-c of the print.

4. *Chi in donna bella loca lo suo cuore* (Gorzanis, *Il secondo libro delle napolitane*, no. 1)¹⁸
The title in the Dallis Lutebook, [p. 176] is: *Chi in Donna*, written in the top left-hand corner of the page before the piece commences. In the bottom right-hand corner the inscription: “Finis d. Canzone” (see Figure 1) appears. This is a “mixed”

¹⁷ Modern edition *ibid.*, 25.

¹⁸ Modern edition *ibid.*, 55.

score that presents the cantus part in mensural notation, written on the prepared hexagram in the soprano clef (and the indication on the left-hand side: “sup.[er]us”); underneath is the accompaniment in French lute tablature (using letters instead of the figures employed by Italian tablature) and the rhythmic signs in use in the English lute music of late sixteenth century. The barlines (absent in the polyphonic parts of the printed edition) are placed after every two tactus ($2 \times \bullet$). The text under the cantus part is omitted, as in the *villanelle* copied in the Munich manuscript. The tablature reveals that a lute in G is required. In b. 5, in the final cadence corresponding to the Tenor voice, the minim F $\sharp$ is missing before the resolution to G, and the last chord has the incorrect bass note G instead of D; in b. 8 the second chord has the incorrect bass note C instead of B $\flat$; b. 15, the first chord has the incorrect bass note B $\sharp$ instead of B $\flat$; in b. 18, the last chord has a fourth note, G, added to the three voices to reinforce the sonority: this may denote a typical performance practice; in the last bar, after the cadenza, the bass is mistakenly given as F instead of C (the incorrect string of the instrument is indicated).

APPENDIX B

Reconstruction of Gorzanis’s *napolitana* entitled *Bella che tieni li capigli d’oro*¹⁹

Words by an anonymous author (reconstructed from the setting in Zappasorgo, *Napolitane a tre voci. Libro primo*)

Bella che tieni li capigli d’oro
 Ch’el tuo bel nome dire non si può,
 Meschino che farò?
 Bisognerà morire,
 Ch’el non vederti non si può soffrire.

Se veder né sentire non ti posso
 Scontiento e disperato morirò,
 Meschino che farò?
 Mi converà morire,
 Ch’el non vederti non si può soffrire.

¹⁹ I wish to thank Gianluigi Bello for his kind assistance in editing the electronic version of the piece with the software Fronimo 3.0.

Se di tutto il mio ben io son son privato,
 Dimmi crudel fortuna dove andrò?
 Meschino che farò?
 Dove potrò fuggire?
 Se questo ha da durar voglio morire.

Starò mirando tanto a sse finestre,
 Fin che mi veda, o senta lamentare,
 Ma forte me ne par,
 che mi possa sentire:
 O fortuna crudel fammi morire.



Figure 7 | Giacomo Gorzanis, *Bella che tieni li capelli d'oro* (D-Mbs, Mus.Ms. 1511 a, fol. 36v)

Music example 1 | Transcription of Giacomo Gorzanis's *Bella che tieni li capigli d'oro* (D-Mbs, Mus. Ms. 1511 a, fol. 36v)

Bella che tieni li capigli d'oro

Giacomo Gorzanis

Cantus

Bel- la che tie- ni li ca- pi- gli d'o- ro Ch'el tuo

Lute in A

5

bel no- me di- re non si può. Me- schi- no

8

che fa- rò? me- schi- no che fa- rò? Bi- so- gne- rà mo- ri

1) Tablature inserts a wrong sign 4 on 3 third course (d#)

2) Rhythmic value not present in tablature

12

re ch'el non ve- der- ti non si può sof- fri- re, ch'el non ve- der- ti

17

non si - può sof- fri- re.

1) Rhythmic value not present in tablature

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NAJZGODNEJŠE VILANELE GIACOMA GORZANISA:
OPOMBE O LUTENJSKI TABULATURI MUS.MS. 1511 A
V MÜNCHNU, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK

Čeprav slep, je bil Giacomo Gorzanis v desetletju od 1560 do 1570 zelo uspešen lutnjist in skladatelj. Bil je tržaški meščan, ki je deloval na ozemljih severovzhodne Italije, Slovenije, južne Tirolske in Avstrije. Poleg šestih knjig, natisnjenih v Benetkah, je Gorzanis zapustil rokopisno zbirko iz leta 1567, danes hranjeno v Münchenski knjižnici Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Mus.Ms. 1511 a). Namenjena je bila članom družine Herwart v Augsburgu. Načrtovan je izid moderne edicije v zbirki Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae kot del t. i. zbranih del Giacoma Gorzanisa.

Vsebina rokopisa, na kratko opisana že v naslovu, je že od nekdaj vzbujala pozornost muzikologov in glasbenikov, saj vsebuje cikel 24 plesov v vseh tonalitetah. Nasprotno pa je bilo premalo pozornosti namenjene vokalnemu repertoarju tega rokopisa: ta obsega sedem vilanel *alla napoletana*, od katerih so bile le štiri že znane iz dveh Gorzanisovih zbirk, natisnjenih v Benetkah v letih 1570 in 1571, torej nekaj let po nastanku rokopisa. Kot primer je predstavljena rekonstrukcija ene od neobjavljenih Gorzanisovih vilanel, *Bella che tieni li capigli d'oro*, pri čemer sta bili melodija cantusa in instrumentalna spremljava izpeljani iz tabulature, besedilo pa je bilo prevzeto iz ene od drugih takratnih uglasbitev.

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GALLUS AS A POLYPHONIC MASS COMPOSER: A BUNCH OF COMPLEMENTARY REMARKS ON HIS FIRST PRINTED COLLECTION FROM 1580

IZVLEČEK: Leta 1580 je v Pragi izšla zbirka maš Jacobusa Handla - Gallusa, kar je prvi pomemben tisk tega skladatelja. Članek obravnava, zakaj lahko to zbirko obravnavamo kot *unicum* v zgodovini tiskanja polifonih maš v poznem 16. stoletju, in se osredotoča na kompozicijske značilnosti, ki kažejo, da so te maše že značilne za skladateljev zreli slog.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: polifona maša, Jacobus Handl - Gallus, Praga, Jiří Nigrin

ABSTRACT: A collection of Masses by Jacobus Handl-Gallus was published in Prague in 1580. It constitutes the first print of importance devoted to the composer. This article examines how the collection can be considered as a *unicum* in the history of polyphonic Mass printing in the late sixteenth century, focusing on the compositional features that show these Masses to be already typical of the composer's mature style.

KEYWORDS: polyphonic Mass, Jacobus Handl-Gallus, Prague, Jiří Nigrin

The polyphonic Masses composed by Jacobus Handl-Gallus, printed in Prague in 1580 by Jiří Nigrin,¹ are the first compositions to have appeared with the composer's name, but they are also the last compositions of his to have been rediscovered during the nineteenth century.² Only briefly mentioned by Fétis³ and later on by Eitner,⁴ they were not known to the first Slovenian writers on music active during the 1880s,⁵ and although Josip Mantuani initially intended to study them in detail,⁶ they form the subject of only two brief articles within this scholar's production,⁷ of essentially informative content. Paul Amadeus Pisk, responsible for the first modern edition of these Masses in the series *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* (DTÖ), devoted to them no fewer than four volumes extending over a considerable period of time (1935–1969).⁸ However, the doctoral thesis of this scholar, devoted to a study of the Masses (1917),⁹ was never published, thereby leaving open the question of their critical evaluation within the history of the Mass during the sixteenth century. Such an appreciation had taken its first step in a rather substantial chapter included by Peter Wagner in his sem-

- 1 RISM A/I H 1976 to H 1979, with supplements HH 1976 to HH 1979. These Masses are published in four books distinguished by the number of parts (8 and 7 parts, 6 parts, 5 parts, 4 parts).
- 2 In Becker, *Die Tonwerke*, 8.
- 3 Fétis curiously created two separate entries on Gallus for each of the two editions of his *Biographie universelle des Musiciens* — one devoted to “Gallus (Jacques)”, the other to “Hændl (Jacques), en latin *Gallus*” — without explaining that the two accounts refer to the same person. For both entries, Masses are mentioned only in the second, 1874, edition (3:392–393 for “Gallus” and 4:193 for “Hændel”).
- 4 Eitner, “Handl (Händl, Gallus), Jakob”.
- 5 In a substantial article published in 1888 Josip Lavtižar expressed, for example, a regret that “we do not possess any Latin Mass by Gallus, but only motets”. Lavtižar, “Jacóbus Gallus”; see Škulj, *Gallusov zbornik*, 20.
- 6 As can be inferred from his correspondence with the editor-in-chief of the series *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* (DTÖ), Guido Adler. In February 1910, Mantuani declared to Adler that he had already scored up six Masses by Gallus, which he could not yet retrieve, these scores being still in his boxes. In December 1912 he stated that he had scores of the Masses *Undique flammatis*, *Casta novenarum*, *Elisabeth Zachariae*, *Im Mayen*, *Ung gay bergier* and *Ob ich schon arm*. The incipits of these Masses were then sent to Adler in January 1913, but Mantuani was still unable to retrieve the scores themselves from his personal archive. Adler then gave Mantuani two weeks to send him the scores; otherwise, he would have to make someone else put them into score. In March, Mantuani, having been unable to find the time necessary for this task, asked Adler to give it to someone else. This seems to have been the initial impulse behind Paul Amadeus Pisk's dedication to this task within the DTÖ series. See Hilscher, “Josef Mantuani und Guido Adler”.
- 7 Mantuani, “Über die Messenthemen des Jakob Handl”; Josip Mantuani, “Naš Gallus na bobnu” [Our Gallus at an auction sale], *Slovenec*, 19 May 1929, 16. The first article deals with the identification of motifs in the initial movement (Kyrie) of each Mass. The second one mentions an auction held in Berlin, where original prints of the Masses and the motets were offered for sale.
- 8 Published in the DTÖ, these volumes have the respective numbers 78 (1935), 94–95 (1959), 117 (1967), 119 (1969).
- 9 Pisk, *Die Messen von Jacobus Gallus*.

inal *Geschichte der Messe* (1913),¹⁰ but Wagner's detailed remarks on Gallus's compositions do not seem to have been followed by any other study of importance. By the end of the twentieth century Edo Škulj's critical edition for the *Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae* (MAMS) series¹¹ offered new possibilities for insight into these Masses, without altering the landscape fundamentally: if a renewed, more practical and convenient access to the music was made possible (in comparison with the previous DTÖ edition), the number of studies devoted to the Masses nevertheless still remained far lower than for any other aspect of Gallus's compositions, even within Škulj's own output.¹² Leaving aside the printed Masses, two notable contributions in recent musicology have been devoted to Gallus's Masses preserved in manuscript copies. Škulj's critical edition of certain works by Handl in manuscript, published in the MAMS series (1996),¹³ included the scores of four Masses previously discovered by Mantuani and included in his 1905 bibliography for the DTÖ,¹⁴ but up till then unavailable in a modern edition. Meanwhile, the important milestone in Gallus studies at the beginning of the twenty-first century, namely Marko Motnik's *Jacob Handl-Gallus*,¹⁵ brought forth a thematic catalogue that clarified in a significant way the question of sources for these newly edited manuscript Masses. Their attribution to Gallus remains, however, subject to some hesitation. These Masses appear for the most part to follow stylistic trends distinct enough from the composer's usage to call their authorship into question.¹⁶ To these factual data — and back again to the printed Masses of 1580 — can be added the remark that these compositions do not receive mention within the inventory of the music books possessed by Gallus, established shortly after the composer's decease; conversely, mention is made of all other printed music books bearing the composer's name.¹⁷ Further, the fact that the Masses occupied the position of "earliest-printed

10 Wagner, *Geschichte der Messe*, 330–341. Wagner also devoted an article to Gallus's Masses in the same year: "Über die Messen".

11 Published in 1991, this edition in four volumes follows the distribution of the original prints in four bibliographical categories, the volumes bearing the numbers 12, 14, 16 and 17 within the MAMS series.

12 Škulj, "Gallusovo obravnavanje mašnega ordinarija". In the meantime, Dragotin Cvetko had discussed the Masses in some detail in his three monographs devoted to Gallus, mostly focusing on the principles of parody and the structure of the different books.

13 Gallus, *Compositions Preserved in Manuscript*.

14 Mantuani, "Bibliographie der Werke von Gallus".

15 Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*.

16 Paul Amadeus Pisk had already questioned the authorship of *Missa Levavi oculos meos* on stylistic criteria, this Mass being conceived, with its *cantus firmus* in long note values, in the style of Josquin and the early 1500s rather than in that of Gallus. See Pisk, *Die Messen von Jacobus Gallus*, 3.

17 With the exception of the "occasional" *Epicedion harmonicum* published in 1589. The inventory, preserved in Prague City Archive (Archiv Hlavního Města Prahy, "Liber inventariorum", Ms. 1173, fols. 217v–218), is studied in detail by Edo Škulj in *Gallusovi predgovori*, with further identifications made by Marc Desmet in "Jacobus Handl Gallus' Inventory". Marko Motnik suggests

production” within Gallus’s oeuvre also contributed in no small way towards fuelling an impression that they did not represent the composer’s inspiration in its full-bloom (a point of view expressed by Peter Wagner as well as Paul Amadeus Pisk), not being “ripe” enough in their conception (as the composer himself puts it in his forewords).¹⁸

With three exceptions, all Gallus’s Masses belong to the genre of the so-called parody Mass, more recently given the better name of imitation Mass,¹⁹ defined by the use of a polyphonic model as the basis for the construction of musical development in all five movements of the Ordinary. Although the notion of parody Mass has generated a considerable quantity of scholarly articles since the 1950s,²⁰ a comprehensive and detailed study of all the material examined in these different articles and researches remains something not yet undertaken. Reasons for this delay are easy to understand, since such a study entails, among other possible tasks, investigation of the complex relationship between the polyphonic model and its re-elaboration in the Mass, possibly leading in very different directions, such as towards the nature of quotation, its role in the Mass and the stylistic association of (or discrepancy between) the model(s) and the new work.²¹

As a result, studies of parody Masses generally limit themselves to the work of a single author or even to a detailed examination of single examples.²² The fact that

that the printed copies of the Masses were either all sold out at the moment this inventory was established (July 1591), or that the number of copies was itself low. See Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, 34.

18 Foreword to Book III (five-part Masses), dedicated to Caspar Schönauer, abbot of Zábřovice: “quae si fortè (quod valdè metuo) crudior videbitur, oro ne continuò respuas, sed ut tibi quidem addictissimae at nondum satis excoctae adolescentiae primos fructus liba” (if it [this volume of compositions] by chance happens to appear greener (which I fear most), I beseech you not to reject it, but to enjoy in it the first fruits of a youth that has been most obliged to you, if not yet ripe enough). Handl, *Selectiores quaedam missae*, vol. 3, fol. iv.

19 See Franke, “Borrowing Procedures”.

20 A glance at listings on the subject of parody Masses in the Répertoire International de Littérature Musicale (RILM) yields a large selection of available studies on the treatment of this genre by specific composers, or within specific contexts. On the general debate over the meaning of parody, see Franke, “Borrowing Procedures”.

21 As Barbara Eichner puts it in an article about Lasso’s parody Masses: “Considering that the so-called parody mass was the most popular form of the polyphonic mass ordinary in the sixteenth century, surprisingly little is known about the composers’ strategies when adapting a model to a mass, but also about the reasons behind the selection of models”. This article can serve as an excellent introduction to the problematic of parody Mass in that it embraces all aspects dealing with the choice of the model, the treatment of the quotations and the symbolic dimension they acquire when associated with the words of the Ordinary. See Eichner, “Woman at the Well”.

22 For instance, an example of extreme distance between the model and the Mass is analysed by Klemen Grabnar in “*Je ne mange point de porc*”. To the same scholar we owe one of the rare studies on the evolution of parody Masses during a limited chronological period of time and within a coherent complex of sources: see Grabnar, “Parodične maše”. For a similarly chronological

the Masses published in 1580 are already absolutely typical products of Gallus's inspiration, ones providing a serviceable introduction to their author's compositional fundamentals, consequently renders any attempt to establish a chronology of their dates of composition difficult. Unlike similar compositions by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Orlando di Lasso and Philippe de Monte, they do not display a large variety of parody techniques and avoid any alternative basis for construction, except for three compositions identified either by a modal attribution (*Dorium*, *Mixolydium*) or by a compositional device (*Canonica*). Moreover, half of them rely on models following one of the most modern trends of polyphony during the late 1570s, where harmonic inventiveness starts to govern not only global form, but also the shaping of individual lines, the association of parts in different blocks and even the rhythmic tension of cadence-writing. The remarks presented below have been conceived for the purpose of underlining the aspects that make the 1580 printed Masses by Gallus somewhat exceptional in terms of both their context and also their formation into a collection.

THE MATERIAL ASPECT

The launching of a new author on to the market of printed music, and this by a four volume collection of no fewer than sixteen Masses, could hardly have appeared other than surprising to the potential customers of musical prints in Central-European bookshops or book fairs in 1580. But the claims to novelty of this Nigrin publication far exceed the question of the repertory and its author. A quick glance at the prints issuing from the Nigrin workshop before the Gallus Masses soon convinces us that nothing of such importance had ever been attempted before by this Prague printer.²³ In 1580, Nigrin was not yet the magnificent and multi-faceted printer he would quickly become a few years later, and as far as music is concerned, only monodic Czech canticle collections²⁴ and a book of humanistic *bicinia* in Latin and Czech by Jevičský²⁵ had previously left his workshop. This meant that the Gallus Masses certainly possessed the characteristics of an exceptional turning point in the printer's career at the moment they were issued, and they probably benefited from important external funding in order to cover the cost of the whole process.

However, another level of novelty has to be taken into account in order to take full measure of the event, this time with respect to the genre of the polyphonic Mass

insight into the evolution of parody techniques within the corpus of Palestrina's Masses, see Franke, "Palestrina's Imitation Mass Settings".

23 On the Nigrin publications, see Daněk, "Nototiskařská činnost"; Jakoubková, "Typografie hudebních tisků".

24 *Pisnický duchovníj*; Škorně z Frymburku, *Knjžka Pjsnj*.

25 Jevičský, *Bicinia nova*.

itself. It has seldom been remarked that although this genre already boasted a considerable printed heritage in 1580, this relied almost exclusively on prints originating from Venice, Rome, Paris and Antwerp. This fact meant that, for a Prague printer, the “burden” of publishing a voluminous collection such as Gallus’s was indeed something of a technical and commercial adventure. Even as observed within the wide expanse of the Imperial lands in general, it remains a unique occurrence, since printed publications of polyphonic Ordinaries never seemed to develop into any of the music printers’ specialities in Central Europe. After producing three pioneering anthologies at the turn of the 1540s,²⁶ German printers issued Masses in individual prints of only modest importance,²⁷ among which the Lasso volume of the *Patrocinium musices* devoted to Masses in 1574, which was printed by Adam Berg in Munich, appears to be the only exception before 1580.²⁸ The polyphonic Mass is probably the genre in which specialization within European printers’ production is most obviously observable. In the German lands polyphony for the Mass was more oriented towards polyphonic Propers,²⁹ and had a circulation widely reliant on the provision of manuscript copies in the case of Ordinaries.³⁰ As a matter of fact, and even taking into account the formidable strength of music printing in centres such as Nürnberg or Munich, printed Ordinaries or volumes grouping several Masses by different composers remained the exception, while they were far more common in Italy, France and the Low Countries. It is therefore not surprising to observe that, again with the exception of Lasso, all important composers in imperial service had their Masses printed most often in Venice (like Monte and Jacobus de Kerle), a situation that had not fundamentally altered by the end of the century.³¹

26 *Liber quindecim missarum; Missae tredecim; Opus decem missarum.*

27 A six-part Mass, *Non auferetur sceptrum*, by Andreas Crappius printed in 1572 and 1573 by Schwertel in Wittenberg, the three Masses by Utendal issued in 1573 by Dietrich Gerlach in Nürnberg and the first book of Masses by Teodoro Riccio published in Königsberg in 1579 by Georg Osterberger are among the rare exceptions that appeared before 1580.

28 Lasso, *Patrocinium musices*.

29 And richly exemplified at the very start by Heinrich Isaac’s *Choralis Constantinus*.

30 Such as the many polyphonic Masses copied in the choirbooks originating from the basilica St Afra in Augsburg, for the most part currently accessible through digitized versions at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich.

31 With the exception of an anthology of five Masses, *Missae quinque*, published by Catharina Gerlach in 1590 and the *Missae quaternis* of Hans Leo Hassler published by Kauffmann in 1599, the market remains dominated by a few items devoted to a single author (Lasso, *Liber missarum* (Gerlach, 1581); Lechner, *Liber missarum* (Gerlach, 1584); Amon, *Missae quatuor vocibus* (Apffl, 1588); Amon, *Patrocinium musices* (Berg, 1591); Sales, *Patrocinium musices* (Berg, 1589); Sartorius, *Missae tres* (Berg, 1600); Grothius, *Missa cum adjuncto Patrem* (Lucius, 1588); Custrovius, *Missa quinque vocum* (Lucius, 1595); Castro, *Missae tres* (Grevenbuch, 1599)), none of which created a specialization more significant than a “niche repertory” within their respective publishers’ production.

As a matter of fact, the Gallus publication by Nigrin had few, if any, predecessors. With the exception of the Lasso case and of the three anthologies of the 1540s already mentioned, only a handful of prints can be identified before 1580, among which the three Masses by Alexander Utendal printed in Nürnberg by Dietrich Gerlach were probably the closest precedent Nigrin could follow, as can be judged from a title page already very close to that of the Gallus publication seven years later.

A CAREFUL PLANNING OF CHOICE: CONSIDERING MODELS AS SAMPLES?

The sixteen Masses contained in the 1580 publication can be listed as follows, with a mention of their respective models:

Table 1 | Masses in Gallus’s 1580 publication (with their models)

BOOK	TITLE	NO. OF VOICES	MODEL *	DATE	RISM
I	(1) <i>Undique flammatis</i>	7	Gallus, own motet, lost	1579	lost*
	(2) <i>Pater noster</i>	8	Gallus, own motet, in <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 1 (Prague), no. 69	1586	H 1980
	(3) <i>Elisabethae impletum est tempus</i>	8	Gallus, own motet, in <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 4 (Prague), no. 20	1590	H 1985
	(4) <i>Casta novenarum</i>	8	Christian Hollander, in <i>Novi atque catholici Thesauri musici</i> , vol. 5, ed. by Pietro Giovanelli (Venice)	1568	B/I 1568 6
II	(5) <i>Dorium</i>	6	No known model		
	(6) <i>Elisabeth Zachariae</i>	6	Gallus, own motet, in <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 4 (Prague), no. 53	1590	H 1985
	(7) <i>Locutus est Dominus</i>	6	Gallus, own motet, in <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 1 (Prague), no. 80	1586	H 1980
	(8) <i>Sancta Maria</i>	6	Philippe Verdelot, in <i>Motteti del fiore, tertius liber [...] ad quinque et sex voces</i> (Lyon)	1538	B/I 1538 2

Table 1 | *continued*

BOOK	TITLE	NO. OF VOICES	MODEL*	DATE	RISM
III	(9) <i>Adesto dolori meo</i>	5	Clemens non Papa, in <i>Liber sextus ecclesiasticarum cantionum</i> (Antwerp); repr. in <i>Evangelia dominicorum</i> , vol. 5 (Nürnberg)	1553, repr. 1556	B/I 1553 1 (no. 3)
	(10) <i>Transeunte Domino</i>	5	Giaches de Wert, in <i>Novi atque catholici thesauri musici</i> , ed. by Pietro Giovanelli (Venice)	1568	B/I 1568 6
	(11) <i>Im Mayen hört man die Hahnen krayen</i>	5	Orlando di Lasso, in <i>Neue Teütsche Liedlein</i> (Munich)	1567	L 814
	(12) <i>Ich stund an einem Morgen</i>	5	Ivo de Vento, in <i>Neue Teutsche Liedlein</i> (Munich)	1569	V 1119
IV	(13) <i>Ob ich schon arm und elend bin</i>	4	Jobst vom Brandt, in <i>Der fünffte Theil [...]</i> <i>teutscher Liedlein</i> , ed. by Georg Forster (Nürnberg)	1556	B/I 1556 2 (no. 9)
	(14) <i>Mixolydium</i>	4	No known model		
	(15) <i>Un gay bergir</i>	4	Thomas Crecquillon, in <i>Premier livre des chansons à quatre parties</i> (Antwerp)	1543	B/I 1543 1 (no. 6)
	(16) <i>Canonica</i>	4 or 8	No known model		

* With reference to the first known printed source of the model

† Publication today lost, supposedly printed by Nigrin

From this table the variety of models is apparent even at first glance:

(a) nine of them are motets, which include:

- five motets composed by Gallus himself. *Undique flammatis*, celebrating the election of Pavlovský as bishop of Olomouc, was published the previous year while four other were published in *Opus musicum*, vol. 1 (1586) or vol. 4 (1590): that is, well after the Masses³².

³² Readers should be reminded at this point that the “natural” supposition that these motets were already in circulation at the time the Masses to which they were related were published can sometimes be debatable. For example, David Crawford has shown that three Masses published by Jacques Moderne were composed before the motets to which they are re-lated. It remains

- four other motets, in contrast, come from composers of the Low Countries belonging to two different generations: (1) two recent compositions by Christian Hollander and Giaches de Wert are taken out from a single source, the *Novus Thesaurus Musicus* (1568); (2) two other motets are selected from older sources and the previous generation of Franco-Flemish composers: Philippe Verdelot (1538) and Jacobus Clemens non Papa (1553);

(b) four secular songs complete the list of models. They include:

- three German *Lieder* by different composers and from different dates: Jobst von Brandt (1556), Orlando di Lasso (1567) and Ivo de Vento (1569);
- one French chanson by the Franco-Flemish composer Thomas Crecquillon, who belonged to the same generation as Verdelot and Clemens.

Considered simply as a list of titles, these models do not reveal what appears only through a careful examination of their musical profile. It is a striking dimension of their grouping in the 1580 publication that none of them, within this choice, seems to adhere to the same aesthetic as its companions within the given category. This is most clearly observable in the three German *Lieder*: while Brandt provides an elegant example of the classic, post-Senfl conception of the German *Lied*, with the main melody situated in the Tenor part, Lasso conceives *Im Mayen* in exactly the same style as his French chansons; in contrast, Vento's *Ich stund* benefits from a brilliance of sonority closer to the Italian *villanella*, which is characteristic of the *Lied* genre in its late development, and for which, precisely, this composer became famous. A similar observation could be made about the motets: Wert and Hollander follow the new trend of Franco-Flemish inspiration, being as distinct as possible from one another, just as their treatment, in turn, is different from that displayed in the two motets by Verdelot and Clemens; these, in contrast, recapture the classical inspiration of the previous generation, marked, among other features, by its use of pervasive imitation. As for Gallus's own compositions, it can similarly be noted that while *Pater noster* and *Elisabethae impletum est tempus* distribute the eight parts among two choirs following different approaches (lengthy contrasted sections in *Pater noster* and quickfire responsorial effects in *Elisabethae*), the six-part motets *Elisabeth Zachariae* and *Locutus est Dominus* themselves construct a similar kind of opposition along similar lines. In this case, however, the dialogue is between two "virtual" choirs within a six-part texture: *Locutus est* features large sections of dialogue between the two sub-choirs, while in *Elisabeth Zachariae* the

to ascertain whether, at least in some instances, this might also be true for these four Gallus Masses. See Crawford, "Reflections on Some Masses", 89.

texture and part groupings vary all the way through the motet. These seemingly careful details cause one to speculate whether an overall plan for the whole collection was perhaps purposefully worked out, conferring on each model the status of a sample: that is, a type of musical inspiration that by design appears only once.

UNITY OF STYLE

A closer examination of the models borrowed from other composers also deserves mention, but this time in terms of style. Few commentators, if any, have previously remarked that most of the models display stylistic features often strikingly similar to these of Gallus himself, ensuring, as a result, a perfect homogeneity of development between elaboration of the model and passages lacking such quotation. Whether this means that Gallus elaborated his own musical gestures to match what he found in these pieces, or that he simply chose the models because he could distinguish in them similarities to his own approach is a question that would far exceed the limits of this article. Suffice it to say that this observation is at least partly dissonant with the one previously made in that it underlines the unity of style within the collection, whereas the compositional features on display in the models are well varied. The most obvious examples of this occur in the two modern motets taken from the *Novus Thesaurus musicus* published in Venice by Gardano in 1568. In *Casta novenarum* by Hollander — on a text that Gallus, too, would come to set to music in his *Harmoniae morales*³³ — we find what would become almost a “signature” of the first-named composer: namely, the cadential movement II–I, producing an augmented fourth (see Music example 1).

In the Wert motet, *Transeunte Domino*, instances of stepwise parallel motion involving three voices are also a familiar feature of Gallus own style (see Music example 2). But these two examples are not isolated, and one could also argue that, after all, the section in triple metre closing Wert’s motet could just as well have been written by Gallus himself!³⁴ On the other hand, the two motets chosen from the older generation of Franco-Flemish composers both start with a similar device (a descending tetrachord in the G-Dorian mode), and they both contain as well allusions to some of Gallus favourite compositional gestures:

- the parallel motion already found in Wert (Clemens, bb. 47–50, in a passage which also appears in the *secunda pars* in the same bars);

³³ Handl, *Harmoniae morales*, no. 5.

³⁴ Gallus seems, indeed, to have appreciated the music of Giaches de Wert. A volume of motets by Wert — *Modulationum sacrarum*, printed in 1583 in Nürnberg — is mentioned in the inventory of the music books in his possession established in 1591.

- a conclusion built around the figure of a *congeries*:³⁵ that is, a sequential contrapuntal progression (Verdelot, bb. 73–82, section repeated up to the end of the motet).

This same profile of similar features between the chosen models and Gallus's own distinctive language can in fact be extended to other models:

- *Im Mayen* alludes to the rooster with an onomatopoeic *stretto* conclusion of a type that will reappear in the *Harmoniae morales*;³⁶
- the *congeries* figure is also present at the end of Crecquillon's *Ung gay bergier*;
- *Ich stund* contains triadic melodic writing, with lively cadences opposing two sub-choirs — exactly of the kind that characterizes many secular pieces by Gallus.

Considering, then, that the choice of models reveals many personal features characteristic of Gallus's own style, but also that each model seems to have been carefully selected in order to achieve an obvious and apparent variety, a question therefore arises about the compositional processes to which the models are subjected: does Gallus emphasize their closeness to his own style, or does he try, on the contrary, to showcase their specific traits? Bearing this question in mind allows the 1580 collection to bring to light another distinctively original trait when observed within the context of the polyphonic Mass in the late sixteenth century.

HOW DOES GALLUS ELABORATE THE MODELS?

The answer to this question does not require a lengthy investigation, since most of the Masses discussed here evolve at some distance from their models, when they do not simply ignore them in detail. Nearly all of them, it will be noted, refer back to motets. The reasons for this are not only due to the harmonic rather than motivic structure of most of the models, which causes difficulty in making out the borderline between an actual quotation and a mere variation of a harmonic or cadential frame. They also stem from the fact that Gallus frequently plans for entirely free sections that do not depend on the model at all. An extreme case in point would be the Mass *Elisabethae impletum est tempus*, almost conceived in its entirety at some distance from its model.³⁷ But even

35 Burmeister, *Musica poetica*, 65: "Congeries [sunatrismos] est coacervatio specierum concordantium tàm Perfectarum, quam Imperfectarum, quarum par motus est concessus." (Congeries is an accumulation of consonances, perfect as well as imperfect, whose parallel motion is allowed to stand.)

36 In *Gallus amat Venerem* (Handl, *Harmoniae morales*, no. 6) and *Quam gallina suum parit ovum* (ibid., no. 7). On the ingenious conception of Lasso's *Lied*, see Cœurdevey, *Roland de Lassus*, 519.

37 Should we infer from this distance that the motet was indeed composed after the Mass, seeing

in a Mass such as *Undique flammatis*, which purposefully evokes the model without quoting from it literally,³⁸ the presence of the original motet gradually seems to fade as the Mass progresses.³⁹ Two exceptions are discernible within this scheme: the Mass *Locutus est Dominus*, built on a motet, relies on its model very insistently. In contrast, the Mass *Ob ich schon arm*, built on a *Lied*, does not, adding many episodes foreign to it in at least eight sections of the Mass, including half of the Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus Dei, a third of the Gloria, and at least a quarter of the Credo.

Music example 1 | Christian Hollander, *Casta novenarum*, from *Novus Thesaurus musicus*, bb. 26–34

The image displays a musical score for a Mass movement. It consists of eight staves, each representing a different voice part: C (Cantus), S(2) (Soprano 2), A (Alto), S (Soprano 1), T (Tenor), 6 (Sixtus), B (Bass), and B(2) (Bass 2). The notation is in a historical style, likely from the 16th century, with various note values and rests. A vertical line is drawn through the score, highlighting a specific section of the music across all staves.

Unlike this group where the Masses evoke their models with clarity only occasionally, the Masses built on secular songs do indeed rely on their sources in a much more perceptible way. This is the case with *Im Mayen*, *Ich stund* and *Ung gay bergier* plus, as we have just seen, a Mass on the motet *Locutus est Dominus*. Since it has often been remarked that late imitation Masses of the sixteenth century are less bound to their models than Masses from the mid-century or the 1560s, one might infer that this dif-

that this sometimes happens elsewhere in the Mass literature of the sixteenth century? See note 32 above.

38 The motet on which this Mass is built being a celebration of the election of Bishop Pavlovský, into whose service Gallus had just entered, and to whom the first two books of the collection are dedicated.

39 And this even in the movement incipits, up to a point where Sanctus and Agnus Dei preserve at best only a shadowy memory of the motet.

ference of treatment revealed an earlier date of composition. But other considerations could well have played a role as well, such as, for example, the factor of musical rhetoric.

Music example 2 | Giaches de Wert, *Transeunte Domino*, from *Novus Thesaurus musicus*, bb. 46–50

The image shows a musical score for five voices: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Second Soprano (S), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The Soprano and Alto parts have a melodic line with a sharp on the second staff. The Second Soprano and Tenor parts have a similar melodic line. The Bass part is mostly rests.

It is, for instance, a striking feature that the *Dorium* and *Mixolydium* Masses, built on modal scales without reference to a known model, are completely opposed to one another in compositional style. *Mixolydium*, in Book IV, with its mostly syllabic development and non-sectionalized Credo,⁴⁰ conforms to the rhetoric of brevity and the *genus humile* exemplified by all the Masses built on secular models in the collection. *Dorium* in Book II, in contrast, includes generously proportioned periods of dense counterpoint and lengthy developments (with a 112-bar Sanctus!) characteristic of Masses built on motets and observing a more “Ciceronian” musical rhetoric comparable to the *genus sublime* of Latin prose.⁴¹ The division between these two categories is confirmed by the fact that the longest Mass in the *brevis* category, *Ung gay bergier* (316 bars), is still 120 bars shorter than the shortest Mass in the *sublime* category, which is actually the *Dorium* itself (435 bars). This also helps us to figure out how the models were treated: first by reference to a general framework (brief or elaborated), then by a schedule of quotations with some sections completely independent from it, these independent sections becoming increasingly important as the work progresses. Both these conceptions appear interrelated, in that the models tend to be less audibly present in Masses conceived in the “high” style or *genus sublime*, while they are more perceptible in *missae breves*, with two exceptions, as we have already seen: *Locutus est Dominus* (high style, with a high presence of the model), *Ob ich schon arm* (*genus humile*, with a low presence of the model).

40 Of which it is the only example in the whole collection, all the other Credo movements being divided into several sections.

41 To borrow here (as in the further developments) the two extreme terms of the Ciceronian distinction between three *dicendi genera*: that is the *genus humile* and its opposite, the *genus sublime*.

IS THERE EVIDENCE OF A STYLISTIC EVOLUTION?

The preceding remarks already make it clear that the search for a chronological order of compositions within the 1580 collection is bound to encounter many obstacles. These Masses are generally brief and presented in Nigrin's typography in a very compact way; each has an exceptionally short *Agnus Dei* lacking repetition signs, and in nine cases⁴² even without a *Dona nobis pacem* section or an *ut supra* instruction.⁴³ If we are to accept the idea of a carefully planned selection of Masses, as the title *Selectiores quaedam missae* itself suggests, then we should be wary of clues presenting themselves too obviously.

The first of these "too obvious" clues is suggested by the forewords themselves. Books I and II are dedicated to Pavlovský, Gallus' new patron since 1579 — that is, almost coinciding with the publication. Book III is dedicated to abbot Schönauer, with whom Gallus was in close contact during the years he spent in the Zábřehov Praemonstratensian monastery. Book IV is dedicated to abbot Rueff in Zwettl, whom Gallus had previously met when both were in Melk, which is generally held to be Gallus' first place of residence as a composer. The forewords tend to present the works of each Book as related to the period when Gallus interacted personally with the dedicatees, thereby implying an inverted chronology from Book I to Book IV, the Masses of Books I and II being the latest, these of Book IV the oldest. As has already been shown, this scheme can be accepted only with great reluctance:

- The eight Masses contained in Books I and II are probably too numerous to be related to Pavlovský alone and to Gallus's most recently acquired position.
- The time spent by Gallus in Silesia is not evoked in the forewords, whereas this period seems to have been fruitful enough, judging from both the number of sources originating from Breslau and other Silesian cities⁴⁴ and that of Gallus's own Silesian acquaintances.⁴⁵ The reason for not mentioning the Silesian episode is probably based on ideological grounds, as has been shown in an earlier article,⁴⁶ since this environment was mostly dominated by Lutherans, hence unwise to mention in forewords dedicated to a bishop engaged in Counter-Reformation measures in Moravia.

42 Out of sixteen Masses, that constitutes little more than half of the collection.

43 The presence of a *Dona nobis pacem* section does not seem to be related to the overall length or density of the Masses: rather unexpectedly, this concluding section is more frequent in Books III and IV than in Books I and II.

44 See Jež, "Twórczość Jacoba Handla", 43–48; as well as Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, 69–75.

45 The poet Salomon Frenzel, the baron Wilhelm von Oppersdorff and the physician Abraham Schwalb were among Gallus's acquaintances — and in the case of Frenzel became an enduring friend. See Desmet, "Jacob Handl Gallus i Śląsk", especially 44–46. On Salomon Frenzel, see also Leitmeir, "Words for Music".

46 See Desmet, "Establishing a Chronology", 168.

- Finally, there is something odd about imagining Gallus composing Masses for four parts in Melk, then for five in Zábrdovice, then for six and eight parts later.

The only solid clues available are limited in scope: alone the Mass *Undique flammatis*, linked to a motet celebrating the election of Pavlovský, can be dated with certainty as the latest of all, coincident with its publication. On the other hand, *Ung gay bergier* seems to adopt a similar vein as Lasso in his Masses based on French chansons. Lasso's Mass *Le berger et la bergère* published in the *Patrocinium musices* could well have served as an inspiration for *Ung gay bergier*. The publication of this Mass in 1574 can therefore perhaps be considered as a *terminus a quo* for *Ung gay bergier*.

Among other available clues, the matter of word repetitions can also bring forth some interesting observations. A clear compositional choice seems to establish a distinction between Masses displaying many repetitions of words or of textual fragments, whereas in other Masses priority seems to be given to a simple utterance of the text without repetitions. Contrary to what one might think, this distinction does not completely map on to that existing between the rhetoric of high and *brevis* styles respectively, already discussed. Within the *brevis* category one observes that *Ung gay bergier*, *Mixolydium* and *Ich stund* are full of word repetitions, while *Pater noster* and *Elisabeth Zachariae*, which belong to the high category, are not particularly wedded to this device.

Among these repeated words, there is one in particular, situated in the Credo, which could add a decisive semantic dimension: “et in unam sanctam **catholicam** et apostolicam ecclesiam”. As has already been remarked in a previous article,⁴⁷ there is no need to insist on what the repetition of the word “catholicam” could mean in a Counter-Reformation context, but one may add here that this repetition is sharply emphasized in Gallus's Masses whenever it is present: “catholicam” is repeated in this way twice in *Locutus est Dominus*, *Transeunte Domino* and *Im Mayen*, but three times in *Undique flammatis* and *Pater noster*, four times in *Casta novenarum* and *Ich stund*, five times in *Ung gay bergier* and a full six (!) times in *Mixolydium*, making it clear that the repetition in question was by no means a simple allusion but was deliberately intended as a *punctum* of special salience. Different from this group are, however, six Masses where the word “catholicam” is not repeated: *Elisabethae impletum est tempus*, *Elisabeth Zachariae*, *Dorium*, *Sancta Maria*, *Adesto dolori meo* and *Ob ich schon arm*.

As can be inferred from this distribution, the opposition between *Mixolydium* and *Dorium* already noted in terms of musical rhetoric, is here again confirmed. A rough draft of the contextual distribution of the Masses within the 1580 collection can probably be deduced from these differences: if Masses without the repeated

47 Ibid., 165–166.

“catholicam” could have been sung in all contexts, it is most probable, in contrast, that those where this repetition occurs were not directed towards the Silesian localities open to the Lutheran Reformation. On the basis of this general evaluation, one may hypothesize a distribution that, without being completely chronological, perhaps furnishes a basis for further reflection on, and elucidation of, possible contexts of composition:

- Recent Masses linked with Stanislav Pavlovský, or the “Counter-Reformation” Masses by Gallus — “catholicam” is repeated, rhetoric is in high style, while frequent syllabic word-relivery ensures perfect grasp of the sung text: *Undique flammatis, Pater noster, Casta novenarum*.
- Recent Masses but conceived before entering Pavlovský’s service or adopting the high style of the later period — possibly composed and performed in Silesia, with florid counterpoint and no repetition of “catholicam”: *Elisabethae impletum est tempus, Elisabeth Zachariae, Dorium*.
- Two Masses in the high style, alternating between florid counterpoint and syllabic declamation, with repeated catholicam — Zábřdovice period?: *Transeunte Domino, Locutus est Dominus*.
- Within the remaining Masses, two Masses built on similar motives and using models from the 1540s, with no repetition of “catholicam” and a high density of imitative counterpoint, seem to have a similar origin: *Adesto dolori meo, Sancta Maria*.
- Within the remaining Masses, all of which are built on secular models, one may probably associate *Ob ich schon arm* with a Silesian context. Not only because Jobst vom Brandt, the author of the *Lied*, was a firm Lutheran, but also because of the varied style exhibiting beautiful craftsmanship that radiates from this Mass. The fact that the model is neither constantly present, nor deeply imprinted within the texture, could also point towards a late date of composition.

The other four Masses are more difficult to distinguish stylistically, and it will be left to further investigation to ascertain whether they are linked with the Melk or the Zábřdovice periods. One notes, however, that both the *Ung gay bergier* and *Ich stund* Masses display a maturity of style combined with a quasi-instrumental sense of counterpoint, perhaps reminding us that Gallus was also an organist. They can perhaps be more plausibly associated with Zábřdovice, since Gallus insisted in his foreword of his *Epicedion harmonicum* (1589), devoted to the memory of the recently deceased Schönaauer, abbot of Zábřdovice and a long-standing friend and supporter, how much the abbot cared about restoring the organs of the monastery to their full splendour. If Lasso’s Mass *Le berger et la bergère* published in 1574 can be identified as a model for Gallus’s *Ung gay bergier*, as previously suggested, then this *terminus a quo* is also a good fit for a composition originating from the Zábřdovice period. In contrast, *Mixolydium* and *Im Mayen*

could perhaps be earlier in conception. Rueff, to whom Book IV is dedicated is the only dedicatee to whom Gallus speaks in familiar terms, nick-naming himself “your rooster”. This could be a hint that the Mass *Im Mayen* came about in this context.

CONCLUSION

The collection of Masses by Jacobus Handl-Gallus, *Selectiores quaedam missae*, published in 1580, gathers compositions conceived over a decade (1570–1580) in different contexts, as four forewords dedicated to three ecclesiastical dignitaries of different ranks remind us objectively. The diversity of these compositions also reminds us of the flexibility required from musicians of the sixteenth century,⁴⁸ all the more so from an itinerant composer such as Gallus was until 1580, a year coinciding both with his first official position and with the publication of this collection. This diversity is all the greater for the fact that Gallus had also wandered amidst Silesian society (something not mentioned in the forewords), which was for the most part dominated by the Lutheran faith and towards which Catholic hierarchy of the Breslau episcopal see maintained a conciliatory attitude.

If some marks of these different contexts and periods can be detected in the collection, all the Masses reveal a composer already distinguished by a very solid sense of form and a plasticity of musical construction: the variability of choice apparent from the models of the Masses seems itself to have been the result of a carefully planned conception: that is, devised at the level of the collection as a whole. These Masses are rendered delightful in their varied expression not only by the constant renewal of inspiration, which is clearly perceptible, but also by a rhythmic spontaneity and an elegance of prosody: two constituents that constantly reappear in the music of Gallus. These general features, reformulated in every Mass and for each type of borrowed model, unquestionably contribute to the unique dimensions of the 1580 collection. Like the *Opus musicum* that was to follow in the years 1586–1590 and the secular Latin *Moralia* from the 1589–1591 period (some of them published posthumously in 1596), this collection of Masses seems not to have generated imitations or followers. It shows us a composer already in full possession of his expressive means as early as the 1570s, in possession of a *modus operandi* that successive collections were sometimes to slightly modify, yet without ever fundamentally altering it. The time when it was possible to qualify these Masses as “inferior” by comparison with the inspiration of the motets seems today to be long gone, but it is also true that, since they belong to the least often performed or recorded of Gallus’s works, one can only wish for a wider diffusion of these masterpieces in the future.

48 As Thomas Christian Leitmeir well describes it: “Musicians, whose aspirations went beyond employment as humble singer or instrumentalist, had to react swiftly and flexibly to the demands of an ever-changing market”. See Leitmeir, “Lutheran Propers”, 89.

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NEKAJ DODATNIH PRIPOMB K NJEGOVI PRVI TISKANI
ZBIRKI IZ LETA 1580

Zbirka z naslovom *Selectiores quaedam missae* iz leta 1580 je prva, ki je bila objavljena pod Gallusovim imenom. Obsega šestnajst polifonih maš, zasnovanih – razen treh izjem – v skladu z načeli tako imenovane parodične maše. Za razliko od motetov zbirke *Opus musicum* ali posvetnih latinskih skladb zbirke *Harmoniae morales* se zdi kritična odmevnost teh maš skromna, tako glede njihovega položaja v zgodovini polifonih maš ob koncu 16. stoletja kot kronologije njihovega nastanka in celo glede mesta v slogovnem razvoju skladatelja. Pregled vsebine vendarle v več ozirih omogoča ponovno ovrednotenje pomena te zbirke. Prvi se nanaša na materialni vidik izdaje in izpostavlja izjemnost tiska, ki ga je v Pragi pripravil Jiří Nigrin in ki nima para v Srednji Evropi, celo v cesarskih deželah nasploh, saj so bile zbirke uglasbitev mašnega ordinarija v tistem času zlasti domena beneških, pariških ali antwerpskih tiskarjev. Dva vidika se nato nanašata na samo zasnovo zbirke: pomenljiva se zdi Gallusova izbira modelov, na katerih so maše osnovane (pet lastnih motetov, štirje moteti in štiri posvetne skladbe drugih skladateljev), ki se med seboj popolnoma razlikujejo, kakor da bi bila zbirka zamišljena kot prikaz različnih možnih modelov. Po drugi strani pa se zdi, da je skladatelj izbiral tiste modele, ki so bili zelo blizu njegovemu slogu, kar je v mašah omogočalo odlično povezovanje med citati in prostimi odlomki. Pri iskanju možnih indicov za določitev kronologije nastanka maš je treba naposled upoštevati jasno ločnico med mašami, kjer se glasbene fraze nenehno razvijajo in kjer se besede ali fraze pogosto ponavljajo, in mašami, kjer, nasprotno, besedilo skorajda ne vsebuje ponavljanj in kjer se glasbene fraze ne prekrivajo. Naštete razlike in zlasti primer obravnave besede »catholicam« v stavku *Credo* lahko pomagajo pri predvidevanju kronologije nastanka skladb.

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POLYPHONIC MEDITATIONS FOR “MISERABLE TIMES”: MUSIC AND DEVOTION IN THE SPIRITUAL MADRIGALS OF PHILIPPE DE MONTE

IZVLEČEK: Philippe de Monte (1521–1603), verjetno najbolj plodovit madrigalist 16. stoletja, je bil tudi eden najustvarjalnejših skladateljev posebne zvrsti duhovnih madrigalov. V prispevku je podan pregled Montejevega ustvarjanja, predstavljena njegova ideja duhovnega madrigala in orisana povezava s sodobno kulturo in duhovnostjo. Kot najpomembnejši se je izkazal vpliv Družbe Jezusove: jezuiti so bili namreč med temi, ki jim je Monte svoje zbirke posvetil, in avtorji/oskrbovalci uglasbenih besedil.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: Philippe de Monte, duhovni madrigal, Vittoria Colonna, Družba Jezusova, jezuiti in glasba

ABSTRACT: Philippe de Monte (1521–1603), possibly the most prolific madrigalist of the entire sixteenth century, was in addition one of the most productive in the special field of spiritual madrigals. In this article I survey Monte's output, outline his idea of a spiritual madrigal and map the connections with contemporary culture and spirituality. The most notable influence is revealed to be that of the Society of Jesus: Jesuits were in fact among the dedicatees and authors/providers of the texts set.

KEYWORDS: Philippe de Monte, spiritual madrigal, Vittoria Colonna, Society of Jesus, Jesuits and music

MONTE'S BOOKS OF SPIRITUAL MADRIGALS

Philippe de Monte (1521–1603), possibly the most prolific madrigalist of the entire sixteenth century, was also one of the most productive in the special field of spiritual madrigals. Between 1581 and 1593, he published five books of such compositions (see Table 1).¹ Although not much has been written about the transalpine and European reception and dissemination of the Italian spiritual madrigal,² Monte's production surely stands out as one of the most substantial corpora of such compositions written north of the Alps. Whereas the general context still awaits a systematic exploration, in this article I will limit myself to surveying Monte's own books and mapping their connections with contemporary culture and spirituality.

Table 1 | Philippe de Monte's books of spiritual madrigals

TITLE	CITY AND PUBLISHER	YEAR	REFERENCES
<i>Il primo libro de madrigali spirituali a cinque voci</i> [hereafter Book I a 5 (1581)]	Venice: Angelo Gardano	1581	Nuovo Vogel (NV) 802; RISM M 3317
<i>Il primo libro de madrigali spirituali a sei voci</i> [hereafter Book I a 6 (1583)]	Venice: Angelo Gardano	1583	NV 803; RISM M 3318
<i>Il secondo libro de madrigali spirituali a sei et sette voci</i> [hereafter Book II a 6/7 (1589)]	Venice: Angelo Gardano	1589	NV 804; RISM M 3322
<i>Il terzo libro de madrigali spirituali a sei voci</i> [hereafter Book III a 6 (1590)]	Venice: Angelo Gardano	1590	NV 805; RISM M 3323
<i>Eccellenze di Maria Vergine</i>	Venice: Angelo Gardano	1593	NV 733; RISM M 3324

Monte's books of spiritual madrigals apparently belong to different typologies. Book I a 5 (1581) is the most homogeneous one, clearly the result of careful planning. The following Book I a 6 (1583) and Book II a 6/7 (1589) have a more composite nature, notwithstanding the remarkable presence of recurring subjects. In contrast, Book III a 6 (1590) is linked to a specific occasion (the dedication of the Jesuit church

- 1 On Monte's spiritual madrigals, see in particular Nuten, *De "Madrigali Spirituali"*; Pass, "Die originelle Ansicht des Unendlichen"; Powers, "Spiritual Madrigal in Counter-Reformation Italy", 112–115 and *passim*; Filippi, "Earthly Music"; Schmalzriedt, "Philippe de Montes geistliche Madrigale"; and Filippi, "'Ask the Jesuits'".
- 2 Some notes on the Munich context for Lasso's spiritual madrigals appear, for instance, in Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, 106–112.

of St Michael in Munich), whereas Monte's last effort, the incompletely preserved *Eccellenze di Maria Vergine*, is unique in that it sets the stanzas of a single poem.

Monte dedicated his Book I a 5 (1581) to the newly elected Superior-General of the Society of Jesus, Claudio Acquaviva (for the contents of this book, see Table 2).³ The Jesuit connections of the book, however, are not limited to the dedication but concern its very genesis: as Monte states in the dedication, he received the texts of the madrigals from a member of the Society, a certain "Lorenzo Cotemanno" (alias Laurent Coteman) who had previously been among his pupils in the Imperial chapel. From documents published by other scholars and information retrieved at the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI) by the present writer,⁴ we now know that Coteman came from Liège, where he was born in 1557, and that he left Vienna after his voice broke in 1576; he went to Italy and entered the Society of Jesus in the summer of 1577;⁵ and at least until 1579 he is recorded in the Roman Province of the Society. It is not known how many texts Coteman sent to Monte and whether the composer selected the texts to set from a larger number.⁶ What is certain, though, is that the book is structurally very consistent: all fifteen texts are sonnets, and each sonnet is set in two *partes*, respecting its metrical subdivision into quatrains and tercets; moreover, there seems to be a certain regularity in length and a quasi-symmetrical ordering by mode.⁷ Intriguingly, the only identifiable authors are two female poets: Laura Battiferri degli Ammannati (author of the opening sonnet) and Vittoria Colonna (author of eight texts); the other texts are of unknown authorship.⁸ The book is less uniform in terms of content, but several recurring themes (with matching keywords) are recognizable: the view of the world as a "valley of tears" in contrast to Heaven, the crucial role of divine grace in the soul's battle for salvation and the conflict between reason and earthly desires. Interestingly, no fewer than three pieces depict spiritual experiences by means of musical metaphors (nos. 8, 11 and 12).

3 Modern edition of the whole book in Nuten, *De "Madrigali Spirituali"*, vol. 2.

4 See more detailed information and references in Filippi, "Earthly Music"; and Filippi, "Ask the Jesuits".

5 The precise date is a new addition to the data I have already published: "Lorenzo Cotemanno: 27 agosto 1577" appears in a list of novices of the Provincia Romana, 1565–1586 (typewritten copy of ms. ARSI, Rom. 171c, attached to the volume of indexes "Prov. Rom. 41–171b" available in the reading room at the ARSI).

6 It is worth noting that the texts set by Monte follow the versions of Colonna's famous manuscript for Michelangelo rather than those of her printed collections (Filippi, "Earthly Music", 219): for further reflections on how those manuscript versions might have reached the Jesuit milieu in Rome, see Veronica Copello's introduction to Colonna, *La raccolta di rime*, XL–XLI.

7 See Filippi, "Earthly Music", 222–223.

8 For a discussion of the two poets' Jesuit connections, as well as of other aspects of this book, I refer the reader simply to my previously published works cited in the preceding notes. On Monte (and other composers') settings of Colonna's poems, see Piéjus, "Musical Settings of the 'Rime'".

Table 2 | Monte, Book I a 5 (1581): contents

TEXT	AUTHOR	DESCRIPTION
1. <i>Se gli occhi innalzo a rimirar talora / Oh come son di voi stelle più ardenti</i>	L. Battiferri degli Ammannati	All texts are sonnets (always set in two partes)
2. <i>L'alto consiglio, allor ch'eleger volse / Perché non la legò, né meno in forse</i>	V. Colonna	
3. <i>Mentre io sciolto correa da me lontano / Ma lettre in ghiaccio scritte e poste al sole</i>		
4. <i>Un foco sol la Donna nostra accese / Cangiar obietto o variar pensiero</i>	V. Colonna	
5. <i>Signor, chi n'esporrà gli alti tuoi modi / O pur perché dobbiam noi reverenti</i>		
6. <i>Quando il turbato mar s'alza e circonda / E se talor la barca del desio</i>	V. Colonna	
7. <i>Su l'alte eterne ruote il pie' fermasti / L'alma sul divin monte altera siede</i>	V. Colonna	
8. <i>Se 'l breve suon che sol quest'aer frale / Che fia quando udirà con vivo zelo</i>	V. Colonna	
9. <i>Fido pensier, se intrar non puoi sovente / Non ti smarrir, rinforza il vago volo</i>	V. Colonna	
10. <i>Puri innocenti, il vostro invito e forte / Voi senza fede deste il pianto solo</i>	V. Colonna	
11. <i>Vorrei l'orecchia aver qui chiusa e sorda / Amor alza le voci, amor le abbassa</i>	V. Colonna	
12. <i>Ben che da dotta man toccata sia / E se l'istessa man, saggia e possente</i>		
13. <i>Oggi, Signor, non con molt'oro ed ostro / E di cometter poi tanto s'avanza</i>		
14. <i>Or che non più di te né d'altro calmi / A te così di me mai più non caglia</i>		
15. <i>Quand'io scorgo i larvati basilischi / Ma fera incauta son ch'ove più incorsa</i>		

Book I a 6 (1583) was dedicated to “Gioan Fuccari”, i.e., Johannes, or Hans, Fugger (1531–1598), who has been characterized as “possibly the greatest Maecenas of non-princely origin of his time”.⁹ In the dedicatory letter, signed at Vienna on 25 Sep-

9 “[...] der größte Mäzen nichtfürstlichen Geschlechts seiner Zeit”: Rieckenberg, “Fugger, Johannes Graf”. On Fugger, see also Honisch, “Sacred Music in Prague”, 399–400. A modern edition of Book I a 6 is Monte, *Madrigalium spiritualium*, edited by Georg van Doorslaer. For

tember 1583,¹⁰ Monte praises Fugger for having remained “staunch, among so many storms and wrecks, in the true and most holy Catholic religion” (“sald[o], fra tante tempeste e naufragii, nella vera e santissima religion Catolica”).¹¹ Despite the stereotyped character of such remarks and in light of the debate about Monte’s position in the troubled confessional landscape of his time,¹² it needs to be stressed that to all appearances the composer remained faithful to Catholicism throughout his life and in his old age even became a Catholic priest.¹³ The poems chosen for this book (see Table 3) are mainly sonnets (unlike in the first book of 1581, however, they are often set in a single *pars*). Besides Colonna, of whom five texts are set consecutively (nos. 2–6), we are able to identify a certain number of authors (more than in any other book in this series): Francesco Beccuti, also known as “il Coppetta” (no. 17); Giovanni della Casa (nos. 7 and 12);¹⁴ Gabriele Fiamma (no. 9); Bruto Guarini, also known as “Bruto da Fano” (no. 18).¹⁵ Eight poems cannot currently be attributed. The main subjects are the mysteries of Incarnation and Redemption (also in relation to the Virgin Mary); meditations on the Cross of Christ and on His death (considered from many different perspectives); the *contemptum mundi* and (desire of) conversion. As in other books by Monte, there seems to be a nucleus of texts that insist on these leitmotives plus a handful of pieces on miscellaneous subjects — such as, here, Christmas (no. 15), Easter (no. 14) and martyrdom (no. 13).

Book II a 6/7 (1589) was dedicated to Archduke Charles II, a prominent member of the House of Habsburg, which, to quote the dedicatory letter signed at Venice on 25 August 1589, had remained the “buttress of true religion in these miserable times” (“sostentamento della vera religione in questi miseri tempi”).¹⁶

the facsimile, see Monte, *Il primo libro de madrigali spirituali a 6 voci*, published in the series Corpus of Early Music. A digital reproduction of the copy held at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France is available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k45003216>.

¹⁰ See the transcription in Nuten, *De “Madrigali Spirituali”*, vol. 1, 84–85.

¹¹ All translations in the article are the author’s unless otherwise stated.

¹² See, for instance, Silies, *Die Motetten des Philippe de Monte, passim*.

¹³ Surely after 1585 (not by 1577, as frequently stated); see Wistreich, “Philippe de Monte”, 289; and the comments in Filippi, “Earthly Music”, 224n70.

¹⁴ The version of no. 7 set by Monte has a different incipit from the one that predominates in the printed tradition of Della Casa’s works (“Sperando, Amor, da te salute invano” instead of “Mentre sperai da te salute invano”).

¹⁵ The poem was printed in *Rime piacevoli di Cesare Caporali, del Mauro, et d’altri auttori* (Ferrara: V. Baldini, 1586). See the record for Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Ms. F 42 in *Manus online* (http://manus.iccu.sbn.it/opac_SchedaScheda.php?ID=171919).

¹⁶ See the transcription in Nuten, *De “Madrigali Spirituali”*, vol. 1, 93–94. Modern edition of the whole book in Nuten, *De “Madrigali Spirituali”*, vol. 3. For the facsimile, see Monte, *Il secondo libro de madrigali spirituali a 6 & 7 voci*, published in the series Corpus of Early Music. A digital reproduction of the copy held by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek is available at <http://stimmbuecher.digitale-sammlungen.de/view?id=bsb00075258>.

The opposition between “true religion” and “miserable times” clearly alludes to the inter-confessional conflicts of the period and is reflected in one way or another in the subjects of the poems: the most recurrent theme is that of the earthly travails and battles that humans must endure — under the threat of the Enemy but with the Saints and the Virgin Mary as protectors, models and intercessors — en route to their heavenly home. Looking at the texts, several aspects are worth of note (see Table 4): the continuing presence of Vittoria Colonna (with three sonnets); the first and only occurrence of Torquato Tasso in Monte’s spiritual madrigal production, with the sonnet *Padre del ciel, or ch’atra nube il calle* (no. 2); and the inclusion of three texts in Latin (nos. 4, 6 and 11), which has no parallel in Monte’s other books. An examination of the Latin texts reveals interesting details. One of them, the seven-part *Virgo vetustis edita regibus*, is taken from the Jesuit Peter Canisius’s book *De Maria Virgine incomparabili et Dei genitrice sacrosancta* (Ingolstadt, 1577), a cornerstone of contemporary Catholic apologetics.¹⁷ As I have argued elsewhere,¹⁸ the inclusion of this text testifies to the enduring Jesuit connections and strong confessional engagement underlying Monte’s spiritual works. While *Proh quae tenero vis in amore est* (no. 6) might be linked with theatrical activity, perhaps with a Jesuit Christmas play,¹⁹ some features of the other Latin text, *Celestis sponsa, excelsi regis iam gloriosum* (no. 4), seem to point to a different destination. Its composite text, variously in prose and verse, is an invocation to St Catherine of Alexandria; it consists of a patchwork formed from pre-existing liturgical or paraliturgical texts, with Litany elements. As if echoing the central passage that reads “let us joyfully sing to each other [or sing alternately] a sweet canticle, to be intoned only by virgins” (“canticum dulce solis virginibus decantandum laetantes invicem canamus”), Monte sets this text with an unusual scoring (employing clefs G2, C1, C1, C1, C3, C4),²⁰ which might point towards a performance by female voices, perhaps one with instrumental accompaniment. Add to this the surprising praise of women included in no. 9, a text by Colonna that, opposing the courage of the “defenceless St Mary Magdalene” at the sepulchre to the fear felt by the “strong Apostles” barricaded in the Cenacle, concludes that “it is right to give women full credit for having a more fervent and more constant heart [than men].”²¹ All this could suggest the existence of yet unexplored connections between Monte’s devotional music and female religious houses.

17 See Silies, *Die Motetten des Philippe de Monte*, 207.

18 Filippi, “Ask the Jesuits”, 70–71.

19 See Silies, *Die Motetten des Philippe de Monte*, 250–254; and the comments in Filippi, “Ask the Jesuits”, 70.

20 Which has a parallel only in *Virgo vetustis edita regibus*, with clefs G2, G2, C2, C2, C3, C3, C4.

21 “Convien dar alle donn’ il pregio intiero / d’aver il cor più acceso e più costante”.

Table 3 | Monte, Book I a 6 (1583): contents

TEXT	AUTHOR	DESCRIPTION
1. <i>Sparsè il bel volto di color di Tiro / E pareo in vista dir questa mia vita</i>		sonnet (set in two parts)
2. <i>Vergine pura che de' raggi ardenti</i>	V. Colonna	sonnet (set in one part)
3. <i>Donna dal Ciel gradita a tanto honore</i>	V. Colonna	sonnet (set in one part)
4. <i>Stella del nostro mar chiara e sicura</i>	V. Colonna	sonnet (set in one part)
5. <i>Vedea l'alto Signor ch'ardendo langue / Nuovo trionfo e in modo nuovo</i>	V. Colonna	sonnet (set in two parts)
6. <i>Dimmi, lume del mondo e chiaro honore / Io sol ti scorgo afflito e dentr'e fuore</i>	V. Colonna	sonnet (set in two parts) [but first part = first quatrain only]
7. <i>Mentre sperai da te salute invano / E sì come augellin, campato il visco</i>	G. Della Casa	sonnet (set in two parts)
8. <i>Quando tutto di sangue e sudor pieno / Credo ben io ch'indi restavi morta</i>		sonnet (set in two parts)
9. <i>Son questi i chiari lumi onde sereno / Ahi che spietata stampa hoggi rimiro</i>	G. Fiamma	sonnet (set in two parts)
10. <i>È morte o vita quella che ne toglie / È vita a chi morendo visse bene</i>		sonnet (set in two parts)
11. <i>Quando l'anima mia pensa al gran pegno / E vuol che sian per le paci tranquille</i>		sonnet (set in two parts)
12. <i>Io che lieto solea viver nel fango / Che poi ch'a mortal rischio è gita invano</i>	G. Della Casa	sonnet (set in two parts)
13. <i>Fu sempre chiara e memorabil prova / Anzi è vittoria illustre, anzi son molte</i>		sonnet (set in two parts)
14. <i>In questo di giocondo</i>		madrigal
15. <i>A l'apparir del sol ch'al cieco e averso / Tutta lieta il raccoglie e 'n picciol velo</i>		sonnet (set in two parts)
16. <i>Alma felice che sì dolcemente</i>		sonnet (set in one part)
17. <i>Sento squarciar del vecchio tempio il velo</i>	F. Beccuti	octave
18. <i>Con negra benda il ciel gl'occhi velarsi</i>	Bruto Guarini	sonnet (set in one part)

Table 4 | Monte, Book II a 6/7 (1589): contents

TEXT	AUTHOR	DESCRIPTION
1. <i>Non son degn'io, Signore</i>		madrigal
2. <i>Padre del ciel, or ch'atra nube il calle</i>	T. Tasso	sonnet (set in one part)
3. <i>Padre nostro e del ciel, con quanto amore / Dal fermo stato poi nasce la fede</i>	V. Colonna	sonnet (set in two parts)
4. <i>Celestis sponsa, excelsi regis iam gloriosum</i>	[Latin text]	
5. <i>Giace nel mezzo de le fiamm'ardenti / Prova ben degna del divino amore</i>	Raffaele Bonelli	sonnet (set in two parts)
6. <i>Proh quae tenero vis in amore est / En Samsonem pronubus alterum</i>	[Latin text]	
7. <i>Signor cui fu già poco / Signor la nott'e 'l giorno / Signor cui piacqu'ornare</i>		3 stanzas: abAbbcC
8. <i>L'ardente robo e mai dal foco offeso</i>		madrigal
9. <i>La bella donn'a cui dolente preme</i>	V. Colonna	sonnet (set in one part)
10. <i>Quanta gioia tu segno e stella ardente</i>	V. Colonna	sonnet (set in one part)
11. <i>Virgo vetustis edita regibus</i> (7 parts)	[Latin text] P. Canisius	

As mentioned above, Book III a 6 (1590) is directly connected with an event, a place, a religious order, a ruler and a complex story of patronage. The title page advertises the fact that the book was composed on occasion of the dedication of the Jesuit church of St Michael in Munich, sponsored by Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria. According to the dedication,²² and similarly to what had happened in 1581 with Coteman, Monte had received the texts from a Jesuit father, Gerolamo Ferricelli, who had sent to Monte from Munich some poems “partly composed by him, partly by other Fathers of the Society of Jesus”. But it was ultimately the duke who “gave them cause to write [these poems], by having built the most splendid temple [...] dedicated to St Michael the Archangel”. Monte, in turn, had only tried with “great love and fervour” to “complement [the poems] with the grace they deserve for their subject and their elegance”. As a result of this peculiar genesis the book has several distinctive features (for the contents, see below, Table 5). The only recognizable author is Della Casa (no. 11), and it is unfortunately not possible at the moment to illuminate further the role of Fer-

22 Signed from Venice on 10 November 1590. See a facsimile in Nuten, *De “Madrigali Spirituali”*, vol. 1, 100–101; and a full transcription and translation in Filippi, “Ask the Jesuits”, 79–80.

ricelli and his fellow Jesuits. However, it seems no mere coincidence that two of the texts were later set by Asprilio Pacelli in his first book of spiritual madrigals published in 1601, when he was "maestro di capella nel Colleggio [*sic*] Germanico di Roma" — that is to say in one of the main Jesuit institutions in Rome (see below, Table 6).²³ Some of the poems seem to be directly related to the occasion, the patron and the church: in particular, no. 1, which is an acrostic sonnet in honour of Duke Wilhelm (the first letters of each line spell out the words "DUCA GUGLIELMO") and might even flatteringly suggest an equation of the duke with St Michael. No. 3 seems to refer to the construction of the church of St Michael, and the way in which it addresses the Archangel in the second part reminds one immediately of Hubert Gerhard's bronze statue, prominently placed in the façade of the church:²⁴

Tu sol, Michel, mentre soccinto stai
 E del fiero Dragon domando l'ira
 Conturbi in parte nostre liete voglie
 Ma col baston che l'huom trasse da' guai
 E rese al cielo le dovute spoglie
 A vittorie e trionfi ogn'uno aspira.²⁵

Other texts may allude to pictures or relics preserved in the church (e.g., no. 2); in general, affectionate meditation on the Passion is a central subject; a series of texts (nos. 5–9) appear to be interconnected in various ways, sharing subjects, keywords, concepts and rhyming words; they possibly form a set of variations (by different hands?) on the theme of the suffering Christ and his Most Precious Blood (here, too, the reference to a picture venerated as St Michael, such as an *Imago Pietatis*, seems likely). On the other hand, the imagery of the concluding *sestina* (no. 12), which invokes God as the "wind" and "light" for the "battered ship" of the faithful that strives to reach harbour through a perilous sea, is strikingly similar to that of other poems set in previous books by Monte, notably no. 6 (by Vittoria Colonna) and no. 14 in Book I a 5 (1581).

The last spiritual book published by Monte, the incompletely preserved *Eccellenze di Maria Vergine* (1593), is exceptional within this series for many reasons. Contrasting with the more or less composite nature of the previous books, it sets the forty stanzas (octaves) of a single poem by Orazio Guarguanti in honour of the

23 See the title page reproduced in Pacelli, *Madrigali*.

24 See Smith, "Art of Salvation in Bavaria", 568; Smith, *Sensuous Worship*, 70–72.

25 Translation: "You alone, Michael, while with your vestment girded up you tame the anger of the fierce Dragon, you somewhat perturb our happy mood; but armed with your spear that rescued mankind from its woes and rendered up to Heaven its due spoils, everyone can aspire to victories and triumphs".

Table 5 | Monte, Book III a 6 (1590): contents

TEXT	AUTHOR	DESCRIPTION
1. <i>Densi nembi d'intorno e fieri venti / In tanti lutti un sol rimedio scorgo</i>		acrostic sonnet (set in two parts)
2. <i>Chi vuol mirar li par veder un gioco / Qui gli angelici spirti intorno stanno</i>		sonnet (set in two parts)
3. <i>Fondar in vivi sassi i fondamenti / Tu sol, Michel, mentre soccinto stai</i>		sonnet (set in two parts)
4. <i>Chiare luci serene</i>		abCdd[...]eeE
5. <i>Di teneri diamanti</i>		abbaCCdD
6. <i>Duro mio core ingrato</i>		abcCdedeE
7. <i>Chiare lucide stille</i>		abbAcCDD
8. <i>Ben fia tosto Signore</i>		abaCcbDD
9. <i>Stella più chiara e bella</i>		abBCcdaEE
10. <i>Signor a cui tacita parla</i>		abbccDDdEefF
11. <i>Questa vita mortal [che 'n una o 'n due] / Anz'il dolce aer puro e questa luce</i>	G. Della Casa	sonnet (set in two parts)
12. <i>Stanco già di solcar sì crudel onde (sestina)</i>		sestina (set in six parts)

Blessed Virgin,²⁶ adding a final sonnet *de Passione* (already present in the printed editions of the text alone). The project is obviously comparable to the almost exactly contemporary spiritual cycles by Lasso (*Lagrime di San Pietro*, 1594 [published 1595], setting a popular poem by Luigi Tansillo) and Palestrina (*Priego alla Beata Vergine*, 1594, setting a text by the obscure Antonio Migliori).²⁷ While the *Eccellenze* share with the *Priego* the Marian subject, it should be noted that Guarguanti's poem was repeatedly printed together with Tansillo's *Lagrime*.²⁸

26 “[...] celebrandosi in essa l’Eccellenze del corpo e dell’anima della Madre di Gesù Cristo Salvator nostro”: see the dedication transcribed in Hindrichs, *Philipp de Monte*, 199.

27 On Lasso's cycle, see Fisher, “Per mia particolare devotione”. On Palestrina's cycle, see Della Sciuca, “Esegesi testuale e grande forma”.

28 For instance, in *Le lagrime di san Pietro del signor Luigi Tansillo; con le Lagrime della Maddalena del signor Erasmo da Valuasone. Di nuouo ristampate, et aggiuntoui l'Eccellenze della gloriosa Vergine Maria, del signor Horatio Guarguante da Soncino* (Venice: appresso Simon Cornetti & fratelli, 1592). For further editions, including one possibly dating from as early as 1589, see *Editr6*, “Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo”, <http://editr6.iccu.sbn.it/>.

The lack of surviving evidence concerning the dissemination and reception of Monte's *Eccellenze* makes it difficult to ascertain whether they played any role in inspiring Lasso's and Palestrina's choice of setting a unified cycle of spiritual madrigals at such a short temporal distance. The coincidence, however, is surely remarkable. In the cyclic "swan songs" of these composers, who all belonged to the fading generation born in the 1520s, the polyphonic spiritual madrigal perhaps reached its most ambitious stage of development. It is true, however, that in the case of Monte the book has a less personal connotation than have those by Palestrina and, especially, Lasso. In fact, whereas in at least two other books by Monte we have observed the agency of a "provider of texts" (the Jesuits Coteman, in 1581, and Ferricelli, in 1590), the role of Orazio Guarguanti (1554–1611), a multi-talented physician, seems here even more significant. Not only was he the author of all the texts set in the book, but he also signed, at Venice (on 10 January 1593), the dedication of Monte's work, addressing it to "Benetta Pisana": i.e., Benedetta Pisani Dolfin, wife of the Procurator of San Marco Andrea Dolfin.²⁹ Incidentally, Guarguanti had already collaborated with Monte in 1591, when he wrote a canzone in memory of the Venetian noblewoman Bianca Ruzini Contarini, then had it set to music "con arte maravigliosa dal Signore Filippo di Monte, Maestro di Capella della Sacra Maestà Cesarea, Compositor Eminentissimo",³⁰ and finally published it together with madrigals by Rore, G. Gabrieli and other prominent composers.³¹

SPIRITUAL CONTENTS AND DEVOTIONAL CONTEXTS

In order to understand better Monte's idea of a spiritual madrigal, let us try to map the spiritual contents and possible devotional contexts for this music in order to arrive at some general reflections on its style. What kind of spirituality does this corpus reflect? On the one hand, there are a wide variety of themes and approaches. On the other, certain specifically characterized approaches to specifically characterized themes occur repeatedly.

Several texts are relatable to devotional practices or even to the sacramental life of the faithful. An example is *Non son degn'io, Signore* from 1589, a poetic madrigal that paraphrases the words usually said in prayer at Mass before Communion:

- 29 On Guarguanti, see Ceruti, *Biografia soncinate*, 200–206; Fonte, *Worth of Women*, 182 and 218–220. For an engraved portrait of Guarguante by Raphaël Sadeler, dated 1600, see <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/RP-P-1909-4554>.
- 30 From the dedication to Count Luigi Della Torre, published in Hindrichs, *Philipp de Monte*, 197; see also *ibid.*, 77–78.
- 31 *La Ruzina canzone di Filippo de Monte, insieme un'altra di Cipriano de Rore, et altri Madrigali de diversi famosissimi autori* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1591). See Baroncini, "Giovanni Gabrieli e la committenza privata", 39–40.

“Domine non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum [...]” (“Lord, I am not worthy that you should enter under my roof [...]”). Other texts allude more or less specifically to festivals in the liturgical year, such as the feast of the Holy Innocents (*Puri innocenti, il vostro invito e forte*, 1581, text by Colonna), Easter (*In questo dì giocondo*, 1583, text unattributed) or the Epiphany (*Quanta gioia tu segno e stella ardente*, 1589, text by Colonna). Other pieces refer to saints and possibly to their feast days: St Catherine of Alexandria (*Su l’alte eterne ruote il pie’ fermasti*, 1581, text by Colonna; and *Celestis sponsa, excelsi regis iam gloriosum*, 1589); St Laurence (*Giace nel mezzo de le fiamm’ardenti*, 1589, text by Raffaele Bonelli); St Mary Magdalene (*Sparse il bel volto di color di Tiro*, 1583; and *La bella donn’a cui dolente preme*, 1589, text by Colonna); St Michael Archangel (*Fondar in vivi sassi i fondamenti*, 1589); and St Victoria martyr (*Fu sempre chiara e memorabil prova*, 1583).

Numerous pieces, unsurprisingly, honour and invoke the Virgin Mary: in her Immaculate Conception (*L’alto consiglio, allor ch’elegger volse*, 1581, text by Colonna); in her Assumption (*Un foco sol la Donna nostra accese*, 1581, text by Colonna); as the *Mater dolorosa* (*Quando tutto di sangue e sudor pieno*, 1583); for the “excellencies” of her body and soul (the whole book of *Eccellenze*, 1593); in association with Christmas and the Mystery of Incarnation (e.g., *A l’apparir del sol ch’al cieco e averso*, 1583); or, more generally, as an advocate and intercessor (e.g., *L’ardente robo e mai dal foco offeso*, 1589). Only Book III a 6 (1590) contains no Marian settings.

Other pieces develop more speculative or introspective themes or have mystical and ascetic subjects. The themes of *vanitas*, *contemptum mundi* and conversion are often introduced — for instance in *Or che non più di te né d’altro calmi* (1581) and *Mentre sperai da te salute invano* (1583, text by Della Casa). Death is the subject of such pieces as *È morte o vita quella che ne toglie* and *Alma felice che sì dolcemente* (both 1583). Remarkable, too, are the three musico-mystical pieces of 1581 mentioned above, which draw parallels between earthly and heavenly music and touch upon the topic of the spiritual senses. One madrigal alone in the whole corpus has a moral and not explicitly Christian theme: the utterly pessimistic *Quand’io scorgo i larvati basilischi*, which closes Book I a 5 (1581).³²

While God the Father is invoked in a handful of pieces, such as *Padre del ciel, or ch’atra nube il calle* (1589, text by Tasso), the Christocentric character of the corpus is apparent. Whereas certain pieces depict Gospel scenes such as the Nativity or the Multiplication of the loaves and fishes (*Oggi, Signor, non con molt’oro ed ostro*, 1581) or reflect in abstract terms on the mysteries of Incarnation and Redemption, the material centre of this Christocentric landscape is undoubtedly the Cross (see especially 1583 and 1590). The Cross is regarded as the seat of Christ’s humble triumph (*Vede a l’alto Signor ch’ardendo langue*, 1583, text by Colonna), but most of all as the place

32 See Filippi, “Earthly Music”, 222.

where He bitterly suffered for sinners. No fewer than three pieces from 1583 feature a dialogue between the worshipper and the crucified Jesus or a first-person address to Him: *Dimmi, lume del mondo e chiaro honore* (text by Colonna), which highlights the contrast between Christ's love and the ingratitude of non-repentant men; *Son questi i chiari lumi onde sereno* (text by Fiamma), which includes a contemplation of the limbs of Christ (the eyes, the head, the hands and the feet); and *Quando l'anima mia pensa al gran pegno*, whose unattributed text concludes with the offering of a "crucified heart" to Jesus.

To conclude this survey of Monte's texts, it should be noted that just a few of them had been or would be set by contemporary composers (see Table 6). Besides the overlap with Pietro Vinci's monographic collection of settings of poems by Colonna (*Quattordecim sonetti spirituali della illustrissima et eccellentissima divina Vittoria Colonna [...] messi in canto* [Venice: heir of G. Scotto, 1580]),³³ the concordances with the 'Roman' books of spiritual madrigals by Marenzio (1584) and Asprilio Pacelli (1601) may repay further investigation.

As discussed above, the texts for at least two of Monte's books (1581 and 1590) were provided by Jesuits, and further links with Jesuit environments emerge in other books as well. We know that Monte had connections with the Clementinum, the Jesuit college in Prague: in 1586 he presented some of his printed motets to a member of the college,³⁴ while other contacts with the Jesuits in Prague, trivial though these may be, are documented.³⁵ As far as the spiritual madrigals are directly concerned, however, evidence seems to point, rather, towards Jesuits based in Rome and Munich.³⁶ On the other hand, a letter of 1603 by a prominent member of the Society (and future saint), Robert Bellarmine, gives us a rare piece of concrete evidence regarding the post-print reception of Monte's spiritual madrigals.³⁷ Bellarmine, recently appointed archbishop of Capua, requested one of his correspondents in Rome to provide him with copies of the 1583 and 1590 books, at the same time affirming that he already possessed and had put to practical use the 1589 and (probably) 1581 books.³⁸ Indeed,

33 See again Piéjus, "Musical Settings of the 'Rime'".

34 Honisch, "Sacred Music in Prague", 72 and 75.

35 See Honisch, "Sacred Music in Prague", 66; Wistreich, "Philippe de Monte", 295.

36 In view also of Monte's contribution of a six-voice "cantio sacra de nomine Iesu", *O bone Iesu exaudi me* (in three parts) to Georg Victorinus's *Thesaurus litaniarum* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1596). Victorinus was *praelectus musicae* at the Jesuit church of St Michael in Munich.

37 As to the dissemination of the books, Hindrichs reports that the Augsburg patrician Hans Heinrich Herwart had a copy of Book I a 5 (1581) in his extensive collection of music books, whereas another contemporary collector, Georg Knoff, possessed both the 1581 book and Book I a 6 (1583). King João IV of Portugal, in turn, had copies of Book I a 6 (1583) and Book III a 6 (1590). Book I a 6 (1583) was present also in the library of the Accademia Filarmonica in Verona. See Hindrichs, *Philipp de Monte*, 87–90.

38 The document is published in [De Santì], "Il ven. card. Roberto Bellarmino". See also the comments in Filippi, "Ask the Jesuits", 73–75.

Table 6 | Concordances for Monte's spiritual madrigals

	TITLE	AUTHOR OF THE TEXT	OTHER KNOWN SETTINGS
I a 5 (1581)	<i>Puri innocenti, il vostro invito e forte</i>	V. Colonna	- Vinci, <i>Quattordici sonetti</i> (1580)
	<i>Vergine pura che de' raggi ardenti</i>	V. Colonna	- Vinci, <i>Quattordici sonetti</i> (1580) - text with "cantasi come" in <i>Lodi devote</i> (Genua, 1589)
	<i>Stella del nostro mar chiara e sicura</i>	V. Colonna	- Vinci, <i>Quattordici sonetti</i> (1580)
I a 6 (1583)	<i>Son questi i chiari lumi onde sereno</i>	G. Fiamma	- text with "cantasi come" in <i>Lodi e canzoni</i> (Turin, 1579)
	<i>Sento squarciar del vecchio tempio il velo</i>	F. Beccuti	- Marenzio, Book I a 5 [spiritual] (1584) - Zenaro, Book I a 3 (1589) - G. F. Anerio, <i>Teatro armonico spirituale</i> (1619)
	<i>Padre del ciel, or ch'atra nube il calle</i>	T. Tasso	- Marenzio, Book I a 5 [spiritual] (1584) - Malvezzi, Book I a 6 (1584) - Dueto, Book II a 4 (1586)
	<i>Padre nostro e del ciel, con quanto amore</i>	V. Colonna	- Vinci, <i>Quattordici sonetti</i> (1580)
II a 6/7 (1589)	<i>Signor cui fu già poco</i>		- A. Gabrieli in RISM 1586/1 and in Book III a 5 (1589) (RISM 1589/14) - Marenzio, Book I a 5 [spiritual] (1584) - Merulo, Book II a 5 (1604)
	<i>La bella donn'a cui dolente preme</i>	V. Colonna	- Vinci, <i>Quattordici sonetti</i> (1580)
	<i>Quanta gioia tu segno e stella ardente</i>	V. Colonna	- Vinci, <i>Quattordici sonetti</i> (1580)
III a 6 (1590)	<i>Di teneri diamanti</i>		- Pacelli, Book I a 4 [spiritual] (1601)
	<i>Chiare lucide stille</i>		- Pacelli, Book I a 4 [spiritual] (1601)

Jesuit houses, seminaries and the residences of prelates were among the possible sites for the performance of Monte's madrigals.

As mentioned above in the discussion of Book II a 6/7 (1589), performances of certain pieces in convents could also be a possibility to consider. Besides religious and noble houses, the Imperial court itself and princely courts in general were possible performance sites, as the 1582 incident involving Ludwig Haberstock in Vienna confirms (this was when the agent of the duke of Bavaria heard a performance of spiritual madrigals by Monte, in all likelihood from his Book I a 5 [1581], and reported the fact by mail to his master in Munich).³⁹ Although Monte did not dedicate any of the books either to Emperor Rudolph II or to members of the Prague court or the city's élite, he conspicuously advertised his position as *maestro di cappella* to the Emperor on title pages. Despite the absence of documentary evidence concerning their reception in the Imperial capital, Erika Honisch has suggested what the audience for them in Prague might have consisted of: the Italian congregation of the Blessed Virgin (sponsored, once again, by the Jesuits),⁴⁰ papal legates and their circles, Catholic noblemen and — perhaps especially — noblewomen.⁴¹ Private or semi-public devotional exercises on certain days or in certain periods of the liturgical year could be occasions for the performance of these pieces, but the spiritual madrigals could also be included in less formal musical entertainments. Whereas Book III a 6 (1590) is connected with a specific event (even though no record has emerged so far that Monte's madrigals were actually sung during the celebrations for the dedication of St Michael in Munich), the problem of the practical destination for such a work as the *Eccellenze di Maria Vergine* is surely thought-provoking. As with the other contemporary mega-cycles mentioned above, we may wonder whether they in fact had a mainly "representative" character — as an abstract project, without any predetermined option for actual performance — or, conversely, ponder which precise institutions or situations could accommodate complete performances of such extended works.

POLYPHONIC MEDITATIONS IN A VALLEY OF TEARS: NOTES ON MONTE'S STYLE

As I remarked earlier, certain subjects, keywords and images occur repeatedly in the corpus of texts set by Monte as spiritual madrigals. These include: binary oppositions such as sin versus conversion; the paradoxical aspects of sacred history; metaphors depicting life as a stormy and dangerous sea; harsh sounds, words and phrases, as if

39 See the two letters by Haberstock published in Leuchtman, *Orlando di Lasso*, vol. 2, 26n17; English translation, further comments and bibliography in Filippi, "Earthly Music", 213–214; and Filippi, "Ask the Jesuits", 68–69.

40 See Edwards, "Repertory Migration", 91.

41 Honisch, "Sacred Music in Prague", 407.

redolent of Dante's *rime petrose*. A negative pathos, an anguished mood dominates in these texts. Monte reads them with the hyper-refined tools and techniques of the consummate madrigalist he is, but the resulting alchemy, elegant and well-balanced as it is, never crosses the boundaries of a restrained aesthetics. Undoubtedly, the *aurea mediocritas* of Monte's style, combined with his amazing productivity, helps to explain the limited interest his music has aroused among modern scholars and performers.

Sections⁴² are kept short. The texture is quintessentially polyphonic: tension and drive are achieved mainly by varying it, albeit without ever resorting to a treble-dominated solution. We may venture to say that Monte's writing is "anti-melodic": his lines are gestural, asymmetric and expressive rather than directional; they are subordinate to the texture, not vice versa. In a sense, this is the exact opposite of what can be seen in the music of some of his contemporaries and notably another "Habsburg" composer, Tomás Luis de Victoria.⁴³ Even when Monte employs homorhythmic declamation, the content is prevailingly rhythmic-harmonic and the overall effect is far from that of an accompanied melody (with the partial exception of some of the pieces in Book I a 6 (1583), scored CAATTB and thus possessing only one treble part).

The declamatory vein emerging in Book I a 6 (1583) (and in Book II a 6/7 (1589) as well, but chiefly in the Latin-texted pieces) seems to be intended to compensate for a certain fragmentation of form — an inherent risk in madrigalian literature from which Monte was not immune. In fact, Monte always focuses on the individual image, word or syntagm much more than on higher and broader levels of meaning and organization. At times, the complex construction of sonnets, for instance, appears to be made less transparent by this musical treatment (see Colonna's *Quando il turbato mar* in Book I a 5 (1581) and also Della Casa's *Mentre sperai da te salute invano* in Book I a 6 (1583)). Again in Book I a 6 (1583), we see Monte adopt another strategy in order to cope with similar problems: in several madrigals he alternates sections in which a meaningful image or keyword inspires a special or expressive contrapuntal device with other sections offering purely homorhythmic declamation (see, for instance, *Son questi i chiari lumi*).

Unsurprisingly in light of all this and in line with a time-honoured madrigalian tradition, Monte appears to prefer texts characterized by vivid images and frequent structural oppositions, where such strategies can be more effectively employed. A telling example will suffice to wind up our discussion. The text of *Sento squarciar del vecchio tempio il velo*, from Book I a 6 (1583),⁴⁴ repeatedly insists on the opposition between the events that occurred when Jesus died on the Cross and the lack of commensurate reactions in the

42 I follow here the definition given by John Milsom: "Section: a span of polyphony in which a discrete phrase of verbal text is set to music, using thematic content that contrasts with that of its neighbours." John Milsom, "Analyzing Renaissance Polyphony: Taxonomy and Terminology" (unpublished manuscript read at the Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, Brussels, 9 July 2015).

43 See Filippi, "Sonic Styles"; Filippi, "Formal Design and Sonic Architecture". On Victoria as the composer of the Habsburgs *par excellence*, see de Vicente, "El entorno femenino de la dinastía", 222–224.

44 Modern edition in Monte, *Madrigalium spiritualium*, 216–224.

lyrical self. Francesco Beccuti's octave is reproduced here, with the addition of numbers identifying the main sections of Monte's polyphonic setting:

- (1) Sento squarciar del vecchio tempio il velo,
- (2) E il mio si sta dinanzi agli occhi avvolto.
- (3) Trema la terra e fassi oscuro il cielo:
- (4) Io non muto pensier, non cangio volto.
- (5) Spezzansi i sassi, (6) ed io non rompo il gelo.
- (7) Surgono i morti, (8) io giaccio ancor sepolto.
- (9) Ma tu, cagion di tante cause, dammi
- (10) Ch'io risorga, apra gli occhi (11) e 'l cor infiammi.⁴⁵

Section (1) starts with a volley of imitative entries with complementary motives (c-c-d-e-f-g... vs. g-g-f-e-d-c...: see Music example 1; the complete Canto part is reproduced in Figure 1). Their linear profiles and nervous rhythmic layout unmistakably depict the sudden rending of the temple veil. To the contrasting image of section (2), the permanence of a metaphorical veil still intact before the sinner's eyes, there corresponds a clearly perceptible slowing-down of the rhythm, which leads to the drawn-out cadence of bb. 6–7. Section (3), sung by the four upper voices, resumes the ascending motivic elements and staggered entries of the opening in order to sketch briefly the earthquake and the ensuing darkness: when section (4) starts, the contrast is maximized by changes in scoring, rhythmic pace, texture, tonal area, frequency and prominence of the dissonances, all of them illustrating the obdurate stubbornness of the sinner. Section (5), focusing on the earthquake, once again resumes the imitative construction of the opening (this time, including its descending elements), as well as its faster pace and lighter texture: the contrasting "unbroken ice" in the sinner's heart is represented in section (6) not only by a denser, more homorhythmic texture but even more by a tonal twist that, in a varied re-statement of the two sections, leads to a cadence on A (b. 20), foreign to the C-mode of the piece (see Music example 2). And this is where Monte imaginatively inverts the rhythmic mechanism that has shaped the madrigal so far: section (7), which describes the rising dead, features a powerful homorhythmic texture in long note values (directly juxtaposing, incidentally, a G triad to the preceding A), whereas the following section (8) reintroduces the dotted rhythms (see again Music example 2). It is worth noting that at the very end of the piece in section (11) Monte employs and recombines the ascending and descending motives first

45 Translation: "I hear the veil of the old Temple tearing, and my own veil remains wrapped up in front of my eyes. The earth trembles and the sky darkens, but I do not change my mind, nor alter my countenance. The rocks break, but I do not break my ice. The dead rise, but I still lie buried. You, then, who are the determining cause of such effects, give me that I may rise, open my eyes and set my heart on fire."

heard at the opening and recurring in sections (3) and (5) in order to reflect the words “e ’l cor infiammi” (“that I may set my heart on fire”) — and possibly to adumbrate the “taking in” of all the prodigies (the torn veil, the earthquake and the broken rocks) by the sinner’s heart, finally set alight by love for Christ. Having reached this point, and adding to the many Jesuit connections detected so far in Monte’s madrigals, one is tempted to make the final observation that the flaming heart — a symbol sometimes associated with Francis Xavier — and the image of Jesus as *inflammator cordium* (inflamer of hearts) were indeed a trademark of contemporary Jesuit iconography.⁴⁶

Music example 1 | Philippe de Monte, *Sento squarciar del vecchio tempio il velo*, from Book I a 6 (1583), bb. 1–7 (ed. Doorslaer)

Sen-to squar-ciar del vec-chio tem-pio il ve-lo E il mio si sta
 Sen-to squar-ciar del vec-chio tempio il ve-lo E il
 Sen-to squar-ciar del vec-chio tem-pio il ve-lo E il mio si
 Sen-to squar-ciar del vec-chi-o tem-pio il ve-lo
 Sen-to squar-ciar del vec-chio tem-pio il ve-lo E il mio si sta
 Sen-to squar-ciar del vec-chio tem-pio il ve-lo E il

di-nan-zi a-gli oc-chi a-vol-to Tre-ma la ter-ra e fas-
 mio si sta di-nan-zi a-gli oc-chi a-vol-to Tre-ma la ter-ra e
 sta di-nan-zi a-gli oc-chi a-vol-to Tre-ma la ter-ra e
 E il mio si sta di-nan-zi a-gli oc-chi a-vol-to Tre-ma la
 di-nan-zi a-gli oc-chi a-vol-to
 mio si sta di-nan-zi a-gli oc-chi a-vol-to

46 See, for instance, the print of 1619 by Hieronimus Wierix entitled “The infant Jesus with a flaming heart between Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier” in the collection of the British Museum (Museum no. 1859,0709.3111), https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1859-0709-3111.

Music example 2 | Philippe de Monte, *Sento squarciar del vecchio tempio il velo*, from Book I a 6 (1583), bb. 18–26 (ed. Doorslaer)

The image displays a musical score for a six-part vocal setting. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system has five staves, and the second system has six staves. The music is written in a polyphonic style with various vocal parts. The lyrics are in Italian and are written below the staves. The first system of staves contains the following lyrics:
 - Top staff: - zan-ni i sas-si) et io non non-po il gie - lo Sur - go-no i mor - ti
 - Second staff: (Spez - zan-ni i sas-si et io non non-po il gie - lo Sur - go-no i mor - ti
 - Third staff: (Spez - zan-ni i sas-si et io non non-po il gie - lo Sur - go-no i mor - ti
 - Fourth staff: (Spez - zan-ni i sas-si) et io non non-po il gie - lo Sur - go-no i mor - ti io
 - Bottom staff: Sur - go-no i mor - ti io
 The second system of staves contains the following lyrics:
 - Top staff: io giac-cio an-cor se-pol - to Sur - go-no i mor - ti io giac-cio an-cor se-pol - to Ma
 - Second staff: io giac-cio an-cor se-pol-to Sur - go-no i mor - ti io giac-cio an-cor se-pol - to Ma tu ca-
 - Third staff: (Sur - go-no i mor - ti) io giac-cio an-cor se-pol-to
 - Fourth staff: giac-cio an-cor se-pol - to Sur - go-no
 - Fifth staff: giac-cio an-cor se-pol-to Sur - go-no i mor - ti io giac-cio an-cor se-pol - to
 - Bottom staff: giac-cio an-cor se-pol - to Sur - go-no i mor - ti io giac-cio an-cor se-pol - to Ma

Philippe de Monte's spiritual madrigals form a unique corpus within sixteenth-century devotional music whose many links with post-Tridentine culture we have only just begun to elucidate. It is to be hoped that further documentary evidence will emerge, helping us better to understand the intellectual and material circumstances of the madrigals' composition, performance and reception. It will surely be worth attempting to complete the identification of the texts' authors as well as to explore in greater depth the relationship between Monte and contemporary devotional practices, especially those promoted by the Jesuits.⁴⁷ More abundant comparative analyses are also needed in order to situate Monte's output more exactly

47 At the time of completion of the present notes a PhD dissertation project by Lothar Peirsman is still in its initial (but promising) stages at the KU Leuven under the title of "Jesuit Ideology, the Counter-Reformation and the Spiritual Madrigals of Philippe de Monte (1521–1603)".

in the context of late sixteenth-century spiritual music. What is more, the recent release of a CD by Cappella Mariana entirely devoted to this repertory gives cause for hope that interest in this remarkable combination of sacred poetry and madrigalian music will not remain confined to the academic world.⁴⁸



Figure 1 | Philippe de Monte, *Sento squarciar del vecchio tempio il velo*, from Book I a 6 (1583), complete part of Canto (Bibliothèque nationale de France, gallica.bnf.fr)

48 Philippus de Monte, *Madrigali spirituali*, Cappella Mariana, Vojtěch Semerád, Passacaille PAS1143, Alamire Foundation Editions, 2023, compact disc.

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POLIFONE MEDITACIJE ZA »NESREČNE ČASE«:
GLASBA IN POBOŽNOST V DUHOVNIH MADRIGALIH
PHILIPPA DE MONTEJA

Philippe de Monte (1521–1603), verjetno najbolj plodovit madrigalist celotnega 16. stoletja, je bil tudi eden najustvarjalnejših skladateljev posebne zvrsti duhovnih madrigalov. Med letoma 1581 in 1593 je objavil pet knjig s tovrstnimi skladbami. V prispevku je podan pregled Montejevega ustvarjanja, predstavljena njegova ideja duhovnega madrigala in orisana povezava s sodobno kulturo in duhovnostjo.

Kot najpomembnejši se je izkazal vpliv Družbe Jezusove: ne le, da je Monte svojo prvo knjigo iz leta 1581 posvetil vrhovnemu predstojniku Claudiu Acquavivi, temveč so mu drugi jezuiti tudi neposredno posredovali besedila za taisto knjigo (vključno s pesmimi Vittorie Colonne in Laure Battiferri) in za tretjo knjigo za šest glasov iz leta 1590. Poleg tega je slednja knjiga nastala ob posvetitvi jezuitske cerkve sv. Mihaela v Münchnu, ki jo je sponzoriral bavarski vojvoda Viljem (nekatera besedila se nanašajo na gradnjo cerkve ali na nekatere njene relikvije in okrasje).

Kakšno duhovnost odražajo te zbirke? Po eni strani najdemo veliko različnih tem in pristopov, po drugi strani pa se večkrat pojavljajo določeni specifični pristopi k specifičnim temam. Nekateri madrigali se nanašajo na pobožne prakse ali celo na zakramentalno življenje vernikov, medtem ko se drugi bolj ali manj specifično navezujejo na praznike liturgičnega leta. Številne skladbe, kar ni presenetljivo, častijo in nagovarjajo Devico Marijo, vključno s celotnim ciklom *Eccellenze di Maria Vergine* (1593) na panegirično pesem italijanskega zdravnika Orazia Guarguantija (1554–1611). Druge skladbe imajo bolj spekulativne ali introspektivne teme ali pa imajo mistične ali asketske teme – med njimi so tri glasbeno-mistične skladbe iz leta 1581, ki vlečejo vzporednice med zemeljsko in nebeško glasbo ter se dotikajo teme duhovnih čutov. Očiten je kristocentrični značaj celotnega korpusa, materialno središče takšne nabožne krajine pa je nedvomno križ. Le nekaj besedil, ki jih je Monte uglasbil, so že prej (ali pa kasneje) uglasbili njegovi sodobniki, med njimi Pietro Vinci, Luca Marenzio in Asprilio Pacelli.

Nekatere teme, ključne besede in podobe se ponavljajo: binarna nasprotja, kot je greh nasproti spreobrnjenju; paradoksalni vidiki svete zgodovine; metafore, ki prikazujejo življenje kot razburkano in nevarno morje; ostri zvoki, besede in besedne zveze. V teh besedilih prevladuje negativni patos, tesnobno razpoloženje, kot odmev na »nesrečne čase«, omenjene v enem od Montejevih posvetil. Skladatelj jih obravnava z nadvse prefinjenimi orodji in tehnikami vrhunskega madrigalista, kakršen je, vendar nastala alkimija, elegantna in uravnotežena, kot je, nikoli ne prestopi meja obvladane estetike. Odseki so kratki in tekstura je izrazito polifona: napetost in zagon Monte dosega predvsem z njunim spreminjanjem, pri čemer se nikoli ne zateče k oblikovanju, v katerem prevladuje zgornji glas. V nekem smislu je Montejevo pisanje antimelodično: njegove linije so kot geste ter asimetrične in ekspresivne, ne pa usmerjene; podrejene so teksturi in ne obratno. Lahko rečemo, da je ta pristop pravo nasprotje tistega, ki ga najdemo v glasbi nekaterih njegovih sodobnikov, predvsem drugega »habsburškega skladatelja« Tomása Luisa de Victoria.

Zdi se, da ima Monte v skladu z madrigalno tradicijo rad besedila, za katera so značilne živahne podobe in pogosta strukturna nasprotja, v katerih lahko na učinkovit način uporabi svoje kompozicijske strategije. Vedno se osredotoča na posamezno podobo, besedo ali sintagmo, veliko bolj kot na višje in širše ravni pomena in organizacije. Zdi se, da je deklamacijski stil, ki se pojavi v prvi knjigi šestglasnih duhovnih madrigalov (1583), namenjen kompenzaciji določene razdrobljenosti oblike – to je tveganje, ki je neločljivo povezano z madrigalno literaturo in pred katerim Monte ni bil imun.

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INSTRUMENTAL ENSEMBLE MUSIC AS PART OF THE ROYAL INTRADAS IN EARLY-MODERN BRESLAU

IZVLEČEK: Instrumentalni repertoar, ki so ga med kraljevimi vstopi izvajali ansambli, imenovani *Stadtpfeiffer*, je redko ohranjen v glasbenih virih. Številni tovrstni politični dogodki so v večji meri dokumentirani v kronističnih poročilih, ki prinašajo veliko podatkov o glasbenih nastopih in omogočajo rekonstrukcijo glasbe, ki se je ob teh priložnostih izvajala.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: kraljevi vstopi, Wrocław/Breslau, instrumentalna glasba, *Stadtpfeiffer*, *intrade*

ABSTRACT: The instrumental repertory performed by *Stadtpfeiffer* ensembles during the royal entries is rare in the preserved music sources. Many of these political events are however documented in the chroniclers' accounts, which provide an amount of information about music performances and make possible to reconstruct music played in these occasions.

KEYWORDS: royal entries, Wrocław/Breslau, instrumental music, *Stadtpfeiffer*, *intradas*

The image of musical culture that emerges from direct (music) sources is different from that found in chroniclers' accounts, considered by most musicologists as indirect or auxiliary material. This divergence is particularly prominent where the amount of repertoire preserved in the form of notated music is out of proportion with its actual historical importance, or where contemporary accounts of music performances depict them as much more modest than the pieces we know from direct sources. In European musical culture of the modern era, these disproportions are particularly striking in the case of occasional music, which — because of its vital links to oral transmission and to improvisation practice — frequently falls outside musicologists' field of interest, whereas by historians of culture it is often considered as an unrewarding research subject. Some scholars, however, have proved capable of efficiently combining repertoire studies with a heuristic perspective¹ and rooting their source criticism in historical-cultural contexts.²

Such a dual methodological perspective is particularly useful in the study of occasional music repertoires, which, for the reasons listed above, were relatively rarely mentioned in handwritten and printed sources.³ Interest in this noteworthy area of European musical tradition inspires us to study the phenomena of musical practice *sub specie ludi* in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.⁴ The *agonal* quality of music concerns not only broadly conceived popular culture, typically associated with dancing and feasting,⁵ but also other forms of social activity that may be defined as a type of cultural game,⁶ such as the extraordinary musical performances that accompanied major political events held in cities. Information about such performances can be gleaned from both direct and indirect sources. Festivities held for the Bohemian kings' intradas, formal visits to Breslau for the performance of liege homage, were particularly rich. These events have already been researched by political and art historians.⁷ They ought to be studied by musicologists as well, since chroniclers' accounts of these ceremonies provide a fair amount of information about musical performances.

These sources do not quote titles of works or names of composers. Our point of departure is, therefore, not any particular piece of music⁸ but the chronicles themselves, in some cases — detailed enough to make hypotheses about the repertoire

I would like to thank Tomasz Zymer for the translation of this article from Polish into English.

- 1 See, for instance, Kokole, "Echoes of Giovanni Gabrieli's Style".
- 2 See, for example, Puliti, *Lilia convallium*.
- 3 See Posch, *Musicalische Ehrenfreudt*.
- 4 Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, 196–198.
- 5 Posch, *Musicalische Tafelfreudt*, xxvi.
- 6 Burckhardt, *Civilization of the Renaissance*, 77 and 278.
- 7 Fink, *Geschichte der landesherrlichen Besuche*; Śliwowska, *Uroczyste wjazdy monarsze do Wrocławia*; Mlada, *Holdovací cesty českých panovníků do Vratislavi*.
- 8 Cf. Pietschmann, "Motet by Constanzo Festa".

performed on this occasion. A similar approach has been adopted in studies of parallel phenomena known from source descriptions elsewhere. The Medici's Florentine *entrate* have been presented as a kind of rite of passage aiming to demonstrate the court's political power, but also to manifest the burghers' republican ambitions. Musical performances, serving as a symbolic discourse of cultural narrative, dominated in the urban soundscape, carrying a message that was clearly understood by the elites.⁹ Rulers' triumphal entries or intradas, especially in Rome, frequently drew on ancient traditions. The ceremonies had both a public and a sacred character. They featured allegorical emblems and matching music, which also accompanied processions and church services, enhancing the sense of participation in the community.¹⁰ Music performances took place during the successive stages of the royal ceremony: the ruler's entry into the city, the *tableaux vivants* that were staged on the way (which were particularly elaborate during formal intradas in the Netherlands),¹¹ the religious service in the city's main church and the final feast. The municipal wind ensemble of *Stadtptfeiffer* was customarily present at all these functions. Their music affirmed the structure of authority and was a manifestation of the social order established by the rulers.¹²

Royal intradas thus evidently fulfilled a propagandist purpose, and their artistic elements served the rhetorical function of *persuasio*.¹³ The music performed in such contexts likewise played a pragmatic role. Notably, however, most chroniclers do not devote much attention to its descriptions, focusing instead on the visual aspect of the events. The natural dominance of the sense of sight seems to have determined the manner in which such events were reported, which marginalized the auditory experience.¹⁴ Static phenomena, such as the triumphal arch, were presented, first and foremost, in the spatial dimension which they defined, while in the case of mobile elements (the procession passing through the gate) their visual aspects were predominantly recounted, and the music performed on these occasions was only occasionally mentioned. What survived for later generations was primarily information about performances of vocal music, whose texts, typically drawing on the event's iconography and emblems, were included either in contemporary accounts or in poetic paraphrases.¹⁵ Conversely, instrumental music, whose links to unequivocally definable content were harder to grasp through the medium of language, was often described in ways that make objective study rather difficult.

9 Fenlon, "Theories of Decorum".

10 Lamothe, "Tale of Two *entrate*".

11 Wind, "Musical Participation".

12 Polk, "Trombone, the Slide Trumpet and the Ensemble Tradition", 390.

13 Chrościcki, *Sztuka i polityka*, 13–17.

14 Weißmann, *Kunst, Klang, Musik*, 174–187.

15 Fenlon, "Theories of Decorum", 143.

Despite these methodological problems, the surviving reports on royal intradas to modern-age Breslau do make it possible to reconstruct the music that accompanied them. The Bohemian kings usually visited the city on the river Oder in order to receive homage as liege lords. As for the city's inhabitants, such events confirmed the estates' privileges and manifested their trust in the monarch's supreme authority.¹⁶ Each intrada took place in a different political situation. On the one hand, the Habsburg court affirmed its centralizing efforts. On the other, the estates were progressively gaining autonomy in Silesia, and the political independence of Breslau itself was on the increase.¹⁷ The clash of these two tendencies found its social manifestation in the *agon* demonstrated by the visiting king and by the representatives of the city and the neighbouring duchies, who came to greet him. Notwithstanding some differences, royal intradas followed a conventionalised ceremonial, with an established sequence of events that may be interpreted as successive acts of a specific kind of *theatrum vitae*.¹⁸ These similarities manifested themselves especially clearly under Habsburg rule before the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. The temporal scope of the present study has accordingly been defined as the years 1526–1617.¹⁹

Naturally, Bohemian kings also ceremonially visited the city in earlier years as well, ever since various Silesian duchies had become, one by one, fiefdoms of the king ruling from Prague. The festivities were usually held in Breslau, which in this way assumed the role of the region's informal political capital. Already under the Luxembourgian and Jagiellonian kings, the formal intrada ceremonial was conventionalized, comprising a succession of repeatable stages.²⁰ First, the monarch was greeted outside the urban walls and received symbolic keys to the city. Then, with his royal retinue, he entered Breslau and followed a route specially decorated for this occasion until he reached the boundary between the municipal and ecclesiastical jurisdictions. The king was greeted at the Dominsel Bridge by representatives of the clergy. After paying homage to the relics of the Holy Cross, the procession, with the monarch proceeding under a canopy, reached the cathedral, where a service with a special blessing was celebrated. Later the participants turned back and headed for the king's residence — the royal castle or specially equipped patrician houses in the city's central square. A solemn feast was held. In the following days, the act of homage itself was performed successively by different social groups — the royal provincial governor, the dukes, the clergy, representatives of the Silesian estates and burghers.

16 Matwijowski, *Uroczystości, obchody i widowiska*, 21–33.

17 Śliwowska, *Uroczyste wjazdy monarsze do Wrocławia*, 51–58.

18 Weißmann, *Kunst, Klang, Musik*, 222–232.

19 Some years later, in 1620, a similar intrada took place. For a description, see Jež, "Muzyczne konteksty wizyty Fryderyka V Wittelsbacha".

20 Fink, *Geschichte der landesherrlichen Besuche*, 5–53.

The ceremonies ended with tournaments and parties.²¹ All of them followed an established order reflecting the social structure. Many of the events were accompanied by gun salvos, the sound of church bells and various musical performances, which are very extensively described by chroniclers reporting on the intradas of monarchs belonging to the Habsburg dynasty.

For instance, during the intrada of Ferdinand I (on 1–20 May 1527) the *Stadt-pfeiffer* performed music at the Ohlauer Gate.²² The king's passage through the city was accompanied by wind and timpani music played from the towers of St Elisabeth's and St Mary Magdalene's churches as well as the city hall.²³ During the service at the cathedral, singers from the royal ensemble sang what is described as "beautiful music", without further details,²⁴ as well as a solemn Te Deum with organ accompaniment, most likely performed *alternatim*, as numerous comparable records inform us.²⁵

We have more details concerning the musical contribution to an intrada to Breslau by Maximilian II (6–27 December 1563). This ceremony began when the monarch was greeted outside the city walls by four Silesian dukes as well as the city's delegates. The former were invited by the king to lead his retinue during the entry, while the representatives of the city's authorities reluctantly had to take their position behind the royal council's trumpeters.²⁶ The city authorities, however, hoped to gain the ruler's favour regarding religious issues. They therefore erected near the Schweidnitzer Gate a triumphal arch in the king's honour, modelled on ancient Roman architecture, complete with inscriptions and emblems.²⁷ Maximilian's intrada into the city was accompanied by music from the *Stadt-pfeiffer*, who performed from a gallery above the gateway.²⁸ A second structure of this type, erected in the north-eastern corner of the central square, was topped with a double-headed eagle which greeted the monarch by bowing its head and moving its wings.²⁹ This greeting was once again accompanied by music from the *Stadt-pfeiffer*, placed on the gate's gallery. They were obliged to perform every time the king, or other important figures, passed through the gate.³⁰ It can be gleaned from the narrative sources that the ensemble consisted of six musicians, who played cornets, pommers and

21 Mlada, *Holdovací cesty českých panovníků do Vratislavi*, 25–68, 235–239.

22 Śliwowska, *Uroczyste wjazdy monarsze do Wrocławia*, 67.

23 Fink, *Geschichte der landesherrlichen Besuche*, 57.

24 Śliwowska, *Uroczyste wjazdy monarsze do Wrocławia*, 67.

25 Mlada, *Holdovací cesty českých panovníků do Vratislavi*, 74.

26 Śliwowska, *Uroczyste wjazdy monarsze do Wrocławia*, 76.

27 Matwijowski, *Uroczystości, obchody i widowiska*, 28.

28 Fink, *Geschichte der landesherrlichen Besuche*, 63.

29 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 4:29–30.

30 Śliwowska, *Uroczyste wjazdy monarsze do Wrocławia*, 80–84.

trombones.³¹ When Maximilian reached the Dominsel Bridge, he was greeted with a Latin oration.³² The procession then went on, accompanied by the singing of the responsory *Elegit eum Dominus* with an appropriate verse and (unlisted) “hymni, vel alia cantica”.³³ The instruction in question also specified what repertoire should be sung in the cathedral, which had been adorned for the occasion with colourful tapestries and fragrant herbs. The service culminated in a performance of the *Te Deum*, described as *figuralis*, which was possibly accompanied by the *Trompetenmusik* mentioned in historical records.³⁴ Finally, the *Stadtptfeiffer* accompanied the monarch’s retinue back to his residence and played during the feast that was held there.

A similar account has been preserved for the intrada to Breslau of Rudolf II, which took place between 24 May and 20 June 1577. Rudolf entered the city through the St Nicolaus Gate, where instrumentalists are reported to have greeted him with music.³⁵ The musicians stood once again on a gallery upon a triumphal arch erected in the same place as before. The arch’s rich iconography had been designed by Nicolaus Steinberg, rector of the St Elisabeth-Gymnasium.³⁶ The chroniclers give us details of what that gate looked like and inform us that its spacious gallery held “die Stadtptfeifer mit ihrer lieblichen und künstlichen Musika”.³⁷ This is confirmed by Johann Thwenger’s woodcut of the arch, which shows six musicians playing cornetts, pommers and trombones.³⁸ As before, these were expected to perform whenever the retinues of the visiting dukes and magnates, and of the emperor in particular, passed through the gate. The king’s passage was accompanied by actions of the mobile royal eagle as well as the likeness of an angel “descending” inside the arched gateway and placing triumphal laurels on the monarch’s head.³⁹ Likewise movable were some figures of giants, which rhythmically moved their heads, eyes and whole bodies, bowing to the ruler as he passed by. Such theatrical *meraviglie* must doubtless have been to the king’s liking.⁴⁰ As the procession moved through the city, music was played from church towers, and (otherwise unspecified) liturgical works were performed in

31 Mlada, *Holdovací cesty českých panovníků do Vratislavi*, 91.

32 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 4:31.

33 Ordo recipiendi personaliter regem. Cf. Mlada, *Holdovací cesty českých panovníků do Vratislavi*, 162–163.

34 Fink, *Geschichte der landesherrlichen Besuche*, 66.

35 Mlada, *Holdovací cesty českých panovníků do Vratislavi*, 108–111.

36 Steinberg, *Porta Augusta in honorem ingressus Caesarei*.

37 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 4:87.

38 Johann Thwenger, *Effigies Portae Augustae Rudolpho II Rom. Imp. Caes. Aug. Hungariae et Bohemiae* [...], 1577, graphics, Biblioteka Naukowa PAU w Krakowie, 35243/1, <http://pauart.pl/app/artwork?id=582dfff0ocf2844219bffdc>.

39 Mlada, *Holdovací cesty českých panovníků do Vratislavi*, 106.

40 Śliwowska, *Uroczyste ujazdy monarsze do Wrocławia*, 94–103.

the churches themselves. Of the 9356 silver marks spent on the setting of this royal intrada by the city council, the musicians and their instruments cost 133 marks, while the *kaiserliche Trompeter*, another ensemble playing during those festivities, received extra fees totalling 15 marks.⁴¹

Even more information can be gleaned from accounts of the reception of homage in Breslau (18 September until 17 October 1611) by Matthias II, whose intrada rekindled the city's Protestant inhabitants' hopes for a normalization of the would-be emperor's religious policies. Georg Reutter reports in detail on the size of the retinues of the arriving Silesian dukes and different civic delegations. He cites not only the numbers of horsemen, but also those of the musicians,⁴² which varied from one to ten *Trommeter* or *Pfeiffer* per retinue, plus at least one *Kesselpaucker*. With their music they supported and announced the march of the entourage. In total, there were 3582 horsemen and over 160 musicians in the over twenty groups that arrived to pay homage. These musicians performed (on, among other instruments, trumpets and shawms) a repertoire that must have been as varied as the meticulously described colourful clothes of the musicians, the origins of which lay not only in Silesian duchies but also in many other European countries.⁴³ As this "river" of music approached Breslau, the retinues were greeted by *Trommeter* in the city's liveries playing from the St Nicolaus Gate. While proceeding further towards the central square, the guests heard pieces for voices and instruments performed from the church tower galleries of St Elisabeth's (into which a positive organ was also heaved up) and St Mary Magdalene's. This music was presented by the combined forces of choir members from several of the city's churches, whose voices were reinforced by instrumentalists.⁴⁴ The culminating point of these processions was a triumphal arch erected in the north-eastern corner of the central square, described in detail by the chroniclers.⁴⁵ They describe musicians with cornetts, pommers, trombones of various ranges and other instruments, who performed, during the passage of the royal retinue, an

41 Fink, *Geschichte der landesherrlichen Besuche*, 81.

42 Reutter, *Klare und eigentliche Beschreibung*, c. A3r–Civ.

43 Ibid., c. Bir: "1 Kozackischer Reuter, das Ross mit Leoparden bedeckt, der Man mit einer Tigerthier haut, 3 Kosacken, a Ein Tartarisch Ross, 1 Tartarischer Kesselpaucker, 1 Heyduckischer Schalmeyer, 7 Turckische Handross, dass eine mit einer Türckischen von Indianischern Federdecke, auff Turckisch schon geschmückt, 3 Türckische Reutter mit Türckischen Binden [...] 1 Kesselpaucker, 5 Trommeter, 1 Compagnia Deutsche Reutterey, 1 Trometer, 1 Obrister, 1000 Wahlonen mit roter Liberey, Summa Ross 285".

44 Ibid., c. C4r–v: "Als bald Ihr[e] Ma[jestät] ihren Weg in die Stadt genommen, und in das S. Niklas Thor angelanget, hat man auff dem Krantz der Thurmes zu S. Elisabeth ein Positiff zu schlagen angehoben mit allerley Instrumenten, unnd von der Cant: in beyden Pfarrkirchen, auch S. Bernhard. und S. Barb. Choralisten, neben andern darzu bestellten Musicanten, darzu geholffen unnd gesungen worden".

45 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:95–105.

(unspecified) ten-part composition.⁴⁶ At least eight musicians playing the instruments listed above are depicted on a copper plate by Georg Hayer, which also confirms the use of moving figures already known from earlier similar structures.⁴⁷ Since the royal retinue had reached the Dominsel Bridge, a procession began, accompanied by the singing of students from the city's schools and choristers. After reaching the cathedral, a *figuralis* performance of the *Te Deum* was performed with the organ. The *Kesseldrummel* and *Trommeten* also sounded.⁴⁸ The royal retinue now turned back towards the central square, accompanied by the above-mentioned ensembles playing from the city's towers and the triumphal arch. The Breslau *Stadtpfeiffer* were also present during the evening feast at the king's residence, where it was "trefflich musiciret und zu Tische geblasen".⁴⁹ On the following day, the *Stadtpfeiffer* played from the morning onwards at the triumphal arch⁵⁰ as the king and his retinue went to the Dominican church to hear the Mass, performed again with voices and instruments,⁵¹ afterwards returning to the castle to receive homage from the clergy, the dukes and the estates. Following this ceremony, the king went to a dinner that opened with an intrada (in this case, identifying the musical genre)⁵² performed by ten instrumentalists divided into two symmetrical groups.⁵³ When the guests sat down to eat, musicians entertained them from the adjacent antechamber. These performances involved, *inter alia*, a positive organ.⁵⁴ The royal banquet ended with a ball.

46 Reutter, *Klare und eigentliche Beschreibung*, c. C4v: "Die Stadt Musici wolbestelt, haben mit allerley Pfeiffwerck, Quart und ander Posaunen, grossen Pombharren und Zincken, 10. Vocum schöne componirte stück trefflich wol musiciret, und der Kön: Mayt: als sie durch die *Portam* kommen, sich nachgewand, derogleichen dann auch beschehen, als Jhr May: wider zu rück erschienen".

47 Georg Hayer, *Effigies Arcus Triumphalis Matthiae II. Hungariae et Bohemiae Regi* (Breslau: Georg Hayer, 1613), London, British Museum, 1850,0612.140, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1850-0612-140.

48 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:104.

49 Reutter, *Klare und eigentliche Beschreibung*, c. D3r.

50 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:105.

51 Reutter, *Klare und eigentliche Beschreibung*, c. E4r: "Als die 4. Fürstlichen Personen für die Kirch Adalberti kommen, seind dieselben von ihren Rossen abgestiegen, und in die Kirch für Ihr Kön: Mayt: hinter den andern Herrn Räten und Officiern hergangen, und darin biß nach verbrachter Meß verblieben, wie dan nicht geprediget, sondern nur eine Messe gehalten, und trefflichen darbey Vocal: & Instrumental: musiciret worden".

52 Faber, "Chronicon Wratislaviense", fols. 366v–367r.

53 Reutter, *Klare und eigentliche Beschreibung*, c. F1v: "Darauff ohn gefehr in einer halben stunde (in welcher wehrenden zeit, die wolbestelte *Musica*, von dem RathThurm lieblich zu Tische *musiciret*) haben darauff zur Königlichen Taffel die Trommeter, derer 10. gewesen, je 5. und 5. kegen einander abgefaßt, geblasen, und der Heerpäucker die Kesseldrummel frewdig darzu geschlagen".

54 Ibid., c. F2r: "In der AnteCamera ist eine treffliche, köstliche, liebliche, königliche *Musica*, mit einem *Regal* (an die Thür an, darmit der Thon und Schall in die Königliche Taffelstuben fiele, gefaßt) wol verordnet und bestellet gewesen".

The *Stadtpeiffer* also played at a tournament held several days later, at the end of the day on which the king confirmed the estates' privileges, and at the final farewell feast organized on the eve of the king's departure from the city.⁵⁵

Ferdinand II's intrada to Breslau (on 21–26 September 1617) was the Bohemian king's last sojourn in that city before the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. Although it was probably similar to the previous ones, descriptions of this event are much more laconic, most likely on account of the unfavourable political climate that foreshadowed the imminent conflict.⁵⁶ The intrada, which took just a few days, followed the same traditional stages: greeting the monarch outside the city walls, the royal entry (this time, through the Ohlauer Gate), the passage through the triumphal arch (placed on the northern side of the central square), a service at the cathedral, a feast at the monarch's residence and the reception of homage. Accounts describing this visit are modest, to say the least, and contain no information at all about the musical setting. One might well receive the impression that the city remained almost silent on this occasion since the king was not really welcome there. A sizable triumphal arch was naturally erected, but neither its description⁵⁷ nor its pictorial representation⁵⁸ reveals the presence of any musicians, which, I believe, is a significant detail in this historical context. Naturally, it does not follow that musicians were absent altogether. The city's *Stadtpeiffer* most likely played as usual from a gallery erected for them as well as arriving with their instruments for the other stages of the ceremony. The solemn *Te Deum*, however, was performed at the cathedral by musicians of the king's own ensemble, and, tellingly, there was no canopy to honour the ruler as he was proceeding towards the church.⁵⁹ There was, however, one new musical element of the royal intrada's *ornatus*: a spectacle staged in Ferdinand's honour by students from the St Elisabeth-Gymnasium, which involved vocal and instrumental music, most likely performed by the pupils themselves.⁶⁰ The libretto of this play as well as the entire literary programme of the triumphal arch were authored by the school's rector, Thomas Sagittarius.⁶¹

Historical reports of the five royal intradas to Breslau provide abundant information that music was indeed performed on these occasions, but specific genres are very rarely mentioned. We only have some data concerning liturgical music, in

55 Ibid., c. F4r, G1r.

56 Śliwowska, *Uroczyste ujazdy monarsze do Wrocławia*, 145–146.

57 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:136–138.

58 *Arcus triumphalis sereniss[im]o et potentiss[im]o principi ac dn. dn. Ferdinando II regi Boh. [...]*, 1617, graphics, Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw, XVII.4.5853 adl., <https://polona.pl/item-view/8ed7dee6-828e-4b20-81ec-d80a78c2e919?page=0>.

59 Mlada, *Holdovací cesty českých panovníků do Vratislavi*, 147.

60 Sagittarius, *Actus gratulatorius*.

61 Śliwowska, *Uroczyste ujazdy monarsze do Wrocławia*, 176.

the context of which performances of the *Te Deum* are mentioned, as well as the thematically appropriate responsories and verses plus, sometimes, multi-part settings of the *ordinarium missae*. The vocal pieces prepared for these events are known from sporadic preserved occasional prints. We thus know that Samuel Besler, cantor of Breslau's St Bernardin's Church, composed an eight-part motet with the textual incipit "In te magna tuis spes" for the arrival of King Matthias II.⁶² Some scholars have attempted to reconstruct this repertoire on the basis of literary texts referring to elements of the iconographic programme of the triumphal arch, to which the performed music was naturally expected to correspond.⁶³ Other authors have suggested specific musical works, basing their conjectures on comparison of the performing forces listed by chroniclers with repertoire found in contemporary sources.⁶⁴ In the context of this research method, one should examine the large collection of occasional pieces found in manuscripts from the so-called Emil Bohn collection, which includes, among others, polychoral works by Giovanni Gabrieli and his imitators.⁶⁵

My focus, however, is on the instrumental repertoire, since it is the *Stadtpfeiffer* who are mentioned by far the most frequently in the above-discussed chroniclers' accounts. Naturally, the music they played from the triumphal arches may have included instrumental versions of vocal works⁶⁶ composed specially for these occasions, such as the above-mentioned motet by Besler.⁶⁷ It is equally probable that they played *colla parte*, supporting performances by vocal ensembles, which — as we learn from one of the records⁶⁸ — called for acoustic amplification when they took place in open urban space. Since the context of the *Te Deum* performance was particularly solemn, they may also have accompanied singers inside the cathedral, which was decorated with tapestries, functioning also as an acoustic damper.⁶⁹ The music performed during royal intradas probably included conventional fanfares based on commonly known improvisation patterns,⁷⁰ most likely executed by the music ensembles of the said *retinues* as they entered the city and marched down its streets. The social status of the *Stadtpfeiffer* was higher than that of the musicians attached to those *retinues*.⁷¹ One may therefore assume that their repertoire corresponded to

62 Besler, *In augustissimum*.

63 Śliwowska, *Uroczyste wejścia monarchów do Wrocławia*, 116.

64 Vladimír Mañas (Mañas, *Nicolaus Zangius*, 62–63) suggests that the ten-part piece performed for the royal intrada of Matthias II was the one of the motets of Nicolaus Zangius, a composer then active in Breslau.

65 Bohn, *Die musikalischen Handschriften*.

66 Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblemusik*, 61–127.

67 Cf. note 62.

68 Cf. note 44.

69 Welker, "Bläserensembles der Renaissance", 256.

70 Titcomb, "Baroque Court and Military Trumpets", 61–72.

71 Coffey, "City Life and Music", 172–176.

their rank and was of the most “natural” kind for an ensemble that consisted of instruments varied in register and timbre (cornetts, pommers and trombones).

Such ensembles first emerged in fifteenth-century German countries, where they played a major role in the public life of its cities and were financed, quite generously, by the urban authorities.⁷² The *Stadtptfeiffer* added splendour to major municipal festivities, such as the visits of important guests, solemn processions, banquets and weddings of the most distinguished members of the urban community. The ensembles consisted of shawm (later, also cornett), pommer and trombone players.⁷³ The number of *Stadtptfeiffer* employed depended on the given city’s budget, but the size of such ensembles tended to increase over time.⁷⁴ In the late fifteenth century German instrumentalists were the most highly valued of all and often found employment in Italian cities. A century later, Central European cities and courts imported musicians from Northern Italy (one example is the ensemble of Italian *trombeteri* working at the Prague court of Rudolf II).⁷⁵ The more ambitious German city councils naturally imitated the example of the imperial court.⁷⁶ This was also the case with Breslau, which at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries even tried to compete with Prague — especially during the intradas of the Bohemian king from across the mountains.⁷⁷

A *Stadtptfeiffer* ensemble existed in Breslau from the mid-fifteenth century or earlier.⁷⁸ From 1487 onwards its musicians maintained their own fraternity at St James’s Church.⁷⁹ Its members were instructed not to play dances belonging to the plebeian tradition at burghers’ weddings.⁸⁰ This ruling arose not only from the city councilors’ attempts to censor inappropriate themes at public ceremonies but also from the need to maintain a degree of dignity befitting the social status of the *Stadtptfeiffer*. Similar directives can be found in *Hochzeitsordnungen* issued in other urban centres. Musicians performing at patrician weddings were accordingly expected to play

72 Polk, “Instrumental Music”, 159–162.

73 Welker, “Bläserensembles der Renaissance”, 253.

74 Polk, “Trombone, the Slide Trumpet and the Ensemble Tradition”, 391–392.

75 Žáčková Rossi, “I musici dell’area padana”, 209–210.

76 Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik*, 6.

77 Cf. *ibid.*, 158–166. The musical practice of city trumpeters in some other cities of the Bohemian Lands is described in Studeničová, “Musical Duties of the City Trumpeter”.

78 Polk, “Trombone, the Slide Trumpet and the Ensemble Tradition”, 390.

79 Brinzing, “Europäische Tänze im Breslau”, 34.

80 Klose, *Samuel Benjamin Klose’s Darstellung*, 205: “Vom Tanze. Am Tanze sollen sich die Gesellen mit bequemer Tracht der Kleidung ehrlich halten, züchtig und sauberlich, dass nicht was Spottes noch Aergerniss daraus erwachse; sich auch mit einander sauberlich vortragen, der Stadt zu Ehren und ihn selbst zu Lobe; an dem Tanze und in der Wirtschaft gute Ordnung halten, die alten und keine neue Tänze nicht, als Schmoller, Taubentanz, und wie die sein mögen, tanzen, bei der Busse oberburt”.

dignified rather than frivolous music.⁸¹ Dances performed in the fine, stately chambers of the city halls were therefore primarily of the processional kind, derived from the Burgundian *basse danse* tradition, which corresponded to the refined character of the ceremonies held there and to the social status of their participants. It is no coincidence that the *Hoftanz*, or court dance, is the dominant genre in sixteenth-century sources of instrumental music. For this reason, it is frequently referred to there as the *Stadtpfeiffer-Tanz*.⁸²

Large collections of this repertoire were published in 1555 in Breslau by the Hess brothers, Bartholomäus and Paul, who probably came from Pettau in Styria (now Ptuj in Slovenia). For many years, they had worked in the ensemble of Ferdinand I, which they provided with wind instruments they built themselves⁸³, including some of exceptionally low register. From 1549 onwards, the brothers found employment in the six-strong Breslau *Stadtpfeiffer* ensemble.⁸⁴ They dedicated each of their dance collections⁸⁵ to one of the ruling emperor's two sons: Ferdinand II, governor of Bohemia, and his elder brother, Maximilian II. The prints comprise dances for five or six different types of instruments ("auff allen Instrumenten gar lieblich zugebrauchen"), making up an ensemble covering a wide compass.⁸⁶ The main genre in the first collection is the *Hoftanz*, although lighter types of dance are also present. The second print contains predominantly Italian dances. As the preface informs us, the repertoire was consciously stripped of any references to the vocal prototypes. The pieces are untitled, only numbered, a fact that predestined them for strictly instrumental performance⁸⁷ — not only as an accompaniment to actual dancing, but also on other kinds of occasion, when people from different parts of the Empire were present.⁸⁸

81 Coffey, "City Life and Music", 174–176.

82 Gombosi, "Der Hoftanz", 52–57.

83 Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik*, 157–158.

84 Wieczorek, "Besolte Instrumentisten der Königlichen Stadt Breslaw", 75–77.

85 Hess and Hess, *Etlicher gutter Teutscher und Polnischer Tentz*; Hess and Hess, *Viel Feiner Lieblicher Stucklein*.

86 Brinzing, "Europäische Tänze im Breslau", 43–44. The examples of *chiavette* quoted by Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik*, 125–126, correspond very well with the instrumental forces known from the iconography discussed earlier in this paper.

87 Hess and Hess, *Viel Feiner Lieblicher Stucklein*, c. [3v]: "Erstlich, weil diese noten und Composition ohne namen und Text verlassen ist, das iere Carmen diese verkeret, auch solchs wenig zum singen, allein auff die instrument lieblich und dienstlich".

88 Hess and Hess, *Viel Feiner Lieblicher Stucklein*, c. [4r]: "Auch sind solche stück von uns nit allein zum tanzen vermaint. Sonder wegen ihrer frembden lieblichen unnd aller Nation annemblichen art, von unserer landtsgebrauch und Compositionen darinnen auch wunderliche unergrünte freud, und von himel entleihender gaben Gottes auff erden wenig mit geschmeckt, unnd manigfeldtigkeit under allen nationen wunderlicher weis zerteilt, vermerckt zu seinem Göttlichen lob und ehren, nachmals zu aufflösung und erquickung vielen Gotseliger und fromer, doch etlicher massen beladener und betrübter gemüter".

The royal intradas of Bohemian kings to Breslau constituted, without a doubt, precisely that kind of occasion. One may therefore assume that the music included in the print dedicated to archduke Maximilian Habsburg by Hess — who, from his earlier employment, was well aware of that ruler's love of dance and his musical tastes⁸⁹ — could be performed by his ensemble when, from the gallery on the triumphal gate, they greeted the monarch in Breslau as the king of Bohemia. Considering the amount of time it would take for the royal retinue to pass under that gate as well as the acoustic conditions at hand, the performed piece was probably not a through-composed work, demanding on the ear and acoustically problematic regarding its perception in an open space of the city, but a repetitive form whose distinct pulse would have corresponded much better with the rhythmic movements of the mobile figures placed on the gate. This hypothesis is made more probable by the fact that the royal intradas were a meticulously designed *Gesamtkunstwerk*, in which the narratives of the various arts were expected to complement one another, leaving no space for chance elements.⁹⁰

In this context, it seems that the musical settings of these ceremonies may have consisted, to some extent, of stylized dance pieces suitable for not only a private⁹¹ but also a public context, such as the royal procession, walking with a stately step that is sometimes associated with the *basse danse*.⁹² On the other hand, though, the military aspects of the royal intradas undoubtedly encouraged the performance of related repertoire. Such connotations had, after all, long been present in dances of Northern Italian provenance.⁹³ One musical genre that had reached Silesia from that very region fulfils all the criteria listed here. It is the musical genre known as the intrada, intended for performance as a *cantilena sine textu* by an instrumental ensemble. It was used as the opening to a dance suite, but also to accompany the entry of the honoured guests (hence the name).⁹⁴ Pieces belonging to this genre seem to have been the most “natural” musical ingredient of royal intradas, not only because of their relation to the dance and to military music but also, most importantly, on account of their representative function, characteristic of theatrical art.⁹⁵

89 Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik*, 163.

90 Fenlon, “Theories of Decorum”, 143.

91 Wieczorek, “Besolte Instrumentisten der Königlichen Stadt Breslaw”, 78.

92 Arbeau, *Orchesographie*, c. A3r–v.

93 Wieczorek, “Besolte Instrumentisten der Königlichen Stadt Breslaw”, 79.

94 Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, c. C3v–4r: “Von den *Praeludiis* zum Tantz als *Intraden*. Intrata (vulgò *Intrada*), vel *Entrata*, id est, ingressus vel aditus: ab intrando, vel introitu, welch man bey grossen Herren Einzug oder Auffzügen im Turnieren und sonst zu gebrauchen pflegt”.

95 Reimann, “Materialien zu einer Definition der Intrada”, 338–343.

That latter function, signalled by Praetorius himself when he assigns the intrada in his definition to the realm of *Terpsichore*,⁹⁶ seems crucial to understanding the royal intradas' theatrical character and the corresponding role of the music, which served as a fitting type of *repraesentatio* for such events. That the musical intrada possessed precisely these inherent qualities is evident from its links to the dance repertoire, where it served as an introduction, interlude or postlude to suites: that is, an invitation to dance, a brief interval, and the culmination of the entire dance cycle or of a simple two-piece set — for instance, a pavane and galliard.⁹⁷ Intradas brought order not only to dance choreographies (associated with the domain of Venus) but also to the march steps of military parades,⁹⁸ which manifested the martial (Mars-governed) strength of the royal and municipal authorities. For the passage of numerous colourful processions under the triumphal arch, however, one needed something more than just a few musical intradas. A richer and more varied sequence of pieces would have been required.

A large selection of such repertoire can be found, among other instances, in a collection of musical intradas dedicated to the Danish king Christian IV by Alessandro Orologio,⁹⁹ who played a major role in introducing Northern Italian instrumental music to Central European courts in Prague, Dresden, Kassel, Copenhagen and Wolfenbüttel.¹⁰⁰ Repertoire transmission was undoubtedly facilitated by Orologio's close contacts with wind ensembles operating in those cities, which performed this kind of music at various courtly, municipal and ecclesiastical events.¹⁰¹ Like Hess's

96 Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, c. C2r: "Der andern Art *Balli* oder *Ballete* seynd, welche keinen Text haben: Und wenn dieselbigen mit Schallmeyern oder Pfeiffen zum tantze gespielt werden, so heist es *stampita*. Im Französischen nennet man es un Ball, das seynd allerley Tänzte in genere, als *Bransle*, *Courranten*, *Volten*, *Gagliarden*, etc. Ballet aber sein sonderliche Tänzte zu Mummereyen und Uffzügen gemacht, welche zur *Mascarada* gespielt werden; Dieselbe werden uff ihre sonderliche *Inventiones* gerichtet, unnd hat ein jedes *Ballet* gemeinlich drey theil. 1. Die *Intrada*, wenn die Personen in der Mummerey zum eingang erscheinen. 2. Die Figuren, welche die vermaskirten Personen im stehen, treten, auch umbwechßlung der örther, und sonsten uff Buchstaben in eim Ringe, Crantze, Triangel, Vierecker, Sechsecker, oder andere Sachen formieren, und sich durch einander winden, darauff dann die gantze *Invention* und *Essentia* des Ballets bestehet und gerichtet ist. 3. Die *Retrajecte*, das ist der abzug oder abtritt, damit die *Invention*, unnd ganz *Ballet* geendet unnd beschlossen wird, und werden dieselbe hernacher nicht mehr gebraucht, sondern hören zugleich mit der *Mascarada* auff. Doch seynd sie, als ein ander lieblicher Gesang, in der *Music* nach wie vor mit *Instrumenten* zu gebrauchen, nicht undientlich: Wie dann derselben Exempeln, nebenst andern allerley Französischen Tänzten und Liedern, als *Branslen*, *Couranten* und dergleichen in meiner *Terpsichore* gnugsam zu finden, daselbst dann auch hiervon mit mehrern gesagt worden".

97 See, for example, Posch, *Musicalische Ehrenfreudt*.

98 Reimann, "Materialien zu einer Definition der Intrada", 344.

99 Orologio, *Intradae*.

100 Colussi, "Orologio Alessandro".

101 Flotzinger, "Alessandro Orologio und seine Intraden", 57–63.

prints, the repertoire was advertised as one that “in omni genere instrumentorum musicorum usus esse potest”. Orologio’s intradas, as well as works by Johann Groh,¹⁰² Valentin Haussmann¹⁰³ and Melchior Franck,¹⁰⁴ were all promoted in this manner. In fact, however, such music was meant for performance by the ensemble of *Stadttpfeiffer* consisting of five or six wind instruments, which, if required, could be extended to include as many as ten musicians.¹⁰⁵ This, by the way, was precisely the nature of the performing forces described by chroniclers in the context of the royal intradas, as regards the music played both at the triumphal arch and at the start of the ceremonial royal feast.¹⁰⁶

That this repertoire was known in Breslau in the early seventeenth century is confirmed by surviving manuscripts. In accordance with contemporary practice, such music was frequently entered in New German organ tablatures, which, for obvious reasons, served to store and memorialize repertoire rather than to be used during its performances. The preserved tablatures from the area in question mostly contain liturgical music.¹⁰⁷ Several of the sources, however, comprise exclusively secular repertoire of this type. Within this group one of the most interesting tablatures is Wrocław, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne i Biblioteka Kapitulna (PL-WRk), 83, once the property of Johann Beuchell of Patschkau.¹⁰⁸ The manuscript is actually entitled “Intradae scriptae” and, as promised by its title, comprises first and foremost intabulations of several printed collections of intradas by Alessandro Orologio,¹⁰⁹ Heinrich Steuccius¹¹⁰ and Johann Groh,¹¹¹ as well as dances by the last-named composer.¹¹² Similar repertoire, though in different proportions, can be found in the tablature Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka (PL-WRu), 60417, of Breslau provenance,¹¹³ and

102 Groh, *Sechsenddreissig Neue liebliche und zierliche Intradten*.

103 Haussmann, *Neue Intrade*.

104 Franck, *Neue Musicalische Intradten*.

105 Mañas, *Nicolaus Zangius*, 117.

106 Cf. notes 46 and 53.

107 Bohn, *Die Musikalischen Handschriften*, shelfmarks: Slg Bohn Ms. mus. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 18, 19, 20, 21, 33, 42, 43, 46, 47, 51, 52, 55, 57, 75, 101, 102, 105, 109, 110, 119, 120, 136, 150, 150a, 155, 160 and 357; nowadays stored mostly in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin — Preussische Kulturbesitz, some are now stored in Moscow, Gosudarstvennyj Central’nyj Muzej Muzykal’noj Kul’tury im. Michaila I. Glinki.

108 Jeż, “Tabulatura organowa z Paczkowa”. Gregor Beck, organist at St Elisabeth’s Church, may have been referring to the same manuscript when, in a document of 6 July 1624, he demanded from the city councillors a fee of 36 thalers for (otherwise unspecified) “Kirchen-Intradten” which he had presented to them. Cf. *Amtsführung der Geistlichen bei St. Elisabeth*, fol. 26.

109 Cf. note 99.

110 Steuccius, *Amorum ac Leporum Pars I*.

111 Cf. note 102.

112 Groh, *Dreissig neue* [...].

113 Jeż, “Rękopiśmienne tabulatury organowe”.

a similar manuscript originating from the same city: New York City, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Music Division (US-NYp), Mus. Res. MN T 131.¹¹⁴ These sources confirm that Breslau musicians showed great interest in secular repertoire in an Italianate idiom, including different dance genres and the numerous musical intradas that accompanied them.

We may assume that the Breslau *Stadtpeiffer*, the official city ensemble present at the most important municipal celebrations, were among the performers of those intradas. That Italian dances and intradas were played during the intradas of kings of Prague to Breslau is also confirmed by the instrument-building and publishing activity of the Hess brothers, who transplanted into, and established in, that city models of musical culture directly borrowed from the Viennese court of Ferdinand I and his sons. Another major factor recorded by chroniclers that facilitated the transmission of music performance traditions was the participation of the Prague court ensembles in these royal visits.¹¹⁵ The most representative of those groups was probably the Italian *trombeteri*, with which Alessandro Orologio was associated for many years, being both a member of Rudolf II's ensemble and a supporter of these musicians' mobility in Europe as they travelled to the courts in Dresden and Copenhagen.¹¹⁶ Nicolaus Zangius was another major figure responsible for establishing that repertoire in Breslau after the coronation of Matthias II as king of Bohemia. Half a year after that monarch's intrada to the city, Zangius entered a canon in *unisono* into an album belonging to Gottfried Wagner, the would-be cantor of St Elisabeth's.¹¹⁷ A month later, the same musician was appointed *Kapellmeister* of Johann Sigismund's ensemble in Berlin, to which he brought four trumpeters from Prague.¹¹⁸ The court of the Brandenburg Prince-Elector soon became a new centre where Italianate instrumental ensemble music was cultivated on a large scale.¹¹⁹ Perhaps it was no accident that later emperors held their intradas in that very city on the river Spree.¹²⁰

114 Wiermann, "Die deutsche Orgeltabulatur".

115 Cf. notes 41 and 59.

116 Eitner, "Drei Briefe von Alessandro Orologio"; Orologio, *Opera omnia*, 4–5.

117 Wagner, *Stammbuch Gottfried Wagner*, fols. 88v–89r. Cf. Mañas, *Nicolaus Zangius*, 67.

118 Mañas, *Nicolaus Zangius*, 70.

119 Sachs, *Musik und Oper*, 44–50.

120 Śliwowska, *Uroczyste wjazdy monarsze do Wrocławia*, 49.

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INSTRUMENTALNA ANSAMBELSKA GLASBA KOT DEL KRALJEVIH *INTRAD* V ZGODNJENOVOVEŠKEM BRESLAUU

Priložnostni glasbeni repertoar je v rokopisnih in tiskanih glasbenih virih mogoče najti razmeroma redko. Podatke o glasbenih izvedbah pa je mogoče pridobiti iz posrednih virov, ki bi jih morali muzikologi preučiti v večji meri. Posebej bogate slovesnosti so spremljale obiske čeških kraljev v novoveškem Vroclavu ob uradnih slavnostnih sprejemih. Začetek teh obiskov, povezan s slovesnim vstopom kralja v mesto, se je v deželah pod italijanskim glasbenim vplivom pogosto imenoval *intrada*, tako kot ena od glasbenih zvrsti, ki so jo izvajali ob tej priložnosti. Glasbeni nastopi so se odvijali tudi med naslednjimi fazami dogodka, ki so sledile temu retorično prepričljivemu in simbolno pomembnemu obredu. Čeprav se je večina kronistov osredotočala na vizualni vidik teh dogodkov, je iz ohranjenih poročil vendarle mogoče rekonstruirati glasbo, ki jih je spremljala.

Glasba instrumentalnega ansambla je kralja pozdravila že pred vrati Braslaua. V osrednjem delu tega mesta je bil postavljen triumfalni slavolok, na katerem je šest do deset glasbenikov mestnega ansambla, imenovanega *Stadtppfeiffer*, igralo na cinke, bombe in pozavne, vsakič, ko je sprevod šel skozi vrata. Procesijo so sestavljale tudi delegacije šlezijskih vojvod in mest iz regije, ki so vključevale od enega do deset trobilcev (*Trommeter*) ali pihalcev (*Pfeiffer*) in vsaj enega pavkista (*Kesselpaucker*). Kraljev sprevod skozi mesto je spremljala vokalna, pihalno-trobilna glasba in glasba na timpane, ki so jo izvajali s stolpov cerkva sv. Elizabete (tja so pripeljali tudi orgelski pozitiv) in sv. Marije Magdalene ter z mestne hiše. Procesijo, ki je vodila do katedrale, je spremljal ustrezen liturgični repertoar. Izvajali so ga pevci in šolarji, ki so nastopali tudi v sami cerkvi, ob podpori pihal (včasih kraljevega lastnega ansambla, imenovanega *Hofppfeiffer*), in sicer izmenjaje z orglami. Ansambelsko glasbo so izvajali tudi med večerno pogostitvijo v kraljevi rezidenci in na najpomembnejših dogodkih naslednjih dni.

Glasba, ki jo je izvajal ansambel mestnih piskačev (*Stadtppfeiffer*), bi lahko vključevala instrumentalne različice vokalnih skladb, ki so na odprtem urbanem prostoru potrebovale krepkejši zvok. Najbolj značilen repertoar za te zasedbe, sestavljene iz instrumentov, ki

se razlikujejo tako po registrih kot barvah, pa bi lahko predstavljali plesi za procesije, ki jih v velikem številu najdemo v letu 1555 natisnjenih zbirkah bratov Hess, posvečenih habsburškim vladarjem. Drug žanr, ki se zdi še posebej primeren za te priložnosti, je bila intrada. Zdi se, da so bile skladbe tega žanra najbolj »naravna« glasbena sestavina kraljevih *intrad*, ne le zaradi njihove povezanosti s plesom in vojaško glasbo, temveč tudi zaradi njihove reprezentativne funkcije. Izbor takšnega repertoarja je mogoče najti v orgelskih tabulaturah, ki izvirajo iz Breslaua (PL-WRk, 83; PL-WRu, 60417; US-NYpd, Mus. Res. MN T 131) in vsebujejo tako intrade kot tudi plese, ki bi jih lahko izvajali v omenjenih okoliščinah. Ti viri potrjujejo, da je bil ta repertoar v Breslauu dobro poznan. Domnevamo lahko, da je bil med izvajalci tega repertoarja tudi breslauski uradni mestni ansambel mestnih piskačev, ki je bil prisoten na najpomembnejših mestnih praznovanjih.

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A NEWLY FOUND SOURCE OF JACOBUS HANDL-GALLUS'S MASS COMPOSITIONS AND OTHER TRACES OF RECEPTION OF HIS MUSIC IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ROYAL PRUSSIA

IZVLEČEK: O recepciji glasbe Jacobusa Handla - Gallusa v Knežji Prusiji v 17. stoletju pričajo viri, ki so nastali v protestantskih okoljih, zlasti v Gdansk in Elblagu, ter v katoliških kolegijih in samostanih. V tem članku so obravnavani združeno in dopolnjeni z viri na novo identificiranih skladb in tudi z viri iz rokopisa, ki doslej ni bil predmet raziskave.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: Jacobus Handl - Gallus, Knežja Prusija, Varmija, duhovna glasba

ABSTRACT: Evidence of the reception of Jacobus Handl-Gallus's music in seventeenth-century Royal Prussia comes from sources produced both in Protestant environments, particularly in Gdańsk and Elbląg, and in Catholic colleges, monasteries and convents. In this article they are brought together and supplemented by sources of newly identified compositions and also sources from a manuscript not previously the subject of research.

KEYWORDS: Jacobus Handl-Gallus, Royal Prussia, Warmia, religious music

Royal Prussia, which from 1466 until the Partitions of the Commonwealth of Poland–Lithuania in 1772 and 1793 formed part of the Kingdom of Poland, encompassed the Gdańsk, Chełmno and Malbork regions, as well as the domain of Warmia, which enjoyed special status and was governed by a bishop. Particularly important in this part of the kingdom were the wealthy cities, especially Gdańsk, Toruń and Elbląg, which from the end of the first half of the sixteenth century were dominated by a multi-ethnic, largely German and Dutch, Protestant population. Music flourished in the principal Lutheran churches in those cities, and we find evidence to that effect still today in the holdings of the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences¹ and partly those in Toruń University Library, which include a small number of musical sources from the old church of St Mary in Elbląg.² The whole of Warmia, where a succession of music-loving bishops had their courts (in Lidzbark and Frombork), was a Roman Catholic enclave. Around the turn of the seventeenth century, those bishops included Andrzej Batory (1589–1599) and Szymon Rudnicki (1604–1621), who maintained their own music ensembles.³ In addition, Catholic monasteries and convents functioned in various parts of Royal Prussia, some of them known for the musical activity they cultivated and for the extant musical sources produced there. In the times of Batory and Rudnicki, we should mention above all the Cistercian monasteries in Oliwa, near Gdańsk (now within the Gdańsk municipality), and in Pelplin, near Tczew (approx. 50 miles from Gdańsk), the Benedictine convent in Toruń and the Jesuit college in Braniewo, Warmia. Linked to these centres is the compilation, during the first decades of the seventeenth century, of two large tablatures containing repertoire collections in the form of scores prepared in new German keyboard tablature notation: namely, the larger of the two so-called Braniewo-Oliwa Tablatures (Lietuvos mokslų akademija Vrublevskių biblioteka, Vilnius (LT-Va), LMAB RS F15-284)⁴ and the Pelplin Tablature (Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne Diecezji Pelplińskiej, Biblioteka, Pelplin (PL-PE), Mss 304, 305, 306, 306a, 307, 308).⁵ A third tablature, the earliest, comprising two parts (only the second part and the list of contents for the first part have come down to us), the Tablature of Johann Fischer of Morąg (Archiwum Państwowe w Toruniu, Toruń (PL-Ta), Kat. II, XIV 13a), was compiled during the 1590s in a Protestant milieu. We do not know for sure where, but it seems likely that Johann Fischer did most of the work in Morąg.⁶

1 See Popinigis, Długońska, Szlagowska and Woźniak, *Thematic Catalogue*; Szlagowska, *Repertuar*.

2 Leszczyńska, “Późnorennesansowe fragmenty mszalne”.

3 Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, “Music in Poland”.

4 *Tabulaturae Braunsbergenses-Olivenses*.

5 *Pelplin Tablature*, 10 vols.

6 Siciarek, “Tabulatura Johannessae Fischera”; Jeż, “Spis treści”.

In these tablatures and in manuscripts in ordinary mensural notation held by the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences — manuscripts from the church of St Bartholomew in that city (Ms 4005, compiled in the 1590s and the first two decades of the seventeenth century;⁷ Ms 4006, from the beginning of the seventeenth century;⁸ and Ms 4012, prepared in the 1610s and 20s)⁹ — and also in a songbook from the Benedictine convent in Toruń compiled in 1633, which is held without shelfmark by the Diocesan Library in Pelplin and given the siglum PL-Tb in the most recent catalogue of Jacobus Handl's works,¹⁰ although PL-PE (Tb) would doubtless be more appropriate, we find evidence of the reception of Handl's compositions in Royal Prussia around the turn of the seventeenth century, previously noted in lists of his works.¹¹ Confirmed to date is the presence in these manuscript sources of twenty-eight works by Handl preserved wholly or in part, a large number of them in intabulations (at times with a reduced number of voices), five compositions of uncertain authorship and four works of which the notation is lost, their titles being known from an extant list of the contents of the first part of the Tablature of Johannes Fischer of Morąg,¹² where they are mentioned under the numbers 37, 79, 82, 130 and 147 (see Table 1 in the Appendix).¹³ A separate problem is the accessibility within this geographic area, and during the period in question, of prints containing works by Handl: both original editions¹⁴ published during the composer's lifetime plus their reprints¹⁵ and anthologies or liturgical books including his works that could have been used in musical practice and also as copy texts, as we will see below.

It is worth noting that many of the works at least partially preserved in Royal Prussia in manuscript sources of the period were written out without citation of the composer's name. This applies to seven of the eight intabulations of Handl's works

7 Szlagowska, *Repertuar*, 48–57.

8 Ibid., 57–70.

9 Ibid., 80–92. See also Wojnowska, “Studien”.

10 Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, 443. The Diocesan Library in Pelplin is identified as a repository of sources by Walter-Mazur (*Figurą i fraktem*, 351), who for the purposes of her book gives this manuscript lacking a shelfmark the siglum TorB.

11 Especially in the thematic catalogue included in Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, 389–708. They are also mentioned in the Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM) database.

12 Non-extant intabulations of works that in Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, have the numbers 61, 291, 391, 408 and 414. Yet they are not mentioned therein.

13 See Jeż, “Spis treści”, 104–105, 107–108.

14 Among them, those currently held in Toruń University Library: Handl, *Opus musicum*, 4 vols. (Prague, 1586–1590); Handl, *Harmoniae morales*, vols. 2 and 3 (Prague, 1590). See Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, 323–326.

15 Here, we should mention the edition *Sacrae cantiones* (Nuremberg, 1597), preserved incomplete partly at the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences and partly at the Library of the National Museum in Warsaw. See Mantuani, “Biblijografičen ‘unicum’”; Gancarczyk, “Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Music”; Gancarczyk, “Mystery”.

written into the Braniewo-Oliwa Tablature. The source, as Marcin Szelest established after carrying out research into the biography of the chief scribe, Jacobus Apfell, and making attributions of many of the compositions transmitted anonymously in the tablature, was compiled between c. 1610 and c. 1630.¹⁶ However the intabulations of all the compositions by Handl were made in Braniewo during the 1610s. They include two works of dubious authorship, one of which, *Jubilate Deo omnis terra*, is ascribed to this composer on account of the appearance of this attribution in other sources,¹⁷ while the other appears in the tablature with an indication of the author: “Resurrectio tua A 4 Jacobi Handell.”¹⁸ In the Pelplin Tablature, which, except for later additions, was compiled in Braniewo but mainly in Pelplin roughly during the period 1620–1640, a clear majority of the entries in score are furnished with the respective composers’ names. Among the twenty entries for seventeen works by Handl, seven were inscribed anonymously, while one, *Orationem meam audi Domine* a 6, not definitely by this composer, was given as a work by “Ioannis Ferretti”. In the case of two compositions, the first written anonymously into the tablature PL-PE, Ms 305 — namely, *Sepulto Domino* a 4 (*In die Sancto Parasceus*) and *Ecce quomodo moritur* a 4 (*Eodem tempore*) — the composer’s name was added to the manuscript at an indefinite later time: “auct. Jacobo. Handl (Gallus).”¹⁹ Although these two items were probably written into the Pelplin Tablature during the 1620s, the works themselves are likely the first, or among the first, works by Handl encountered in Poland–Lithuania (including Royal Prussia) in Roman Catholic environments. The four-part settings of the responsory texts *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus* (2.p. *In pace factus est locus eius*) and *Sepulto Domino signatum est* (2.p. *Ne forte veniant discipuli eius*) were originally published in Handl’s *Opus musicum*, vol. 2,²⁰ as nos. 13 and 14 respectively. Four years later, they were reprinted in choirbook notation (two parts to a page) with minor differences as compared with the print, in an *Agenda seu ritus caeremoniarum ecclesiasticarum* prepared by the arch-presbyter and canon of Kraków Hieronim Powodowski, published (as the second part, separately paginated) together with the *Agenda seu ritus sacramentorum ecclesiasticorum* (Kraków: In Architypographia Regia & Ecclesiastica, Lazari, 1591). Liturgical notes concerning the procession to the Holy Sepulchre on Good Friday contained in the ceremonial agenda, which was published by a press owned by Jan Januszowski from 1577, include chant melodies for the consecutive responsorial chants *Recessit pastor noster*, *Ecce quomodo moritur* and *Sepulto*

16 Szelest, introduction to *Tabulaturae Braunsbergenses-Olivenses*, 12–16.

17 See Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, nos. 523 and 539 in the catalogue.

18 See *Tabulaturae Braunsbergenses-Olivenses*, 1:260 (no. 150); and also Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, no. 539 in the catalogue (here, a different numbering: LT-Va, LMAB RS F15-284, no. 153).

19 See *Pelplin Tablature*, 3:12; *Pelplin Tablature*, 1:150 and 151.

20 Iacobus Handl, *Secundus tomus musici operis* (Prague, 1587), RISM A/I H 1981.

Domino,²¹ followed by the instruction “vel si videbitur in cantu figurali ut sequitur” and the notation of polyphonic settings by Handl (lacking his name) of *Sepulto Domino*²² (see Figure 1) and *Ecce quomodo moritur*²³ (see Figure 2).²⁴ This book, obligatory in the Gniezno and Włocławek dioceses (which also covered Gdańsk Pomerania), was reprinted unaltered in 1596 and published again in 1603, 1605 and 1617. It was widely distributed also in other dioceses, and certainly in the Warmia diocese, where until 1617, when a new agenda was published, the so-called Marcin Kromer Agenda was used — *Agenda ceremonialis ad usum dioecesis Varmiensis accommodata* (Cologne: apud Maternum Cholinum, 1578) — which also gave *Ecce quomodo moritur* and *Sepulto Domino* as the chants to be sung during the procession to the Holy Sepulchre,²⁵ though without specification of any chant melody, still less a polyphonic setting. It seems certain, however, that from the 1590s onwards Handl's settings of those texts became familiar thanks to the Hieronim Powodowski Agenda both in and around Gdańsk (including Oliwa and Pelplin) and also in Warmia (including the milieu of the Warmian bishops and at the Jesuit college in Braniewo). The spread of these works throughout Poland–Lithuania was increased by the publication of the first widely observed ritual for the Roman Catholic Church in those lands — *Rituale sacramentorum ac aliarum ecclesiae caeremoniarum* (Kraków: in officina Andree Petricovii, 1631) — known as the Piotrkowczyk Ritual; these works appeared again (in the same order) in the *Altera pars ritualis de caeremoniis ecclesiasticis* published together with the ritual (re-set, with additional printing errors).²⁶ This was reproduced unaltered in the next edition published by the same Kraków press in 1634.

Despite the differences between the versions of *Ecce quomodo moritur* and *Sepulto Domino* in the Powodowski Agenda (and then in the Piotrkowczyk Ritual) and in Handl's *Opus musicum*, vol. 2, from 1587,²⁷ it seems highly likely that they were based on this print or a copy of it, which could have come into the hands of the printer Jan Januszowski in connection with his contacts with Bishop Stanislas Pavlovský of Olomouc, Handl's patron. Printed by Januszowski, in 1585 and 1586 respectively, were two agendas prepared by Bishop Pavlovský for the Olomouc bishopric: *Agenda seu modus administrandi sacramenta secundum ritum cathedralis ecclesiae Olomucensis* and

21 Powodowski, *Agenda seu ritus caeremoniarum*, 105–107.

22 Ibid., 108–109.

23 Ibid., 110–111.

24 On this subject, see Zwolińska, “Einige Bemerkungen”, esp. 145–147; Jež, “Motets”, esp. 37–40; Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, 293–297.

25 *Agenda ceremonialis*, 63.

26 *Altera pars ritualis*, 124–131. Elżbieta Zwolińska (“Einige Bemerkungen”, 147), citing Tadeusz Maciejewski and Ireneusz Pawlak, relates that in this edition of the ritual, Handl's setting of the responsory *Recessit pastor noster* was also included, but this is not borne out by scrutiny of a copy of the print. Nor does such a work appear in the next edition of this book, from 1634.

27 Handl, *Secundus tomus musici operis*. See note 20, above.

Agenda caeremonialia secundum ritum cath. ecclesiae Olomucensis. This second book includes regulations concerning the Good Friday procession to Christ's tomb, with three matching responsories in chant notation: *Recessit pastor bonus*,²⁸ *Ecce quomodo moritur* and *Sepulto Domino*.²⁹ There are no polyphonic settings of these, or any other, texts in this agenda, published a year before the edition of Handl's *Opus musicum*. Purely hypothetically, of course, we may speculate that it was in connection with the relations between Januszowski and Pavlovský and the latter's role in preparing the liturgical books that were to codify the recommendations of the Council of Trent in Poland–Lithuania³⁰ that the idea arose of including four-part works by Handl in the Powodowski Agenda.

With regard to the differences existing between the first edition of this compositions and the version known from the Powodowski Agenda, the most important and easily noticeable discrepancy is the lack in the latter of the repetition in *Sepulto Domino* at the setting of the words "signatum est monumentum". In addition, special attention needs to be drawn to the order in which the polyphonic settings of the liturgical texts are presented in the Agenda: first *Sepulto Domino* and then *Ecce quomodo moritur*. This is because the order in which the responsories ought to be sung at the Holy Sepulchre, and in which they are published in Handl's original print, is the reverse one. Since these motets appear in the same order and form in the Pelplin Tablature, we may infer that the copy text for this intabulation was one of the editions of the Powodowski Agenda. On the other hand, in the Braniewo-Oliwa Tablature the basis for the intabulation must have been different. It was evidently either Handl's print or else some very faithful copy of it. The textual repeat is included in *Sepulto Domino*,³¹ and the intabulations of both works are placed as consecutive items in the source, but the first to be entered was *Ecce quomodo moritur*, which *Sepulto Domino* followed, thereby observing the order in which the responsories ought to be sung at the Holy Sepulchre.

Considering further the reception of Handl's *Ecce quomodo moritur* and *Sepulto Domino* in Royal Prussia, and especially in Warmia, we must skip forward in time and invoke an eighteenth-century edition of a ritual for the Warmia diocese, namely, *Rituale sacramentorum, ac aliarum Ecclesiae ceremoniarum* [...] *ad uniformem Ecclesiae et Cleri Varmiensis et Sambiensis* (Braniewo: Typis Collegii Societatis Jesu, 1733), known as the Ritual of Bishop Krzysztof Szembek. As part of the notes relating to the Good Friday procession, we find here, as in the Powodowski Agenda and Piotrkowczyk Ritual, *Recessit pastor noster*, *Ecce quomodo moritur* and *Sepulto Domino* in chant

28 The Powodowski Agenda has *Recessit pastor noster*.

29 Pavlovský, *Agenda caeremonialia*, 135–141.

30 See also Jež, "Motets", 37.

31 See *Tabulaturae Braunsbergenses-Olivenses*, 2:36.

Figure 1 | Jacobus Handl-Gallus, *Sepulto Domino*, from *Agenda seu ritus caeremoniarum ecclesiasticarum* (1591), Superius and Tenor (left), Altus and Bassus (right)

Figure 2 | Jacobus Handl-Gallus, *Ecce quomodo moritur*, from *Agenda seu ritus caeremoniarum ecclesiasticarum* (1591), Superius and Tenor (left), Altus and Bassus (right)

notation,³² while written at the end of the volume (without pagination), in choirbook layout, but in rhomboid chant notation (without indication of rhythm!), are Handl's four-part settings of *Sepulto Domino* (see Figure 3) and *Ecce quomodo moritur*.

Returning to the first half of the seventeenth century, no attention has been paid in previous research to some other handwritten sources of these two works by Handl that were prepared around the same time in Royal Prussia. I have in mind a manuscript currently held by the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PL-GD, Ms Akc. 127).³³ This originates from the Benedictine convent in Toruń. It was prepared c. 1634 and constitutes just a single book (doubtless the *Quinta vox*) of a cantional not known today in its entirety.³⁴ In this source we find anonymous entries in ordinary notation of the mezzo-soprano part of *Ecce quomodo moritur*,³⁵ immediately followed by the alto part of *Sepulto Domino*.³⁶ In the latter work, as in liturgical books that were obligatory in Royal Prussia during the seventeenth century, the words “signatum est monumentum” are not repeated. It seems likely that the copy was based in this case on the Piotrkowczyk Ritual in its 1631 edition. In this book of the Toruń cantional, *Ecce quomodo moritur* is immediately preceded by the alto part of Handl's setting of the text of the responsory *Recessit pastor noster*,³⁷ familiar from *Opus musicum*, vol. 2, from 1587, but with a variant in the verbal text, the incipit of which was transmitted in this manuscript as “Recessit pastor bonus”, as in the responsory's chant notation in the *Agenda caeremonialia secundum ritum cath. ecclesiae Olomucensis* from 1586. One is struck, in the source from the Benedictine nuns' cantional, by the lack of the repeat of the words in the second part and the musical setting of the text “hodie portas mortis et sortis et seras pariter salvator noster dirupit” (see Figure 4).³⁸ It is not known which source this work was copied from.

Other works by Handl were also known to the Benedictine nuns of Toruń. In the previously-mentioned songbook from 1633 (PL-PE (Tb)), Magdalena Walter-Mazur identified item no. 37 as the soprano and alto parts of *Elisabeth Zachariae* a 6.³⁹ Also written anonymously in this same manuscript, as no. 33, was *Domine quando*

32 Szembek, *Rituale sacramentorum*, 102–105.

33 See Popinigis, Długońska, Szlagowska and Woźniak, *Thematic Catalogue*, no. 5017; RISM ID NO. 305000953.

34 I am sincerely grateful to Magdalena Walter-Mazur for making photographs of this source available.

35 PL-GD, Ms Akc. 127, fols. 46v–48r. See Popinigis, Długońska, Szlagowska and Woźniak, *Thematic Catalogue*, no. 2848; RISM ID NO. 305000979.

36 PL-GD, Ms Akc. 127, fols. 48r–49r. See Popinigis, Długońska, Szlagowska and Woźniak, *Thematic Catalogue*, no. 4467; RISM ID NO. 305000980.

37 PL-GD, Ms Akc. 127, fols. 44v–46v. See Popinigis, Długońska, Szlagowska and Woźniak, *Thematic Catalogue*, no. 4395; RISM ID NO. 305000978.

38 Cf. the work's edition in Gallus, *Opus musicum*, 128–132, esp. 132.

39 Walter-Mazur, *Figurą i fraktem*, 355. See also Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, no. 299 in the

veneris iudicare a 6, a work also known at the beginning of the seventeenth century in Gdańsk (its organ part appears in PL-GD, Ms 4012, no. 206)⁴⁰ and in Braniewo and Pelplin (see an anonymous entry in PL-PE, Ms 305, no. 42).⁴¹ In this instance, besides the print in *Opus musicum*, vol. 2, we cannot rule out the possibility that the copy was based on one of the editions of the anthology of Eberhard Bodenschatz,⁴² in which Handl's work was printed as item no. 47.

The figure shows two pages of a musical score. The left page is titled 'Rituale Romanum' and 'SUPERIUS.' It contains three staves of music with the lyrics: 'Sepulto Domino signatum est monumentum vol- ventes lapidem ad osium monumēti, ponentes milites qui custodirent illud. ij ij'. The right page is titled 'Pro Feria Sexta Parasceves.' and 'ALTUS.' It contains three staves of music with the lyrics: 'Sepulto Domino, signatum est monumentum, volentes la pidem ad o sium monumēti, ponentes mili tes qui custodirent illud. ij'. Below the right page, there is a section for 'BASSUS.' and 'TENOR.' with their respective staves and lyrics. At the bottom of the right page, it says 'Sequitur SECUNDA PARS.' and 'SU-'. There are also some small markings like 'AL-' and 'eez' at the bottom of the pages.

Figure 3 | Jacobus Handl-Gallus, *Sepulto Domino*, from *Rituale sacramentorum, ac aliarum Ecclesiae ceremoniarum [...] ad uniformem Ecclesiae et Cleri Varmiensis et Sambiensis* (1733), Superius and Tenor (left), Altus and Bassus (right)

One hitherto overlooked source confirming the reception of Handl's works in Royal Prussia during the first decades of the seventeenth century is the sole extant partbook, produced by several copyists and containing various voices (in different

catalogue. It is worth mentioning that this composition was already familiar in the 1590s to Johannes Fischer of Morag.

40 Szlagowska, *Repertuar*, 86; Popinigis, Długońska, Szlagowska and Woźniak, *Thematic Catalogue*, no. 326.

41 *Pelplin Tablature*, vol. 1, no. 91.

42 *Florilegium selectissimarum cantionum* (Leipzig, 1603) or *Florilegium Portense* (Leipzig, 1618).

works, mezzo-soprano, tenor and bass, occasionally just tenor and bass), from a manuscript that once consisted of six books, probably the *Sexta vox* from a set of part-books. It is held by the Library of the Hosianum Seminary of Warmia Metropolis in Olsztyn (PL-Osem). In the catalogue of music-related items assembled there after the Second World War, having been transported to Olsztyn mainly from Warmia, it bears the shelfmark Ms Mus 51.⁴³ The exact provenance of this source is not known. Given the paper used to produce this book — of various kinds, but mostly bearing variants of fish-shaped watermarks, produced at a paper mill in the Gdańsk area, although partly also with a two-headed eagle in an escutcheon with a crown and a cross, not encountered in atlases and internet watermark databases but probably produced at one of the paper mills working for the Austrian imperial court — its production may be linked to Royal Prussia. On account of the repertoire, which includes full Mass cycles (Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus Dei, occasionally with a separate Benedictus) and variable parts of the Mass (especially introits), it was undoubtedly prepared within a Roman Catholic environment, but one probably linked to Protestant Prussian cities. Judging by the numerous eight-part compositions it contains and the functional character of the collection, we may assume that it was used in one of the larger musical centres of that Province. Hypothetically, that may have been the court of the bishops of Warmia, especially Bishop Szymon Rudnicki (1605–1621), in Lidzbark (today Lidzbark Warmiński) or Frombork, or possibly the Jesuit college in Braniewo.

In the extant partbook we find one or two parts of a total of twenty-two full Roman Catholic Mass cycles and fifty motets serving as Mass propers, above all introits. The authors of Masses and parts of Masses are Elias Hermann, most probably a local composer, whose works are known also from the Pelplin Tablature (*Missa ad imitationem* a 8 and *Missa Facta est cum angelo* a 5), Jacobus Clemens non Papa (*Missa J'ai vu le cerf du bois saillir* a 5), Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (*Missa Papae Marcelli* a 6), Orlando di Lasso (*Missa Domine Dominus Deus noster* a 6, *Missa Entre vous filles* a 5, *Missa Deus in adiutorium* a 5, *Missa Veni in hortum meum* a 5), Rudolph di Lasso (*Missa Vestiva i colli* a 5), Hans Leo Hassler (*Missa Verbum caro factum est* a 6), Luca Marenzio (*Missa Iniquos odio habui* a 8), Jacobus Handl-Gallus (three Masses, discussed below), Georg Flori (*Missa Come la tourterelle* a 5, *Missa Un jour l'amant* a 5), Blasius Ammon (*Kyrie Paschale* a 5), Giovanni Croce (*Missa Decantabat* a 8) and possibly Michael Engelsdorffer (*Missa Si qua rubent* a 8). The other works were written here anonymously. As regards the motets, twenty-eight of them are works by Blasius Ammon (entered here without the composer's name), taken from his *Liber sacratissimum (quas vulgo introitus appellant) cantionum selectissimus* (Vienna: Stephanus Creuzerus, 1582), and there are also compositions by Elias Hermann, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina and possibly Jacobus Handl-Gallus. The composers of several motets

43 Litwinienko, Miernikiewicz, Popinigis and Woźniak, *Katalog tematyczny*.

have not been identified. The works by Handl in this manuscript are *Missa Elizabeth Zachariae* a 6 (see Figure 5), *Missa In Maien* a 5 (see Figure 6) and *Missa canonica* a 8 (see Figure 7), and of uncertain authorship is also a four-part setting of the introit *Asperges me* a 5, inscribed here as a work “Jacobi Handelij Authoris”, but not known from other sources by this composer, whether handwritten or printed (see Figure 8).

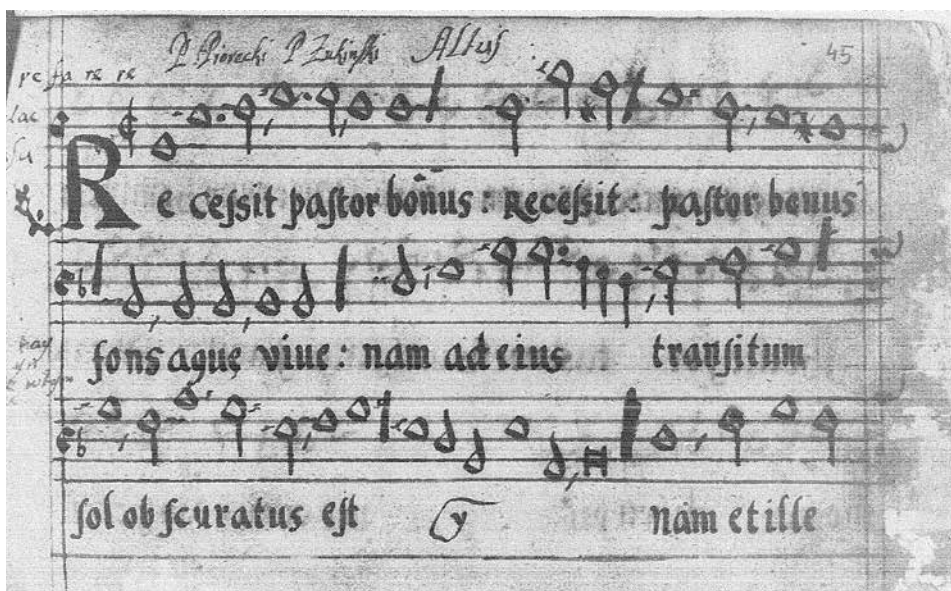


Figure 4 | Jacobus Handl-Gallus, the beginning of *Recessit pastor bonus*, Altus (PL-GD, Ms Akc. 127, fol. 45r)

On the one hand, the repertoire of this fragmentarily preserved collection displays similarities with works transmitted in manuscripts prepared in Protestant churches in Gdańsk and Elbląg; for example, Handl's *Missa Elizabeth [sic] Zachariae* and Hans Leo Hassler's *Missa Verbum caro factum est*, in a shortened form tailored to Protestant practice, were known in Gdańsk and Elbląg.⁴⁴ There are more similarities with the Gdańsk repertoire, concerning, for instance, Luca Marenzio's *Missa Iniquos odio habui*, familiar in Gdańsk and also in Pelplin (in both cases in a shortened version)⁴⁵ and works by Orlando di Lasso — *Missa Entre vous filles* a 5 and *Missa Veni in hortum meum*, preserved fragmentarily up to this day in the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences.⁴⁶ On the other hand, there is a clear presence in this

44 Cf. Leszczyńska, “Późnorennesansowe fragmenty mszalne”, 197.

45 See Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, “On the Trail”; Szlagowska, *Repertuar*, 63; Popinigis, Długońska, Szlagowska and Woźniak, *Thematic Catalogue*, no. 1354.

46 Szlagowska, *Repertuar*, 53, 74; Popinigis, Długońska, Szlagowska and Woźniak, *Thematic*

collection of works composed in the territory of the Empire. Besides Handl's compositions, this applies to the Mass and motets by Blasius Ammon, as well as to Masses by Giovanni Croce and Georg Flori (incidentally, this composer's *Missa Come la tourturrelle* and Rudolph di Lasso's *Missa Vestiva i colli* could have been copied from Friedrich Lindner's anthology, popular in Northern Europe).⁴⁷



Figure 5 | Jacobus Handl-Gallus, the beginning of *Missa Elisabeth Zachariae*, Tenor II (PL-Osem, Ms Mus 51, fol. 35v)

Catalogue, nos. 1304, 1309 and 1305.

⁴⁷ *Missae quinque, quinis vocibus, a diversis et aetatis nostrae praestantissimis musicis compositae: Ac in usum Ecclesiae DEI nuperrimè editae, studio & opera Friderici Lindeneri* (Nuremberg: Catharina Gerlach, 1590), RISM ID no. 301010414.



Figure 6 | Jacobus Handl-Gallus, the beginning of *Missa Im Mayen*, Tenor II (PL-Osem, Ms Mus 51, fol. 50v)

The manuscript presented here in brief certainly requires further research. We should definitely look for arguments confirming the hypothesis about the place where it was prepared and used in musical practice. It remains an intriguing question where the copy texts used by the scribes were obtained. Anyway, this question also applies to a number of other sources mentioned in the article, which constitute testimonies to the reception of Handl's music in Royal Prussia in the seventeenth century or perhaps, if we remember *Rituale sacramentorum, ac aliarum Ecclesiae ceremoniarum* [...] *ad uniformem Ecclesiae et Cleri Varmiensis et Sambiensis* published in 1733, even for longer.



Figure 7 | Jacobus Handl-Gallus, the beginning of *Missa canonica*, Chorus II, Tenor (left) and Bassus (right) (PL-Osem, Ms Mus 51, fol. 109v)



Figure 8 | Jacobus Handl-Gallus?, the beginning of *Asperges me*, Tenor (PL-Osem, Ms Mus 51, fol. 3r)

APPENDIX

Table 1 | Manuscript evidence of the reception of works by Jacobus Handl-Gallus in Royal Prussia around the turn of the seventeenth century (sources of works not mentioned in previously published catalogues of compositions by Handl are marked in bold)

TITLE	NO. OF VOICES	SOURCE	CATALOGUE NO. (MOTNIK)	PERIOD PRINTS	REMARKS
<i>Alleluia. In resurrectione tua Christe</i>	8	PL-GD, Ms 4012, no. 240 (Org); LT-Va, LMAB RS F15-284, no. 83 (anon.); PL-PE, Ms 304, no. 86 (anon.)	148	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 2, no. 29; Bodenschatz, <i>Florilegium</i> (1603/1618), no. 65*	
<i>Angeli laetantur de mirando</i>	7	PL-Ta, Kat. II, XIV 13a, no. 121	499		Uncertain authorship
<i>Asperges me Domine</i>	5	PL-Osem, Ms Mus 51, no. 2 (T)			Uncertain authorship
<i>Cum Rex gloriae Christus (2.p. Triumphat Dei filius)</i>	8	PL-GD, Ms 4012, no. 36 (Org; only 2.p. <i>Triumphat Dei filius</i>)	149	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 2, no. 30	
<i>Dicunt infantes Domino laudes</i>	4	PL-PE, Ms 305, no. 11	79	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 1, no. 63	
<i>Dii tibi si qua pios respectant numina</i>	4	PL-Ta, Kat. II, XIV 13a, pt 1 (list of contents), no. 37	391	Handl, <i>Harmoniae morales</i> , vol. 1, no. 1	The tablature source of the work is lost
<i>Domine quando veneris iudicare</i>	6	PL-GD, Ms 4012, no. 206 (Org); PL-PE (Tb), no. 33 (S, A; anon.); PL-PE, Ms 305, no. 42 (anon.)	100	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 1, no. 84; Bodenschatz, <i>Florilegium</i> (1603/1618), no. 47	
<i>Ecce quomodo moritur iustus (2.p. In pace factus est locus iste)</i>	4	PL-GD, Akc. 127, no. 27 (Mezzo-S, anon., both parts): "2 Mutet" ; LT-Va, LMAB RS F15-284, no. 27 (anon.); PL-PE, Ms 305, no. 6 (anon.; both parts)*	132	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 2, no. 3; Powodowski Agenda (1591) and further editions (anon.); Bodenschatz, <i>Florilegium</i> (1603/1618), no. 64; Gesius, <i>Christliche Deutsche und Lateinische Drucke</i> (1611), p. 42; Demantius, <i>Threnodiae</i> (1620), no. 5; Widmann, <i>Vierzig schöne geistliche Gesenglein</i> (1622), nos. 43–44; Piotrkowczyk, <i>Rituale sacramentorum ac aliarum ecclesiae caeremoniarum</i> (1631 and 1634)	

Table 1 | *continued*

TITLE	NO. OF VOICES	SOURCE	CATALOGUE NO. (MOTNIK)	PERIOD PRINTS	REMARKS
<i>Elisabeth Zachariae</i>	6	PL-PE (Tb), no. 37 (S, A); PL-Ta, Kat. II, XIV 13a, no. 66	299	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 4, no. 53; Schormann, <i>Suavis-simorum modulorum selec-tissimae cantiones</i> (1590), no. 23*	
<i>Expecta Domi-num et custodi viam eius</i>	8	PL-PE, Ms 308, no. 31	511		Uncertain authorship
<i>Exultate Deo adiutori nostro</i>	8	PL-PE, Ms 305, no. 23; PL-PE, Ms 306, no. 135	235	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 3, no. 46	
<i>Exultate iusti in Domino</i>	8	PL-GD, Ms 4005, no. 25	387	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 4, no. 141	
<i>Hanc volo, quae non vult</i>	4	PL-Ta, Kat. II, XIV 13a, pt 1 (list of contents), no. 79	408	Handl, <i>Harmoniae morales</i> , vol. 2, no. 18	The tablature source of the work is lost
<i>Hodie nobis coelorum rex</i>	8	PL-GD, Ms 4012, no. 103 (Org)	43	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 1, no. 27	
<i>Hosianna dem Sohn Davids</i>	8	PL-GD, Ms 4012, no. 207 (Org)			Uncertain authorship
<i>Jerusalem gaude gaudio magno</i>	6	PL-GD, Ms 4005, no. 8; PL-GD, Ms 4012, no. 8 (Org)	24	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 1, no. 8; Bodenschatz, <i>Florilegi-um</i> (1603/1618), no. 82	
<i>Illuminare Hierusalem</i>	6	PL-Ta, Kat. II, XIV 13a, pt 1 (list of contents), no. 82	61	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 1, no. 45	The tablature source of the work is lost
<i>Isti sunt trium-phatores</i>	8	LT-Va, LMAB RS F15-284, no. 170 (anon.); PL-PE, Ms 305, no. 94 (anon.)	257	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 4, no. 11	
<i>Iubilare Deo</i>	5	LT-Va, LMAB RS F15-284, no. 214 (anon.)	523		Uncertain authorship
<i>Laetamini cum Jerusalem</i>	8	PL-GD, Ms 4012, no. 97; PL-PE, Ms 305, no. 89	21	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 1, no. 5	
<i>Laudate Domi-num in sanctis eius</i>	4	PL-Ta, Kat. II, XIV 13a, no. 27	239	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 3, no. 50	
<i>Laus et peren-nis gloria</i>	8	PL-GD, Ms 4005, no. 29; PL-GD, 4012, no. 74; PL-PE, Ms 305, no. 90; PL-Ta, Kat. II, XIV 13a, no. 52	246	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 3, no. 57*	

<i>Maria Magdalena et altera Maria</i> (2.p. <i>Cito euntes dicite discipulis</i>)	8	LT-Va, LMAB RS F15-284, no. 142 (anon.)	150	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 2, no. 31	
<i>Media vita in morte sumus</i>	8	PL-GD, Ms 4012, no. 221 (Org)	81	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 1, no. 65; Bodenschatz, <i>Florilegium</i> (1603/1618), no. 27	
<i>Missa canonica</i>	4/8	PL-Osem, Ms Mus 51, no. 59 (a 8; Coro II: T and B; Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Benedictus, Agnus Dei)[†]	16	Handl, <i>Selectiores quaedam missae</i> , vol. 4, no. 16	a 8
<i>Missa Casta novenarum</i>	8	PL-GD, Ms 4005, no. 27 (Kyrie, Gloria; Sanctus and Agnus Dei without text)	4	Handl, <i>Selectiores quaedam missae</i> , vol. 1, no. 4	
<i>Missa Elisabeth Zachariae</i>	6	PL-GD, Ms. 4005, no. 9 (Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, Agnus Dei); PL-Ta, Kat. II, XIV 13a, no. 56 (Kyrie and Gloria); PL-Osem, Ms Mus 51, no. 36 (T I; Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus Dei); PL-Tu, Ms V 845-850, no. 15 (T, V)	6	Handl, <i>Selectiores quaedam missae</i> , vol. 2, no. 6; Schorrmann, <i>Suavissimorum modulorum selectissimae cantiones</i> (1590), no. 24; Klingenstein, <i>Triodia sacra</i> (1605), no. 27 (Bc)	PL-Osem, Ms Mus 51 & PL-Tu, Ms V 845-850: "Missa super Elizabeth Zachariae"
<i>Missa Im Mayen</i>	5	LT-Va, LMAB RS F15-284, no. 64 (Kyrie; anon.); [†] PL-Osem, Ms Mus 51, no. 40 (T II; Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Benedictus, Agnus Dei)	11	Handl, <i>Selectiores quaedam missae</i> , vol. 3, no. 11	
<i>O magnum mysterium</i>	8	PL-GD, Ms 4012, no. 96 (Org)	48	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 1, no. 32	
<i>Omnes gentes plaudite manibus</i>	8	PL-GD, Ms 4012, no. 67 (Org)	155	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 2, no. 36; <i>Cantionale sacrum</i> (1646/1651), no. 83*	
<i>Orationem meam audi Domine</i>	6	PL-PE, Ms 305, no. 48 (Ioannis Ferretti)	536		Uncertain authorship
<i>Petre amas me</i>	6	PL-Ta, Kat. II, XIV 13a, pt 1 (list of contents), no. 130	291	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 4, no. 45	The tablature source of the work is lost
<i>Quam dilecta tabernacula tua Domine</i> (2.p. <i>Domine Deus virtutum exaudi orationem</i>)	8	PL-GD, Ms 4012, no. 136 (Org); PL-PE, Ms 305, no. 87	217	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 3, no. 28	

Table 1 | *continued*

TITLE	NO. OF VOICES	SOURCE	CATALOGUE NO. (MOTNIK)	PERIOD PRINTS	REMARKS
<i>Quid admir- amini? Quid opinamini?</i>	8	PL-PE, Ms 305, no. 88 (anon., immediately after Handl's works)	46	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 1, no. 30	
<i>Quid gloriaris in malitia</i>	6	PL-PE, Ms 305, no. 60	90	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 1, no. 74	
<i>Recessit pastor noster</i>	4	PL-GD, Ms Akc. 127, no. 26 (A; anon.)	131	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 2, no. 12	With the text "Recessit pastor bonus" (addition "Mu- tety do grubu panskiego" [Motets for the Holy Sepulchre]); shortened text
<i>Resurrectio tua (2.p. Ante cuius conspicuum mors fuit)</i>	4	LT-Va, LMAB RS F15-284, no. 150	539		Uncertain authorship
<i>Sepulto Domino signatum est (2.p. Ne forte veniant disci- puli)</i>	4	PL-GD, Ms Akc. 127, no. 28 (A; anon.) ; LT-Va, LMAB RS F15-284, no. 28; PL-PE, Ms 305, no. 5 (anon.) [†]	133	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 2, no. 14; Powodowski Agenda (1591) (anon.); Piotrkowczyk Ritual (1631 and 1634) (anon.; two parts)	
<i>Si prolixa facit sapientem barba</i>	4	PL-Ta, Kat. II, XIV 13a, pt 1 (list of contents), no. 147	414	Handl, <i>Harmoniae morales</i> , vol. 2, no. 24	The tablature source of the work is lost
<i>State super vias et videte</i>	6	PL-GD, Ms 4005, no. 26 (anon.); PL-PE, Ms 305, no. 47 (anon.)	542		Uncertain authorship (Handl given as author in SK-Le, Ms 13997 (56–68 A), no. 96)
<i>Veni Domine et noli tardare</i>	8	PL-GD, Ms 4012, no. 140; PL-PE, Ms 308, no. 65	19 [†]	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 1, no. 3; Bodenschatz, <i>Florilegi- um</i> (1603/1618), no. 84	
<i>Veniet tempus in quo salvabitur</i>	8	PL-GD, Ms 4006, no. 61; PL- GD, Ms 4012, no. 197 (Org)	222	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 3, no. 33; Bodenschatz, <i>Florilegi- um</i> (1605/1618), no. 36	
<i>Venite ascenda- mus ad mon- tem Domini</i>	8	PL-PE, Ms 308 no. 64	18	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 1, no. 2	

<i>Veni sancte Spiritus reple tuorum corda</i>	4	PL-Ta, Kat. II. XIV 13a, no. 17	185	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 2, no. 66
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* Subsequent editions of this work not considered here

† Authorship identified and inscribed in the source at an unknown time

‡ Source not listed in Motnik, *Jacobus Handl-Gallus*

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NOVOODKRITI VIR MAŠ JACOBUSA HANDLA - GALLUSA
IN DRUGE SLEDI RECEPCIJE NJEGOVE GLASBE V
KNEŽJI PRUSIJI V 17. STOLETJU

Knežja Prusija, ki je bila del Poljsko-litovske zveze, se je razlikovala na etnični, verski in kulturni ravni. Glede na versko pripadnost se je tudi notranje razlikovala. V mestih, kot so Gdansk, Torunj in Elbląg, je prevladoval protestantizem, medtem ko je bila knežja škofija Varmija domena katoliških škofov. O recepciji glasbe Jacobusa Handla - Gallusa pričajo viri, ki so nastali v protestantskih okoljih, zlasti v Gdansku in Elblągu, ter v katoliških kolegijih in samostanih v Braniewu, Pelplinu, Oliwi pri Gdansku (zdaj v Gdansku) in Torunju. V tem članku so obravnavani združeno in dopolnjeni z viri na novo identificiranih skladb, ohranjenih zlasti v rokopisih, ki izvirajo iz samostana benediktink v Torunju in so bili napravljeni okoli leta 1630.

V številnih virih, napisanih v Knežji Prusiji, so ohranjeni prepisi štiriglasnih skladb *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus* in *Sepulto Domino signatum est* Jacobusa Handla - Gallusa. Avtorica domneva, da je priljubljenost teh dveh del povezana z njuno prisotnostjo v izdajah *Agenda seu ritus caeremoniarum ecclesiasticarum* (Krakov, 1591 in naslednje izdaje), ki jo je pripravil krakovski vikar in kanonik Hieronim Powodowski, in pozneje v t. i. Piotrkowczykovem ritualu (*Rituale sacramentorum ac aliarum ecclesiae caeremoniarum* (Krakov, 1631 in 1634)), ki je bil obvezen v Katoliški cerkvi za celotno Poljsko-litovsko zvezo. Gallusova dela so edine polifone skladbe v teh liturgičnih knjigah. Zapisane so v menzuralni notaciji, in sicer kot v kornih knjigah, po dva glasova na vsaki strani odprte knjige. Zanimivo je, da sta bili omenjeni Gallusovi skladbi vključeni tudi v liturgično knjigo, izdano v Varmiji v 18. stoletju – *Rituale sacramentorum, ac aliarum Ecclesiae caeremoniarum* [...] *ad uniformem Ecclesiae et Cleri Varmiensis et Sambiensis* (Braniewo, 1733) –, znano kot Ritual škofa Krzysztofa Szembka. Na koncu zvezka (brez paginacije) sta bili objavljeni v obliki, kot v kornih knjigah, in sicer s koralnimi notami v obliki rombov (brez ritmičnih vrednosti!).

Posebna pozornost je v članku namenjena rokopisu iz prvih desetletij 17. stoletja, ki je nastal v katoliškem okolju Knežje Prusije (morda v Varmiji). Od celote se je do danes ohranil le en glasovni zvezek, v katerem so uglasbitve stalnih mašnih delov (Kyrie,

Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus Dei, občasno z ločenim stavkom Benedictus) in spremenljivih delov maše (zlasti introitov) skladateljev, kot so Blasius Ammon, Jacobus Clemens non Papa, Giovanni Croce, Georg Flori, Hans Leo Hassler, Elias Hermann, Orlando di Lasso, Rudolph di Lasso, Luca Marenzio in Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina. Rokopis vsebuje tudi naslednje Gallusove skladbe: *Missa Elisabeth Zachariae*, *Missa Im Mayen* in osemglasna *Missa canonica*, pa tudi petglasno skladbo *Asperges me*, znano le iz tega vira.

KATHRYN BOSI MONTEATH
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A CURIOUS SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PAINTING OF MUSIC-MAKING IN CASALE MONFERRATO

IZVLEČEK: Slika v katedrali mesta Casale Monferrato prikazuje šest članov bratovščine svetega Filipa, ki igrajo na viole da gamba in so postavljeni okoli nenavadnega glasbenega stojala, na katerem šest posameznih pultov podpira en sam osrednji drog. Sodelujejo še dva deška pevca, čembalist in dirigent. Na sliki je napis »SI. NOMIO. QUIS. BROMIUS?«.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: viole, glasbena stojala, Casale Monferrato, Adriano Banchieri, Orfej

ABSTRACT: A painting in the Cathedral of Casale Monferrato shows six members of the Confraternità di San Filippo playing viols, positioned around an unusual music stand where six individual bookstands are supported by a single, central pole. Two choirboys, a harpsichordist and a musical director also participate. The painting is inscribed "SI. NOMIO. QUIS. BROMIUS?".

KEYWORDS: viols, music stands, Casale Monferrato, Adriano Banchieri, Orpheus

The name of the northern Italian city of Casale Monferrato in Piemonte will almost certainly be familiar to scholars of Renaissance music: the monumental collection of seven sixteenth-century Renaissance choirbooks in the Archivio Capitolare of the Cathedral of Sant'Evasio in Casale — which was found and edited by David Crawford for the American Institute of Musicology in 1975¹ come immediately to mind (an eighth volume was fortuitously found in a cupboard many years later). One also remembers the Francesco Sforza manuscript (sometimes known as the “Codice Borsieri”) in the same archive, which was likewise studied by Crawford² and displayed in Mantua on the occasion of the exhibition *Gonzaga: La Celeste Galeria*, held in the Palazzo del Te in 2002. Moreover, there is in the same Archivio Capitolare a extensive corpus of sixteenth-century liturgical manuscripts,³ many of which have been decorated with miniatures of great beauty (some pages are reproduced in *Lo Scrinium Riaperto*, published on the occasion of the IX Centenario di Consacrazione del Duomo di S. Evasio, Cattedrale di Casale Monferrato). But other libraries and archives in Casale Monferrato — including in particular the Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile and the Biblioteca Civica “Giovanni Canna”, contain an enormous treasury of early musical sources of innumerable kinds: manuscripts containing both chant and Renaissance polyphony, plus many editions of early printed music that are often rare, even sometimes unique. An extensive report on the musical holdings of the various archives and libraries in Casale Monferrato has been undertaken and published by Stefano Baldi,⁴ while Daniele Torelli has contributed an impressive, admirably researched and highly detailed study of the madrigal sources in the city, concentrating in particular on the printed sources of madrigals in the Biblioteca Civica “Giovanni Canna” and the textual and cultural context of the madrigal in Casale Monferrato.⁵ Moreover, the city’s Museo Civico holds two delightful paintings of musical interest: a concert of angels by Suor Orsola Maddalena Caccia (1596–1676)⁶ and an *Allegoria della musica* (dated 1666) by Suor Angeli-

I am greatly privileged to have been invited to contribute to this volume in honour of my lifelong friend and colleague Metoda Kokole. My warmest thanks go to Myrna Herzog — a noted performer on the viola da gamba and student of its history — for her expert and invaluable information regarding the viols shown in this painting. I also remember with gratitude Manuela Meni, the late Don Alessandro Giganti and Elio Botto for their kind assistance during my researches many years ago in the Archivio Diocesano, the Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile and the Biblioteca Civica “Giovanni Canna”, respectively. I also thank Cavaliere Gian Paolo Bardazza for his encouragement and support of my projects. It was a privilege to be granted access to the remarkable resources in Casale Monferrato for the study of early music.

1 Crawford, *Sixteenth-Century Choirbooks*.

2 Crawford, “Francesco Sforza Manuscript”.

3 See Marchisio, “Scoperte e riscoperte”. See also the earlier study by Guerrini, “I codici musicali dell’Archivio capitolare”.

4 Baldi, *Le fonti musicali in Piemonte*, 101–105.

5 Torelli, “Il madrigale nella Casale dei Gonzaga”.

6 Suor Orsola Maddalena Caccia, *Angeli musicanti* (1625–1630), Casale Monferrato, Museo Civico.

ca Bottera, a pupil of the former, depicting a joyful image of a young woman garlanded with flowers and playing an organ with a score before her, who recalls Santa Cecilia.⁷



Figure 1 | Suor Orsola Maddalena Caccia, *Angeli musicanti* (1625–1630), (Casale Monferrato, Museo Civico; reproduced by permission)



Figure 2 | Suor Angelica Bottera, *Allegoria della musica* (1666), (Casale Monferrato, Museo Civico; reproduced by permission)

See Mazza, *Il Museo Civico*, 55, for a reproduction, comment and bibliography.

- 7 Suor Angelica Bottera, *Allegoria della musica* (1666), Casale Monferrato, Museo Civico. See Mazza, *Il Museo Civico*, 56–57, for a reproduction, comment and bibliography.

This article, however, wishes to make known to a wider public an extraordinary early seventeenth century painting of music-making found in the Cathedral of Sant'Evasio of Casale Monferrato. This unusual painting will be of great interest for scholars of both musical iconography and the history of musical instruments, and I believe it to be still unknown to most musicologists.⁸



Figure 3 | Unknown artist, *Si nomio quis Bromius?*, (c. 1620–1650), (Casale Monferrato, Duomo di Sant'Evasio; reproduced by permission of the Archivio Diocesano)

The painting, by an unknown artist of the early-to-mid seventeenth century, is positioned on the wall to the right of the entrance to the Sala Capitolare of the Cathedral. It depicts the performance of chamber music by six clerics playing various sizes of viola da gamba, (two treble, two tenor and two bass viols), together with two young choirboys and a musical director. All are performing from partbooks, in some of which short phrases of text underlaid to the musical notation can just be discerned (though not deciphered). This suggests a performance of a motet for between six and eight voices, with viols supplying the lower parts and perhaps doubling the singers. They are accompanied by a musician standing at the harpsichord, which has a painting of Orpheus surrounded by wild beasts of noble aspect decorating its inner cover (see Figure 4).

8 Reproduced in *Il Duomo di Casale Monferrato*, 226. A brief reference to the painting can be found in n. 65 of the essay by Spantigati “Dipinti, sculture e arredi”, in which the author attributes the work to an anonymous seventeenth-century artist and offers other comments, which will appear later in this essay. The painting was also published some years later in Martinotti, *Musica a Casale*, 274 (additionally reproduced on the back paper cover of the book). Martinotti attributes it (erroneously) to an eighteenth-century painter without further observation.



Figure 4 | Unknown artist, *Si nomio quis Bromius?* (detail), (Casale Monferrato, Duomo di Sant'Evasio; reproduced by permission of the Archivio Diocesano)

The subject — Orpheus taming the beasts with the beneficent power of his music — seems to us today to be almost predictable for the decoration of a keyboard musical instrument, given its content. A similar theme can in fact be found on two harpsichords by Johannes and Andreas Ruckers, dating from 1617 and 1646, respectively,⁹ and also on a highly decorated hexagonal Venetian virginal by Giovanni Celestini (1593) held by the Royal College of Music, London. The three vignettes on the nameboard of this instrument, painted on mother-of-pearl lozenges, show two episodes from the life of Apollo — the Greek god of music — flanking a central image that shows Orpheus playing to the beasts, this last scene reproduced in the Appendix, Illustration 3.¹⁰ Colleagues have also notified me about a late seventeenth-century drawing by Hendrick ten Oever showing Orpheus taming the beasts, which is clearly a design intended for the decoration of the inner lid of a harpsichord, now held in the Rijksmuseum (see the Appendix, Illustration 4). Moreover, they have informed me of the presence of a harpsichord by Gilbert Desruisseaux dated 1678–1679, where Orpheus's taming of the animals is depicted on the inner lid, in the Musée de la musique in Paris (see the Appendix, Illustration 5).¹¹ Strangely enough, however, few other examples of such thematic decoration seem to have survived on keyboard instruments from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

9 See Gétreau, “Deux couvercles de clavecins”.

10 Kindly brought to my attention by Gabriele Rossi Rognoni of the Royal College of Music, London.

11 I am deeply indebted to Arianna Rigamonte and Tim Shephard for informing me of the drawing and the harpsichord.

The camel visible amongst the creatures shown on the lid in the Casale painting seems to me to be somewhat uncommon in earlier depictions of Orpheus taming the beasts in Italian art, but in the early seventeenth century it often appears, especially in Dutch and Flemish engravings: see, for example, that by Nicolaes de Bruyn (1571–1656) of Orpheus taming the beasts (*Orpheus cithara feras et inanima trahit*), reproduced in this article in the Appendix, Illustration 1; here, tiny camels appear in the background on the far right.¹² In fact, it seems very probable that engravings or paintings by Flemish artists influenced the depiction of animals seen on the harpsichord lid in the Casale painting — not only regarding the presence of camels, but even more with respect to the animals' robust, muscular bodies and noble aspect. Indeed, I venture to suggest that there is a specific relationship between the decoration of this harpsichord lid and the style of the Flemish artist Roelandt Savery (1576–1639), as seen in his painting *Imbarco degli animali sull'arca di Noè* (see Figure 5), held by the Museo Civico of Casale and originating from the Vitta collection, which is thought to derive in turn from the previous owners of the palace, the Natta family of Alfiano.¹³ It suffices to compare the horses, the camels, the deer (whose antlers are practically identical in shape) and the bears to become aware of the similarity. Bearing in mind that this painting attributed to Savery seems to have been held in Casale from an early period of its existence, one might reasonably propose that it offers a model for the illustration of Orpheus on the harpsichord lid.

Returning now to the image of the whole painting, we see on the right a clerical musical director who waves a white cloth to mark the beat. With regard to this last element, I am deeply indebted to Diego Fratelli, who has informed me that Adriano Banchieri, in his *Cartella musicale*, suggests that those directing music may use “mano, bachetta over fazoletto” (hand, baton or handkerchief).¹⁴ Fratelli has also pointed out that using a white cloth would be much more visible than a baton for indicating the time in dark surroundings (perhaps lit only by candles). I am equally grateful to him for pointing out the similar use of a white cloth for the direction of musicians in the lower right-hand corner of the painting by Carl Borromäus Andreas Ruthart (1630–c. 1703) that shows the coronation of Pope Celestino V in the church

12 Nicolaes de Bruyn, *Orpheus cithara feras et inanima trahit* (c. 1610–1630), published by Justus Danckers (1635–1702). See *New Hollstein*, 115–116. This engraving is significant for our painting in Casale on account of both the style of its depiction of the animals and the elaborate tailpiece of the viol, which resemble those of that painting, as will be mentioned later.

13 Mazza, *Il Museo Civico*, 26, states that this painting is held in store by the Museo Civico in Palazzo Langosco, adding that it comes from the collection of Giuseppe Raffaele Vitta donated in 1916. She suggests that this painting, along with the seven other Flemish works donated by Vitta in 1916, belonged to the former owners of the palace, the Natta d'Alfiano family. A description of the contents of the Natta property (De Conti, *Ritratto della città di Casale*, 2) refers, in fact, to “alcuni dipinti forestieri”.

14 Banchieri, *Cartella musicale*, 33.

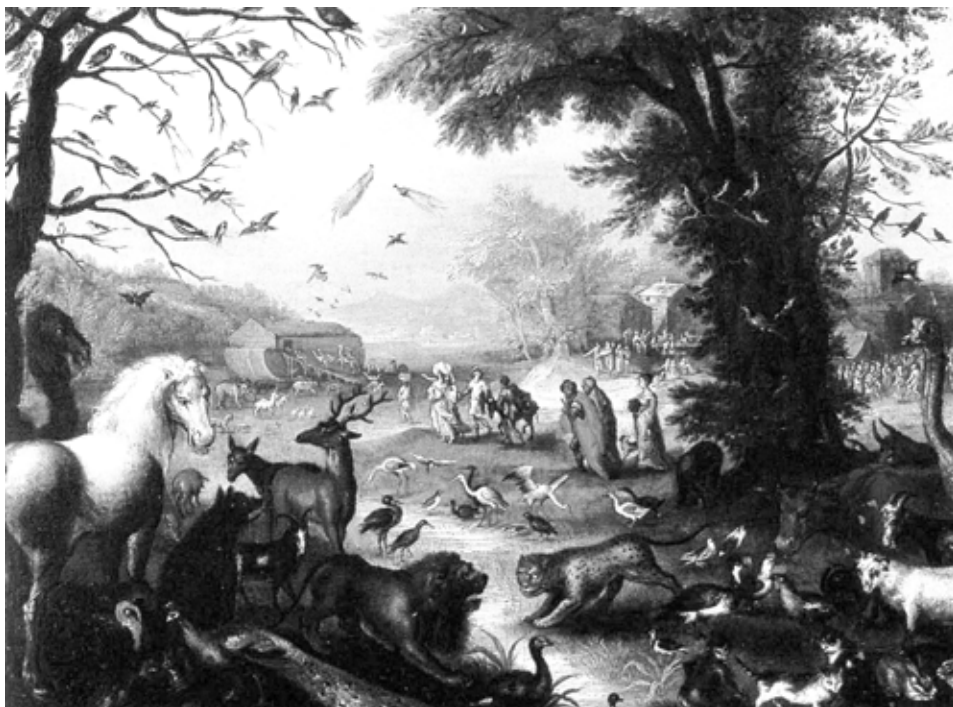


Figure 5 | Roelandt Savery (1576–1639), attrib., *Imbarco degli animali sull’arca di Noè* (Casale Monferrato, Museo Civico; reproduced by permission)

of Collemaggio, L’Aquila; this is discussed by Francesco Zimei and reproduced in detail in the Appendix, Illustration 2.¹⁵

All the musicians in our painting in Casale wear ecclesiastical robes which indicate that they belonged to the Order of San Filippo Neri: these are black robes held by a cord at the waist and closed by five buttons (in this painting — as is more common — the buttons are vertically rather than horizontally aligned); we also see the pointed white collars belonging to the garment beneath the black robe, and black hats or berets with four projecting corners.¹⁶ The relevant Oratorio was established in

¹⁵ Zimei has discussed this painting briefly in his volume *I “cantici” del Perdono*, 346–347. For Ruthart, see *Carl Borromäus Andreas Ruthart*, 2020, but this study contains no reference to the painting in Collemaggiore. Rather, it concentrates entirely on Ruthart’s countless depictions of animals, which comprised by far the greater part of his output. The engraver Nicolaes de Bruyn, cited in n. 12, was similarly devoted to images of animals, and it seems very likely that works by Flemish artists influenced the depiction of animals on the harpsichord lid in the Casale painting, especially (as I observed earlier) on account of their robust, muscular bodies and noble stance. See my suggestion regarding the painting attributed to Savery in Casale discussed above.

¹⁶ With regard to the ecclesiastical robes of the Ordine dei Filippini, we are told that they wore a “lunga veste nera da cui fuoriesce il bavero bianco [...] aperta davanti, chiusa al collo con tre

Casale in 1612 by Bishop Tulio del Caretto at the suggestion of Padre Giacinto Natta, a famed preacher and Pontifical Delegate. But the church dedicated to the Saint was not established until 1721,¹⁷ which may explain why this painting, dating from perhaps 1615–1650, has been preserved in the Cathedral of Sant’Evasio rather than in the later church of San Filippo Neri.

The inscription at the head of the painting, reading “SI. NOMIO. QUIS. BROMIUS?” is a little problematic. It can be translated as: “If there is Apollo, who is Bacchus?”¹⁸ “Nomio”, used as an epithet for Apollo, sometimes signifies a pastoral god but can also mean (importantly for our topic) a law-giver, as emerges from the writings of Cicero.¹⁹ “Bromius” in ancient Greek seems to have sometimes been used as an epithet for Dionysus/Bacchus, signifying “noisy”, “roaring” or “boisterous”.²⁰ Spantigati, in her essay cited in note 8, suggests that the phrase signifies: “Se c’è Apollo (Nomio), chi è Bacco il rumoroso (Bromius)?” ovvero, “Se c’è armonia, chi

o cinque bottoni [...] stretta ai fianchi da un cordoglio, annodato a sinistra con pendenti”. “In alcuni congregazioni [...] il lembo sinistro della veste non si abbottonava perpendicolarmente al centro, sotto il mento, ma si sovrapponeva all’altro lato diagonalmente verso sinistra con cinque bottoni” (in our painting the five buttons are placed vertically). “[...] la berretta [...] svasata e sporgente ai quattro angoli, [è] un po’ più basso di quelli di altre religioni”. With regard to lay brothers, “essi indossassero una tonica, lunga sino alle ginocchia, e un mantello un poco più lungo”. Thus the musical director, with his cloak or *tonica*, his hat of different shape and size and his lace-trimmed “bavero”, is clearly a lay brother of the order of Filippini; the choirboys likewise wear cloaks. See Cistellini, “Oratorio di s. Filippo Neri”. I am grateful to Daniela Degli Innocenti of the Museo del Tessuto of Prato for facilitating my access to this volume.

17 The idea of establishing an oratorio dedicated to San Filippo Neri in Casale arose in the early seventeenth century as a concrete answer to the requests for renovation and reform initiated by the Council of Trent. In view of its historical importance for the spiritual and communal life of the city, an exhibition with the title “Barocco sacro a Casale Monferrato: la chiesa di San Filippo Neri” was held from 16 October to 8 November 2020 in the Biblioteca del Seminario, Casale Monferrato.

18 My thanks to Davide Baldi for this suggestion.

19 Nomio is sometimes used as an epithet for divinities — in particular, Apollo and Pan — alluding to their having tended flocks: see for example Callimachus, in his *Hymn to Apollo*. But as an epithet of Apollo, Nomio has another significance — vital for our interpretation — as is given by Cicero in *De natura deorum*, vol. 3, cap. XXIII, 57: “Nomionem appellant, quad ab eo se leges ferunt accepisse”. The fourth [Apollo] belongs to Arcadia, and is called by the Arcadians Nomios, as being their traditional lawgiver (Cicero, *De natura deorum*, 126–127). Note that some scholars, in their references to Cicero, erroneously give *De oratore* instead of *De natura deorum* as the source of this epithet.

20 Wikipedia tells us that Bromio or Bromius (ancient Greek: Βρόμιος) was used as an epithet for Dionysus/Bacchus. It signifies “noisy”, “roaring” or “boisterous”, from βρέμειν, to roar. Wikipedia, s.v. “Bromius”, last modified 1 August 2023, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bromius>. This epithet is also given in the entry on Dionysus/Bacchus in Grant, *Who’s Who in Classical Mythology*, 112, but without explanation of its significance or origin. Hence, in the context of the inscription, “Nomio” refers to Apollo as a conferrer of law and order who opposes the rowdy disorder brought about by Bacchus.

stona?” (“If there is Apollo, who is the noisy Bacchus?”; in other words, ‘If there is harmony, who creates discord/dissonance?’”), and I find this exegesis convincing.²¹

But the most extraordinary aspect of the painting in Casale — surely very rare in musical iconography — is the circular wooden structure in the centre of the scene, which supports individually all the scores for the players of the stringed instruments, so that they can play in a circle, reading their parts with facility from a shared “composite” music stand. Even for this reason alone, the painting is fascinating. Students of the iconography of musical instruments will, one hopes, be able to inform us whether such extraordinary music stands are depicted elsewhere. I myself can offer only a painting produced by Peter Paul Rubens, together with Jan Brueghel the Elder: *The Sense of Hearing*, from the series of paintings of *The Five Senses* in the Museo del Prado.²² In the detail of this painting given below, we see a circular table with bookstands attached for the purpose of holding six partbooks for the use of musicians positioned around this table, which also holds a reading lamp. But this structure is quite different from that shown in our painting from Casale, which has been constructed specifically for holding scores or partbooks and for no other purpose.

In the meantime, I offer the following information about the instruments making up the viol consort, which has been most kindly contributed by Myrna Herzog, whose highly expert contribution to this article is fundamental for our knowledge of the viols depicted therein. She notes that the viols in the painting have been made in a guitar-like shape, which is in general less common for those instruments. It is also to be found in a painting by Ludovico Gambara datable to c. 1560 (for this last, see the Appendix, Illustration 7).

- 21 With regard to a connection between the Orpheus depicted on the harpsichord lid and the reference to Apollo and Dionysus/Bacchus in the inscription on the painting, I quote Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion*, 47: “Orpheus was a Thracian hero closely associated with the cult of Apollo, and was therefore in his early days in conflict with the pre-eminently Thracian worship of Dionysus, an essentially different type of religion. He was thought of as a figure of peace and calm, the maker of a music with magically soothing properties”. Vicari, “*Sparagmos*”, 75, notes that Thracian Orpheus was connected with Apollo: according to some versions of his story (as, for example, that related by Durante in *Compendio della mitologia*, he was the son of Apollo).
- 22 The online inventory of the Prado Museum informs us that in this series of paintings of the five senses (Sight, Hearing, Smell, Taste and Touch), Rubens depicted the figures, while Brueghel the Elder provided the magnificent courtly settings. The pictorial representations on the walls of the room depicted in Hearing include — predictably — a scene portraying Orpheus taming the beasts with his music (however, not visible in the detail of the painting given here, which focuses on the circular table with bookstands, partbooks (the centrally placed one reveals that these are six-part madrigals by Peter Philips) and instruments). Note also the presence of birds and a deer, which refer to the power of music. This painting is discussed and reproduced in the introduction in Drèze and Guilloux, *Rubens et la musique*, 14–15. A bibliography of works dealing specifically with this painting can be found on the website of the Museo del Prado.



Figure 6 | Peter Paul Rubens and Jan Breughel the Elder, *The Sense of Hearing* (1617–1618), (Madrid, Museo del Prado, Inventory P001395; reproduced by permission)

She has informed me that on his website (which no longer exists) the late José Vázquez observed that

this shape of viol, called “figure eight” or “cornerless” or “guitar-shape”, common in the 16th century, is often encountered throughout the 17th and up to the middle of the 18th centuries, particularly in Italy. A number of viols by Grancino (Milano) and Petrus Guarneri (Cremona, later in Mantova) made in this form survive, dating from the beginning of the 18th century.

Herzog points out that the viols in the painting are unusually shallow, like violins. The arching of their fronts suggests that they were most probably made like violins (which, as she says, is quite common for Italian viols), meaning that each table was carved out of a single plank rather than using the English technique of “bent plates” (which was to glue a number of strips of wood — usually five — one alongside the other and then bend them). In addition, their backs seem as round as their tops; they are not canted in the upper part as is usual in viols with flat backs — and the viols have clearly over-lapping edges of table and back. The shape of their sound-holes is typical of North-Italian instruments: F and E (or a rather elaborate C) shaped sound-holes, as can be seen in El Greco’s painting *Annunciazione* dated *c.* 1600 (see the

Appendix, Illustration 8),²³ as well as in Brescian viols by Gasparo da Salò, Pellegrino de Michelis Zanetto, Pietro Zanetto, Giovanni Paolo Maggini and Antonio Brensio; Cremonese viols by the Amati, Antonio Stradivarius and Andrea Guarneri; Venetian viols by Domenico Ruffo and Ventura Linarol; and Milanese viols by Carlo Testore and Carlo Grancino. The shape of the tailpieces is also remarkable — very elaborate, rather than straight — as can be seen in the viols in the Italian painting *San Francesco confortato da un angelo musicante* by the Genoese Gioacchino Assereto (1600–1649) (see the Appendix, Illustration 6), in the anonymous painting of a concert, of Florentine origin (c. 1550–1600), today in the Louvre (MNR 254) and (as I discovered myself) in the engraving *Orpheus cithara feras et inanima trahit* by Nicolaes de Bruyn (c. 1610–1630), shown in the Appendix, Illustration 1. Their scrolls are also made in the violin fashion — most of them full scrolls (perhaps one is a carved head?) — rather than featuring the open scrolls typical of English viols of the period.

Herzog observes that our painting in Casale Monferrato contains another minor but interesting detail: all the bridges of the viols are positioned very low: much lower than in standard practice today. She notes that this is a common feature of early viols and violins, indicating that the sound post was probably placed just opposite the foot of the bridge, and not at a certain distance, as practised today. This kind of positioning was very common before 1650 — thus preceding the invention of wound (covered) strings — in order to lengthen the playing segment of strings, which boosted the lower strings in particular. Last but not least, she observes that they were clearly built as a set (*concerto*) by a single maker, probably commissioned by the religious institution.

The highly detailed, expert information about the viols depicted in our painting, generously offered by Myrna Herzog, offers us much information about the instruments depicted therein, but we are unable to offer an extensive bibliography for the iconography of the painting of the myth of Orpheus playing to the animals decorating keyboard instruments of the late Renaissance or Baroque; nor can we refer our readers to the existence of similar circular wooden structures in the seventeenth century for the support of scores or part-books for a musical consort. Our essay on this remarkable painting, which deserves to be better known for its many fascinating features, thus concludes with questions for our readers, which can perhaps now be answered by the expertise of the scholarly community.

23 Our illustration shows the painting in the Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid, but there is also a larger version in the Prado. See Guarino, *L'Annunciazione*.

APPENDIX

Illustrations

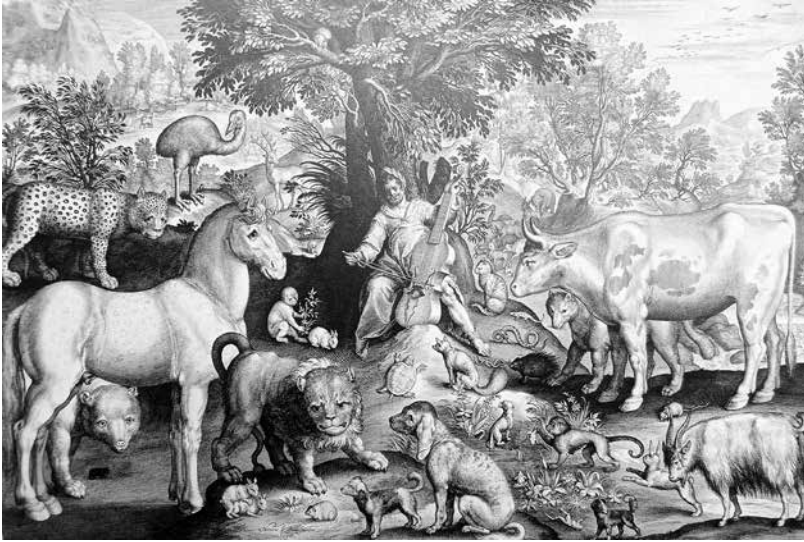


Illustration 1 | Nicolaes de Bruyn (c. 1610–1630), *Orpheus cithara feras et inanima trahit*, published by Justus Danckers (1635–1702)



Illustration 2 | Carl Borromäus Andreas Ruthart (1630–c. 1703), *Incoronazione di Celestino V* (1694?), detail of lower right portion (L'Aquila, Santa Maria di Collemaggio; reproduced by permission)



Illustration 3 | Detail of hexagonal Venetian virginal by Giovanni Celestini (1593), (Royal College of Music, London; reproduced by permission)

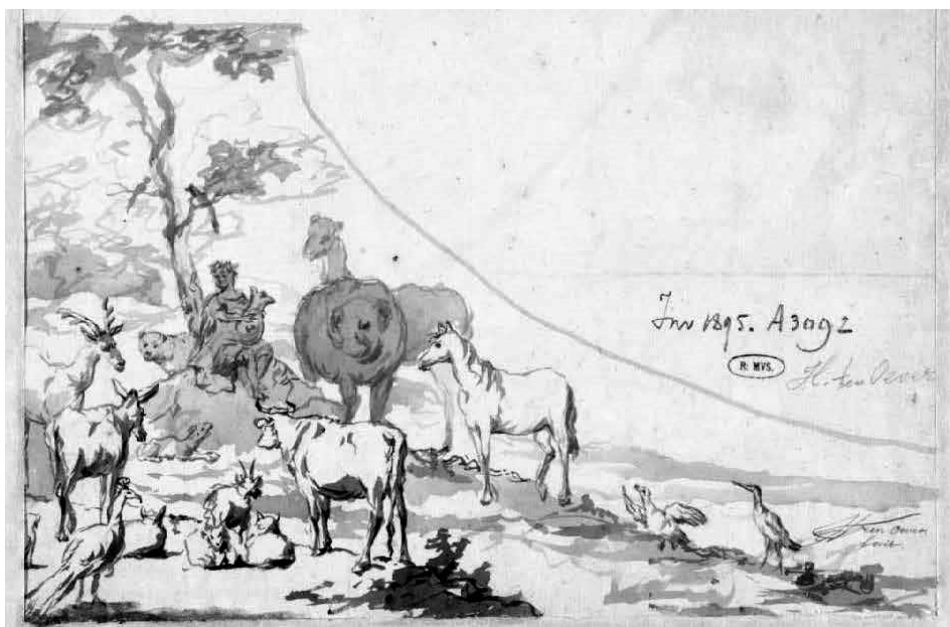


Illustration 4 | Hendrick ten Oever, late seventeenth century, drawing (for harpsichord decoration?) showing Orpheus playing to the animals (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam)

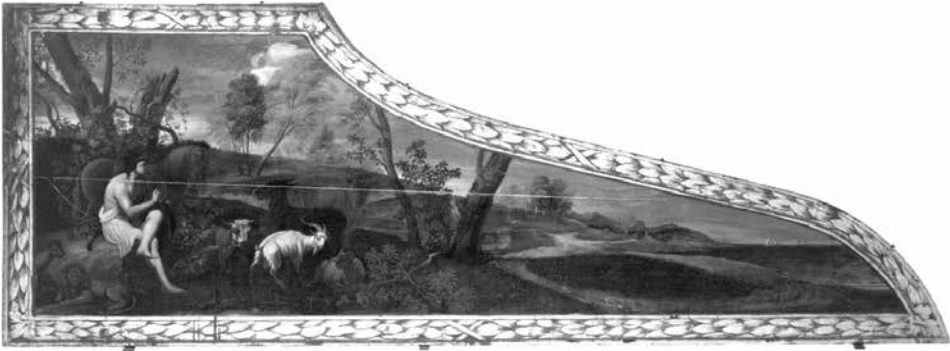


Illustration 5 | Harpsichord lid by Gilbert Desruisseaux (1678–1679), (Musée de la Musique, Paris, inventory number E.979.2.3)



Illustration 6 | Giochino Assereto (1600–1649), *San Francesco confortato da un angelo musicante* (Collezione D'Arte Della Banca Carige di Genova)



Illustration 7 | Ludovico Gambara, *Concerto* (c. 1560), (Palazzo Maggi, Cadignano, Brescia)



Illustration 8 | El Greco, *Annunciazione* (c. 1600), detail of upper section (Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid)

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ZANIMIVA SLIKA IZ 17. STOLETJA, KI PRIKAZUJE MUZICIRANJE V CASALE MONFERRATO

Članek obravnava sliko, ki jo hranijo v stolnici sv. Evazija v mestu Casale Monferrato. Prikazuje šest klerikov reda sv. Filipa Nerija, ki igrajo v ansamblu viol da gamba (dve visoki, dve tenorski in dve basovski) in sedijo okrog glasbenega stojala, sestavljenega iz štirinožne konstrukcije, ki podpira osrednji drog s šestimi podaljški – na vsakem od njih je notni pult, kar glasbenikom omogoča igranje v krogu. To zelo nenavadno glasbeno stojalo – po mojem vedenju je edinstveno v upodobitvah muziciranja – spominja na okroglo mizo s šestimi notnimi pulti na sliki Rubensa in Breughela starejšega z naslovom *Čut za sluh* v muzeju Prado, vendar je na sliki v Casalu namesto mize upodobljena konstrukcija, sestavljena iz lesenih drogov. Za ansamblom viol sta dva deška pevca, ki pojeta iz glasovnih zvezkov, še en klerik pa igra na čembalo, ki ima na notranjem delu pokrova prizor Orfeja, ki s svojo glasbo kroti živali (sodeč po redkih danes ohranjenih primerih se zdi to presenetljivo redka dekoracija čembala). Upodobitve živali na pokrovu čembala so podobne tistim na sliki Roelandta Saveryja *Vkrcanje živali na Noetovo barko* v mestnem muzeju v Casalu, in ker naj bi ta slika izvirala iz veje družine Natti d'Alfiano, povezane z Monferratom, domnevam, da jo je naš neznani umetnik poznal. Dirigent z belim robčkom ansamblu kaže dobe, kar spomni na Banchierjevo pripombo v njegovem delu *Cartella musicale*, da glasbeni vodje lahko uporabljajo »mano, bachetta over fazoletto«. Tudi to je redko upodobljeno v prizorih muziciranja, vendar pa podoben prizor zasledimo na Ruthartovi sliki kronanja Celestina V. v Collemaggiu. Na sliki v Casalu je napis »SI. NOMIO. QUIS. BROMIUS?«, ki ga je Carla Enrica Spantigati prevedla kot »Če obstaja Apolon, kdo je hrupni Bakhus?«. To z drugimi besedami pomeni: »Če obstaja harmonija, kdo ustvarja nesoglasje/neskladnost?«, kar je prepričljivo.

Zahvaljujoč strokovnemu znanju Myrne Herzog, raziskovalke in izvajalke, lahko predstavim nekaj informacij o violah, upodobljenih na sliki v Casalu. Prvič, so »kitarske oblike«, kar v 16. in 17. stoletju ni redkost. Vendar so nenavadno plitve, pravzaprav kot violine, in so bile verjetno izdelane iz ene same deske, namesto da bi bile sestavljene iz lesenih trakov. Poleg tega v zgornjem delu niso nagnjene in imajo jasno prekriva-joče se robove pokrova in poda. Oblika njihovih zvočnic – F in E (ali okrašen C) – je

značilna za severnoitalijanska glasbila. Njihovi struniki – bolj zapleteni kot preprosti – so izredni. Njihovi polži so zasnovani kakor pri violinah in večina je polnih (eden ima morda izrezljano glavo). Vse kobilice viol da gamba so nameščene zelo nizko, veliko nižje, kakor je v navadi danes; to je pogosta značilnost zgodnjih viol da gamba in violin ter nakazuje, da je bila duša verjetno nameščena ravno nasproti noge kobilice. Očitno jih je izdelal en sam izdelovalec; verjetno jih je kot komplet naročila verska ustanova za uporabo pri izvajanju komorne glasbe.

Upam, da bo ta članek opozoril tako raziskovalce kot izvajalce na to izjemno sliko v katedrali v Casalu, ki ponuja toliko zanimivosti in si zasluži, da bi bila širše poznana. Morda bodo kot posledica sedaj na dan prišli podatki o podobnih skupnih glasbenih stojalih in čembalih, okrašenih z Orfejem.

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“ALLORA PIÙ GRADITO, CHE PIÙ BATTUTO”: FRANCISCANS FROM KOPER AND THEIR BAROQUE *CANTUS FRACTUS*

IZVLEČEK: Osrednja knjižnica Srečka Vilharja Koper hrani rokopis SIKKP D A 15, kirial iz 17. in 18. stoletja, ki je bil v rabi v koprskem frančiškanskem samostanu sv. Ane. Rokopis vsebuje eksplicitne navezave na mesto Koper (Capodistria) in je najpomembnejši lokalni vir baročnega repertoarja *cantus fractus*. Članek preliminarно predstavlja rokopis in njegovo vsebino, obenem pa razpravlja o pomenu in vlogi njegovega lokalnega repertoarja v širšem okviru frančiškanskega reda.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: Koper, *cantus fractus*, frančiškani, kirial, 17.–18. stoletje

ABSTRACT: Manuscript SIKKP D A 15 from the Central Library of Srečko Vilhar in Koper is a seventeenth- and eighteenth-century kyriale from the Franciscan Observant Monastery of St Anne in Koper (Capodistria). Because of its explicit connections to this town, it is the most important local source of the *cantus fractus* repertoire. This paper offers preliminary observations on the manuscript and its contents, while also discussing the local role and relevance of the *cantus fractus* repertoire within a broader monastic context.

KEYWORDS: Koper, *cantus fractus*, Franciscans, kyriale, seventeenth to eighteenth centuries

INTRODUCTION

The Central Library of Srečko Vilhar in Koper (Osrednja knjižnica Srečka Vilharja Koper / Biblioteca centrale Srečko Vilhar Capodistria; SI-Ko) holds several seventeenth- and eighteenth-century manuscript volumes transmitting various chant repertoires sung in the churches of the Franciscan Friars in Koper and other coastal towns of present-day Slovenia. Alongside the traditional liturgical plainchant, some sources also contain a repertoire written in the manner of *cantus fractus*. For various reasons, this repertoire of local as well as wider importance has not yet received proper scholarly attention. Nevertheless, it represents a part of Franciscan liturgical history in the northern and eastern Adriatic, lying within the shared history of the Franciscan Province of St Jerome and the history of Franciscan monasteries in the Venetian Republic.

This article introduces one of the most important *cantus fractus* sources, which comes from the Franciscan Observant Monastery of St Anne in Koper: manuscript SIKKP D A 15 in the Central Library of Srečko Vilhar (SI-Ko, [MS] 15), a kyriele written during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It contains standard plainchant melodies written in the square notation of plainchant and later melodies written in *cantus fractus*-style notation, where the duration of notes is measured. The article focuses mainly on the *cantus fractus* repertoire, which consists of Mass Ordinaries and separate Credos.

The aims of the article are threefold: (1) to attract attention, through a preliminary presentation of the selected manuscript, to the hitherto unknown Baroque *cantus fractus* repertoire of the Franciscan Observant Monastery of St Anne in Koper; (2) to show its specific local and other characteristics and speculate on who its creators and users may have been; and (3) to stress the need for deeper international research into this repertoire within the context of Franciscan history and the wider area once influenced by the Serenissima. The ecclesiastical and political borders that shaped the existence and transmission of this repertoire should accordingly be taken into consideration — and, as many researchers have pointed out before me, these do not coincide with the modern state borders of Italy, Slovenia, Croatia and possibly some other countries. So the Koper *cantus fractus* is to be viewed as one piece in a much larger and more complex, but tightly connected, jigsaw making up Franciscan music.

CANTUS FRACTUS AND THE UNDEFINED BORDERS OF ITS TERRITORIES

*Cantus fractus*¹ is a very broad and highly elusive term for which we might easily search in vain in musicology's terminological toolbox. In their preface to two special issues

¹This article was written within the research project Old Traditions in New Vestments: Musical and Textual Reworkings in the Performing Practices of Liturgical Music (J6-1809) and the

of the *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* Hana Vlhová-Wörner and Rhianydd Hallas pointed out the fact that the term *cantus fractus* does not appear in leading encyclopaedias of music such as *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* and *Grove Music Online* and that there is only a very short entry in the *Oxford Companion to Music*.² In the basic musicological literature a knowledge of, and writing on, the topic are sparse and fragmentary. Vlhová-Wörner and Hallas have suggested the following as the broadest definition: the *cantus fractus* repertoire embraces monophonic melodies for the Roman liturgy that contain some element of fixed rhythmic realization.³

Marco Gozzi, a leading expert on this repertoire, has offered a similar definition of *cantus fractus*, describing it as a “Christian liturgical chant with rhythmic-proportional elements”.⁴ Elsewhere, Gozzi says something similar: this is “a type of Christian liturgical chant in Latin that makes use of proportional rhythmic values in its notation and is therefore measured”.⁵ Even between these two very broad and general definitions there is no agreement on the monophonic nature of the repertoire. On the basis of his discovery that early (fourteenth-century) sources of the famous *cantus fractus* named *Credo cardinalis* are polyphonic — the main melody is always the same, but the second part not necessarily so — Marco Gozzi has developed a working hypothesis that, in practice, more music was performed in two parts than we can assume from monodic sources.⁶

research programme Researches in the History of Music in Slovenia (P6-0004), both funded by the Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency (ARIS). I wish to thank Matej Veider for preparing the transcriptions; Franciscan Father Bogdan Rus from the Monastery of St Anne for his generous assistance with questions regarding the history of the monastery and church; Peter Štoka from the Central Library of Srečko Vilhar in Koper for his help with accessing and researching the sources; Jurij Snoj for his valuable feedback on the draft of this text; Giovanni Varelli for his assistance with eliciting the meanings of Italian quotations; and the editor of the present volume, Klemen Grabnar, for his efforts. I would also like to express my gratitude to the reviewers for their insightful and helpful comments. When not indicated otherwise, the translations of the text are mine.

- 1 The term *cantus fractus* (*canto fratto* in Italian) was first used mainly by Italian scholars and has now attained general acceptance in scholarly writing. Throughout history, however, the repertoire covered by this “umbrella” term has been known by different names. Dyer writes (following Fabio Sebastiano Santoro’s treatise published in 1715) that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, *canto fratto* was regarded as a *canto misto* because it combined elements of plainchant (*canto fermo*) with the rhythmic features of *canto figurato* (polyphony); hence also the other name *canto semifigurato*. Štefancová presents very similar alternatives for the term *cantus fractus*: *canto misto*, *cantus figurato*, and *canto mensurato*. See Gabrielli, “*Cantus fractus*”, 53; Dyer, “New Source”, 577; Štefancová, “*Cantus fractus*”.
- 2 Vlhová-Wörner and Hallas, “Introduction”, 197.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Gozzi, “Alle origini del canto fratto”, 245: “canto cristiano liturgico con elementi ritmico-proporzionali”.
- 5 Quoted from Dyer, “New Source”, 571 (Gozzi gives this definition in his “Prefazione” to *Cantus fractus italiano: un’antologia*, ed. Marco Gozzi (Hildesheim: Olms, 2012), 1).
- 6 Gozzi, “Alle origini del canto fratto”, 247.

He states: “In the search for the origins of *cantus fractus*, all clues point towards simple polyphony or, if another term is preferred, towards the polyvocal amplification of the supposed liturgical ‘monody’”.⁷

Joseph Dyer, among others, has stressed the fact that the melodies of *cantus fractus* are “much closer to contemporary musical idioms than they are to the Gregorian chant melodies”.⁸ Yet the genre’s liturgical context, positioning in standard liturgical books alongside plainchant and some intentional visual aspects of its notation (square- and mensural-like notation, primarily on four-line (tetragrams) — but also five-line (pentagrams) — staves), as well as its contemporary understanding, link this repertoire firmly to *cantus planus*. *Cantus fractus* should therefore continue to lie within the domain of (plain)chant scholars — but not exclusively that: since the sound of this music belies the visual impression of its antiquity, chant researchers should join forces with music scholars conversant with later periods. Only then will the sources be more fully understood and the picture gain new depth and added dimensions.

However, questions regarding monophony as opposed to polyphony and the repertoire’s antiquity as opposed to its contemporaneity (arising from the reworking of Gregorian chant and composition of entirely new melodies) are only a few of the issues surrounding the elusive term *cantus fractus*. There are further questions related, among other things, to (a) the modality as opposed to tonality of individual chants; (b) the possible inclusion within the repertoire of not only rhythmicized chant but perhaps also strophic song and other genres; and (c) the vast temporal (from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century) and geographical span of this copious repertoire.

In a geographical sense the *cantus fractus* repertoire constantly gains new territory and is still widening its map. Extensive pioneering work has been carried out by scholars in Italy, who brought our first insights into the phenomenon and continue the work; the bulk of the repertoire currently known comes from that country — perhaps a reflection of the intensity of the research activity there.⁹ However, the phenomenon has been seen and recognized elsewhere. Re-

7 “Nella ricerca sulle origini del canto fratto tutti gli indizi portano verso la polifonia semplice o, se si preferisce un altro termine, verso l’amplificazione polivocale della presunta ‘monodia’ liturgica.” Gozzi claims that this has new implications also for music of the so-called Gregorian chant: “credo non si possa più parlare del cosiddetto canto ‘gregoriano’ come di ‘canto cristiano monodico’”. Ibid., 248.

8 Dyer, “New Source”, 576.

9 “Most of the sources discovered and catalogued thus far originated in north-eastern Italy (especially Trentino).” Dyer, “New Source”, 576. See also Baroffio and Kim, “La tradizione francescano-veneta”, 85–86.

cent large-scale projects in the Czech Republic¹⁰ and in Croatia¹¹ (where there have been some earlier studies as well, giving rise to a number of publications and events),¹² have brought to light new sources, repertoires and their interconnections: the earlier repertoires in Bohemian sources and in Central Europe, and many new sources, especially along the Dalmatian coastline. In Austria, the phenomenon has been recognized in individual studies¹³ and within the project *Musikleben des Spätmittelalters in der Region Österreich*.¹⁴

Even after this recent expansion the musicological coverage of the repertoire is still relatively small. Joseph Dyer notes that “a comprehensive survey of the phenomenon in Italy or elsewhere in Europe remains to be written, so large and widely disseminated was this repertoire”.¹⁵ There is still a considerable need to know more (about) sources, many of which lie forgotten in archives and libraries; since several date “only” from the modern era, they are not such interesting subjects for digitalization as medieval music manuscripts. New case studies and source editions will enable scholars to make further comparisons, even if it seems at the moment that some later repertoires were mostly restricted geographically.¹⁶ Barbara Hagg-Huglo has pointed out that comparisons and thorough examinations of the repertoire will remain a challenge until we possess a database for all *cantus fractus* compositions.¹⁷ Such a database at an international level is indeed necessary, and one hopes that it will not take too long for this to be realized.¹⁸

10 Such was, for example, the project Old Myths, New Facts (a joint project of the Masaryk Institute, the Archive of the Czech Academy of Sciences and the Charles University, 2019–2023) led by Hana Vlhová-Wörner. See <https://www.smnf.cz/en>.

11 The CROMUSCODEX70 project (Croatian Musical and Liturgical Chant Codices – Interdisciplinary Research, 2017–2021), which included a study of the sources of *cantus fractus*, was led by Hana Breko Kustura. See <http://www.cromuscodex70.com/>.

12 There have been several studies related to the *cantus fractus* repertoire in the context of Baroque music in Croatia, such as Katalinić’s “Pregled izvora” and Soldo’s “Glazbena ostavština”.

13 The primary focus of the research has mainly been on the music of the Franciscans during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See, for example, Paech, “Hymnus novus”; Prassl, “Choralquellen”; “Ein spätes Zeugnis”.

14 Gozzi, “Rhythmischer Choralgesang”.

15 Dyer, “New Source”, 576–577.

16 Baroffio and Kim, “La tradizione francescano-veneta”, 90.

17 Hagg-Huglo, “*Cantus fractus* in CA 6 and 11”.

18 In discussion Debra Lacoste proposed a magnificent solution: creating a *cantus fractus* database within the Cantus Database platform. Such a database would be free-standing but at the same time facilitate comparisons and analyses across the whole repertoire as well as with plainchant melodies.

Cantus fractus, then, this unknown “younger brother” of *cantus planus*¹⁹ who is still rising, Cinderella-like, from the ashes,²⁰ remains a very broad and vague term lacking clear boundaries. However, for all its musical diversity, its more stable liturgical function and visual appearance suffice to make it a specific and unique repertoire. In other words, the term has as much to do with “what” is written down as it has with “where” or “how” it was notated and performed. The question regarding “with whom” the repertoire was especially connected may also be relevant, since there seems to exist a particular connection with different branches of the Franciscan Friars Minor.²¹

This connection also brings us to a hitherto unsuspected region: the coastal towns of today’s Slovenia, where *cantus fractus* was performed primarily within the different branches of the Friars Minor (the so-called Observants and Conventuals). Their primary *cantus fractus* sources, preserved mainly in Koper, have occasionally been noticed before, but never discussed. By starting to include them “in the general picture”, the present article aims to place this geographical area on the *cantus fractus* map while simultaneously contributing another small piece to the larger jigsaw in the making. It is worth noting that strong monastic connections within the different provinces of the order, along with the special bonds uniting those territories that were once part of the Venetian Republic, have also played a significant role in shaping, and informing the performance of, this repertoire, which was immensely popular in its day. As the quotation in the present title describing its performance in Koper puts it: “the more measured it was [in its function of liturgical chant], the more it was cherished.”²²

19 Following the works of the theorists he consulted, Dyer uses the terms *canto fermo* (not “Gregorian chant”) and “plain song”. Dyer, “New Source”, 569. — Throughout this article I use the term “plainchant” to stress the liturgical function of the earlier repertoire, thereby differentiating between *cantus planus* and *cantus fractus*.

20 The two images of a “younger brother” and of “Cinderella” are borrowed from Giacomo Baroffio and Eun Ju Kim, since they remain as suggestive and true as they were twenty years ago. Baroffio and Kim, “La tradizione francescano-veneta”, 85.

21 Despite their modest lifestyle the Franciscans of the eighteenth century found ways to create rich musical environments (to which the *cantus fractus* repertoire also belonged): “Provided that out of the scope of the European musical culture we were to choose an order whose tradition was most unique, original and distinct from music-making in other circles, one would undoubtedly point to the Franciscan Brothers.” Jochymczyk, “*Musica figuralis franciscana*”, 105–106. Dyer stresses that many important theorists who wrote on *cantus fractus* were Franciscans. Dyer, “New Source”, 571.

22 See the concluding section of this article.

THE MONASTERY OF ST ANNE, ITS MUSICAL LIFE AND ITS *CANTUS FRACTUS* SOURCES

One of the most significant sources of Baroque *cantus fractus* from the northernmost part of the Istrian coast is a manuscript shelfmarked SIKKP D A 15²³ held by the Central Library of Srečko Vilhar in Koper, one that originates from the Observant Franciscan Monastery of St Anne in Koper.²⁴ The musical history of this institution has not yet received significant scholarly attention; however, it has been referenced multiple times in connection with the history of music in Koper and its cathedral.

Koper (Capodistria), the Head of Istria (*Caput Histriae*),²⁵ was one of the most important towns of the named province. From the thirteenth century, when it was formally incorporated into the Venetian Republic,²⁶ it possessed the largest Istrian community and was the seat of Venetian government in that territory.²⁷ During the Renaissance the town prided itself on being “the Athens of Istria” on account of its rich humanistic learning and culture.²⁸ Although Koper remained important, it lost its prominence after the extinction of the Venetian Republic in 1797; until then, it had been, even in musical respects, “the cultural centre of Istria”²⁹ — one that could also take pride in the music of its many churches. Until at least the end of the eighteenth century several institutions maintained a rich liturgical and musical life: among them, the cathedral of Koper (re-established in the twelfth century) and during different periods a number of convents and

23 Hereafter referred to as manuscript (MS) 15.

24 Throughout most of its history, the institution was known (and referred to) as the Convent of St Anne. For the sake of clarity in English, I use the more-established term “monastery” in its broadest sense, designating the medieval contemplative (for whom the term “monos”, meaning “alone”, would be most appropriately applied because of their style of religious life) as well as mendicant and preaching orders of later medieval origin.

25 With the old Roman name, Capris, or later Italian name, Capo d’Istria.

26 Eying Venice from the other side of the gulf, Koper had a long relationship with it. Its first pact with Venice was concluded in 932, but the inhabitants of Koper later tried to break free from it several times: in 976, 1279 and 1348, when a rebellion took place on the occasion of the great plague and was suppressed by the Republic. After the conflict of 1279 Koper became subject to Venice. Further on in the Middle Ages the city suffered from plague many times (in 1338, 1348 and 1382, as well as later). One of its most eventful periods occurred during the time of the War of Chioggia (La Guerra di Chioggia) between 1371 and 1381, when it was occupied by Genoa, and its famous relics of the local bishop and civic patron St Nazarius were infamously stolen by the Genoese; they were returned only in 1422. Mlacović, “Frederic C. Lane”.

27 Radole, *La musica a Capodistria*, 12.

28 Ibid., 11–12.

29 This, at all events, was the opinion of Baccio Zilliotto, mentioned in Radole, “Musica e musicisti”, 147.

monasteries (belonging to the Sisters of St Augustine, the Benedictine Nuns, the Dominicans, the Servites, and various branches of the Franciscans).³⁰

By the early eighteenth century, when MS 15 was completed, the Monastery of St Anne had already developed a rich history.³¹ In 1229 the first community of Franciscan Friars in Koper was founded, it is believed by St Anthony of Padua. The earliest known records mention the Order of the Poor Friars of Assisi in Koper in 1264, when the Bishop of Koper permitted them to construct a new church, since the old one was in poor condition. The history of the present monastery began in 1493 with the building of a new church in a different location; along with the monastery, it was completed and furnished by 1513. It was considerably smaller than the present church, which was renovated in 1627.³² For nearly a decade St Mary of the Angels was its patroness; it was subsequently dedicated to St Anne. In addition to a large central nave, an oratory is located behind the main altar; it was in this space that the Franciscan Friars recited the Liturgy of the Hours. Its beautifully carved choir stalls date from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century and have recently been restored. From the start the monastery served as a house of education and seminary for the Dalmatian Observant Province; so it was always a place of learning, particularly in theology and philosophy. In the eighteenth century it even became a house of general studies (*studium generale*) and was authorized to grant the degree of *lector theologiae*, which was recognized throughout the Franciscan Observant community.³³ Such an intellectual centre must also have been a place of musical learning and creativity.

The Church of St Anne was beautifully adorned with paintings, and one can imagine that — within the constraints of their rules — the Observants applied the same level of attention to their musical “decoration” of the liturgy, particularly as they were among the most musically significant and distinctive orders in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.³⁴ Today, directly above the church entrance, the organ loft houses an organ built by the Venetian organ-maker Francesco Merlini in 1805.³⁵ It is a well-preserved Venetian-style organ still possessing its original disposition and was probably the successor to an earlier instrument. The processional signs showcasing statues of patron saints from various confraternities and gold-plated lanterns used during processions serve as evidence of

30 Höfler, “Glasbeniki koprské stolnice”. See also Bonin, “Samostani v Kopru”.

31 The basic information on the history of St Anne’s church, monastery and library presented here is available on the website of the monastery, especially in the sections concerning its history. See <https://prisvetiani.si/>.

32 See Košak, “Sv. Didak iz Alkale”, 26.

33 See <https://prisvetiani.si/en/history/history-franciscan-friary>; <https://prisvetiani.si/sl/zgodovina/prihod-franciskanov-zidava-samostana>.

34 Jochymczyk, “*Musica figuralis franciscana*”, 105–109.

35 Škulj and Dobravec, *Orgle Slovenije*, 217.

the church's many processions, where music most likely played a significant role and did not go unnoticed: At the outset of the eighteenth century Bishop Naldini observed that the Observants of St Anne were held in high esteem by the people of Koper because of their devout life and beautiful liturgical singing (see also below).³⁶

Until 1920 the monastery had been part of the Franciscan Dalmatian Province of St Jerome based in Zadar. Following the Treaty of Rapallo in the aftermath of the First World War (1922), it was taken over by the Italian Franciscan Friars of the Venetian Province. After the Second World War it became once more incorporated into the Zadar province and later, in 1953, into the Slovenian Franciscan Province of the Holy Cross. By 1954 the Yugoslav state had transformed the Koper monastery into a prison. Nevertheless, the Franciscans did not abandon their church, which they were still allowed to use, and they continued to live in modest conditions in the utility rooms adjacent to it. In 1997 the property was restored to the Franciscans, who were able to move back in 2004. Today the Franciscan community, albeit with very few members, remains active in the monastery.

The Monastery of St Anne shared its history with its library. Following the dissolution of many other monasteries in the aftermath of various historical events in the early nineteenth century, the monastery library of St Anne received books from the Franciscan Observant Monastery of St Bernardine of Siena in Piran (Pirano)³⁷ as well as the Franciscan Conventual Monastery in Piran (Pirano).³⁸ Thereby it came to host several *cantus fractus* and *cantus planus* sources, some originating from other institutions.³⁹ Some of the sources it received were able to find use in the liturgical life of the St Anne community.⁴⁰

36 Naldini, *Corografia ecclesiastica*, 196.

37 Today the area is regarded as part of Portorož (Portorose).

38 Štoka, "Krvna slika knjižnice", 127.

39 For instance, there is a manuscript miscellany containing *cantus planus* repertoire together with some *cantus fractus* chants (especially Credos) originating from the Monastery of St Andrea in Rovinj (Rovigno). Another example is an antiphoner originating from the Monastery of St Bernardine, today preserved as manuscript 11 in the Central Library of Srečko Vilhar in Koper; this explicitly says: "Ex con[vento] s[ancti] Bernar[di]ni [...] Anno 1806. fratres S. Bernardini obtulerunt in conventum S. Annae hunc codicem, qui ex tunc pertinent ad conventum S. Annae Justinopoli". It seems that liturgical books from other Observant (or perhaps even Conventual) monasteries found further use in the liturgy of St Anne's church.

40 A source that seems to have a strong connection with MS 15 is another kyriale, likewise held by the Central Library of Srečko Vilhar as MS 13. Similarly to MS 15, it bears the St Anne's library sticker and a pencilled number 640, although it has a different shelfmark (MS 13). During the period of their coexistence at St Anne the two manuscripts may have been seen as complementary or somewhat related. They contain the same type of repertoire but share only a few Credo melodies. Manuscript 13 includes several later additions, and it is hard to discern whether these were made in Portorož or later in Koper.

St Anne's library was left largely intact until 1945,⁴¹ but it did not entirely escape the fate of other Koper church libraries and religious communities. Their musical and cultural heritage was dispersed over time — some parts in the nineteenth century, but also more recently in the twentieth century, when, in 1940 and the following years, numerous paintings and other items from the Koper churches were taken to Italy and elsewhere.⁴² During the nationalization process following the Second World War in 1945 the library of St Anne was transferred to the collection centre in Portorož and subsequently to the Koper Central Library of Srečko Vilhar, along with its sources inherited from other monasteries.⁴³ Part of it was returned to the Franciscans in 1977.⁴⁴ Together with the library of the Capuchin Monastery of St Martha, this library nevertheless remains one of the better-preserved monastic libraries; in contrast, almost nothing from the libraries of the Dominican monks and the musically famous Monastery of St Francis (Conventuals) survives.⁴⁵

We may never know fully what was contained in the Koper archives or what the musical life of the various religious communities in Koper was like. Even the existing musical sources and other relevant documents from St Anne are not yet sufficiently known. However, there is another library where diverse sources and information concerning the musical life in St Anne can similarly be found: that of the cathedral, today mainly preserved in the Episcopal Archives (Škofijski arhiv) of Koper; our understanding of musical life in the Franciscan monastery is closely intertwined with what we know about the history of church music in Koper generally. The music of Koper cathedral, with its rich musical tradition and

41 Di Paoli Paulovich, "Musica a Capodistria", 168. According to a catalogue made by the Franciscan Father Hijacint Repič, the library contained approximately 12,000 volumes at the beginning of the twentieth century. There were also fifty-nine incunabula and eighty-three rare and valuable books. Between 1942 and 1944, following instructions from the Italian authorities, the catalogue and more valuable books were removed to Venice. See <https://prisvetiani.si/sl/zgodovina/knjiznica>.

42 During an informal conversation in 2021 Zorko Bajc, a priest from the neighbouring coastal town of Piran, mentioned that various people had also helped themselves to musical items from its ecclesiastical archives and libraries. Sometimes, these objects would be returned because the next generation was motivated ethically to restore them or simply found no use for them. Unfortunately, the disappearance of a single musical manuscript is noticed much less than the disappearance of an altar painting.

43 Marković, *Fondi librari e biblioteche*, 145–154.

44 According to the St Anne Monastery website, the library experienced additional losses during that time. On their peregrinations between the centre, the library of Srečko Vilhar and the monastery, many books vanished into the private domain of enthusiastic collectors; some returned, but others did not. See <https://prisvetiani.si/sl/zgodovina/knjiznica>.

45 Marković and Štoka, *Knjižna dediščina*, 20.

well-preserved sources alongside some studies on notable town musicians, has also become a prime focus of musicological research.⁴⁶

Until the Council of Trent the liturgy and chant in Koper — including the liturgical music — mainly followed the Aquileian rite;⁴⁷ the Franciscans, however, had their own tradition that closely followed the Roman one. After the Council and up to the end of the eighteenth century many musicians came to Koper because of its favourable economic situation;⁴⁸ some internationally renowned ones were invited to perform on festive occasions in the cathedral and even to stay and teach chant and polyphony to the clergy. The level of musical performance must have been relatively high and abreast of the international standards of the time. However, local institutions also possessed skilled musicians and most likely a rich musical life. In providing music for the cathedral's liturgy there was, at least during specific historical periods, regular collaboration between the cathedral and certain monastic institutions in Koper, especially the Monastery of St Francis (Conventual Franciscan Friars) and the Monastery of St Anne (Observant Franciscan Friars). Janez Höfler states that singers from both monasteries regularly performed on more festive occasions.⁴⁹ It seems that the Monastery of St Francis had some primacy and a very thriving musical life, but there are also some favourable hints about the skills of musicians at the more austere Monastery of St Anne.

Albeit indirectly, the cathedral's records can give us partial information about music in the two Franciscan monasteries. There emerge even the names of some musicians about whom we might otherwise not have known. At Christmas 1688 we find the first mention of the organist and singer Padre Giacomo Coccever di Antonio (or Coccever d'Antonio: in Slovenian, Jakob Kočever or Kočevár)⁵⁰ from the Monastery of St Anne, a local person from Koper.⁵¹ The account books of the cathedral mention him as a singer and singing teacher ("maestro di canto e cantante") to the cathedral priests for a year (between 1687 and 1688): "inseg-nò nel 1688 ai preti il canto fermo".⁵² He was probably a good musician, since he

46 Among others, there were Janez Höfler ("Glasbeniki koprské stolnice") and Metoda Kokole ("Glasba v koprski stolnici"), who also wrote extensively on the life and music of Antonio Tarsia (1643–1722).

47 Studies regarding music in Koper before the end of the sixteenth century have been carried out by Jurij Snoj and Janez Höfler. See Snoj, "Koralni kodeksi"; Snoj, *Zgodovina glasbe na Slovenskem*; Höfler, *Tokovi glasbene kulture*, 33.

48 Höfler, *Tokovi glasbene kulture*, 34.

49 Ibid., 79–80.

50 Note that "di Antonio" is not part of the surname but simply an added patronymic indicating that Giacomo's father was named Antonio and still living at the time. I would like to thank Michael Talbot for drawing my attention to this fact.

51 His family owned the sepulchre numbered 43 in the cloister of the Franciscan Conventuals. Tommasich, *Famiglie Capodistrane*, 26.

52 "Haver anno uno continuo insegnato canto fermo alli Pretti". Radole, *La musica a Capodistria*, 49;

appears to have become a regular and popular performing guest at the cathedral.⁵³ Höfler writes that he was the monastery's estimable organist, who, together with another Franciscan of St Anne, sang solemn Masses and Vespers for the feast of St Ursula (21 October)⁵⁴ and possibly appeared on some other occasions. The cathedral accounts mention Cocever again in 1713.⁵⁵ Alisi writes that he turns up in the cathedral documents as an organist as late as 1718 and — making regular appearances as a musician in the cathedral — must have been well trained in contemporary musical styles.⁵⁶

The extant musical sources of St Anne confirm this opinion, since they testify to the Franciscans' respect for the Order's tradition while also adopting contemporary musical styles, a point noted by scholars. Janez Höfler writes that although polyphony was in general prohibited in the Franciscan Observant Order,⁵⁷ contemporary Baroque vocal and vocal-instrumental music must have been present in the churches of St Anne and St Francis. He mentions the *cantus fractus* chants, noting their "modern" musical aspects and rhythmic characteristics:

It seems that the focus of their church music creation was still the monophonic liturgical chant, which they had already greatly adapted to the general demands of the time. Their chant legacy from the Baroque period is preserved in several manuscripts [...]. The chant as it appears in these manuscripts is partly preserved in its original and traditional non-rhythmical form without instrumental support, and partly transformed into monophonic rhythmic chants, supported by organ accompaniment written in basso continuo form. The notation is still black square chant notation [*sic*], where its individual elements have been given rhythmic meaning. Particular emphasis was placed on individual Mass chants, especially the Credo, which were to replace the solemn Baroque Mass compositions.⁵⁸

Höfler did not delve deeper into these sources or list them, but his observations were correct, and he was able to draw attention to the fact that the friars of St Anne

Alisi, *Il duomo di Capodistria*, 54; Höfler, "Glasbeniki koprške stolnice", 141.

53 Höfler, *Tokovi glasbene kulture*, 79.

54 In Koper the feast of St Ursula was an important occasion with a great fair lasting ten days, where many visitors would come and musical performances had to be at a very high level. Radole, *La musica a Capodistria*, 48.

55 Höfler, "Glasbeniki koprške stolnice," 141.

56 "Fra Giacomo Cocever suonava sempre l'organo, ma talvolta si prendeva a prestito un organo piccolo e si rinforzava l'effetto e si fondevano i suoni con violini, trombe e tamburini (1718)." Alisi, *Il duomo di Capodistria*, 55.

57 Höfler, *Tokovi glasbene kulture*, 55.

58 Ibid., 79–80.

must have been trained in a musical style that would also fit practice at the cathedral. The musical abilities of the Franciscan Observants were acknowledged by their contemporaries, most notably by the already mentioned Bishop (of Koper) Paolo Naldini (1632–1713), who specifically mentioned their singing in his description of Koper — and not every institution was noted for its music. Were the Friars perhaps also able to perform some of their own repertoire in Koper cathedral (which would then suggest that their books, such as MS 15, were used there)?

An observation by Giuseppe Radole leads us to consider that this may indeed be the case. He mentions the *cantus fractus* repertoire in connection with the work of Giuseppe Maria Cordans, a Franciscan Observant Friar and the copyist of several music manuscripts held by the Central Library of Srečko Vilhar: “Le antifone gregoriane sono ritmate ed accompagnate da un basso continuo.” He recounts, further, that during his youth he saw something similar at Koper cathedral: a collection of two-part Credos.⁵⁹ The two-part manuscript might have been used in the cathedral or brought there from some other Koper institution subsequently. Some Koper *cantus fractus* sources were also noticed by David di Paoli Paulovich.⁶⁰

MANUSCRIPT 15 AND ITS CHARACTERISTICS

Manuscript 15 in the Central Library of Srečko Vilhar therefore fits into a broader picture of music history in both the monastery and the town of Koper. It is a kyriale written mainly between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which today contains seventy-one leaves of paper measuring approximately 27.5 × 39 cm sewn together in a book and a cover. There is no special pagination or foliation preserved, although there are a few remnants of numbers visible in the upper margins of some pages, indicating that the manuscript was once paginated, as well as slightly larger. The last page with written content is 141, while page 142 is blank. The kyriale is written on paper which uses several sets of watermarks: roughly speaking, in the first part of the manuscript and close to the gutter, we find the monogram SH (e.g., on pp. 17, 31, 33, 39, 45 and 49 but also 77) in combination with a trefoil (*trifoglio*, p. 67).⁶¹ In the second part of the manuscript we find three crescent moons

59 Radole, *La musica a Capodistria*, 62. Regarding the Credo collection, which was in poor condition because ink had corroded the paper, Radole writes: “si trattava di una raccolta di Credo a due voci. Il volume in folio [i.e., measuring about 30 × 48 cm], dove l’inchiostro aveva corroso la carta, appariva tutto bucherellato.” To my knowledge, no source matching the description is known today.

60 Di Paoli Paulovich, “Musica a Capodistria”, 168.

61 Similar to the sixteenth-century examples indexed in the “Corpus Chartarum Italicarum” of the Ministero della Cultura: icpl.cci.XXIX.036a and icpl.cci.XXXIX.001.a.

(*tre Lune*, p. 87; additionally in combination with the letter A below on p. 97), a watermark that was common especially in the Veneto at the time. In this part of the manuscript, there is also an unclear sign resembling a cross or a crossbow (pp. 93 and 95).⁶² The printed leaf pasted on the back cover is dated 1875, showing that the manuscript may have still been in use or received a new cover in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.⁶³

The manuscript bears St Anne's library sticker with the inscription "Convent[us] fr[atrum] min[orum] Justinopoli". On several pages we find the monastery's round stamp ("Convent[us] Sanctae Annae Iustinopoli – Sigillum"). In the monastery the manuscript had the shelfmark XII E 3.⁶⁴ Today we can still see two pencilled markings: the number 640 (on the outside cover as well as inside)⁶⁵ and an interesting later inscription on the inner side of the cover: "II/12451 Kyriale – raccolto di Messe in uso ~~anche oltre quelli romani~~ in vari luoghi dal ord[ine] francescano".⁶⁶ It seems that the person who wrote this inscription initially considered the *fractus* chants to be a standard part of the Roman liturgy during a particular period but later revised this view, now describing them as characteristic of only the Franciscan repertoire. A small white sticker displaying the number 15 on the upper left-hand side of the cover bears the shelfmark of the Central Library of Srečko Vilhar, where MS 15 is kept today. Several indications suggest that this manuscript was written in, or at least for, the Koper Monastery of St Anne. However, apart from a few later additions in the margins and two (probably) nineteenth-century inserts, it seems to be well-preserved and probably served primarily as a manuscript for reference or a book for careful occasional (probably festive) rather than everyday use.

The main characteristics of MS 15, which will be described in the following discussion, are:

- (1) it contains plainchant and *cantus fractus* Mass Ordinaries and *cantus fractus* Credos;

62 It is very similar to a late-fifteenth-century crossbow found in Fabriano, Museo della carta e della filigrana, Collezione Gasparinetti 140006, indexed in the "Corpus Chartarum Italicarum". The indexed crossbow is encircled, while the ones found in MS 15 are not.

63 The leaf is unrelated to the manuscript's contents. It contains an Italian poem (signed D. F. P.) for the Ursuline nun Maria Giuseppina's taking of monastic vows on 21 October 1875 and was printed in Koper.

64 I would like to thank Peter Štoka for this information.

65 The above-mentioned MS 13 from the Central Library of Srečko Vilhar has the same pencilled inscription.

66 This shelfmark is mentioned also in the inventory of the book collection centre (Zbirni center) in Portorož. I would like to thank Peter Štoka for this information.

- (2) it consists of two main, continuously written sections (corresponding to different “hands”) and contains two later inserts;
- (3) it presents some written simple polyphony (diaphony), either in selected places within monodic chants or in two-part pieces;
- (4) it contains two works by a known composer;
- (5) some of its Credos are connected specifically to the locality of Koper.

Manuscript 15 (see Table 2 with the contents of the manuscript in the Appendix 1 below) contains three plainchant Mass Ordinaries (the first, beginning on p. 1, is specified by a later hand for the feasts of the Franciscan saints, and the third, a later addition to the manuscript, is for use in Advent and during Lent), eight *cantus fractus* Mass Ordinaries, including a two-part Ordinary, and ten *cantus fractus* Credos employing nine melodies (the melody of one Credo is used separately for two saints belonging to the Order, St Didacus of Alcalá and St Peter of Alcántara, and is written out fully in both places). Two Credos are connected to important saints of the Franciscan Order, one to the apostle St Peter and one to the Virgin Mary, while two others take their names from a locality (“Napolitano” and “Justinopolitano”). Several Mass Ordinaries and Credos are intended for *alternatim* performance (see Tables 2 and 3 in Appendices 1 and 2).

The manuscript seems to have been written in two sections (possibly by two or three major scribes), A and B. Generally speaking, Scribe A (or two scribes with very similar handwriting) wrote the first section of the manuscript (pp. 1–98), while Scribe B wrote its second section (pp. 98–142), continuing directly on the same page (p. 98) after Scribe A had finished. It would be hazardous to assert with complete confidence that only two individuals worked on these two sections: one opening in a potentially different hand occurs within the A section on p. 57, where a new Credo begins after an incomplete Mass Ordinary (implying that some pages containing the conclusion of this Mass are missing from the manuscript). This section also temporarily introduces a new form of the letter “i” along with certain notational peculiarities (see below). Nevertheless, the primary characteristics of each section — A and B — are consistent enough to support a working hypothesis of only two scribes. In the work of Scribe A the pages retain a more or less similar and unified layout. Scribe B, however, works with a changeable layout and line spacing; as a result, his handwriting undergoes small modifications. The sharpness of the quill and the quality of the paper may also have influenced his work (see Table 1 below). The A section of the manuscript is interrupted by two later inserts written respectively by Scribes C and D.

A possible genesis and more precise date of the manuscript might be reconstructable from preliminary palaeographical observations and several other facts. The first one is an attribution of two Mass Ordinaries to the composer Francesco Antonio da Budrio by Scribe A. Padre da Budrio was a Franciscan Observant Friar

and a well-known musician and theologian who flourished between the 1690s and 1710s. He was well known for his cantatas and oratorios in the Italian language.⁶⁷ Many Franciscan manuscripts also contain his music for the Order's liturgical use, although this is written in a style much simpler than that of his other works. The two appearances of his name ("del Padre Budrio" on p. 61 and "del P[ad]re Fran[ces]co Antonio, di Budrio" — most likely referring to the same composer — on p. 74) probably mean that the first section of the manuscript was written at the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century, but not after 1723 (see below).

The title of one of the Credos written out by Scribe B gives us further clues to the date of the MS 15. The *Credo Sancti Petri di Alcantara* cannot have been given that title before 1669, since St Peter was canonized only then.⁶⁸ This Credo has the same melody as the one for St Didacus (Diego), which could signify that these two saints (the only Franciscan ones to be memorialized by a Credo in this manuscript!) enjoyed an equal status within the Order, one symbolized by a connection to the same special Franciscan melody. Or it could mean that at the time when the manuscript was being written down a new melody for St Peter had not yet been composed through lack of sufficient time, so that one had to be borrowed from St Didacus. This would place the start of Scribe B's work in the 1670s. However, that hypothesis seems fragile: the rich and seemingly never-ending melodic invention in the Credos does not imply any lack of facility, and in any case the conclusion of the manuscript gives us a different date for the work of Scribe B. Another valid reason for adopting an already well established Franciscan Credo for a Franciscan saint could be the manuscript's preference for creating complete Mass Ordinary cycles: this Credo melody fits well musically with the plainchant Mass Ordinary for the Franciscan saints (p. 1),⁶⁹ and it might be just a fortunate *nomen est omen* coincidence that the Franciscans are represented musically by the chosen F-mode (and tonality).

Next to the manuscript's last item, the *Credo Justinopolitano*, we see written the year 1723 (see Figure 5 in Appendix 3), which seemingly indicates that this piece was composed in that very year.⁷⁰ A less plausible explanation would be that the year 1723 refers to the completion of the manuscript as a whole and does not

67 There is more about da Budrio in Giorgi, "Ex tenebris lux".

68 Reagan, "St. Peter of Alcántara".

69 This Mass seems to be officially, or at least widely, recognized as the designated one for Franciscan saints. See, for example, an illustration from d'Andri's missal from 1707 (the version in MS 15 appears more ancient and the grouping of the notes is different, but it is still the same melody). Breko Kustura, "Glazbeni rukopisi", 464.

70 I have not yet managed to establish whether there was a special ecclesiastical occasion connected with the composition of a new Credo in Koper in 1723.

relate specifically to the *Credo Justinopolitano* (thereby allowing this Credo to have been composed earlier). However, such instances tend to occur more often after the end of a manuscript's last item than as a supplement to its own heading. At all events, the period of Padre da Budrio's activity and 1723 are very close, and the bulk of the manuscript does certainly appear to be the product of one discrete period rather than work over several centuries (as one might have initially inferred from a cursory glance at the more ancient-looking plainchant Masses). This relative compression of the time frame is further suggested by the fact that the second hand (B) follows on directly from the first one (A) in the manuscript — the exchange takes place on page 98. The manuscript's main corpus is interrupted by two later additions, written by Scribes C and D, a fact showing that it remained in use for some time afterwards (see Table 1 below).

Table 1 | Compilation of SI-Ko, [MS] 15

SCRIBE	PAGES	PAGES AND THEIR LAYOUT	REMARKS
A	1–40	six tetragrams ruled in red ink lines	c. 1700
C	41–44	six tetragrams ruled in red ink	later insert (nineteenth century?)
A	45–88	45–65: six tetragrams ruled in red ink 66–86: five pentagrams ruled in red ink 87: three pentagrams ruled in red ink completed (followed by empty space) 88: empty page	c. 1700
D	89–92	six tetragrams ruled in purple ink	later insert (nineteenth century?)
A	93–98	six tetragrams ruled in red ink	c. 1700
B	98–142	98–108: six tetragrams ruled in red ink 109–110: six tetragrams ruled in brown ink 111–113: eight tetragrams ruled in brown ink 114: two tetragrams ruled in brown ink followed by five pentagrams ruled in brown ink 115–126: seven pentagrams ruled in brown ink 127–134: nine tetragrams ruled in brown ink 135–140: seven tetragrams ruled in brown ink 141: four tetragrams out of seven ruled in brown ink completed 142: empty page	finished 1723, continues directly after scribe A

Most of the manuscript was written by the first scribe (see Figure 1), who copied most of the Mass Ordinaries (including the two plainchant Masses at the start) and some of the Credo. Both the *planus* and *fractus* repertoires in this section are monophonic, with a few instances where notes for a potential second voice are added, particularly at cadences. No Mass Ordinary or Credo in this section of the manuscript is provided with any special title, although the name of one composer is known. As shown above (Table 1), this section is quite consistent in layout: it contains six four-line staves (tetragrams) per page coloured red or occasionally brown, except for a part where we find five staves of five lines (pentagrams) per page coloured red (beginning in the middle of the first Mass Ordinary by Padre di Budrio on p. 65).

The handwriting — *rotunda textualis formata* — in this section is simple and neat. There is a regular alternation of basic red and blue initials (and capitals); occasionally, yellow (golden) and orange/pale red ones also appear (yellow appears to replace blue in some instances, such as in the Sanctus on p. 9 and the first Mass by Padre Budrio on pp. 62–73). Later in the manuscript green initials begin to appear occasionally (for example, on p. 72). The initials that mark the beginnings of the chants are slightly larger than those that merely divide the longer texts into smaller units (capitals). The initials are unembellished, leaving aside two instances of a moderately ornamented letter “P”, which retains the same shape in both cases (Patrem, pp. 57 and 93). Two textual sections within the same chant and with the same capital following one another may exhibit different shapes for the same letter, thereby creating a visual contrast between the two portions of text. The concluding Amen section of the Gloria chants typically features an even simpler capital than the sections preceding it; one such initial (p. 23) has even been left uncoloured, which could imply that initials were originally drawn (perhaps with the aid of a ruler) and coloured only later.

The prevalent use of a serif in the A section of the manuscript gives the initials a slightly “squarish” yet still elegant appearance. Typically, a thicker pen stroke for the stem represents the principal pillar of the letter, while the other lines are thinner and subordinate to it. The letters “K” (“Kyrie”) and “T” (“Tu”), for example, feature a serif ending in a triangular shape, while the letter “A” (“Agnus”) generally has a prolonged serif ending with an ornamental curlicue; rounder letters such as “G” (“Gratias”), “D” (“Domine”), and “Q” (“Quoniam”) also employ prolonged lines concluding with a curlicue (p. 12).

Scribe A usually concludes individual textual phrases with a dot positioned centrally within the body of the text. He also employs specific signs, albeit inconsistently; several different signs appear on the same page (as visible on p. 57; see Figure 1). A horizontal unfinished 8 or mirrored S shape indicates final missing letters (a suspension, as in “magna[m]”). The abbreviation for the word-ending “us” is represented by the traditional sign resembling the numeral “9”. A right-slanted *custos*

shape surmounted by a note head denotes a specific form of abbreviation known as contraction that is used for “s[un]t” or any other word from which one or more internal letters have been omitted. A cedilla placed below a vowel denotes a diphthong (as in “terrę”, meaning “terrae”). The vowel “i” has generally a right-slanting line at its top (similar to “ı”). However, in some instances “i” appears with a dot above it (pp. 56–88), something that appears atypical for Scribe A; the handwriting, however, otherwise remains the same. Since after a while the writing continues with the earlier design of the letter, I consider this whole section to be the work of Scribe A alone.

The second major section of the manuscript (by Scribe B; see Figure 2) follows directly after that by Scribe A and appears to be a straightforward continuation by another individual, although it also introduces a new style to the repertoire (in a two-part Mass). The contribution of this scribe includes several significant specific features missing from the first section of the manuscript. This is the only portion of the manuscript to employ descriptive names for the Credos; it employs titles associated with saints’ names and locations. Only here is “si suona” (indicating a performance with organ) written next to the solmization syllables in certain places.

The layout of this section is much less unified than in the A section; its varying conditions lead the scribe to write in a more condensed style and with slightly vertically elongated letters, particularly from p. 111 onwards. Scribe B adapts the writing of the text to the contents as he works through the manuscript; he leaves blank spaces for titles and similar entries. The number of staves per page varies significantly, ranging from six to nine, with a mixture of those of four and five lines, and also of colouring (see Table 1 above). Some staves on the paper were probably pre-ruled, but for certain pieces one could argue that the number of lines chosen for a staff makes a calculated adjustment to the ambitus of a piece (e.g., in the *Credo Justinopolitano* on pp. 135–141; see Figure 5). In several instances (such as p. 127), it is hard to be completely certain whether only a single scribe was responsible for the B section of the manuscript; however, closer examination seems to confirm that hypothesis.

In this section of the manuscript the initials are uniformly coloured red: larger ones serve for the beginnings of individual chants and smaller ones for their individual sections. The writing becomes smoother and more rounded in general, and serifs are less pronounced. This scribe consistently places dots over the vowel “i” and opts for written-out diphthongs (e.g., “ae” in “terrae”). Some letters such as “g” adopt specific forms differing from those employed by Scribe A. Textual units are concluded by a dot placed on the baseline of the text (as in modern punctuation). In certain instances, individual Mass movements end with a small ornament (for example, on pp. 100, 103, 118 and 126), one that also follows the title of the *Credo Justinopolitano* (Figure 5).

The first four-page insert by a later hand in the manuscript (Scribe C on pp. 41–44; see Figure 3) contains a simple *cantus fractus* Mass Ordinary (perhaps this

could serve as a basis for polyphonic improvisation at certain points). The paper appears identical to that for section A: the staff of four red lines with six staves per page. However, the section in question is clearly an insert, since it appears in the middle of a different *cantus fractus* Mass, immediately before its Agnus Dei. Scribe C was not as skilled as his colleagues, or perhaps he worked hastily; the initial letters are also less elegant. Some inconsistencies in his writing (e.g., between “Chÿrie” and “Chirie” on the same page of the Kyrie) might reveal a specific template used in his copying. This scribe employs the traditional ampersand special sign (“&”) for “et” and places a *corona* sign at the end; there is also a special type of F-clef. At the beginning of the insert numerous vertical lines (equivalent to regular barlines) appear on the staff; their number decreases progressively so that hardly any remain on its final page.

The plainchant Mass for Advent and Lent in the hand of Scribe D (pp. 89–92; see Figure 4) is probably the most recent addition to the manuscript. It is written in staves of four purple lines, six per page. The text is presented neatly and clearly, using short dashes between individual syllables to indicate the continuation of words. So late an addition proves that the manuscript remained in use even up to the nineteenth century. During liturgically more austere periods such as Advent and Lent the more elaborate *cantus fractus* Masses were perhaps deemed less appropriate. Consequently, MS 15 was conveniently supplemented with the missing forms of the Ordinary appropriate for those two liturgical seasons.

Regarding the notation of MS 15, the plainchant Mass Ordinaries employ square plainchant notation on four red-line staves, typically headed by C-clefs. The *custos* at the end of lines is usually slanting, with a note head positioned below. This notation employs oblique shapes (ligatures) and preserves the visual representation of the more ancient neume groupings — unlike many other manuscripts of the time, MS 15 does not present the melody merely in a simplified sequence of square notes. (Here, one might counter this interpretation with the argument that the beginning of the manuscript could have been written much earlier than the late 1600s, but that possibility is excluded by the fact that the plainchant is followed directly by the more modern *fractus* Mass Ordinaries written in the same hand.) The notation employs some unique forms, such as a ligature that points downward to indicate an independent sequence of descending notes (instead of a *clivis*), and an interesting shape for the *porrectus*, which looks like an inverted *torculus*. Another special form is one for a *scandicus*, which adds an extra note to the customary *pes* form, resulting in a sequence of three rising notes. The initial and final notes of chants often feature special signs indicating a kind of prolongation; they may resemble an extended *longa* or sometimes an undulation and occasionally two connected *puncti* interrupted by an upward pen stroke. This visual prolongation can also be found in certain other plainchant manuscripts, thereby connecting the *cantus planus* repertoire to that of *cantus fractus*.

The notation of the *cantus fractus* repertoire, at least in the two main sections (A and B), employs a consistent system throughout the manuscript. The clefs used are C and F (Scribe B uses designs different from those of Scribe A), and the mensural note values used are those of *longa* (here used in lieu of a *brevis*, which is highly unusual),⁷¹ *semibrevis*, *minima* and occasionally *semiminima* (Scribe C employs a different system of notation, using an ordinary *brevis* and not a *longa*; the typical figure here is that of a dotted *brevis* followed by a *minima*).⁷² The longer note always divides into two notes of the next level down, even in triple metre; thus the *longa* has the value of two *semibreves*, a *semibrevis* of two *minimae* and a *minima* of two *semiminimae*. Perhaps, at least for this manuscript, this convention was regarded as the notational “house style” of the monastery. A *semiminima* as executed by Scribe A features a straight flag angled sharply to the stem of the note, while its equivalent from Scribe B has a more rounded junction at the point where the flag meets the stem. A new oblique ligature form indicating the downward movement of two notes (most probably meaning two *semibreves*) inserted between the groups of *minimae* appears from p. 57 onwards, along with the visual triple prolongation of the first or last note. This place coincides with the possible change of scribe in section A; however, this is something difficult to be certain about. Scribe B frequently writes in accidentals, sometimes in a brown colour (the same as for the notes) and sometimes in red: his flats are rounder and larger, and his *custodes* exhibit a less straight line in comparison with the work of Scribe A. Also, in the *fractus* chants the initial or closing note of many chants is written in duplicate as if to indicate prolongation. But this is a scribal habit and does not necessarily mean that each beginning or ending should be as long as ostensibly marked.⁷³ The undulating shapes of concluding notes become more pronounced in Scribe B’s work.

The mensuration of the *cantus fractus* pieces is rarely specified, but it usually — with a few exceptions in triple metre — adopts *tempus imperfectum diminutum*. Barlines in the modern metrical sense are not regularly used except in the two-part Mass, where they might be added more consistently than usual for purely practical reasons, and in the *Credo Justinopolitano*. These barlines appear only before the

71 For comparison: MS 13 and several other *cantus fractus* sources I have consulted use the conventional shapes of *brevis* and *semibrevis*, reserving *longae* for even longer notes or not using them at all.

72 Angela Fiore suggests that it should be called “rhomboid” rather than “square” notation; rhomboid notation also differs from mensural notation. Fiore, “La tradizione musicale”, 45.

73 Note shapes indicating prolongation are common in these types of manuscript. In some instances, they may indeed serve to extend the note, whereas in others their function is more ornamental in nature. See the examples in Gozzi, “Notazione quadrata”, 464–474.

accented beats of selected phrases, but not randomly: their meaning and purpose seem to serve multiple functions, including essential visual and performance-related assistance.

Most of the keys used in the repertoire of these two manuscripts correspond to the modern F and C major, with some pieces in G major or D, A and E minor (not forgetting the earlier modes used for the chant). This choice of keys is probably linked to the capabilities of the organ. The openings of several Mass Ordinaries or individual Credo feature pitch or transposition designations using solmization syllables (such as “A la mi re”), indicating that the organ was played at that point either as an accompaniment or in *alternatim* performance. More direct instructions for playing appear, as is apparent from the wording “si suona in C sol fa ut”. In the case of the *fractus* chants, these rubrics were entered by the original scribe next to the title; the annotation “De la sol re” for the first plainchant Mass was added by a later hand.



Figure 1 | SI-Ko, [MS] 15: Section A, p. 57



Figure 2 | SI-Ko, [MS] 15: Section B, p. 124 (Credo “In S. Diego”, opening)

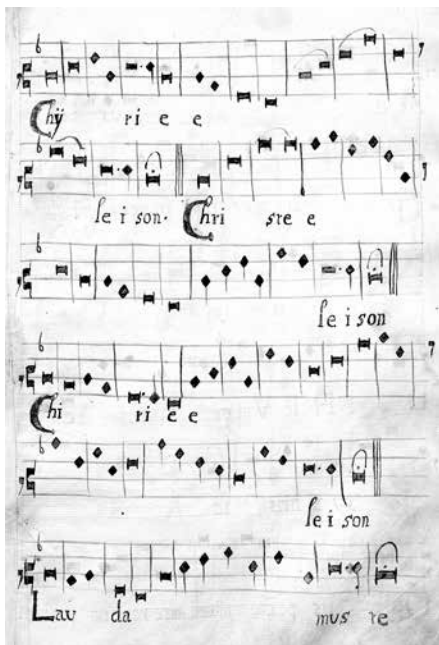


Figure 3 | SI-Ko, [MS] 15: Section C, p. 41



Figure 4 | SI-Ko, [MS] 15: Section D, p. 89



Figure 5 | SI-Ko, [MS] 15: p. 135 (Credo Justinopolitano, opening)

THE CANTUS FRACTUS CHANTS IN MS 15 AND KOPER: PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

For the closing part of this preliminary study of MS 15 I would like to focus on its musical characteristics and connection to Koper, which can be established primarily from the Credo repertoire. Credos appear to be representative “showpieces” of the *cantus fractus* repertoire for numerous reasons, both theological and musical. Marco Gozzi posits that since Credos did not possess so many ancient melodies as other Gregorian chant repertoires, they were quicker to adopt new, rhythmically specified melodies alongside other, later genres; or that perhaps this evolution was a means of creating more variety in the lengthy Credo text.⁷⁴ Harrison Russin connects the “explosion” of Credos between 1300 and 1500 with the broader theological context of the time and the new catechesis, which demanded that every believer should know the basics of religion such as the Ten Commandments and the Creed.⁷⁵ In later ages it could possibly be connected to the propagandistic objectives of the Catholic Restoration following the Reformation. The names of some *cantus fractus* Credos suggest that they might have held a special local significance and have a link to specific festivals.

In his important article Joseph Dyer highlights many key aspects of the *cantus fractus* repertoire in relation to the so-called Robbins Landon manuscript of possibly Venetian provenance and provides a list with incipits for all the Credos found there.⁷⁶ Most of the *cantus fractus* Credo melodies from the manuscript he discusses are probably *unica*, although he was able to find some concordances for others. A comparison of all the Credos of MS 15 (including those from the complete Mass Ordinaries) with his list yields two concordances. These are both instances of transmission of the individual Credos existing separately outside the framework of Mass Ordinaries (which suggests that Mass Ordinaries including a Credo were usually disseminated in their entirety). An untitled Credo from MS 15 (Credo *fractus* no. 2, p. 93; see Appendix 3) presents a variant of Dyer’s *Credo Veneziano* (no. 11) and the Credo “della Madonna” (no. 7) listed by Giulia Gabrielli,⁷⁷ in both cases with a slight difference. Another untitled Credo (*fractus* Credo no. 7, p. 127; see Appendix 3) resembles the *Credo Padoano* (no. 4) — except that the ornamentation is somewhat different, and the second part of the melodic incipit is transposed a fifth higher, in MS 15.⁷⁸ The beginning of the *Credo Maggiore della Madonna* (*fractus* Credo no. 5, p. 118; see Appendix 3) resembles

74 Gozzi, “Canto gregoriano e canto fratto”, 28 and 30.

75 Russin, “Late-Medieval Catechesis”.

76 Dyer, “New Source”, 605–607.

77 This Credo also appears in the lists made by Miazga and Baroffio and Kim. Gabrielli, *Il canto fratto*, 441.

78 The incipits of the *Credo Veneziano* and *Credo Padoano* are listed in Dyer, “New Source”, 606.

a simpler, less ornamented version of the untitled Credo from Dyer's list (no. 7), but their continuations are quite different.

Both the Robbins Landon manuscript's Credos that are "concordant" with MS 15 — *Veneziano* and *Padoano* — also appear without specific names in another source: MS 13 in Srečko Vilhar, which comes from the Franciscan Observant Monastery of St Bernardine in Portorož (beginning on pp. 5 and 74). In the case of *Veneziano*, MS 13 has the same variant as MS 15, whereas for *Padoano* its version matches that of the Robbins Landon manuscript. The first Credo melody (MS 15's *fractus* Credo no. 2) may even be preserved elsewhere, since it is listed by Giulia Gabrielli as Credo "della Madonna" (no. 7),⁷⁹ while many other melodies resemble each other up to a point where it becomes impossible to determine objectively whether the melody should be referred to as "the same", a "version" of the same or "a different" melody. From this individual example it might be concluded that some melodies were more widely disseminated, while others remained more locally, or even institutionally, restricted. However, even though they were used in monasteries situated relatively close to each other, MSS 13 and 15 do not share any additional concordances, despite the fact that MS 13 contains no fewer than twenty-one *cantus fractus* Credos.

The individual and local names of the Credos are not associated with the same melodies in each source; it seems that the more geographically distant the name is, the more interchangeable it may become with another name. It also appears that the more recognizable melodies are more likely to receive a specific name. Another typical repertoire-related issue, one linked to the partly oral transmission and the performance-practice possibilities of this repertoire, arises here: the already-mentioned thorny question of the difference between a variant and a new melody.

It appears that certain melodies, along with the works of specific composers and copyists, had particular dissemination paths within certain geographical regions. In many cases, they were connected with specific life trajectories among the Franciscans. This is the case with the works by the Italian Franciscan composer Francesco Antonio da Budrio, to whom two Masses in MS 15 are attributed. Not many of his "Franciscan" works seem to have survived, but we find copies of them in the archives of present-day Slovenia and Croatia, which shows that there were some main lines of dissemination.⁸⁰

79 This Credo also appears in the lists made by Miazga and Baroffio and Kim. Gabrielli, *Il canto fratto*, 441.

80 Zdravko Blažeković highlights the dissemination of da Budrio's works among the Franciscan musicians in Slavonia. For instance, the Observant Franciscan Franjo from Vukovar copied a volume of his one- and two-part Masses while studying in Ferrara in 1722. Another Franciscan named Vlahović copied another of da Budrio's works (a Martirologium, in his *Consonans dissonantia*), which is likewise dated 1722. Blažeković, "Music Repertoire".

Many characteristic aspects of the music of *fractus* Mass and Credo settings discussed by Joseph Dyer (regarding the Robbins Landon manuscript) and other scholars are also observable in MS 15. The newer compositions function in the realm of tonality rather than that of modality, even if they occasionally mimic the melismata of Gregorian chant. They also feature virtuosic ornamentation, melodic leaps and sequential melodic progressions.⁸¹

The Mass Ordinaries often display a significant degree of thematic unity, as evidenced by the transcriptions of the incipits of their movements (see Appendix 3). They typically adhere to fundamental harmonies, although their melodies may become highly ornamented — here we encounter something akin to a theme-and-variations model, which most clearly reflects the creative process involved in composing this music. Since many melodies observe similar principles (triadic movement, typically avoiding wide melodic leaps in favour of stepwise motion), some Mass Ordinaries even bear close similarity to one another and incline towards being formulaic in preference to distinctive. Conversely, there are compositions that are very individual, such as the *Credo Maggiore della Madonna* and the *Credo Justinopolitano*.

There is evidence that these Mass Ordinaries and Credos were both performed, either continuously or in an *alternatim* manner, to the accompaniment of an organ.⁸² If the Mass Ordinary was performed *alternatim*, so, too, was usually its Credo; certain separately written-out Credos were likewise performed *alternatim* (see Table 2 in Appendix 1). Even though *alternatim* performance seems inappropriate for a Credo, where every word had to be sung or spoken by all the participants,⁸³ MS 15 utilizes that technique frequently, implying that the non-sung words had to be spoken aloud instead. The Gloria, Sanctus and Agnus Dei melodies consistently follow the same written pattern of *alternatim* performance, while the situation is somewhat different for Kyries and Credos (see Table 3 in Appendix 2). Kyries can be written in various ways, such as having one Kyrie section, two separate sections for the Christe and then one Kyrie section again (the most common solution among the written *alternatim* versions). Alternatively, each section may be notated just once and occasionally marked with “III”, signifying that each section is to be sung three times (or performed in alternation with the organ in the standard manner). The Credo consistently follows an individual pattern, where the choir always sings the Patrem and later the obligatory verse (sung kneeling) Et incarnatus est. However, in one case the regular exchange with the organ is skipped for one verse, allowing the choir additionally to sing Crucifixus etiam pro nobis, which was ordinarily performed by

81 Fiore, “La tradizione musicale”, 45.

82 More about the *alternatim* practice is described in Beban, “Fra Petar Knežević”.

83 Dyer, “New Source”, 597.

the organ in this manuscript (in the *fractus* Mass Ordinary no. 5, beginning on p. 45; see also Table 3 in Appendix 2).⁸⁴

As observed already in the case of the Robbins Landon manuscript described by Dyer,⁸⁵ particular attention is given to certain Credo verses: especially Et incarnatus est and Et resurrexit. These characteristics occur similarly in MS 15; there are textual features (such as “homo” written in red lettering, along with repetitions of specific words) and musical directions (for a change of metre or even tempo directions such as “adagio” — although the latter are quite rare) that demarcate these sections of the Credo. Particularly in the Gloria and Credo, some words may be repeated several times in specific sections for expressive purposes; here, these chants move away from simple “recitation” of the sacred text towards the practice of the more obviously “composed” secular music of the time. In these two chants we also find characteristically florid settings — virtuosic, even — of the concluding Amen.

In the *Credo Justinopolitano* the verse Et incarnatus est is presented as a two-part canon (see the transcription of this section in Appendix 4), accompanied by specific written instructions on how it should be performed by two choirs.⁸⁶ This serves as just one example of how individual manuscripts can provide valuable insights into performance practice: even though this Credo occasionally resembles a potentially virtuosic solo piece (allowing for possible further improvised ornamentation), it is clear that the involvement of the choir was envisaged, at least for certain sections. If polyphony was possible there, why not in other places? Some passages, while written monophonically, could easily be transformed into short canons or embellished with parallel thirds and even contrary motion in consonances — both procedures being observable in MS 15 in various places.⁸⁷

The longest section of simple polyphony in MS 15 comes in the form of a two-part Mass; here, it is based on the principle of “mirroring” between the voices and moving within triads, utilizing leaps of a third.⁸⁸ Polyphonic writing primarily results in parallel thirds, with occasional fifths and (but rarely) fourths. The two-part Mass in MS 15 partially supports the thesis that this was probably not a manuscript for daily use but rather one intended as a copy text: in the Kyrie and Gloria the “Basso” and

⁸⁴ Ibid., 598.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ The beginnings of the parts are marked with I and II in the music, while the cadence is written out in two colours: brown (I) and red (II). The note regarding performance by two choirs appears in the margin next to this verse: “Questo verso vā cantato à Canone: Unisono à 2. II [—] qui prin[ci]pia il secondo Choro doppo che il primo averà cantato le p[rim]e due bat[tu]te.”

⁸⁷ The performance of simple polyphony would require at least two singers, so the previously mentioned singing by Cocever and another Friar of St Anne at Mass in Koper Cathedral could already imply polyphonic performance.

⁸⁸ A similar style is found, for example, in polyphonic Masses composed by suor Bonito, a nun from the convent of the Poor Clares in Naples. Fiore, “La tradizione musicale”, 45.

“Tenore” parts of the Mass follow one another and are not written on facing pages, so both singers (or groups of singers) could not use the manuscript simultaneously. However, this situation changes in the Credo, where “Basso” is written on a *verso* side, and the simultaneously sung “Tenore” appears on the facing *recto* side of the manuscript. The terms “Basso” and “Tenore” appear to describe a function rather than an ambitus, since the voices sometimes simply exchange their melodies, as witnessed in the incipits of the Kyrie and Gloria (*cantus fractus* Mass Ordinary no. 8; see Appendix 3).

Certain sections of chants featuring black or white notes above the melody — particularly at cadences — likewise suggest two-part performance. Such instances are rarely written out clearly and completely, as in the canon in *Credo Justinopolitano*, but appear to be executed in haste, perhaps in order to propose a suitable polyphonic solution for a specific place in a particular chant. This suggests that polyphonic improvisation was both feasible and actually practised, and was indeed understood not as polyphony in its own right but rather as a “polyvocal amplification” of an otherwise monodic chant.⁸⁹ The intentionally simple polyphony is also interpretable as a reflection of the Franciscan ideal of simplicity and modesty. Given that the Monastery of St Anne also functioned as a pedagogical institution of the Order, this practice could even be considered as a way of learning the fundamentals of music composition.⁹⁰ In contrast to the earlier observation, these few scribbled instances of improvisation show that, even if this manuscript was perhaps primarily intended for reference, it also had significant practical use and value.

The identity of the scribes of MS 15 will most likely remain unknown, even though similar but signed manuscript volumes were not particularly rare in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. However, some particular names are associated with the manuscripts of the St Anne and St Bernardine monasteries, many of them with attested widespread scribal and compositional activities within the larger region (for instance, the Dalmatian Franciscan Observant Province of St Jerome, to which both monasteries belonged). One notable figure is the Franciscan Frane Divnić (1612–1693), who served in various monasteries within the province and copied several manuscripts, including some in Piran and others in various houses in the province.⁹¹ For instance, in November 1668 he completed a gradual in the Monastery of St Bernardine,⁹² but his handwriting differs from all those seen in MS 15.

89 Gozzi, “Alle origini del canto fratto”, 248.

90 Giulia Gabrielli has on several occasions emphasized the importance of the *cantus fractus* repertoire for pedagogical purposes, a sentiment echoed by the organist Edoardo Bellotti, who performed this repertoire at the Radovljica Festival in August 2024.

91 He copied out at least thirteen manuscripts, most of which are today held by Franciscan monasteries in Zadar (Croatia). A repertoire analysis of his manuscripts copied in various places remains a task for the future. Stipčević, “Baroque Music and Popular Culture”, 59.

92 Franciscus Difnicus [Frane Divnić], *Graduale* (Franciscan Observant Monastery of St

Another named copyist from a few decades later is more directly associated with St Anne's Monastery: Don Giuseppe d'Andri. In 1727, on behalf of himself and his two nephews, this man donated twelve valuable manuscript volumes to the Monastery of St Anne to free the family from an old debt owed to it. D'Andri intimated that from those books the Franciscans could sing the Mass and the Vespers, by which he evidently meant that these were liturgical music books.⁹³ Accordingly, these books must have been suitable for use by the Franciscan Observants and must have included a specific repertoire. Further studies have shown that d'Andri was more than just a generous donor: he was the actual person who copied and embellished all of these (and many other) books.⁹⁴ Don Giuseppe d'Andri (1665–1743) was a native of Koper who, after a brief period as an Observant Franciscan of St Anne, became a secular priest and for most of his life performed various roles in Venice. He returned to Koper in 1721 to assist his nephews after they had lost their father but seems to have maintained regular contact with the family and local community throughout his absence. In 1739, after more than fifty years of priestly service, he celebrated “the New Mass” once again in his native city — at the Monastery of St Anne, where he is also buried. In his memoirs he notes that he is famed as a scribe and claims to have produced manuscripts for institutions in northern Italy, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Istria and other regions for the use of monastic orders such as the Franciscans and Augustinians.⁹⁵ Hana Breko Kustura has recently highlighted his contribution to the field of chant book production and the *cantus fractus* repertoire: d'Andri was in fact the copyist of a manuscript (a book combining a kyriale, gradual and sequentiary) produced in 1707 in Koper and preserved in Split.⁹⁶ From the reproductions and detailed descriptions contained in Breko Kustura's article one gains an impression of Giuseppe d'Andri as a copyist with a particular style.⁹⁷ He was clearly familiar with the repertoire of the

Bernardine, Piran (Portorož), 1718), 19. SI-Ko, MS 19.

- 93 Manara mentions d'Andri's donation within the context of writing about the opulence of St Anne's monastery church as regards paintings and musical manuscripts: “ricco [...] per codici gregoriani del principio del Cinquecento, ai quali s'aggiunsero nel 1727, per donazione di Don Giuseppe d'Andri, parecchi graduali e vesperali pure del Cinquecento, e più tardi tutta la biblioteca del convento soppresso di San Bernardino di Pirano”. A document he quotes is the one already named in Caprin's work. Caprin, *L'Istria nobilissima*, 69; Manara, “Il Convento di Sant'Anna”, 331.
- 94 Gianni, “Di un miniatore capodistriano”, 45. The biographical facts relating to d'Andri are taken from this source.
- 95 Gianni quotes from d'Andri's memoirs: “sappia ognuno che io di questo scrivere son maestro, perchè tutto il corso di mia vita sempre ho scritto di tali e consimili libri”. Ibid., 47.
- 96 Breko Kustura, “Svjedočanstvo ritmiziranog koralā”. In this article Hana Breko Kustura also emphasizes the need for a deeper investigation into the repertoire throughout the entire province, as well as its links to the Venetian area (i.e., Venice and its environs), where many of the chants may have originated.
- 97 Ibid., 14–15.

Dalmatian Observant Franciscan province and had strong ties to St Anne's Monastery during the time of production of MS 15. However, his handwriting for text and music, as well as for the ornamentation, does not appear to align with any of the hands found in the Koper MS 15, although some features bear a likeness. Given its probable *terminus ad quem* of 1723, MS 15 would appear too early to have been part of d'Andri's bequest made in 1727.

The scribes of MS 15 must remain anonymous for a while longer; however, it is still possible to make assumptions about the individual musicians who might have used this manuscript. They may or may not have coincided with the scribes. (It would seem that at that time such books were produced by (semi)professional scribes both within the Order and outside it.) The production time of this manuscript coincides with the musical activities of the previously mentioned Giacomo Cocever, an organist, singer and music teacher active in the cathedral as well as in his "home", the monastery church. It is conceivable that he, as an organist, would have had such a collection at his disposal — for accompanying on the organ or for singing.⁹⁸

It is difficult to ascertain whether such a musician as Cocever — if he was the actual user of this book — could also perform the same repertoire at Koper Cathedral. Manuscript 15, however, is closely related to the town as well as to the Observant Franciscans and their church of St Anne. The title of the first Mass Ordinary, "Sanctorum ordinis nostri", appears to have been typical for the Franciscans,⁹⁹ and the two Credos named after Franciscan saints point directly to their use within the Order. St Didacus (Diego) of Alcalá (c. 1400–1463) and St Peter of Alcántara (1499–1562) were very popular figures, but for some reason Credos for the most important saints of the Order (St Francis and St Anthony) are not present.

Didacus of Alcalá was the first Franciscan lay brother to become a saint,¹⁰⁰ and he was well known in Koper. The church of St Anne still houses Pietro Mera's altar painting from 1629 of St Didacus healing the sick (it was probably commissioned during the architectural renovation of the church in the 1620s).¹⁰¹ His altar is the last one on the right-hand side near the church's entrance. This is one of the earliest uses of the motif in this region, and it is quite possible that St Didacus in the painting is not healing a blind man but rather a person suffering from something else — perhaps even plague.¹⁰² Following a disastrous outbreak of plague in Koper between 1630 and 1632, many new churches dedicated to the patrons offering protection against

98 Research on his work and life has yet to be conducted.

99 Dyer, "New Source".

100 He was canonized in 1588 by Pope Sixtus V. Donovan, "St. Didacus".

101 The painting was mentioned by Naldini in 1700. Naldini, *Corografia ecclesiastica*, 195; Košak, "Sv. Didak iz Alkale", 26.

102 Košak, "Sv. Didak iz Alkale".

the plague were erected in the town.¹⁰³ It is possible that in its immediate aftermath the Franciscan Observants encouraged devotion to their saints, who were known for their works and miracles resisting the plague. St Didacus performed miraculous cures of the plague in Rome and cared for the sick during its outbreak in Spain. Both the altar painting and the special Credo for this saint indicate that he was particularly venerated in the Monastery of St Anne.¹⁰⁴ I have not yet managed to gather any information about the instrument or instruments in use at the monastery during that period, but the written evidence of this *alternatim* Credo (together with the known presence of an excellent organist at the monastery during the time of MS 15) suggests that the institution must have possessed an organ prior to the one acquired in 1806.

Not all *cantus fractus* sources reference saints' names, suggesting that this was not a rule but rather a choice made by the individual monastery. Next to the titles associated with saints MS 15 also includes two chants with local designations: the *Credo Napolitano* and *Credo Justinopolitano* (see the transcription of the latter in Appendix 4). The title of the first chant appears to be widely known, even if that does not mean that it is always linked to the same melody. The final piece in the manuscript (probably placed there intentionally) is the *Credo Justinopolitano*, or the Credo of Koper (Justinopolis). The title aligns with the Franciscan tradition of assigning names of localities to Credos, but it additionally implies that the piece was composed in or for Koper. It also suggests an intentional reference to Koper's co-patron saint, St Justin the Philosopher. The feast of the translation of his relics was celebrated with great solemnity in the cathedral on 21 April 1687 (they were brought to the Koper cathedral from Rome by Bishop Paolo Naldini), and another solemn celebration of this feast with music was mentioned in 1702.¹⁰⁵

The *Credo Justinopolitano* is undoubtedly the jewel in the crown of the collection: it stands out as one of the longest and most complex pieces, and as one containing unusual music that also appears also to be the most artfully "composed". Other *fractus* compositions apply barlines more freely, but the *Credo Justinopolitano* uses them consistently — in the manner of modern barlines. Its melody is quite dramatic and skilfully crafted, beginning with wide leaps and chromatic nuances; its ambitus is also quite large. The use of a simple yet expressive two-part canon in the most important section of the Credo — Et incarnatus est — with a written-out cadenza and special performing instructions has already been mentioned. We may never understand why the melody was given this name or how it was actually

103 Kramar, "Epidemije v slovenski Istri", 100–101.

104 Some other *cantus fractus* sources evidence similarly close connections with local patrons. The Robbins Landon manuscript contains the feast of the Saviour (Holy Redeemer), protector against the plague; the feast was a typical one for Venice. Dyer, "New Source", 575–576.

105 Radole, *La musica a Capodistria*, 56; Höfler, "Glasbeniki koprsk stolnice", 141.

performed,¹⁰⁶ but it was probably well known and popular locally in the town of Koper: both within the Monastery of St Anne and beyond its walls.

CONCLUSION: THE MEASURED GREGORIAN CHANT

A great deal has been written about *cantus fractus* and its role and meaning, sincere attempts being made to grasp the nature of this specific repertoire within its historical context, along with warnings against too modern an understanding of the phenomenon. As already mentioned, alongside the question of “what” is recorded regarding the repertoire, there are also questions concerning “how” and “why” this is so. This preliminary examination of MS 15 confirms much of what has been said about the phenomenon: with its blend of plainchant and *fractus* chants within the same source, its “plainchant-imitation” and visually cohesive style, together with a unified functionality, this manuscript was treated not as a compilation of various (possibly incompatible) styles and genres but rather as a liturgical compendium containing music for the Mass Ordinary on Sundays and solemn feasts. The characteristic notation seems intentionally to represent a visual connection to the ancient and venerable, as well as authoritative, chant melodies, even though in musical respects the *cantus fractus* melodies reflect the more modern Baroque sensibilities of their performers and listeners.

Several statements from that time prove that the *cantus fractus* repertoire was not understood as a separate genre, but more simply — as has been suggested by Marco Gozzi — as “l’altro gregoriano” (the other [kind of] Gregorian [chant]).¹⁰⁷ The *cantus fractus* repertoire belonged to the musical practice of many religious orders and appears to have been especially popular among the pastorally oriented Franciscans. In the view of Angela Fiore, this liturgical music (taking as an example the convent of the Poor Clares in Naples) could “delight the faithful” (“potesse dilettere il fedele”), while not lessening the sanctity of Gregorian chant; it merely made the music more appealing by absorbing the characteristics of the vocal and instrumental music of the time.¹⁰⁸ Regarding its function, she defined it as “liturgical chant that tries to bring distinctive traits of ‘modern’ music into dialogue with Gregorian practice”.¹⁰⁹

In her article Fiore described musical life at the Convent of St Clare and offered a beautiful example of the contemporary understanding of the *cantus fractus* repertoire. Stimulated by performances of the Real Cappella, the convent’s

¹⁰⁶ A recent performance at the Radovljica Festival in August 2024, featuring four singers trained in Medieval and Baroque music alongside improvisation specialist Edoardo Bellotti on the organ plus a preceding practical workshop on *cantus fractus* from the Koper sources, revealed numerous new possibilities.

¹⁰⁷ Gozzi and Luisi, *Il canto fratto*.

¹⁰⁸ Fiore, “La tradizione musicale”, 44.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 45.

sisters repeatedly expressed their desire to be allowed to make more music in the convent. In order to appease the Nuns and their families (who had contributed rich dowries to the convent), the authorities offered them a compromise:

[...] that the Nuns might introduce the use of Gregorian chant in the manner that is done here in the Pontifical Chapel, for with such formality they would be able to practise singing, which, even if it is not of the same kind as other Music, is equally virtuosic, and, what is important, much more devout, and congenial to the religious state.¹¹⁰

It is clear that, when contemporaries speak about the *cantus fractus* of their time, they refer to a specific style or manner of performing “Gregorian” chant (which for them signified both liturgical and liturgically suitable chant). We are fortunate that something similar was also documented regarding the Monastery of St Anne. In his historiographical sketch of the Diocese of Koper Bishop Paolo Naldini described its many churches. Although he did not in general pay much attention to music in his descriptions, he mentions it in relation to the popularity of the Monastery of St Anne:

[People] are also attracted by the assiduous assistance of the religious in confessionals; the precise execution in the choir, alternated with Gregorian chant, which is all the more cherished, the more it is measured; and religious restraint in the cloister, all the more revered by the laity, the less it is observed [elsewhere].¹¹¹

What the Franciscans sang, then, was perceived as measured “Gregorian” chant. This is also the case for MS 15, which, even in this preliminary sketch, is opening the door wide to future possible research. Much remains to be done regarding this and many other sources. A diachronic study of musical life in the Monastery of St Anne still needs to be undertaken with the aid of extant sources and the Franciscan archives preserved in Koper, Venice and elsewhere.

110 “[...] che potrebbero le Signore Monache introdurre l’uso del Canto Gregoriano nella maniera che si fa qui nella Cappella Pontificia, poiché con tal formalità avrebbero campo d’esercitare il canto che se bene non è della medesima specie della Musica è però egualmente virtuoso, e quello che importa, assai più divoto, e confacevole allo stato religioso.” Quoted from Fiore, “La tradizione musicale”, 43–44.

111 “L’attraono pure l’assidua assistenza de’ Religiosi alle Sedie Confessionali; l’esatta ufficiatura del Coro, contra puntata col Canto Gregoriano, allora più gradito, che più battuto; e la religiosa ritiratezza nel Chiostrò, dal secolo tanto più venerata, quanto meno veduta.” Naldini, *Corografia ecclesiastica*, 196.

Regarding the monastery's *cantus fractus* repertoire, further comparisons with other sources, particularly within the St Jerome Franciscan Province, and the Franciscan sources of Venice and the wider Veneto, would most likely reveal much more about the dissemination and adaptation of these melodies. Additionally, taking a broader perspective, a comparative analysis of liturgical melodies from various regions and sources would constitute another level of exploration; however, this will necessitate some initial melody identification.

Practical workshops and performances of this repertoire, historically and liturgically informed, using appropriate instruments, would open up opportunities for experimentation and realization of what is possible. This “other Gregorian chant”, intended to please the ear and praise God, simple and predictable yet ever-changing and challenging, offers great potential for improvisation and flexible performances. If I may once again borrow Baroffio and Kim's Cinderella image for the conclusion: If we wish to see her truly rise from the ashes and beyond, it is worthwhile to continue searching for the — now already forgotten and broken but still shining — pieces of her glass slipper.

APPENDIX 1

Table 2 | Contents of SI-Ko, [MS] 15

Content refers to the Mass Ordinaries and individual Credo in the Manuscript: MO = Mass Ordinary (including Credo, if present); K = Kyrie eleison; G = Gloria; C = Credo (in the Mass or individual composition); S = Sanctus; A = Agnus Dei.

Cantus refers to the style of the chant, which may be plainchant or *cantus fractus*; numbers in square brackets refer to the numbering of the plainchant Mass Ordinaries, Mass Ordinaries in *cantus fractus* and Credo in *cantus fractus*; the *cantus fractus* items, with their numbers, can be found in Appendix 3.

PAGE	CONTENT	CANTUS	TONALITY	TITLE OF THE COMPOSITION; REMARKS
1	MO	<i>planus</i> [1]	F mode (5) “De la sol re” (later hand)	“Sanctorum Ordinis Nostri” without C
6	MO	<i>planus</i> [2]	F mode (5)	variant of <i>De angelis</i> without C simple diaphony in the final cadences
11	MO	<i>fractus</i> [1]	A minor “A la mi re”	K: each invocation written out once, marks for three repetitions of each (“III”) — or <i>alternatim</i> , as the rest of the Mass G, C, S, A: <i>alternatim</i>

PAGE	CONTENT	CANTUS	TONALITY	TITLE OF THE COMPOSITION; REMARKS
18	MO	<i>fractus</i> [2]	F major "EF fa ut"	K: <i>alternatim</i> G, C, S: complete A: two invocations, probably the first one should be repeated C: triple metre expressive word-repetitions diaphony: thirds in some cadences
31	MO	<i>fractus</i> [3]	F major "EF fa ut"	K, G, C, S, A: <i>alternatim</i> [A continues on p. 45]
41	MO	<i>fractus</i> [4]	F major (mode 6)	later insert based on chant (Sanctus of <i>De angelis</i>) K: each invocation written out once G, S, A: <i>alternatim</i> without C
45	MO	<i>fractus</i> [5]	C major "A la mi re"	[A of the previous MO] K, G, C** (see Table 3): <i>alternatim</i> incomplete S, A: missing tempo markings
57	C	<i>fractus</i> [1]	D minor	new note shapes
61	MO	<i>fractus</i> [6]	C major "B fa B mi quinto Tuono"	"Messa del Padre Budrio" K, G, C, S, A: <i>alternatim</i> expressive word-repetitions (added later) diaphony: octaves in some cadences
74	MO	<i>fractus</i> [7]	C major "A la mi re 3a maggiore"	"del P[ad]re Franc[esc]o Antonio, di Budrio" K, G, C, S, A: <i>alternatim</i> tempo markings
89	MO	<i>planus</i> [3]	F mode (6)	later insert "In Dominicis Adventis et Quadragesimae" based on chant Masses (Mass Ordinary XVII, <i>De angelis</i>) without G (Lent and Advent) without C
93	C	<i>fractus</i> [2]		very syllabic "homo" written out in red letters
98	MO	<i>fractus</i> [8]	F major	"Messa a Due Voci" two-part Mass (T, B) K, G, C, S, A: <i>alternatim</i> K, G: T part written one after the B part C: B and T parts written on mirroring pages (odd – even), possible simultaneous singing S, A: B and T parts written on the same page
111	C	<i>fractus</i> [3]	D minor	very simple, formulaic melody

Table 2 | *continued*

PAGE	CONTENT	CANTUS	TONALITY	TITLE OF THE COMPOSITION; REMARKS
114	C	<i>fractus</i> [4]	A minor "A la mi re Per 3. B"	"Credo sancti Petri" formulaic melody most cadences on a and e alternately
118	C	<i>fractus</i> [5]	G major	"Credo maggiore della Madonna" exchange of verses in duple and triple metre unusual notation in triple metre expressive word-repetitions
124	C	<i>fractus</i> [6]	F major	"In S. Diego" <i>alternatim</i> marking "Adasio" on the word "Prophetas" expressive word-repetitions
127	C	<i>fractus</i> [7]	F major "Si suona in C sol fa ut"	"Credo Napolitano" a characteristic rhythm with syncopation connects most phrases
129	C	<i>fractus</i> [8]	F major "Si suona in C sol fa ut"	"Credo infra Octava a feria Quinta in cena Domini"
132	C	<i>fractus</i> [9]	F major "Si suona in C sol fa ut"	"Credo sancti Petri de Alcantara" [= C <i>fractus</i> 6 for St Didacus] <i>alternatim</i> marking "Adasio" on the word "Prophetas" expressive word-repetitions
135	C	<i>fractus</i> [10]	A minor	"Credo Justinopolitano – 1723" short two-part canon on "Et incarnatus est" relatively large ambitus: octave plus fourth chromaticism not such polished writing as in previous Credo com- positions (notes) – maybe the previous ones were copied and this one newly composed

APPENDIX 2

Table 3 | Form of the *alternatim* chants in SI-Ko, [MS] 15 (verse incipits)

Kyrie eleison	
CHOIR	ORGAN
	<i>Kyrie eleison</i>
Kyrie eleison	<i>Kyrie eleison</i>
<i>Christe eleison</i>	<i>Christe eleison</i>
<i>Christe eleison</i>	<i>Kyrie eleison</i>
<i>Kyrie eleison</i>	<i>Kyrie eleison</i>

Gloria in excelsis Deo (intoned by the priest)

CHOIR	ORGAN
	<i>Et in terra pax</i>
Laudamus te	<i>Benedicimus te</i>
Adoramus te	<i>Glorificamus te</i>
Gratias agimus tibi	<i>Domine Deus, rex caelestis</i>
Domine Fili unigenite	<i>Domine Deus, Agnus Dei</i>
Qui tollis [...] miserere	<i>Qui tollis [...] suscipe</i>
Qui sedes ad dexteram	<i>Quoniam tu solus</i>
Tu solus Dominus	<i>Tu solus Altissimus</i>
Cum sancto spiritu Amen	

Credo in unum Deum (intoned by the priest)

* version 1

** version 2 [Credo from the *cantus fractus* MO 5]

CHOIR	ORGAN
Patrem omnipotentem	<i>Et in unum Dominum</i>
Et ex Patre natum	<i>Deum de Deo</i>
Genitum non factum	<i>Qui propter nos homines</i>
Et incarnatus est **Crucifixus etiam pro nobis Et resurrexit tertia die	<i>*Crucifixus etiam pro nobis</i>
	<i>Et ascendit in caelum</i>
Et iterum venturus est	<i>Et in Spiritum Sanctum</i>
Qui cum Patre et Filio	<i>Et unam sanctam catholicam</i>
Confiteor unum baptisma	<i>Et expecto resurrectionem</i>
Et vitam venturi saeculi Amen	

Sanctus	
CHOIR	ORGAN
	<i>Sanctus</i>
Sanctus	<i>Sanctus Dominus Deus</i>
Pleni sunt caeli et terra	<i>Benedictus qui venit</i>
Agnus Dei	
CHOIR	ORGAN
	<i>Agnus Dei [...] miserere nobis</i>
Agnus Dei [...] miserere nobis	<i>Agnus Dei [...] dona nobis</i>

APPENDIX 3

Cantus fractus chants in SI-Ko, [MS] 15

The text of the chants in the transcription is provided in modern Latin orthography, but without punctuation except for capital letters at the beginning and in certain words. In MS 15 the initial note of many chants is written with double the usual length and is transcribed here in the same manner; this does not imply that each opening should be quite as long as shown. The same applies to the final notes of pieces. The transcription retains unaltered the position of barlines found in the manuscript.

Music example 1 | Mass Ordinary in A minor (“A la mi re”), *cantus fractus* MO 1, pp. 11–18

The image shows two staves of musical notation in G-clef and C-clef. The first staff is for the Kyrie eleison, with the text 'Ky - ri - e e - le - - - - i - son' written below the notes. The second staff is for the Laudamus te, with the text 'Lau - da - - - - mus te' written below the notes. The notation includes various note values, including a long initial note on 'Ky' and a long final note on 'te'.



Pa - trem om - ni-po-ten - tem fac - to-rem cae - li et ter - - rae

San - - - - - ctus

A - gnus De - - i qui tol - lis pec-ca - ta mun - di

Music example 2 | Mass Ordinary in F major (“EF fa ut”), *cantus fractus* MO 2, pp. 18–31



Ky - ri - e e - - - le - i - son

Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni-bus bo-nae vo-lun-ta-tis

Pa-trem om - ni - po-ten-tem fac - to - rem cae - li et ter - rae

Sanc - - - - - tus

A - gnus De - - i qui tol - lis pec-ca - ta mun - di

Music example 3 | Mass Ordinary in F major (“EF fa ut”), *cantus fractus* MO 3, pp. 31–40 and 45



Ky - - - ri-e

e - - - le - i - son

Music example 3 | *continued*

Lau - da - - - - - mus te

Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten - tem fac - to - rem cae - li et ter - rae

San - - - - - ctus

A - gnus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di

Music example 4 | Mass Ordinary in F major (mode 6), *cantus fractus* MO 4, pp. 41–44

Chy - - - ri - e e - - - - -

- - - le - i - son

Lau - da - - - - - mus te

San - - - - - ctus

A - gnus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di

Music example 5 | Mass Ordinary in C major (“A la mi re”), *cantus fractus* MO 5 (incomplete), pp. 45–56

Ky - ri - e e - - - - - le - i - son

Lau - da - - - - - mus te

Pa - - - trem om - ni - po - ten - - - - - tem fac - to - rem cae - li et ter - - - - - rae

Music example 6 | Credo in D minor, *cantus fractus* C 1, pp. 57–61

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

fac - to - rem cae - li fac - to - rem cae - li et ter - rae

Music example 7 | “Messa del Padre Budrio” in C major (“B fa B mi quinto Tuono”), *cantus fractus* MO 6, pp. 61–73

Ky - ri - e e -

- - - le - i - son

Lau - da - mus te

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

fac - to - rem cae - li et ter - rae

San - ctus

A - gnus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di

Music example 8 | Mass Ordinary “del P[ad]re Fran[ces]co Antonio, di Budrio” in C major (“A la mi re 3a maggiore”), *cantus fractus* MO 7, pp. 74–87

Ky - ri - e e -

- - - le - i - son

Lau - da

mus te

Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten -

tem fac - to - rem cae - li et ter - rae

San - ctus

A - gnus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di

Music example 9 | Credo in F major, *cantus fractus* C 2, pp. 93–98

Pa - trem om - ni-po-ten - tem fac - to - rem cae - li et ter - rae

Music example 10 | Mass Ordinary “Messa a Due Voci” in F major, *cantus fractus* MO 8, pp. 98–110

Ky - ri - e [e] -

Ky - ri - e [e] -

le - i - son

le - i - son

Music example 10 | *continued*

Lau - da - - - - - mus-te

Lau - da - - - - - mus-te

Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten - tem fac - to - rem cae - li et ter - rae

Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten - tem fac - to - rem cae - li et ter - rae

San - - - - - ctus

San - - - - - ctus

Music example 11 | Credo in D minor, *cantus fractus* C 3, pp. 111–114

Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten - tem fac - to - rem cae - li et ter - rae

Music example 12 | *Credo Sancti Petri* in A minor (“A la mi re Per 3. b”), *cantus fractus* C 4, pp. 114–118

Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten - tem fac - to - rem cae - li et ter - rae

Music example 13 | *Credo Maggiore della Madonna* in G major, *cantus fractus* C 5, pp. 118–123

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

- to - rem cae - li et ter - rae

Music example 14 | Credo “In S. Diego” in F major, *cantus fractus* C 6, pp. 124–126



Music example 15 | Credo Napolitano in F major (“Si suona in C sol fa ut”), *cantus fractus* C 7, pp. 127–129



Music example 16 | Credo infra Octava e feria Quinta in Cena Domini in F major (“Si suona in C sol fa ut”), *cantus fractus* C 8, pp. 129–132



Music example 17 | Credo Sancti Petri de Alcantara in F major (“Si suona in C sol fa ut”), *cantus fractus* C 9 (= C 6), pp. 132–134



Music example 18 | Credo Justinopolitano in A minor, *cantus fractus* C 10, pp. 135–141



APPENDIX 4

Music example 19 | *Credo Justinopolitano* (SI-Ko, [MS] 15, pp. 135-141)

Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten - tem fac - to - rem cae - li et ter - rae

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

si - bi - li - um. Et in un -

um Do - mi - num Je - sum Christum fi - li - um De - i u - ni - ge -

ni - tum.

Et ex Pa - tre na - tum an -

te om - ni - a sae -

cu - la. De - um de De - o

lu - men de lu - mi - ne De - um ve - rum de De - o ve -

ro. Ge - ni - tum non fac - tum con - sub - stan - ti -

a - lem Pa - tri per quem

om - ni - a fa - - - - - cta sunt. Qui pro -

pter nos ho - mi - nes et pro-pter nos - tram sa - lu - tem de - scen - - - - - dit de

cae - - - - - lis. Et in-car - na - tus est de Spi-ri - tu san - cto

ex Ma - ri - a Vir - gi-ne et ho - mo, et ho - mo

fa - - - - - ctus... est. Cru-ci - fi -

- xus e - ti-am pro no - - - - - bis sub Pon - ti-o Pi -

- la - to pas - sus, pas - sus et se - pul - - - - - tus est.

Et re - sur - re - - - - - xit ter - ti - a di - e se -

cun-dum, se - cun-dum scri - ptu - - - - - ras. Et as - cen - dit in

cae - lum se - det ad dex - te - ram Pa - - - - -

- - - - - tris. Et i - te-

Music example 19 | *continued*

rum ven-tu-rus est cum glo-ri-a iu-di-ca-re vi-vos et mor-tu-os cu-ius re-gni non e-rit fi-nis, non e-rit fi-nis. Et in spi-ri-tum san-ctum Do-mi-num et vi-vi-fi-can-tem qui ex Pa-tre fi-li-o-que pro-ce-dit. Qui cum Pa-tre et fi-li-o si-mul a-do-ra-tur et con-glo-ri-fi-ca-tur qui lo-cu-tus, lo-cu-tus est per Pro-phe-tas, Et u-nam san-ctam Cat-ho-li-cam et A-po-sto-li-cam Ec-cle-si-am. Con-fi-te-or u-num Ba-pti-sma in re-mis-si-o-nem pec-ca-to-

The musical score consists of seven staves of music, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are in Latin and are written below the notes. The music is a cantus fractus, a type of liturgical chant.

rum. Et ex -

pe - cto re - sur - re - cti - o - nem mor -

- tu - o - rum. Et vi - tam ven - tu - ri sae - cu - li A -

- men, A -

- men, A -

- men, A -

- men, A - men.

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“ALLORA PIÙ GRADITO, CHE PIÙ BATTUTO”: KOPRSKI FRANČIŠKANI IN NJIHOV BAROČNI *CANTUS FRACTUS*

Osrednja knjižnica Srečka Vilharja Koper hrani rokopis 15, kirial iz 17. in 18. stoletja z dodatki iz 19. stoletja, ki je bil v rabi v koprskem frančiškanskem konventu sv. Ane. Rokopis vsebuje eksplicitne navezave na Koper in je najpomembnejši lokalni vir baročnega repertoarja *cantus fractus* ter v muzikološki literaturi še ni bil obravnavan. Članek preliminarно predstavlja rokopis in njegovo vsebino, obenem pa razpravlja o pomenu in vlogi tovrstnega lokalnega repertoarja nekega monastičnega reda v širšem okviru.

Rokopis vsebuje »standardne« koralne melodije v kvadratni koralni notaciji in kasnejše melodije, zapisane v slogu *cantus fractus*, kjer je trajanje not merjeno. Razprava se osredotoča na slednji repertoar, ki vsebuje predvsem cikle mašnega ordinarija in posamezne stavke Credo, in s tem opozarja na obstoj baročnega *cantus fractus* repertoarja v konventu sv. Ane v Kopru. Vsebinsko in oblikovno predstavi rokopis, za katerega se je izkazalo, da je njegov nastanek tesno povezan s Koprom, saj vsebuje nekaj lokalnih značilnosti. Razprava odpira še številna vprašanja, med drugim o ustvarjalcih in uporabnikih rokopisa, poudarja pa tudi pomen širših mednarodnih primerjalnih raziskav v okviru glasbene zgodovine frančiškanskega reda Province sv. Hieronima in območja Beneške republike. Na ta način koprski *cantus fractus* postaja košček v veliko večji in kompleksnejši sliki frančiškanske glasbe.

“BEING DESIGN’D AS A CONCERT INTERMIX’D WITH THE PLAY”: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC FOR THE LONDON THEATRES, 1700–1740

IZVLEČEK: Od šestdesetih let 17. stoletja so bile približno 50 let igre v londonskih gledališčih redno obogatene z nizi instrumentalne glasbe, sestavljenimi iz dveh skupin uvodne glasbe, uverture in t. i. »act tunes«, ki so se izvajali med dejanji. V začetku 18. stoletja so te nize gledaliških instrumentalnih arij nadomestile italijanske sonate in koncerti ali tovrstne skladbe v italijanskem slogu. Ta članek obravnava, kako in kdaj je prišlo do spremembe; kako, kdaj in kje se je instrumentalna glasba v predstavah igrala; kje so bili glasbeniki v gledališčih nameščeni in kako so bili povezani z drugimi vrstami zabavnih intermezzov, vokalno glasbo in plesi.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: sonata, koncert, uverture, Gledališče Drury Lane, Gledališče Lincoln’s Inn Fields

ABSTRACT: For about fifty years from the 1660s plays put on in the London theatres were routinely provided with sets of instrumental music, consisting of two groups of preliminary music, an overture and “act tunes” played between the acts. In the early eighteenth century these sets of theatre airs were replaced by Italian and Italianate sonatas and concertos. This article examines how and when the transition occurred; how, when and where instrumental music was used in plays; where the musicians were placed in the theatres; and how they related to the other types of entr’acte entertainments, vocal music and dances.

KEYWORDS: sonata, concerto, overture, Drury Lane Theatre, Lincoln’s Inn Fields Theatre

For about fifty years from the 1660s new plays put on in the London theatres, as well as some revivals, were routinely provided with a specially composed set of theatre airs.¹ The genre is best-known today from the thirteen sets Henry Purcell wrote for plays staged between 1690 and 1695, which were collected and published after his death.² I prefer “sets of theatre airs” to the modern term “theatre suites” for this genre because the word “suite” implies that all the movements are in a single key, though that is usually not the case because they were not played in a single sequence. Sets typically consisted of nine movements: two pairs of pieces, the “First Music” and “Second Music”, were played before the play began; they were followed by the overture, usually called “Third Music” in later times; and then four pieces collectively called “Act Tunes” were played between the five acts of the play.

Around 1710 the production of specially composed sets of theatre airs slackened, and it is clear that they were eventually replaced by Italian or Italianate sonatas and concertos, often simply chosen from the published repertory. This can be seen from the advertisements for theatrical productions in the 1720s and 30s that include detailed lists of the music performed, and from comments in the later literature. For instance, according to Charles Burney, in the 1730s Richard Charke and Henry Burgess junior, respectively first violin and house harpsichordist of the Drury Lane Theatre band, used to play solo concertos as the Second Music.³ Burney also wrote that William Boyce’s trio sonatas of 1747 were “not only in constant use, as chamber Music”, but, played orchestrally, they were also used “in our theatres, as act-tunes, and public gardens, as favourite pieces, during many years”.⁴ The anonymous author of an article on the history of the violin, published in 1821, asserted that Corelli’s four sets of trio sonatas “for many years furnished the second music before the play at both the theatres in London”.⁵

It is clear that instrumental music was always an important attraction for theatre-goers from the 1660s onwards. For instance, the Florentine Lorenzo Magalotti, accompanying the Grand Duke of Tuscany to London in 1669, wrote that “the most delightful symphonies” encouraged many in the audience to come early to thea-

I am grateful to Olive Baldwin, Thelma Wilson, Thomas McGeary and Michael Talbot for their valuable comments on drafts of this paper. An early version was given at the Biennial Baroque Conference in Geneva on 29 June 2023.

- 1 For theatre airs, see especially Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre*; Lowerre, *Music and Musicians*; and the introduction to *Restoration Theatre Airs*.
- 2 *A Collection of Ayres Compos’d for the Theatre and upon other Occasions* (London, 1697), RISM A/I P 5977. For modern editions, see especially Purcell, *Dramatic Music*.
- 3 Burney, *Memoirs*, 185; Burney, *General History*, 4:664. See also Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 259–261.
- 4 Burney, *General History*, 3:620.
- 5 “On the Rise and Progress”, 451.

tre performances.⁶ The anonymous author of a prologue for Ben Jonson's *Volpone*, apparently spoken during a revival of the play at Drury Lane on 17 February 1676, complained: "Musick, which was by Intervals design'd | To ease the weary'd Actors voice and mind, | You to the Play judiciously prefer, | 'Tis now the bus'ness of the Theatre".⁷ Much later, Burney remembered that violin concertos played by Charke were "the lure of the second music" at Drury Lane, and that "many lovers of music" went specially to hear them, knowing they could get a refund if they left before the curtain went up and the play began.⁸ One piece Charke played repeatedly in the 1731 Drury Lane season was Vivaldi's Concerto in A major "The Cuckow", RV 335, first published in London in 1717.⁹ This "ultra-high register" piece was enduring popular in England, despite being "of modest musical value";¹⁰ Michael Talbot described its textures as "exaggeratedly lean", its harmonies veering between "the simplistic and the sometimes frankly odd".¹¹

We shall see that instrumental music tended to be particularly prominent in benefit performances, held towards the end of each London theatre season; they "provided a valuable part of the income of performers and the more important members of the company's staff", providing "essential support for the long summer vacation when the London theatres were closed".¹² A benefit performance for the harpsichordist Benjamin Short of William Congreve's comedy *The Old Batchelor*, at the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre on 9 May 1732, was even advertised with the comment: "N.B. Instead of Act Tunes will be perform'd Select Pieces of Musick adapted to various Instruments. Being design'd as a Concert intermix'd with the Play".¹³ In this article I take a new look at the transition from sets of theatre airs to Italian and Italianate instrumental music, to try to understand how and when the change occurred; how, when and where sonatas and concertos were used in plays; how they related to the other types of entr'acte entertainments; and where the musicians who played them were placed in the theatres.

It is normally said that the production of sets of theatre airs stopped around 1710. It is true that the last surviving set is a compilation drawn mostly from Handel's opera *Rodrigo* for a revival of Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist* at the Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket on 14 January 1710; it was subsequently published by John Walsh as the

6 [Magalotti], *Travels of Cosmo the Third*, 191.

7 Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre*, 52.

8 Burney, *Memoirs*, 185.

9 See especially Talbot, "Migrations of a Cuckoo and a Nightingale".

10 Talbot, *Vivaldi Compendium*, 61.

11 Talbot, "Migrations of a Cuckoo and a Nightingale", 53.

12 Baldwin and Wilson, "With Several Entertainments", 39.

13 *Daily Journal*, 9 May 1732.

work of “an Italian master”.¹⁴ However, Walsh continued to publish sets of theatre airs sporadically for another decade. Ten further published sets are known: by John Barrett, Nathaniel Kynaston, John Eccles, William Turner and an anonymous composer, the last being a set for John Leigh’s *The Pretenders, or Kensington Gardens*, produced at Lincoln’s Inn Fields on 26 November 1719; none of these publications is known to survive.¹⁵ Furthermore, sets of act tunes were still being composed in the 1730s: at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket on 20 February 1734 James Miller’s *The Mother in Law* was advertised with “a new Overture, and an entire Sett of Act-Tunes, composed for the Comedy by Mr Seedo”,¹⁶ while on 21 August 1735 in the same theatre a performance of Farquhar’s *The Twin Rivals* included “A New Medley Overture” and “A new Set of Act Tunes, never yet performed”, all by Thomas Arne.¹⁷

The evidence for the use of Italian instrumental music in the London theatres comes partly from musical sources and partly from newspaper advertisements. I have argued in a recent article that two works by Corelli outside the published sets Opp. 1–6 — the Concerto in G minor, WoO 2, for seven-part strings and continuo and the Sinfonia in D, WoO 4, for trumpet, two violins and continuo — were used at the Lincoln’s Inn Fields Theatre around 1700.¹⁸ The evidence for this is a set of parts for the two pieces, today GB-Ob, Tenbury MS 1312, in the hand of the composer and violinist John Lenton (1657?–1719).¹⁹ Lenton joined Thomas Betterton’s theatre company after the break-up of the United Company in 1695. He wrote at least ten sets of theatre airs for Betterton’s company at Lincoln’s Inn Fields between 1698 and 1705, and was probably the leader of its band. Corelli’s G-minor concerto also survives in GB-Lcm, MS 1172, a score copied by the person Purcell scholars call London

14 Milhous and Hume, *London Stage*, 540; Price, “Handel and The Alchemist”; Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre*, 145–146, 243; Handel, *Collected Documents*, 1:175.

15 Smith, *Bibliography*, 107 (no. 347), 114 (no. 376), 117 (no. 386), 120 (no. 397), 125 (no. 416), 130 (no. 438), 132 (no. 448), 147 (no. 507), 150 (no. 516), 163 (no. 574). Smith asserted that no. 438 comprised John Eccles’s airs for Southerne’s tragedy *The Fate of Capua*, but the advertisement for the publication states that it was a set by Eccles for Addison’s *Cato*, an error corrected (with the help of Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson) in Winn, *Queen Anne*, 743n31. For *The Pretenders*, see Avery, *London Stage*, 557.

16 Scouten, *London Stage*, 370. For Seedo (first name unknown), see especially Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 124.

17 Scouten, *London Stage*, 504. See also Gilman, *Theatre Career*, 69, where it is asserted that Arne wrote act tunes for three other plays put on at Drury Lane that year, though they could have been the same pieces reused repeatedly; they do not seem to survive. For the medley overture genre, see Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 160–164.

18 Holman, “Corelli in the London Theatres”. There are critical modern editions of both pieces in Corelli, *Werke ohne Opuszahl*, 37–43, 44–50, though they need revising in the light of Tenbury MS 1312 and several other newly discovered English sources of WoO 2.

19 For Lenton, see especially Ashbee, Lasocki, Holman and Kisby, *Biographical Dictionary*, 2:717–718.

A, who was an unidentified copyist associated with the rival Drury Lane Theatre.²⁰ These two sources suggest that the concerto was the subject of rivalry between the two theatres at an early stage of their reception of Corelli and long before the Op. 6 concertos were published.

I also suggested in the same article that Corelli's trumpet sinfonia WoO 4 was one of "several Italian Trumpet Sonatas being intirely new" played at Lincoln's Inn Fields during a special performance of Thomas Porter's tragedy *The Villain* on 14 June 1703 for an ambassador from Portugal.²¹ Walsh published WoO 4 in April 1704 as part of an innovative periodical series that made available Italian and Italianate instrumental music that had recently been performed in public in London.²² In fact, WoO 4 was not "intirely new" in 1703: it had been circulating in manuscript in England since at least the early 1690s.²³

GASPARO VISCONTI AT DRURY LANE

The main impetus for the introduction of Italian instrumental music as adjuncts to the performances of plays came from Drury Lane rather than Lincoln's Inn Fields. It was led by the Cremonese violinist Gasparo Visconti (1683–1713?), known in England as "Signor Gasparini".²⁴ He is first encountered in London in a concert at York Buildings on 3 November 1702, when he was described as "newly come from Rome";²⁵ he was subsequently said to have been "five years Corelli's scholar".²⁶ He made his Drury Lane debut on 22 December 1702, when he performed "several Entertainments of Musick by himself, and in Consort with others" in the intervals of Thomas Shadwell's *The Lancashire Witches*.²⁷ Between then and his last known London appearance, in Colley Cibber's *The Careless Husband* on 3 April 1706,²⁸ he was advertised nearly eighty times performing Italian sonatas in the intervals of Drury Lane plays.

On 11 February 1703, when Visconti appeared in an entertainment of music and dancing with John Dryden's *Marriage-a-la-Mode* condensed into two acts, it was said specifically he would "perform several of Corelli's Sonatas's, accompany'd by

20 For London A, see Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, especially 131–135, 312. For MS 1172, see Price, introduction to *Instrumental Music for London Theatres*; Herissone, "Appendix".

21 *Daily Courant*, 14 June 1703; Milhous and Hume, *London Stage*, 105–106.

22 Smith, *Bibliography*, 48 (no. 150). I am grateful to Michael Talbot for alerting me to the importance of these periodical publications.

23 Holman, "Corelli in the London Theatres", 73, 75; see also Holman, "Arcangelo Corelli, His Trumpet Sinfonia", especially 7–11.

24 See Hill, "Visconti, Gasparo".

25 *London Gazette*, 29 October–2 November 1702; Milhous and Hume, *London Stage*, 78–79.

26 Hill, "Visconti, Gasparo".

27 *Daily Courant*, 22 December 1702; Milhous and Hume, *London Stage*, 83.

28 *Daily Courant*, 3 April 1706; Milhous and Hume, *London Stage*, 291.

Monsieur Dupar and others”.²⁹ This sounds as if Visconti played a selection from Corelli’s Op. 5 with Francis Dieupart at the harpsichord, but he also took part in trio sonatas: during his own benefit on 18 May 1703, John Vanbrugh’s comedy *The Relapse*, the entr’actes included “several Sonatas’s on the Violin, one between Mr Paisible and him, and another between him, and a Scholar of his”.³⁰ The former work was probably his own Sonata in F for recorder, violin and continuo, which Walsh published in 1706, describing it as “that Incomperable Sonata for a Flute [i.e. recorder] a Violin and a Bass Perform’d at Court and often at the Theatre by M^r. Paisible and M^r. Gasperine”.³¹ The partnership between Visconti and James Paisible (c. 1656–1721), the expatriate French recorder player, oboist and bass violin player who had been working in London on and off since the 1670s,³² was not confined to that piece. The entr’actes for *The Maid’s Tragedy* by Beaumont and Fletcher on 4 February 1704 included “a piece of Instrumental Musick composed by the great Arcangelo Corelli for a Flute and Violin”;³³ this was presumably a Corelli trio sonata arranged or transposed so that one of the violin parts fitted on the treble recorder.

Walsh’s periodical series included several other pieces performed by Visconti and his colleagues at Drury Lane. He began the series in January 1704 by publishing “That famous Sonata in Alamire [A major] for 2 Violins and a through Bass by Signior Torrelli perform’d by Signior Gasperini and Mr [Thomas] Dean at the Theatre”;³⁴ and the instalment for that July was “A Sonata Concerto Grosse for Violins, in 5, 6, and 7 parts, Compos’d by Signior Albinoni, perform’d by Signior Gasperini and others, at the Theatre”.³⁵ These publications are both lost (and the sonata by Torelli is unidentified), though Michael Talbot pointed out many years ago that in Walsh’s edition of the concertos from Albinoni’s Op. 2, published in 1709, there are signs that the plates of no. 6 in D major were altered.³⁶ This can be seen most clearly in the violoncello part, where behind the heading “CONCERTO | VI” there is the partly erased word “ALBINONI”, below it an illegible word — perhaps “Sonata” — and below that the word “CONCERTO”, also partially erased. It seems therefore that this was the work performed by

29 *Daily Courant*, 10 February 1703; Milhous and Hume, *London Stage*, 88–89.

30 This performance is known only from a playbill in the Harvard Theatre Collection, transcribed in Milhous and Hume, *London Stage*, 101.

31 RISM B/II 71; Smith, *Bibliography*, 63–64 (no. 198). The recorder and bass parts are at GB-Lbl, h. 17 (5).

32 For Paisible, see especially Ashbee, Lasocki, Holman and Kisby, *Biographical Dictionary*, 2:852–866.

33 *Daily Courant*, 4 February 1704; Milhous and Hume, *London Stage*, 144.

34 Smith, *Bibliography*, 46 (no. 143).

35 *Post Man*, 19–22 August 1704; this publication is not recorded in Smith, *Bibliography*.

36 Talbot, *Tomaso Albinoni*, 13. For Walsh’s edition of the concertos from Albinoni’s Op. 2, see RISM A/I A 707, AA 707; Smith, *Bibliography*, 100 (no. 328). There are digital copies at the IMSLP website: <https://imslp.org>.

Visconti and his colleagues at Drury Lane; that Walsh published it separately in 1704; and then just reused its engraved plates for the 1709 edition, altering the heading.

THE ROLE OF CONCERTOS AND SONATAS IN THE THEATRE

The years following Gasparo Visconti's departure from England in 1706 were an unsettled time for London's theatres, and perhaps because of this there was a marked reduction in advertisements for plays mentioning sonatas and concertos. However, some advertisements for performances at a theatre in Greenwich (on the south bank of the Thames five miles downstream from central London) do mention instrumental music; it offered summer seasons of plays between 1709 and 1712. On 19 August 1710 the advertisement for the benefit of the actor John Leigh, Vanbrugh's *The Mistake*, mentioned that "for the better Entertaining his Friends" Leigh would provide "a new Consort of Musick, Compos'd of Trumpets, Hautboys [oboes], Kettle-Drums, Double Courtal [bassoon], and Violins, which will perform several select Sonata's before the Play begins".³⁷

An advertisement for Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens* at Greenwich on 27 August 1711 mentioned specific pieces.³⁸ They were: "A Celebrated Concerto, or full Piece" by Albinoni, perhaps another performance of Concerto no. 6 from Op. 2; "A Sonata out of the last Works of that great Master Tibaldi", presumably one of the Op. 2 trio sonatas by the Roman violinist Giovanni Battista Tibaldi, published in Rome in 1704 and by Roger in Amsterdam in 1707–1708;³⁹ and "That excellent Piece for the Violin and Flute of Seignior Gasperines", presumably another outing for Visconti's trio sonata. On 19 June 1712 "the Loves of Baldo and Media after the Italian Manner" was "Intermixt with several Concertos and Dances between the Acts".⁴⁰ *The Loves of Baldo and Media* was evidently the comic scenes extracted from the pasticcio *Thomyris*, first performed at Drury Lane on 1 April 1707.⁴¹ The singers in Greenwich were Mary Lindsey and Richard Leveridge, who had taken those roles in the original production of *Thomyris* and often played comic parts together.⁴²

So far as I know, these advertisements for the summer theatre in Greenwich are the earliest to give details of the instrumental pieces performed. In general, it is not until the 1720s that advertisements for performances in London's mainstream theatres begin to identify individual instrumental pieces and to state where they were

37 *Daily Courant*, 19 August 1710; Milhous and Hume, *London Stage*, 589–590.

38 *Daily Courant*, 27 August 1711; Milhous and Hume, *London Stage*, 649.

39 RISM A/I T 767, T 768; see also Rasch, "Part 4: The Catalogue", s.v. "Taglietti-Trios", 23–24.

40 *Spectator*, 19 July 1712.

41 For *Thomyris*, see Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 48; Milhous and Hume, *London Stage*, 353–354.

42 For Lindsey and Leveridge, see Baldwin and Wilson, "Lindsey, Mary"; Baldwin and Wilson, "Leveridge, Richard".

to be placed in the evening's entertainment. An early example is the benefit performance at Drury Lane on 15 May 1723 of William Wycherley's *The Plain Dealer* for the theatre's prompter, William Rufus Chetwood.⁴³ The entr'actes that evening consisted of concertos followed by dances, with a concerto by Francis Dieupart for "Hautboys, Flutes, and Violins" after Act I; a concerto by Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli after Act II; a concerto by Albinoni after Act III; and Corelli's Op. 6, no. 8 after Act IV. Of these four concertos, those by Corelli and Albinoni were presumably taken from published collections while the other two were composed by musicians on the spot: at the time Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli (1699/1700–1773) and Francis Dieupart (1676–1751) were apparently the first violin and the harpsichordist of the Drury Lane band.⁴⁴ No concertos by Carbonelli have survived, and there are none by Dieupart that are obviously for recorders, oboes and violins, though it is possible that Dieupart's fine Concerto in E minor for two recorders, two solo violins, strings and continuo, surviving in a large set of parts at Dresden, was performed with oboes doubling the ripieno string parts.⁴⁵

Chetwood's 1723 benefit was an unusually full programme, with concertos and dances after each act. Rather more typical was his benefit on 4 May 1726, Cibber's *Love's Last Shift*.⁴⁶ It included dances after Acts I and II; "a Trumpet Sonata on the Stage, composed by Mons. Dieupart" played during Act III;⁴⁷ a dance after Act III; "a Sonata, compos'd by Signor Torelli" during Act IV; Corelli's Op. 6, no. 1 and a dance after Act IV; and "a grand Turkish Dance" at the end of the play. This must still have been much more than the norm for ordinary theatrical performances, as is suggested by the timings for stock plays given in *The Dramatic Time-Piece*, published in 1767 by John Brownsmith, prompter at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, which allocated 30 minutes to the four entr'actes, covering songs and dances as well as instrumental pieces.⁴⁸ This was so that "any Noble-man, Gentleman, &c. who may have *Carriages*, or *Servants* in waiting, or *Appointments* to attend at any *particular* Hour, may at all Times (within a few Minutes) be assured the Time, as punctually as if minuted by

43 *Daily Courant*, 15 May 1723; Avery, *London Stage*, 724.

44 See especially Talbot, "From Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli", 269–274; Asperen, "François Dieupart's Biography Revised", 27–28.

45 D-DI, Mus. 2174-O-4. There are digitised images at the IMSLP website, together with a modern edition by Andrea Marcialis, which is misleading in its layout and makes no attempt to understand what the original scoring of the piece might have been.

46 *Daily Post*, 4 May 1726; Avery, *London Stage*, 868.

47 This was perhaps Dieupart's Concerto in B minor for trumpet, 2 oboes, strings and continuo, preserved at D-DI, Mus. 2174-O-5. There are digitised images at the IMSLP website, together with a modern edition by Werner Jaksch.

48 Brownsmith, preface to *Dramatic Time-Piece*. I am grateful to Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson for drawing this publication to my attention; it is discussed in Baldwin and Wilson, "Handel between the Acts".

their *Watches*, only by allowing for incidental *Entertainments* between the Acts, such as Songs, Dances, &c." The implication of Brownsmith's allocation of 30 minutes for all the entr'acte music is that the instrumental pieces functioning as act tunes must normally have been quite short — perhaps just single movements extracted from concertos or trio sonatas.

Advertisements in the 1730s begin to list the preliminary music as well as the entr'acte entertainments. For instance, a performance of *The Relapse* on 6 October 1733 at the New or Little Theatre in the Haymarket had Corelli's Op. 6, no.1 as Second Music; "a Trumpet Overture" as the Third Music; a concerto for two horns after Act I; vocal music after Act II; a horn solo after Act III; more vocal music after Act IV; and a grand ballet at the end of the play.⁴⁹ The music played as First Music is rarely mentioned in advertisements, doubtless because, with the audience still assembling, it was thought to be less important than the Second Music. However, at the Covent Garden Theatre on 8 May 1735, Dryden's play *The Spanish Fryar* had a "A Concerto for Hautboys, &c" as First Music; a concerto by Geminiani as Second Music; and Handel's *Arianna* overture as Third Music; with "The Act Tunes for French Horns, Trumpets, &c"; and some or all of Handel's Water Music after Act V.⁵⁰ The last was a popular choice for entr'acte entertainments in the 1730s and 40s, being usually introduced by a prelude on the kettledrums by a named player.⁵¹

On 3 June 1735 at Drury Lane a benefit performance of *The Relapse* was preceded by "A Concerto for Two Hautboys" by Pepusch as First Music; "The third Concerto of the First Opera of Geminiani" (i.e. Op. 2, no. 3) as Second Music; and Handel's *Arianna* overture again as Third Music; with "Select Pieces between the Acts composed by Handel, Geminiani, and others".⁵² By then, the few minutes taken up by the First Music and Second Music in sets of Restoration theatre airs had expanded to about 25 minutes, the time typically taken by two early eighteenth-century concertos and an overture. Again, the instrumental pieces were apparently a mixture of those taken from the published repertory, doubtless mostly familiar to the music lovers present, and those composed on the spot by theatre musicians. By 1735 John Christopher Pepusch (1667–1752) had retired from his role as a harpsichordist and musical director in London's theatres, though it is possible that performing material for his "Concerto for Two Hautboys" had remained

49 *Daily Journal*, 6 October 1733; Scouten, *London Stage*, 323–324.

50 Scouten, *London Stage*, CLVII, 489. I have been unable to find the original source of this newspaper advertisement.

51 Baldwin and Wilson, "Handel between the Acts".

52 Scouten, *London Stage*, 497. I have been unable to find the original source of this newspaper advertisement.

at Drury Lane after his time there between 1714 and 1716.⁵³ No concertos for two oboes by Pepusch seem to survive, though some of the concertos for four soprano instruments and continuo he published in 1718 could have been played by two oboes and two violins.⁵⁴

WHERE WERE CONCERTOS AND SONATAS PLAYED IN THE THEATRES?

Nearly all sets of Restoration theatre airs written for ordinary spoken plays circulated in versions just for four-part strings, without continuo parts or figured basses in the primary sources; they were probably performed just by a string quartet in the small music rooms or galleries of Restoration theatres.⁵⁵ Significantly, John Lenton and London A copied Corelli's seven-part Concerto in G minor as a four-part piece, without the ripieno violins and with only one bass part, perhaps intending it to be played at Lincoln's Inn Fields and Drury Lane by just such a quartet.⁵⁶

However, the much larger orchestras needed for English dramatic operas and all-sung Italian and Italianate operas required most if not all the instrumentalists to be in front of the stage, as in continental practice; it was certainly essential in operas for the *maestro al cembalo* and his continuo team to be close to the stage.⁵⁷ That had certainly been so at the Dorset Garden Theatre from the 1670s, where dramatic operas, including most of Purcell's, were put on.⁵⁸ It may also have been so at Drury Lane, where the dramatic opera *The Island Princess* was produced in 1699, and where all-sung operas were put on from 1704.⁵⁹ The Queen's (later King's) Theatre in the Haymarket, built by Vanbrugh in 1705 and the home of Italian opera from 1709, presumably had an orchestra pit from the beginning; there is certainly one shown in a plan of the theatre published in 1764, possibly showing it in its 1709 form.⁶⁰ It was not long before theatre

53 Cook, "Life and Works of Johann Christoph Pepusch", especially 1:102–183 (ch. 3); Holman, *Before the Baton*, 242–246. A "Concerto for Two Hautboys Composed by Dr Pepusch", perhaps the same piece, was performed at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket on 1 December 1733; see Scouten, *London Stage*, 343.

54 *VI Concerts*, Op. 8, RISM A/I P 1260; Rasch, "Part 4: The Catalogue", s.v. "Paggetti–Purcell", 9–10. Digital images of the sole surviving copy are available at the IMSLP website.

55 This is argued in the introduction to *Restoration Theatre Airs*. See also Holman, "Corelli in the London Theatres", 86.

56 See Holman, "Corelli in the London Theatres", 76–80, 85–86.

57 For the placing and layout of theatre orchestras, see especially Holman, *Before the Baton*, 26–37, 201–212, 215–222, 239–242.

58 For the placing of instrumentalists in the Dorset Garden Theatre, see especially Burden, "Where did Purcell Keep his Theatre Band?", 434–438.

59 See Price and Hume, introduction to *Island Princess*; also Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 39; Leacroft, *Development of the English Playhouse*, 89–112.

60 Reproduced in Barlow, "Vanbrugh's Queen's Theatre", 518; Burden, "Where did Purcell Keep his Theatre Band?", 433.

bands were routinely placed in front of the stage in all playhouses.

However, there are many references to individual instrumentalists appearing on the stage. For instance, Gasparo Visconti's last appearance at Drury Lane on 3 April 1706, already mentioned, featured "a new Sola never yet perform'd" by the cellist Nicola Haym; it was "perform'd on the Stage by him and Signior Gasperini". A decade later, there was a spate of concerto performances in plays, with advertisements sometimes mentioning that the soloist would be placed on the stage, as happened during *The Island Princess* at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 10 May 1716, which included a concerto played by the oboist J. C. Kytch "upon the Stage";⁶¹ or Aphra Behn's *The Emperor of the Moon* at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 17 October 1716, which included "A Concerto on the Violin and Flute compos'd by Mr. John Baston, and to be perform'd on the Stage by him and his Brother" — the violinist Thomas Baston.⁶²

At this period the two theatre companies were competing by putting on performances of concertos featuring small sizes of recorder, played by John Baston at Lincoln's Inn Fields and James Paisible at Drury Lane.⁶³ On 2 June 1716 the Drury Lane managers, perhaps worried that the latter might defect to Lincoln's Inn Fields, instructed their treasurer to "let Mr Paisible know that he might have five shillings per diem, and one guinea every time he performs anything on the stage".⁶⁴ Four days later, on 6 June, Paisible played "a New Concerto for the little-Flute" at Drury Lane during Cibber's *Love's Last Shift*.⁶⁵

One of the recorder concertos apparently written for John Baston, William Babel's Op. 3, no. 2, was seemingly devised to allow him to make a dramatic entrance on to the stage of the Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre.⁶⁶ Babel (1688–1723), a virtuoso harpsichordist and violinist, was a colleague of John and Thomas Baston in the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre band; his set is said on the title-page to have been "Performed at the Theatre with great applause".⁶⁷ Op. 3, no. 2, for sixth flute (recorder in D), solo and ripieno violins and continuo, begins most unusually with two sections for the strings alone, the first just for two solo violins; the soloist only enters in the third section, holding a single note over seven bars of pulsating string accompaniment and following

61 *Daily Courant*, 10 May 1716; Avery, *London Stage*, 402.

62 *Daily Courant*, 17 October 1717; Avery, *London Stage*, 416. For the Bastons, see Macmillan, *Small Flute Concerto*, 34–35.

63 For these instruments and the repertory for them, see especially Macmillan, *Small Flute Concerto*.

64 Ashbee, Lasocki, Holman and Kisby, *Biographical Dictionary*, 2:864.

65 *Daily Courant*, 6 June 1716; Avery, *London Stage*, 406.

66 *Babel's Concertos in 7 Parts*, Op. 3 (London, 1726), RISM A/I B 6, BB 6. The collection is available in digital form at the IMSLP website, where there are also modern editions of no. 2 edited by Hans-Thomas Müller-Schmidt and Richard Maunder. See also Macmillan, *Small Flute Concerto*, 31–34, 52.

67 The most recent and complete biography of him is in Babel, *Toccatas, Suites and Preludes*, 1–v.

this with spectacular bursts of Italianate ornamentation — which Babell had doubtless imbibed during his years playing in London’s Italian opera orchestra. It is easy to imagine John Baston waiting in the wings of the Lincoln’s Inn Theatre during the first two sections of what the audience would have taken to be a string concerto, only to confound expectations by striding on to the stage playing a piercing held note on the sixth flute, doubtless bringing the house down as he did so (Music example 1).⁶⁸

Music example 1 | William Babell, Concerto in D major, Op. 3, no. 2, Adagio, bb. 1–12

The musical score is for William Babell's Concerto in D major, Op. 3, no. 2, Adagio, measures 1–12. It is written for Sixth Flute, Violin 1, Violin 2, and Basso Continuo. The key signature is D major (two sharps) and the time signature is 3/2. The score is divided into three systems. The first system (measures 1–4) is marked 'Adagio'. The Sixth Flute part has a long, sustained note in the first measure, which is then followed by a series of eighth notes. The Violin 1 and Violin 2 parts have a similar pattern of eighth notes. The Basso Continuo has a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The second system (measures 5–8) continues the eighth-note patterns. The third system (measures 9–12) features a trill in the Sixth Flute part in measure 12.

68 The recorder player Tabea Debus made an entrance of this sort in this concerto during a concert given by Leeds Baroque under my direction at the Old Woollen, Sunny Bank Mills in Farsley near Leeds on 9 July 2023. It had the desired effect.

CONCLUSION

The change in the London theatres from specially composed sets of theatre airs to the use of Italian or Italianate concertos and sonatas evidently occurred over an extended period, from before 1710 to about 1720 or even later. The new repertory mixed pieces written by musicians employed by the theatres, such as Visconti, Paisible, Pepusch, Baston and Babell, with those drawn from printed collections, with Corelli and Albinoni featured initially and Handel and Geminiani coming to the fore later. When, in the 1730s, advertisements begin to list the instrumental music to be performed as preliminary music, it becomes apparent that the seven-part string concertos by Corelli and Geminiani were commonly used for First and Second Music, and Handel's opera overtures for the Third Music.

Concertos and trio sonatas (presumably played orchestrally) were also used as act music, often preceding dances, though sets of act tunes were still occasionally being written as late as the 1730s, and *The Dramatic Time-Piece* suggests that there would only have been time for single movements. Orchestral pieces were doubtless often performed with all the musicians in the orchestra pit, though there is considerable evidence that the soloists for concertos, at least, sometimes played on the stage. They presumably hoped that the stardust of the famous actors, singers or dancers who had just vacated that space would rub off on them, something that John Baston would certainly have achieved had he made a spectacular entrance playing William Babell's sixth-flute concerto Op. 3, no. 2.

The topic of instrumental music in the eighteenth-century English theatre has been much neglected. When theatre historians discuss music at all, they tend to fasten on opera or on vocal music, while those studying concert life have traditionally focussed just on events in concert halls. However, we can now see that London's theatres played a crucial role in the English reception of the Italian sonata and concerto, partly by programming works taken from the published repertory and partly by giving their own musicians the opportunity to compose and play pieces in those genres before or between the acts of plays.

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»ZASNOVANO KOT KONCERT V IZMENJAVI Z IGRO«:
KONTINUITETA IN SPREMEMBE V INSTRUMENTALNI GLASBI
ZA LONDONSKA GLEDALIŠČA, 1700–1740

Od šestdesetih let 17. stoletja so bile igre v londonskih gledališčih približno 50 let redno opremljene z nizi instrumentalne glasbe, sestavljenimi iz dveh skupini glasbe (»First Music« in »Second Music«), ki sta se izvajali pred začetkom igre, uverture (pogosto imenovane »Third Music«) in štirih t. i. »act tunes«, ki so se izvajali med posameznimi dejanji. Produkcija posebej sestavljenih nizov gledaliških (instrumentalnih) arij (kot so jih imenovali takrat) je okoli leta 1710 upadla, sčasoma pa so jih nadomestile italijanske sonate in koncerti ter tovrstne skladbe v italijanskem slogu.

Zadnji ohranjeni niz t. i. gledaliških arij – kompilacija, vzeta večinoma iz Händlove opere *Rodrigo* – je bil objavljen leta 1710, od takrat do leta 1719 pa je bilo objavljenih še deset drugih nizov, vendar nobeden od njih ni ohranjen. Iz poznejšega časa je znanih še nekaj drugih sklopov, med njimi »act tunes« za igre Thomasa Arnea, ki so se uporabljali v predstavah, uprizorjenih v Gledališču Drury Lane leta 1735. Vendar se je okoli leta 1700 med gledališkimi igrami začela izvajati italijanska glasba. Cremonski violonist Gasparo Visconti (1683–1713?), v Angliji znan kot »Signor Gasparini«, je prispel v London leta 1702 in 22. decembra 1702 debitiral v Gledališču Drury Lane. Od takrat do njegovega zadnjega znanega nastopa 3. aprila 1706 so skoraj osemdesetkrat oglaševali njegov nastop z italijanskimi sonatami in koncerti med posameznimi predstavami v tem gledališču. Nekatere skladbe, ki jih je tam izvajal, je John Walsh objavil leta 1704, med drugim Torellijevo trionsonato in koncert iz Albinonijevega op. 2.

Šele v dvajsetih letih 18. stoletja se začnejo v oglasih za gledališke predstave posamezne instrumentalne skladbe omenjati in navajati, v katerem delu večernega dogodka so jih izvajali. Najbolj podrobni oglasi so navadno za dobrodelne predstave, iz katerih je razvidno, da so med dejanji včasih izvajali celotne koncerte in tudi ples. Vendar je bilo to verjetno neobičajno: *The Dramatic Time-Piece* (1767) Johna Brownsmitha, ki navaja časovne razporede predstav v Londonu, je dovoljeval 30 minut za vse vmesne točke, kar pomeni, da so morale biti skladbe, izvedene kot »act tunes«, običajno precej kratke, morda le posamezni stavek iz trionsonat in koncertov. V tridesetih letih 18. stoletja se

v oglasih začnejo pojavljati sezname uvodne glasbe, iz katerih je razvidno, da so »First Music« in »Second Music« sestavljali koncerti, od katerih so bili nekateri prevzeti iz objavljenega repertoarja, nekatere pa so napisali lokalni gledališki glasbeniki. Zdi se, da so bile uverture pogosto prevzete iz Händlovih oper.

V obdobju restavracije so instrumentalisti ponavadi igrali v majhni glasbeni sobi ali galeriji, čeprav je bil orkester za angleške semiopere in italijanske opere pred odrom, kot je bilo v navadi na celini. Kraljičino gledališče na Haymarketu, ki je bilo odprto leta 1705 in kjer je od leta 1709 domovala italijanska opera v Londonu, je imelo orkestrsko jamo verjetno že od samega začetka. Vendar pa oglasi pogosto navajajo, da so solisti koncerte igrali na odru, nedvomno v upanju, da bodo deležni blišča slavnih igralcev in pevcev.

SOME REMARKS ON THE PASTICCIO SONATA AND CONCERTO IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

IZVLEČEK: Medtem ko so operni *pasticcii* dobro poznani sestavni deli glasbenega življenja prve polovice 18. stoletja, so instrumentalni *pasticcii* iz istega obdobja v obliki sonat ali koncertov veliko manj znani in raziskani. Članek obravnava nekaj presenetljivih primerov drugega tipa iz dveh precej različnih virov in okvirov: (1) rokopisne antologije sonat in drugih skladb za flavto, ohranjene v Bonnu; (2) repertoarja dresdenske dvorne kapele pod vodstvom Johanna Georga Pisendla. Kaže, da je bilo ustvarjanje *pasticcia* včasih presenetljivo spretno in glasbeno občutljivo delo.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: Antonio Vivaldi, Johann Georg Pisendel, Tomaso Albinoni, simfonija, Dresden

ABSTRACT: Whereas operatic pasticcios are familiar constituents of the musical life of the first half of the eighteenth century, instrumental pasticcios of the same period in the form of sonatas or concertos are much less well known and studied. The article examines some striking instances of the second type taken from two quite different sources and contexts: (1) a manuscript anthology of sonatas and other compositions for flute preserved in Bonn; (2) the repertory of the Dresden Hofkapelle under the leadership of Johann Georg Pisendel. The creation of pasticcios turns out to have been at times a surprisingly skilful and musically sensitive operation.

KEYWORDS: Antonio Vivaldi, Johann Georg Pisendel, Tomaso Albinoni, sinfonia, Dresden

A pasticcio certainly has a bad odour. As English synonyms for this word as it is employed in everyday Italian, the second edition of the *New Grove* proposes “jumble”, “hotch-potch” and “pudding”;¹ and there are some other, more strongly pejorative uses, such as the “mess” that one can get oneself into. In the history of the word’s usage as a more or less precise musical (later, also musicological) term, which, as that dictionary tells us, dates back to the 1730s, the term has been applied by contemporaries and later commentators almost exclusively to operas, mainly of the eighteenth century. Indeed, Curtis Price’s *New Grove* article on the subject offers as its primary definition: “an opera made up of various pieces from different composers or sources and adapted to a new or existing libretto” and confines its discussion to the operatic domain. True, opera is, and will remain, the principal area within which the concept of a musical pasticcio is applied, but I would like to draw attention in this contribution to a second type of eighteenth-century pasticcio, wholly instrumental in nature, for which the same label is appropriate, though not yet so firmly established in common perception or usage.

THE CHARACTER OF PASTICCIOS

It is helpful to start by defining boundaries. First, a musical pasticcio is a single work — not, for example, an anthology of similar works — containing discrete contributions (generally taking the form of separate movements) by upwards of two composers. This excludes instances of self-borrowing by individual composers (although by employing the term “self-pastiche” Price rightly recognizes that there are some parallels between this practice and that of genuine pasticcios) as well as non-disclosed plagiarism.² Second, a pasticcio is not, in careful usage, a voluntary or contingent (through *force majeure*) harnessing of separate compositional talents. The term would not apply to the opera *Muzio Scevola* (London, 1721), for which Handel, Bononcini and Amadei, by decision of the Royal Academy of Music, each set one act, or to the serenata *Andromeda liberata* (Venice, 1726), a tribute to the visiting Cardinal Ottoboni to which numerous locally based composers including Vivaldi, Albinoni, Porta and Porpora contributed arias — or (skipping a century) to the triple-authored “F.A.E.” violin sonata of Brahms, Schumann and Dietrich. Nor would it be appropriate for the opera *Antigono, tutore di Filippo, re di Macedonia* (Venice, 1724), where Giovanni Porta took over the work of completing the score after the contracted composer, Albinoni, fell ill.

In fact, the most satisfactory way to view a pasticcio is to regard it as a compilation usually made, or at least approved, by a single, controlling person in which the constituent units (differently from the case of an ordinary anthology) are not com-

1 Price, “Pasticcio”, 213. This article reappears unmodified in *Grove Music Online*.

2 Ibid., 215.

plete, free-standing pieces but themselves constitute the exactly equivalent separate units taken over from an existing multi-movement composition and made to function in a similar way within their new context. Sometimes, this controlling person makes personal contributions to the pasticcio (this would apply, for instance, to the recitatives composed by Handel from scratch for his numerous operatic pasticcios), sometimes not. In this type of appropriation the skill demonstrated by the *pasticheur* is not the equivalent of personal musical creativity; but at its best it becomes a skill of selection, perhaps enhanced by some marginally creative retouching. One could without exaggeration liken the operation of a *pasticheur*, using a modern analogy, to that of a professional photographer as opposed to a professional painter. The photographer's talent lies principally in selection — the choice of a particular moment or view to take the shot in such a way as to produce a good combination of subject and visual composition that after a little processing can produce a result closely comparable in appearance and aesthetic effect to what a good artist working in the tradition of naturalism might paint. In parenthesis, one might add that certain highly regarded visual artists (painters or sculptors) have themselves sometimes made use of already existing *objets trouvés* that they form into a collage, which is as much a pasticcio as anything in music. Such a skill is not to be disparaged. However, within the musical domain its eighteenth-century counterpart opens up, to the modern way of thinking, a can of worms describable as an infringement of the “single-authorship imperative” combined with a violation of “intellectual property rights”.³ Such descriptions are of course anachronistic, although one must also acknowledge, as Price relates, that quite a few contemporary connoisseurs of music argued against pasticcios along broadly similar lines, albeit generally with good humour and at any rate with little effect on public opinion.⁴

Whether in vocal or instrumental music, pasticcios were rarely, if ever, regarded as intrinsically preferable artistically to single-authored compositions. There were always very mundane practical factors encouraging their creation. For operas, these included: (1) a reduction in newly composed material, leading to lower costs and perhaps a saving in preparation time; (2) the admission to the score of *arie di baule* brought to the production by the singers themselves, thereby gratifying them and the public as well as reducing the former's need to learn new material; (3) the opportunity for the compiler to hand-pick arias to suit cast members; (4) the flexibility

3 “Single-authorship imperative” is my own coinage. It draws on ideas advanced in Talbot, “Genuine and the Spurious”; and Talbot, “Work-Concept and Composer-Centredness”; regarding the relatively low priority accorded by eighteenth-century music-lovers and concert-goers to composer recognition (as opposed to genre and especially performer recognition). The claim on audience attention of an eighteenth-century composer was often at a level roughly comparable with that of the choreographer for a ballet performance today.

4 See Price, “Pasticcio”, 214–215.

to quickly introduce replacement or additional arias taken from any suitable source during the course of the production. For instrumental pasticcios — generally in the form of sonatas or concertos — the practical inducements to abandon single authorship were quite different but no less attractive.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY INSTRUMENTAL PASTICCIOS: THE GENERAL BACKGROUND

There are many reasons why instrumental pasticcios are much less well known to the scholarly community and the wider public than their vocal counterparts, but being less common is not one of them. Rather, the reasons lie in the smaller scale of the compositions, the higher incidence (once their multiple composers are identified) of minor and unfamiliar names and, most important, the sheer lack of clues to authorship beyond the evidence of the notes themselves. Not all anonymously preserved instrumental works are pasticcios, but the great majority of instrumental pasticcios fail to advertise themselves as such by naming any of the composers (where they do, this is likely to be only one composer). The correct impression given is that the compilation of instrumental pasticcios was usually a furtive affair undertaken at a domestic or institutional level for private purposes, without much thought of giving these pieces a wider circulation. In that respect, the instrumental pasticcio distinguishes itself fundamentally from the very public-facing operatic pasticcio.

What were these private purposes? There were two in particular: the teaching of amateurs (where the emphasis was on keeping technical demands and length within chosen boundaries) and the supply of new repertoire to individual instrumentalists and ensembles in a heavily customized form that in some way exploited their capabilities more completely than the available unmodified works did. Occasionally, its inclusion in a pasticcio could become a convenient means of extending the exposure of a favourite movement. Equally, the importation of a “foreign” movement could serve to normalize the movement structure in accordance with contemporary expectations. To give one example: eighteenth-century Italian and Italianate *sinfonias* intended for the opera house almost invariably possessed three movements configured Fast–Slow–Fast, whereas multi-movement “church” *sinfonias* used as solemn introductions — Haydn’s symphonies nos. 22 and 49 are late examples of this type — were often cast in four movements configured Slow–Fast–Slow–Fast. Selecting a suitable slow movement from an external source to serve as an introductory movement could be enough to convert the first type into the second. It goes without saying that the movements that had achieved a degree of popularity within their original work were always likely to become the prime candidates for export. Similarly, works rescored for a medium different from the original one provided fertile ground for the *pasticheur*, since it was often easier, and sometimes musically more convinc-

ing, to import a new movement (even by a different composer) than to adapt an existing one satisfactorily. For example, a violin sonata movement containing multiple stopping, notes at the extremes of the instrument's compass and passage-work involving rapid and wide arpeggiation might well prove impossible to adapt for a treble-register woodwind instrument without unacceptable disfigurement, leading the arranger to seek a substitute from elsewhere. In the next two sections I will continue the discussion of instrumental pasticcios by revisiting an individual manuscript and an institutional repertory, about both of which I have written on earlier occasions.

THE PASTICCIO SONATAS FOR FLUTE IN BONN, D-BNU, HS. S 2981

The manuscript and rare books department of the University Library in Bonn (D-BNu) possesses an untitled anthology containing fourteen items, principally solo sonatas for transverse flute (two items are for a pair of flutes), apparently dating from the second half of the 1720s.⁵ Only one of the items was originally written for, or included, that instrument (item 8, which is an arrangement for two unaccompanied flutes of a trio sonata by Pepusch for flute, violin and bass), and it seems that the album was prepared for the end-user, who was probably an amateur player, by a music teacher or similarly qualified person.⁶ All the items are in one way or another arrangements, reflecting the fact that until the late 1720s the transverse flute was — except in France — a “new-comer” to amateur music-making that lacked an extensive purpose-written repertoire of the kind that had long been available to violinists and recorder-players. For a while, therefore, privately undertaken arrangements of violin and recorder music supplied the necessary stop-gap.⁷

The Bonn manuscript is remarkable for its cosmopolitan character. There are hints that it was prepared in England, for the latest work in it is a duet (in which the singers become flutes) from Handel's opera *Ottone*, premiered in London in 1723, while the sonatas it contains include music by composers active in Britain (Barsanti, Pepusch and Festing), whose publications from John Walsh and his confrères did not circulate widely in continental Europe. But in other respects it embraces an admirably wide cross-section of European composers. From Italy we have Albinoni,

5 This manuscript is examined in detail in Talbot, “Bonn Manuscript s 2981”.

6 This unknown arranger liked to add flute-friendly ornamentation to the upper lines and — but less happily — to make brutal cuts in the music, either because of an idiosyncratic aversion to repetition *per se* or to protect the end-user from excessive physical exertion.

7 This is equally true for the Cheney Flute Sonatas Manuscript, a slightly earlier (c. 1715) manuscript album of English provenance containing twenty-four anonymous flute sonatas, which has a small overlap of content with the Bonn manuscript. On this fascinating source in private ownership, see Talbot, “Cheney Flute Sonatas Manuscript”. There also exist eighteenth-century pasticcios created by the addition of supplementary movements from external sources to otherwise complete, single-authored sonatas, as discussed in Talbot, “Silva Box 17–1”.

Vivaldi and the inescapable Corelli; from France, Senaillé and the Italian émigrés Mascitti and Besseghi; from Belgium, Jean Baptiste Loeillet “de Gand” and from Germany, Telemann and Johann Jakob Kress. Much, but far from all, of the material was available in published sources. The arranger may well have been a native of France or Wallonia, for the titling of the pieces contains certain gallicisms.⁸ However, one must be cautious in drawing that inference, seeing that French was at that time a *lingua franca* throughout cultivated Europe.

The content of the album’s six pasticcio sonatas (items 1, 2, 6, 10, 11 and 12), so far as I have been able to ascertain it, is set out in Table 1. There is great consistency among the members of this group. Every single sonata is in four movements configured Slow–Fast–Slow–Fast. Between around 1700 and 1730 the vast majority of solo sonatas in every country adhered to this structural design, which I like to describe as the “post-Corellian consensus”.⁹ The tonal relationship of the interior slow movement to the home key is also absolutely typical: half of the sonatas opt for the relative major or minor key; the other half remain in the tonic. Another progressive feature, one brought out into the open by the sourcing of the borrowed movements, is the complete interchangeability of characteristics between the two slow movements (first and third) and the two fast movements (second and fourth), respectively. In the sonatas of Corelli and his closest contemporaries, the opening pair of movements tends to be more formal (stately rather than emotion-laden, spacious rather than concentrated) than the closing pair. All this changes in the next generation (with Vivaldi as the prime mover), where a first movement can perfectly well be recycled as a third movement in a new composition, or vice-versa. For the *pasticheur*, this new freedom is a godsend. Looking down the sixth and second columns of Table 1, one notices how many borrowed interior slow movements (III) have been brought forward to the front of the composition (I). For slow movements, this flexibility has another advantage: that if the interior slow movement in the parent work departs from the home key, its new key can be treated in exactly the same way as a home key when it becomes recycled as the opening movement of a pasticcio sonata — a situation that widens the arranger’s choice and can sometimes avoid the chore of transposition. One might easily believe that it would be easy to spot pasticcios through disparities in the musical style of their movements or a disunity in their thematic material. In fact, this is far from being the case. Particularly in items 1 and 6, and to a lesser but nevertheless perceptible extent in the other four sonatas, the incipits of the four movements show commonalities in thematic profile that through the normal repetition and development processes successfully knit the work together.

8 Examples are the spelling “Traverse” (for “Traverse”, meaning the transverse flute) and the insistence everywhere on French “Menuet” for the name of the dance-type.

9 The appellation is a little ironic in view of the fact that it was in his trio sonatas (Opp. 1–4) rather than in his solo sonatas (Op. 5) that Corelli predominantly adopted this movement plan.

Table 1 | The pasticcio sonatas in D-BNu, Abt. Hss. u. Rara, s 2918

NO.	MOVT*	KEY†	COMPOSER	WORK‡	MOVT*	KEY†	OTHER COMMENTS
1	I	D	unidentified				
	II	D	A. M. Besseghi	Op. 1, no. 7 (VI)	IV	D	
	III	D	A. Vivaldi	RV 810 (VI)	III	D	
	IV	D	unidentified				= Menuet (C) in B-Ac, HS 177761, p. 57
2	I	g	J. B. Senaillé	3 ^{me} Livre, no. 2 (VI)	III	a	Key of Senaillé sonata: A
	II	g	J. B. Senaillé	1 ^{re} Livre, no. 6 (VI)	II	g	
	III	Bb	F. Barsanti	Op. 1, no. 3 (Rec)	III	Bb	Key of Barsanti sonata: g
	IV	g	F. Barsanti	Op. 1, no. 4 (Rec)	IV	c	
6	I	G	J. C. Pepusch	Op. 1, no. 3 (Rec)	I	G	
	II	G	M. Mascitti	Op. 2, no. 4 (VI)	I	Bb	
	III	G	J. J. Kress	Sonata 5 (VI)	I	Bb	= D-Bsa, SA 4646(5)
	IV	G	unidentified				
10	I	g	T. Albinoni	<i>Sonate a violino solo</i> (1718), no. 1 (VI)	III	d	Key of Albinoni sonata: d
	II	g	J. B. Loeillet	Op. 3, no. 12 (Rec)	II	e	
	III	Bb	T. Albinoni	<i>Sonate a violino solo</i> (1718), no. 2	III	Bb	Key of Albinoni sonata: g
	IV	g	J. B. Loeillet	Op. 3, no. 5 (Rec)	III	c	

Table 1 | *continued*

NO.	MOVT*	KEY†	COMPOSER	WORK‡	MOVT*	KEY†	OTHER COM- MENTS
11	I	e	G. P. Telemann	<i>Six sonates à violon seul</i> , no. 4	III	e	Key of Telemann sonata: G
	II	e	unidentified				
	III	e	A. M. Besseghi	Op. 1, no. 2 (VI)	III	d	Key of Besseghi sonata: F
	IV	e	unidentified				
12	I	Bb	J. B. Senaillé	3 ^{me} Livre, no. 6 (VI)	III	A	Key of Senaillé sonata: A. Notated there in B, not B $\flat$
	II	Bb	J. B. Senaillé	1 ^{re} Livre, no. 10 (VI)	I	A	
	III	g	unidentified				
	IV	Bb	J. B. Senaillé	3 ^{me} Livre, no. 6 (VI)	IV	A	

* Roman numerals denote movements.

† Major keys are in upper case, minor keys in lower case.

‡ The violin is abbreviated 'VI', the recorder 'Rec'.

These are no different in effect from the same features found in single-authored compositions, which often lead commentators to speak of quasi-cyclic inter-movement relationships (with the baroque variation suite as the ancient prototype).

Music example 1 presents a full set of incipits for items 1 and 6, respectively. In item 1 the dominant melodic shape is a rise from D via E to F $\sharp$ (with an optional continuation of the rise via G to A) before falling back to low A. In item 6 there is both a principal arched melodic shape, D–E–D, and a subsidiary rising one, D–G. One must have at least a sneaking regard for the *pasticheur* responsible for these choices.

It will not have escaped notice that the anonymity of all six sonatas is — and was doubtless intended to be — a convenient mask for their status as pasticcio composi-

tions.¹⁰ One can at least give the arranger credit for not claiming mendaciously that any of them was by a named single composer. When pasticcios rub shoulders with single-authored works within the same collection, it can happen that the latter, too, become deprived of a composer's name, perhaps for the very purpose of normalizing anonymity.¹¹ In this perspective it becomes clear that a comprehensive trawl of anonymous sources for sonatas and concertos of this period in RISM's database (making maximum use of the Virtual Keyboard to flush out concordances), and particularly those in manuscript albums, would certainly uncover many more pasticcio compositions than are currently identified.

Music example 1 | Incipits for items 1 and 6 in D-BNu, Hs. s 2918

THE DRESDEN *HOFKAPELLE* AND PISENDEL'S PASTICCIOS

There is a vast literature on the Dresden court orchestra under Friedrich August I “der Starke” (r. 1694–1733) and his homonymous son (r. 1733–1763) — both men electors of Saxony and concurrently kings of Poland — and also on Johann Georg Pisendel (1687–1755), the highly talented violinist-composer who joined the *Hofkapelle* as a permanent member in 1712 and rose to become its official concertmaster in 1730 (perhaps

¹⁰ Their only heading is in fact “Solo”.

¹¹ This is the case with the arrangements of the second concerto from Albinoni's Op. 2 (1700) and of the Pepusch trio sonata (Cook 2:025), respectively items 8 and 13 in the Bonn manuscript, although the four sonatas by Corelli and the single sonata by Festing are credited to their authors. The arranger may of course also have been shy about leaving clues to the extent of his arrangement in the first two instances, seeing that it entailed the omission of instrumental parts.

starting to serve in this role on an “acting-up” basis a little earlier). The monograph on Pisendel by Kai Köpp remains the most useful comprehensive study of this musician and his importance for orchestral practice in Dresden.¹²

Right from his time as a choirboy in Ansbach in the first years of the eighteenth century, when he was given the task of copying out music for the choirmaster, Pisendel was a fluent and assiduous musical scribe who soon put this activity to good use as an equally diligent collector of music, composer, musical director and arranger. Even before his position as *Konzertmeister* gave him the authority to call on those fellow members of the *Hofkapelle* who officially served as copyists to make pasticcios under his instructions, Pisendel had prepared himself for more radical musical interventions by cultivating the habit of tinkering in small ways with the works of others, generally in the course of copying them or scoring them up from separate parts. These interventions could result in changes to instrumentation, the lengthening or shortening of movements, modifications to inner parts or the elaboration of melodies and figurations.¹³

His sojourn in Venice and visits to many other Italian musical centres in 1716–1717 — during which he added to his official task of being part of the *Kammermusik* (an elite group of Dresden musicians providing entertainment for the future Friedrich August II) the private mission of making contact with prominent local musicians and acquiring their compositions through donation, purchase or his own copying — famously brought him into contact with Antonio Vivaldi, who became his teacher and friend. Vivaldi inscribed at least six concertos and five sonatas to him, but Pisendel made his own copies of many times that number of his mentor’s works. One copy was of a highly interesting, but also rather mystifying, “Sinfonia à 4 Del. Sig.r Ant.o Vivaldi” preserved among that large part of the composer’s private archive (mostly of his own works) today held by the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria in Turin.¹⁴ That work was written out by the copyist known to Vivaldians as “Scribe 4”, who since the 1990s has been generally accepted to be Vivaldi’s father Giovanni Battista on apparently cogent contextual evidence,¹⁵ but who turns out, after recent research,

12 Köpp, *Johann Georg Pisendel*.

13 A not untypical case is an Albinoni violin concerto in C major (labelled *Co 2* in the catalogue in Talbot, *Tomaso Albinoni*). An early reworking by Pisendel (in D-DI, Mus.2199-O-2) features the second, third and fourth kinds of modification described, while a later version (housed under the same shelfmark) chooses instead to inflate the original form of the concerto into a concerto grosso with two solo and two ripieno violin parts, as well as two oboes. The operations are described in Talbot, “Question of Authorship”, 19–20.

14 Shelfmark: I-Tn, Foà 31, fols. 148r–153v.

15 The suggestion that “Scribe 4” was G. B. Vivaldi was originally mooted in 1990 in Everett, “Vivaldi’s Italian Copyists”, 29–37. Over the years, opinion among Vivaldians less cautious than Everett himself in accepting this identification hardened to the extent of becoming an orthodoxy.

to be the composer's brother-in-law Giovanni Antonio Mauro, now revealed to be a professional music copyist.¹⁶ Mauro was the person Vivaldi most readily turned to, as if to an amanuensis, for the production of authoritative and calligraphic copies of his music. The main paper type used for this manuscript is b16 in Paul Everett's classification, datable approximately to 1715–1716.¹⁷

The first three movements of this apparently four-movement *sinfonia*, numbered RV 192 in the Vivaldi catalogue, are in an improbably antiquated style recalling the primitive concertos written before and around 1700 by Bolognese composers (Torelli et al.) and quickly imitated by Venetian ones such as Albinoni.¹⁸ A clue to their possible authorship comes from two linked but originally separately stored fragments preserved in the so-called "Schränk II" collection (named after the original cupboard housing the bulk of the *Hofkapelle's* instrumental music) in the Dresden Library.¹⁹ These comprise, respectively, a copy of the Violino Concertino (principal violin) part for the same three movements and a Basso part for them headed by a title page reading "Concerto a 6[.] 3 Violini Viola et Cembalo di Sig: Androvandini [*sic*]" and followed by some indecipherable musical annotations written out by Pisendel. The main copyist, whose hand appears in some other Schränk II manuscripts, is obviously not Italian (otherwise, he would have written "del Sig:," not "di Sig:"), and it is most likely that he was active in Germany together with Pisendel prior to the latter's move to Dresden.

Unlike Vivaldi, the Bolognese amateur composer Giuseppe Aldrovandini (1671–1707) is in stylistic terms a fairly plausible candidate for the authorship of the three movements. Moreover, a visit to Venice by him for carnival 1704, when his opera *Pirro* was given at the S. Angelo theatre (the same theatre that in autumn 1705 hosted Vivaldi's overture and arias for a pasticcio, *Creso tolto a le fiamme*, performed under the sole name of Girolamo Polani)²⁰ would have been a very possible route to Vivaldi's acquisition of the music, especially if he was playing in that theatre's orchestra.²¹

16 Ambrosiano, "I Mauro e Antonio Vivaldi", 3–18.

17 Everett, "Towards a Vivaldi Chronology", 740.

18 Representative publications including concertos of this early type are Torelli's *Sinfonie a tre e concerti a quattro*, Op. 5 (Bologna, 1692); Torelli's *Concerti musicali*, Op. 6 (Augsburg, 1698); and Albinoni's *Sinfonie e concerti a cinque* (Venice, 1700).

19 This is the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (D-DL), also referred to by the acronym SLUB. The fragments are today united under the shelfmark Mus.2389–N–7a. Note that the Schränk II collection came after Pisendel's death to include also his personal collection, which until then had been separate.

20 On Vivaldi's legal spat with Polani, in the course of which the former's contribution to the score of *Creso* emerged, see Glixon and White, "*Creso tolto a le fiamme*".

21 Could the work, in its original three-movement form, have in fact been used as the overture to *Pirro*? The presence in operatic *sinfonias* of concerto-like solo passages for principal violin (sometimes in partnership with a solo second violin) was not unusual at this early time, as evidenced by Vivaldi's first single-authored opera, *Ottone in villa* (Vicenza, 1713). Two *sinfonias* by Aldrovandini himself (for *Mitridate in Sebastia* (Genoa, 1701) and *L'incoronazione di Dario*

On the other hand, it is not unknown for composers of a vocal work to have innocently been given credit in contemporary sources also for its entirely instrumental *sinfonia* in cases where the latter was entrusted to a different composer (Torelli performed this service for Giacomo Antonio Perti on multiple occasions). So there is a small but genuine possibility that Vivaldi undertook this task for Aldrovandini, which, given the necessarily early date (1704), might explain the *sinfonia*'s uncharacteristically "primitive" structural and stylistic features.

It appears that at the point when Mauro copied out the *sinfonia* Vivaldi was satisfied with its third movement, since it concludes, apparently confidently, with the emphatic kind of terminal flourish used to mark the end of works. However, the weakness of this movement must have been all too evident to him. It is modelled not on a typical dance-like *sinfonia* finale but on the *perfidia*-like sections featuring continuous passage-work for a solo violin over a simple chordal accompaniment that frame many slow central movements in concertos by Torelli and Albinoni. Particularly as a conclusion to the whole work, it is disappointingly vapid. Without any evident interruption in the notation Mauro then added — surely, at Vivaldi's behest — a replacement for it: an amiable *giga*-like movement entirely in the Red Priest's manner, where orchestral sections alternate with solo passages for the principal violin.²² Did Vivaldi (assuming that Aldrovandini rather than he wrote the three original movements) hope to ease his conscience by having composed at least part of the work he had claimed entirely for himself? Perhaps. In that case, by adding the new movement as a replacement finale, he also became the first *pasticheur* to lay hands on the work.²³

The second and more certain *pasticheur* was Pisendel. We possess no autograph manuscript of this *sinfonia* that transmits his own version, and perhaps there never was one. What we do have is a very neat copy made by one of the court music copyists, Johann Gottlieb Morgenstern, probably during Pisendel's period as *Konzertmeister*.²⁴ For two movements, the work is exactly as before, except for the addition of two oboes as *strumenti di rinforzo* (doubling instruments in a reinforcing role) for the first and second violin parts, a modification very often made in the *Hofkapelle* to

(Naples, 1705)), which are transcribed, respectively, on pp. 103–105 and 111–112 of the *sinfonia* anthology comprising the second volume of Geertinger, "Die italienische Opersinfonia", show a similar use of paired violin soloists.

- 22 One cannot entirely rule out the possibility that Vivaldi intended to retain the original third movement while also following it with the new movement; but in that case one would have expected him to erase or delete the terminal flourish after the former, which did not happen.
- 23 To my knowledge, the authenticity of the *sinfonia*, listed in Ryom, *Antonio Vivaldi*, 84, as RV 292 (with its original finale) and RV 292a (with its first substitute finale), has not been brought into question before.
- 24 Shelfmark: Mus.2389-N-7b. The manuscript uses music paper manufactured in the Veneto and features the abnormally closely packed musical notation, designed to maximize the number of bars on each page, characteristic of Pisendel's so-called *Reisepartituren* (travel scores).

Italian works originally for strings alone. But then we encounter neither of the third movements proposed previously: what we find is a fleet-footed *sinfonia finale* of classic type in $\frac{3}{8}$ metre. This turns out to be an import, transposed from B-flat major to C major, from a work that Pisendel had evidently copied while in Venice: a *sinfonia* by Albinoni that is a close relative of a violin concerto by the same composer published in Amsterdam in 1715 as Op. 7, no. 10.²⁵

To remain for a moment with Albinoni, there is one interesting instance in the Schrank II collection where he is the recipient rather than the donor of an added or substituted movement that creates a pasticcio. A set of parts shelfmarked Mus.2199-N-3 contains a four-movement *sinfonia* in G major in the hand of Johann Gottlieb Morgenstern closely related to the fourth concerto, for violin, in this composer's Op. 7; Morgenstern must have taken its second, third and fourth movements from a source of the *sinfonia*, today lost, that Pisendel had acquired or copied in Venice, and in the process added doubling parts for two oboes and bassoon in the customary Dresden fashion. The work in this three-movement form is a typical operatic *sinfonia*, in which a lively fugue replaces (as quite often in Albinoni) the more common dance-like movement in "short" metre ($\frac{2}{4}$ or $\frac{3}{8}$) favoured for finales in this genre. However, Morgenstern adds, as opening movement, a solemnly contrapuntal Grave (in fact, a miniature "stretto" fugue) in $\frac{3}{4}$ where the pair of oboes achieve obbligato status for the only time in the work.²⁶ This turns out to be the opening movement of an early concerto for two violins (TWV 52:G 2) by Telemann, likewise preserved in the Schrank II collection in a set of parts originally copied by J. S. Bach and subsequently added to by Pisendel and others.²⁷ Supplying the extra movement was perhaps prompted by an intention to use the *sinfonia* for a non-operatic — for example, a sacred — occasion. As in the Bonn Manuscript pasticcios, one must admire the skill with which the *pasticheur*, here presumably Pisendel, has matched the thematic material of the imported movement to that of a relevant part of the original.²⁸ As Music example 2 shows, both (a) the fugue subject of the finale and (b) that of the borrowed introductory movement give prominence to the thematic shape G–B–A–D.

25 See Talbot, *Tomaso Albinoni*, 169 and 172. The *sinfonia* is identified as *Si* 6 in the catalogue of Albinoni's works contained in the same book. Pisendel's score of it is shelfmarked Mus.2199-O-5. The German visitor seems to have had privileged access to Albinoni's music, since his collection contained three autograph sonatas (one inscribed to him) by this master.

26 Confusingly, the Grave is tacked on to the end of the work, but this is a typical expedient of Dresden (and other) copyists of the time used simply in order to avoid page turns in the longer movements.

27 Shelfmark: Mus.2372-O-35a/b.

28 Honesty demands from me an admission that in my discussion of the *sinfonia* in my doctoral thesis of 1968 (Talbot, "Instrumental Music of Tomaso Albinoni") I innocently accepted the added opening movement as an authentic (and especially commendable) product of the Venetian master's pen, since it appeared to be so well integrated into its musical context.

Good thematic matching is displayed again in a pasticcio that Pisendel made of RV 172, one of the violin concertos inscribed to him by Vivaldi, from whom he had received it in autograph score.²⁹ This concerto, in C major, is, frankly, not one of Vivaldi's best, and especially in its long third movement has a distinctly scrappy, improvisational feel about it. At some point Pisendel evidently decided to have it performed in an adaptation as a four-movement work, possibly one functioning as a *sinfonia*. The original third movement was replaced by one taken from a violin concerto by Carlo Tessarini in the *Hofkapelle's* collection,³⁰ and a slow first movement, a mere nine bars long, was either borrowed from a source still to be discovered or composed *ex novo* by him. The Dresden source of this pasticcio version, RV 172a, survives only as an orchestral first violin part in the hand of the copyist Johann Gottfried Grundig,³¹ and it is uncertain whether a full set of parts was ever copied out, although that must be the default assumption. In both outer movements of RV 172 the opening gesture contains a prominent rising tonic triad (C–E–G); this occurs in bar 2 of the first movement and bar 3 (with intervening linking notes) of the third. Both the borrowed Tessarini movement (at its very start) and the added Largo movement (on the second beat of the first bar) give prominence to exactly the same shape.

Music example 2 | (a) Albinoni, *Sinfonia* in G (7.4a), incipit of last movement; (b) Telemann, *Concerto for Two Violins* in G (TWV 52:G 2), incipit of first movement



But the most interesting and illuminating instance of a pasticcio created by Pisendel is his insertion of the second movement of Vivaldi's violin concerto in B-flat major RV 366 "detto il Carbonelli", displacing the original movement, into the seventh work (in E minor) belonging to a collection of concertos and *sinfonias* by the Bolognese violinist-composer Giuseppe Antonio Brescianello (c. 1690–1758) published by Michel-Charles Le Cène in Amsterdam in 1727. The Livornese violinist and composer Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli (1694–1773) commemorated in the title of Vivaldi's concerto may well have come into personal contact with Vivaldi around 1716–1717 through playing in one or more Venetian opera orchestras at carnival time, and by a similar route could conceivably also have met Pisendel.³² Brescianello will almost certainly have been known personally to Vivaldi, since in the years leading up to 1715

29 Shelfmark: Mus.2389-O-42.

30 Shelfmark: Mus.2451-O-7.

31 Shelfmark: Mus.2389-O-42a.

32 On Carbonelli's life and music, see Talbot, "From Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli to John Stephen Carbonell"; supplemented by Talbot, "Miscellany", 147–150.

he was in Venice serving the exiled electress of Bavaria, Theresa Kunigunde Sobieska, who rejoined her husband in Munich in that year, taking the same composer with her.

No Vivaldian autograph manuscript of RV 366 is preserved, but a semi-caligraphic set of parts for it copied by Pisendel back in Germany and very probably based on a score copied or acquired in Venice survives in the Schrank II collection.³³ It does not appear that either Pisendel or the *Hofkapelle* ever possessed the published Brescianello collection, but Schrank II holds a copy of German provenance transmitting its seventh and ninth works, both violin concertos.³⁴

The pasticcio is contained in the manuscript Mus.2364-O-7, which is in Morgenstern's hand. Brescianello's slow movement, a cantilena for the principal violin against a full orchestral texture of chugging quavers, is not particularly inspiring, and Pisendel may have preferred to display his talents in a richly ornamented "solo-sonata-style" movement for soloist and continuo alone. Originally in the mediant key, D minor, Vivaldi's movement is transposed up a tone so that in its new context it is in the tonic key, no longer offering tonal contrast to the outer movements. Morgenstern's copy already contains slight elaborations (presumably made by Pisendel), such as the expansion of a pair of quavers into a four-semiquaver group in bar 10, but after the initial writing-out was completed Pisendel, who was addicted to ornamentation and rarely refrained from adding it to music he composed or curated,³⁵ added profuse new indications for quasi-extempore ornamentation in his favourite form of stemless grace notes — barely visible, but quick to write and taking up a minimum of horizontal space. Music example 3 compares Vivaldi's original notation of the final four bars, transposed from D minor to E minor for ease of reading, with the pasticcio version.

Moving on from the pasticcio concertos in Dresden,³⁶ it is time to look very briefly at their counterparts in the solo sonata genre. Here, the parallels — structural, functional and aesthetic — with the pasticcio sonatas in the Bonn Manuscripts are very evident. Of particular note are two anonymous four-movement sonatas of this type that for their first movements respectively borrow the first and third movement of Vivaldi's sonata RV 22 in G major.³⁷ The fast second and fourth move-

33 Shelfmark: Mus.2389-O-121b.

34 Shelfmark: Mus.2364-O-9.

35 On Pisendel's practice of annotating manuscripts with sketches, additions and, most especially, ornamental elaboration, see Lupiáñez Ruiz, "Las anotaciones".

36 Two further Dresden pasticcio concertos, both anonymous, borrow a movement by, or attributed to, Vivaldi — Mus.2-O-1,1 (containing the second movement of RV 326) and Mus. 2389-O-158 (containing the first movement of RV Anh. 18). Doubtless, many further pasticcio concertos remain still to discover in the Schrank II collection.

37 This sonata exists in two versions: an earlier one preserved in a manuscript anthology in Brussels and a later one, with a greatly altered bass part, appearing in the set of twelve "Manchester" sonatas once owned by Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni. It is the earlier version that is used for the Dresden pasticcios.

ments in the two sonatas are identical: clumsy efforts that lack known concordances. In Mus.2-R-8,73 only the first movement, by Vivaldi (using the opening movement of RV 22), is of known authorship. Pisendel must have brought back from Venice a manuscript of RV 22, today lost, that provided the copy text. His reason for choosing this particular movement, which has no obvious thematic affinities to the other movements, may have been simply that he liked it.

Music example 3 | (a) Principal violin part of Vivaldi, Concerto RV 366, movement 2, bars 12–15 (transposed up a tone); (b) Principal violin part of the pasticcio concerto D-Dl, Mus. 2364-O-7, movement 2 (inserted by Pisendel), bars 12–15

(Adagio)

(a) Vivaldi, copied by Pisendel

(b) Vivaldi, inserted and elaborated by Pisendel

The other sonata, better known in Vivaldian literature, is Mus.2456-R-21. It derives the composer-related prefix “2456” from the fact that it was listed as a sonata by Giuseppe Tartini in Paul Brainard’s catalogue of that composer’s solo sonatas, published in 1975.³⁸ Brainard’s entry acknowledged that the work was of uncertain authorship and had been assigned to Tartini by an unidentified “mano posteriore” (later hand). The fact that at least one movement (the repositioned third movement from RV 22) is unarguably by Vivaldi led Peter Ryom initially to accept the whole work as genuine and catalogue it as RV 776 — not entirely unreasonable, since, Vival-

³⁸ Brainard, *Le sonate per violino*, 85 (with catalogue reference G 27).

di is known for his habit of circulating individual movements between works.³⁹ However, a powerful clue to the fact that the sonata was a pasticcio lay in the fact that whereas Grundig copied the first, second and fourth movements, Pisendel himself wrote out the third movement. Eventually, it emerged that this was the untransposed first movement of the violin sonata Op. 2, no. 5 by Giovanni Battista Somis, taken from a well-known collection published privately by that composer in Turin in 1723 that Pisendel himself had copied calligraphically in its entirety.⁴⁰ Once again, the selection seems to owe more to a personal liking for the individual movement (and a desire to avoid transposition) than to a desire for overall coherence. What remains strange is that the two fast movements, despite their obvious musical weakness, remain a fixed element in both pasticcios.

THE POSITION OF THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY INSTRUMENTAL PASTICCIO: THEN AND NOW

I am all too aware that in this article I have merely scratched the surface of a vast subject that seems never to have been the subject of a dedicated study. Whether this avoidance has been out of distaste or because of the practical difficulty of running to earth the complete set of authors for the movements making up a pasticcio is hard to say. Because the making of instrumental pasticcios tended to be covert or semi-covert, whereas that of operatic pasticcios was much more out in the open (particularly when singers repeatedly trotted out their favourite “warhorses”), it attracted little contemporary commentary. It is also rare to find a musician of distinction such as Pisendel engaging in the art of pasticcio-making: its practitioners were much more likely to be at the lower end of the professional scale — people almost as anonymous as the products they fashioned.

If nothing else, investigations into instrumental pasticcios can throw up useful information about their parent works or the performing context. From the two Dresden pasticcios including individual movements from RV 22 we learn that Pisendel possessed a copy, now lost, of this excellent sonata. From RV 192 we glean more about Vivaldi’s unsavoury habit of claiming works partly by others as his own and gain access to the complete musical text of a historically interesting *sinfonia* (or was it in reality an independent concerto?) by Aldrovandini. From the slow introductory movements added to three-movement *sinfonias* in Dresden we appreciate better how the latter type, with its characteristic “noise-killer” opening signalling the start of a performance, was not the only kind for orchestra. Above all, the musically sensitive matching of movements culled from here and there that was so often

39 Ryom, *Verzeichnis der Werke Antonio Vivaldis*, 142 and 170.

40 Shelfmark: Mus.2353-R-1.

achieved by calculation, instinct or a combination of both deserves from us a measure of admiration.

The “composer-centredness” (to use my own term) that has first gathered strength and then established itself permanently in Western art music since the latter part of the eighteenth century is not to be undone or suspended. “Historically informed” performance can realistically induce “historically inflected” audience reactions only in limited areas.⁴¹ For eighteenth-century instrumental pasticcios I see little future in mainstream concert life. For operatic pasticcios, however, the picture is more positive. A recent recording of Handel’s pasticcio *Caio Fabbricio* (HWV A9) has justifiably garnered considerable praise.⁴² Admittedly, there are special factors in play. All the recitatives are by Handel, and the great majority of the arias from a single setting by Hasse. The arias by other composers are stylistically very compatible and not so very much more numerous than the typical quotient of “guest” arias in nominally single-authored Italian operas of the same period. It nevertheless seems that in number-based operas there is a degree of natural “compositeness” that up to a certain point tolerates plural authorship of the music. One out of perhaps a dozen or more arias well separated from one another by recitative within an operatic act is, after all, not the exact equivalent of a sonata or concerto movement immediately adjoining similarly scored movements with which it makes up a supposedly organic whole. It will be interesting, at any rate, to see if there are any sequels to this recording.

41 In *Text and Act* Richard Taruskin trenchantly but in my view accurately exposes how reception of early music by performers and audiences alike passes first through the prism of modern, and sometimes modernist, sensibilities and assumptions. As well as being inevitable, this situation can in fact often be viewed as beneficial to the aesthetic experience.

42 George Frideric Handel, *Caio Fabbricio*, HWV A9, London Early Opera under the direction of Bridget Cunningham, Signum Classics SIGCD713, 2022, compact disc.

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NEKAJ PRIPOMB O PASTICCIO SONATI IN KONCERTU V PRVI POLOVICI 18. STOLETJA

Izraz 'pasticcio' se danes pogosto uporablja za operna in podobna dramska dela z več avtorji, najbolj upravičeno pa za primere, ko so bile posamezne točke, kot so arije, uporabljene brez vednosti njihovih skladateljev, brez predhodnega dogovora. V vsakdanjem jeziku je izraz zaničevalen, kar je obenem tudi splošna sodobna sodba tovrstnih oper, ki so cvetele v večjem delu 18. stoletja, in sicer zaradi tega, kar sam imenujem »imperativ enega avtorja«. V zadnjem času so raziskovalci v veliki meri preučevali baročne in klasicistične operne *pasticcie*, veliko manj pa pojav instrumentalnih *pasticci- ev* v obliki solističnih sonat ali solističnih koncertov, v katerih so obstoječim stavkom dodali ali zamenjali stavke iz drugih skladb, navadno različnih skladateljev. Razlogi za nastanek takšnih *pasticci- ev* so bili običajno drugačni kot v primeru opernih *pasticci- ev*. Pogosti povodi so bili poenostavitev ali skrajšanje del za manj vešče ali izkušene glasbenike, da bi jih po spremembi instrumentacije lažje igrali, da bi jih prilagodili novim funkcijam ali izvedbenim pogojem (kot je predelava operne simfonije za rabo v cerkvi) ali preprosto, da bi omogočili večjo prepoznavnost posebej priljubljenega stavka.

Članek obravnava primere instrumentalnih *pasticci- ev* 18. stoletja iz dveh različnih virov. Prvi je rokopisna antologija šestih *pasticcio* sonat za prečno flavto iz Bonna, ki je verjetno nastala v poznih dvajsetih letih 18. stoletja. Drugi pa je repertoar instrumentalnih *pasticci- ev* – predvsem gre za orkestrski repertoar (simfonije in koncerte), vključuje pa tudi par sonat – iz dresdenske zbirke »Schränk II«, ki izvira iz dvorne kapele volilnih knezov Friderika Avgusta I. in II. Gonilni duh dresdenskih *pasticci- ev* je bil ugledni član omenjene kapele J. G. Pisendel (od leta 1730 koncertni mojster), violinist in skladatelj, ki je imel strast do več vrst glasbenih aranžmajev in elaboracij.

Osrednja tema članka je na podlagi omenjenih dveh virov prikazati spretnost glasbenikov, ki so napravljali *pasticcie*. Ti so s premišljenim izborom pogosto dosegli določeno stopnjo tematske in slogovne kohezije, ki je komaj kaj manjša od tiste v izvirnem delu. V primeru rokopisa iz Bonna preseneča raznolikost skladateljev (zlasti glede na geografsko lego njihovega delovanja), katerih glasbo so plenili za izdelavo *pasticcia*. Videti je, da je nastajanje *pasticcia* močno olajšala domala splošno uveljavljena

štiridelna struktura solističnih sonat v obdobju takoj po Corelliju. V primeru dresdenskih *pasticci* je širok razpon virov, iz katerih je bila izposojena glasba, bolj razumljiv, saj se je Pisendel lahko oprl na vire tako lastne skrbno zbrane glasbene zbirke kot tudi zbirke dvorne kapele.

Raziskava je prinesla nekaj dodatnih presenečenj, najpomembnejše pa je, da je simfonija (ali koncert) RV 192, ki je bila doslej sprejeta kot pristno Vivaldijevo delo, zelo verjetno *pasticcio*, iz katerega je Pisendel nato oblikoval nov *pasticcio*, tako da je Vivaldijev stavek zamenjal z drugim, Albinonijevim. Članek zaključuje z ugotovitvijo, da za uspešno sodobno oživitev izbranih opernih *pasticci* obstaja nekaj upanja, medtem ko je uspešen poskus oživitve instrumentalnih *pasticci* malo verjeten, zlasti zaradi neomajnega sodobnega vztrajanja pri povečevanju vloge enega samega avtorja v primeru tako kratkih in strnjenih del.

JANA SPÁČILOVÁ

Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci

ORATORIO *IL DAVIDE NELLA VALLE DI TEREBINTHO* BY CARL DITTERS VON DITTERSDORF

IZVLEČEK: Članek predstavlja vse ohranjene vire oratorija *Il Davide nella valle di Terebintho* Carla Dittersa von Dittersdorf (Jánský Vrch, 1771). Pozornost je namenjena okoliščinam nastanka dela in sami glasbi, rekonstruirana je tudi pevska zasedba. Drugi del članka je posvečen recepciji dela v času njegovega nastanka. Na koncu je omenjena še sodobna uprizoritev dela, ki je pokazala nesporne glasbene kvalitete tega dela.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf, *Il Davide nella valle di Terebintho*, Jánský Vrch, oratorij, kontrafaktura

ABSTRACT: The study presents all the surviving sources of the oratorio *Il Davide nella valle di Terebintho* by Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf (Jánský Vrch, 1771). Attention is paid to the circumstances of the composition of the work and the musical setting itself. The cast of singers is also reconstructed. The second part of the study is devoted to the reception of the work in its day. Finally, the modern staging of the work, which has shown its undeniable musical qualities, is mentioned.

KEYWORDS: Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf, *Il Davide nella valle di Terebintho*, Jánský Vrch, oratorio, *contrafactum*

In his day, Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf was a prominent composer of vocal music. His work was focused particularly on German-language operas; his most famous sing-spiel performed up to the present time is *Doktor und Apotheker*. He also composed Italian-language operas and congratulatory cantatas.¹ While his oratorios were not as numerous as compositions in the above-listed genres, their merit was equal. Up until the present time five of Ditters' oratorios have been documented: one in Latin (*Isaac figura Redemptoris*);² one in German (*Das Opfer des Abrahams*);³ and three in Italian: *Il Davide nella valle di Terebintho*, *La liberatrice del popolo Giudaico nella Persia, ossia L'Esther* and *Giob*. The latter two, composed for the Tonkünstler-Societät in Vienna, are quite well known and referred to in the relevant literature. In contrast, oratorios from the early stage of the composer's work life are almost unknown, and information related to them in the existing literature is fragmentary or incorrect. This study aims to summarize the current state of knowledge about the topic and present all the relevant sources linked to the oratorio *Il Davide*, which opened Ditters' career in the service of the Bishop of Wrocław, Philipp Gotthard Schaffgotsch, in Jánský Vrch (Johannesberg) near Javorník (Jauernig) in 1771.

THE TITLE AND DATING OF THE WORK

The creation of the oratorio is documented by Carl Ditters himself in his autobiography, where he uses the shortened name *Davide* and mentions the author of the libretto, Salvatore Ignazio Pintus, and the singer of the title role, Nicolina Trink (Drinka), whom he married several months later.⁴ Another version of the title, *David e Gionathan*, is given in the catalogue of the Leipzig publisher and bookseller Breitkopf, who offered the score in his copying workshop in 1778.⁵ This score has been preserved

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- 1 Research into the life and works of Carl Ditters was recently begun at the Department of Musicology in Olomouc in 2019. Current information on his Italian-language operas is provided by Krejčová and Spáčilová, "Dittersovy italské opery"; research into the congratulatory music has been carried out by Burdová (see "Gratulační hudba"). The cited studies provide reference to other literature.
- 2 Libretto in H-Bu, 327.689; Italian version (Vienna, 1776) in A-Wgm, Tb 5693; Cz-Bu, БКВ-0002.663. One aria has been identified within research currently being conducted at the Palacký University, Olomouc. Cf. Krejčová, "Individual Arias", 98.
- 3 PL-Wu, Rps 43, microfilm.
- 4 "Padre Pintus war ein guter italienischer Dichter. Er schrieb mir für die Fasten ein schönes Oratorium: Davide; und für den ersten May eine komische Oper: Il viaggiatore americano. Mselle Nicolini [...] spielte die Rolle des David meisterhaft." Ditters von Dittersdorf, *Lebensbeschreibung*, 199.
- 5 *Supplemento XII. dei Catalogi delle sinfonie, partite, ouverture, soli, duetti, trii, quattri e concerti per il violino, flauto traverso, cembalo ed altri stromenti che si trovano in manoscritto nella oficina*

in Copenhagen (see below). The last version, *Davidde penitente* (!), was offered in 1900 by Carl Krebs in his important publication *Dittersdorfiana* (cat. no. 317). Krebs does not mention the reasons behind his choice of this title, merely referring to Ditters' autobiography, from which he also took an inaccurate year of composition: 1770.⁶ This title and date appear very frequently in later literary sources related to Ditters. The correct title of the oratorio, *Il Davide nella valle di Terebintho*, and its date, 1771, were first given as recently as 1993 in the catalogue *Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf – Sein Wirken in Österreichisch-Schlesien*. The source of this information was the facsimile of the title page of a libretto preserved in Brno (see below).⁷

Regarding the most recent editions of music encyclopedias, the correct information is provided only in the *New Grove*, with reference to the score preserved in Copenhagen (including its alternative name).⁸ Oldřich Pulkert incorrectly states in *MGG* that the date of the premiere was 1 April 1768 on the basis of the libretto preserved in Kroměříž.⁹ However, this libretto is related to an entirely different composition by another composer: a German oratorio, *Der vor seinen meinydigen Sohn Absalom zu sterben verlangende David*, by Anton Albrechtsberger. The confusion with Ditters' *Il Davide* probably happened through the similarity of the titles of these two compositions, despite the fact that the characters and plot of the second oratorio are entirely different.¹⁰

Within the existing extensive literature on Ditters, *Il Davide* has been mentioned only by Herbert Seifert, in his study "Dittersdorfs Oratorien" published in the proceedings of a conference held in 1989 in Eichstätt. Because of the long time that elapsed between the conference itself and the publication of its proceedings (1997), the contributions unfortunately did not reflect the information about the librettos from Brno that had in the meantime been published in the above-mentioned exhibition catalogue (1993). For this reason, Seifert, albeit giving the oratorio its correct title of *Il Davide*, bases this not on the libretto for the premiere, but on a print associated with a later performance that took place in Prague in

musica di Breitkopf in Lipsia, 1778, accessed 11 August 2023, <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb11034632> (see p. 44: Geistliche Gedichte – Italienische: "Ditters – David e Gionathan, Oratorio").

- 6 "317. Davidde penitente. Oratorium. Text von Padre Salvator Ignaz Pintus. Johannisberg 1770. (Selbstbiographie S. 199)". Krebs, *Dittersdorfiana*, 127.
- 7 Unverricht, Bein and Koukal, *Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf*, 79, cat. no. 78.
- 8 "Il Davide nella valle di Terebintho (? Davide e Gionathan) (Pinto), K317, Johannisberg, 1771, DK-Kk". Grave and Lane, "Dittersdorf".
- 9 "Davide nella Valle di Terebintho [Kr. 317] (P. Salvatore Ignatio Pinto), Or. 2 Tle. (1. April 1768 Troppau), CZ-KRa, DK-Kk; Libr. Troppau 1768". Pulkert and Seifert, "Ditters von Dittersdorf", 1115.
- 10 Die menschliche Natur (τ), Die Liebe (c), Das Gewissen (A), Der Schmerz (τ), Der Neid (β). See Spáčilová, "Quellen zu Wiener Oratorien".

1782.¹¹ The first attempt at ordering the fragmentary information therefore arrived as recently as 2019 in my study “Carl Ditters’ Relationship to Olomouc”.¹²

CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE COMPOSITION AND THE AUTHOR OF THE LIBRETTO

The sole currently known example of the libretto for the premiere, printed in Nisa, is preserved in the Department of Music History of the Moravian Museum in Brno.¹³ It belongs to a group of librettos of Ditters’ operas that come, according to the notes referring to a “Goschütze Bibliothek”, from a library in Velké Hoštice (Groß Hoerschütz). The owner of the Velké Hoštice castle originally housing the libretto, Count Ignaz Dominik Chorinsky, was one of Ditters’ Silesian patrons, and this libretto is undoubtedly evidence of his presence at the performance of the oratorio at the castle in Javorník. According to Ditters’ autobiography, the oratorio *Il Davide* was performed during Lent, a statement consistent with the inscription “nella quaresima dell 1771” on the title page of the libretto. Ash Wednesday in that year fell on 13 February, and Good Friday on 29 March. The premiere therefore took place during the period between these two dates.

The libretto was the work of the Italian priest Salvatore Ignazio Pintus (1714–1786), the confessor of Bishop Schaffgotsch and a member of the Jesuit order until its suppression in 1773. He maintained close contact not only with Bishop Schaffgotsch, but also with other local music patrons: Albert Hoditz and Ignaz Dominik Chorinsky. The title page of the libretto describes him as an “Italian theologian and scholar of belles lettres”, whose identity is revealed by Ditters’ autobiography as well as by a later print of the libretto from 1774. Pintus himself claims authorship of the oratorio in a letter to Count Hoditz from July 1771, where he also mentions another reprise of the work.¹⁴ The fact that Pintus valued his first libretto for Ditters very much is evidenced by the fact that in two other texts from 1771 — *Il viaggiatore americano* and *La poesia, e la musica in gara* — he was mentioned as the “Autore dell’Oratorio

11 Libretto in CZ-Pu, 65 E 3204. Seifert obviously did not consult the original, since he refers only to the catalogue by Claudio Sartori. See Seifert, “Dittersdorfs Oratorien”, 108.

12 Spáčilová, “Vztah Carla Ditterse”.

13 “IL DAVIDE | Nella Valle di Terebintho | ORATORIO SACRO | per Musica | COMPOSTO E CANTATO | IN JOANNESBERG | NELLA QUARESIMA DELL 1771. | La | Poesia è d’un Teologo, ed Accademico di | Belle Lettere Italiano | La Musica è del Sigr. Carlo Ditters | Cavaliere dello Sporon d’oro. | IN NISSA, nella Stamparia.” CZ-Bm, B 361.

14 “Ieri con universale gradimento fu rappresentato il mio oratorio e questa sera si farà il mio Viaggiatore Americano dove sono stato Profeta (ne è cosa nuova ne’ Poeti) giachè io so che Don Pedro sposò la Margaritina personaggio che rappresenta la Nikerl figlia del Renner, e questa nel prossimo Carnevale sarà sposata dal Ditters”. Salvatore Ignazio Pintus to Count Hoditz, 16 July 1771 (today lost). Quoted in Gregor, “Zámecká kapela”, 404.

Sacro intitolato Il Davide nella valle di Terebintho”. Along with these three librettos, he wrote the intermezzo *Pancrazio ed Isabella* (1771), the oratorio *Esther* (1773) and a cantata, *Picciol tributo musico* (1780), for Ditters.¹⁵ According to accounts of the time, he was a highly controversial person with a propensity for flattery and a strong dependence on his patrons.¹⁶

This not particularly admirable personal trait is documented in another source for the oratorio *Il Davide*, one unmentioned in the literature until the present time:¹⁷ a libretto printed in 1774 by Joseph Gabriel in Opava (Troppau).¹⁸ This print includes not only the full name of the librettist, but also a remarkable and informative dedication to Bishop Adam Patachich. The dedication states that Pintus had been encouraged to choose this dedicatee by Ditters, who had provided him with Patachich’s Latin translation of the libretto for *Isacco*.¹⁹ According to the librettist’s testimony, correspondence had obviously been going on between him and Patachich (evident from the latter’s letter of 17 June 1774; the dedication is dated 20 September of the same year in Opava). Pintus mentions the Bishop’s membership of the Arcadian Academy under the pastoral name of Sirrasio Acrotoforio. With reference to the Patachich’s fondness for belles lettres, he dedicates to the bishop his “first sacred oratorio published originally without my name, as necessitated by the circumstances I was finding myself in.”²⁰ The libretto definitely cannot be considered proof of the actual performance of the oratorio (there is no reference to Ditters’ music!) — it was

15 Burdová, “Picciol tributo musico”.

16 Mañas, “Salvatore Ignazio Pintus”.

17 I am grateful to Jan Pospíšil for drawing my attention to this libretto. In the Bibliografie českých cizojazyčných tisků (Bibliography of Czech Foreign-Language Prints), accessed 10 August 2023, <https://knihoveda.lib.cas.cz/Record/BCBT29595>, the libretto is listed as “desideratum” (i.e. lost).

18 “IL DAVIDE | NELLA VALLE DI TEREBINTHO | ORATORIO SACRO | DEDICATO | A SUA ECCELENZA REVERENDISSIMA | MONSIGNORE | ADAMO | LIBERO BARONE | PATTACHICH | DE | ZAJEZDA | VESCOVO DI GRAN VARADINO, SUPREMO, E PERPETUO | CONTE DELL’INCLITO COMITATO BIHOR CONSIGLIERE INTI-| MO ATTUALE DI S. M. I. R. A. &c. | DALL’ABBATE SALVATORE | IGNAZIO PINTUS | Accademico di Belle Lettere fra gl’Intro-[nati di Siena. [...] Troppavia, nella Stamperia di Giuseppe Gabriel. | 1774.” GB-Lbl, 1578/4905.

19 Ditters mentions in detail the process of Patachich’s translation of the libretto in his autobiography. Ditters von Dittersdorf, *Lebensbeschreibung*, 144.

20 “[...] permettetemi, Eccellenza Reverendissima, che alquanto mi discosti dal divieto fattomi dalla Vostra umiltà nella gentilissima Vostra Lettera del 17. Giugno passato, di astenermi, cioè da ogni lode nel dar di nuovo alla publica luce questo mio sacro oratorio pregiato del Vostro glorioso Nome [...] Io Vi confesso ingenuamente, Eccellenza Reverendissima, che da quel momento che il Signore Carlo Ditters de Dittersdorff mi comunicò la detta traduzione [= Isacco], tanta stima concepì nell’animo mio della Vostra Eccelsa, e sacra Persona, che fin d’allora pensai manifestarla a Voi, et alla Repubblica Letteraria consacrando il mio primo Oratorio Sacro dato alla luce la prima volta senza il mio nome, esigendo così allora le circostanze, nelle quali mi trovava.” Dedication in the libretto *Il Davide* (Opava, 1774), GB-Lbl, 1578/4905.

merely a tribute in the form of a literary publication that Pintus used in his uncertain position at the time in order to ingratiate himself with Ditters' former employer. Similar ephemera were the *Esther* published in Opava with a dedication to Maria Lubomirska (before 1780) as well as Pintus's most famous libretto, *Il Santo Abele di Boemia*, which was dedicated to the memory of the recently deceased Empress Maria Theresa (Brno, 1781).²¹

THE PLOT OF THE ORATORIO

The oratorio's plot is based on the 17th chapter of the Book of 1 Samuel, which describes the famous combat of David and Goliath. The librettist has enriched the text with numerous references either directly to the Bible or to various ecclesiastical commentators, as was normal for that time. In the foreword he also provided a rationale for some of the adjustments made to the original; in his view, they enhanced the dramatic effect of the libretto. The main characters are David the Shepherd (soprano), King Saul (tenor), his son Jonathan (soprano), the commander of the army, Abner (bass), and David's elder brother Eliab (alto). The stage setting is the Valley of Terebint, with the tents of the army of the Israelites on one side and those of the Philistines on the other. On the basis of a detailed description of the scenic décor, together with the fact that at that time, according to Ditters' autobiography, there was already a castle theatre at Jánský Vrch, we may assume that the oratorio was intended for staged performance.

The opening scene features a choir of priests, Levites, and soldiers petitioning God for aid, since Goliath has challenged the Israelites to fight head-to-head ("Signor, se irato sei"). In a subsequent monologue David expresses his outrage at the giant's arrogance and feels a God-given scintilla of courage ("Miri il barbaro, e paventi"). His brother Eliab accuses him of arrogance and sends him back to their father ("Va, ritorna al padre amato"), but David refuses. In his dialogue with Abner, the commander of the army, King Saul expresses surprise that, despite the promised reward, nobody has responded to his call to fight Goliath ("Con orrida procella"). Abner suspects the cause may be a crippling fear of the enemy ("Se nasce il timore"). As he is leaving in order to try and find a volunteer for the fight, Jonathan introduces David to the King. The young shepherd asserts his courage ("Vedrai quel ciglio altiero"), but the King remains in doubt. If David loses, they will all lose. Saul's son Jonathan urges his father to have faith in God ("Pensa che il ciel t'invia"), and the King eventually agrees. Jonathan embraces David with expressions of his tender friendship (duet "Eccoti in quest'amplesso"). The first part of the oratorio ends with another prayer from the priests and Levites ("Sia vinto il barbaro").

21 For more information on Pintus's situation, see Mañas, "Salvatore Ignazio Pintus".

In the introductory scene of the second part, David refuses the weapons provided to him by Jonathan in accordance with his father's instruction. He also tries to win over the King: as a shepherd, he has had to fight predators threatening his flock with his bare hands many times ("Ei tra le fiere"). Overcome by such great faith in God, Saul accepts ("Combatti inerme, o figlio"). He himself feels weak and doubtful; the burden of rule has become too great for him ("Del regnar le cure sono"). David's elder brother Eliab asks Jonathan to let him see the King. He seeks to prevent David's mission, the reason being his concern about his brother and their old father ("Ahi, misero germano"). Jonathan, however, accuses him of envying David: whether David wins or loses, it will bring him glory ("Muove tal'ora").

Saul is restless, waiting for the result of the fight, and together with Jonathan tries to make sense of the voices coming from afar ("Il verde lauro adorna"). Finally, an army led by the victorious David is sighted ("Il popolo divino"). The shepherd falls at the King's feet and tells his story. Abner, too, adds his account of the confusion in the enemy's camp after Goliath's death ("Dalle radici estreme"). The scene climaxes with David's account of the streams of blood trickling from the giant's body after he has severed his head ("Di fiume turgido"). Eliab is astounded, and Jonathan hugs David fondly. The general cheering is crowned with a choir of priests prophesying future glory to David's birthplace ("Non più sarai, o Bethlem").

PRESERVED MUSICAL MATERIALS

The music of the oratorio survives in two sources: the score preserved in Copenhagen, and the separate musical parts preserved in Kroměříž. The origin of the score can be traced back to 1778, when the copy shop of Johann Gottlob Breitkopf advertised it in its catalogue under the title *David e Gionathan*, a wording matching that on the title page.²² The score was still in the possession of the Breitkopf company in 1836, when it was listed in the firm's auction catalogue under the title of *Davide e Gionata*.²³ It is a clean copy, reliable with regard to the music but containing numerous errors in the underlaid Italian text.

The second source comprises parts currently belonging to the musical collection of the Archbishop's Château in Kroměříž (under the management of the Olomouc Museum of Art). The file consists of two folders containing bound sheets later complemented with a hard cover inscribed by the Archbishop's *Kapellmeister* Franz

22 "Dauid e Gionata. | Oratorio | del | Sig. de Dittersdorf." DK-Kk, mu6402.1531. Note on the title page: "No. 57. III Bogen." Unbound score in two parts, 240 × 325 mm, 126 and 96 fols. Watermark: French *fleur de lis* in crowned shield | IESV / LW. Provenance: Niederlungwitz (Sachsen), Johann Vodel, 1742–1763, BWD 12062. Bohemian Watermark Database of the musical sources registered in Union Music Catalogue of the National Library of the Czech Republic, accessed 9 August 2023, http://aleph.nkp.cz/web/watermarks/_12062.htm.

23 *Grosse Musikalien-Auction*, 1. Cf. Spáčilová, "Vztah Carla Ditterse".

Götz. The first part of the oratorio is inscribed with the complete title including a cast list,²⁴ while the second part has the shortened title of *Il Davide*.²⁵ The folders contain complete parts for the singers (including the choral numbers) and instruments. The parts for David and Jonathan are complemented by two separate folios headed Canto I and Canto II that contain only the duet “Eccoti in quest’amplesso” with simplified coloratura passages (see Music example 1). The copy was the joint work of two copyists; the distribution of the individual parts between them is provided in Table 1. A remarkable feature is the use of alternative names for the instruments in both parts of the oratorio (Oboe/Oboa, Clarino/Trombe).

The source is undated, but on the basis of the paper used and the copyists’ handwriting there is a good chance that it originated in the Piarist college at Kroměříž at the end of 1770s.²⁶ The source became part of the castle’s collection in 1811 at the latest, since it is listed in the inventory of the estate of Archbishop Anton Theodor Colloredo-Waldsee.²⁷ There are indications that the parts were actually used for a staged performance — such as the presence of cadenzas written for the roles of David and Jonathan²⁸ and liaison bows for instances of synaloepha (the coalescence, in Italian, of adjacent vowels belonging to different words) in the parts of Saul and Abner. This evidence establishes that the material was used as the basis for a staging of the oratorio by the Kroměříž Piarists in 1783 (see below).

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE MUSICAL SETTING

Il Davide is an oratorio of the Italian type based on virtuosic solo arias, although the choirs are also important (see Table 2). The orchestra consists of strings (with two viola parts), solo flute, oboes, bassoons, French horns, trumpets, timpani, basso continuo (harpsichord, violoncello and double bass). The solo flute expressing the son’s love is used in Eliab’s aria “Va, ritorna al padre amato”; “martial” trumpets are used in two arias depicting the combat and in the scene for choir in the second part.

24 “Il Davide. | nella valle di Terebinto | Parte I.a | Oratorio Sacro | per Musica | Interlocutori | Davide. Canto I:mo in veste da Pastore, è con Fionda | Saule. Tenore. Rè d’Israele. | Gionata. Canto II:o Figlio di Saule. | Abner. Basso. Prefetto della Milizia. | Eliabbo. Alto. Fratello di Davide. | con. | Violini due. | Oboe due. | Flauto solo. | Corni due. | Trombe due. | Timpani. | Viole due. | e | Fondamento. | Di Carlo de Dittersdorf.” CZ-KRa, A 2335.

25 “Il Davide. | Oratorio Sacro. | Parte Seconda. | Di Carlo de Dittersdorf”.

26 Watermark: Maltese cross in crowned cartouche | IEW. Bohemian Watermark Database of the musical sources registered in Union Music Catalogue of the National Library of the Czech Republic, accessed 9 August 2023, http://aleph.nkp.cz/web/watermarks/_8048.htm.

27 “183. Oratorien Autore de Dittersdorf 2. Theile il Davide”. Moravský zemský archiv Brno, *Inventarium*.

28 Cadenzas is added for Jonathan’s aria “Pensa, che il ciel” and in the duet for David and Jonathan (on separate folios for Canto I and Canto II).

Music example 1 | Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf, *Il Davide nella valle di Terebintho*, excerpt from the duet “Eccoti in quest’amplesso”, Copenhagen and Kroměříž versions

Andante dolce

54
Davide al ma a-mis - tà,
Giannata al-ma a-mis - tà,

59
parts CZ-KRa

62
si dol-ce a-mis - tà,
si fi-da a-mis - tà,

A Sinfonia in C minor reflects the heritage of Viennese Fuxian counterpoint (see Music example 2). The impressive opening chorus is rendered musically as a choral *recitativo accompagnato* in a monodic, quasi-Gregorian fashion (see Music example 3). The arias (mostly of *Dal Segno* type) are particularly interesting for their rhetorical expression and frequent changes in tempo. *Recitativo accompagnato* is employed in David’s opening prayer, then at the end of the first part, as an expression of the warm friendship between David and Jonathan, and finally in the second part during the scene depicting his fight with Goliath.

Table 1 | The parts and their copyists

COPYIST A	
Parte prima	Canto 1 Davide, Canto 1 ("Eccoti in quest'amplesso"), Canto 2 Gionata, Canto 2 ("Eccoti in quest'amplesso"), Alto Eliabbo, Tenore Saule, Basso Abner, Violino 1, Violino 2, 2 Viole, Flauto Solo [Aria I.2], 2 Fagotti, Fondamento
Parte seconda	Violino 1, Violino 2, 2 Viole, Fondamento
COPYIST B	
Parte prima	Oboe I, Oboe II, Cornu I, Cornu II, Calarino (!) Primo, Clarino Secondo
Parte seconda	Soprano 1 Davide, Soprano 2 Gionata, Alto Eliabbo, Tenore Saule, Basso Abner, Oboa Prima, Oboa Seconda, Fagotto solo [Aria II.7], Corno Primo, Cornu Secondo, Trombe Primo, Trombe Secondo, Timpani

Table 2 | Musical structure of the oratorio

	TEXT	TEMPO	METRUM	KEY	SCORING
Parte I					
Sinfonia		Andante e maestoso	$\frac{3}{4}$	c	2 ob, 2 cor, 2 vni, vla, bc
Coro di Sacerdoti, e Leviti	<i>Signor, se irato sei</i>	Adagio	c	c	SATB, 2 ob, 2 cor, 2 vni, vla, bc
Coro di soldati	<i>O Reggitor Supremo</i>	Larghetto	$\frac{3}{4}$	Es	SATB, 2 ob, 2 cor, 2 vni, vla, bc
Rec. accomp. Davide	<i>Il seno a sì grand'opra</i>	Andante maestoso	c	C – a	S, 2 ob, 2 cor, 2 vni, vla, bc
Aria 1. Davide	<i>Miri il barbaro, e paventi</i>	Andante maestoso – Andante	c – $\frac{3}{4}$	F	S, 2 ob, 2 cor, 2 vni, vla, bc
Aria 2. Eliabbo	<i>Va, ritorna al Padre amato</i>	Andantino	$\frac{3}{8}$	C	A, fl solo, 2 cor, 2 vni, vla, bc
Aria 3. Saule	<i>Con orrida procella</i>	Allegro e vivace – Allegretto	c – $\frac{2}{4}$	E	T, 2 ob, 2 cor, 2 vni, vla, bc
Aria 4. Abner	<i>Se nasce il timore</i>	Larghetto e maestoso – Andante	$\frac{3}{8}$ – $\frac{2}{4}$	G	B, 2 vni, vla, bc
Aria 5. Davide	<i>Vedrai quel ciglio altiero</i>	Larghetto	$\frac{2}{4}$	D	S, 2 cl, 2 cor, 2 ob, 2 vni, vla, bc
Aria 6. Gionata	<i>Pensa che il Ciel t'invia</i>	Allegretto – Larghetto	c – $\frac{3}{4}$	G	S, 2 ob, 2 cor, 2 vni, vla, bc

Rec. accomp. Gionata, Davide	<i>O quale, e quanta splende</i>	Larghetto	c	D	S, S, 2 fg, 2 vni, 2 vle, bc
Duetto 7. Gionata, Davide	<i>Eccoti in quest'amplesso</i>	Andante dolce	$\frac{3}{4}$	F	S, S, 2 ob, 2 cor, fg, 2 vni, vla, bc
Coro di Sacerdoti, e Leviti	<i>Sia vinto il barbaro</i>	Adagio – Vivace	c – $\frac{3}{8}$	d – D	SATB, 2 cl, 2 ob, 2 cor, 2 fg, 2 vni, vla, bc

Parte II

[Short introduction to the rec. Gionata]	<i>Che mai, Davide, il Genitor dirà?</i>	Andante	c	B	2 vni, vla, bc
Aria 1. Davide	<i>Ei tra le fiere</i>	Allegro moderato	c	G	S, 2 ob, 2 cor, 2 vni, vla, bc
Aria 2. Saule	<i>Combatti inerme, o figlio</i>	Andante maestoso		C	T, 2 cl, 2 ob, 2 vni, vla, bc
Aria 3. Saule	<i>Del regnar le cure sono</i>	Adagio assai – Andante	c – $\frac{3}{8}$	Es	T, 2 cor, 2 vni, vla, bc
Aria 4. Eliabbo	<i>Ahi, misero Germano!</i>	Presto molto – Larghetto	c – $\frac{3}{4}$	e	A, 2 vni, vla, bc
Aria 5. Gionata	<i>Muove tal'ora</i>	Allegretto e vivace – Andantino – Lento	$\frac{3}{4}$ – $\frac{2}{4}$	B	S, 2 vni, vla, bc
Rec. accomp. Saule	<i>Taci. Ascolto voci</i>	Andante maestoso		D	T, 2 vni, vla, bc
Coro di soldati in Lontananza	<i>Il verde lauro adorna</i>	Andante maestoso		D	SATB, 2 cor, 2 ob, fg
Secondo coro più vicino	<i>Ecco quel forte braccio</i>	Andante maestoso		D	SATB, 2 cor, 2 ob, fg
Terzo coro più vicino	<i>La confusion si pasce</i>	Andante maestoso		D	SATB, 2 cl, timp, 2 cor, 2 ob, fg, 2 vni, vla, bc
Coro	<i>Il popolo divino – Ecco quel forte braccio</i>	Andante maestoso		A – D	SATB, 2 cl, timp, 2 cor, 2 ob, fg, 2 vni, vla, bc
Rec. accomp. Davide	<i>Allor che m'involai – All'improvviso colpo</i>	Andante – Allegro	c	C	S, 2 vni, vla, bc
Aria 6. Abner	<i>Dalle radici estreme</i>	Vivace – Largo – Presto	c – $\frac{3}{4}$	C	B, 2 cor, 2 ob, 2 vni, vla, bc
Rec. accomp. Saule, Davide	<i>In qual guisa</i>	Andante molto – Presto	c	C	T, S, 2 vni, 2 vle, bc
Aria 7. Davide	<i>Di fiume turgido</i>	Larghetto – Allegro	$\frac{3}{4}$ – c	F	S, 2 cor, 2 ob, 2 fg, 2 vni, vla, bc
Coro l'ultimo	<i>Non più sarai, o Bethlem</i>	Adagio	c	D	SATB, 2 cl, timp, 2 cor, 2 ob, 2 fg, 2 vni, vla, bc

Music example 2 | Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf, *Il Davide nella valle di Terebintho*, beginning of the Sinfonia

Andante e maestoso

The musical score is presented in three systems. Each system consists of a treble and bass staff. The first system is marked 'vno I, 2, vla' and 'bc'. The second system is marked 'vln' and 'bc'. The third system is marked '12' and 'bc'. The music is in a slow, majestic tempo, indicated by the marking 'Andante e maestoso'.

The climax of the oratorio is the almost theatrical scene of David's victorious return in the second part of the oratorio. The initial ceremonial dotted motif, performed by the string orchestra, is interrupted by Saul's exclamation "Taci, ascolto voci!" and a dialogue with Jonathan. The approaching choir of soldiers is represented acoustically in the instrumentation, where the first and second verse are accompanied solely by "open-air" wind instruments. The entire orchestra, including trumpets marked (!), joins them for the third verse, "La confusion si pasce". After a short dialogue for Saul and Jonathan the fourth verse, "Il popolo divino", is played. As soon as David appears before the King the choir repeats "Ecco quel forte braccio". The following scene is given over to David's account of his fight with Goliath in the form of a dramatic *recitativo accompagnato* interspersed with arias for Abner and the main protagonist. The oratorio then quickly reaches its end, which takes the form of a monumental prayer.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ROLES AND THEIR PERFORMERS

The libretto unfortunately does not provide the names of the soloists, but the cast may be partly reconstructed on the basis of other operas performed at Schaffgotsch's court in the same year, 1771. *Il viaggiatore americano* featured Andreas Renner, Vitus Ungricht, Nicolina Trink, Vitus Batka and Wenzel Batka. The serenata *La poesia, e la musica in gara* called for the first four. Neither of the musical compositions for the two

operas has been preserved, except for two arias from *Il viaggiatore*.²⁹ However, some of the artists are known from other sources, so we may hypothetically attribute individual roles in *Il Davide* to them.

Music example 3 | Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf, *Il Davide nella valle di Terebintho*, beginning of the first chorus: “Signor, se irato sei”

Adagio

ob I, 2

cor in Es I, 2

vno I, 2

coro

Si - gnor, Si - gnor, se i - ra - to se - i

via, bc

6

pren - da la ver - ga so - lo la tua pic - to - sa ma - no

²⁹ Krejčová, “Individual Arias”.

The tenor Andreas Renner (c. 1730–1794) worked for the Jesuits of Trnava (Tyrnau) and Bratislava (Pressburg) in 1749–1757. From 1764 onwards he was hired by Bishop Patachich to perform in Oradea (Großwardein). After the ensemble in which he worked was disbanded he followed Ditters to Jánský Vrch, where, among other duties, he held the post of *rector scholae*. He was an excellent virtuoso tenor, as evidenced by several preserved compositions he wrote for himself. His vocal competence is repeatedly praised by Ditters in his autobiography.³⁰ In the oratorio *Il Davide*, Renner undoubtedly performed the role of King Saul, which is noteworthy for its exposed coloratura, long held notes and wide melodic leaps, particularly in the aria “Con orrida procella” (see Music example 4).

Music example 4 | Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf, *Il Davide nella valle di Terebintho*, excerpts from Saul’s aria “Con orrida procella”

According to Ditters’ autobiography, Renner’s stepdaughter Nicolina Trink sang the role of David. Baptized on 29 October 1755 in Bratislava (Pressburg) as Nicolaa Theresia after the death of her father, the tenor Franz Drinka (c. 1725–1763), she was adopted by Renner, who knew Franz from his studies in Trnava.³¹ Together with Renner, Trink went to Oradea, where she performed as a soloist in operas from a very early age (*Amore in musica*, 1768). At Jánský Vrch, she belonged to the narrow circle of Bishop’s musicians. In the above quoted Pintus’s letter, dating from June 1771, she is familiarly called “la Nikerl figlia del Renner”.³² In the following year, specifically on 3 March 1772, she married Ditters.³³ The role of David is intended for coloratura

³⁰ Kačic, “Andreas Renner”.

³¹ Kačic, “Dittersdorf und Slowakei”.

³² See note 14.

³³ The marriage register from Javorník has not been preserved. The date is mentioned in his

soprano, so we may gather from the technical requirements of the role that Nicolina was undoubtedly a very talented singer.

The other soprano part, Jonathan, was probably sung by Ditters' sister Johanna, born in Vienna in 1743.³⁴ According to his autobiography, Ditters had employed her as a singer already in Oradea. She came to Jánský Vrch together with other soloists from Vienna. In 1774 she married Paul Friedrich Gams von Gamsberg, a bishop's official. Evidence of her vocal skills is provided particularly by a duet of David and Jonathan at the end of the first part of *Il Davide*, which contains a very impressive coloratura dialogue (see Music example 1).

The baritone role of Abner, the commander of the army, was very likely performed by the second-most experienced singer in Ditters' ensemble, Vitus Ungricht (or Ungericht). This violinist and singer was employed by Ditters in 1765 in Prague to work for him in Oradea. In the summer of 1771 he acted in Prague as an agent hiring singers for Schaffgotsch.³⁵ Following his engagement at Jánský Vrch, Ungricht left in 1776 for the Esterházy court, where he performed as an operatic soloist. A reference to him from 1796 stated that he was a violinist in a Viennese theatre orchestra.³⁶ In his autobiography Ditters refers to him as a bass singer, which corresponds to his roles in Latin serenatas given in Oradea (*Olympia Jovi sacra*, *Pythia*)³⁷ as well as in a reprise of *L'Arcifanfano* at Eszterháza in 1777. In contrast, in the Javorník operas *Il finto pazzo* and *Il tutore e la pupilla* and in Haydn's reprise of *Lo sposo burlato* he sang tenor parts. In view of these facts, his voice may be characterized as baritone.

The performer of the alto role of David's brother Eliab is unknown, since alto parts are not present in any of Ditters' vocal compositions from the Javorník period, with the exception of this oratorio. He may have used a boy's voice, as suggested by the lesser technical difficulty of the arias concerned.

CONTEMPORARY REVIVALS OF THE ORATORIO

Prague, 1782

Il Davide was not so widely known in its time as Ditters' later Viennese oratorios *Esther* and *Giob*, which were directed by the composer himself in various locations across

autobiography by the composer, who states that the marriage took place in the year following the premiere of *Il Davide*. Cf. Fatałski, "Errata". The libretto of *Il finto pazzo* (3 June 1772) already lists her as "Nicolina Ditters".

34 Brauneis, "Die Familie Ditters", 40.

35 Volek, "Vysvětlivky", 218.

36 *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst*, 92.

37 In both libretti he is explicitly identified as a "Basso".

Europe.³⁸ At present, we know only of three other performances: those in the church of St Thomas in Prague in 1782, at the college of the Kroměříž Piarists in 1783/84, and in Wrocław at an undetermined date.

The performance in Prague is documented by a printed libretto preserved in the National Library in Prague (from the Lobkowitz library).³⁹ In the second half of the eighteenth century the St Thomas monastery of the Augustinian Eremites in the Lesser Town was one of the prominent Prague centres of Good Friday oratorios, as evidenced by the preserved librettos. The oldest of them dates back to 1745 (the anonymous *Christlicher Braut*). These oratorios were performed variously in German and Latin.⁴⁰

At that time music at this Augustinian monastery was performed by members of the order; in 1774–1783 the *regens chori* was P. Pachomius Kreybich (d. 1815). Although his intended successor was P. Theobald Schwartz, the choir was eventually taken over by Johann Joseph Strobach (1731–1794), a lay cantor from St Nicholas.⁴¹ This violinist was one of the key music personalities in Prague at that time, and as director of the orchestra of the Italian opera there he became a prominent promoter of Mozart's works.

The librettos known up to the present day show that in the two years preceding the performance of *Il Davide* the church of St Thomas witnessed the performance of Italian oratorios. The first was Ditters' *Esther* in 1780,⁴² followed by *La conversione di S. Agostino* by Johann Adolph Hasse.⁴³ Unfortunately, we know little about the performances of these compositions. However, in view of the subsequent engagement of Strobach as *regens chori*, they may have been performed on his initiative. In this context, it is important to mention that Ditters had met Strobach already during his stay in Prague in 1765, when the violinist had helped him with the hiring of musicians for the Oradea engagement.⁴⁴

Kroměříž, 1783/84

Regarding the performance of *Il Davide* in Kroměříž, we have more information, including musical materials preserved in the collection of the Kroměříž castle. Ditters

38 For example in Berlin, Wrocław and Brno.

39 "DAVIDE | NELLA VALLE | DI | TERE BINTO. | ORATORIO | DA CANTARSI NELLA CHIESA | DI | S. TOMASO APOSTOLO | DELL' ORDINE DEI ROMITI | DI | S. AGOSTINO. | IL GIORNO | DEL VENERDI SANTO | ALLE ORE CINQUE VERSO LA SERA. | NELL' ANNO MDCCLXXXII. [1782] | PRAGA, | Coi caratteri della Ces. Reg. Scuola Normale, per Matteo | Adamo Schmadl, Fattore." CZ-Pu, 65 E 3204.

40 The librettos are preserved mostly in the National Library in Prague.

41 Trola, "Augustiniáni a hudba", 33–35.

42 Ms. libretto in CZ-Pnm, B 6976.

43 Librettos in CZ-Ps, FK IV 39/7 (Italian version); FK IV 44/2 (German version).

44 "In Prag adressirte ich mich an Herrn Strobbach, ersten Violinisten in der italiensichen Oper, um mir mit gutem Rath an die Hand zu gehen". Ditters von Dittersdorf, *Lebensbeschreibung*, 134.

had many personal contacts in the Archbishop's music ensemble: in particular, the violinist Franz Götz (1755–1815), who collaborated with him at Jánský Vrch (Götz's presence is documented there in 1783–1786) and, following a short period as bandmaster of the Brno theatre (November 1786 – April 1788), became the music director of the Olomouc Archbishop, Colloredo-Waldsee.⁴⁵ While holding this position, among other duties, he put in order the musical collection at the Kroměříž castle and added new covers inscribed in his own hand to a significant number of its holdings. This is also the form in which parts for the oratorio *Il Davide* have been preserved.

The chronicle of the Kroměříž Piarists also relates a visit of Carl Ditters, who arrived there on 15 September 1774 in the company of Bishop Schaffgotsch. During this visit the Piarist college organized a concert performance that included students, where “even D. de Ditters, a virtuoso who presented this collegium with entirely unique demonstrations of his artistry, was present”.⁴⁶

According to the same chronicle, in April 1784 the Piarist college saw a performance of an “Oratorium Germanicum, sub titulo: David in valle Terebinthi”: i.e. apparently in a translation into German.⁴⁷ The chronicle contains a record from the previous year, 1783, concerning a performance of an unnamed Italian oratorio by Ditters; from this record we may infer a premiere in Italian (revivals of the same compositions after a year were not an exceptional occurrence for the Piarist performances).⁴⁸ Further evidence supporting this assumption is offered by the above-mentioned annotations relating to performance in the vocal parts.

Wrocław (Undated)

Apart from being performed in Jánský Vrch, Prague and Kroměříž, the oratorio also came to Wrocław. This may be inferred from the bi-lingual, undated, Italian-German libretto printed by Kreuzer in Wrocław, which is preserved in the local university library.⁴⁹ The first scholar to provide information about this source was Maria Zduniak;

45 Uhlířová, “Franz Götz”.

46 “Anno 1774. die 15. Sept. celsissimus princeps episcopus Wratislaviensis Philippus Gothardus e comitibus de Schaffgotsch, misso ad P. regentem caerimoniario suo eidem indicavit, invisurum se a prandiis ad seminarium expectiturumque sibi collegium musicum, ab alumnis nostri seminarii producendum. [...] Aderat et virtuosus D. de Ditters, qui in collegio hoc musico singularia prorsus artis suae specimina dedit.” Okresní archiv Kroměříž, “Anmerkungen”, 40.

47 “9. Aprilis [1784] productum est Autore Ditters Oratorium Germanicum, sub titulo: David in valle Terebinthi, non sine Auditorium applausu.” Ibid., 49.

48 “Anno eodem [1783] die 18. Aprilis in Parasceve productum est in Ecclesia nostra compositum a Dno Ditters Oratorium Italicum, omnium qui fuerant frequentissimi, Auditorum cum applausu.” Ibid.

49 Italian title page: “DAVID. | DRAMA PER MVSICA | DAL | SIGNORE DE DITERSDORF. | Personaggi. | Dauid. | Gionata. | Saul. | Eliabbo. | Abner. | Coro si Sacerdoti e Leviti. | Coro si Soldati. | BRESLAU, | nella Stamperia di Kreuzer.”; German title page: “David. | Ein Singstück, |

unfortunately, she did not provide any details.⁵⁰ Judging from the author's surname, given in the post-ennoblement form of "Dittersdorf", the libretto must date from the period after 1773; we may also consider the death of Johann Franz Kreuzer in 1796 to be the *terminus ante quem*. The main source for information on concert life in Wrocław, the manuscript of Richard Conrad Kiessling's "Nachrichten über Konzerte in Breslau, 1722–1836",⁵¹ mentions only the oratorio *David und Jonathan* by Johann Heinrich Rolle (first performed on 3 June 1774, with several reprises).⁵² Confusion with Ditters' *Il Davide* is unlikely, since the composer's name was also mentioned in reports of the contemporary press that were Kiessling's source of information.⁵³

INDIVIDUAL PRESERVED ARIAS AND CONTRAFACTA

As with other Ditters' musical-dramatic works, the oratorio *Il Davide* was disseminated also in the form of individually preserved arias and/or their Latin *contrafacta*, though not to the same extent as his Viennese oratorios *Esther* and *Giob*. As of now, the concordances comprise six arias.

The first is the virtuosic tenor aria "Con orrida procella" (Saul, I.4), preserved with its original Italian text in the Silesian Museum in Opava.⁵⁴ Its title page has the annotation "del opera il Davido Fatta 1773" and a note of ownership dated 1802, according to which the folio was acquired by Joseph Meixner from Wenzel Martini during his studies.⁵⁵ The second man was a respectable citizen of Javorník with documented contacts in the Bishop's music ensemble (for instance, he became the godfather of Götz's daughter in 1786).⁵⁶ For a short time of period he probably also worked

in Musik gesetzt | von | Herrn von Dittersdorf. | Personen. | David. | Jonathan. | Saul. | Eliabbo. | Abner. | Chor der Priester und Leviten. | Chor der Soldaten. | Breslau, gedruckt mit Kreuzerischen Schriften." PL-WRu, 1070889.

50 Zduniak, "Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf Beziehungen".

51 Accessed 10 August 2023, <https://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/publication/95685/edition/92822/content>.

52 Fol. 23v (3 June 1774): "Sont. 3. Juli. Ebenda. Eine musikalische Elegie aus dem Trauerspiele Salomo des Herrn Klopstock betitult: David und Jonathan. Musik von Rolle". See note 51. Cf. also fol. 26r (11 June 1775, "David und Jonathan, von Rolle"), fol. 32r (1778), fol. 34r (1779) etc.

53 For example *Schlesische privilegierte Zeitung*, 23 May 1778, 565: "Eine Cantate, David und Jonathan, von der Composition des Herrn Musickdirector Rolle in Magdeburg [...]".

54 "Aria | Tenore solo | 2 Violini | 2 Oboe | 2 Corni | Viola et Basso | Del Sigl. Carlo de Dittersdorff | del opera il Davido Fatta 1773." CZ-OP, A 1290.

55 Annotation on the title page: "Wenzeslaus Martini obtulit | Josepho Meixner mp. | mediae Gramaticae | studioso", by the same hand: "Possessor Josephus Meixner mp | die 30. Martii 1802."

56 Zemský archiv v Opavě, Javorník, římskokat. f. ú., JV II 5, 3295, 1778–1795, <https://digi.archives.cz/da/permalink?xid=be89c2a6-f13c-102f-8255-005068c0263&scan=6ff72c9950724c57a68da61beb012358>.

directly as the Bishop's court musician, as evidenced by the newly discovered record in the church register from 1773.⁵⁷ The same date (1773) on the title page of the aria is two years after the premiere, so the source is perhaps related to a later performance of the oratorio.

The second aria has likewise been preserved only with its original Italian text. It is David's "Di fiume turgido" (II.8), preserved in Beroun in the collection of Tekla Podleská (1764–1852), a prominent Czech soprano.⁵⁸ With this aria, we can trace a direct link back to Jánský Vrch. The singer's husband was Vitus Batka (1754–1839),⁵⁹ a Prague-born musician employed by Bishop Schaffgotsch as an oboist and singer. His brother Wenzel Batka was a bassoon virtuoso in the Bishop's orchestra and at times also performed as a singer.⁶⁰ This aria with obbligato bassoons was most likely copied by one of the Batkas at Jánský Vrch.

The third aria, preserved as a Latin *contrafactum*, can likewise be regarded as an item directly linked to Ditters' artistic contacts. This is "Pensa che il ciel t'invia" (Jonathan, I.7), preserved with the Latin text "Omni die dic Mariae" in Opole.⁶¹ This aria coming from the collection of the monastery of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre in Nysa was in the ownership of its *regens chori* Ignaz Pohl, a close collaborator of Ditters.⁶²

The second group comprises arias that became part of the music collections in the Benedictine monasteries Broumov and Prague-Břevnov, thanks to the local musician P. Gunther Nommes, and subsequently found their way into other Czech churches. P. Nommes (1735–1816) joined the Benedictines in Broumov in 1755. He studied in Břevnov after 1758 and subsequently worked there as a *regens chori* in 1762–1768. An interesting episode in his life was his capture by the Prussians in Kłodzko in 1778. After his return to Broumov, Nommes worked again as a *regens chori* until 1786. He was the creator of an important music collection, acquiring at least 22 compositions from Carl Ditters — among other things, a copy of the oratorio *Esther*.⁶³

57 "Wenceslaus Martini fürstl. Hoff-Musicus", baptismal record, 24 July 1773, Zemský archiv v Opavě, Javorník, římskokat. f. ú., JV II 4, 3294, 1761–1777. <https://digi.archives.cz/da/permalink?xid=be89c22e-f13c-102f-8255-0050568c0263>.

58 "Aria in F a Soprano Solo, Fagotto obl., Due Violini, Due Oboe, Due Corni in F, Viola et Basso, Del Sig. Carlo de Dittersdorff" CZ-BER, HU 371.

59 Klíma, "Česká hudebnice Tekla Podleská".

60 Dlabacz, *Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexikon*, 96. The brothers' activity as singers was identified on the basis of libretti in Brno. Cf. Krejčová and Spáčilová, "Dittersovy italské opery".

61 "Aria in G | a | Soprano Solo | Violino Primo. | Violino Secundo. | Obois 2. | Cornibus 2, Viola. | ex | Fundamento | Auth. D. de Dittersdorff | Ig[naz] Pohl." PL-OPsm, RN II4.

62 Drożdżewska, "Kontakty artystyczne".

63 Klinkhammer, *Die Kirchenmusikhandschriften*, 2:841–851.

The oldest copy is apparently “Del regnar le cure sono” (Saul, II.3) from Břevnov.⁶⁴ The Italian incipit is recorded only on the title page, and the soprano version of the composition has the Latin text “Oro te, o Jesu chare”. Two further versions of this aria were created in Břevnov by P. Wenzel Jansky after 1788: one with the opening line “Oro te, o Jesu chare”, the other with the words “Ave maris stella”.⁶⁵ A musical incipit similar to the one for this composition occurs in Leonora’s aria “Wie kann wohl Freude noch in meinem Herzen” in Ditters’ opera *Doktor und Apotheker*, which has led some modern researchers into confusion regarding these two compositions.⁶⁶

Another aria from Nommesí’s collection, “Ei tra le fiere” (David, II.1), has been preserved in a single specimen from Broumov. It has the Latin text “Eja amoena cantica” and also a later inscribed text opening “Ave maris stella”.⁶⁷

In contrast, the last aria “Dalle radici estreme” (Abner, II.6) is the most widely circulated musical number from *Il Davide*. Nommesí’s copy opening with the words “Voces parate almas” belongs to the collection of the Broumov Benedictine monastery.⁶⁸ Other copies have been documented in the Broumov church of SS Peter and Paul, twice in Břevnov, and finally in the archive of Josef Krejčí in Sokolov.⁶⁹

The title pages of all the above-listed individual arias or their *contrafacta* use the “Dittersdorf” form of the composer’s surname, which suggests that the copies were made after 1773. A significant feature is the persistence of the Italian version of their texts or their citation on the title page. In most cases, a direct link either to the composer or to the locality of Jánský Vrch has been identified, a feature validating our assumption that *Il Davide* was not as widely circulated as Ditters’ other oratorios or preserved so much in the form of *contrafacta* belonging to the repertoires of Czech (and Central European) churches.

64 “Cantate Due | I. Del regnar le cure sono. De Comunione. | II. La cognata esser patria. Ave Maris stella. | Soprano | Due Violini | Due Corni da Caccia | Alto Viola | e | Basso. Del Sig. à Dittersdorf. | P. G[untheri] N[ommesí]. | Per il Coro | di Scta. Margarita.” CZ-Pnm, xxxvii B 157.

65 CZ-Pnm, xxxvii B 158; CZ-Pnm, xxxvii B 97.

66 See, for example, Klinkhammer, *Die Kirchenmusikhandschriften*, 2:216, 234.

67 “Cantate per ogni Tempore e | Ave Maris Stella. | Soprano Solo | Violino imo et 2do, | Alto Viola, | Oboe due, | Cornu due ex G | e | Basso. | Del Sigre Carolo de Dittersdorf. | Chori Braunensis.” Cz-Pnm, xxxviii A 218.

68 “Cantata | Basso Solo | Due Violini | Due Oboe | Due Corni in C prof. | Viola di Alto | e | Basso. Del Sig. Dittersdorf.” CZ-Pnm, xxxviii A 239.

69 Concordances cited by Klinkhammer, *Die Kirchenmusikhandschriften*, 1:194 (cat. no. 290). In addition to these, he lists also a “Laudate Dominum” (CZ-Pnm, viii D 68), but this is a different piece with a similar violin incipit.

CONCLUSION: HISTORICAL AND MODERN RECEPTION OF THE ORATORIO

The first vocal-instrumental composition chosen by Ditters for his new workplace belonged to the genre of fully staged oratorio, which suggests that he intended to build on the positive reception of *Isacco* in Oradea. This strategy met with less success, however, in the liberalized social circles around the controversial Masonic Bishop Schaffgotsch. For this reason, *Il Davide* is the last oratorio Ditters wrote for Javorník. Later during his stay there, he composed his only opera buffa; these comic operas were composed regularly for the birthdays and name days of his patron. Interest in *Il Davide* may even have been diminished by the success of *Esther*, which was composed two years after *Il Davide*: Ditters triumphed with the oratorio not only in Vienna, but also elsewhere in Europe (the same oratorio, incidentally, opened the door for *Il Davide* in Prague). It is worth recalling that while there was an Italian version of *Isacco* (1776) created for Vienna, there was no reprise of *Il Davide*. The lesser popularity of the second oratorio was reflected even in the rather limited dissemination of individual arias and their *contrafacta*.

In modern times *Il Davide* has only been revived recently because of the limited accessibility of musical materials. The first performance took place in September 2018 in Bílá Voda during the 26th Annual International Musical Festival of Carl Ditters of Dittersdorf.⁷⁰ However, this concert performance directed by the conductor Petr Chromčák included only a selection of musical numbers without recitatives. The modern world premiere of the complete work took place in August 2021 in Olomouc, where the ensemble Volantes Orchestra was led by Veronika Manová and Eva Mikesková.⁷¹ The most recent performance of the composition took place under Marek Čermák with the same ensemble in August 2023 in Żeliszów and Dresden. This staged performance confirmed the indisputable artistic qualities of the oratorio in respect of both music and dramaturgy.⁷² One can only hope that we will soon see a recording of the composition and an edition of its score.

70 The soloists were Helena Kalambová (David), Anna Začalová (Gionata), Erika Šporerová-Štelbaská (Eliabbo), Dušan Růžička (Saule), Martin Blažević (Abner).

71 The soloists were Doubravka Součková (David), Helena Hozová (Gionata), Aneta Petrasová (Eliabbo), Aco Bišćević (Saule), Jiří Miroslav Procházka (Abner). Cf. Jana Burdová, "Dva Davidové na Svatém Kopečku", *Harmonie* 8 (2021), accessed 8 August 2023, <https://www.casopisharmonie.cz/kritiky/dva-davidove-na-svatem-kopecku.html>.

72 I am grateful to Karel Valenta for providing me with the score and a live recording of this performance.

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ORATORIJ *IL DAVIDE NELLA VALLE DI TEREBINTHO*

CARLA DITTERSA VON DITTERSDORF

Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf je bil v svojem času pomemben skladatelj vokalne glasbe. Do sedaj je dokumentiranih pet Dittersovih oratorijev: eden v latinščini (*Isaac figura Redemptoris*), eden v nemščini (*Das Opfer des Abrahams*) in trije v italijanščini (*Il Davide*, *L'Esther* in *Giob*). Pričujoči članek povzema trenutno stanje vedenja o naslovni temi in predstavi vse pomembne vire, povezane z oratorijem *Il Davide nella valle di Terebintho*.

Naslov in datacija dotičnega dela sta v obstoječi literaturi navedena napačno. Ditters je oratorij napisal v postnem času leta 1771 za svojega mecena škofa Philippa Gottharda Schaffgotscha. Prvič je bil izveden na gradu Jánský Vrch pri Javorniku, ponovitev pa je sledila poleti istega leta. Pravičen naslov najdemo v libretu s premiere, ki ga hrani Moravski muzeju v Brnu. V članku je predstavljen tudi doslej neznani libreto, natisnjen v Opavi leta 1774 in posvečen Dittersovemu nekdanjemu delodajalcu, škofu Adamu Patlachichu. Avtor libreta je italijanski pesnik jezuit Salvatore Ignazio Pintus (1714–1786), ki je v sedemdesetih letih 18. stoletja bival v Šleziji in bil v stiku s številnimi lokalnimi meceni. Glasba oratorija se je ohranila v dveh virih: v partituri v Københavnu in v partitih v Kroměřížu.

Zgodba oratorija temelji na znamenitem spopadu Davida z Goljatom, opisanem v 1. Samuelovi knjigi. Glavni liki so pastir David (sopran), kralj Savel (tenor), njegov sin Jonatan (sopran), poveljnik vojske Abner (bas) in Davidov starejši brat Eliab (alt). Arije so virtuozne, pri čemer z izpostavljenimi koloraturami še posebej izstopajo Davidove in Savlove. Pomembno vlogo ima tudi zbor, zlasti v drugem delu oratorija. Orkester med drugim obsega solo flavto, ki v Eliabovi ariji (I.2) izraža sinovo ljubezen, in »vojne« trobente v Davidovi (I.5) in Savlovi (II.2) ariji ter v prizoru za zbor v drugem delu. Simfonija v c-molu odraža dediščino dunajskega kontrapunkta v Fuxovem slogu. Izvirna pevska zasedba je rekonstruirana večinoma na podlagi analogij: Dittersova žena Nicolina Trink (David), njen očiim Andreas Renner (Savel), skladateljeva sestra Johanna Ditters (Jonatan) in Vitus Ungricht (Abner).

Poleg premiere na Jánskem Vrchu vemo za še tri izvedbe oratorija v tistem času. Prva je bila leta 1782 v avguštinski cerkvi sv. Tomaža v Pragi (za to izvedbo obstaja natisnjen libreto, ki ga hranijo v Narodni knjižnici v Pragi). Pobudnik je bil najverjetneje violonist in pozneje *regens chori* Johann Josef Strobach, ki je Dittersa osebno poznal že od šestdesetih let 18. stoletja. Druga ponovitev je bila pri piaristih v Kroměřížu, in sicer v italijanščini leta 1783 in v nemščini leta 1784. Ohranjeni izvajalski parti se nanašajo na to izvedbo. Tretja ponovitev je potekala v Vroclavu nekje med letoma 1773 in 1796 (podatek je osnovan na podlagi nedatiranega libreta v tamkajšnji univerzitetni knjižnici).

Tako kot druga Dittersova glasbenodramska dela se je tudi oratorij *Il Davide* razširjal v obliki posamičnih arij in/ali njihovih latinskih kontrafaktur, vendar ne v takšnem obsegu kot njegova dunajska oratorija *Esther* in *Giob*. Dosedanje konkordance obsegajo šest arij: dve z italijanskim besedilom (v Opavi in Berounu) in štiri latinske kontrafakture iz Nyse, Broumova in Břevnova v Pragi. V večini teh primerov obstaja neposredna povezava bodisi s skladateljem samim bodisi z mestom Jánský Vrch. V današnjem času je bil oratorij izveden dvakrat na Češkem, in sicer leta 2018 in 2021.

MAESTRO BOJAN ADAMIČ IN 1947 IN ALBANIA: PROFESSIONAL ASSISTANCE FOR MUSICAL CULTURE OR PENAL DECREE

IZVLEČEK: Prispevek osvetljuje vzroke za napotitev pianista, skladatelja in dirigenta Plesnega orkestra Radia Ljubljana Bojana Adamiča (1912–1995) leta 1947 v Tirano. Sam je poudarjal, da je bil to kazenski dekret zaradi njegovega ustvarjanja in poustvarjanja ameriško naravnane jazzovske glasbe, s čimer naj bi izkazal neposlušnosti do socialistične oblasti. Da je bil v Tirano poslan kazensko, iz dokumentov ni mogoče ne dokazati ne zanihati. Prav mogoče je bil v ozadju ustni dekret.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: Bojan Adamič, Plesni orkester Radia Ljubljana, jazz glasba v Jugoslaviji, kulturna pomoč Albaniji, politični dekreti

ABSTRACT: This paper discusses the reasons for sending the pianist, composer and conductor of the Radio Ljubljana Dance Orchestra, Bojan Adamič (1912–1995), to Tirana in 1947. He insisted that this deployment was a penal decree caused by his creation and recreation of American-oriented jazz music, which was understood as disobedience by the socialist authorities. That he was sent to Tirana on penal grounds can neither be proved nor denied on the basis of archival documents. There may well have been a verbal decree behind it.

KEYWORDS: Bojan Adamič, Radio Ljubljana Dance Orchestra, jazz music in Yugoslavia, cultural assistance to Albania, political decrees

INTRODUCTION

Bojan Adamič (1912–1995) is recognized as a pioneer of Slovenian dance and jazz music, popular song, chansons and film and theatre music. He was also the founder of the now legendary Radio Ljubljana Dance Orchestra (PORL), one of the first professional ensembles of this kind in post-war Europe. Many also remember him as an important member of the *Veseli tobogan* show. He worked throughout Yugoslavia and was an influential figure in the development of entertainment and jazz music festivals. As a composer and arranger, he created an exceptional oeuvre for dance orchestra or big band, into which he wove many motifs taken from Slovenian folk music and thereby founded the so-called Slovenian expression. He wrote about what prompted him to create this type of music: “I started writing original compositions because Western music was banned.”¹ No less important and outstanding is his series of compositions for brass bands, which are still played today by the best ensembles of this type in Slovenia and elsewhere. His work with the ensemble PORL and with works showing off his characteristic expression gained him international fame. He was a pianist with a diploma from the Ljubljana Academy of Music (1941), composer, arranger, conductor, music editor, versatile recreator, juror and, last but not least, an excellent photographer. For his work, he received several national, societal and artistic awards, among which were the highest awards for cultural achievements from the former Yugoslavia: the Golden Arena at the International Pula Film Festival (1955, 1957, 1958), awards from music festivals in Zagreb, Opatija, Maribor and elsewhere, a gold medal from the Yugoslav Composers’ Union (1970), the Silver Order of Freedom of the Republic of Slovenia (1992), the Prešeren Award for lifetime achievement (1979) and, last but not least, the Župančič Award of the City of Ljubljana (1993).²

1 Sivec, “Naša leta”, 19.

2 Biographical data about Bojan Adamič is available in the composer’s documented memoirs and other sources from the family archive of Adamič’s daughter Alenka, preserved in the Music Collection of the National and University Library (SI-Lng) and on a website containing preserved documents and older, shorter biographical publications, which is edited by Adamič’s sister Antonija Levart and his daughter Alenka Adamič, accessible at <http://www.bojan-adamic.si/biografija/>. The first comprehensive biography is the work of the present author (Koter, “Bojan Adamič: The Correlation between His Creative and Performing Life”), where Bojan Adamič’s memories, published interviews and other material he left behind are also considered. The first comprehensive and in-depth assessment of his work and its importance for the Slovenian and Yugoslav cultural space came in the publication *Bojan Adamič: (1912–1995)*, published by the Academy of Music of the University of Ljubljana. This contribution was made following an international symposium on Bojan Adamič in 2012 marking the centenary of his birth. In addition to his biography, there are papers about his musical activity during World War II, his music for big band and brass orchestra, his film music, his importance for the development of Slovenian pop music and chanson and, finally, his role on the radio show *Veseli tobogan*.

During the last decade, several in-depth studies and publications have been written about the life and work of Bojan Adamič.³ In 2012 the Academy of Music of the University of Ljubljana, as part of a research project conducted by the Department of Musical History, organized and held a symposium on Bojan Adamič. This had international participation and was also included in the “Year of Bojan Adamič” project pursued under the auspices of the European Capital of Culture Maribor 2012. The event was immortalized by a full-length concert of compositions by Bojan Adamič performed by the Slovenian Police Orchestra and the Slovenian Army Orchestra under the baton of Milivoj Šurbek at the Union Hall in Maribor. The following year, the achievements of the new research were published in the publication, *Bojan Adamič (1912–1995)*, released as a thematic issue of *The Journal of Music Education of the Academy of Music in Ljubljana*.⁴

A new turning point in research occurred in 2022, on the 110th anniversary of the birth of Bojan Adamič, with encouragement from the Embassy of the Republic of Slovenia in Tirana. It is less well known that Bojan Adamič was sent to Albania in May 1947 as a representative of the former Yugoslavia under the rubric of “cultural aid”, staying there for a few months (from the beginning of May until, probably, the end of August). Until recently, this part of his life has remained largely unknown. Adamič himself mentioned the episode in some interviews, observing that he was sent to Tirana as a punishment for being the disobedient conductor of PORL, with which he had performed American dance and jazz music and music of his own that was of such a character that it was at that time deemed to promote a politically undesirable culture. He also remarked that this had been an extremely difficult period that he did not want to talk about.⁵ At the Slovenian embassy in Tirana this fragment from the life of Bojan Adamič was recognized as an opportunity for further research and for detailed elucidation of the causes and circumstances that led to the decision by the Yugoslav authorities to send him to Albania. With great anticipation and many-sided engagement they opened this subject, which, they thought, would answer

3 They were encouraged by the Association of Slovenian Brass Bands, with the “Year of Bojan Adamič” project marking the centenary anniversary of his birth, and by his daughter, Alenka Adamič, who edited her father’s papers and website (available at <http://www.bojan-adamic.si>) and donated a good amount of written, notation, video and photographic material to the National and University Library (SI-Ln), the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia and the Slovenian Cinematheque. Individual units from the preserved papers of Bojan Adamič are held at SI-Ln, the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, the National Museum of Slovenia, the Slovenian Cinematheque, the National Museum of Contemporary History Ljubljana, the City Museum of Ljubljana, and the Gornjesavski Museum Jesenice. The family-owned archive is also accessible to researchers.

4 Koter, “Bojan Adamič (1912–1995)”.

5 Sivec, “Naša leta”, 18. Adamič did mention that he was also a gymnastics teacher, but this cannot be confirmed on the basis of the available documents.

many questions and bring to light a connection between Slovenian and Albanian cultural and political history.⁶ Paramount was the topic of Bojan Adamič's fields of activity and the importance of his expert work for Albanian musical and general culture. The Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, the Albanian Academy of Sciences, the Bojan Adamič Foundation headed by Alenka Adamič and the Academy of Music at the University of Ljubljana, which in 2012 came up with a research project, were invited to participate. With the help of the Embassy of the Republic of Slovenia in Belgrade, Alenka Adamič launched a "search campaign" for archival documents in the Archives of Yugoslavia and the Historical Archives of Belgrade that would clarify the uncertainties and complement existing knowledge. Some new documents were discovered at the beginning of 2022 and more in 2023; the search is not yet completely finished. A special "academy" celebrating Bojan Adamič's role in Albania and Kosovo took place on 4 May 2022, in Tirana (this was the exact day, 75 years previously, when Adamič had arrived in Albania in 1947) at the Albanian Academy of Sciences and in cooperation with the Embassy of the Republic of Slovenia.⁷ Alenka Adamič, in collaboration with the National and University Library in Ljubljana and the Academy of Sciences in Tirana, prepared a documentary exhibition about Bojan Adamič, which was on display at the premises of the Albanian Academy of Arts, attracting a lot of interest. The event was rounded off by a performance of Adamič's composition entitled *Ljubljana Piano Concerto* (1971) with the renowned Albanian artist Merita Rexha as soloist. At the conference some new findings were presented, partially supplementing our knowledge; more especially, many new questions emerged, and the participants were urged to continue with their researches and publish their findings in a book.⁸ This study of Adamič's activities in Albania also stimulated the recording of a documentary film, *Albanska sonatina*, shot partly in Albania and partly in Slovenia by RTV Slovenia.⁹

As already mentioned, some new documents from the Belgrade archives have become available to researchers, and the contents of the family archive containing

6 All efforts in this regard were placed within the framework of the thirtieth anniversary of diplomatic relations between Slovenia and Albania.

7 This event, which had the most media coverage in Albania, was attended by high-ranking representatives from both countries, diplomats, faculty professors, musicology students and the wider cultural public. In Slovenia it was covered by the newspaper *Dnevnik*. Ingrid Mager, "Na misiji v Albaniji", *Dnevnik*, 7 May 2022, 17.

8 The texts for the book were prepared jointly by Vasil Tole (composer, ethnomusicologist and vice-president of the Academy of Sciences of Albania) and the author of this article. The work was published in November 2023 in the Albanian language, with the support of the Slovenian Book Agency, the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Slovenia, and the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Albania. Translations into Slovenian and English are planned.

9 The author and director of the film is Natalija Gorščak. The documentary premiered on 24 October 2024.

the personal letters that Bojan Adamič sent to his wife Barbara during the Albanian period are also accessible.¹⁰ Documentary material offers the opportunity to learn about the political background of the time and thereby better understand the causes of the so-described “personnel assistance” to the Albanian state in the first years after World War II. Adamič’s letters and his work report, written at the end of May 1947 and sent to the Committee for Culture and Art in Belgrade, make it possible to analyse and understand his daily life, his experience in a new environment and his areas of activity, and also to recognize the problems he had to face, the obstacles that limited him at work, his personal distress and feeling of helplessness and his efforts to satisfy the expectations of his superiors on both the Yugoslav and the Albanian sides. We can also detect there his enthusiasm for Albanian ethnographic culture and many other things. All this can be of great help in answering the central question considered in this article: do the official documents and correspondence regarding Adamič’s deployment and activities in Albania explain and confirm his claim of a penal exile to Albania. Was he sent to Albania merely as a broad-minded musician who accepted the assigned tasks in order to contribute to the development of Albanian musical institutions and ensembles, or did the socialist government send him there to deflect him from jazz and American dance music?

BOJAN ADAMIČ: IN THE STYLE OF JAZZ AND AMERICAN DANCE MUSIC

For a better insight into the problem, it is necessary to shed light on Bojan Adamič’s path to American dance music and jazz before and immediately after World War II, as well as the attitude of the socialist authorities towards this type of music after the war. As a student, Bojan Adamič encountered music that infiltrated the area of Slovenia from the West in the form of film and dance music. Between the two world wars he became a regular visitor to Ljubljana’s cinemas, where films with sound had begun to be shown at that time. Film music and its scores overwhelmed him to the point of making him start improvising. At first, he played at youth dances, since he was a good pianist. He was taught by the renowned pedagogue Anton Ravnik (1895–1989) from his lower level at the music school Glasbena matica of Ljubljana up to his graduation from the Academy of Music in 1941. Adamič had absolute pitch, which is how he memorized the music he heard perfectly — not only melodically, but also harmonically — and then played it impromptu.¹¹ From an early age, he was also interested in the organ, which he

¹⁰ Bojan Adamič’s letters to his wife Barbara are dated between 2 May and 20 August 1947. Here, I would like to thank Alenka Adamič for her trust and for allowing insight into such personal family documents.

¹¹ Koter, “Bojan Adamič: The Correlation between His Creative and Performing Life”, 6.

initially played as an autodidact, subsequently graduating from the secondary level at the Academy of Music with professor Stanko Premrl (1880–1965). During his school and university years he regularly played the organ at Sunday student Masses at St Joseph's Church in Ljubljana and included hit tunes to accompany the singers. Despite the secular atmosphere, or perhaps because of it, his playing impressed not only the youth but also the adult community, since many people, including high school professors, reportedly went to the Masses. The catechist there quietly tolerated Adamič's musical shenanigans.¹²

The first Ljubljana ensemble to play foxtrot, tap, swing etc. and compositions with elements of jazz was called Original Jazz Nagode (from 1922 onwards). Eventually, new groups followed, but before the 1930s no genuine jazz ensembles cultivated improvisation. Bojan Adamič joined the Ronny ensemble at the age of eighteen. Like others, the band pioneered jazz and wrote its first covers mostly for film soundtracks. The Ronny ensemble performed successfully in tourist locations, which included a then prestigious casino in Bled. After its disbandment due to ideological disagreements among the members, Adamič in 1936 founded his own ensemble, with which he began to develop "real" jazz with improvisation, which was also influenced by the increasing influx of records and Hollywood films featuring swing music. Enthusiasm for this kind of music rose sharply among the youth. Certain instruments have also become synonymous with jazz. Bojan Adamič played saxophone, clarinet and trumpet, the last-named instrument considered the principal one for jazz improvisation. Documentation from the Ljubljana State Conservatory shows that for at least one year (1934) he attended a conducting school led by the composer and conductor Lucijan Marija Škerjanc (1900–1973).¹³ When working with the ensemble, he was considered to be extremely zealous and even hard on his colleagues, which is why he was given the nickname "Maestro", initially as a joke, although over the years it became an entirely justified sobriquet that stuck with him throughout his life. Since pre-war Ljubljana could not find a trumpet player who could cope with improvisation and jazz music, Adamič also took up this instrument. He was tutored by the then well-known Ljubljana professor František Karas,¹⁴ otherwise a member of the Slovenian National Theatre's orchestra. By playing in bands with dance and jazz music, for which he also wrote arrangements and his first original works, Bojan Adamič made a lifelong commitment to jazz. However, this did not mean alienation from classical music. He continued to be fascinated by Bach and Beethoven, studied piano, organ and trumpet, and kept perfecting his compositions at the secondary level with the composer Slavko Osterc (1895–1941). Some professors objected to his enthusiasm

12 Bojan Adamič, "Biography", accessed [1 June 2023], <https://www.bojan-adamic.si/en/biography/>.

13 Stefaniya and Zorko, *Med ljubeznijo in poklicem*, 581.

14 Biographical information about František Karas is unavailable.

for jazz and improvisation and accused him of engaging in “obscene” entertainment music and neglecting his study obligations; the leadership of the Music Academy headed by Julij Betetto even considered expelling him. His piano teacher, Anton Ravnik, strongly opposed this idea and successfully defended him. On 28 June 1941 Adamič graduated with a degree in piano.¹⁵

At the beginning of World War II he founded the Bojan Adamič Orchestra, which became one of the most popular bands in Ljubljana at the time. The social role of jazz, which was most favoured by young people involved in the Falcon movement and less so by Catholics and communists, changed with the beginning of the war. Because of its background and connections with the Allied armed forces, it won favour among the wider social strata; at the same time, it was persistently rejected by the Italian and German authorities.¹⁶ During the first two years of the war, Adamič’s orchestra continued to perform, namely in a jazz club on Šentpeterska cesta (today Trubarjeva ulica), Adamič donating his earnings to the Liberation Front of the Slovene Nation movement (Osvobodilna fronta, hereinafter OF).¹⁷ With the capitulation of Italy, the people of Ljubljana joined the partisan movement in large numbers, including Adamič, together with some members of the orchestra. After a short combat episode, during which he was seriously wounded, at the beginning of 1944 he was assigned to the main staff of the National Liberation Army to organize its military band. With the combined forces of wounded, disabled, amateur musicians and a handful of trained musicians, the main staff band was created. Adamič expressed his enthusiasm for entertainment music and jazz in combat songs, marches and other songs with revolutionary content, arranging them in the style of American entertainment music and jazz; in addition, he arranged classical works as standards. This is how he developed his style, which was much closer to entertainment music and jazz melodically and rhythmically than to marching bands. Musicians accepted his music despite their reservations, as did senior political figures. Adamič’s interwar and wartime oeuvre includes around 150 works, original compositions and covers, including choruses and chamber works, but most of it is lost. He also participated in broadcasts on the partisan radio OF, variously as a composer, arranger, accordionist and pianist. He was decorated for his services, received the rank of second lieutenant and later became a major. In 1945 he was awarded the Medal for Bravery by the state.¹⁸

15 Koter, “Bojan Adamič: The Correlation between His Creative and Performing Life”, 6–7. Certificates and diplomas are held by the family archive of Alenka Adamič.

16 Bojan Adamič, “Razmišljanja”, accessed 3 June 2023, <http://www.bojan-adamic.si/razmisljanja/#o-svoji-maturi>.

17 In the papers of Bojan Adamič, preserved in SI-Lng, the Bojan Adamič Preserved-Papers Fund, there are several different autobiographical testimonies to his activities in the field of jazz, most of them undated. One example is a typescript entitled “Jazz in Slovenia”.

18 Koter, “Bojan Adamič: The Correlation between His Creative and Performing Life”, 9–10.

Post-war socialist Yugoslavia developed a completely new attitude towards jazz music. It is evident that it was unwanted and stigmatized as pro-Western propaganda. Despite the regime's holding of such a position, Adamič was allowed in May 1945, as a deserving partisan, to found the PORL, one of the first professional ensembles of its kind in post-war Europe. When composing the repertoire, Adamič had to adapt to the directives of a socialist and pro-Soviet-oriented society, which expected compositions in a revolutionary and working-class spirit, as well as marches and lighter songs. He did not agree with these directives, instead creating compositions with a Slovenian inspiration and elements of jazz. By so doing, he created the first-ever Slovenian dance and jazz music for Big Band ensembles. The best musicians in the Slovenian territory played in the ensemble at that time, leaving a permanent mark on entertainment and jazz music. Despite opposition from the authorities, jazz irresistibly took root within the society of the then Yugoslavia. Adamič was becoming increasingly recognizable and influential on account of his music and orchestra, a fact that made him a disturbing element which had to be stopped. Influential politicians first took a "soft approach". They tried to convince him that he deserved some political position as someone who had served the nation — for example, as director of the Ljubljana Opera House, the Slovenian Philharmonic or something similar, probably mainly in order to attract him away from jazz. He refused all offers and remained at Radio Ljubljana as music editor, assistant director and conductor of PORL. Because of his musical style, he had many problems: among other things, the authorities rejected all his requests for further education abroad. He really wanted to study in London or Moscow.¹⁹ Under his direction the dance orchestra made significant progress, holding its own concerts as early as 1945. The authorities showed considerable displeasure with the concerts. Articles were written about jazz, labelling it as music without aesthetic and artistic value and as American and capitalist propaganda. A concert at the beginning of 1947 in Belgrade was particularly fateful for the ensemble. The audience, which included many staff from the American Embassy, gave a roaring applause to the songs of Glen Miller and others. The Yugoslav authorities were outraged and even developed the construct that the concert had been organized by the American Embassy in order to incite the incident.²⁰ Some enthusiasts were even arrested by the State Security Administration (UDBA) after the concert, and the next day Adamič was ordered to give up jazz, to change the schedule of his concerts and to adhere to the socialist doctrine regarding culture. That day, Adamič had a completely different concert from the one originally planned — one where he had no choice but to comply — so he played folk song covers on the piano, while the orchestra played waltzes and Russian songs. As he said, it was a sad day, a fiasco for jazz. He later wrote

19 See the webpage <http://www.bojan-adamic.si/>.

20 See <https://www.bojan-adamic.si/biografija/#povojno>.

his thoughts about the event: "There's nothing you can say that would not get you hanged."²¹ Strong pressure was also put on the management of Radio Ljubljana; there was even talk of disbanding the orchestra, which was said to be "a main source of pollution for the Slovenian soul."²² The director of Radio Ljubljana at that time was Ante Novak, a leading partisan who was considered an opportunist and was therefore demoted several times from high positions.²³ Shortly after the PORL incident in Belgrade, Novak was dismissed, the official reasons for which are unknown. He was replaced by an unknown director, otherwise a member of the Central Committee of Slovenia, which was a senior political position. This man was clearly sympathetic to Adamič and his activities, since he even intervened in his favour in the highest political circles and was of a principled disposition. When the public controversy against jazz and Adamič continued and the musician was not allowed to publish his side of the story, this director supported him, as evidenced by the statement: "As long as I am in office, we will talk with arguments"²⁴, but he was in turn soon replaced. A third director in the spring of 1947 was not at all supportive of Adamič, and soon they had a heated argument. Adamič was convinced that this was precisely the reason why he was sent to Albania.²⁵ The Belgrade Committee for Art and Culture was supposed to have played a part in this, for it must have been aware of the incident at the concert given by Adamič's orchestra in Belgrade at the beginning of 1947.²⁶

POLITICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN YUGOSLAVIA AND ALBANIA AFTER WORLD WAR II UNTIL 1948

For a better understanding of the issue, it is also necessary to shed light on the political facts about the relations between the two countries immediately after World War II. In the first years, Yugoslavia and Albania had close political relations. After the liberation of Albanian territory at the end of April 1945, Yugoslavia was the first state to recognize the new government of Colonel General Enver Hoxha, and the two

21 Petar Luković, "Večni fant s trobento: paberki iz življenja in dela Bojana Adamiča", *Nedeljski dnevnik*, 20 November 1988, 25.

22 Bojan Adamič, "Razmišljanja", accessed 3 June 2023, <http://www.bojan-adamic.si/razmisljanja/#o-svoji-maturi>.

23 See <https://www.bojan-adamic.si/biografija/#povojno>.

24 Petar Luković, "Večni fant s trobento: paberki iz življenja in dela Bojana Adamiča", *Nedeljski dnevnik*, 20 November 1988, 25.

25 Available at <http://www.bojan-adamic.si/biografija/#kazen>. See Petar Luković, "Večni fant s trobento: paberki iz življenja in dela Bojana Adamiča", *Nedeljski dnevnik*, 20 November 1988, 26.

26 He wrote about the involvement of the Committee for Culture and Art in Belgrade, which is supposed to have demanded the choice of Adamič for Albania, in: Bojan Adamič to his wife, 19 June 1947, family archive.

countries established diplomatic relations.²⁷ Since Albania failed to develop a diplomatic network until 1948 due to non-recognition by most countries (the first country after Yugoslavia to recognise Albania was the Soviet Union at the end of 1945), Yugoslavia represented Albania's political interests in sixteen countries. Among other things, Yugoslavia contributed to the signing of the peace agreement with Italy and to the fact that the country was not divided into Albanian and Greek parts, which Greece wished to achieve through getting a lot of support from leading Western European countries. Greece supported the idea of annexing part of Albania to Yugoslavia, and part to Greece. Allowing Albania to join Yugoslavia was also advocated by the Soviet Union, which supported the expansion of the Yugoslav Federation into the Balkans; Bulgaria, too, was under consideration. The failure of Albanian politicians to integrate into European and world political currents caused the two countries to become even more closely connected in the autumn of 1946. Albania was extremely underdeveloped: eighty per cent of its population was illiterate; it needed agrarian reforms to revive its agricultural sector; experts were needed in all branches of the economy: teachers at various levels, cultural workers, artists etc. At the end of June 1946, during Enver Hoxha's first visit to Belgrade, Josip Broz Tito and Hoxha started talks on annexing Albania to the Yugoslav Federation, concluded numerous economic agreements and outlined the practice of personnel assistance.²⁸ From the middle of 1946 to the end of June 1948, when the two countries separated politically, the Yugoslav authorities sent experts of various kinds to Albania, primarily economists. The two countries even had a plan for a unified economic area, but relations were repeatedly strained by various tensions, which reached boiling point in the spring of 1948, when the Yugoslav authorities accused Albania of collaborating with the Soviet Union, and the Albanian authorities accused Yugoslavia of striving for inadmissible military influence over Albanian territory. Plans for a federated economic community were thus ditched.²⁹ The main actor in this conflict was the Soviet Union, which saw a potentially powerful union in the planned Balkan federation (Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania), which was to be chaired by Tito and in time could become dangerous competition to the Soviet Union. Accordingly, it chained Albania to itself.³⁰

In addition to their political ties, shortly after World War II Yugoslavia and Albania also developed cultural contacts, which became more frequent in 1946. At that time, a fairly lively flow of cultural creators and teachers, mainly Yugoslavs, to Albania began. Under Yugoslav influence the Albanians reorganised their educational system in 1946. So instead of teaching Italian and French, the dominant foreign languages previously learned, they introduced classes of Russian and Serbo-Croatian. At this

27 Hadalin, *Boj za Albanijo*, 110.

28 Ibid., 120–140.

29 Ibid., 142–168.

30 Ibid., 176–191.

point, Tito approved the employment of ten teachers in Albania, and Serbo-Croatian and Albanian courses for Yugoslavs were introduced as well. Shortly afterwards, in 1947, a Serbo-Croatian-Albanian dictionary was published. Future Albanian experts were educated in Yugoslavia, since at that time Albania did not have colleges and universities. The University of Tirana started operating only in 1957. Among the first cultural institutions established after the war with the help of Yugoslav experts was the first permanent Albanian theatre (in operation since the autumn of 1945), which was founded by local amateur actors under the leadership of the Serbian theatre director Božo Nikolić. A year later, the development of Albanian film began similarly.³¹ In the same year (1946), the idea of concluding a cultural convention between the two countries as an “instrument for the coordination of cultural goods” emerged. Until 1952 the forms of culture in Yugoslavia were directed by Agitprop as part of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.³² From available documents, we understand that the first musician sent to Albania under the banner of “cultural aid” was Bojan Adamič.³³ Despite all intentions, until the middle of 1947 cultural exchanges did not take place under the auspices of institutions for culture and art, but instead through diplomatic channels — a situation also confirmed by documents concerning the deployment of Bojan Adamič to Albania. A convention on cooperation between the two countries in the field of culture was signed on 9 July 1947, i.e. during the time when Adamič was already in Albania.³⁴

ADAMIČ'S ACTIVITY IN ALBANIA THROUGH OFFICIAL AND PERSONAL DOCUMENTS

Adamič repeatedly stated and emphasized that this was a penal decree and a plan for his enforced “re-education” that was supposed to teach him a lesson and keep him away from jazz. In his memoirs, he wrote, among other things:

Because I was involved in athletics, I was appointed as a gym teacher in Tirana. [...] Albania is a completely different story. What I saw there was unimaginable. A despot with a rifle held the whole nation in check. Everything was as he said: sports, politics, art.³⁵

³¹ Ibid., 192–195.

³² Ibid., 195.

³³ Bojan Adamič to his wife, July 1947, family archive. We discover that he was accompanied by his colleague Asić, a musician from Serbia, but it is not known when the latter arrived in Albania.

³⁴ Hadalin, *Boj za Albanijo*, 196.

³⁵ Bojan Adamič, Biography: available at: <http://www.bojan-adamic.si/biografija/#povojno>.

Documents attesting his deployment to Albania are dated from March 1947 onwards. The first is a government document (dated 14 March 1947) addressed to the Ministries of Education of Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia, which states that the government of Albania had approached them with a request for Yugoslavia to send fourteen musicians to act as members of the national symphony orchestra and as teachers at the Academy of Music in Tirana. The government office in Belgrade wrote that the request had to be granted, even at the expense of some local ensemble or institution, and that it was necessary to choose good musicians who were also educators and, above all, politically irreproachable.³⁶ Three musicians from Slovenia were selected for this purpose: Uroš Prevoršek, Bojan Adamič and Samo Hubad. It is not known who chose them, but it is a fact that all three were well-educated and versatile musicians. On 24 March 1947, the Slovenian Ministry of Education replied to the above-mentioned letter:

Comrades Uroš Prevoršek and Bojan Adamič are willing to go to Albania to a designated place. Prevoršek is an excellent violinist, teacher and conductor; Adamič is, above all, an excellent pianist; he is ready to organize and conduct an orchestra of light (entertainment) music, but as for teaching work, he has the ability to deliver it but takes little pleasure in it. The Ministry of Education requests that you inform us when Radio Ljubljana should release the aforementioned comrades. Samo Hubad is not an option on grounds of poor health.³⁷

Next came the document with which the Ministry of Education, Culture and Arts ordered the departure of Uroš Prevoršek and Bojan Adamič to Albania on 5 April 1947, and instructed Radio Ljubljana to relieve them of their duties immediately, if possible.³⁸ It is not known at present why Prevoršek did not go. On 26 April the Radio Committee of the Government of the Federal National Republic of Yugoslavia in Belgrade addressed a document to the Committee for Culture and Art in the same city with a list of musicians that Radio Tirana would need for its orchestra. The categories and number of individual musicians required are precisely listed. Needed were: “an orchestral conductor, 3 first violins, 1 viola, 1 cello, 1 double bass, 1 flute, 1 oboe, 1 clarinet, 1 bassoon, 1 horn, 1 trombone, 1 tuba.”³⁹ This made up a total of four-

36 A copy of the document (letter from the Ministry of Education of Serbia to Zagreb and Ljubljana) from the Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, 14 March 1947, no. 170, is held by the family archive of Alenka Adamič.

37 Letter from the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Slovenia to the Committee for Culture and Art of the SFRY Government, 24 March 1947, no. K103/1, the Archives of Yugoslavia, Belgrade. A copy of the document is held by the family archive of Alenka Adamič.

38 A copy of the document from the Archive of Yugoslavia in Belgrade is held by the family archive of Alenka Adamič.

39 Document RADIO COMMITTEE of the Government of the Federative National Republic of

teen musicians belonging to all sections of the orchestra. The document states what conditions were to be included in the contract concluded with the management of Radio Tirana, namely:

14 musicians are to conclude a contract for a period of 4 years with the following duties:

1. 4 hours of rehearsals per day; 2 concerts per week in a large ensemble with a 45-minute symphonic programme; 1 show per week with a small orchestra; the Radio Orchestra will hold a public concert once a month in Tirana or other cities in Albania; the orchestra will participate in performances of operas, operettas and ballets.
2. The musician will also work as a professor of an instrument at the Artistic Lyceum [initially, the institution was named as the Academy of Music, but it was actually the Artistic Lyceum], where he will teach Albanian musicians.
3. It is mandatory to conduct a course at the Radio Station for all members of the orchestra of Albanian nationality.⁴⁰

Further, the amount of payment is listed, where it is explicitly pointed out that the individual will receive a salary according to “his abilities” and that “the management of Radio Tirana undertakes to find each person an apartment and a canteen for meals.”⁴¹ The planned tasks were extensive and varied, as well as consistent with the situation Albania was facing: a severe shortage of skilled musicians in all professional categories. Today, we know that of all those proposed, only Bojan Adamič travelled to Tirana, but it is not known why the relevant services did not find or identify other candidates. In one of the letters Adamič mentions that Uroš Prevorsek is also expected to arrive on 1 September, and that a lot of things need to be done and prepared “so that our boys will be comfortable when they get here”.⁴² This statement implies that Adamič had the assigned task of studying the situation and finding out what kind of professional profiles the Albanians would need.

From this we may conclude that more musicians were expected to arrive in September of that year, but there is no proof that any did. We may also assume that the Yugoslav musicians had the option of choosing whether or not they would go to Tirana; it is even possible that they would have decided to take this step because of

Yugoslavia, sent to the Committee for Culture and Art, Belgrade, 26 April 1947, no. 2001, the Archives of Yugoslavia, Belgrade. A copy of the document is held by the family archive of Alenka Adamič.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Bojan Adamič to his wife, 19 May 1947, family archive.

a better income, since they would still receive a salary at home in their home institution, while in Albania they would receive daily wages, which ought to be sufficient for the local living conditions.⁴³ Adamič reports that this was not the reason in his case, since he was almost penniless: none of the parties wanted to pay him, so he even had to borrow money for his meagre survival.⁴⁴ Ostensibly and officially, he agreed to go to Albania and do everything that was proposed, but we do not know if there was any pressure in the background, either from his superiors at Radio Ljubljana or from more important political circles. His later statements, published in the above-mentioned interviews, possibly indicate that there was a verbal decree behind it. He wrote that Albania was difficult for him in all aspects and that he persisted mainly in order to keep in existence the Ljubljana PORL orchestra, which was of vital importance to him and his music. At the same time, he was worried about what he would do after returning to Ljubljana, since he wrote: “where and what kind of job will I go to after I return from Albania”.⁴⁵ As we now know, he was able to continue working at Radio Ljubljana, but we don’t know if there were any complications.

Returning to the Albanian offer to the musicians, it seems understandable that the contract for four whole years was unacceptable to the candidates. It is not known when this condition changed, but we know that Adamič was initially supposed to have a contract for six months, then one for three months.⁴⁶ On 30 April the management of Radio Ljubljana relieved him of his official duties and paid him his salary for the following month, and at the same time asked the government in Belgrade to reimburse them.⁴⁷ The sum of 7,500 dinars was comparable with the sum offered by the Albanian side in the above-mentioned document. We understand Radio Ljubljana’s advance as a gesture for the first weeks of his stay, which turned out to be very useful, since the monetary side of Adamič’s activity in Albania was far from settled. After several weeks of negotiations, he was granted a fairly modest amount, which he mostly spent on food and housing.⁴⁸ Perhaps this was also the reason why he eventually stopped pressing for family members to come to Albania with the musicians.⁴⁹

43 Bojan Adamič to his wife, 19 June 1947, family archive.

44 Bojan Adamič to his wife, 21 May 1947, family archive.

45 Bojan Adamič to his wife, 19 May 1947, family archive.

46 Bojan Adamič to his wife, 25 May 1947, family archive.

47 Document from the personnel department of Radio Ljubljana to the Federal Committee for Culture and Art of the Republic of Yugoslavia, 30 April 1947, no. 122/47. The original is held by the Archives of Yugoslavia Belgrade, and a copy by the family archive of Alenka Adamič.

48 Bojan Adamič to his wife, 21 May 1947, family archive.

49 “Bojan Adamič’s Report on Musical Life in Albania”, report by Bojan Adamič on musical life in Albania addressed to Meša Selimović (head of the Department for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries), 23 May 1947. An accompanying letter from the Embassy of Yugoslavia in Tirana, 13 June 1947, no. 4–33, the Archives of Yugoslavia, Belgrade. A copy is held by the family archive of Alenka Adamič.

He arrived in Belgrade on 2 May 1947 in order to obtain an entry visa for Albania. The document of the Committee for Culture and the Arts, sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, states that “comrade Bojan Adamič, a musician from Ljubljana, needs to be issued a visa to work in Albania after the approval of the Committee for Culture and the Arts.”⁵⁰ The same committee also addressed a letter to the Albanian Embassy in Belgrade, from which it is clear that Bojan Adamič, who is willing to accept this post, is being sent to Albania by the government of the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia, which expects the relevant bodies to be informed of his arrival. At the same time, it is pointed out that he is a professional conductor and pianist who will work to promote the development of Albanian musical institutions.⁵¹ However, in Ljubljana he was specifically instructed to monitor, observe and evaluate the state of musical culture, the qualification of the musicians, the performance of ensembles etc., and to write reports on those matters and send them to the Committee for Culture and Art in Belgrade.⁵² Also, from a paper by Ljubomir Petrović addressing cultural contacts between Albania and Yugoslavia between 1946 and 1948 we understand that Adamič was sent to Albania with the intent of assessing the current state of Albanian musical culture and the professional level of the musicians.⁵³ Letters by Bojan Adamič prove that he was musically active and by no means just an observer of the situation, and also that the letters were largely censored. It was also not possible to talk carelessly over the telephone.⁵⁴

He reports on how he experienced his first day in Belgrade in a letter to his wife Barbara, where he writes, among other things, that he was “well-received” at the Albanian embassy, but that he was disappointed with the staff at the Committee for Culture and Art of Yugoslavia, about whom he commented:

I would prefer to go home, because they were really looking for a musician for the orchestra, and not me. I was commissioned because someone forgot to read the letter from the ministry carefully. I had quite a fight to stop them sending me back to Ljubljana.⁵⁵

50 Document issued by the Committee for Culture and Art Belgrade addressed to the Department for Passports of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2 May 1947, no. 2257, the Archives of Yugoslavia, Belgrade. A copy is held by the family archive of Alenka Adamič.

51 Document issued by the Committee for Culture and Art addressed to the Albanian Embassy in Belgrade, 2 May 1947, no. 2207, the Archives of Yugoslavia. A copy is held by the family archive of Alenka Adamič.

52 Bojan Adamič to his wife, 15 May 1947, family archive.

53 Petrović, “Kulturne veze Jugoslavije i Albanije”, 74–83. This is also confirmed by Adamič’s daughter, Alenka Adamič, who says that the starting point of his activities was entrusted to him by Lidija Šentjurs, with whom they got along well.

54 Bojan Adamič to his wife, undated, family archive.

55 Bojan Adamič to his wife, 2 May 1947, family archive.

That opens a question of who it was that misunderstood the mentioned letter and the needs of Albania and chose Adamič as a future member of the Albanian Symphony Orchestra. This may be precisely the key to the problem — seemingly ignored. Given the situation he found himself in, Adamič could even have reacted differently and returned to Ljubljana. Thus the question arises again and again whether there was some kind of agreement between him and someone unknown that compelled him to accept the work in Albania and perform it unconditionally. In the next letter (undated, probably written while he was still in Belgrade) he points out that he had received 3,000 dinars “for support”, which he used to pay for his trip to Tirana, and that he and his wife would spend the rest when “we will travel around Yugoslavia a bit on the way home”.⁵⁶ In practice, husbands could be joined at work in Albania by their wives, who were supposed to perform various jobs there — but on condition that they were fluent in the appropriate language, Serbo-Croatian, Italian, French or Albanian.⁵⁷ In the above-mentioned letter, he wrote: “I will see to it that you get a job right away.”⁵⁸ This did not happen, but it is clear from the following letters that they were constantly trying to obtain a passport for her so that she could at least visit him at the end of July or August and then travel home to Slovenia together with him.⁵⁹

According to Adamič, when he arrived in Tirana on 4 May there was considerable confusion, about which he wrote: “I am unwanted, unsolicited, and I have to argue every day to stay here”.⁶⁰ Apparently, Belgrade did not properly communicate his arrival, because the Albanians expected the musician to be a member of the symphony orchestra, and since Adamič did not meet their expectations, they were not ready to accept or pay him. He did not have sufficient means of subsistence, and at the Yugoslav Embassy he was told to find his own way. He was to stay for three months, maybe even six, and was under contract until 5 August 1947. As he said, he had to do his best not to be sent back. He lived in modest conditions in the well-known Hotel Dajta, ate in the canteen, where food ran out several times, and was afraid of catching malaria and typhus, which were both common diseases at that time.⁶¹

He took his mission very seriously and with full responsibility, although at the beginning he did not know what the Albanians expected from him, and he also had problems with communication. In addition to Albanian, individuals spoke Italian or French, less often Serbo-Croatian. Adamič attended a course in Albanian, which was foreign and difficult for him, but he had some knowledge of Italian, which helped him

56 Bojan Adamič to his wife, undated (probably written 3 May 1947), family archive.

57 Bojan Adamič to his wife, 19 May 1947, family archive.

58 Ibid.

59 In the letter he mentions Lidija Šentjurc, who promised to help. Bojan Adamič to his wife, 21 May 1947, family archive.

60 Bojan Adamič to his wife, 7 May 1947, family archive.

61 Ibid.

a lot.⁶² He agreed on his duties with the director of theatre and radio and with the head of the committee for culture and art. He gradually got more and more assignments, his main task being to teach and instruct the members of the radio orchestra, and by doing so to contribute to their professional and artistic development. He also wrote original works and covers for the orchestra, which were signed by “others”. That hurt him, but he did not dare dispute it.⁶³ He repeatedly emphasized that he had given regular instruction to the conductor of the radio orchestra that had not been paid for.⁶⁴ The radio orchestra, which he occasionally conducted, held many concerts during Adamič’s time, since he stated that they also performed outside Tirana, even night after night, even though the places concerned were quite far from each other and the roads were bad. He especially praised the excellent relations with fellow musicians and the friendliness and hospitality of the locals. After two weeks in Albania, he even wrote: “I wish I could stay because I could have been of great use in a few matters”.⁶⁵ Considering the integrity of his work, we can conclude that this statement was rather modest, since in three months he became an indispensable part of the development of Albanian music. He also participated in the creation of the radio programme, reviewed the archive, noted that there was extremely little material for broadcasting, and asked his colleagues in Ljubljana to send him records and other material. Among other things, he wrote covers of folk songs for various bands.⁶⁶ This was following the already mentioned convention on the popularization of Yugoslav culture in Albania, which took place most intensively on Radio Tirana. As can be seen from his letters to his wife, he repeatedly mentions the lack of original Slovenian compositions, especially ones from the folk domain, which he needed for covers or arrangements.⁶⁷ He also wrote extensive works for the orchestra, often overnight.⁶⁸ Unfortunately, the vast majority of those works have not been preserved. The content of the programme is eloquently attested by a preserved Radio Tirana listing for October 1947, where national and partisan songs were in the foreground.⁶⁹ Adamič worked as well with the radio choir, where he auditioned, participated in the creation of the programme, and, when necessary, also performed as a tenor, occasionally leading two main choirs. He was also engaged in the theatre, for which he wrote stage music and toured in Durrës and elsewhere.⁷⁰ It seems that these experiences helped

62 Bojan Adamič to his wife, 15 May 1947, family archive.

63 Bojan Adamič to his wife, June 1947, family archive.

64 Bojan Adamič to his wife, 30 May 1947, family archive.

65 Bojan Adamič to his wife, 15 May 1947, family archive.

66 Bojan Adamič to his wife, 25 May 1947, family archive.

67 Bojan Adamič to his wife, 19 June 1947, family archive.

68 Bojan Adamič to his wife, undated, family archive.

69 Hadalin, *Boj za Albanijo*, 196.

70 Bojan Adamič to his wife, 30 May 1947, family archive.

him to continue this type of activity at home. In addition to all his duties, he also taught at a high school (it is not known what subject) and at the so-called Lyceum of Arts (in this case it is also not known what subject), which represented the beginning of the Academy of Music.⁷¹ He mentioned a plan for the reform of Albanian musical life, which was supposed to be his main task, and complained that he was unsupported for all the work.⁷² He was also supposed to establish the operation of a trade union, which he hardly thought possible. As he wrote, key positions in culture were occupied by people without knowledge and education, and they obtained their positions through acquaintances in political circles and intrigue. He often found himself in disgrace if he happened to hang out with politically objectionable people. At those times he even felt threatened, but there were no serious sanctions against him. As we understand, they spared him because they soon realized how valuable his immensely needed musical skills were.⁷³ As a good pianist, he was given the task of performing as a soloist and holding concerts in various places in Albania. As he stated, in the abundance of work, he sometimes played the piano in the morning.⁷⁴ He delivered many concerts from 20 July 1947 onwards in all major cities.⁷⁵

He worked from early morning until midnight, when the lights were turned off, and after that he often continued with the help of a torch. According to him, he lived in very modest conditions, as his requests for a salary arrangement in his homeland and adequate daily allowances, such as others enjoyed, were not granted. He felt cheated.⁷⁶ He had to report back on his work to Belgrade, for which he urgently needed a typewriter that supported the Latin alphabet and letters with diacritics placed over them. He complained about this in a letter sent home, and within a few weeks a typewriter was brought to him by his colleague Lesjak, who was travelling on vacation to Ljubljana and then back to Albania.⁷⁷ There ought to exist more reports: shorter ones on his ongoing work and a final longer one after his return. So far, only one such report is known, dated 23 May 1947. Apparently, it was reviewed at the Yugoslav embassy in Tirana, a cover letter was added, and it was sent to Belgrade three weeks later.⁷⁸ It is clear from a comment made by the embassy in Tirana that the letter by Adamič concerning the skills of the Albanian musicians could not be trusted.

71 Ibid.

72 Ibid.

73 Bojan Adamič to his wife, July 1947, family archive.

74 Bojan Adamič to his wife, 30 May and 4 July 1947, family archive.

75 Bojan Adamič to his wife, 6 July 1947, family archive.

76 Bojan Adamič to his wife, July 1947, family archive.

77 Bojan Adamič to his wife, 25 May 1947, family archive. The first name of the said Lesjak could not be ascertained.

78 Work report by Bojan Adamič, 23 May 1947, with an accompanying letter from the SFRY Embassy in Tirana, 13 June 1947, 11 pages in length, the Archives of Yugoslavia, Belgrade. A copy is held by the family archive of Alenka Adamič.

The report, addressed to Comrade Mišo Selimović, is written in Slovenian. Adamič reports on the situation at Radio Tirana, on the qualifications of the musicians there and on the members of the radio symphony orchestra, whom he describes as incompetent and lazy workers. He concludes this section with a remark that the situation is anarchic. Among the reasons, he cites impossible working conditions at the radio station, the instrumentalists' great lack of knowledge of music theory, their lack of mastery of their instruments, the poor training of pedagogues and, last but not least, the malnutrition of the population, as they supposedly ate only one meal a day (corn-bread, spinach and a little onion). He says that Albania has otherwise made a huge leap forward from an almost feudal society to a socialist one; that it has no musical tradition in classical music; that it is heavily influenced by Italian music; that those responsible at the Albanian Committee for Culture and Art do not even know this area, that they are not interested in changes and many other things in that spirit. He expressed his assessment as follows:

We, Yugoslavs who help and participate in the cultural field, are always standing in front of a wall. There is a big difference between us and Soviet citizens [...], from salary to countless little things — everywhere you can see that we are not really wanted, that we are not valued at all. One involuntarily gets the impression that they want to join the Soviet Union as soon as possible [...], I have the impression that they want to get rid of every one of us as soon as possible, as well. But if they fail to do so, then everyone makes sure that none of us gets into a position of responsibility. They should know that none of us wants a place on their committee, because that's not what we came here for. But we all want to be in a place where we have an overview of what has already been done and what hasn't so that we can advise and work as concretely as possible. [...] None of us blames them for their ignorance because we understand their situation. [...] But we have succeeded in very few things so far.⁷⁹

Aware that he was ordered to work at the radio mainly to assist in all areas of its operations, including the radio programme, the orchestra programme, work with the choir etc., he was determined to fulfil a task given to him by the Minister of Education in Ljubljana, Lidiya Šentjurs: to learn about the situation and level of music in Albania in order to help in the longer term.⁸⁰ His report was intended to make it clearer to the Committee in Belgrade what kind of musicians they should send for the orchestra and the Art Lyceum.⁸¹ He believed that the professional competence

79 Ibid., 5.

80 Ibid.

81 Ibid., 6.

of Yugoslav musicians was not really a priority for the Albanians: political consciousness was more important to them.⁸² He described how he did not receive a proper contract or residence permit, clothes, ration tickets etc. He added that he could not borrow money indefinitely: therefore, he would be forced to sign a shameful contract.⁸³ For the Yugoslav musicians who were supposed to come to Tirana on 1 September 1947, he suggested that only truly conscious Yugoslavs should come: those ready to do everything for the advancement of Albanian music. He wrote that for general communication and teaching at the lyceum, knowledge of Italian is essential. Further, he wrote that there was no need for first-rank musicians from the Yugoslav side, since most of the orchestra's membership would be Albanian and possess only minimal knowledge. He pointed out that they should have teaching experience and a sensitivity towards people, since they should be able to treat illiterate persons appropriately, and that the ability to assist the growth of a positive attitude towards work was expected. He added that the conductor would have to deal with "apartments, bread tickets, disorderly sheet music materials, illiterates, laziness, an impossible audience and, especially with the Committee here, that he must necessarily be a violinist".⁸⁴ He further added that he would personally arrange for the then Albanian conductor and concertmaster to go to study in Yugoslavia.⁸⁵ Adamič was convinced that the professional training of personnel and transformation of the attitude of the general population towards music were central tasks for Yugoslavs, emphasizing that they should not cover up these facts to candidates who would be going to Albania — otherwise, the individuals would leave later voluntarily resign or abscond.⁸⁶ He concluded his report with a question about how many Albanian students Yugoslavia could accept, because he was convinced that there were quite a few talented ones among their musicians.⁸⁷

In the accompanying letter to the report, it is written that Adamič did not consider the general and cultural state of the country; that his criticism was completely unjustified and too harsh; and that he did not take into account the most important thing: that Albanians should adopt a correct Marxist understanding of culture and art with the help of Yugoslavia. According to the writer, this could not be achieved in a short time, as Adamič expected. In the conclusion it is emphasized that the embassy's office does not agree with some parts of the report.⁸⁸ In his report Adamič has

82 Ibid.

83 Ibid., 7.

84 Ibid., 8.

85 Ibid., 9.

86 Ibid.

87 Ibid., 11.

88 Accompanying letter from the SFRY Embassy in Tirana, 13 June 1947, to a report by Bojan Adamič, 23 May 1947, the Archives of Yugoslavia, Belgrade. A copy is held by the family archive of Alenka Adamič.

nowhere said anything about Marxist doctrine or the image of socialist culture: his report is to be understood only as a real-time snapshot. Today, we can understand it as a frank presentation of reality and a constructive proposal for the progress of Albanian music.

As mentioned, Adamič's contract was supposed to expire on 5 August 1947, but there is no information on when he actually left Tirana. It is clear from the last letters to his wife that she did not get a passport as they had planned, and that they were supposed to meet at home in Ljubljana.⁸⁹ He also mentions a visit by comrade Marković from the Presidency of the Yugoslav Government (probably Momčilo Moma Marković, an important politician), who was supposed to help solve the problems concerning salaries. Adamič says:

He was very surprised at my situation because I am the only Yugoslav who is in such a situation, and he asked if I had not been punished or if I was not a defector. So, I showed him the discharge certificate from the Radio [Ljubljana] and explained everything. I think he will make a real fuss [...] The presidency had no idea that there were any professors other than technical experts. He told me that the federal government had issued a decree according to which everyone had to go back to their old job.⁹⁰

Thus it seems that Yugoslav politics worked along several tracks and that particularly arbitrary decisions were made by the UDBA. Bojan Adamič returned home either at the end of August or in September 1947.⁹¹ The only piece of music from this period so far known to have been preserved is a Sonatina for orchestra signed: "2 September 1947, Tirana".⁹²

CONCLUSION

Just as [Momčilo Moma ?] Marković had promised, the post of PORL conductor was indeed waiting for him in Ljubljana, but that did not mean an end to his problems regarding jazz and his views on music. Although it has not been possible to prove through documents that Adamič's Albanian episode was the product of a political persecution intended to distance him from PORL and jazz, his personal statements about this, mentioned in the interview, could well be a fact. Since he never wished to talk

89 Bojan Adamič to his wife, undated (probably July 1947), family archive.

90 Ibid.

91 Petar Luković, "Večni fant s trobento: paberki iz življenja in dela Bojana Adamiča", *Nedeljski dnevnik*, 20 November 1988.

92 Papers of Bojan Adamič, SI-Lng.

later about this period, not even with his family, that period is best understood as a painful life-experience endured under political pressure. It is necessary to take into account the possibility that after his controversial concerts with American-style music, he was on the receiving end of a verbal decree, as a result of which he remained in Albania even when the local authorities wished to send him back to Yugoslavia with an apology, because he did not fit the expected profile of a musician. Withdrawal could have meant giving up on PORL. It is his perseverance and the content of his letters to his wife that confirm that he was ready to sacrifice many things for the ensemble. Proof that there were political pressures comes also in the form of censored letters to his wife, reports to the authorities in Belgrade and, last but not least, the wire-tapping of telephone conversations.

Regardless of what his feelings were, there is clear evidence that he fulfilled his mission well, sincerely striving for the improvement of Albanian musicians and ensembles. Whoever was responsible for his ending up in Tirana may have been surprised that Adamič did not argue or come into conflict with his superiors or the musicians he worked with in the given situation. He proved himself to be a man who was aware of what his task was and performed it honourably. Therefore, it is not surprising that he was very disappointed when the Committee for Culture and Art in Belgrade commented that his report was too subjective and offensive to Albanian musicians. Over the years, he drove this part of his life into oblivion, although not completely: in interviews about his life and work, he mentioned it several times. Today, this episode can be understood as an example of how the Yugoslav authorities, in the period before its expulsion from the Cominform (the break with Moscow), treated cultural figures who violated the authorities' directives on socialist culture — especially those who were knowledgeable and could not understand the unfounded directives of the authorities about the corrupting influences of American music and jazz in general. The Yugoslav socialist government knew how to punish or remove popular and influential cultural figures or musicians such as *maestro* Bojan Adamič undoubtedly was.

The problems with jazz continued even after his return, although perhaps a little less intensely. At the beginning of the 1950s a special commission was established at the federal level with the task of examining whether jazz was suitable for a socialist society. After extensive and lengthy debates and arguments *pro et contra*, when it seemed that jazz would be definitively banned, the result turned out in his favour. Adamič pleaded for its recognition even with Josip Broz Tito and other influential politicians such as Moša Pijade.⁹³ Since the opinions of political leaders about the corrupting influence of jazz music differed greatly, and also since the era of sharp

93 See Adamič's autobiographical note: "O jazzu in njegovi vlogi v Jugoslaviji", Papers of Bojan Adamič, SI-Lng.

disagreements was slowly ending, better times began for jazz and entertainment music after 1955. In 1955 several smaller ensembles were formed from the PORL, and the first Yugoslav jazz festival in Bled (1960) gave an even greater impetus, with which jazz music in Slovenia and Yugoslavia spread irresistibly and gained more and more followers.⁹⁴ The PORL, with Adamič as conductor, continued to play a leading role in this. It was invited to all the most important festivals and events of the highest rank. With success at home came opportunities to visit abroad. Its performances were a sensation. In Hungary, for example, they managed to fill the stands with more than ten thousand spectators.⁹⁵ In 1962, Adamič handed over leadership of the orchestra to his colleague Jože Privšek (1937–1998), but he still performed with the orchestra from time to time.⁹⁶ From the end of August 1962 to the end of July 1980 he was officially employed as the conductor of the Big Band of RTV Slovenia, as it is called today, and in the last year before his retirement (1981) he became the director of music production at RTV Ljubljana.⁹⁷ In fact, during this time, he was in Belgrade much more often and also in some other Yugoslav cities, where he worked in various fields. At the same time, he was a regular guest at important European and world big band orchestras.⁹⁸ Today, it is accepted that Bojan Adamič founded and developed the Big Band line-up in Slovenia and throughout Yugoslavia, created original musical literature, promoted the high professionalism of ensembles and individual soloists, and created an internationally recognizable name for himself.

94 Amalietti, *Zgodbe o jazzu*, 7.

95 Available at: <http://www.bojan-adamic.si/biografija/#koncerti>.

96 Available at: <http://www.bojan-adamic.si/biografija/#optimist>.

97 From the family archive of Alenka Adamič. See also Meden, "Adamič, Bojan".

98 Koter, "Bojan Adamič: The Correlation between His Creative and Performing Life", 14.

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MOJSTER BOJAN ADAMIČ LETA 1947 V ALBANIJI:
STROKOVNA POMOČ H GLASBENI KULTURI
ALI KAZENSKI DEKRET

Bojana Adamiča (1912–1995) poznamo kot pionirja slovenske plesne in jazz glasbe, popevke, šansona, filmske in scenske gledališke glasbe ter ustanovitelja zdaj že legendarnega Plesnega orkestra Radia Ljubljana (PORL), enega prvih tovrstnih profesionalnih sestavov povojne Evrope. Deloval je na celotnem jugoslovanskem prostoru in bil vplivna osebnost razvoja festivalov zabavne in jazzovske glasbe. Kot skladatelj in aranžer je ustvaril izjemen opus za plesni orkester oziroma big band, v katerega je vtkal številne motive slovenske ljudske glasbe ter s tem utemeljil t. i. slovenski izraz. V mednarodnem prostoru se je proslavil predvsem z ansamblom PORL in z deli zanj tako značilnega izraza. Za svoje delo je prejel vrsto priznanj, med katerimi izstopajo nagrade za kulturne dosežke nekdanje Jugoslavije.

V proučevanju njegovega življenja je bilo do nedavnega nepojasnjeno, zakaj je bil prav on maja leta 1947 kot predstavnik nekdanje Jugoslavije poslan v Albanijo, in sicer kot t. i. kulturna pomoč. Tam je ostal nekaj mesecev (od začetka maja do predvidoma konca avgusta). Sam je poudarjal, da je bil v Tirani kazensko kot neposlušen dirigent PORL-a, s katerim je izvajal ameriško plesno in jazzovsko glasbo ter v tem duhu napisal svoja avtorska dela, in s programom promoviral takrat politično nezaželene žanre. Poglobljen pogled na ta del njegovega življenja so omogočili nedavno odkriti dokumenti iz arhivov nekdanje socialistične Jugoslavije v Beogradu ter Adamičeva osebna pisma ženi Barbari. Dokumentarno gradivo omogoča razumevanje političnega ozadja časa ter vzrokov, ki so vplivali na to, da je jugoslovanska oblast prva leta po vojni (do sredine leta 1948) pošiljala albanski državi kadrovsko pomoč. Adamič je bil v ta program vključen v okviru političnih prizadevanj, da bi jugoslovanski federaciji priključili tudi Albanijo. Država je bila izrazito nerazvita v vseh segmentih gospodarstva in kulture, zato so tja pošiljali strokovnjake raznih področij, da bi pomagali v razvoju, Adamič pa je bil med vsemi edini glasbenik. Dokumenti potrjujejo, da je bil izbran zaradi svoje strokovnosti in da so mu bile dodeljene naloge, s katerimi bi doprinesel k razvoju tamkajšnjih glasbenih ustanov in ansamblov. Imel je nalogo proučiti razmere in ugotoviti,

kakšne profile bi Albanci zares potrebovali. Več glasbenikov naj bi prišlo septembra leta 1947, vendar o tem ni dokazov.

Tega, da je bila v ozadju kazen za njegovo neposlušnost, ki naj bi ga odvrnila od jazza in ameriške glasbe ter peljala na pravo pot v duhu socialistične družbe, kot je sam nakazal v nekaterih intervjujih, iz dokumentov ni bilo mogoče ne dokazati ne zanikati. Predvidevam, da so imeli jugoslovanski glasbeniki možnost izbire, ali želijo oditi v Tirano, kakršnekoli prisile dokumenti ne potrjujejo. Adamič je bil kot nekdANJI partizan z visokim činom precej privilegiran, vendar je po prepričanju nekaterih vodilnih osebnosti s svojim ansamblom prestopal meje dopustnega in prihajal v konflikte. Prav mogoče je bil v ozadju ustni dekret. Adamičeva pisma ženi Barbari in njegovo poročilo o delu, poslano Komiteju za kulturo in umetnost v Beograd, nastalo konec maja 1947, opisujejo njegovo doživljanje okolja, področja delovanja, prepreke, ki so ga pri delu omejevale, osebne stiske ter nemoč pri prizadevanju, da bi zadostil pričakovanjem nadrejenih na jugoslovanski in albanski strani. Prav tako tudi to, da je bil vsestransko glasbeno aktiven in nikakor ne le opazovalec razmer. Sam je zapisal, da mu je bilo v Albaniji vsestransko težko in da je vztrajal predvsem zato, da bi obdržal ljubljanski orkester PORT, ki je bil zanj in njegovo glasbo vitalnega pomena.

MATJAŽ BARBO
Univerza v Ljubljani

RECEPCIJA LUCIJANA MARIJE ŠKERJANCA, KOT SE KAŽE V KONCERTNEM ŽIVLJENJU PO NJEGOVI SMRTI

IZVLEČEK: Članek analizira raznoliko gradivo, koncertne liste, napovedi koncertov, koncertne komentarje, programe, izrezke iz časopisov in revij s kritikami in ocenami izvedb Škerjančevih del v desetletjih po njegovi smrti. Gradivo dokazuje njihovo kontinuirano prisotnost in s tem potrjuje skladateljevo izstopajočo ustvarjalno potenco, kompozicijsko spretnost in domišljenost ter muzikalno prepričljivost njegove glasbe.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: Lucijan Marija Škerjanc, slovenska glasba, recepcijska zgodovina

ABSTRACT: The article analyses material of many kinds including concert lists, concert announcements, concert commentaries, programmes and excerpts from newspapers and magazines containing reviews and evaluations of performances of Škerjanc's works during the decades after his death. The material proves their continuous presence, thereby confirming the composer's outstanding creative power, compositional skill and imagination as well as the musical persuasiveness of his music.

KEYWORDS: Lucijan Marija Škerjanc, Slovenian music, history of musical reception

Lucijan Marija Škerjanc velja brez dvoma upravičeno za enega največjih slovenskih glasbenikov sredine 20. stoletja. To potrjuje velika količina njegovih del, katerih kakovost so poudarjali njegovi sodobniki v kritičnih ocenah in muzikoloških zapisih, posebno mesto pa zavzema danes tudi že v historiografskih pregledih, ki ocenjujejo in vrednotijo obdobje, v katerem je deloval.¹ Škerjanc je zlasti v zgodnejših ustvarjalnih letih veljal tudi za enega najbolj občudovanih reproduktivnih glasbenikov. Sprva se je uveljavljal kot obetajoč pianist – še posebej tudi kot spremljevalec pevcev –, pozneje pa kot eden najbolj cenjenih dirigentov z dobro izobrazbo, širokim razgledom nad glasbenimi deli in posebno karizmatično avtoriteto. Njegov pomen in vpliv je zlasti zrasel po vojni, ko so njegova dela redno prejemala najvišje nagrade in zvenela na koncertih najbolj vidnih glasbenikov, sam skladatelj pa je postal tudi eden osrednjih piscev zaočroženih glasbenozgodovinopisnih del, skladateljskih monografij, različnih glasbenih razprav in publicističnih zapisov, hkrati pa se je uveljavljal tudi v širšem kulturnopolitičnem življenju kot prvi rektor glasbene akademije, pa upravnik Slovenske filharmonije, član Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti idr.

Po smrti je začelo Škerjančevo ime v širši kulturni zavesti postopoma nekoliko bledeti. Poleg tega se je zmanjševala frekvenca nekdanj neprekinjenega izdajanja njegovih skladb ter rednega izvajanja njegovih del. Razumljivo se zdi, da se je počasi umikalo vse tisto, kar je poseben status skladatelja in njegovega dela gradilo iz njegove neposredne osebne karizme, osebnih zvez ali pa nekdanj zaznavne kulturnopolitične moči in vpliva. Tako je postopoma upadalo zanimanje za njegovo delo, zmanjševalo se je število izvedb, natisov in posnetkov. Pa vendar skladateljeva prisotnost tako na koncertnih odrih kot v strokovnih zapisih, s tem pa nedvomno deloma tudi v splošni zavesti, nikoli ni zares zamrla. Tudi ko so se torej v najširšem smislu pojmovani zunanji kulturnopolitični razlogi zmanjšali in postali nerelevantni, je Škerjančevo delo vendarle vztrajno ostajalo prisotno na koncertnih odrih tako profesionalnih glasbenikov kot šolskih produkcij, pa v radijskih oddajah in ne nazadnje tudi v strokovni muzikološki refleksiji. V primerjavi z ostalimi slovenskimi glasbeniki lahko tako zaznamo celo nedvomno precej veliko in redno zanimanje za Škerjančevo delo, ki se je navkljub opaznemu upadu v primerjavi z najbolj cvetočimi leti skladateljevega življenja, vendarle konstantno ohranjalo in ostajalo prisotno v slovenski glasbeni zavesti. Prav to morda še bolj kot omenjena izstopajoča Škerjančeva osebnost za časa

Članek je nastal v okviru raziskovalnega programa »Raziskave glasbene preteklosti na Slovenskem« (P6-0004) in raziskovalnega projekta »Glasba mladih po 1945 in Glasbena mladina Slovenije« (J6-3135), ki ju financira Javna agencija za znanstvenoraziskovalno in inovacijsko dejavnost Republike Slovenije

- 1 Rijavec, *Slovenska glasbena dela*; Klemenčič, *Slovenski glasbeni ekspresionizem*; Cvetko, *Slovenska glasba v evropskem prostoru*; O'Loughlin, *Novejša glasba v Sloveniji*; Koter, *Slovenska glasba, 1918–1991*; O'Loughlin, »Slovenian Music«; Pompe, *Zgodovina glasbe na Slovenskem*; Pompe, *Skice za zgodovino slovenske glasbe*.

njegovega življenja priča o nesporni umetniški potenci njegovega opusa, s tem pa potrjuje tudi njegovo dejansko estetsko kvaliteto in kulturni pomen. Seveda je kot pri mnogih drugih velikih imenih preteklosti tudi pri Škerjancu zaznati pri tem določeno nihanje, pri čemer je mogoče pričakovati tudi, da se bo ponavljalo spreminjajoče se zanimanje za posamezne segmente njegove ustvarjalnosti z zamiranjem interesa ter njihovega (ponovnega) odkrivanja. A vendar pregled sedaj že nekajdesetletne prisotnosti Škerjančevega dela na slovenskih glasbenih odrih, čemur se v nadaljevanju posveča članek, potrjuje posebno vrednost njegovih del in nakazuje, da se skladatelj vendarle neizbrisno zapisuje v slovenski glasbeni spomin.

FUNDACIJA LUCIJANA MARIJE ŠKERJANCA

Pri pregledovanju oživljanja Škerjančeve zlasti skladateljske dediščine v obdobju po njegovi smrti leta 1973 se kaže, kako pomembne so bile zunanje spodbude pri oživljanju spomina na skladatelja.² Podobno kot pri številnih drugih skladateljih so njegovo posthumno recepcijo posebno pomembno zaznamovale obletnice, ki so z obujanjem spomina sprožale premislek o možnostih oživitve odrinjenih ali pozabljenih del. Na drugi strani pa se je – znova podobno kot v nekaterih drugih primerih – izkazala za izjemno pomembno ideja oblikovanja posebnih institucionalnih okvirov, ki bi bili namenjeni spodbujanju rednega in nezmanjšanega oživljanja spomina na skladatelja.

V Škerjančevem primeru tovrstno ključno in neposredno institucionalno spodbudo predstavlja premišljena ustanovitev Fundacije Lucijana Marije Škerjanca. Zamisel za njeno ustanovitev lahko povezujemo s številnimi podobnimi ustanovami, ki jih poznamo v glasbi vse od poznega 18. stoletja, ko so začeli po vsem svetu ustanavljati društva in združenja za oživitev in popularizacijo del skladateljev. V tej zgodnji vrsti izstopajo najprej Bachova in Händlova društva, pozneje seveda različna društva Ludwiga van Beethovna, Huga Wolfa ali Richarda Wagnerja, ki se med seboj povezujejo v zveze tudi na širši ravni. Fundacija Lucijana Marije Škerjanca je sorodna tem prizadevanjem, ki so tudi v slovenskem okviru zapustila nekaj sledi. Med temi lahko omenimo oživljanje del preteklosti že v okviru Filharmonične družbe in različnih pevskih združenj, pa znotraj Cecilijanskega društva in Glasbene matice. Pozneje so ta prizadevanja dobila tudi izrazitejši institucionaliziran okvir, pri čemer izstopajo izdaje zbirke *Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae* Muzikološkega inštituta. Med tovrstnimi prizadevanji velja omeniti tudi slovenski veji društev Wolfa in Wagnerja ter nekaj več bolj ali manj uspešnih poskusov ohranjanja spomina na slovenske skladatelje prek ustanovitve muzejskih zbirk, spominskih sob, spominskih obeležij ipd.

2 Za analizo in interpretacijo dogodkov in aktivnosti, povezanih s skladateljem Škerjancem, je bilo ključnega pomena skrbno hranjeno arhivsko gradivo Fundacije Lucijana Marije Škerjanca, Gerbičeva ul. 11, Ljubljana.

Zaradi tovrstnih prizadevanj se tako posebej uspešno ohranja denimo spomin na Slavka Osterca, Marija Kogojca, skladatelje Ipavce, Giuseppeja Tartinija, Frana Gerbiča idr. Vendarle lahko rečemo, da je zaradi edinstvenosti svojega poslanstva, hkrati pa širokega in vztrajnega prizadevanja mesto Fundacije Lucijana Marije Škerjanca še posebej izpostavljeno in pomembno.

Fundacijo so ustanovili malo pred stoletnico skladateljevega rojstva. Uradni datum ustanovitve je na skladateljev rojstni datum, 17. decembra, leta 1999.³ Kot lahko razberemo iz pričevanj glavnih pobudnikov fundacije, so do ideje prišli »že nekaj let pred bližajočo se umetnikovo 100-letnico rojstva«, pri čemer so razumeli, »da je naša nacionalna dolžnost in nuja proslaviti ta izjemen glasbeni dogodek v obsegu, ki pripada umetniški veličini ene največjih in najpomembnejših osebnosti minulega stoletja«.⁴ Glavni pobudniki za njeno ustanovitev so bili Škerjančevi sorodniki in nekateri vidnejši slovenski glasbeniki. Osrednjo osebnost je predstavljala skladateljeva nečakinja, operna pevka Tatjana Kralj, ki je idejo oblikovala skupaj s hčerko, prav tako priznano pevko Ireno Baar. Slednja je bila posebej nepogrešljiva v prvih letih delovanja fundacije. K ideji sta pritegnili vrsto slovenskih glasbenikov, ki so tudi dotlej cenili skladateljeva dela ter jih izvajali.

Tatjana Kralj je razloge za ustanovitev fundacije pozneje povzela z besedami: »Da se očuva realizacijo, smo zadnje trenutke prejšnjega tisočletja hitro še ustanovili ustanovo za ohranjanje umetniške dediščine po vzoru glasbenika Arniča. S tem dejanjem smo lažje komunicirali z institucijami in sama izvedba Komornih večerov je postala sigurnejša.«⁵ Potrebo po ustanovitvi fundacije je podžigal tudi občutek odrinjenosti in spregledanosti Škerjančevih del, zaradi česar Tatjana Kralj govori celo o »Škerjančevem molku«.⁶ Podobno občutje lahko zaznamo tudi iz pričevanja Irene Baar, ki pravi, da so ob pripravah na počastitev obletnice rojstva »naleteli na vrsto preprek, ki so nam bile popolnoma nerazumljive in spoznali, da moramo ustanoviti pravni subjekt, ki bo zaščitil njegov [Škerjančev] umetniški opus, predvsem pa ga s svojim delovanjem v celoti predstavil naši in tuji javnosti«.⁷

Glavni cilji fundacije so bili že ob njeni ustanovitvi natis Škerjančevih neobjavljenih del, snemanje in izdajanje plošč ter organiziranje koncertov in dobrodelnih prireditev, s ciljem, da »aktivno posežemo v dogajanje ter čimprej nadoknadimo zamujeno«.⁸ Razumljivo se je zato fundacija sprva izraziteje posvečala pripravam živih

3 Prim. arhiv Fundacije Lucijana Marije Škerjanca.

4 Kralj, *Stoletnica rojstva L. M. Škerjanca*.

5 Spominski zapis o ustanovitvi Fundacije Lucijana Marije Škerjanca, rokopis, hranjen v arhivu Fundacije Lucijana Marije Škerjanca.

6 Ibid.

7 Kralj, *Stoletnica rojstva L. M. Škerjanca*, 137.

8 Ibid.

izvedb Škerjančevih del, v nadaljnjih letih pa se je usmerila tudi v izdajo natisov skladateljevih del, nosilcev zvoka ipd.

Že v prvem desetletju je delovanje fundacije prizadelo nekaj tragičnih dogodkov. Med njimi je bila posebno boleča smrt tajnice fundacije in ene njegovih glavnih pobudnic Irene Baar (1958–2006). Kmalu za tem sta umrla tudi dva izmed najbolj izpostavljenih sodelavcev, pianist Primož Lorenz (1942–2007) in violončelist Ciril Škerjanec (1936–2009).

Kljub vsem težavam je fundacija praktično brez prekinitev uresničevala svoj program. Različne izdaje so sicer navadno izšle ob finančni podpori Ministrstva za kulturo in Mestne občine Ljubljana, pri čemer so v društvu skrbeli za to, da so se pravočasno in redno prijavljali na ustrezne razpise, četudi ne vedno enako uspešno.

Med vidnejšimi dosežki, ki jih je načrtovala že Irena Baar, velja izpostaviti ureditev skrbno načrtovane antologije Škerjančevih samospevov na nosilcih zvoka, to pa so spremljale notne izdaje s pomembnejšimi podatki in prevodi besedil. Ob koncu leta 2004 sta v založništvu Fundacije tako izšli dve dvojni zgoščenki. Poleg objave posnetkov petdesetih skladateljevih samospevov z različnimi solisti je bil objavljen tudi klavirski koncert v avtorjevi interpretaciji in posnetki Škerjančevih klavirskih del. Med ostalimi izdajami skladb izstopa natis Škerjančevih *Zbranih del za kvartet violončel* (2002). Leta 2003 sta izšli skupaj *Sonata za violo solo* ter *Duetini za dve violi*. Leta 2005 so v okviru Fundacije izdali *Godalni kvartet št. 2*, naslednjega leta, 2006, pa *Tri skladbe za godalni orkester ter violončelo in godalni orkester* (Arietta, Capricio in Canzonetta). Posebej zanimiv je bil tudi natis *Slovenske maše* za dva godalna kvarteta, orgle in bariton solo leta 2008. Med vsemi natisi pa nedvomno izstopa monumentalna izdaja Škerjančevega *Sonetnega venca* na Prešernovo besedilo za tenorski in basovski solo, tri soliste iz zbora (tenor, bariton, bas), moški zbor in veliki orkester leta 2009. *Sonetni venec* je izšel pred tem tudi že na zgoščenki.

Ob izidu posameznih publikacij je fundacija praviloma pripravljala tudi posebne predstavitve s koncerti. Tako so na prireditvi 18. septembra 2001 predstavili zgoščenko s posnetki Škerjančeve *Slavnostne uverture*, *Dramatične uverture*, *Petih ličnih melodij* za violončelo in komorni orkester, *Koncerta za harfo in orkester* ter *Prve simfonije*. Orkester Slovenske filharmonije pod vodstvom Uroša Lajovca je v okviru promocije zgoščenske na koncertih 20. in 21. septembra 2001 izvedel Škerjančevo *Slavnostno uverture*.

Fundacija je ob stoletnici skladateljevega rojstva izdala dragoceno monografijo z bibliografijo Škerjančevih skladb ter znanstvenih in publicističnih zapisov, krajšo biografijo, popisom nagrad in priznanj ter nekaterimi drugimi priložnostnimi zapisi.⁹ Monografijo odlikuje obsežno likovno gradivo s fotografijami, kopijami dokumentov, reprodukcijami likovnih del itn. Finančno podporo izdaji je prispevalo

9 Kralj, *Stoletnica rojstva L. M. Škerjanca*.

Ministrstvo za šolstvo,¹⁰ medtem ko je Ministrstvo za kulturo svoje sodelovanje zavrnilo. Velik del finančnega bremena so morali prevzeti člani društva; tako je med drugimi skladateljev sin Noel Škerjanc finančno pokril stroške fotografij. Predstavitev monografije so pripravili na klavirskem recitalu v Cankarjevem domu.¹¹

Ob stoletnici skladateljevega rojstva je fundacija spodbudila pripravo posebne spominske znamke. V istem času je izšla tudi jubilejna znamka v spomin obletnice Blaža Arniča. Ob tej priložnosti so v Mariboru 21. septembra 2001 pripravili slavnostno akademijo z deli obeh skladateljev, na kateri je med drugim zazvenela *Canzonetta* za violončelo in godalni orkester s harfo.

PRAZNOVANJE STOLETNICE ROJSTVA

Praznovanja obletnic skladateljevega rojstva in smrti so redno predstavljale posebno spodbudo za obujanje, predstavljanje in izdajanje Škerjančevih del. Ob praznovanju 80. obletnice Škerjančevega rojstva leta 1980 so tako na ljubljanskem radiu v redakciji Vide Šegula pripravili posebno spominsko oddajo, v kateri so nastopili trije Škerjančevi študenti, Uroš Krek, Dane Škerl in Zvonimir Ciglič.

Enega pravih vrhuncev obeleževanja Škerjančevega spomina z oživitvijo, prezentacijo in ohranjanjem njegovega dela pa je predstavljalo praznovanje 100. obletnice skladateljevega rojstva. Ob tej priložnosti se je v veliki večini na pobudo Fundacije Lucijana Marije Škerjanca ali pa vsaj ob njeni koordinaciji zvrstila cela vrsta dogodkov, predvsem koncertov nekaterih najvidnejših izvajalcev tudi na najbolj prestižnih koncertnih prizoriščih.

Najbolj celovito je omenjeno stoletnico zaznamovala Koncertna poslovalnica v Mariboru, ki je proglasila Škerjančevo leto ter skladatelju posvetila dva samostojna koncertna večera. Tako je simfonični orkester Mariborske filharmonije pod vodstvom dirigenta Uroša Lajovca v okviru svojega abonmaja kot prvi koncert v novem letu 11. februarja 2000 pripravil koncert, na katerem so izvedli Škerjančevo *Slavnostno uverturo*. Poleg tega so predstavili tudi ciklus samospevov *Iskal sem svojih mladih dnij* Antona Lajovca v Škerjančevi instrumentaciji. Škerjančev tudi sicer večkrat izpostavljen občutek za orkestrske barve je tokrat znova poudaril kritik Tone Žuraj, ki je zapisal, da so samospevi »prav zablesteli [...] v Škerjančevi orkestraciji«.¹²

Posebno veličasten dogodek praznovanja Škerjančevega leta v Mariboru je pomenila izvedba kantate *Sonetni venec* v okviru abonmaja Simfoničnega orkestra Mariborske filharmonije pod vodstvom dirigenta Staneta Jurgca, 10. oktobra 2000.

¹⁰ Kot je videti iz ohranjenega gradiva, je Ministrstvo za šolstvo prispevalo 150.000 SIT.

Prim. arhiv Fundacije Lucijana Marije Škerjanca.

¹¹ Prim. arhiv Fundacije Lucijana Marije Škerjanca.

¹² Tone Žuraj, »Spontan sprejem glasbe domačih avtorjev«, *Večer*, 16. februar 2000, 19.

Na koncertu so nastopili še tenorist Janez Lotrič, baritonist Jaki Jurgec, basist Neven Belamarić, zbor mariborske Opere in Akademski pevski zbor KUD Študent. Koncert je hkrati s Škerjancem obeleževal tudi dvestoletnico Prešernovega rojstva. Izvedba je doživela v celoti pozitiven kritiški sprejem, čeprav je bilo mestoma zaznati tudi bolj zadržane ocene. V sklepu svoje kritike jo je mariborski glasbenik in kritik Janko Šetinc povzemajoče ocenil z besedami: »Za izvedbo v celoti, če bi jo morali označiti v enem stavku, lahko rečemo, da ni bila medla, navdušujoča pa tudi ne.«¹³ Šetinc je sicer velik del svoje kritike posvetil premisleku o povezavi med besedo in glasbo, pri čemer se je spraševal o možnostih prepričljive uglasbitve forme, kakršno predstavlja sonetni venec. In čeprav je tudi on poudaril, da je bil Škerjanc »suveren tonski oblikovalec in briljanten instrumentator«, je vendarle opozoril, da je bila sama struktura pesnitve za skladatelja morda prehud zalogaj: »Taka dolgost skladbe bi zahtevala več kontrastnih stanj [stavkov?], širokopotezno dramaturško gradnjo in organičnost. Tega lirsko nastrojen in k impresionističnemu koloritu nagnjen skladatelj po vsej verjetnosti ne zmore.«¹⁴ Res je Škerjančev monumentalni spoprijem z velikim Prešernovim delom vse od začetka izzival podobna vprašanja in ocene, pri čemer so kritiki tako prvi kot drugi verziji sicer precej različnih uglasbitev *Sonetnega venca* vedno ob hvalospevih in poklonih Škerjančevemu delu pogosto namenili tudi podobne skeptične misli. Kot smo že omenili, je ob tej priložnosti Fundacija Lucijana Marije Škerjanca izdala tudi natis partiture *Sonetnega venca*, kar je prav tako že samo na sebi pomenilo izjemen dosežek. Narodni dom Maribor je v sklopu praznovanja Škerjančevega leta 17. oktobra 2000 pripravil tudi komorni koncert za glasbeno mladino, na sporedu pa so bila seveda skladateljeva dela.

Med najvidnejšimi dosežki ob stoletnici skladateljevega rojstva izstopa prav tako že omenjena monografija *Stoletnica rojstva L. M. Škerjanca*, ki jo je uredila Tatjana Kralj. S tem je bilo prav ob stoletnici prvič zares nadrobneje predstavljeno skladateljevo delo, ob njem pa tudi nekateri pomembnejši dokumenti, povezani z njegovim življenjem. Monografija je tako postala poslej nespregledljivo izhodišče za vsako tehtnejšo obravnavo Škerjančevega dela in ne nazadnje tudi presojo njegove estetske veljave. Knjiga je pomenila dragoceno dopolnilo v spoznavanju Škerjančevega opusa, za katerega je tedaj v splošni zavesti pogosto veljala ocena, ki jo je ob predstavitvi knjige zapisal Marijan Zlobec, češ da je bilo skladateljevo delo deležno »številnih muzikoloških krivic in strokovnih nedozorelosti [...] v tem, da je še ogromno del neizvajanih in neposnetih«.¹⁵

13 Janko Šetinc, »Otvoritveni koncert cikla Mariborske filharmonije: kantata Sonetni venec za soliste, zbor in orkester«, *Večer*, 17. Oktober 2000, 22.

14 Ibid.

15 Marijan Zlobec, »Podrobna predstavitev opusa: Škerjančevo stoletje«, *Delo*, 28. november 2000, 8.

Med muzikološkimi in teoretskimi prispevki k odkrivanju in spoznavanju Škerjančevega opusa izstopa predavanje, ki ga je že takoj po novem letu, 8. januarja 2000, v okviru tradicionalnih ponedeljkovih večerov Društva slovenskih izobražencev v Trstu pripravil Paolo Petronio. Petronio je podrobno spregovoril ne le o Škerjančevem opusu, temveč je kritično ocenil tudi kulturnopolitične razmere časa, v katerem je skladatelj živel, in razmere v obdobju po njegovi smrti. Večer je bil dobro obiskan in so se ga med drugim udeležili tudi ravnatelj tržaške Glasbene matice, Bogdan Kralj, poleg njega pa še dolgoletni ravnatelj iste ustanove Gojmir Demšar in Aleksander Vodopivec – oba nekdanj tudi Škerjančeva učenca.

Študenti Akademije za glasbo iz razreda Irene Baar so 3. februarja 2000 pripravili recital z izborom najboljših Škerjančevih zgodnjih samospevov. Na koncertu v Cekinovem gradu so nastopili nekateri pozneje izstopajoči slovenski pevci in glasbeniki, kot so Teja Saksida, Marta Močnik, Matjaž Prah, Helena Fojkar Zupančič, Janko Volčanšek, Mateja Arnež, Andraž Hauptman in Andreja Kosmač. Nekateri od teh so se ponovno predstavili tudi dobra tri leta pozneje na slavnostni akademiji, ki so jo ob 30. obletnici skladateljeve smrti pripravili 13. septembra 2003 v Narodnem domu v Celju. Takrat so ob klavirski spremljavi Andraža Hauptmana z izborom Škerjančevih samospevov nastopili Teja Saksida, Marta Močnik, Matjaž Prah, Janko Volčanšek in Mateja Arnež Volčanšek.

Kot vsako leto od leta 1995 naprej so na posebni prireditvi 4. februarja 2000 podelili po skladatelju poimenovane Škerjančeve nagrade, diplome in priznanja Srednje glasbene in baletne šole v Ljubljani. Na koncertu, ki je spremljal prireditev, so izvedli Škerjančev *Concertino* za klavir in godala ter dva soneta iz *Sonetnega venca*.

Škerjančevi obletnici se je v okviru svojega Oranžnega abonmaja poklonila tudi Slovenska filharmonija. Na dveh zaporednih koncertih 2. in 3. marca 2000 so izvedli skladateljevo *Simfonijo št. 1 v A-duru*, zasnovano kot sonatni stavek. O izvedbi, ki jo je vodil dirigent Uroš Lajovic, je naklonjeno oceno napisal v *Delu* kritik Pavel Mihelčič.¹⁶

Orkester Slovenske filharmonije je sodeloval tudi pri slavnostnem zaključku 15. Slovenskih glasbenih dni. Potekali so med 11. in 14. aprilom in predstavljali nedvomno še enega od vrhuncev proslavljanja stoletnice skladateljevega rojstva. Poleg spominu na Škerjanca so bili posvečeni tudi 200. obletnici rojstva pesnika Franceta Prešerna. Spremljevalni mednarodni muzikološki simpozij je prinesel nekaj analiz različnih del iz Škerjančevega opusa, posebno dragocen pa je bil prispevek skladateljevega študenta Daneta Škerla, ki je predstavil svoje spomine na učitelja. Poleg tega je bilo v okviru festivala izvedenih več Škerjančevih del. Na uvodnem koncertu Simfoničnega orkestra RTV Slovenija so pod vodstvom dirigenta Antona Nanuta izvedli *Concertino* za flavto in orkester s solistom Matejem Zupanom in tri pesmi za

16 Prim. Pavel Mihelčič, »Pred orkestrom kontrabas«, *Delo*, 4. marec 2000, 8.

sopran in komorni orkester z naslovom *De profundis* s solistko Ireno Baar na besedila Alojza Gradnika. V delu se skladatelj preizkuša tudi z novejšimi slogi, med drugim z dodekafonijo. Na koncertu Komornega godalnega orkestra Slovenske filharmonije je zazvenela Škerjančeva *Druga suita za godala*. Poseben izstopajoč dogodek v okviru festivala pa je nedvomno bil omenjeni koncert Orkestra Slovenske filharmonije pod vodstvom Marka Letonje ob zaključku Slovenskih glasbenih dni. Na koncertu so ob nekaj novih delih izvedli tudi cikel skladateljevih sedmih orkestrskih pesnitev z naslovom *Gazele*. Njihov nastanek so spodbudile Prešernove *Gazele*, zato je delo še posebej primerno označilo sklep praznovanja obletnic obeh velikih slovenskih umetnikov, ki jima je bil festival posvečen.

V organizaciji Fundacije Lucijana Marije Škerjanca je bil 6. maja 2000 v Cekinovem gradu v ljubljanskem Tivoliju koncert kvarteta violončel v sestavi Ciril Škerjanec, Igor Škerjanec, Ivan Šoštarič in Milan Hudnik. Koncert je bil v celoti posvečen zgolj Škerjančevim skladbam. Tako so izvedli *Enajst etud* (1961), *Elegijo* (1940), *Etudo* (1943) in *Concertone* (1954). Koncert sta z uvodno besedo pospremila Irena Baar in pesnik Tone Pavček.

Le nekaj dni pozneje, 10. maja 2000, je pianistka Tatjana Ognjanović pripravila samostojen recital Škerjančevih del v Cankarjevem domu. Na njem je izvedla izbor Škerjančeve klavirske glasbe, ki ga je leto dni pred tem predstavila tudi v tujini, na konferenci Mednarodnega združenja klavirskih pedagogov na Norveškem. Odigrala je med drugim *Štiri klavirske skladbe*, značilno skladateljevo mladostno delo, in prvega od njegovih sedmih *Nokturnov*. Sledila je izvedba *Maestoso lugubre*, zadnjega stavka iz *Tria za violino, violinčelo in klavir* (1935). Stavek, ki ga zaznamuje ekspresionistična žalna koračnica, je pianistka predstavila skupaj z violinistom Volodjo Balžalorskim in čelistom Damirjem Hamidulinom. V nadaljevanju so bile na sporedu še *Sonata št. 2* (1956), *Dvanajst preludijev* (1954) in *Improvizaciji št. 3 in 5*.¹⁷

V praznovanje stoletnice skladateljevega rojstva so se vključili tudi številni drugi glasbeniki in ustanove. Tako je denimo med 10. in 18. majem 2000 Glasbena šola Radovljica pripravila tri koncerte komornih skladb Lucijana Marije Škerjanca na Bledu, Radovljici in v Škofji Loki.

V Cekinovem gradu v Ljubljani je 3. junija Fundacija Lucijana Marije Škerjanca pripravila še en večer Škerjančeve komorne glasbe. Nastopili so pianista Alenka Šček - Lorenz in Zoltan Peter, Trio Lorenz, violončelista Ciril Škerjanec in Andrej Petrač ter Pihalni kvintet Slowind. Predstavili so nekaj posebej znanih Škerjančevih del, tako 4. stavek *Marcia funebre* iz njegovega *Klavirskega tria* (1935), pa *Intermezzo romantique* (1934) in *Lirično bagatelo* (1941) za violino in klavir, *Pet liričnih melodij* (1935) za violončelo in klavir, *Sonata za violončelo* (1941) ter Škerjančev *Pihalni kvintet* (1934).

17 Jure Dobovišek, »Škerjancu v spomin«, *Delo*, 17. maj 2000, 9.

Godalni kvartet Tartini je nato 7. novembra pripravil v Cekinovem gradu večer komorne glasbe, prav tako v počastitev 100. obletnice Škerjančevega rojstva. Izvedli so tri skladateljeva temeljna kvartetna dela, *Malo suito za godalni kvartet* (1961) ter *Četrtri* (1935) in *Peti godalni kvartet* (1945). Le večer pozneje, 8. novembra 2000, je v sklopu koncertnega cikla Mladi virtuoz Festivala Ljubljana violinist Rok Zgonc ob spremljavi Bojane Karuze na koncertu zaigral Škerjančev *Intermezzo romantique*.

Svojo abonmajsko sezono so z večerom skladb začeli tudi v Kulturnem domu Franceta Bernika. Tako so se na večeru komornih skladb 24. oktobra 2000 predstavili sopranistka Irena Baar, pianistka Nataša Valant ter kvartet violončel, ki je nastopil maja v ljubljanskem Cekinovem gradu v zasedbi Ciril Škerjanec, Igor Škerjanec, Ivan Šoštarčič in Milan Hudnik. Na sporedu so bili tokrat izbrani biseri zgodnjih Škerjančevih samospevov ter nekaj komornih del: *Enajst etud* (1961), *Elegija* (1940), *Etuda* (1954) in *Concertone* (1954). Čelist Milan Hudnik je ob spremljavi pianistke Hermine Hudnik nastopil tudi na koncertu 28. novembra 2000, na katerem je znova zazvenela Škerjančeva *Sonata* za violončelo solo.

Poseben Slavnostni koncert ob stoletnici rojstva skladatelja je 29. novembra 2000 pripravil Cankarjev dom v sodelovanju s Francoskim inštitutom Charlesa Nodierja. Na sporedu so bili Škerjančeva samospeva *V tujino* in *Samotno pirovanje*, pa njegova *Nesodobna bagatela* ter *Intermezzo romantique* za violino in klavir. Na koncertu so posebej izpostavili povezavo Škerjanca s francosko glasbo. S slednjo je bil tesneje povezan vse od študijskih let v Franciji, sicer pa se ji je posvečal tudi pozneje, ko je francoske avtorje kot izvajalec in predavatelj predstavljal slovenskemu občinstvu. Na omenjeni koncert so bila zato uvrščena dela nekaterih izbranih francoskih skladateljev. Na koncertu so nastopili sopranistka Pia Brodnik, pianistka Marina Horak in francoska violinistka Sylvie Gazeau. Pred iztekom Škerjančevega leta so v okviru abonmaja Simfonikov RTV Slovenija 4. decembra izvedli še *Koncert za harfo in orkester* pod vodstvom Marka Muniha.

Posebna prireditev, posvečena obletnicama Prešerna in Škerjanca, je bila pripravljena tudi v kulturnem središču Mohr-Villa v Münchnu z recitacijo Prešernovih pesmi in pisem ter s koncertom Škerjančevih klavirskih del pianistke Tatjane Ognjanović ter samospevov v izvedbi sopranistke Irene Baar in pianistke Nataše Valant, ki sta nastopili z enakim programom kot oktobra v Domžalah.

Neposredno pred samo obletnico skladateljevega rojstva je v Modrem salonu hotela Union 16. decembra 2000 zazvenel koncert Škerjančevih samospevov. Širši izbor mladostnih del so ob klavirski spremljavi Nataše Valant predstavili vidnejši slovenski pevci, Irena Baar, Bernarda Fink, Marjan Trček in Marcos Fink. Hkrati so istega večera pripravili na TV Slovenija posebno oddajo s predstavitev Škerjančevih del po zamisli in scenariju Danice Dolinar. Ob tej priložnosti je bil posnet tudi televizijski balet *Mařenka* in televizijska upodobitev sedmih orkestrskih pesnitev *Gazele* pod vodstvom režiserja Mihe Vipotnika.

V sodelovanju s frančiškansko župnijo Marijinega oznanjenja na Tromostovju v Ljubljani je RTV Slovenija pripravila koncert skladateljevih del prav na njegov rojstni dan, 17. decembra 2000. V okviru liturgije je bila izvedena Škerjančeva *Slovenska maša* iz leta 1940, po njej pa še *Kvartet št. 4* v interpretaciji Ljubljanskega godalnega kvarteta, organista Saše Freliha - Miša ter članov Simfonikov RTV Slovenija pod vodstvom Marka Muniha.

V tem letu je bilo mogoče zaslediti poleg napovedi, poročil, kritik in ocen s koncertov tudi več priložnostnih strokovnih ali poljudnejših zapisov o Škerjancu in njegovem delu v revijah, zbornikih in časnikih. Neposredno ob stoletnici rojstva, decembra 2000, je izšel daljši prispevek o skladatelju izpod peresa Paola Petronia, ki je torej z bržkone podobno vsebino nastopil že na začetku leta na omenjenem predavanju v Trstu.¹⁸ Gre za pregleden in poglobljen, deloma tudi kritičen pogled na Škerjančevo delo ter njegovo recepcijo zlasti tudi po njegovi smrti. V članku je mogoče najti vrsto pomembnih biografskih podatkov, pa navzkrižne reference, s katerimi avtor osvetljuje skladateljev slog in ponuja mestoma celo analitični uvid v njegov opus. V svoji oceni je včasih izrazilo oster, njegovo mnenje pa si v izraziti osebni angažirani prizadetosti niti ne prizadeva ohranjati jasnejše distance. Tako njegovo pisanje razodeva temeljne poteze obče Škerjančeve recepcije po njegovi smrti, pri čemer v ospredje prihaja občutenje skladateljeve odrinjenosti in pozabljenosti. Petronio to pripisuje slovenski muzikologiji, »ki je že pred leti zavestno usmerila svojo pozornost na modernejšo, avantgardno in homogeno evropsko glasbeno sceno, na škodo zgodovinske stvarnosti in izvirnosti«.¹⁹ Petronijevo oceno označuje poklon Škerjancu, ki ga označi za »največjega slovenskega skladatelja« oz. »slovenskega glasbenega Prešerna«. To je tudi izhodišče za njegovo prepričanje, da velja Škerjanca kot odrinjenega in diskriminiranega talenta obuditi. Pri tem navaja dva razloga za odrinjenost: poleg omenjene neprimernosti za v avantgardizem zagledani muzikološki glavni tok naj bi ji botrovalo tudi to, da skladatelj v času socializma ni ustrezal vladajočemu političnemu razredu. Petronio je iz tega prišel do sklepa: »Stališče uradne muzikologije, ki je podpirala avantgardno in cerebralno glasbo, in političnega razreda, ki je podpiral skladatelje, ki so bili politično na liniji, je privedlo do diskriminacije resničnih talentov, takih talentov, kot je bil Lucijan Marija Škerjanc.«²⁰ Vendarle je pri tem težko spregledati dejstvo, da je bil Škerjanc eden dejansko najvidnejših oblikovalcev kulturne politike povojnega obdobja. Lahko bi rekli, da je Škerjančeva podoba, zarisana v potezah Petronia, tako kljub številnim pomembnim ugotovitvam in dejstvom ostajala vendarle tudi nekoliko nenatančna in nepopolna. Škerjančeve izkušnje in umetniško prepričljivost, ki izvira iz njegove svetovljanskosti, je Petronio

18 Petronio, »Ob stoletnici rojstva«, 19.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

povezal mimogrede tudi s Parmo, ki se mu je sicer sam raziskovalno intenzivno posvečal in ga tako celo v članku o Škerjancu ni pozabil izpostaviti kot tistega tržaškega someščana, s katerim je »prava slovenska nacionalna glasba [...] nastala« in »ki je ustvaril slovensko opero in slovensko opereto in ki ga lahko upravičeno štejemo za očeta slovenske glasbene nacionalne šole«. ²¹

Iz svojega zornega kota je Petronio tako videl Škerjanca kot tistega skladatelja, čigar velik pomen je bil po njegovem mnenju zaradi političnih razlogov spregledan: »Vendar ga slovenska glasbena javnost ni upoštevala tako, kot bi si bil zaslužil. Verjetno se za tem skrivajo politični razlogi. Škerjanca je vojna kot umetnika prizadela, trpel je in upal v osvoboditev, vendar ni direktno sodeloval v NOB. Zaradi gospodskosti svojega značaja v komunizmu ni mogel videvati prihodnost svojega naroda. Zato je pasivno spremljal razvoj dogodkov.« ²² Zdi se, da ta ocena Škerjančevega »pasivnega« spremljanja dogodkov ni zares pravična do skladateljeve siceršnje mestoma izrazite kulturnopolitične angažiranosti, in sicer v izjemno nedvomno tudi zelo pozitivnem, intenzivnem, bogatem in raznolikem udejstvovanju na različnih področjih. Povrh vsega je bilo njegovo delovanje in ustvarjanje vendarle deležno precejšnje pozornosti javnosti – tako dobronamerne kot kritične –, zato je težko pritrditi mnenju, da je šlo v Škerjančevem primeru za »akademski molk«, ko Petronio v sklepu svojega besedila ocenjuje, da »ostaja pot za popolno ovrednotenje Škerjančevega opusa še dolga. O tem nam zgovorno priča ob letošnji obletnici uradni molk akademskega sveta.« ²³

Nekatere podobne ocene recepcije Škerjančevega opusa se sicer pojavljajo in ponavljajo tudi pri nekaterih drugih piscih. Značilen tovrstni zapis spremlja predstavitev Škerjanca na koncertnem listu ob večeru komorne glasbe Godalnega kvarteta Tartini 7. novembra 2000 v Cekinovem gradu. V njem lahko beremo, da se je slovenska znanstvena misel preredko ustavljala pri preučevanju Škerjančeve bogate dediščine, kar avtor utemeljuje z ugotovitvijo, ki morda dokazuje prej nasprotno: »Razen nekaj člankov in razprav v strokovni literaturi ter ducata raziskovalnih nalog o posameznih področjih Škerjančevega kompozicijskega snovanja v seminarskih in diplomskih nalogah študentov muzikologije na Muzikološkem oddelku Filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani, je mojstrov ogromen skladateljski opus pravzaprav še neraziskan.« ²⁴

S koncem leta 2000 se obeležitve 100. obletnice rojstva skladatelja niso povsem zaključile, tako da je nekaj slavnostnega praznovanja odmevalo tudi še v prihodnjem letu. Simfonični orkester Mariborske filharmonije je denimo z Urošem Lajovcem

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Leskovic, *Godalni kvartet Tartini*.

9. februarja 2001 tako pripravil še koncert, na katerem so s solistko Ilonko Kovačič predstavili Škerjančev *Concertino* za klavir in orkester.

Omenili smo tudi že natis zgoščenke, za katero je poskrbela Fundacija Lucijana Marije Škerjanca s posnetki *Slavnostne in Dramatične uverture*, *Petih liričnih melodij* za violončelo in komorni orkester, *Koncertom za harfo in orkester* ter *Prvo simfonijo*. Predstavitve CD-ja 18. septembra 2001 je spremljal koncert Orkestra Slovenske filharmonije, znova pod vodstvom Uroša Lajovca, 20. in 21. septembra 2001, na katerem je zazvenela tudi skladateljeva *Slavnostna uvertura*. Prav tako smo omenili slavnostno akademijo z deli Škerjanca in Blaža Arniča ob izidu jubilejnih znamk obeh skladateljev v Mariboru 21. septembra 2001.

OBLETNICA LETA 2010

Nekaj več zgoščene pozornosti do Škerjančevega dela je znova spodbudila tudi 110. obletnica skladateljevega rojstva. Na začetku leta, 21. januarja 2010, so v okviru koncertne sezone Akademije za glasbo pripravili koncert manj znanih komornih del Lucijana Marije Škerjanca. Nastopile so komorne skupine iz razreda Franca Avseneka, ki so predstavile nekaj del, ki so redkeje na sporedih oz. sodijo v skladateljevo zgodnje ustvarjalno obdobje: *Klavirski kvintet*, »*Pomladni*«; *Trio za flavto, violino in violi*; *Trio za violino, violi in violončelo*; *Mala suita* za godalni kvartet v povezavi z recitacijo pesmi *Ciciban in čebela* Otona Župančiča ter celo *Scenska glasba h komediji Žlahtni meščan* Jeana Baptista Molièra.

Fundacija Lucijana Marije Škerjanca je ob skladateljevi obletnici pripravila celovečerni koncert samospevov pod okriljem Glasbene mladine ljubljanske 4. februarja 2010 v Viteški dvorani Križank v Ljubljani. Koncert je pospremila kritika Jureta Doboviška z zgovornim naslovom »Škerjančeva pesem je naša reprezentančna glasba«, pri čemer pa se je avtor, ki je sicer v celoti pozitivno ocenil dela in njihove izvedbe, obregnil ob zasnovo koncerta, češ da je Škerjančeva pesem »le stežka – celovečerna«. ²⁵ Po njegovem prepričanju je namreč lahko v nevarnosti dramaturgija celovečernega koncerta z zgolj Škerjančevimi samospevi zaradi »njihove mikavnosti, temnega leska, a tudi pasti opitega zvoka«. ²⁶ Svoj premislek je upravičeno kritično uperil tudi proti premalo domišljeni interpretativni svežini in recepcijski umeščenosti Škerjančeve glasbe v sodobnem času. Vendarle je v sklepu opozoril: »Glavno nas torej še čaka, saj ni dovolj, da se glasbe spominjamo, ampak jo moramo zmeraj znova odkrivati, tako v njenih notranjih koordinatah kakor zunanji umeščenosti.« ²⁷

²⁵ Jure Dobovišek, »Škerjančeva pesem je naša reprezentančna glasba«, *Delo*, 9. februar 2010, 14.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

Na več koncertih je tega leta Škerjančevo glasbo predstavil tudi Damski komorni orkester Musidora z dirigentko Živo Ploj Peršuh. V okviru ciklusa Festine so izvedli mešan program, na katerega so uvrstili med drugim Škerjančevo *Suito v starem slogu*. Skladbo so predstavili na treh koncertih, ki so si sledili med 21. in 23. majem 2010 v Lendavi, Mariboru in Ljubljani.

Pihalni kvintet Artvento je 18. novembra 2010 na koncertu v Koncertnem ateljeju Društva slovenskih skladateljev izvedel Škerjančev pihalni kvintet. Neposredno pred obletnico skladateljevega rojstva je bila izvedena tudi skladateljeva *Slovenska maša*. Izvedbi v cerkvi sv. Jožefa v Celju, 26. novembra, je sledila izvedba v ljubljanski stolnici sv. Nikolaja, 1. decembra 2010. Komorni orkester Hiše kulture Celje je ob tej priložnosti vodil dirigent Simon Dvoršak.

Na abonmaju Orkestra Slovenske filharmonije je bil takoj nato, 2. in 3. decembra 2010, na sporedu znova tudi *Koncert za harfo in orkester* s solistko Mojco Zlobko Vajgl, tokrat z dirigentom Urošem Lajovcem. Na koncertih so poleg tega znova izvedli Škerjančeve *Gazele*. Harfistka Mojca Zlobko Vajgl je pozneje v okviru Koncertnega ateljeja Društva slovenskih skladateljev 16. maja 2013 izvedla Škerjančev *Koncert za harfo* tudi v skladateljevi lastni priredbi za harfo s klavirjem. Na koncertu je nastopila ob spremljavi pianista Marjana Peternela. V analitično zasnovanem komentarju h koncertu je Peter Šavli izpostavil »občutene intervalne nastope«, pa »posrečeno harmonijo«, ki »preseže dotedanjo novoromantično zvočnost skladbe« v kadenci, ki vodi k veličastnemu sklepu, označenem s Šavlijevimi besedami: »Energija glasbe naraste vse do zaključnega plesnega zanosa.«²⁸

Posebno imeniten dogodek je bil na skladateljev rojstni dan, 17. decembra 2010, ko so v novi stavbi Konservatorija za glasbo in balet Ljubljana poimenovali veliko koncertno dvorano po Lucijanu Mariji Škerjancu. Pri tem so v izvedbi dijakov Konservatorija pripravili tudi priložnostni koncert njegovih skladb.

DRUGE IZVEDBE ŠKERJANČEVIH DEL

Poleg že omenjenega precej intenzivnega in pisanega dogajanja ob različnih obletnicah in omenjenih dogodkih lahko najdemo v arhivu Fundacije Lucijana Marije Škerjanca tudi drugo raznoliko gradivo, koncertne liste, napovedi koncertov, koncertne komentarje, programe, izrezke iz časopisov in revij s kritikami in ocenami izvedb idr., iz česar lahko razberemo kontinuirano Škerjančevo prisotnost v splošni kulturni zavesti v desetletjih po njegovi smrti. To je na eni strani spodbujala dejavnost same Fundacije Lucijana Marije Škerjanca in njenih članov, na drugi strani pa je bila rezultat rednega koncertnega in širšega kulturnega utripa, repertoarna trdoživost Škerjančeve ustvarjalnosti pa značilno naznanja tudi njeno estetsko prepričljivost.

²⁸ Šavli, *Koncert za harfo in klavir*, 12.

Med izvedenimi deli nedvomno izstopajo Škerjančevi samospevi. Zlasti zgodnji skladateljev opus, ki ga je zaznamovala muzikalna eruptivnost, spodbujena z mladostno občutljivostjo in prefinjenim sentimentom, predstavlja enega najbolj nespregledljivih del slovenske samospевne literature in sodi v tovrstni železni repertoar. Zato ni čudno, da srečamo Škerjančeve samospeve redno na sporedih koncertov najrazličnejših slovenskih pevcev.

Omenimo lahko nekaj koncertov s predstavitvijo Škerjančevih samospevov. Enega takih sta pripravili v Slovenski filharmoniji 26. oktobra 1995 ob 10-letnici skupnega delovanja sopranistka Irena Baar in pianistka Alenka Šček - Lorenz.

S Škerjančevimi samospevi se je predstavila tudi slovita Marjana Lipovšek na koncertu junija leta 1996 v Laškem. Kritik Pavel Mihelčič je v njenem nastopu kot posebej kvalitetna izpostavil prav Škerjančeva dela, ki jih je označil kot »pesemski biseri, umetnine, ki dokazujejo Škerjančevo sposobnost in svetovljansko razgledanost«. ²⁹

Med organizatorji koncertov na področju vokalne glasbe posebej izstopa Glasbena matica Ljubljana, pri čemer so na koncertih samospevov v njeni organizaciji redno zvenela Škerjančeva dela. Posebej lahko izpostavimo koncert tenorista Ambroža Bajca Lapajnetja in pianistke Abigail Richards 13. marca 2013. Zlasti odmeven je bil tudi koncert na kulturni praznik, 8. februarja 2016, ko sta v ljubljanski operni hiši v soorganizaciji SNG Opera in balet Ljubljana ter Glasbene matice Ljubljana nastopila mezzosopranistka Bernarda Fink in pianist Anthony Spiri, med drugim tudi s petimi Škerjančevimi samospevi.

V obravnavanem obdobju so redno na koncertih zazvenela tudi Škerjančeva druga komorna dela. Že v letu 1976 so tako pripravili v okviru Petkovega kulturnega večera Kulturnega centra Velenje koncert, na katerem so nastopili sopranistka Tatjana Kralj s pianistko Jelko Suhadolnik in Triom Lorenz. Koncert je ponudil izbor zgolj skladb Lucijana Marije Škerjanca, ki je bil na koncertnem programu označen kot »velikan med slovenskimi skladatelji«. ³⁰ Poleg samospevov so bili na sporedu še *Dva preludija* za klavir, *Dve lirični melodiji* za čelo in klavir, *Intermezzo romantique* za violino in klavir ter *Maestoso lugubre – Marcia funebre* za klavirski trio. V povezavi s tem koncertom je v arhivu Fundacije Lucijana Marije Škerjanca ohranjeno tudi zanimivo pismo muzikologa Rafaela Ajleca, v katerem Škerjančevi soprogi Olici odgovarja na njeno vabilo, da bi koncert pospremil s priložnostnim besedilom. Ajlec se je moral zaradi okrevanja po operaciji opravičiti, ker žal »Vašega prijaznega in zame častnega povabila« ni mogel sprejeti. ³¹

29 Pavel Mihelčič, »Lipovškova na vrhuncu«, *Delo*, 26. junij 1996, 6.

30 »Lucijan Marija Škerjanc: velikan med slovenskimi skladatelji«.

31 Rafael Ajlec Olici Škerjanc, 21. marec 1976, arhiv Fundacije Lucijana Marije Škerjanca.

Škerjančeve skladbe so na svoje koncerte uvrščali tudi nekateri tuji glasbeniki. Na koncertu v okviru ljubljanskega Festivala sta tako 23. avgusta 2001 nastopila italijanska glasbenika, violončelist Franco Maggio Ormezowski in pianistka Barbara Lunetta, ki sta izvedla med drugim *Pet liričnih melodij* za violončelo in klavir L. M. Škerjanca. Isti cikel *Petih liričnih melodij* za violončelo in klavir sta v okviru koncertov iz ciklusa *Glasba iz pozabe* Glasbene matice Ljubljana predstavila na svojem koncertu 2. decembra 2007 tudi brata, Andrej in Tomaž Petrač. Roman Leskovic je v komentarju k omenjenemu koncertu zapisal: »V melodijah Škerjanc zvočno slika razne podobe istega osnovnega razpoloženja, ki bi lahko šlo v nedogled: sedaj bolj melanholično, >jesensko<, pa navidez impresionistično lebdeče, intenzivno, a lepo salonsko, nostalgčno.«³²

Zanimiv je bil tudi koncert, ki sta ga skupaj pripravila Glasbena matica Ljubljana in Društvo Tartini Quartet 26. maja 2008 v Cekinovem gradu. Na njem so izvedli med drugimi deli priredbo treh od osmih stavkov iz Škerjančeve *Druge suite* za godala v priredbi za kvartet z naslovom *Tri skladbe za godala*. Klavirski trio Ars musica v zasedbi Mojca Menoni Sikur, Martin Sikur in Jerneja Grebenšek je na svojem koncertu v okviru Glasbene matice Ljubljana 20. januarja 2009 v Slovenski filharmoniji oblikoval spored samo slovenskih del, nanj pa med drugim uvrstil tudi Škerjančev klavirski *Trio*.

Godalni kvartet Tartini, ki velja za eno vodilnih slovenskih komornih zasedb v tem obdobju, je v okviru koncertnega abonmaja Premiki in zamiki Festivala Ljubljana 23. marca 2011 nastopil s Škerjančevim *Godalnim kvartetom št. 5*. V kontekstu izvedbe komorne glasbe Rotta in Mahlerja je Škerjančev zadnji kvartet izzvenel kot svojevrsten poklon in dopolnilo izrazni intenzivnosti pozne romantike. V okviru 32. Slovenskih glasbenih dnevov je Godalni kvartet Tartini znova izvedel tudi enega od Škerjančevih kvartetov, in sicer na gostovanju festivala v koprskem frančiškanskem samostanu sv. Ane konec marca 2017. Ob tej priložnosti je prvi violinist kvarteta, Miran Kolbl igral na znamenito Tartinijevo violino.

Če vemo, kako redko pridejo skladbe slovenskih avtorjev na koncertne sporede simfoničnih del, še posebej po njihovi smrti, lahko rečemo, da je bila vendarle razmeroma dokaj pogosta tudi izvedba Škerjančevih simfoničnih oz. orkestralnih del, in to ne le v okviru omenjenih slovesnosti ob praznovanjih skladateljevih obletnic. V okviru Slovenskih glasbenih dnevov so Simfoniki RTV 22. junija 1997 pripravili koncert slovenske glasbe, na katerega so uvrstili tudi Škerjančevo *Peto simfonijo v F-duru* iz leta 1943. Kritik Pavle Mihelčič je v oceni koncerta posebej izpostavil lepoto drugega stavka, pri čemer je vzneseno zapisal: »Spomin je močan, spremljal nas bo tudi v novo tisočletje.«³³

32 Leskovic, *Glasba iz pozabe*, 5.

33 Pavel Mihelčič, »Prihodnost iz spominov«, *Delo*, 24. junij 1997, 15.

Nekaj je bilo tudi posebnih drugih priložnostnih izvedb Škerjančeve glasbe, ki prav tako pričajo o njeni priljubljenosti in vrednosti. V Festivalski dvorani na Bledu je Orkester Slovenske filharmonije ob kongresu zdravnikov cerebralne paralize leta 2001 pripravil slavnostni koncert, na katerem so izvedli Škerjančevo *Slavnostno uverturo*. Naslednje leto, 22. avgusta 2002, pa je v okviru ljubljanskega Festivala gostoval Komorni orkester Dunajskega koncertnega združenja (Wiener Concert-Verein). Pod vodstvom dirigentke Karen Kamensek so med drugim s harfistko Mojco Zlobko - Vajgl izvedli Škerjančev *Koncert za harfo in orkester* (1954). Izvedbo je posebej pohvalil kritik Pavel Mihelčič, ki je v *Delu* zapisal, »da se je glasba Lucijana Marije Škerjanca zaradi odlične izvedbe izkazala z vso umetniško pregnanco«.³⁴

Komorni godalni orkester Slovenske filharmonije je 18. maja 2010 pripravil v Narodni galeriji Večer slovenske glasbe, posvečen leto dni pred tem preminulemu violončelistu Cirilu Škerjancu. Koncert je izzvenel v celoti samo z deli Lucijana Marije Škerjanca. Predstavili so skladateljevo *Drugo in Tretjo suito* za godala (1954), sin pokojnega čelista, Igor Škerjanec pa je izvedel *Pet liričnih melodij* za violončelo (1953). V letu 2015 so Slovenski glasbeni dnevi praznovali trideset let delovanja. Ob tej priložnosti je Komorni godalni orkester Slovenske filharmonije na svojem koncertu 15. marca izvedel tudi Škerjančevo *Simfonijo št. 4*, napisano za godala.

PREDSTAVITVE ŠKERJANCA V ZAMEJSTVU IN TUJINI

Več izvedb Škerjančevih del je v obravnavanem obdobju mogoče zaslediti tudi v zamejstvu in tujini. Tudi pri teh predstavitvah prednjačijo izvedbe samospevov in komorne glasbe. Posebno izstopajoč je bil koncert na sejmu glasbe Musicora v Parizu leta 1996, na katerem je med drugim tudi s Škerjančevimi samospevi nastopil basbaritonist Marcos Fink ob spremljavi pianistke Nataše Valant.

Leta 1999 je pianistka Tatjana Ognjanović z izborom Škerjančeve klavirske glasbe nastopila na Norveškem, na konferenci Mednarodnega združenja klavirskih pedagogov. Na koncertu je predstavila program, ki ga je izvedla nato maja 2000 tudi na samostojnem recitalu v Cankarjevem domu v okviru praznovanja stoletnice skladateljevega rojstva. Na sporedu so bile, kot smo že omenili, Škerjančeve *Štiri klavirske skladbe*, pa prvi od sedmih *Nokturnov*, *Druga sonata*, *Dvanajst preludijev* ter dve *Improvizaciji*.

Omenili smo že predavanje Paola Petronija ob skladateljevi stoletnici rojstva, ki so ga 8. januarja 2000 pripravili v okviru tradicionalnih ponedeljkovih večerov Društva slovenskih izobražencev v Trstu. Predavanje je bilo tudi dobro obiskano. Prav tako smo že omenili poseben koncert z naslovom *Zveneči obrazi Slovenije*

34 Pavel Mihelčič, »Zgledno s Škerjancem«, *Delo*, 24. avgust 2002, 5.

(Klingende Gesichter Sloweniens), ki so ga pripravili v Münchnu. Dogodek je bil posvečen počastitvi obletnic Prešerna in Škerjanca. Prireditev je organizirala slovenska pianistka Marina Horak skupaj s slovenskim Ministrstvom za kulturo in pod okriljem münchenskega Referata za kulturo v kulturnem centru Mohr-Villa, 9. decembra 2000. Na koncertu je pianistka Tatjana Ognjanovič izvedla Škerjančeve *Štiri klavirske skladbe*, *Deset skladb za mladino* in *Dvanajst preludijev*. Poleg nje sta nastopili sopranistka Irena Baar in pianistka Nataša Valant z izborom skladateljevih samospevov. Poseben pečat je dogodku dodala recitacija pesmi in pisem Franceta Prešerna pred koncertom.

Zanimiv spominski večer so v soorganizaciji s Fundacijo Lucijana Marije Škerjanca pripravili na Reki 24. novembra 2011 v zamejskem Slovenskem domu KPD Bazovica. Na večeru je nastopila Tatjana Kralj, ki je predstavila delovanje Fundacije in prizadevanja za ohranjanje spomina na skladatelja Škerjanca. Posebna pozornost je bila posvečena tudi spominu petletnice smrti sopranistke Irene Baar, skladateljeve pranečakinje in ene od ustanoviteljic Fundacije.

Tržaška Glasbena matica je ob sodelovanju s Fundacijo Lucijana Marije Škerjanca pripravila poseben koncert 10. februarja 2012. Na njem so nastopili gojenci Glasbene matice, ki so med drugim izvedli Škerjančevo *Arietto na G struni* za violino (Vera Sturman, violina; Claudia Sedmach, klavir) ter *Adagio v septimah* in *Nokturno v sekstah* za klavir (Rachele Valeri).

PODELITEV ŠKERJANČEVIH NAGRAD, PRIZNANJ IN DIPLOM

Posebno izstopajoč prispevek k obujanju spomina na Lucijana Marijo Škerjanca pomenijo tudi vsakoletne podelitve Škerjančevih nagrad, priznanj in diplom Srednje glasbene in baletne šole oz. Konservatorija za glasbo in balet v Ljubljani. Nagrade namenjajo že vse od leta 1995 izjemnim uspehom dijakov, profesorjev in različnih zunanjih sodelavcev pri uveljavitvi šole v letu pred tem. Nagrade podeljujejo na posebni prireditvi, ki jo pripravijo v neposredni bližini Prešernovega dne. Ob tej priložnosti vedno izvedejo tudi kakšno od del skladatelja Škerjanca, po katerem se priznanja imenujejo. Med nagrajenci so se v preteklih desetletjih zvrstila številna pozneje najbolj znana imena iz glasbenega oz. kulturnega življenja, prav tako pa je na priložnostnih koncertih zazvenela cela vrsta Škerjančevih skladb. Tradicionalna prireditev je postala tako pomembna ne le za promocijo dijakov, ki se uveljavljajo v svetu glasbe, ampak ne nazadnje tudi za utrditev posebnega mesta Škerjanca v slovenski splošni kulturni zavesti.³⁵

Nekakšen preludij k tej tradiciji je pomenil že spominski koncert na Srednji glasbeni in baletni šoli 23. februarja 1993, pripravljen ob 20. obletnici Škerjančeve smrti.

35 Prim. Stefanija in Zorko, *Med ljubeznijo in poklicem*.

Na njem so s samo Škerjančevimi skladbami nastopili nekateri pozneje priznani glasbeniki, tako Francka Šenk, Maja Fürst, Maša Poljanec, Andraž Hauptman, Marko Hribernik idr.

Med koncerti, ki so se ob podelitvi priznanj zvrstili v poznejših letih, velja omeniti nekatere posebej izstopajoče izvedbe Škerjančevih del. Tako so 4. februarja 1999 v tem okviru predstavili Škerjančevo »*V onom črnem lese*«, *ciaccono na narodno temo* za godalni orkester. Naslednje leto, 4. februarja 2000, so ob Škerjančevem jubileju izvedli njegov *Concertino* za klavir in godala ter dva soneta iz *Sonetnega venca*. Na prireditvi 5. februarja 2002 je zazvenel Škerjančev *Koncert za fagot, harfo in godala*. Na koncertu 6. februarja 2008 so med drugim predstavili štiri od sedmih Škerjančevih orkestrskih pesnitev z naslovom *Gazele*. Ob 110. obletnici skladateljevega rojstva je na prireditvi 5. februarja 2010 s *Concertinom za flavto in orkester* nastopila flautistka Eva Nina Kozmus ob spremljavi orkestra, ki ga je vodil Tomaž Habe. Kot smo že omenili, je na šoli to leto še posebej slovesno izzvenelo v znamenju Škerjanca, saj so v novi stavbi na skladateljev rojstni dan poimenovali po njem veliko koncertno dvorano Konservatorija, ob tej priložnosti pa pripravili tudi priložnostni koncert njegovih skladb.

Na slavnostnem koncertu v dvorani Slovenske filharmonije 4. februarja 2011 je simfonični orkester Konservatorija pod vodstvom Tomaža Habeta zaigral Škerjančevo *Slavnostno uverturo*, naslednjega leta pa Škerjančev *Notturmo* za veliki orkester. Med posebno izstopajočimi izvedbami velja omeniti tudi koncert s podelitvijo priznanj 4. februarja 2016, na katerem je simfonični orkester šole pod vodstvom Slavena Kulenovića s solistko Ivano Percan Kodarin izvedel Škerjančev *Intermezzo romantique* za violino in orkester.

Čeprav v našem pregledu ni mogoče povsem celovito in podrobneje predstaviti vseh koncertov, snemanj, notnih in zvočnih izdaj, tonskih posnetkov, predavanj, razmišljanj, tudi številnih omemb v strokovni in poljudni literaturi, različnih diplomskih in seminarskih nalog, pa ne nazadnje številnih drugih in drugačnih predstavitev Škerjančevega dela v desetletjih po njegovi smrti, nam že pričujoč prelet ponuja vpogled v široko paleto raznovrstnih prispevkov, ki pričajo o stalnem in neusahljivem zanimanju za skladateljev glasbeni opus in njegov pomen. Četudi je v določeni meri sicer morda mogoče zaznati določena nihanja v obsegu in intenzivnosti soočanja s Škerjančevim delom, pa nam vendarle analiza dogajanja potrjuje, da njegova glasba vsekakor tudi v obdobju, ko je zbledel neposreden vpliv skladateljeve osebnosti, vztraja na koncertnih odrih in v snemalnih studiih ter da se spomin nanjo v celoti ohranja v živi glasbeni zavesti. Prav to pa predstavlja ob vseh estetskih in poetoloških premenah in zasukih zadnjih desetletij verjetno najbolj trden dokaz tudi posebne skladateljeve ustvarjalne potence, njegove posebne kompozicijske spretnosti in domišljenosti ter ne nazadnje muzikalne prepričljivosti njegove glasbe.

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S u m m a r y

RECEPTION OF LUCIJAN MARIJA ŠKERJANC'S MUSIC AS REFLECTED IN CONCERT LIFE AFTER HIS DEATH

Lucijan Marija Škerjanc (1900–1973) is considered one of the greatest Slovenian musicians of the mid-twentieth century. This is confirmed by the large quantity of his works, the quality of which was emphasized by his contemporaries in critical assessments and professional records. Today he also occupies a special place in historiographical retrospectives that evaluate and assess the period in which he worked.

Examining the revival of Škerjanc's compositional legacy in the period after his death shows how important external stimuli were in reviving his memory. As with many other composers, his posthumous reception was marked by anniversaries that triggered reflections on the revival of forgotten works. On the other hand, the idea of the well-thought-out design of the Lucijan Marija Škerjanc Foundation proved to be extremely important.

The foundation was established shortly before the centenary of the composer's birth. The main initiators were Škerjanc's relatives and several prominent Slovenian musicians, who included the composer's niece, the opera singer Tatjana Kralj, who developed the idea together with her daughter, the equally renowned singer Irena Baar. The need to set up a foundation was fuelled by a feeling that Škerjanc's works were being pushed aside and overlooked, which is why Tatjana Kralj even speaks of "Škerjanc's silence". The main aims of the foundation were the publication of Škerjanc's unpublished works and the organization of concerts and charity events. The publication of a monograph on the composer containing a biography and a bibliography of his compositions was another notable success for the foundation.

The celebration of the composer's hundredth birthday was the highlight of the commemoration of Škerjanc. A whole series of events were held to mark the occasion — in particular, concerts with some of the most prominent performers in the most prestigious concert venues. A large number of events were also held in the anniversary year 2010.

In the archive of the Lucijan Marija Škerjanc Foundation we find a variety of materials, concert lists, concert announcements, concert commentaries, programmes and clippings from newspapers and magazines containing reviews and ratings of performances. The material enables us to trace Škerjanc's continuous presence on the concert stage even after his death. Among the works performed, Škerjanc's songs undoubtedly stand out, being characterized by musical boldness and refined emotions. Škerjanc's piano compositions, works for cello and string quartets were also regularly performed. Even performances of Škerjanc's larger symphonic and combined vocal and instrumental compositions were relatively frequent. Also several performances of Škerjanc's works in other countries can be traced. A particularly interesting contribution to reviving the memory of Lucijan Marija Škerjanc is the annual awarding of Škerjanc prizes by the Conservatory of Music in Ljubljana. A large concert hall in the new building of the conservatory was also named after the composer.

The abundance of events testifies to the constant interest in the composer's musical work. Although there are fluctuations in the extent and intensity of engagement with Škerjanc's work, the analysis confirms that his music continues to be heard on concert stages and in recording studios, and that the memory of it is preserved in the living musical consciousness. At all events, this is solid proof of the composer's special creative potential, his compositional skill and imagination, and not least of the musical persuasiveness of his music.

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Ljubljana

GLASBENA NOTACIJA V LJUBITELJSKI GLASBENI DEJAVNOSTI IN ETNOMUZIKOLOGIJI V 20. IN 21. STOLETJU

IZVLEČEK: Avtorici v prispevku analizirata primere zapisovanja instrumentalne in vokalne glasbe za potrebe etnomuzikološke analize in poustvarjanja v ljubiteljski kulturi, ki so se oblikovali v 20. stoletju. Z analizo primerov razkrivata različne metode beleženja glasbe kot pripomoček opredmetenja slišane glasbe in kot način opredmetenja spominskih evokacij za pomoč pri glasbenem poustvarjanju.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: notacija, etnomuzikologija, ljubiteljska kultura, ljudska glasba

ABSTRACT: In this article the authors analyse examples of the notation of instrumental and vocal music for the purpose of musical performance in amateur culture. By analysing the examples, they show different methods of notation as a means of making heard music tangible and as a means of making evocations in the memory tangible for the purposes of musical performance.

KEYWORDS: notation, ethnomusicology, amateur culture, folk music

UVOD

Pojem glasbene notacije v prostorih, kjer je močno navzoča zahodnoevropska umetnostna glasbena tradicija, pogosto povezujemo z zapisi prav te zvrsti glasbe, vendar pa nam širši pogled, ki vključuje zgodovinske in kulturne perspektive, razkriva raznovrstnost in kompleksnost razvoja in obstoja glasbenonotacijskih sistemov. Če izhajamo iz razumevanja, da je nastanek glasbenonotacijskih sistemov narekovala potreba po zapisovanju zvoka oz. glasbe, bodisi zaradi memoriranja, poustvarjanja, ohranjanja bodisi zaradi analize glasbenih del, je razumljivo, da so različne skupnosti razvijale svoje načine zapisov, ki so ustrezali njihovemu razumevanju upodobitve zvoka z različnimi simboli.

Tudi v evropskem prostoru, v katerem je notacijski sistem zapisa zahodne umetnostne glasbe, za katerega v nadaljevanju uporablja izraz »standardna notacija«,¹ najbolj uveljavljen, lahko najdemo različne načine notacijskih in drugih sistemov, ki dopolnjujejo ali pa zamenjujejo standardno notacijo. Ti raznoliki načini zapisov so se izoblikovali zaradi potrebe posameznikov ali skupin po upodabljanju glasbe tako, da bi si z določeno pisno obliko lažje predstavljali zvočno podobo glasbenega dela ali pa znanje lažje prenašali na druge.² Tudi etnomuzikologi so pri raziskavah glasb različnih kultur ugotovili, da jim poznavanje sistema standardne glasbene notacije pri zapisovanju in analizi raziskovanih ljudskih glasb ne pomaga dovolj in so zato razvijali individualne načine zapisov, danes pa so v rabi tudi računalniško podprte vizualizacije zvoka. Podobno so tudi nosilci ali poustvarjalci ljudske glasbe in ljubiteljski poustvarjalci različnih glasbenih praks v skladu s karakteristikami glasbe, ki jo izvajajo, v nekaterih primerih razvili svoje glasbenokomunikacijske sisteme, bodisi za zapisovanje glasbe bodisi kot pripomoček za memoriranje in poustvarjanje določenih glasbenih vsebin.

S temi izhodišči se bova avtorici pričujočega članka osredotočili na glasbeni prenos v okvirih ljubiteljske glasbene dejavnosti nasploh in bolj specifično v polju ljudske glasbe v obdobju od začetka 20. stoletja pa do danes. Sprva bova predstavili nekatera teoretska izhodišča, ki podajajo razumevanje pojma notacijskih sistemov v etnomuzikoloških okvirih, nato pa bova izpostavili nekaj primerov, pri katerih ljubiteljski glasbeniki uporabljajo raznolike sisteme glasbene komunikacije. Izpostavljeni bodo primeri s področja instrumentalne in vokalne glasbe, dodani pa bodo tudi primeri, ki so v rabi v okviru posameznih etnomuzikoloških raziskav. Avtorici v polju in-

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1 Snoj in Pompe, *Pisna podoba glasbe*.

2 Številni zapisi glasbe, ki se razlikujejo od standardne notacije v umetnostni glasbi preteklosti in sedanjosti, temeljijo na podobnih rešitvah in so bili razviti s podobnimi cilji.

strumentalne glasbe predstavlja primere sistemov za kitaro, diatonično harmoniko in pritrkavanje na cerkvene zvonove ter primere zapisovanja v polju vokalne glasbe. Ker so znaki splošno znani, so nekateri glasbenokomunikacijski ali notacijski sistemi enaki v različnih glasbenih praksah, npr. način zapisovanja s številkami se lahko pojavi tako v vokalni kot instrumentalni glasbi ali pa je npr. način zapisovanja z grafičnimi znaki uporaben tako v slovenski kot kateri drugi vokalni tradiciji.

(ETNO)MUZIKOLOŠKA IZHODIŠČA GLASBENOKOMUNIKACIJSKIH SISTEMOV

Osnova glasbenega prenosa je komunikacija med sporočevalcem in prejemnikom, da je komunikacija uspešna, pa morata oba poznati pomen znakov in komunikacijski sistem, ki jih uporabljata. V družboslovnem diskurzu so opredeljeni trije tipi splošne človeške komunikacije, model pa lahko preslikamo tudi v polje komunikacije v glasbi: vsebina, smer in oblika. Vsebina zajema podajanje izjav, izmenjavo znanja, vpogleda in izkušenj, dajanje nasvetov in ukazov ter postavljanje vprašanj. Smer je določena s ciljem sporočila (pošiljatelj usmeri komunikacijo k drugi osebi ali skupini oseb), oblika pa se nanaša na družbene znake in signale, geste (neverbalno komunikacijo, kot sta znakovna in telesna govorica), pisanje, verbalno komunikacijo, zvok in glasbo.³ Timothy Rice v enciklopedičnem prispevku, ki naslavlja glasbeni prenos,⁴ poudarja štiri ravni prenosa glasbe: tehnično, družbeno, kognitivno in institucionalno.⁵ Tehnična raven se dalje deli na pisni ter ustni prenos in ravno to opozicijsko in precej generalizirano razumevanje je v preteklosti razločevalo področje muzikologije od etnomuzikologije, saj se je slednja pogosto ukvarjala z glasbenimi kulturami, ki so temeljile predvsem na ustnem ali slišnem prenosu glasbenih struktur, znanj in veščin.⁶

Koncept ljudske glasbe je dolgo prežemala paradigma ustnosti, pri čemer so kasneje etnomuzikologi in folkloristi opozarjali na pristranskost tovrstnega mišljenja in poudarjali potrebo po večplastnem razumevanju glasbenega prenosa.⁷ Tako nekatere raziskave v slovenskem prostoru za čas, ko je med nosilci ljudske glasbene kulture prevladovala ustna komunikacija, ugotavljajo pomemben delež pisnega prenosa besedil ljudskih pesmi (npr. pesmi na letakih, viteška lirika, ponarodele pesmi).⁸ Prav

3 Scott in Marshall, *Dictionary of Sociology*, 91.

4 Rice, »Transmission«.

5 Družbena raven se nanaša na družbene skupine (npr. spolne, generacijske), kognitivna obravnava kognitivne procese učenja glasbe, institucionalna organizacijo prenosa glasbe, tehnična pa obliko prenosa glasbe.

6 Rice, »Transmission«.

7 Nettl, *Study of Ethnomusicology*, 195; Morgenstern, »In Defence«, 19; Leydi, *Druga godba*, 194–201.

8 Klobčar, *Poslušajte štimo mojo*; Golež Kaučič, *Ljudsko in umetno*; Šivic, »Muzikološki vidiki«.

gotovo pa danes ne moremo gledati na prenos ljudske glasbe z enakih izhodišč, kot so veljala v preteklosti. Pismenost prežema družbo na vseh ravneh, tako jezikovna, ki vpliva na prenose besedilne ravni ljudskih pesmi, kot glasbena, ki je s porastom institucionalizacije glasbenega šolstva v 20. stoletju zajela precejšen del prebivalstva.

Glasbena pismenost je povezana s konceptom notacije – nota naj bi bila vizualna analogija zvoku ali tonu –, raba notacije pa se najpogosteje pripisuje jezikovno pismenim družbenim skupnostim.⁹ Če pa upoštevamo glasbeni prenos v okviru raznolikih svetovnih glasbenih tradicij (pri katerih so nosilci jezikovno pismene ali nepismene skupnosti) in tudi v okviru glasbe zahodnih kultur, ugotovimo, da so komunikacijski sistemi v glasbi veliko bolj prilagodljivi. Tako na primer jezikovna pismenost pri mnogih kulturah za glasbeno komunikacijo ni nujna in mnogokrat glasbenokomunikacijski sistemi ne izhajajo iz standardiziranih notnih zapisov. Glasbenokomunikacijski sistemi so se namreč razvili iz raznolikih potreb: ponekod zaradi želje po ohranjanju glasbenega gradiva, pogosto je notacija služila le kot pripomoček za izvedbo, medtem ko je glavnina glasbene komunikacije temeljila na ustnem prenosu,¹⁰ spet drugod pa je variantnost cenjena posledica glasbenega prenosa, zato je notacijski sistem zelo okrnjen. Iz teh razlogov potreba po rabi in razvoju notacijskih sistemov ni bila povsod enako razvita.¹¹

Ob naštetem se je treba zavedati, »da nobena glasbena pisava ne zapisuje vsega in da se v zgodovini glasbenega zapisovanja ni zapisovalo vedno isto«. ¹² Namen glasbenih pisav ni, da bi zabeležile glasbo kot fizikalni pojav, temveč da bi zabeležile glasbo s tistimi parametri, ki so v nekem obdobju navzoči in pomembni.¹³ Prav tako ima glasbeni zapis v zahodnoevropskem prostoru več vlog: če je namenjen analizi oz. raziskovanju glasbenih zakonitosti, sledijo zapisovalci (etnomuzikologi) predvsem natančnemu prenosu akustičnega dogodka na papir, kadar pa je v ospredju poustvarjanje glasbenega dela, je natančen zapis namenjen »vzratni pretvorbi v zvok«, ¹⁴ torej izvedbi.

Pompe in Snoj zapišeta, da bi »znakovni sistem, ki bi posredoval samo fizikalne lastnosti zvenov, spletenih v skladbo, [...] bil sicer natančen in imeli bi ga lahko za univerzalno pisavo, vendar bi o zapisani glasbi kot glasbi povedal zelo malo, manj kot katerakoli resnična glasbena pisava«. ¹⁵ Na drugi strani pa etnomuzikologija, ki uporablja študijsko transkripcijo kot metodo za ugotavljanje značilnosti osebnih,

9 Bent et al., »Notation«.

10 Roberto Leydi na primerih iz zgodnjih zgodovinskih obdobj enako problematizira paradigmo pismenosti zahodnoevropske umetnostne glasbe. Leydi, *Druga godba*, 174–185.

11 Rice, »Transmission«.

12 Snoj in Pompe, *Pisna podoba glasbe*, 18.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.

lokalnih ali širše veljavnih zgodovinskih in sodobnih izvajalskih sistemov, stremlji k takšnemu »fizikalnemu« zapisu, saj le-ta rešuje problem omejitev in individualnosti človeškega slušnega doživetja. Idealni sistem zapisa za etnomuzikološke analize bi bil računalniški zapis, torej prenos glasbe kot akustičnega pojava v zapis fizikalnih parametrov,¹⁶ s čimer se ukvarja področje pridobivanja podatkov iz glasbe (*music information retrieval*), ali natančneje, področje avtomatične glasbene transkripcije (*automatic music transcription* (AMT)),¹⁷ vendar pa so rezultati na tem področju za širšo rabo še vedno prešibki.¹⁸

ZAPISOVANJE LJUDSKE GLASBE

Sistem grafičnih in besednih oznak, ki so ga razvili v etnomuzikologiji (če se osredinimo zgolj na slovenski prostor), naj bi izpopolnil standardno notacijo, namenjeno zapisovanju in interpretaciji zahodnoevropske glasbe 19. stoletja.¹⁹ Na tem mestu naj omeniva le nekaj dodatnih znakov, ki dopolnjujejo ta notacijski sistem in omogočajo zapis nekaterih značilnosti, ki jih standardni notacijski zapis ne predvideva.

Za označevanje točnega mesta začetka *ritardanda* oz. *acceleranda* sta bila na primer dodana znaka $\leftarrow$ in $\rightarrow$, znak $\cap$ za rahlo višji oz. znak $\cup$ za rahlo nižji ton od tega, ki ga določa 12-tonska temperiran sistem. Tudi standardna taktovna ureditev je za zapisovanje določenih segmentov ljudske glasbe omejujoča, saj metrični potek glasbe uokvirja v natančno odmerjene sheme, medtem ko se v slovenski vokalni tradiciji pogosto pojavljajo menjavanje taktovskih načinov ali pa taktovski načini zunaj binarnega in ternarnega sistema. Da bi raziskovalci (transkriptorji) lahko označili prostor z neizrazito metrično strukturo, so uvedli oznaki *ad libitum* in *rubato*, ki ponazarjata svobodno, pripovedujočo, bolj individualno interpretirano glasbeno vsebino.

Za poustvarjanje je podrobna, študijska transkripcija glasbe preveč natančna in težko berljiva.²⁰ Intervencije in invencije v standardni notni zapis v etnomuzikologiji torej niso nastale zaradi razvoja glasbe, temveč zaradi razvoja znanstvene vede in njenih specifičnih zanimanj. Tako kot so se glasbene pisave zahodnoevropske umetnostne glasbe prilagajale spremembam v glasbi in njenemu razumevanju, je tudi etnomuzikologija znotraj standardne glasbene pisave (prilagojene izvajanju in

16 Zametke je v petdesetih letih 20. stoletja razvijal Charles Seeger z napravo, imenovano melograf. Njegov tretji model je prikazoval spektralne podatke v obliki spektrograma pa tudi frekvenco in jakost zvoka. Cooper in Sapiro, »Ethnomusicology in the Laboratory«, 305.

17 Holzapfel in Benetos, *Automatic Music Transcription*.

18 Savage, »Overview«.

19 Več o transkripciji v slovenskem prostoru glej Marty, »Iz slišnega v vidno«.

20 Iz tega razloga se v etnomuzikologiji uporabljata natančna, študijska transkripcija, medtem ko je poenostavljena, uporabniška transkripcija namenjena poljudni rabi.

ne zapisovanju zahodnoevropske umetnostne glasbe od 17. stoletja naprej) razvila svoj znakovni sistem, s katerim je lahko zadostila svojemu zanimanju. Etnomuzikologi (in ob njih tudi tekstologi – folkloristi kot raziskovalci pesemskih besedil) so namreč z zapisom »skušali kar najbolj verno shraniti tisto, kar so slišali, saj ni bilo mogoče dokončno predvideti, kaj bo bodočega kabinetnega raziskovalca na arhivirani glasbi dejansko zanimalo«.²¹

Tudi potrebe uporabnikov glasbe (npr. glasbenikov, učiteljev, zapisovalcev, raziskovalcev) so krojile rabo pisnih notacijskih sistemov in ustvarjale njegovo kompleksnost. Ker je standardna glasbena pisava razmeroma zapletena in zato omejena na izobražene glasbenike, v polju ljubiteljske dejavnosti pa predvsem na tiste, »ki so bili deležni osnovnega, srednjega ali/in visokega glasbenega šolanja«,²² je ljubiteljsko kulturo, vključno s poustvarjanjem ljudske glasbe, zaznamovala in še zaznamuje predvsem ustna komunikacija. S tem je podvržena spominu poustvarjalcev ali njihovim ustvarjalnim glasbenokomunikacijskim vzgibom. Zgodovinsko gledano je ustni prenos glasbe zaznamoval to, kar so etnomuzikologi in folkloristi razumeli kot bistveno značilnost ljudske glasbe – variantnost. Pesmi in instrumentalne viže²³ so se kot posledica ustne glasbene komunikacije skozi čas navadno pojavljale v mnogih različicah.

V izvajalskih praksah (standardno) nenotalnih izvajalcev so tako pogosto v uporabi drugačni ustni, pisni ali gibni načini komunikacije, ki so imeli tudi različne namene sporočanja: za usklajevanje glasbenikov znotraj skupine sta na primer pogosti verbalna ali gestikulacijska komunikacija, za učenje novega repertoarja ali ohranjanje pesmi in skladb za poustvarjanje pa znakovni, številčni, barvni in črkovni sistemi. V nadaljevanju avtorici konkretnije predstavlja nekaj tovrstnih primerov s področja ljubiteljskih praks instrumentalnega in vokalnega glasbenega izvajanja ljudske glasbe.

INSTRUMENTALNA GLASBA

V polju ljubiteljskega ukvarjanja z instrumentalno glasbo so v slovenskem prostoru že dolgo navzoče različne prakse glasbenega prenosa. Danes mnoge temeljijo na prenosu znanja prek slušnih ali vizualnih medijev; prenos znanja poteka predvsem prek spletnih in mobilnih aplikacij ali videoposnetkov, ki podajajo napotke za igranje glasbil, nekateri prenosi pa so povezani tudi z institucionalnimi sistemi glasbenega poučeva-

21 Snoj in Pompe, *Pisna podoba glasbe*, 18.

22 Križnar, »Slovensko glasbeno šolstvo«, 8.

23 V glasbeni folkloristiki in etnomuzikologiji se je za oznako instrumentalnega glasbenega dela uveljavil izraz viža. Izraz označuje to, kar v umetnostni in popularni glasbi poznamo pod izrazom skladba.

nja. Pogosto je ravno poučevanje spodbudilo marsikaterega glasbenika, da je ustno podajanje glasbenega znanja in veščin prenesel v tiskano obliko, pri čemer pa je moral razmisliti tako o sistematiki podajanja znanja kot tudi o načinu zapisa glasbe. Tako so na primer med ljubiteljskimi kitaristi še vedno prevladujoče tabulature ali ponazoritev akordičnih prijemov na ubiralki, torej oblika notacije, ki je bila značilna za upodobitev akordične spremljave strunskih glasbil zahodnoevropske umetnostne glasbe že v obdobju renesanse in baroka. Uporabljali so jih tudi v prvih metodologijah poučevanja kitare (prvi učbenik kitare na Slovenskem z naslovom *Kitarska šola za začetnike* je izšel leta 1925), v t. i. kitarskih šolah, ki so bile namenjene samoukom ali zasebnemu poučevanju, saj kitare v javnih glasbenih šolah do sredine tridesetih let 20. stoletja niso poučevali.²⁴

Izjemno priljubljeno glasbilo tako v Evropi kot pri nas so bile v 19. stoletju citre. Priljubljene so bile v meščanskem okolju in na podeželju, prav njihova priljubljenost pa je narekovala tako tehnično izpopolnjevanje glasbila kot tudi potrebo po glasbenem prenosu s pisnimi sistemi. Tako so (bile) za nepoznavalce standardne notacije v rabi tabulature, ki so jih pogosto podložili pod strune. Te so raziskovalci našli na terenu, hkrati pa o njihovi razširjenosti pričajo oglasi v časopisih, s katerimi so ljubiteljske glasbenike spodbujali k učenju igranja na citre (gl. Sliko 1). Ti zapisi so bili oštevilčeni, raziskovalci pa so odkrili zapise celo s šestmestnimi števkami, kar priča o širokem repertoarju, ki je bil na voljo citrarjem.²⁵ Razširjene so bile tudi t. i. citrarske šole, sprva v nemščini, kasneje tudi v slovenščini. Ena najbolj razširjenih je bila zbirka Frana Koruna - Koželjskega *Poduk v igranju na citrah* (1895–1907), z melodijami domoljubnih, ljudskih in narodnoprebudnih pesmi, zapisanimi v standardni notaciji. Zbirka pa ima tudi glasbenoteoretični uvod s predstavitvijo značilnosti standardnega notnega sistema in tehničnih napotkov za igranje na citre.

Zanimive primere notacijskih sistemov najdemo za diatonično harmoniko, ki je v šestdesetih letih 20. stoletja med ljubiteljskimi glasbeniki postajala vse bolj priljubljena, zato se je pojavila potreba po učbenikih in s tem načinih zapisovanja. Harmonikarji so bodisi kot samouki ali pa pri zasebnih učiteljih in v zasebnih šolah pridobivali znanje igranja – pogosto preko tabulaturnih sistemov, kot so npr. t. i. prijemni sistemi. Leta 1988 je po vzoru prijemnega notnega sistema v samozaložbi izšel učbenik za diatonično harmoniko Stanka Žagarja. Ta se je zgledoval po sistemu, ki ga je leta 1975 v svojem učbeniku *Die steirische Harmonika: eine Spielanleitung* predstavil Avstrijec Max Rosenzopf. Prijemni sistem delno uporablja sistem standardnega notnega zapisa, vendar pri poziciji v notno črtovje ne podaja prikaza višine tona, temveč položaj gumba, na katerega je treba pritisniti, dodani pa so tudi znaki za zapiranje meha ter posebne pozicije in oblike not, ki ponazarjajo različne

24 Rauter, »Kitarske šole«.

25 Omerzel-Terlep, »Citranje«, 709.

vrste na melodijski in basovski strani harmonike. Tovrstni sistem je narekovala sama karakteristika glasbila, saj so diatonične harmonike v različnih uglasitvah, prijemni sistem pa omogoča univerzalen način učenja za vse uglasitve.²⁶ Prijemni sistem zapiša je v rabi tudi v dveh učbenikih iz devetdesetih let 20. stoletja: v učbeniku *Godčevski priročnik* Milana Trampuša iz leta 1993 in učbeniku *Uvod v igranje na diatonično harmoniko 1* Zorana Lupinca iz leta 1999. Avtorja sicer uporabljata nekoliko drugačen sistem prikaza položaja tonov, Trampuš pa v učbeniku poleg oznak akordov dodaja tudi številčni zapis za oznake prijemov gumbov (gl. Sliko 2).²⁷



Slika 1 | Oglas za prodajo grafičnih zapisov, t. i. tabulatur za igranje na citre
(*Slovenec*, 16. oktober 1927, 12)

Debevec, ki tudi sam igra diatonično harmoniko, je do uvedbe standardnega notnega sistema pri poučevanju diatonične harmonike v glasbenih šolah (od leta 2002) kritičen. Po njegovem mnenju utemeljitev stroke, da bodo s tem učenci pri igranju na glasbilo enakovredni drugim učencem v glasbeni šoli (ti se standardnega notnega zapisovanja učijo pri obveznem predmetu nauku o glasbi), ni ustrezna, saj je treba pri rabi različnih uglasitev diatoničnih harmonik notne zapise transponirati.²⁸

²⁶ Debevec, »Nadgradnja tradicionalnega pristopa«, 44–45.

²⁷ Ibid., 46.

²⁸ Ibid., 48.

Prav gotovo je to primer podvrženosti notacije ustaljenemu in institucionaliziranemu glasbenemu sistemu in ne prilagodbam zakonitostim in rabi glasbila. Vseeno pa lahko v posodobljenem učnem načrtu iz leta 2021 med cilji beremo, da se učenci pri učenju »usposabljaajo za zaznavanje analitičnega notnega zapisa in vsakovrstnih tabulatur (igranje po številkah, prijemkah, po slikovnem prikazu prijemov in njihovega transponiranja v kakršnokoli notacijo)«, ²⁹ torej ne izvajajo samo notnih zapisov skladb v standardni notaciji. ³⁰



Slika 2 | Notacija ljudske pesmi *En hribček bom kupil* v *Godčevskem priročniku* Milana Trampuša

Kot naslednji primer izpostavlja primer razvoja notacijskih sistemov pri pritrkavanju. ³¹ Ti sistemi so številni in so se v tej ljubiteljski dejavnosti razvijali neodvisno od institucionalnih okvirov formalnega glasbenega šolstva. Izkazujejo tudi široko paleto glasbenokomunikacijske iznajdljivosti pritrkovalcev, pri čemer so pritrkovalci notacijske sisteme uvedli bodisi za prenos znanja bodisi za poustvarjanje ali ohranjanje glasbenih vsebin. Pritrkavanje sicer v večini primerov poteka preko ustnega prenosa z neposrednim učenjem oz. igranjem na zvonove z ostalimi, pritrkavanja večšimi pritrkovalci, vendar pa se je izkazalo, da pritrkovalci (še pogosteje v zadnjih desetletjih) posegajo tudi po drugih načinih učenja, ki temeljijo na pisnih načinih prenosa glasbe.

Najstarejši vir, ki izpričuje notacijski sistem zapisa pritrkavanja, je knjiga Ivana Mercine *Slovenski pritrkovavec* iz leta 1926. Ivan Mercina, tudi sam pritrkovalec, sicer

²⁹ Florjanc, Rotar Pance in Mederal, *Diatonična harmonika*, 6.

³⁰ Do poučevanja ljudskih glasbil v glasbenih šolah smo etnomuzikologi lahko upravičeno kritični. Učenci se naučijo igranja nekaterih ljudskih pesmi (ki so se sicer navadno pele), ne pa načinov igranja na glasbila v ljudskem slogu. Odsotnost tega občasno dopolnjuje Javni sklad rs za kulturne dejavnosti s seminarji za godce na harmoniko.

³¹ Pritrkavanje je ritmična oblika igre na cerkvene zvonove, pri kateri pritrkovalci s kembljem ali kladivom udarjajo ob obode zvonov. Igrajo ali sami na več zvonov ali pa v skupinski igri vsak na svoj zvon, pri čemer vsak pritrkovalec igra določen ritmični obrazec. Več o pritrkavanju glej Kovačič, *Pa se sliš*.

pa glasbeni pedagog in skladatelj, je v prvi strokovni knjižici za pritrkovalce³² objavil zapise 243 pritrkovalskih viž. Mercina se je kljub poznavanju standardnega notnega sistema odločil, da v knjižici uporabi številčni sistem, saj je vedel, da so pritrkovalci večinoma nenotalni, številčni zapis, ki ga je prilagodil karakteristikam glasbene prakse in karakteristikam glasbila, pa je hitro priučljiv. Ker glasbena praksa pritrkavanja temelji na različnem zaporedju udarcev na zvonove, pri čemer intonacija zvona ni pomembna, tonska trajanja pa so enaka, je Mercina v zapisu označil le dobe, ko se oglasi določen zvon (gl. Sliko 3).

Vzorci štv. 153: (četrti sestava vzorcev štv. 149)

a)	3	1	5	2	4	6
	3	1	2	4	6	5
b)	5	1	3	2	4	6
	5	1	2	4	6	3
c)	3	1	2	4	6	5
	2	4	6	1	3	5
č)	5	1	2	4	6	3
	2	4	6	1	5	3

Slika 3 | Številčni zapis pritrkovalskih viž v knjigi *Slovenski pritrkovavec* Ivana Mercine

Zapisi Ivana Mercine so še danes najpogostejše v rabi med pritrkovalci na Primorskem, bodisi za učenje pritrkovalskih viž ali pa jih uporabljajo med samim poustvarjanjem v zvoniku. Vseeno pa se igranje pritrkovalskih viž iz njegove knjige med pritrkovalci ni močnejše razširilo: očitana mu je bila namreč prezahtevnost zapisa. Uredništvo *Cerkvenega glasbenika* ga je dvakrat prosilo, da h knjigi poda dodatna pojasnila: prejeli so namreč tudi pritožbo župnika, da pritrkovalci njegovih navodil k pritrkavanju ne razumejo. Mercina je zato v letih 1927 in 1935 v *Cerkvenem glasbeniku* ponovno podajal podrobnejša navodila za pritrkavanje po številčnem sistemu. V reviji katoliškega telovadnega društva *Mladost* pa je v letu 1927 v rubriki »To in ono« objavljajl navodila za pritrkovalce, ki jih je opremil z enostavnejšim številčnim zapisom; v njem je s številkami od 1 do 3 ali 4 ponazarjal velikost zvonov.³³ Tovrstni zapis pa je še danes najbolj priljubljen.

Naslednja, manj znana literatura za pritrkovalce je bila izdana leta 1946: Ante Gaber, *Slovenski pritrkovalec*. V njej je avtor uporabil sistem zgoraj omenjene Mercine

32 Knjiga je temeljno delo, ki je sooblikovalo merila in kriterije v ljubiteljski dejavnosti pritrkavanja. Mercina se je zavzemal tudi za institucionaliziranje te glasbene prakse znotraj Cerkve, in sicer tako, da bi se organizirale pritrkovalske šole v okviru posameznih župnij. Po njegovih izhodiščih so se zgledovali mnogi, ki so kasneje formalizirali nekatere dogodke znotraj pritrkovalske dejavnosti (npr. okrogle mize, poletne šole, tečaje, tekmovanja in srečanja pritrkovalcev).

33 Gl. na primer Mercina, »Nekaj pojasnil k Pritrkovavcu«, 119.

nove številčne notacije, kasneje pa ga v podobni obliki najdemo tudi v knjižici *Pesmi slovenskih zvonov* (1987) pritrkovalca Ivana Malavašiča. V tej zbirki so dodane še nekatere dodatne oznake, kot npr. podčrtana številka, če je zvon nihajoč, taktovski način, znak za ponavljanje in pa manjša številka za prikaz udarcev gostenja, torej udarcev, ki se v sinkopiranem ritmu izvajajo med udarci na ostale zvonove (gl. Sliko 4). Da je številčni zapis tisti, ki najbolj ustreza karakteristikam pritrkavanja in tudi zadošča njegovemu izvajanju na cerkvene zvonove,³⁴ priča njegova razširjenost in priljubljenost med pritrkovalci (v anketi iz leta 2008, ki je zajela 178 pritrkovalcev, jih kar 73 % pozna pritrkovalsko literaturo, 51 % pritrkovalcev pa tudi uporablja številčni zapis).³⁵



Slika 4 | Številčni zapis iz knjige *Pesmi slovenskih zvonov* Ivana Malavašiča

Zapisi, ki so med pritrkovalci tudi pogosto v rabi, širili pa so se preko poučevanja pritrkavanja v okviru pritrkovalskih tečajev in poletnih pritrkovalskih šol, združujejo standardni notni zapis in posebne grafične znake. Tako na primer pritrkovalci iz Šmarja - Sapa in Šentvida pri Stični uporabljajo notno črtovje, pri čemer prazni prostori med črtami ustrezajo številu zvonov, v rabi so taktnice, pavze, oznake za dinamiko in tempo ter kvadratni simboli z oznako dobe v taktu, gostenje pa je prikazano s simbolom »x« (gl. Sliko 5).



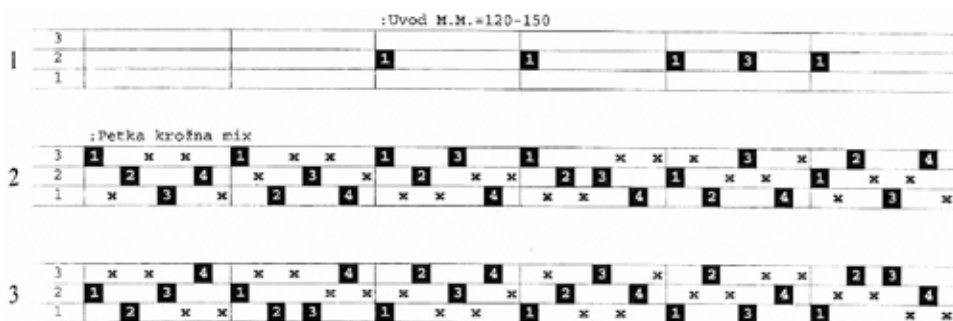
Slika 5 | Pritrkovski zapis iz knjige *Zbirka pritrkovalskih melodij* Jožeta Mehleta

Notacijski sistem pa ni nujno vezan samo na sistem zapisovanja znakov, ampak poteka tudi na ustnih ali telesnih ravneh, kot sistem slišnih ali vidnih znakov (znaki

34 Številčni zapis smo pogosto uporabljali tudi zbiralci gradiva na terenu (npr. Kovačič in Strajnar), saj je omogočal hitro zapisovanje pritrkovalske viže med izvajanjem. Transkribiranje po posnetku je bilo namreč pogosto zahtevnejše in tudi odvisno od raznolikih dejavnikov (npr. od postavitve mikrofona, kakovosti zvoka), ki vplivajo na slušno zaznavanje zapisovalca.

35 Kovačič, *Pa se sliš*, 81.

z roko, udarec z nogo, govorjeni zlogi, besede ipd.).³⁶ Verbalni sistemi pri pritrkavanju najpogosteje ponazarjajo ritmično strukturo pritrkovalske viže s pomočjo recitacije ali petja pesmi (npr. *Bežž, baba, Pečen kaštron*),³⁷ včasih je pritrkovalska viža ponazorjena tudi s pomočjo onomatopoetičnih zlogov (najpogostejši *bim, bam, bom* in *din, dan, don*). Pritrkovalec iz Vipolže je uporabil zloge *din* za najmanjši zvon, *dan* za srednji zvon, *don* za največji zvon, z zlogom *ga* pa je ponazoril pritrkavanje, ki ima vlogo gostenja (gl. Sliko 6).



Slika 6 | Oponašanje pritrkavanja z zlogi

(ZRC SAZU, Arhiv GNI, DAT 402, Vipolže, 27. december 2006, Prim.)

Slovenska etnomuzikologija se je ljudski instrumentalni glasbi raziskovalno-analitično manj posvečala, zato je primerov transkripcij instrumentalnih glasbenih zasedb ali posameznih instrumentalistov v arhivu veliko manj od primerov vokalne glasbe. Posledično se na tem področju niso razvijali posebni znakovni sistemi zapisovanja, zato je v rabi predvsem standardni notni zapis. Za razliko od vokalne glasbe raziskovalci pogosto tudi niso transkribirali celotne zvočne slike instrumentalne glasbe; tako na primer transkripcije igranja na harmoniko prikazujejo le zapise melodijske, brez zapisa basov ali harmonskega poteka viže.

Izjemoma so raziskovalci pri objavah poleg standardne notacije uporabljali tudi druge sisteme. Zmaga Kumer je na primer objavi pritrkovalskih viž v tri-, dvo- ali enoglasni partituri dodala številčni zapis,³⁸ enako so standardni notaciji dodajali številčne zapise tudi v kasnejših objavah pritrkovalskih viž,³⁹ saj so se zavedali, da se s tem povečuje možnost glasbenega prenosa na glasbenike. Tudi nekatere standardno notirane transkripcije plesnih viž Julijana Strajnarja so v objavi dela z naslovom *God-*

³⁶ Bent et al., »Notation«.

³⁷ ZRC SAZU, Arhiv GNI, TZ RH 2/I, 1949, 64; DAT 7, Videm, 9. oktober 1994, Ben. (I).

³⁸ Kumer, *Ljudska glasbila in godci*, 43–44.

³⁹ Strajnar, *Pritrkavanje*; Kovačič, *Pa se sliš*.

čevske viže (1989), poustvarjalcem ponudile poenostavljeno obliko, torej izpise melodičnih linij s podpisanim črkovnim sistemom za harmonsko spremljavo. Ob objavi je v uvodnem besedilu avtor tudi poudaril, da »problem natančnega zapisovanja, notiranja ljudske instrumentalne glasbe še ni rešen. Zapisovalci so premalo upoštevali lokovanje pri godalih, prstne rede, nastavek pri pihalih in trobilih, prepihovanje, vpliv na intonacijo«. ⁴⁰

Vsekakor pa zaradi individualnih in neinstitucionaliziranih slogov izvajanja instrumentalne glasbe v kontekstu ljudskega godčevstva raziskovalna praksa zahteva raziskovalčevo poznavanje posebnosti glasbenih sistemov, ki so se razvijali v lokalnih ali regionalnih okoljih, karakteristik glasbil, načinov izvedbe, tehnik igranja, uglastve glasbil, repertoarja in pa tudi ljudskih plesov, saj je bila instrumentalna ljudska glasba skoraj vedno v funkciji spremljave plesa. Posledično se je zaradi omenjenih parametrov in zahtevnosti instrumentalni glasbi posvečalo manj raziskovalcev. Kot primer temeljite študije instrumentalne glasbe z vsemi omenjenimi karakteristikami pa lahko izpostavimo monografijo o pritrkavanju na cerkvene zvonove *Pa se sliš ... : pritrkavanje v slovenskem in evropskem prostoru*⁴¹ in monografijo Julijana Strajnarja *Citira* (1988), v kateri je na podlagi zgodovinskih virov, obsežnega terenskega dela v Reziji in lastne izkušnje igranja z lokalnimi godci ter lastne plesne izkušnje temeljito predstavil sistem rezijanske instrumentalne igre za ples (gl. Sliko 7). Vendar tudi pri teh temeljitih zapisih z dodatnimi besednimi opisi Strajnar opozarja, da je skušal z notiranjem zajeti »značilnosti rezijanske glasbe, seveda toliko, kolikor nam to dopušča današnja notacija«. ⁴²

VOKALNA LJUDSKA GLASBA

Razumevanje ljudske glasbe kot pretekle glasbene tradicije, ki naj bi bila slogovno, estetsko, zvrstno in repertoarno izolirana od drugih glasbenih pojavov, je danes preseženo. V ljudskoglasbenih pevskih praksah so se predvsem od sedemdesetih let 20. stoletja naprej začele dogajati precejšnje spremembe in tako so se v številnih (glasbenih in neglasbenih) parametri tudi izvedbe ljudskih pesmi začele približevati izvedbam glasbe v ostalih ljubiteljskih kulturnih dejavnostih, najbolj zborovstvu. Prej večinoma spontano in skupnostno petje, omejeno na družinsko ali lokalno okolje, se je institucionaliziralo, postalo je nadzorovano, estetsko vpeto v sodobne pojave popularnoglasbene in druge kulture in sledilo kulturno-političnim smernicam.

Izvajalske prakse ljudskih pesmi so danes torej v marsičem podobne tistim v zborovski in folklorni dejavnosti: zaznamujejo jih redne vaje, navzočnost vodje⁴³ in odrski

⁴⁰ Gl. Strajnar, *Godčevske viže*.

⁴¹ Kovačič, *Pa se sliš*.

⁴² Strajnar, *Citira*, 86.

⁴³ Vodja poustvarjalcev ljudskih pesmi nima vloge dirigenta in posrednika interpretacije kot v zborovstvu, vendar pa vodi vaje, izbira repertoar, uči nove pesmi.

nastopi. Navedeno upravičuje odločitev, da je v tem prispevku ljudska glasba obravnavana kot del ljubiteljske dejavnosti. Slednji se namreč približuje na različnih ravneh, pa naj bo to njena organiziranost v društva, ljubiteljska raven njenih nosilcev, njena vpetost v sistemsko financiranje in delovanje ali pa načini poustvarjanja, kar je osrednja tema pričujočega prispevka.

Standardna notacija, ki se je razvila v začetku 19. stoletja,⁴⁴ je dokaj primerna za zapisovanje ljudske glasbe v srednjeevropskem prostoru in zaradi zgodovinske pogojenosti uveljavljena tudi v slovenski etnomuzikologiji. Ker je etnomuzikološka transkripcija za razliko od standardne notne partiture namenjena zapisu slišane, je zato uveljavila nekatere prilagoditve, predvsem na mestih, ko želimo natančneje opredeliti artikulacijo, barvo in dinamiko izvedene glasbe.⁴⁵ Pri poustvarjanju vokalne ljudske glasbe (ali njenem raziskovanju) pa niso pomembni samo tonska višina, ritem in metrum, temveč tudi tisti parametri, ki oblikujejo izvajalski slog in izvedbene podrobnosti.⁴⁶ Prav po teh parametrih – ti so pogosto središče raziskovalnega in poustvarjalnega zanimanja – se med seboj razločujejo variante, ki so po notni sliki enake ali pa so si zelo podobne (torej bi bile enako izvedene), medtem ko se njihovi zvočni izvorniki lahko med sabo zelo razlikujejo.

V razvoju načinov zapisovanja glasbe je standardna notacija le ena od stopenj v razvoju grafične notacije. Raba grafičnih oznak v ljudski glasbi kot ljubiteljski poustvarjalni dejavnosti je logična in ima podobne konotacije kot v umetnostni glasbi: povezuje vidno s slišnim. Medtem ko zborovski pevci pojejo iz notnih zapisov in lahko tudi v primeru nenotalnosti iz grafičnega (notnega) zapisa spremljajo melodično in ritmično gibanje, pa so v prostoru poustvarjanja ljudskih pesmi notni zapisi še danes redkost.⁴⁷ Zato ni neobičajno, da si pevci za spominsko asociacijo ob pesemsko besedilo dodajajo pripomočke v obliki različnih grafičnih znakov. Tako lahko pevci sledijo grafični sliki zapisa v standardni notaciji ali pa svoje grafične znake dopisujejo nad pesemsko besedilo.

Podobnost z zgodovinskimi oblikami označevanja melodičnega in ritmičnega poteka razkriva logično vez med slišnim in grafičnim, podrobnosti (npr. ritmični potek) pa so odvisne od posameznikovega spomina in podvržene pozabljanju in posledično spreminjanju glasbenega gradiva.⁴⁸ Seveda je takšen način

44 Snój in Pompe, *Pisna podoba glasbe*, 36.

45 Ibid.

46 Kljub dodatnim oznakam ostajajo zapisi npr. dinamike in agogike še vedno zelo neopredeljeni, saj »ne izdajajo absolutne vrednosti jakosti [ali trajanja] tonov, temveč bolj relacije, ki so odvisne od izvajalčevega dožemanja ter zvočnih kvalitet instrumenta [oziroma glasu]«. Ibid., 36. Podobno neopredeljeni ostajajo parametri (npr. odnosi med toni), ki določajo osebne ali lokalne izvajalske sloge. Več gl. Marty, »Iz slišnega v vidno«.

47 Poustvarjalci ljudskih pesmi največkrat pojejo s fotokopij iz pesmaric ljudskih pesmi, ki pa so še danes le redko opremljene z notnimi zapisi, ali imajo na voljo natipkana besedila pesmi.

48 Prepuščanje glasbenega (tudi besedilnega) gradiva spominu je pomemben proces; ta je v preteklosti pomenil enega od konstitutivnih argumentov ljudske pesmi, tj. variantnost, z vedno

zapisovanja v pomoč le v primeru, ko je glasbeno gradivo pevcem že dovolj poznano, saj grafični znaki ne ponazarjajo absolutnega melodičnega, ritmičnega in metričnega zapisa glasbe. Če je standardna notacija globalno dogovorjena pisava, pa so nestandardni grafični zapisi izrazito individualni, saj so odvisni od posameznikovega izgrajevanja glasbenokategorialnega sistema;⁴⁹ odvisni so torej od posameznikovih predstav, od tega, kako »grafično« dojema glasbo oz. kateri znaki ob izvajanju najbolj obujajo njegov spomin.

Spodnji primer razkriva način grafičnega zapisa melodije, ki nakazuje gibanje navzgor/navzdol in okvirno intervalno gibanje (gl. Sliko 8 in prim. Sliko 9). Med grafičnimi znaki so pogoste oznake za okraske, ki pa tako kot ostali grafični znaki le okvirno nakazujejo potek in so pripomoček za vzbujanje spomina na okrasek in ne absolutni zapis njegovega melodičnega poteka (gl. Sliko 10).



Slika 8 | Zapis basovske linije prve kitice gruzinske ljudske pesmi *Elia lrde* z grafičnimi znaki (črtami) za ponazoritev poteka melodije (arhiv Ženske pevske skupine Kvali)



Slika 9 | Zapis basovske linije prve kitice gruzinske ljudske pesmi *Elia lrde* s standardno notno pisavo

večjo dosegljivostjo notnega gradiva in notalnostjo ljudi pa je glasba vedno manj prepuščena spreminjanju.

49 Slokan, »Didaktični pripomočki«, 24.

Prav tako kot uporaba grafičnih znakov tudi številčni zapis v glasbi ni novost: kot številčno označevanje akordov nad basovsko linijo je znan npr. že iz obdobja baroka. V primeru, ko zapis pesmi nima dodanega notnega zapisa, je za branje priročen zapis, ki s številkami sledi sosledju tonov v tonski lestvici: od 1 za osnovni ton do 8 za ponovitev osnovnega tona oktavo višje (gl. Sliko 11 in prim. Sliko 12).

Eden od namenov zapisa glasbe je, da opredmeti gibanje melodije, torej da zapiše odnose med tonskimi višinami. Kot prenos slišane v gibno je splošno uporabljena metoda fonomimike kot nakazovanja tonskih višin z roko, ki pa je kot učna metoda uporabna tudi v ljubiteljskem poustvarjanju ljudskih pesmi.⁵⁰ Če sta osnovna in spremljevalna melodija lahko zapomnljivi, pa je harmoniziranje (basiranje) za neizurjene pevce precejšen izziv. Repertoar slovenskih ljudskih pesmi obsega pretežno le tri harmonske stopnje – toniko, dominantno in subdominantno, zato je uporaba kretenj z roko enostavna: npr. dlan v višini pasu za toniko, dlan ob stegnu za dominantno in navzdol iztegnjena dlan ob stegnu za subdominantno kot najnižjega od basovih tonov.

S področjem izrazja in pomenov verbalne komunikacije so se slovenski etnomuzikologi razmeroma podrobno ukvarjali. Vprašanja o izrazih, ki se uporabljajo za »sporazumevanje pri petju«⁵¹ in koordinacijo pevcev, so bila vedno vključena v terenske raziskave. Gre za izrazje, ki v ljudskem petju prevzema koordinacijsko vlogo vodje (dirigenta): izraz 'naprej' tako npr. določi predpevca, izrazi 'čez', 'prek', 'iber' (iz nem. *über*, 'čez'), 'visoko', 'tenko', 'mladó' določajo višjo pozicijo melodične linije, 'nizko', 'debelo', 'tolsto', 'staró' pa nižjo. Ti izrazi deloma določijo tudi vrstni red vstopanja pevcev,⁵² hkrati pa »razmeroma nedvoumno umeščajo melodične/pevske linije v akordično strukturo«⁵³.

Za najnižji glas v večglasju se je v današnjem besedišču uveljavil izraz 'bas', v starejšem pa še najdemo sledi pragmatičnih opisov izvajanja najnižjega glasu. Izjave, da so pesem »peli fantje – eden je pel naprej, eden čez, drugi so »pritisnili zraven«⁵⁴ ali da ostali pevci pojejo »za nāmò« (za njim) ali »zad« (zadaj),⁵⁵ razkrivajo zaporedje vstopanja glasov. Pozicijo glasov v večglasju natančno sporočajo tudi izrazi, kot so 'treka', 'trek ton', 'na tretjo', 'drajar' (iz nem. *dreier*, 'tretji'), torej kot glas, ki ima pozicijo tretjega glasu nad basom;⁵⁶ tej analogiji sledi tudi izraz 'na štrto', torej četrti glas nad basom. Nekatere od teh izrazov so si pevci, da bi določili zaporedje in glasovne vloge, med seboj posredovali pred petjem, če je šlo za ustaljene pevske družbe, pa so bile te vloge že vnaprej dogovorjene.

50 Ob omenjenih fonomimičnih metodah bi lahko našli še načine, ki se uporabljajo pri poučevanju otrok, vendar bi to preseгло prvotni okvir prispevka.

51 Vrčon, »Izrazi ljudske glasbene teorije«, 108.

52 Kumer, *Pesem slovenske dežele*, 101.

53 Šivic, »Glasbenoteoretske možnosti«, 45.

54 ZRC SAZU, Arhiv GNI, T 606, Krtina, 31. marec 1967, Gor.

55 Kumer, *Pesem slovenske dežele*, 102.

56 Več Šivic, »Glasbenoteoretske možnosti«, 45; Šivic, »Etnomuzikološki pogled«, 18.

Karanfilat që i ka Shkodra, medet o kund nuk janë.

Karanfilat që i ka Shkodra, medet o kund nuk janë.

Gonxhe t'mdhaja gonxhe t'vogla, me er' mbushin dynjan' aman aman.

Ato gonxhe s'mi prek dora, medet o kan' zijanë.

Slika 10 | Grafični zapis okraska v albanski ljudski pesmi *Karanfilat që i ka Shkodra* (arhiv Ženske pevske skupine Kvali)

(džer p'irvlad) ghmerti vakhsenot da	solo tutti
(memre da) q'velā c'mindao da	solo tutti
(q'vela c'min) da ghvtsmšobelo da	solo tutti
(madli še)ni šegvec'ios da	solo tutti

Slika 11 | Številčni zapis basovske linije v prvi kitici gruzinske ljudske pesmi *Mamli mukhasa* (arhiv Ženske pevske skupine Kvali)

Džer pir - vlad ghmer-ti__ vakh-se - not da, me-mre da__ qve-la__ smin-da - o-da,

11

qve - la cmin, da ghvi-sm šo - be - lo da, ma - dli še__ ni šeg - vec - i - os da.

Slika 12 | Notni zapis basovske linije v prvi kitici gruzinske ljudske pesmi *Mamli mukhasa*

Črkovni sistem je sistem zapisa s črkami abecede, ki označujejo tonske višine. Z dodatnimi znaki ob črkah, kot so pika, poševnica in podčrtane črke, pa sta poleg višin označena tudi metrum in ritem. Tega sistema sicer ni najti v poustvarjalnih praksah, je bil pa nekaj desetletij uveljavljen v sistematiki katalogiziranja arhiviranih ljudskih pesmi na Glasbenonarodopisnem inštitutu.⁵⁷ Sistem ni bil namenjen zapisovanju realne zvočne slike, temveč generičnemu katalogiziranju, priročnemu iskanju in prepoznavanju melodij ter parametrov v arhivu (gl. Sliko 13 in prim. Sliko 14).

21.216 Babna polica, Notr.

Prip.: Rimeko ženitovanje 494-96

Ana ohcet se je vršila 10.2

g g/c c c e g/gf d

24E8 dd/ggghd/dca.
cace/edh
d/ghgd/dca
d/cdcd/g...-

T 20 / 1.45-1.29

1957

N. Mlakar

Slika 13 | Kataloški listek Glasbenonarodopisnega inštituta s črkovnim zapisom prve kitice ljudske pesmi *Ana ohcet se j' vršila* (ZRC SAZU, Arhiv GNI, M 21.216)

Giusto ♩ = 116

A - na oh - cet se j' vr - ši - la tam na un - krej Ri - ma, ti -

5

dra, ti - dra, ti - dra - la - la, ti - dra, ti - dra - la - la.

Slika 14 | Notni zapis prve kitice ljudske pesmi *Ana ohcet se j' vršila* (ZRC SAZU, Arhiv GNI, M 21.216)

⁵⁷ Črkovni način zapisovanja melodije za potrebe listkovnega kataloga in klasifikacije ljudskih pesmi so leta 1956 zasnovali sodelavci Glasbenonarodopisnega inštituta, ta način pa se je za raziskovalne namene uveljavil tudi v drugih jugoslovanskih republikah. Več: Stefaniya et al., »History and Challenges«, 165–167.

Za razločevanje različnih vsebin pri branju in označevanju besedila je v vsakodnevni rabi barvno kodiranje. V spodnjem primeru ne gre za barvno označevanje pomembnejših delov partiture, temveč za razločevanje med različnimi harmonskimi funkcijami, nastal pa je kot pripomoček za tiste pevce basiste, ki niso mogli usvojiti basiranja »na uho« in so tako s pomočjo barvnega kodiranja lahko sledili spreminjanju harmonij (gl. Sliko 15 in prim. Sliko 16).⁵⁸

Nekdaj v starih časih je res prav lušno blo,
v gostilno sem zahajal in vince pil sladko.
A komaj sem si ljubco zbral, sam cesar mi je pošto dal,
da moram ljubco zapustit, cesarja služiti.

Legenda:

- – se ne poje
- – poje se dol (gor) = tonika
- – poje se na sredi skupaj = dominanta
- – poje se en ton pod dominanto = subdominanta

Slika 15 | Zapis prve kitice ljudske pesmi *Nekdaj u starih časih* z barvno označenimi harmonskimi funkcijami (zasebni arhiv Franca Keneta)

Slika 16 | Notni zapis prve kitice ljudske pesmi *Nekdaj u starih časih*

⁵⁸ Črkovni način zapisovanja melodije za potrebe listkovnega kataloga in klasifikacije ljudskih pesmi so leta 1956 zasnovali sodelavci Glasbenonarodopisnega inštituta, ta način pa se je za raziskovalne namene uveljavil tudi v drugih jugoslovanskih republikah. Več: Stefaniya et al., »History and Challenges«, 165–167.

ZAKLJUČEK

Danes sta pogosto merilo za glasbeno pismenost poznavanje in uporaba standardnega notnega sistema za zapisovanje zahodnoevropske umetnostne glasbe, ki je tudi sicer najpogostejši sistem za zapisovanje glasbe v našem prostoru. Vendar lahko med (ljubitelskimi) glasbeniki najdemo tudi drugačne oblike glasbene pismenosti oz. rabe drugačnih sistemov glasbenega prenosa, ki ustrezajo posameznikovim kognitivnim načinom dojemanja in pomnjenja ter posebnostim izvajane glasbe.

Ključni element ljudske glasbe v poustvarjalni dejavnosti je izvedba, pred njo pa še proces učenja, ki je neločljivo povezan s pomnjenjem. V preteklosti je bilo bistveno več priložnosti za izvajanje; sklepamo lahko, da so zato manj uporabljali pripomočke za pomnjenje, gotovo pa je bilo gradivo tudi bistveno bolj kot danes, v dobi nenehnega digitalnega beleženja, prepuščeno pozabljanju in izginjanju.

Védenje, kako poteka glasbeni prenos in kako se glasbo nekdo uči, pomaga razumeti samo naravo glasbene kategorije, ki jo preučujemo,⁵⁹ hkrati pa nam poda tudi uvid v miselne procese glasbenih poustvarjalcev. Tudi danes so del etnomuzikoloških raziskav vprašanja o tem, kako ljudski pevci/glasbeniki poimenujejo dele glasbil ali posamezne glasove ter kakšna so pravila za igranje in petje. Odgovori ne razkrivajo le strukturnih parametrov, temveč tudi družbena ozadja, ki posledično vplivajo na izvajano glasbo (npr. vloge spolov, ekonomske razmere), to, kako posamezniki ali skupnosti razmišljajo o posameznih vlogah v izvajani glasbi, in na to, kako vedo, kdaj in katere tone zapojejo/zaigrajo, katere so izvajalsko lažje in zahtevnejše vloge ipd.

Razvoj in spremembe v glasbenih strukturah ter v načinu izvajanja in prenosa znanja vplivajo tudi na rabe glasbenih notacij v ljubiteljski dejavnosti. Na primeru pritrkavanja je bilo prikazano, da so se med pritrkovalci mlajših generacij, ki so formalizirali načine izobraževanja v okviru poletnih šol in tečajev ter sodelovali na pritrkovalskih tekmovanjih, v zadnjih dveh desetletjih razširili zapisi, ki združujejo preprostejše zapise s kompleksnejšimi in izhajajo iz oznak za izvajanje, ki so del standardne notacije. Za to sta najverjetneje dva razloga. Prvi je ta, da ima vedno več pritrkovalcev ali vodij pritrkovalskih skupin, tečajev, šol in protagonistov pritrkovalskih tekmovanj formalno osnovno glasbeno izobrazbo in igrajo tudi na druga glasbila. Drugi razlog pa sovпада s potrebami pritrkovalcev po kompleksnejšem glasbenem izražanju, ki zahteva dodatne oznake v obstoječem notacijskem sistemu (npr. dinamika, agogika, poudarki). Kompleksnejše skladbe se tudi težje prenašajo prek ustnega/slišnega komunikacijskega kanala, zato notacija v teh primerih služi več namenom: kot mnemotehnični pripomoček omogoča izvajanje obširnejšega in glasbenostrukturno kompleksnejšega repertoarja, lahko je pripomoček za branje glasbenega dela ob izvajanju ali pa kompozicijsko sredstvo za avtorje novih

59 Gatien, »Categories and Music Transmission«.

pritrkovalskih viž. Tako je olajšan glasbeni prenos tistim pritrkovalcem, ki niso v stiku z ustvarjalcem glasbenega dela, hkrati pa omogoča tudi ohranjanje glasbenih del (v obliki izdanega gradiva ali rokopisnih zbirk, ki jih hranijo pritrkovalci).

Danes si procesa poustvarjanja glasbe skoraj ne moremo predstavljati brez predloge in analiza gradiva, objavljenega v strokovni literaturi ali dostopnega med samimi poustvarjalci, razkriva, da gre pri posredovanju, učenju, memoriranju in izvajanju glasbe za povezovanje med vizualnim, avditivnim, verbalnim in gibnim razumevanjem glasbenih elementov in njenih zakonitosti. Razlog, da se v ljudski glasbi in/ali v ljubiteljskem izvajanju glasbe za učenje, memoriranje in poustvarjanje uporabljajo tako številne metode zapisovanja, je v tem, da se posamezniki kot vodje in kot izvajalci v zaznavanju zvočnih (glasbenih) informacij razlikujejo, načini beleženja pa so odvisni tudi od stopnje glasbene izobrazbe, glasbenih izkušenj, spomina in kognitivnih zaznav.

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Summary

MUSICAL NOTATION IN AMATEUR MUSIC AND ETHNOMUSICOLOGY IN THE TWENTIETH AND TWENTY-FIRST CENTURIES

In places where the Western European art music tradition is strongly present, the notion of musical notation is often associated narrowly with the notation of this particular musical genre. However, a broader view that also considers historical and cultural perspectives reveals the diversity and complexity of the development and existence of systems of musical notation. Ethnomusicologists have also found in their studies of the music of different cultures that the notational system for Western European art music does not help them sufficiently to notate and analyse the folk music they study. They have therefore developed individual notational methods, and nowadays computer-aided sound visualizations are also in use. This article offers an insight into the notational systems of instrumental and vocal music for the purposes of performance in amateur culture and transcription in ethnomusicology, with a focus on folk music in Slovenia.

It was the needs of musicians, teachers, collectors and researchers that shaped the use and also the complexity of written notation systems. In some cases, musicians have developed their own musical communication systems that closely match the characteristics of music, either via notation or via oral/written systems that help to memorize and perform certain pieces of music.

In the field of instrumental music, for example, instrumentalists use tablatures on string instruments that represent in graphical form the position of the strings and the place of pressure on them. A similar system, called *prijemni sistem* (adapted from the term *Griffsschrift-System* used in Austria), is used by diatonic accordion players. In addition to this type of notation, many players, for example guitarists and diatonic accordion players, use numerical notation or alphabetical notation of chord names. The practice of bell chiming on church bells has developed very individual ways of notating music. These include alphabetical, coloured and numeric notation, as well as a mixture of standard notation and graphic notation, the latter primarily due to the need for more complex musical expression.

The practice of folk singing has changed considerably, especially since the 1970s, and the performance of folk songs has come closer in many parameters to the performance of music in other amateur cultural activities, especially, of course, in choral singing. But sheet music is still a rarity in the performance of folk songs. It is therefore not uncommon for singers to add aids to the lyrics in the form of various graphic signs to help them remember the melody. For example, singers of Georgian folk songs use lines under the lyrics to illustrate changes in the movement of the melody. In another instance, they use numeric notation to visualize the sequence of notes in the scale and sing the bass line. Similarly, singers of Albanian songs mark melodic ornaments at certain points with a curved line above the syllable. The harmonization of folk songs or the melodic progression of the bass line is often indicated by the position of the hand when learning songs. Elsewhere, singers use colour coding to distinguish harmonic functions and thus follow the changing harmonies. Verbal communication is the focus of interest for Slovenian ethnomusicologists. The naming of certain vocal parts, for example, reveals the role of the voices in the song (lead singer, the third line above the bass, etc.). The letter system indicating pitches has been a common practice in the system of cataloguing folk songs in Slovenian ethnomusicology.

The reason why there are so many different notational methods in folk music or in amateur music in general is that individuals differ in their perception of sonic (musical) information. This also depends on their level of musical education, musical experience, memory etc. On the other hand, these notational systems are also very different from each other. Further, notational systems are also of interest to ethnomusicologists, who not only supplement standard notation with additional signs that improve the transcription of sounds, but also learn about the cognitive modes of perception and memory and the specific features of a particular type of music.

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