

studie

The Reception of the Oeuvre of Composers Active at the Court of Rudolf II in Prague in the Contemporaneous Musical Repertoire of Historical Upper Hungary

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Habsburg courts, including that of Rudolf II, were, after the papal court, the most renowned places for music-making in Europe. The noblemen of this dynasty were great patrons of the arts. The musical repertoire played at their courts was distributed thanks to contemporaneous published anthologies and authorial publications as well as manuscripts in the areas under the political influence of the whole of the Habsburg Monarchy. It found its way to the contemporaneous musical repertoire in the Catholic and Evangelical church communities in Hungary as well, including the territory of present-day Slovakia. In particular, 13 compositions by Ph. de Monte and 12 by J. Regnart have been preserved in the form of primary sources (masses, motets), the most valuable of which are those which had never appeared in print and were distributed only by manuscript copy. Two of these compositions by Ph. de Monte might be unique occurrences – *Magnificat octavi toni* (6 v.) in the manuscript part of convolute 26859 (olim 4873) of the Order of Friars Minor in Bratislava, and the motet *Domine exaudi orationem meam...* in manuscript 13997 /56–58 A/ of the *Levoča Music Collection* (Spiš).

Introduction

Hungarian and Slovak music-historical writings have not yet paid adequate attention to the contemporaneous reception of the oeuvre of musicians active at the Prague court of Emperor Rudolf II in the musical repertoire of the northern parts of historical Hungary – that is, in the territory of present-day Slovakia. Urged by our Czech colleagues, we have developed an interest in this subject over the past few years, and have tried to find answers mainly to the questions of via which routes, and by whose merit, the works of these musicians found their way to our territory. We have followed the occurrence of the compositions of two of the most significant composers of the court of Rudolf II, namely Philippe de Monte (1521–1603) and Jacob Regnart (1540–1599), in addition to giving a quantitative enumeration of the number of their extant compositions we have also examined the particular musical sources which have preserved their compositions.

An international event held in September 2003 in Prague in honour of Philippe de Monte on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of his death served as the initial impulse to the given subject.¹ At the conference, Kateřina Maýrová, based on the repertoire of the valuable Rokycany Music Collection,² informed us about the

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¹ The public was notified about the planned conference by Jan Baťa: "Philippe de Monte, Orfeus na dvoře Rudolfa II." [Philippe de Monte, Orpheus at the Court of Rudolf II], *Harmonie* 7 (21. 8. 2003), available on-line: < <http://www.muzikus.cz> > [access 10. 9. 2014]

² Kateřina Maýrová: *Hudební prameny literátského bratrstva v Rokycanech ze XVI. a ze VII. století* [Musical Sources of the Literary Fraternity in Rokycany from the 16th and 17th Centuries], [Thesis], Faculty of Philosophy, Charles University, Prague 1980.

occurrence of Ph. de Monte's compositions exclusively in contemporaneous musical prints. However, comparable sheet music collections preserved from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the territory of present-day Slovakia, the so-called Bardejov and the Levoča Music Collection, contain, besides Monte's compositions in published anthologies,³ also copyings of his compositions, masses, motets and a madrigal, by hand.⁴ In addition, these collections contain even such compositions by Ph. de Monte that had not appeared in print at the time, e.g. *Missa super Nasce la pena mia*, *Missa super Aspice Domine*, *Missa super Sine nomine*.⁵ From the eight four-part Magnificats of Monte registered in specialist literature only as manuscripts, three can be found in the possession of the Order of Friars Minor in Bratislava.⁶

Whether we can talk of a unique occurrence in the case of Ph. de Monte's two compositions preserved in manuscript form, the motet *Domine exaudi orationem meam* in the Levoča Music Collection⁷ and the *Magnificat VIII toni* (6 v.) in the musical stock of the Order of Friars Minor in Bratislava,⁸ which the scribes definitely marked with his name, remains an unanswered question at present. The identification of Ph. de Monte's compositions is hindered by the fact that, despite a great interest in publishing his oeuvre (and interest that began in the latter half of the 19th century and continued into the 20th century),⁹ their thematic catalogue is not available yet. Compared to Monte, significantly less attention has so far been paid to publishing J. Regnart's oeuvre, but a quick orientation in his works and the identification of his compositions is facilitated by their thematic catalogue prepared by Walter Pass.¹⁰

³ E.g. within the *Bardejov Music Collection* in *Thesauri musici tomus tertius continens cantiones sacras...* Noribergae 1564 (RISM B/1/1 1564³), further see Róbert Árpád MURÁNYI: *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Musiksammlung von Bartfeld (Bártfa)*, Gudrun Schröder Verlag, Bonn 1991, p. XXIX; further e.g. within the Levoča Music Collection in *Promptuarii musici, sacras harmonias...* Argentinae 1611, 1612 (RISM B/1/1 1611¹, 1612³), see MARTA HULKOVÁ: *Levočská zbierka hudobní* [The Levoča Music Collection], [Dissertation], Faculty of Philosophy, Comenius University, Bratislava 1985, vol. 1, p. 269; see also KATEŘINA MAJROVÁ: "Hudební repertoár tzv. Rokycanské hudební sbírky a jeho srovnání s Bardejovskou a Levočskou sbírkou hudební" [The Musical Repertoire of the so-called Rokycany Music Collection and its Comparison to the Bardejov and the Levoča Music Collection], in: *Musicologica Istropolitana* X–XI, Comenius University, Faculty of Philosophy, Stimul, Bratislava 2011–2012, pp. 275–317.

⁴ MURÁNYI: *Thematisches Verzeichnis...* (see fn. 3), p. 204; HULKOVÁ: *Levočská zbierka hudobní...* (see fn. 3), vol. 2, p. 164.

⁵ MURÁNYI: *Thematisches Verzeichnis...* (see fn. 3), no. 652, 654 (Ms. mus. Bártfa 15, no. 4, 6); HULKOVÁ: *Levočská zbierka hudobní...* (see fn. 3), no. 247 (*Tabulatúrny zborník J. Plotza*, sign. 13990b, f. 241v–245r) [The Tablature Book of J. Plotz, manuscript 13990b, f. 241v–245r]; ANDREA MEŠČANOVÁ: *Hudobný život a pamiatky Košíc do roku 1600* [Musical Life and Relics of Košice by the year 1600], [Dissertation], Comenius University in Bratislava, Faculty of Philosophy, Bratislava 2014, p. 139.

⁶ Deposited in the Slovak National Library, Martin, the manuscript part of shelfmark 26860 (olim 4717). Source edition Philippi de MONTE: *VIII Magnificat ad quattuor voces...*, Georges van Doorslaer (ed.), Sumptibus L. Schwann, Düsseldorf, (= Opera Omnia 12), reprint Broude Brothers, New York 1965.

⁷ Manuscript 13997 /56–58 A/, no. 79. This motet is not listed in the publication of Michael SILIES: *Die Motetten des Philippe de Monte (1521–1603)*, V&R Unipress, Göttingen 2009.

⁸ Deposited in the Slovak National Library, Martin, the manuscript part of shelfmark 26859 (olim 4873) – Sexta vox.

⁹ See the register of the modern editions of his oeuvre up to the present in the entry by Robert LINDELL – Brian R. MANN: "Monte, Philippe de", in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Stanley Sadie (ed.), Oxford University Press, London 2001, vol. 17, p. 20.

¹⁰ Walter PASS: *Thematischer Katalog sämtlicher Werke Jacob Regnarts (ca. 1540–1599)*. (= Tabulae Musicae Austriacae 5), Hermann Böhlau in Kommission, Wien – Köln – Graz 1969. See also Walter PASS: "Regnart, Jakob", in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Stanley Sadie (ed.), Oxford University Press, London 2001, vol. 21, pp. 118–121; Michael ZYWIETZ: "Regnart, Jakob", in: *Die Musik*

It is noteworthy that, at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century, copies of Ph. de Monte and J. Regnart's compositions had a significant presence in the musical repertoire of royal towns – in Bratislava (Posonium, Pressburg, Pozsony),¹¹ Levoča (Leutschau, Lőcse), Bardejov (Bartfeld, Bártfa) and Košice (Kaschau, Kassa),¹² and their works were present not only in the Catholic but also in the Lutheran environment.

A glance at the social and political background and the contemporaneous conditions of music-making

Despite the fact that the Bohemian-Moravian lands, as well as the territory of historical Hungary and, thus, of present-day Slovakia, were part of the Habsburg Monarchy in the above-mentioned period, there were significant differences in their social, political, cultural and religious development. When focusing on the area of music culture, the prevalence of a different environment in which music was cultivated can be pointed to as one of the more significant differences between them. At the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century, the imperial court and the residences of the nobility in Bohemia, as well as the residences of church dignitaries in Moravia, created conditions for cultivating demanding contemporaneous church music as well as secular music.¹³ However, these conditions were absent in the territory of Hungary¹⁴ where the social and political situation was negatively influenced by the expansion of Turks who had gradually invaded the majority of the state after gaining victory at the Battle of Mohács (1526).¹⁵ The northern parts of Hungary, that is, the territory of present-day Slovakia, had maintained their specific position since they did not fall victim to Turkish expansion and, consequently, members of the nobility as well as townsmen and villagers from occupied territories often found refuge here.

in *Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Ludwig Finscher (ed.), Bärenreiter – Metzler, Kassel – Stuttgart 2005, vol. 13, cols. 1439–1443.

¹¹ Inventory lists of sheet music inform us about the contemporaneous repertoire in St. Martin's Dome in Bratislava from 1616 and in the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Bratislava from 1651 and 1657, see Jana KALINAYOVÁ and Autorenkollektiv: *Musikinventare und das Repertoire der Mehrstimmigen Musik in der Slowakei im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Slovak National Museum – Music Museum, Bratislava 1995, pp. 29–32, 39–71. Sheet music from the 16th century has been preserved by the Order of Friars Minor in Bratislava and in Nitra, see Dobroslav OREL: "Hudební památky františkánské knihovny v Bratislavě" [Musical Relics of the Franciscan Library in Bratislava], in: *Sborník Filosofické fakulty University Komenského v Bratislavě*, vol. 7 (1930), no. 59 (6.), pp. 43–57. The contemporaneous names of the towns in brackets are based on the publication of Milan MAJTÁN: *Názvy obcí Slovenskej republiky. Vývin v rokoch 1773–1997* [Names of the Villages and Towns of the Slovak Republic. Development in the Years 1773 to 1997], Veda, Bratislava 1998. Available online: <http://www.juls.savba.sk/nazvy_obci.html> [access 2. 9. 2014].

¹² Andrea MEŠČANOVÁ: "Košické polyfónne zborníky" [The Košice Books of Polyphony], in: *Clavibus Unitis* 1 (2013), pp. 77–83.

¹³ See Jan KOUBA: "Od husitství do Bílé hory" [From Hussitism to White Mountain], in: *Hudba v českých dějinách od středověku do nové doby*, Supraphon, Praha 1983, pp. 8–85; Jiří SEHNAL – Jiří VYSLOUŽIL: *Dějiny hudby na Moravě* [History of Music in Moravia], (= Vlastivěda moravská, nová řada: Země a lid, vol. 12), Muzejní a vlastivědná společnost v Brně, Brno 2001, pp. 24–41.

¹⁴ Richard RYBARIČ: *Dějiny hudobnej kultúry na Slovensku* [History of Music Culture in Slovakia], Opus, Bratislava 1984, pp. 45–76.

¹⁵ Daniel GURŇÁK: *Štáty v premenách storočí* [States throughout the Centuries], Mapa Slovakia Plus, Bratislava 2006, map no. 41 (The Ottoman Empire in the 16th and 17th Century).

However, the nobility could not devote great attention to the arts even in this territory, since they were exhausted by the constant threats and attacks by the Turks as well as by anti-Habsburg uprisings taking place in several waves.¹⁶ Adherence to Lutheranism or Calvinism was one of the ways in which the Hungarian nobility expressed its dissatisfaction with the Catholic imperial court.

The most significant centres of music-making in the territory of historical Hungary that was unoccupied by the Turks, including that of present-day Slovakia, were not the residences of the nobility but, first and foremost, the towns where the Lutheran Reformation gained momentum in the latter half of the sixteenth century, e.g. mining towns and towns of the Spiš-Šariš region.¹⁷ Trnava and Bratislava remained the bastions of Catholicism. The church offices of the Archdiocese of Esztergom were transferred to Trnava (Tyrnaviae, Tyrnau, Nagyszombat) because of the Turkish expansion, and Bratislava became the capital of Hungary as well as a coronation town instead of Buda for similar reasons. At the time, music was cultivated in Protestant towns mainly on the model of the German Lutheran communities. In places where Calvinist or Anabaptist Protestantism prevailed,¹⁸ sources of music are absent. Musical production within their services was, compared to Catholics and Evangelists of the Augsburg Confession, significantly reduced.

Activities of literary fraternities, typical in the Bohemian and Moravian environment,¹⁹ are seen in the territory of Hungary only sporadically. The contemporaneous musical repertoire preserved here in church choirs contains primarily church music and only to a small extent secular music.²⁰ The musical repertoire of the Evangelical church communities included even the oeuvre of musicians active in a Catholic environment. E.g. the works of Jacob Handl-Gallus, active in a Catholic environment in Moravia and Bohemia, as well as compositions originating in the Catholic Habsburg courts, enjoyed great popularity among them. This fact was connected to the availability of their works in the form of musical prints. Handl-Gallus' works appeared in the printing house of Georg Nigrin in Prague²¹ and the oeuvre of musicians in the services of the Habsburgs were

¹⁶ Vladimír MATULA – Jozef VOZÁR et al.: *Dejiny Slovenska II.* (1526–1848) [History of Slovakia], Veda, Bratislava 1987, pp. 42–46, 151–182.

¹⁷ See Ján KVAČALA: *Dejiny reformácie na Slovensku* [History of the Reformation in Slovakia], Tranoscus, Liptovský Sv. Mikuláš 1935; Jenő ZOVÁNYI: *Magyarországi protestáns egyháztörténeti lexikon* [Lexicon of the History of the Protestant Church in Hungary], Akadémiai kiadó, Budapest 1977.

¹⁸ Calvinists and Anabaptists were disapproved of and rejected not only by Catholics but also by the Evangelicals of the Augsburg Confession who could not stand the so-called Crypto-Calvinists and Anabaptists among themselves. See Peter KÓNYA: "Kalvinizmus v hornouhorských slobodných kráľovských mestách" [Calvinism in the Free Royal Towns of Upper Hungary], in: *Leonard Stöckel a reformácia v strednej Európe*, Peter Kónya (ed.), (= Acta Collegii Evangelici Prešovienis XI), Vydavateľstvo Prešovskej univerzity, Prešov 2011, pp. 139–153. Conflicts between the Evangelicals and the Anabaptists in a town of the Šariš region are elaborated on in the study of Miloslava BODNÁROVÁ: "Cirkevné pomery v Sabinove do polovice 17. storočia" [The Ecclesiastical Situation in Sabinov by the mid-17th century], in: *Zachariáš Zarevutsky (Zarevutius), 400 rokov od narodenia bardejovského evanjelického organistu a skladateľa*, Janka Petőczová (ed.), Súzvuč, Prešov 2005, pp. 31–40.

¹⁹ KOUBA, "Literátská bratrstva" [Literary Fraternities], in: *Hudba v českých dějinách...* (see fn. 13), pp. 94–96; Vladimír MAŇAS: "Literátská bratrstva na Moravě v období konfesionalizace" [Literary Fraternities in Moravia at the Time of Confessionalization], in: *Hudobnohistorický výskum na Slovensku začiatkom 21. storočia I.*, Marta Hulková (ed.), Stimul, Bratislava 2007, pp. 251–263.

²⁰ KALINAYOVÁ et al., *Musikinventare und das Repertoire der mehrstimmigen Musik...* (see fn. 11).

²¹ E.g. his motets. See Jacobus HANDL GALLUS: *Operis musici... I.–IV.* Prague 1586–1590 (RISM A/1/4 H 1980, 1981, 1982, 1985). See also Petr DANĚK: "Nototiskařská činnost Jiřího Nigrina" [The Printing

distributed in the monumental, five-volume *Novi thesauri musici* compiled by Pietro Ioannelli, published in Venice in 1568.²² Noblemen of the Habsburg dynasty were great patrons of the arts. The above-mentioned volumes of musical anthologies were dedicated to Emperor Maximilian II and his brothers, Ferdinand and Charles. *Novi thesauri musici* had an influence on the musical repertoire all over Europe, especially in areas under the political influence of the Habsburg court. Its copies have been registered among the Order of Friars Minor and the Evangelists in Bratislava, and in the mining town of Kremnica.²³ Copies of compositions from the repertoire of these volumes can also be found in the *Musical Convolute* from Kežmarok (Käsmark, Késmárk).²⁴ It might have also meant a certain expression of loyalty by the municipal councils towards the Habsburg court; the councils not only paid the salaries of the cantor, the organist and the tower trumpeters but, occasionally, purchased sheet music as well.²⁵ Last but not least, we have to keep in mind that this was music of high artistic quality, which could be used not only in Catholic churches but also within the Protestant service.

Contemporaneous primary and secondary music-historical sources containing compositions of Philippe de Monte and Jacob Regnart

In the above-mentioned period, i.e. at the end of the 16th century, musical prints were rare in Europe, and only wealthier towns and church communities could afford to buy them. The tradition of copying compositions by hand persisted for a long period, even up to the 20th century. Also, owning voluminous published anthologies with dozens or even hundreds of compositions did not guarantee that they formed an active part of the contemporaneous musical repertoire. Manuscript copies of compositions document the actual contemporaneous musical practice to a much greater extent. Another noteworthy fact we learned from our Czech colleagues is that the works of the composers of Rudolf II figured outside the imperial court in the territory of Bohemia and Moravia only to a small extent. Manuscript sheet music preserved e.g. in the Bardejov and the Levoča Music Collection, but also in the *Musical Convolute* of the Lyceum Library in Kežmarok, is interesting also for the fact that its repertoire contains compositions of musicians active at the court of Rudolf II along with compositions of Bohemian composers, namely of Jiří and Jan Rychnovský (Richnovius), and Ondřej Chrysoponus Jevíčský (Gevicensis).²⁶

Activities of Jiří Nigrin], in: *Hudební věda* 24 (1987), pp. 121–136; Marko MOTNIK: *Jacob Handl-Gallus – Werk, Überlieferung, Rezeption mit thematischem Katalog*, Verlegt bei Hans Schneider, Tutzing 2012, pp. 34–39.

²² RISM B/I/1 1568²⁻⁶.

²³ KALINAYOVÁ et al., *Musikinventare und das Repertoire der mehrstimmigen Musik...* (see fn. 11), p. 23.

²⁴ Marta HULKOVÁ: “Hudobný konvolút z Lyceálnej knižnice v Kežmarku” [The Musical Convolute from the Lyceum Library in Kežmarok], *Slovenská hudba* 24 (1998), no. 3, p. 278.

²⁵ E.g. in Levoča in 1614, the municipal council purchased the motets *Magnum Opus musicum* (1604) of Orlando di Lasso. See Marta HULKOVÁ: “Hudobné tlače s viachlasnou hudbou zo 16. a 17. storočia v Pentapolitane” [Musical Prints of Polyphonic Music from the 16th and 17th Centuries in the Pentapolitana], in: *Kniha 2008*, Miroslava Domová (ed.), Slovenská národná knižnica, Martin 2008, p. 85.

²⁶ E.g. manuscript *Ms. Mus. Bártfa16/Koll 5* within the Bardejov Music Collection (Országos Széchényi könyvtár / National Széchényi Library) in Budapest. Similarly, in the Levoča Music Collection, in manuscript

From the end of the 16th century as well as the beginning of the 17th century, that is from the time of Rudolf II's rule (1576–1611), several noteworthy sources of music, with hundreds of compositions, have been preserved mainly in the Spiš-Šariš region (Levoča, Kežmarok, Bardejov), and also in manuscript sheet music in Košice and in the music stock of the Order of Friars Minor in Bratislava.²⁷ Our idea of the contemporaneous musical repertoire is further enriched by extant inventory lists of sheet music from Central Slovakian mining towns, from Banská Bystrica (Neusohl, Besztercebánya) and Kremnica (Kremnitz, Körmöcbánya), from St. Martin's Dome in Bratislava, and from the Evangelists of Bratislava.²⁸

Since, at the time, the majority of the compositions of Philippe de Monte and Jacob Regnart was, available in print, whether in the form of authorial publications or anthologies, their contemporaneous copies in areas under the political influence of the Habsburg court cannot be surprising. At present, we know of 13 compositions by Ph. de Monte and 12 by J. Regnart in our local historical manuscripts of music.

However, from the aspect of the reception of the oeuvre of these musicians, especially noteworthy are occurrences of their compositions that had not been published at the time. From the 13 compositions of Ph. de Monte, as many as 8 do not have a contemporaneously published version, while in the case of J. Regnart, handwritten copies from contemporaneous prints prevail.

In Bratislava, Ph. de Monte's compositions have been preserved in manuscript form in the Library of the Order of Friars Minor in manuscript attachments to musical prints from the 16th century.²⁹ When and by whom they found their way to the local cultural environment of the Franciscans, and by whom and where these attachments to the valuable musical prints were made, remains unknown. A basic study from 1930 by Dobroslav Orel introduces the contents of the manuscript attachments only briefly.³⁰ The time of publication of the musical prints in the stock of this library spans from 1520 to 1582. There are titles from German printers (Augsburg, Nürnberg), Venetian prints (11), three from Prague and one from

13997 /56–58 A/ deposited on the choir of the Evangelical Church in Levoča, besides compositions by Monte (no. 72, 79) and Regnart (no. 10, 20), there is also a composition by J. Rychnovský/G. Richnovius (no. 56). HULKOVÁ, *Levočská zbierka hudobní...* (see fn. 3), pp. 177–182. Also, besides Regnart's composition, the *Musical Convolute* in the Lyceum Library in Kežmarok (shelfmark N 69 192, olim Rar 14) contains one composition also by Chrysoponus Gevicensis (no. [58]/21). HULKOVÁ: "Hudobný konvolút..." (see fn. 24), p. 273.

²⁷ HULKOVÁ, *Levočská zbierka hudobní...* (see fn. 3); HULKOVÁ, "Hudobný konvolút..." (see fn. 24); MURÁNYI, *Thematisches Verzeichnis...* (see fn. 3); MEŠCANOVÁ, *Hudobný život a pamiatky Košíc...* (see fn. 5); OREL, "Hudební památky františkánské knihovny..." (see fn. 11); Ladislav KAČIC: "Mehrstimmiger Gesang der Franziskaner in Mitteleuropa im 17. Jahrhundert", *Slovenská hudba* 22 (1996), no. 3–4, pp. 450–454. For specialist literature on the given subject published by other musicologists (Antonín Hořejš, František Matúš, Ilona Ferenczi, Janka Petőczová, Jana Kalinayová-Bartová et al.), see the studies of Marta HULKOVÁ: "Levočská zbierka hudobní (16.–17. stor.) ako viacgeneračná bádateľská úloha" [The Levoča Music Collection (16th and 17th centuries) as a Multigeneration Research Task], in: *Hudobné pramene – kultúrne dedičstvo Slovenska*, Sylvia Urdová (ed.), SNM – Hudobné múzeum, Bratislava 2011, pp. 235–244; and Marta HULKOVÁ: "Die Musikaliensammlung von Bardejov (Bartfeld) und Levoča (Leutschau) – Übereinstimmungen und Unterschiede (16.–17. Jh.)", in: *Musilogica Istropolitana* II., Comenius University, Faculty of Philosophy, Stimul, Bratislava 2003, p. 54, fn. 9 and 10.

²⁸ KALINAYOVÁ et al., *Musikinventare und das Repertoire der mehrstimmigen Musik...* (see fn. 11).

²⁹ OREL, "Hudební památky františkánské knihovny..." (see fn. 11). After World War II, the entire stock of the Library of the Order of Friars Minor in Bratislava was transferred to Matica slovenská in Martin. At present, it forms part of the Slovak National Library in Martin.

³⁰ In subchapter II under the title "Soupis hudebních památek" [List of Musical Sources], *ibid.*, pp. 43–57.

Table 1 Index of Ph. De Monte's and J. Regnart's compositions in musical manuscripts preserved in Bardejov, Levoča, Bratislava, Košice and Kežmarok³¹

Philippe de MONTE (1521–1603)	Jacob REGNART (1540–1599)	
<i>Anima dove vai...</i> 7 v. (BMC)	<i>Hodie natus est...</i> 6 v. (MCK)	Pass 192
<i>Domine exaudi...</i> [?] v. (LMC)	<i>Intuemini quantus sit iste...</i> 6 v. sec. pars: <i>Occurite illi dicentes...</i> 6 v. (LMC)	Pass 195
<i>Magnificat I, VII, VIII toni</i> , 4 v. (LOFMB) <i>Magnificat VIII toni</i> , 6 v. (LOFMB)	<i>Missa quadlibetica</i> 6 v. (LMC)	Pass 27
<i>Missa super</i> <i>Aspice Domine...</i> 6 v. (BMC) <i>Benedicta es...</i> 6 v. (BMC) <i>Mon coeur...</i> 5 v. (BMC) <i>Nasce la pena mia...</i> 6 v. (BMC, LMC, LOFMB, KBVC III) <i>Sine nomine...</i> 6 v. (KBVC III)	<i>Missa super</i> <i>Duck dich, Häslein...</i> 5 v. (BMC) <i>Dun si bel foco...</i> 5 v. (BMC) <i>Exultate Deo...</i> 8 v. (LMC) <i>Io son ben ch'ha...</i> 5 v. (BMC) <i>Ist es dann...</i> 5 v. (BMC) <i>Rallegrat il mio...</i> 5 v. (BMC) <i>Sine nomine</i> 4 v. (LMC)	Pass 9 Pass 10 Pass 31 Pass 13 Pass 14 Pass 15 Pass 4
<i>Spes humani generis...</i> 6 v. (LMC)	<i>Nunc dimittis servum...</i> 6 v. (LMC)	Pass 196
<i>Stellam quam viderant...</i> 7 v. (BMC, LMC)	<i>Stamus in occursum...</i> 6 v. (LMC)	Pass 204

Vienna.³² The presence of the works of musicians active at the Habsburg courts is documented here by the above-mentioned five-volume published anthology of Pietro Ioannelli.³³ In this, 26 compositions are present by Jacob Regnart.

Ph. de Monte's compositions form part of the manuscript attachments within the convolutes containing 2 vocal parts – Discantus, Sexta vox.³⁴ In the descant partbook, Monte's four-part Magnificats (*Magnificat septimi, octavi, primi toni*) are copied by hand after the published title of Jacob Handl-Gallus,³⁵ and in another vocal partbook (Sexta vox), the part of second alto of Monte's *Magnificat octavi toni* (6 v. vocum) is copied after the authorial publication of Orlando di Lasso.³⁶ Their scribe made use of modern notation with remnants of mensural notation. The fact that these four-part Magnificats by Monte had not appeared in print at the time is especially noteworthy. In manuscript form, they have been found in the Benedictine monastery in Augsburg from 1602, and served as the basis

³¹ In **Table 1**, compositions whose contemporaneous occurrences are available only in a manuscript form are written in bold. BMC – Bardejov Music Collection; LMC – Levoča Music Collection; LOFMB – Library of the Order of Friars Minor in Bratislava; KBVC – *Košice Book of Vocal Polyphony III*; MCK – *Musica Convolute* from the Lyceum Library in Kežmarok

³² E.g. *Liber selectarum cantionum...* Augsburg 1520 (RISM B/I/1 1520⁴), *Motetti del frutto...* Venetia 1539 (RISM B/I/1 1539³), *Hymnorum musica secundum...* Venetia 1542 (RISM B/I/1 1542²). Kačić, "Mehrstimmiger Gesang der Franziskaner..." (see fn. 27), p. 451.

³³ D. Orel notes the existence of two vocal parts (shelfmark 570 Bassus, shelfmark 591 Sextus). OREL, "Hudební památky františkánské knihovny..." (see fn. 11), p. 45.

³⁴ Old shelfmark of the Library of the Order of Friars Minor in Bratislava: 4717 and 4873. New shelfmark in the Slovak National Library in Martin: Bap 26860, Bap 26859. I am grateful to Dr. Klára Komorová, former employee of this institution, for sending me these materials in their digitalized form.

³⁵ It is the fourth published title of the convolute (shelfmark 4717): Jacobus HANDL-GALLUS: *Selectiores quaedam missae...* *Missarum V. vocum...* Prague 1580 (RISM A/I/4 H 1978).

³⁶ It is the third published component of the convolute (shelfmark 4873): Orlando di LASSO: *Magnificat octo tonorum...* Nürnberg 1580 (RISM A/I/5 L 923).

of G. van Doorslaer's modern source critical edition.³⁷ These Magnificats by Monte from the Franciscan environment in Bratislava represent, besides the Augsburg manuscript and another one in the town of Graz,³⁸ the third instance of their manuscript occurrence in Central Europe. A more mysterious case is that of Monte's six-part *Magnificat octavi toni*, which has not been registered elsewhere. Whether it is really Monte's work and, in that case, its unique occurrence, or whether he is given as the author by mistake, remains an open question. (Fig. 1) Since only the second alto part is available, it is not possible to trace the authorial compositional style of the composer based on this alone.

Besides his Magnificats, Monte's mass *Nasce la pena mia* was also copied into the above-mentioned descant partbook (shelfmarked 4717) in the Library of the Order of Friars Minor in Bratislava (Fig. 2). In specialist literature, six occurrences of this parody mass are noted in Central Europe (in Berlin, Brno, Brussels, Gdańsk, Vienna, Wrocław).³⁹ We can add four more occurrences to these: in its



Fig. 1 The beginning of the composition *Magnificat octavi toni* (6 vocum) with its author given as Ph. de Monte (Slovak National Library, Martin, shelfmark 26859, olim 4873, without pagination).

³⁷ Philippe de MONTE: *VIII Magnificat ad quattuor voces...* (see fn. 6).

³⁸ Another manuscript occurrence is noted in Graz in the *Musikwissenschaftliches Institut der Karl-Franzens-Universität*, see Robert LINDELL – Brian R. MANN: “Monte, Philippe de”, in: *The New Grove...* (see fn. 9), p. 20.

³⁹ *Ibid.*; for its occurrence in Gdańsk, see Danuta POPIGINIS – Danuta SZLAGOWSKA: *Musicalia Gedanensis. Rękopisy muzyczne z XVI i XVII wieku w zbiorach Biblioteki Gdańskiej* [Musicalia Gedanensis. Musical

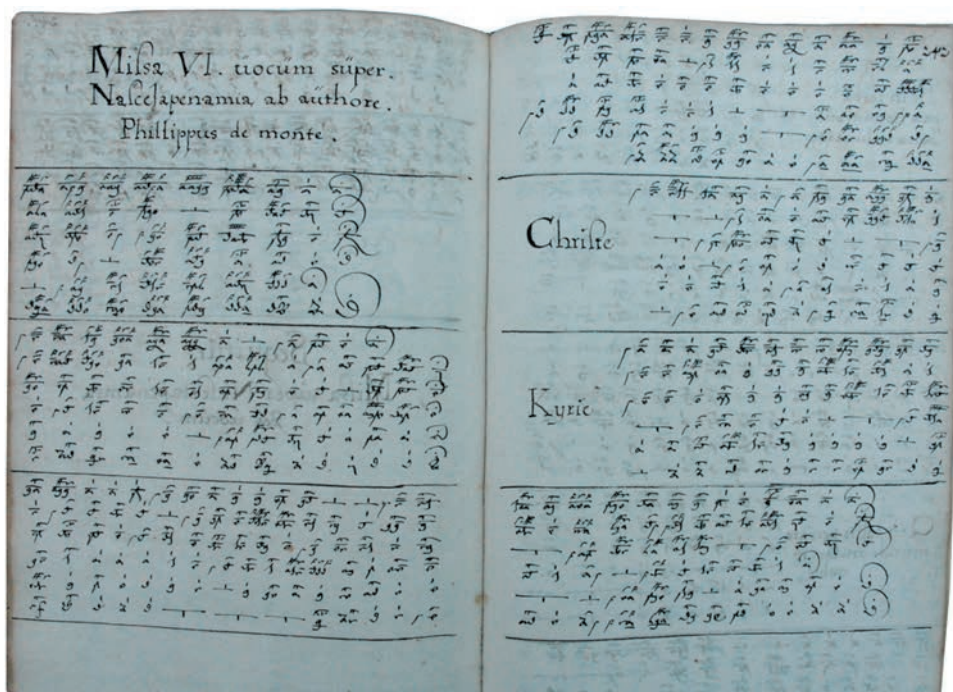


Fig. 2 The beginning of Ph. de Monte's mass *Nasce la pena mia* in the Levoča Music Collection (The Tablature Book of Johann Plotz, shelfmark 13990b /2 A/, f. 241v).

complete form in the *Tablature Book of Johann Plotz* (**Fig. 3**); in the *Košice Book of Polyphony III*; in an incomplete form in several partbooks of the Bardejov Music Collection; and in the Library of the Friars Minor in Bratislava.⁴⁰ The question of the place of origin of musical manuscripts where the above-mentioned mass figures in the local environment has not been definitely solved yet. Based on contemporaneous notes and, at certain instances, on ducti, we can deduce that these manuscripts might have belonged to church communities in the territory of historical Hungary at the end of the 16th and in the first half of the 17th century. Therefore, we assume that this mass might have been performed at this period in the local environment in Catholic (Franciscan) as well as Evangelical churches (Levoča, Bardejov, Košice). Monte's six-part parody mass *Nasce la pena mia* was inspired by a madrigal of the Italian musician Alessandro Striggio,⁴¹ and was

Manuscripts from the 16th and 17th Centuries in the Collection of the Gdańsk Library], Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Gdańsk 1990, p. 213.

⁴⁰ In the *Tablature Book of Johann Plotz*, f. 241v–245r (Library of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Levoča, shelfmark 13990b /2 A/); in the *Košice Book of Polyphony III*, f. 70v–86r (East Slovak Museum in Košice, shelfmark H 67.054); in *Ms. mus. Bárfia 15*, no. 4 (National Széchényi Library, Budapest); Convolute from the Library of the Friars Minor in Bratislava, shelfmark Bap 26860 (olim 4717), manuscript attachment with unnumbered pages, at present in the Slovak National Library in Martin.

⁴¹ For the source edition of this mass, along with Alessandro Striggio's madrigal, see Philip de MONTE: *Missa Nasce la pena mia*, Carolus van den Borren (ed.), Sumptibus L. Schwann, Düsseldorf, (= Opera Omnia 10), reprint Broude Brothers, New York 1965.



Fig. 3 The title page of Jacob Handl-Gallus' print with a ms. note on gifting sheet music in the year 1603 by church dignitary F. Forgacz of Nitra to the Franciscans in Bratislava. (Slovak National Library, Martin, shelfmark 26859, olim 4873)

composed in the style of high Franco-Flemish polyphony.⁴² Its performance requires excellent skills from the vocalists, which presumes a high standard of music education at the schools of the above-mentioned towns.⁴³

So far, we have been unable to identify by whom, when and where the Magnificats and the mass *Nasce la pena mia* by Ph. de Monte were copied into the repertoire of the manuscript attachments of the musical convolutes of the Library of the Order of Friars Minor in Bratislava. The ductus reveals that the repertoire of these attachments was recorded by several scribes. Already D. Orel called attention to a contemporaneous note dating back to 1603 on the title page of the first part of the convolute shelfmarked 4873 (*Sexta vox*), J. Handl-Gallus: *Missarum VII et VIII vocum...* (1580). It informs us of gifting musical publications by certain church dignitaries from Nitra to the Franciscans in Bratislava.⁴⁴ (**Fig. 4**)

⁴² For Ph. de Monte's compositional techniques in his masses, see George A. MICHAEL: *The Parody Mass Technique of Philippe de Monte*, [Dissertation], New York University, New York 1958.

⁴³ See MARTA HULKOVÁ: "Beitrag zur Problematik der Musikerziehung in den Stadtschulen auf dem Gebiet der Slowakei im 16. Jahrhundert", in: *Musicologica Istropolitana* IV, Comenius University, Faculty of Philosophy, Stimul, Bratislava 2005, pp. 41–59.

⁴⁴ The text about the gifting: "Pro usu Conventus Posoniensis emit ... Franciscus Forgacz episcopus Nitriensis et S. C. Maiestatis cancellarius et consiliarius I. Martii A. 1603". See KLÁRA KOMOROVÁ: "Generálny katalóg tlačí 16. storočia zo slovenských knižníc so zreteľom na hudobnoteoretické diela a cirkevnú hudobnú tvorbu" [The General Catalogue of Sixteenth-Century Prints from Slovak Libraries with Special Reference to Music Theoretical Works and Church Music], in: *Musicologica Istropolitana* X–XI, Comenius University, Faculty of Philosophy, Stimul, Bratislava 2013, p. 165.

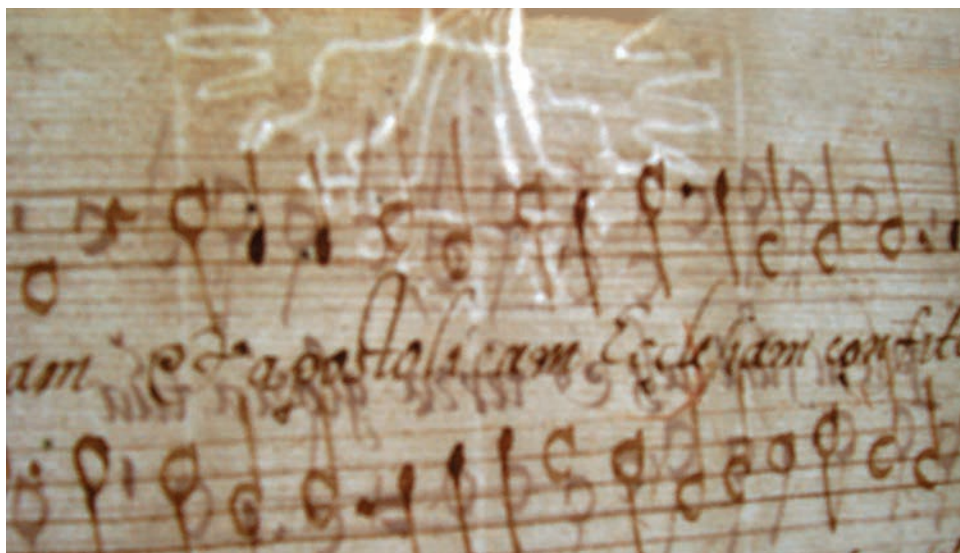


Fig. 4 Watermark from the musical convolute of the Order of Friars Minor in Bratislava – a double-headed female eagle (shelfmark 26859, olim 4873, without pagination).

Since another convolute, shelfmarked 4717, also contains the soprano part of these masses of Gallus, we assume that it got to Bratislava also in the year 1603. Where these musical prints were, based on the vocal parts, bound together in the form of convolutes, and where and when the manuscript attachments with Monte's compositions were added to them, whether still in Nitra or in Bratislava after 1603 – we cannot yet determine with certainty.

Based on the watermark of the paper that was used for the manuscript part of the above-mentioned convolutes, depicting a double-headed female eagle (**Fig. 5**), we have tried to identify the place and year of its manufacturing. This figural motif was very popular among paper manufacturers, we can find its depiction in the coat of arms of the Roman Emperor and Bohemian and Hungarian King Sigismund of Luxemburg (1368–1437).⁴⁵ Specialist literature points out the findings of the expert Charles-Moïse Briquet (1839–1918), who documented the occurrence of the watermark of the double-headed female eagle in manuscripts as early as the 15th century.⁴⁶ Among our local manufacturers of paper, this motif was used, according to the findings of V. Decker, by papermaking master Ondrej Leng in Spišská Teplica (Teplitz, Szepesteplíc) from the 1630s.⁴⁷ Although the watermark in question shows some resemblance to the watermark of this paper from Spiš,

⁴⁵ The double-headed female eagle from the time of the rule of Sigismund of Luxemburg became a figurative symbol also in the coats of arms of the ruling dynasty of the Habsburgs. See <http://www.heraldique-europeenne.org/Regions/Allemagne/Empereurs_Germaniques.htm> [access 3. 9. 2014].

⁴⁶ See *Monumenta Chartae papyrae historiam illustrantia* V., Emile Joseph Labarre (ed.), The paper publications society, Hilversum 1956, p. 29.

⁴⁷ See watermarks no. 1104a, 1108a, 1114b, 1120 in the publication of Viliam DECKER: *Dejiny ručnej výroby papiera na Slovensku* [History of Paper Manufacturing in Slovakia], Matica slovenská, Martin 1982, pp. 113, 205, 206.



Fig. 5 Ph. de Monte's composition *Domine exaudi orationem meam* (6 vocum) in the Levoča Music Collection (shelfmark 13997 /56-58 A/, no. 79).

they are not completely identical. The closest affinity, as we have found, can be seen with watermarks in the German database *Wasserzeichensammlung Piccard* from the years 1580 and 1581.⁴⁸ Paper of 1580 has been found in Stuttgart without a closer specification of the place of its manufacturing; paper of 1581 is deposited in the municipal archive of Nördlingen, and its manufacturing has been localized to the monastery in Keisheim which belonged to the Diocese of Augsburg. Is it reasonable to search for connections between the manuscript parts of the musical convolutes dating back to the end of the 16th and to the beginning of the 17th century from a Franciscan environment in Nitra and in Bratislava and the monasteries under the Diocese of Augsburg? Besides the similarity of the watermarks, another argument for a positive answer is the fact that the above-mentioned four-part Magnificats of Ph. de Monte, which have been preserved exclusively in a manuscript form, have been found also in the Benedictine St. Ulrich's and St. Afra's Abbey in Augsburg, dated 1602.⁴⁹ In this case, we are working with a hypothesis which further research might confirm or disconfirm.

We have also been verifying the origin of another anonymous composition in the manuscript attachment of the *Sexta vox* convolute (shelfmark 4873) after

⁴⁸ See no. 23038 in the database *Wasserzeichensammlung Piccard* (Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart), where only the year 1580 is given, without the place of its origin; no. 23039 Kaisheim, Kloster, 1581. Available online: < <http://www.piccard-online.de/start.php> > [access 20. 6. 2014]

⁴⁹ See the introductory study by the editor, G. van Doorslaer, in the source edition Philippi de MONTE: *VIII Magnificat ad quattuor voces...* (see fn. 6).

the print of Orlando di Lasso (1580), recorded in new German organ tablature. We have been examining whether it might be Monte's motet *Salve regina*, of which only the alto part has been preserved in manuscript form in Ljubljana, Slovenia.⁵⁰ In this case, however, they do not match. Monte's motet is for 5 parts, while our notation records a four-part composition.

From St. Martin's Dome in Bratislava, where Catholicism prevailed during the 16th and the 17th centuries and the Evangelists had never gained a stronghold, only an inventory list of sheet music from the year 1616 is available from the given period.⁵¹ Besides a few identical titles with those in the Library of the Friars Minor in Bratislava (e.g. by B. Ammon and O. di Lasso), it informs us about the occurrence of musical publications with a significant time lapse towards the beginning of the 17th century.⁵² The compositions of Ph. de Monte, as well as of J. Regnart, figure here within two of the registered musical anthologies, which had come into the possession of the chapter church in Bratislava before 1616. These are a mass by Ph. de Monte in *Missae quinque, quinis vocibus, a diversis et aetatis nostrae praestantissimis musicis compositae...* (1590)⁵³ and 2 other compositions by Monte in *Thesaurus litaniarum. Quae a praecipuis hoc aevo musicis...* 1596,⁵⁴ which contains a composition by Regnart as well. Whether the compositions of Monte and Regnart were performed from the repertoire of these two anthologies cannot be confirmed at present. It is more likely that Monte's mass (*Missa ad imitationem moduli Gallici Mon coeur se recommande...*) from the above-mentioned published anthology⁵⁵ might have been performed in the Šariš region, namely in St. Aegidius' Church in Bardejov, since here it figures in a manuscript form in the Bardejov Music Collection.⁵⁶ Most probably, Monte's masses did sound in St. Martin's Dome in Bratislava, as a note in the inventory list of sheet music, *Missae scriptae Philippe de Mo[n]te*, suggests. Which of his masses were copied here is impossible to learn from this note. They could be his masses that were available only in a manuscript form, or they could be copies from his publication *Missarum...* (1587).⁵⁷

With regard to the *Codex of Anna Schuman* from St. Martin's Dome in Bratislava, the only extant musical manuscript from the 16th century, it should be noted that it does not contain compositions by musicians active at the court of

⁵⁰ Ljubljana, *Narodna in Universitetna Knjižnica*, shelfmark MS 207, no. 9.

⁵¹ The document was first highlighted by Antal Pór at the end of the 19th century, and subsequent research made use of the information given by him. At present, it is available for the specialist public thanks to Jana Kalinayová along with the identifications of the data on musical prints based on specialist literature (RISM). See Antal Pór: "A pozsonyi társas-káptalani egyház énekesgyűjteménye 1616-ból" [The Song Collection of the General Chapter of the Church in Pressburg from 1616], in: *Történelmi tár*, Budapest 1885, book 4, pp. 782–783; KALINAYOVÁ et al., *Musikinventare und das Repertoire der mehrstimmigen Musik...* (see fn. 11), pp. 29–32.

⁵² E.g. Jacob FLORI: *Cantiones sacrae quinque vocum...* München 1599 (RISM A/1/3 F 1186); Piat MAULGRED: *Cantiones sacrae III, V, VI et VIII vocum...* Antwerpen 1603 (RISM A/1/5 M 1428); Theodorus LEONARDUS: *Magnificat quatuor vocum...* Venezia 1594 (RISM A/1/5 L 1975).

⁵³ Nürnberg, RISM B/1/1 1590¹.

⁵⁴ München, RISM B/1/1 1596².

⁵⁵ RISM B/1/1 1590¹, no. 2.

⁵⁶ MURÁNYI, *Thematisches Verzeichnis...* (see fn. 3), no. 845, manuscript *Ms. mus. Bártfa* 16, Koll. 5, no. 148.

⁵⁷ Philipp de MONTE: *Liber I. Missarum...* Christophe Plantin, Antwerpen 1587 (RISM A/1/1 M 3320).

Rudolf II. This manuscript was, according to the present state of research, written before the time of his rule.⁵⁸

The musical oeuvre of Philippe de Monte and Jacob Regnart resonated in Bratislava not only in the Catholic but also in the Evangelical environment. In this case, too, only the inventory list of sheet music (from the years 1651 and 1657) is available.⁵⁹ It contains Regnart's authorial publication *Missae sacrae ad imitationem selectissimarum...* (1602)⁶⁰ as well as the above-mentioned five-volume published musical anthology *Novi thesauri musici...*, in two of which there are 26 compositions by Regnart. Evangelicals in Bratislava also owned also the published musical anthology *Promptuarii musici sacras harmonias...* compiled by Abraham Schadaeus, within which the first, second and fourth (1611, 1612 and 1617, respectively)⁶¹ volume contains 5 compositions by Ph. de Monte. At present, we cannot determine with certainty to what extent Evangelicals in Bratislava preferred to perform the pieces of Regnart and Monte. We can only establish that their musicians had adequate performing skills, something documented also by the rich inventory list of sheet music from this church, which contains artistically valuable and challenging contemporaneous music.⁶²

In the religious life of mining towns (Banská Bystrica, Kremnica) at the beginning of the 17th century, Evangelicals gained a stronger position compared to Catholics. We can learn about the contemporaneous repertoire of these towns only from their inventory lists of sheet music.⁶³ In Banská Bystrica, they owned the published musical anthology *Thesauri musici tomus tertius continens cantiones sacras...* (1564)⁶⁴ which was widespread in the Evangelical environment. Monte figures in it with only one of his compositions in its third volume. Other published volumes of this anthology were in the possession of the Evangelicals in Bardejov, with a composition by Jacob Regnart present in the fourth volume. In Kremnica, they also had the above-mentioned published anthology *Novi thesauri musici* of 1568, compiled by Pietro Ioannelli, with a rich selection from the oeuvre of musicians in the services of the Habsburgs.

In musical manuscripts from the Spiš-Šariš region, Ph. de Monte and J. Regnart figure mostly with their masses, copied from printed or manuscript originals. Besides the above-mentioned *Missa super Nasce la pena mia*, another parody

⁵⁸ Ilona FERENCZI: "Mehrstimmige Sammlung aus dem 16. Jahrhundert in Pressburg (Kodex Anna Hansen Schuman)", in: *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 17 (1975), pp. 59–165.

⁵⁹ Ivana KORBAČKOVÁ: "Inventarverzeichnis der Musikalien und der Musikinstrumente der Evangelischen Kirche in Bratislava aus den Jahren 1651, 1652, 1657", in: KALINAYOVÁ et al., *Musikinventare und das Repertoire der mehrstimmigen Musik...* (see fn. 11), pp. 39–71.

⁶⁰ RISM A/I/7 R 734.

⁶¹ RISM B/I/1 1611¹, 1612³, 1617¹.

⁶² The inventory contains also a list of the musical instruments, first reported by Richard RYBARIČ: "Z dejín viachlasnej hudby v Bratislave v 17. storočí" [From the History of Polyphonic Music in Bratislava in the 17th Century], in: *Bratislava* vol. 8–9, Obzor, Bratislava 1976, pp. 137–169.

⁶³ The contents of the musical inventory from Banská Bystrica from 1581, 1600 and 1606 were published by Konštantín HUDEC: *Hudba v Banskej Bystrici do 19. storočia* [Music in Banská Bystrica by the 19th Century], Tranoscius, Liptovský sv. Mikuláš 1941, pp. 31–32, 69–71. The inventory list of sheet music from the Latin School in Kremnica from 1599 has been described by several researchers in their studies (Kálmán D'Isoz, Konštantín Hudec, Ernest Zavorský). These musical inventories from Banská Bystrica and Kremnica, with the data identifications from RISM, were published by KALINAYOVÁ et al., *Musikinventare und das Repertoire der mehrstimmigen Musik...* (see fn. 11), pp. 21–28.

⁶⁴ RISM B/I/1 1564³.

mass by Monte, *Missa super Aspice Domine*, belongs to compositions which only have a manuscript form. For the source-critical edition of this mass, Charles van den Borren made use of its extant copy from Vienna,⁶⁵ and its further occurrences in manuscripts in Germany are reported by Robert Lindell.⁶⁶ These two masses of Monte, along with his *Missa ad modulum Benedicta es* (1579),⁶⁷ are present in the *Ms. Mus. Bártfa 15* (no. 3, 4. 6) manuscript of the Bardejov Music Collection.⁶⁸ A contemporaneous note informs us that this manuscript got to Spiš first, in 1593, from its previous owner named Martino Ekman Lusatio, that is from Lužice. A local nobleman, Georg Horváth Stansith de Gradecz, based in Strážky (Nehre, Nagyőr) purchased it for 1 florin and 50 dinars. From there, the manuscript might have then got to Bardejov, to St. Aegidius' Church. From this contemporaneous note it is evident that the source did not originate in Spiš, but got there only at the end of the 16th century. It contains exclusively masses and Magnificants, and, besides compositions by Orlando di Lasso, it contains pieces by lesser known musicians as well, e.g. by David Thusius and Johann Knöfel.⁶⁹ By Knöfel's six-part mass, there is a note, *Imperatore Rudolpho dedicata Vratislaviae*,⁷⁰ which reveals connections of the manuscript also with the Silesian music-cultural environment from which the composer had come and, for some time, was also active (in Wrocław).⁷¹ When examining the watermarks we have found that in the *Ms. Mus. Bártfa 15* manuscript there is a very similar watermark to that in the above-mentioned manuscript attachments attached to the sheet music publications in the stock of the Library of the Friars Minor in Bratislava. In this case, too, the figurative element depicts a double-headed female eagle with a crown, bearing a flower in the centre, whereas in the Franciscan manuscript, the letter "K" is in the centre.

Another manuscript, *Ms. Mus. Bártfa 16/Koll 5*, also has an interesting musical repertoire. Besides the copy of Monte's *Missa ad imitationem moduli Gallici Mon coeur se recommande...*, published in the anthology *Missae quinque, quinis vocibus...* (1590),⁷² it also contains five masses by Regnart from his print *Missae sacrae* from 1602.⁷³ Murányi did not localize more specifically the origin of this manuscript or its fifth part which contains the above-mentioned compositions. However, he

⁶⁵ Philippe de MONTE: *Missa Aspice Domine*, Charles van den Borren (ed.), reprint Broude Brothers, New York [1965] (= Opera Omnia 26). Edition of the composition based on the manuscript in the Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek, Wien, shelfmark 15948, f. 71–97.

⁶⁶ München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musikabteilung; Zwickau, Ratschulbibliothek. See Robert LINDELL – Brian R. MANN: "Monte, Philippe de", in: *The New Grove...* (see fn. 9).

⁶⁷ RISM A/I/5 M 3315 (Christophe Plantin, Antwerpen 1579).

⁶⁸ MURÁNYI, *Thematisches Verzeichnis...* (see fn. 3), no. 651, 652, 654.

⁶⁹ David Thusius' compositions no. 8–10; Johann Knöfel's composition no. 5. Ibid., no. 656, 657, 658, 653.

⁷⁰ Knöfel received a remuneration of 20 gold ducats for this composition from the imperial court of Rudolf II. Information about the payment has been preserved in the *Hofzahlamt-Rechnungen* from the year 1577. Josef ŠEBESTA in his dissertation *Luteránska hudba v Praze v předbělohorském období* [Lutheran Music in Prague in the pre-White Mountain Era], Charles University in Prague, Praha 2006, p. 30, refers to the study of Albert SMIJERS: "Kaiserliche Hofmusik-Kapelle von 1543–1619", in: *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft. Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, Guido Adler (ed.), Universal Edition, Leipzig – Wien 1919, p. 194.

⁷¹ See the entry J. Knöfel in the *Bayerisches Musiker-Lexikon Online* <<http://www.bml.uni-muenchen.de/k0583>> [access 4. 9. 2014]

⁷² RISM B/I/1 1590¹, no. 2.

⁷³ RISM A/I/7 R 734 (Nikolaus Stein, Frankfurt 1602).

notes the places of the manuscript concordances of some of the compositions by lesser-known composers in this part of the manuscript, which contains as many as 314 compositions (masses, Magnificats, motets).⁷⁴ By this, Murányi opens a very wide geographical area that stretches through Silesian and German (Prussian, Saxon) towns as far as the town of Gdańsk, and, secondarily, he points to the region of Spiš, too. At present, the repertoire of this manuscript is attracting the attention of several music historians, since it contains compositions by local composers (Fabianus Ripanus, Christoph Gökeritz, Johann Celscher, Andreas Ch. Gevicensis, Georg Richnovinus, Johann Richnovinus)⁷⁵ whose works had never appeared in print, and it is the places of their activities in Central Europe which might provide a clue for determining the place of the origin of this manuscript. Most probably, similarly to the above-mentioned manuscript, it found its way to Bardejov indirectly. With regard to the places of the activities of the local composers whose works it contains (Silesia, Prussia, Bohemia), the manuscript might have been owned by a musician who changed his workplace in a wider Central European area. Or, the case might be that it was owned by several musicians, since several ducti figure in it. It gives the name of an organist from the town of Tangermünde,⁷⁶ which lies in the territory of Saxony-Anhalt, as the author of one of the composition.

The *Košice Book of Vocal Polyphony III.*, besides the above-mentioned mass *Nasce la pena mia*, contains another composition by Monte: his six-part *Missa super Sine nomine*, preserved also exclusively in manuscript form.⁷⁷ It is recorded in a shortened version (Kyrie, Gloria), which suggests that it might have been used in a Protestant environment. This is implied also by the further contents of the manuscript where, besides the two masses of Ph. de Monte, two masses by Alexander Utendal (1543/45–1581), another musician in the services of the Habsburgs, and two by the Italian musician Costanzo Antegnati (1549–1624) are also in the *missa brevis* form.⁷⁸ C. van den Borren, editor of the modern edition of Monte's *Missa super Sine nomine*, used as his source the manuscript deposited in the Berliner Staatsbibliothek.⁷⁹ In the introductory passage to this edition, Julius van Nuffel calls our attention also to another manuscript occurrence of the piece in Italy.⁸⁰ At the same time, he observes that, compared to his parody masses, Monte adopts a more moderate compositional approach here, using mainly the

⁷⁴ For a specification of the repertoire, see MURÁNYI, *Thematisches Verzeichnis...* (see fn. 3), pp. 51–71.

⁷⁵ E.g. Agnieszka LESZCZYŃSKA: "From Spiš to Royal Prussia: the creative development of Johannes Celscher", *Musicology Today* 2 (2005), pp. 83–94; Agnieszka LESZCZYŃSKA: "Spoločná hudobná tradícia: väzby medzi Horným Uhorskom a Pruskom okolo roku 1600" [A Common Musical Tradition: Links Between Upper Hungary and Prussia around the Year 1600], in: *Musicologica Istropolitana X–XI*, Comenius University, Faculty of Philosophy, Stimul, Bratislava 2013, pp. 383–396.

⁷⁶ The name of the organist is Abraham Sommerzeit. MURÁNYI, *Thematisches Verzeichnis...* (see fn. 3), p. 62, no. 866.

⁷⁷ Philipp de MONTE: *Missa sine nomine*, Carolus van den Borren (ed.), Sumptibus L. Schwann, Düsseldorf 1929 (= Opera Omnia 7), reprint Broude Brothers, New York 1965.

⁷⁸ From the 7 masses copied into the *Košice Book of Vocal Polyphony III.*, only L. Lechner's (1533–1606) one keeps all the movements. It is the *Missa super Domine Dominus noster* (6 v.) from his title *Liber Missarum sex et quinque vocum...* Typis Gerlachianis, Norimbergae, 1584. (RISM A/1/5 L 1298). MEŠCANOVÁ, *Hudobný život a pamiatky Košíc do roku 1600...* (see fn. 5), p. 139.

⁷⁹ Codex ms. 400.25, f. 166. See the introduction by Julius van Nuffel in the source edition Philipp de MONTE: *Missa sine nomine...* (see fn. 77).

⁸⁰ Loreto – Archivie della Sancta Casa, ms. n. 34, *ibid*.

style of note against note. When we think of the availability of this mass, whether it was in Berlin or in the Italian town of Loretto, the possibility of Košice as the place where it was copied by hand appears highly unlikely. The place of origin of the *Košice Book of Vocal Polyphony III*. has not been definitely identified yet. Tracing the origin of the paper, A. Meščanová discovered the presence of the same paper which has been preserved in Transylvania.⁸¹ Contacts of the town of Košice with Transylvania were intense and lively in spite of the complicated political situation of the time. At the time of Rudolf II, the town was the residence of the most significant leader of the anti-Habsburg uprising, Stephan Bochkay (1557–1606), Prince of Transylvania, advocate of Protestantism. In his youth, he stayed in Vienna and Prague, then lived in Transylvania, and, towards the end of his life, in Košice, where he died.⁸² Would it not make sense to look for the scribe of the masses of the *Košice Book of Vocal Polyphony III*. among the musicians who were in the services of this prince, for whom they might have recorded the masses originating in Habsburg courts in their *missae breves* form, adapted to the Protestant service?

Three of Regnart's masses have been preserved in the Levoča Music Collection. *Missa sine nomine* identified in his authorial publication *Corollarium missarum...* (1603),⁸³ is part of the repertoire of the *Tablature Book of Ján Šimbracký* in its *missa brevis* form.⁸⁴ Based on contemporaneous notes, compositions were copied into this manuscript mainly in the town of Lubica (Leibitz) in Spiš.⁸⁵ The paper of the manuscript, according to V. Decker, comes from Spišská Teplica, from the papermaker master Onrej Leng from the first half of the 17th century (ca. 1635), so Regnart's mass in question was copied into it only after the death of the composer. Another mass of Regnart's, *Missa super Exultate Deo*, identified in the above mentioned print, *Missae sacrae ad imitationem...* (1602), was also copied, and also as a *missa brevis*, into the *Tablature Book of Johann Plotz*, along with his *Missa Quodlibetica*, which is known only in a manuscript form.⁸⁶ Pass knew only the alto part of this mass, deposited in the Music Department of the National Museum in Prague, and he labelled another occurrence of it in the town of Wrocław

⁸¹ A. Meščanová refers to the information in the publication of Alexandru MAREȘ: *Filigranele hârtiei întrebuițate în Țările Române în secolul al XVI-lea*, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, București 1987, p. 351. At number Al. Mareș 1683, the following data are assigned to this watermark: 1589, Alba Iulia, State Archive Deva, collection of documents *Principatul transilvan*, 222. MEŠČANOVÁ, *Hudobný život a pamiatky Košíc do roku 1600...* (see fn. 5), p. 138.

⁸² See András SZABÓ: *Téged Isten dicsérünk. Bocskai István, Erdély és Magyarország fejedelme* [We praise thee, O God. István Bocskai, Monarch of Transylvania and Hungary], Kálvin János Kiadó, Budapest 2006.

⁸³ PASS, *Thematischer Katalog sämtlicher Werke Jacob Regnarts...* (see fn. 10), no. 4. RISM A/1/7 R 736, no. 1.

⁸⁴ *Tabulatúrny zborník Jána Šimbrackého* [The Tablature Book of Ján Šimbracký], (manuscript 13992 /3 A/), no. 177. HULKOVÁ, *Levočská zbierka hudobnín...* (see fn. 3), vol. 1, p. 100.

⁸⁵ Marta HULKOVÁ: "Stredoeurópske súvislosti šiestich rukopisných organových tabulatúrnych zborníkov z čias reformácie, pochádzajúcich z územia Spiša" [Central European Connections of Six Manuscript Organ Tablature Books from the Time of the Reformation from the Region of Spiš], in: *Musilogica Istropolitana* X–XI, Comenius University, Faculty of Philosophy, Stimul, Bratislava 2013, pp. 212–219.

⁸⁶ *Tabulatúrny zborník Johanna Plotza* [The Tablature Book of Johann Plotz], (manuscript 13990b /2 A/), f. 4v–8r (*Missa Quodlibetica*); f. 127v a 152v (*Exultate Deo*). For the reconstruction of *Missa Quodlibetica* (Kyrie), see Adrian RAJTER: *Missa Quodlibetica – Jacobi Regnart*, [Thesis], Comenius University, Faculty of Philosophy, Bratislava 1994. On Plotz's tablature books, see also HULKOVÁ, "Stredoeurópske súvislosti..." (see fn. 85), p. 195–200.

as inaccessible.⁸⁷ The life path of J. Plotz before his arrival in Spiš was connected to the Silesian town of Brieg (present-day Brzeg, Poland),⁸⁸ where Regnart's oeuvre was present and popular among the musicians.⁸⁹ There were lively contacts between the musical environment of Spiš and that of Silesia, which grew stronger especially after the Battle of White Mountain (1620) when refugees, scholars persecuted for their Protestantism, arrived in the territory of Hungary.⁹⁰ As far as we know, there were no musical prints by Regnart in the Spiš-Šariš region, but his published masses were owned by the Evangelicals in Bratislava.

Besides masses, in the Spiš-Šariš region we also find noteworthy motets by Ph. de Monte and J. Regnart. Monte's motet *Stellam quam viderant*, which forms part of the repertoire of the published musical anthology *Promptuarium musicum...* of 1611,⁹¹ was copied into the *Ms. mus. Bártfa* 26 manuscript right before his own composition by the Bardejov organist Zacharias Zarewutius (1605?–1667).⁹² In the Levoča Music Collection, this motet has been preserved twice: in the *Tablature Book of Caspar Plotz*, and in manuscript 14001 (59–61 A).⁹³ The scribes of these manuscripts are unknown, but the presence of the works of Silesian musicians (Thomas Fritsch, Johann Knöfel, M. Apelles von Löwenstern)⁹⁴ in their repertoire suggests their connection to the Silesian music-cultural environment.⁹⁵

For research on Monte's church music, a possibly unique occurrence of his composition can be found in another manuscript from the Levoča Music Collection, namely 13997 /56–58 A/. Besides the motet *Spes humani generis...*

⁸⁷ PASS, *Thematischer Katalog sämtlicher Werke Jacob Regnarts...* (see fn. 10), no. 27 – in Prague, he lists manuscript AZ 36 (IV.F.1. Anhang). E. Bohn also registers the presence of the *Missa quodlibetica* in the Silesian town of Wrocław (Ms. 99A, nr. 11), but W. Pass in 1969 reports that it is unavailable. See Emil BOHN: *Die musikalischen Handschriften des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau*, Commissions-Verlag von Julius Hainauer, Breslau 1890, p. 111.

⁸⁸ See CLEVELAND JOHNSON: "In the Trenches with Johann and Caspar Plotz: a rediscovered *Gebrauchstabulatur* from the Scheidt circle", see Fig. 1, f. 65v. Online study <<http://acad.depauw.edu/~cjohnson/PLOTZ/INDEX.HTML>> [access 4. 9. 2014].

⁸⁹ In Pass' thematic catalogue of J. Regnart's compositions, manuscript occurrences of his pieces are often listed in Silesian towns: besides Breslau (present-day Wrocław in Poland) also in Lignitz (present-day Legnica in Poland) and Brieg (present-day Brzeg in Poland).

⁹⁰ See MARTA HULKOVÁ: "Musikalische Kontakte zwischen der Zips (Spiš) und Schlesien", in: *Early Music: Context and Ideas. International Conference in Musicology*, Jagiellonian University, Kraków 2003, pp. 205–214.

⁹¹ RISM 1611¹, no. 27 (ed. Abraham Schadeus).

⁹² For *Ms. mus. Bártfa* 26, f. 38r, see MURÁNYI, *Thematisches Verzeichnis...* (see fn. 3), no. 2241.

⁹³ In the *Tablature Book of Caspar Plotz* (13990a /1 A/), no. 16; also in three partbooks (S₁, S₂, B₁) in manuscript 14001 /59-61 A/, Koll 1, no. 28. See HULKOVÁ, *Levočská zbierka hudobní...* (see fn. 3), pp. 56, 189.

⁹⁴ In the *Tablature Book of Caspar Plotz*, the composition of Thomas Fritsch (no. 92) and Johann Knöfel (no. 5); in manuscript 14001 /59-61 A/, Koll. 2, the compositions of M. Apelles von Löwenstern (no. 147, 149, 150).

⁹⁵ The supposed owner (or scribe) of the *Tablature Book of Caspar Plotz*, whose name is present on the first blank folio of the manuscript along with the year 1603, is designated as the organist in the town of Brieg in manuscript *Mus. Ms. 40 056* (originally in the possession of the Preussische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, at present deposited in the Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Kraków). See JOHNSON, "In the Trenches with Johann and Caspar Plotz...", (see fn. 88). With regard to the origin of manuscript 14001 /59-61 A/, in the Levoča Music Collection, see MARTA HULKOVÁ: "Musikalische Handschriften aus der Wendezeit des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in der Musikaliensammlung von Levoča (Leutschau/Löcse)", in: *The Musical Heritage of the Jagiellonian Era*, Paweł Gancarczyk, Agnieszka Leszczyńska (eds.), Instytut Sztuki PAN, Uniwersytet Warszawski, Biblioteka Narodowa, Warszawa 2012, pp. 253–267.

(7 v.), which appeared in print in his *Sacrarium cantionum ... liber primus* (1585),⁹⁶ his name is also given at the composition *Domine exaudi orationem meam* (6 v.), (**Fig. 5**), which we have been unable to identify.⁹⁷ Only 3 of its parts are available (S, Quinta vox, T), which makes its reconstruction and a possible style analysis with the aim of confirming or ruling out Monte's authorship more difficult. The origin of manuscript 13997 /56–58 A/ remains unsolved as of now. It is characterized by multiple layers in terms of the ducti, the paper as well as the musical repertoire. The watermark of one of the pages was dated by V. Decker to 1586 (Wartenfels). The presence of a composition marked by the name Georg Neidlinger Magdeburgensis points to a German environment. Bohemian-Moravian and Silesian connections are documented in the manuscript by the compositions of Jiří Rychnovský, Jacob Handl-Gallus and Johann Knöfel. The authorship of composition no. 131 is attributed to a cantor in Levoča, which would confirm explicit connections of the manuscript to the Spiš environment.⁹⁸

Manuscript 13997 /56–58 A/ has also preserved three motets by Regnart, two of which, *Intuemini quantus sit iste...* along with the *secunda pars: Occurite illi dicentes qua...* (6 v.), and *Nunc dimittis servum...* (6 v.), have been identified based on his publication *Sacrae aliquot cantiones...* (1575)⁹⁹ dedicated to Emperor Maximilian II. However, Regnart's third motet, *Stamus in occursum*, (**Fig. 6**), preserved in a manuscript form only in the town of Brieg in Silesia, deserves special attention; Pass observes that the composition is now unavailable and registers it without presenting its notation.¹⁰⁰ The constantly repeating town of Brieg suggests the direction from which the compositions of the above-mentioned musicians could find their way to our regions. Another motet by Regnart, *Hodie natus est Christus*, (**Fig. 7**), whose tenor part has been preserved in the *Musical Convolute* from the Lyceum Library in Kežmarok, forms part of the repertoire of the above-mentioned anthology *Novi thesauri musici* (1568).¹⁰¹ In the case of the *Musical Convolute* from Kežmarok, we are again dealing with a manuscript that points to cultural contacts in the direction of Silesia. It contains a unique occasional print by the author Martin Kinner Silesio, *Carmen funebre*, dedicated to the memory of the famous Silesian pedagogue of the time, Valentin Friedland Trozendorf (1490–1556).¹⁰²

Besides his masses and motets, the madrigal *Anima dove vai* is Monte's only secular composition in the Bardejov Music Collection, present in the fragmentarily preserved manuscript *Ms. mus. Bártfa 26*.¹⁰³ It appeared in print first in the

⁹⁶ RISM A/1/6 M 3319, no. 5. See also the source edition of Philippi de MONTE: *Opera*. New complete edition, series A, Motets/V, p. 33.

⁹⁷ Manuscript 13997 /56–58 A/, no. 79. This motet is not listed in the publication of SILIES: *Die Motetten des Philippe de Monte (1521–1603)*, V&R Unipress, Göttingen 2009.

⁹⁸ For the origin of manuscript 13997 /56–58 A/, see in more detail HULKOVÁ, "Musikalische Handschriften aus der Wendezeit des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts...", (see fn. 95), pp. 258, 260–264.

⁹⁹ PASS, *Thematischer Katalog sämtlicher Werke Jacob Regnarts...* (see fn. 10), no. 195, 196 (RISM A/1/7 R 731, no. 1, 6).

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 204.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, no. 192; *Novi thesauri musici...* 1568a, p. 19 (RISM B/I/1 1568²).

¹⁰² It is a unique occurrence of this occasional print of Martin Kinner. HULKOVÁ, „Hudobný konvolút..." (see fn. 24), pp. 268, 284.

¹⁰³ For the *Ms. mus. Bártfa 32* manuscript, no. 31, MURÁNYI, *Thematisches Verzeichnis...* (see fn. 3), no. 2606.



Fig. 6 J. Regnart's composition *Stamus in occursum* in the Levoča Music Collection (shelfmark 13997 /56-58 A/, no. 24).

anthology *Musica divina* (1583), printed by P. Phalèse and Bellère in Antwerp.¹⁰⁴ It was a very popular and widespread title among musicians in Europe, which is documented by its no less than seven new editions by the year 1634.¹⁰⁵ We have not yet been able to localize where and when the anonymous scribe of the *Ms. mus. Bártfa* 26 manuscript might have copied this madrigal, and Murányi does not present any indications based on which it would be possible to hypothesize when and under what circumstances this manuscript fragment got to Bardejov.

¹⁰⁴ Murányi identifies this composition in the anthology RISM 1583⁴, no. 35. According to the RISM online database (RISM ID no.: 800256157), the composition figures in the anthology *Musica divina | Di XIX autori illustri...* publ. by Pietro Phalesio et Giovanni Bellero, Antwerpen 1583, no. 56 (RISM 1583¹⁵).

¹⁰⁵ RISM = Répertoire International des Sources Musicales. Recueils Imprimés XVI^e–XVII^e siècles. G. Henle Verlag, München – Duisburg 1960, pp. 318, 340, 355, 369, 406, 446, 484, 506.

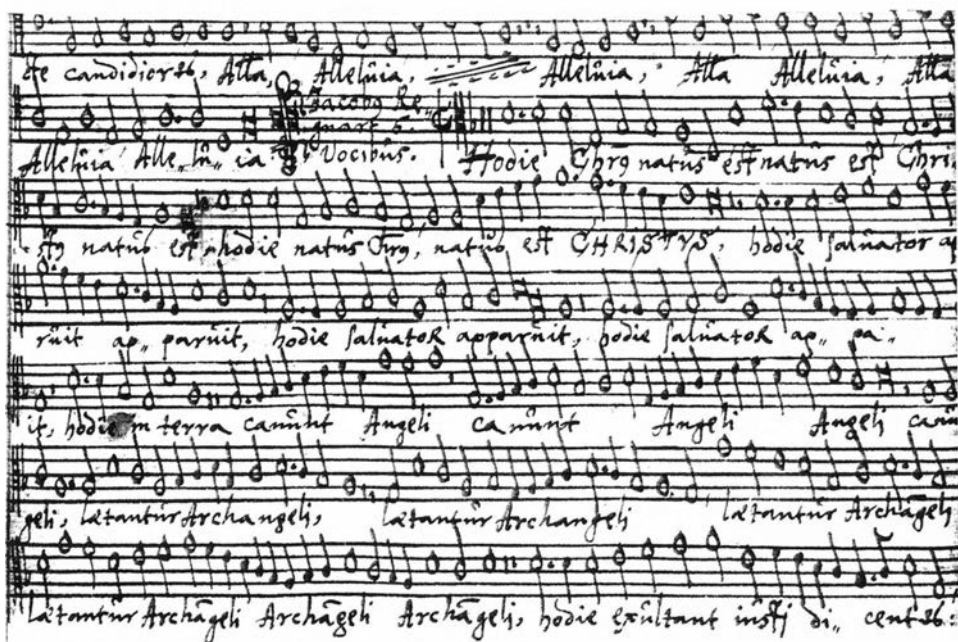


Fig. 7 The tenor part of J. Regnart's composition *Hodie Christus natus est* (6 vocum) in the *Musical Convolute* from the Lyceum Library in Kežmarok (shelfmark N 69192, olim Rar 14, f. 40r–40v).

Conclusion

When presenting the reception of the oeuvre of composers in the services of Emperor Rudolf II of Habsburg in the territory of Upper Hungary (present-day Slovakia), we have focused on tracing the compositions of Ph. de Monte and J. Regnart in their manuscript as well as published form. To date we have registered the copies of 24 compositions, from which 13 are by Ph. de Monte and 11 by J. Regnart. (Table 1) We consider their practical utilization in the local music-cultural environment more probable than that of those compositions of theirs which are present in published musical anthologies from the 16th century owned by local church institutions (by the Order of Friars Minor and the Evangelicals in Bratislava) or by the Latin School in Kremnica. An authorial publication is present only in one case, by J. Regnart (*Missae sacrae...* 1602) in the inventory list of the sheet music of the Evangelicals in Bratislava.

We have been aware that, without verifying the place and date of origin of the manuscripts containing compositions by Ph. de Monte and J. Regnart, our statements might be imprecise and even misleading. Despite the fact that, at present, the manuscripts in question form part of state or church library stocks in Slovakia (except for the Bardejov Music Collection),¹⁰⁶ their origin and

¹⁰⁶ The Bardejov Music Collection is deposited in the National Széchényi Library in Budapest, shelfmarked Ms. mus. Bárfia 1–34; Mus. pr. 1–20.

contemporaneous use need not be connected to the place of their present-day deposition.¹⁰⁷ Experience from music-historical research confirms that the fate of published and, especially, manuscript sheet music from earlier centuries is very complicated and difficult to decipher. Researchers often work in the domain of hypotheses. When searching for answers to the basic questions of when, where, by whom and for what purpose the manuscripts were made, success is not guaranteed despite the painstaking efforts of several generations of scholars.

The majority of primary music-historical sources in manuscript form from the 16th century and from the first half of the 17th century from Bratislava, Levoča, Kežmarok, Košice and Bardejov, containing compositions of musicians active at Habsburg courts, still hide secrets regarding the place of their origin. The study of contemporaneous notes and secondary sources, however, enables us to assume that they were present at the time in the above-mentioned towns and that they were functional and utilized in contemporaneous musical practice. Adequate conditions for performance were provided by the high standard of music education in urban schools where music was taught from contemporaneous printed musical compendia (Nikolaus Listenius, Heinrich Faber, etc.) regularly, several times per week.¹⁰⁸ The link between the school and the church was ensured by the cantor in the interest of the successful realization of musical productions in the church within the religious tasks on ordinary days as well as at festivals, as was done in other European towns. The financial support for musical productions in the church was provided by the municipal councils.

The denominational situation in Europe in the given era was complex, and after the Council of Trent (1563), the Counter-Reformation gradually gained momentum towards the turn of the 17th century. Urban populations in the territory of Upper Hungary, especially where Germans prevailed, favoured Luther's Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, and the majority of Hungarian nobility also joined the ranks of Protestants. Followers of Catholicism, the ruling Habsburg dynasty, and the Protestant Christian movement widespread during the 16th century in the various states of the monarchy (e.g. Bohemia and Moravia, Hungary) stood against each other as enemies. Despite the political tension between these two sides, in the field of music they could still cooperate. The oeuvre of musicians active at Habsburg courts found its way to the musical repertoire not only in the Catholic but also in the Evangelical church communities of Upper Hungary, which is evidence of the superiority of the artistic value of musical compositions over the denominational affiliation of their authors. E.g. the musical repertoire in the manuscript attachments in the stock of the Order of Friars Minor

¹⁰⁷ Especially during the 20th century, due to the consequence of the impact of WWI and WWII on Europe, as well as under the influence of the ideological doctrine of building socialism and communism in the Eastern bloc of this continent, we can see a negative impact on ecclesiastical and aristocratic libraries and archives since uncontrolled shifts occurred in cultural values and, in the worst case, they were even destroyed.

¹⁰⁸ HULKOVÁ, "Beitrag zur Problematik der Musikerziehung...", (see fn. 43), p. 57. We know of three editions of *Musica...* by Nicolaus Listenius (1549, 1552, 1559) in Banská Bystrica, Kežmarok, Kremnica, and we have another work of his, *Rudimentia musicae...* (1533) from Banská Bystrica. By Heinrich Faber, *Ad musicam practicam introductio...* (1550) in Banská Bystrica and *Compendium musicae pro incipientibus...* (1548) in Kežmarok. The authors of local musical compendia were local scholars, e.g. Leonard Stöckel *De musica*. See František MATÚŠ: "De Musica Leonardi Stöckelii", in: *Slovenská hudba* 17 (1991), no. 4, pp. 360–416.

in Bratislava contains Ph. de Monte's compositions next to those of Leonard Lechner, an advocate of Luther's Reformation. Besides these compositions, the most often encountered include those of Orlando di Lasso, whose oeuvre had gained popularity all over Europe regardless of denomination. This trinity of musical composers is also represented in the repertoire of the *Košice Book of Polyphony III* from the end of the 16th century, while the shortened notation of the masses of Ph. de Monte and A. Utendal, musicians active at Habsburg courts, in the form of *missa brevis* points to their practical utilization in the Protestant service.¹⁰⁹ Whether these masses were originally recorded for the Protestant church community in Košice, or whether they got here from Transylvania, judging from their paper, remains an open question.

As for the musical manuscripts of the Levoča Music Collection containing compositions of members of the imperial orchestra, comparative analysis has confirmed their close links to the Silesian environment.¹¹⁰ Similarly, Silesian connections dominate in the *Musical Convolute* of the Lyceum Library in Kežmarok where, in a manuscript form, we can find the tenor parts of several compositions published in the *Novi thesauri musici...* (1568) anthology and a unique occasional publication of the Silesian musician Martin Kinner. Ph. de Monte's and J. Regnart's compositions were popular in the repertoire of Silesian towns, as can be seen from the documentational works of Emil Bohn in Wrocław and Walter Pass in connection with the occurrence of J. Regnart's compositions in the towns of Brzeg (Brieg in Silesia) and Legnica (Liegnitz in Silesia).¹¹¹ When searching for the distribution routes of Ph. de Monte's and J. Regnart's works to the Spiš-Sariš region, copies of their compositions might have reached here thanks to close contacts with the Silesian cultural environment where their compositions could be found in manuscript as well as published form.¹¹² The case of the *Ms. mus. Bártfa 15* manuscript, which got to Bardejov from Lužice indirectly through Spiš from the possession of nobleman Horvath-Stansits de Gradetz, is particular. The *Ms. mus. Bártfa 16/Koll 5* manuscript contains compositions of musicians of the Rudolfiner orchestra along with those of the Bohemian composers Jiří and Jan Rychnovský, and Ondřej Chrysoponus Jevíčský. The place of origin of this manuscript has not yet been conclusively identified. Because of the presence of compositions by local authors active in a wider Central European area, whose works were distributed only in manuscript form, it might have been owned by several migrating musicians.

In the mining towns (Kremnica, Banská Bystrica) and in the Evangelical environment in Bratislava, contemporaneous reception of Ph. de Monte's and

¹⁰⁹ For the *Košice Books of Polyphony I. and III.*, see MEŠČANOVÁ, *Hudobný život a pamiatky Košíc...* (see fn. 5), pp. 130–139.

¹¹⁰ HULKOVÁ, "Hudobný konvolút...", (see fn. 24).

¹¹¹ BOHN, *Die musikalischen Handschriften des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts...* (see fn. 87); PASS, *Thematischer Katalog sämtlicher Werke Jacob Regnarts...* (see fn. 10); see also FRIEDRICH KUHN: *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der alten Musikalien – Handschriften und Druckwerke – des Königlichen Gymnasiums zu Brieg*, Breitkopf et Härtel, Leipzig 1897; ERNST PFUEDEL: "Die Musik-Handschriften der Königl. Ritter-Akademie zu Liegnitz", in: *Beilage zu den Monatsheften für Musikgeschichte*, vol. 1, Robert Eitner (ed.), Breitkopf et Härtel, Leipzig 1886, pp. 5–74.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, see also EMIL BOHN: *Bibliographie der Musik-Druckwerke bis 1700 welche in der Stadtbibliothek, der Bibliothek des Akademischen Instituts fuer Kirchenmusik und der Koeniglichen und Universitaets-Bibliothek zu Breslau aufbewahrt werden*, Commissions-Verlag von Albert Cohn, Berlin 1883.

J. Regnart's oeuvre can be supposed only based on the preserved inventory lists of sheet music documenting the ownership of musical publications (e.g. *Novi thesauri musici...*, 1568; *Thesaurus litaniarum...*, 1590). The only authorial publication of J. Regnart (*Missae sacrae...* 1602) in the inventory list of sheet music from 1651 and 1657 of the Evangelicals in Bratislava is especially noteworthy.

Habsburg courts, including that of Rudolf II, were, after the papal court, the most renowned places for music-making in the Renaissance and Baroque Europe. The noblemen of this ruling dynasty were great patrons of the arts. The musical repertoire played at their courts spread thanks to anthologies and authorial publications, as well as to the copy of compositions by hand in the areas under the political influence of the whole of the Habsburg Monarchy. With regard to the reception of the music in Hungary and, within that, in the territory of present-day Slovakia, especially significant are those compositions by Ph. de Monte (8) that had not appeared in print at the time. Six of these have contemporaneous manuscript concordances, but in the case of two compositions, so far it looks like they are unique occurrences – *Magnificat octavi toni* (6 v.) preserved by the Order of Friars Minor in Bratislava under shelfmark 26859 (olim 4873), and the motet *Domine exaudi...* in manuscript 13997 /56–58 A/ of the Levoča Music Collection. The circumstances of the origin of these manuscripts are so far unclear. Based on their paper and the occurrence of manuscript concordances of the Franciscan manuscript from Bratislava, its provenance might lead to the Diocese of Augsburg and to Austria (Graz). In the case of the manuscript from Spiš (shelfmark 13997), its diverse repertoire and the presence of the ducti of several scribes implies that the manuscript might have changed several owners (musicians) who had migrated in the Central European area (in German, Bohemian, Silesian territories) before arriving in Spiš.

In the case of the two compositions of J. Regnart (*Missa quodlibetica; Stamus in occursum*) distributed in manuscript form, concordances have so far been registered in Prague, Wrocław and Brzeg. The musical manuscripts in which these concordances have been preserved have not been evaluated from a music-historical perspective yet, so we do not know whether the place of their deposition corresponds to the place of their origin.

The distribution of compositions that were not available in print at the time might have been ensured by the migration of the musicians. It used to be a common practice to change workplaces in a wider geographical circle in Europe, depending on national and denominational affiliation, and it might have been due to this that musical compositions found their way to nearer, as well as further, territories of the Habsburg Monarchy (and beyond its borders), whether in their published or manuscript form. As of now, we have little information about the movement of contemporaneous musicians, the mapping of which would require a long study of secondary sources, especially in municipal and church archives. Just as several valuable primary music-historical sources were lost or destroyed in the previous centuries, the situation in the case of secondary sources is similar. Music-historical research might not reveal every detail as to the most frequently asked questions regarding the publications and manuscripts of the 16th and 17th centuries, but it is more important that, by mutual efforts of all concerned parties, we should safeguard whatever has been preserved. In many cases, the reconstruction

of the compositions is possible only by putting together the preserved parts by several European institutions, in which modern thematic catalogues of the oeuvre of the musicians of the era and the repertoire of the music collections of church or secular institutions and, last but not least, international music-historical databases, e.g. RISM, are of immense help. If the forgotten compositions become full-fledged works of music, appropriate for performers of early music, or for modern performance practice, it can be regarded as the real success of music-historical research.

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Recepcia tvorby skladateľov pôsobiacich na pražskom dvore Rudolfa II. v dobovom hudobnom repertoári historického Horného Uhorska

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Habsburské dvory, vrátane dvora Rudolfa II. boli po pápežskom dvore najrenomovanejšími miestami pestovania hudby v Európe. Šľachtici tejto dynastie boli veľkými mecénmi umenia. Hudobný repertoár, ktorý znel na ich dvoroch, sa rozširoval vďaka dobovým súborným a autorským hudobným tlačiam i rukopisným odpisom v okruhu mocenských záujmov celej habsburskej monarchie. Dostal sa aj do dobového hudobného repertoára v katolíckych a evanjelických cirkevných spoločenstvách v Uhorsku, resp. na územie dnešného Slovenska. Konkrétne 13 skladieb od Ph. de Monteho a 12 skladieb od J. Regnarta sa zachovali v podobe primárnych prameňov (omše, motetá), z ktorých sú vzácne najmä tie, ktoré tlačou nevyšli a rozširovali sa iba odpismi. Pri dvoch skladbách Ph. de Monteho sa môže jednať o raritné skladby – *Magnificat octavi toni* (6 v.) u bratislavských františkánov v rukopisnej časti konvolútu sign. 26859 (olim 4873); moteto *Domine exaudi...* v rukopise sign. 13997 /56–58 A/ Levočskej zbierky hudobnín (Spiš). Okolnosti vzniku týchto pamiatok sú zatiaľ zahmlené. Na základe použitého papiera a výskytu rukopisných konkordancií vo vzťahu s bratislavskou františkánkou pamiatkou môžu cesty viesť do augsburskej diecézy a do Rakúska (Graz). V prípade spišskej pamiatky (sign. 13997) repertoárová pestrosť a prítomnosť duktov písma viacerých notátorov naznačuje, že rukopis pravdepodobne mohol predtým ako sa ocitol na Spiši vystriedať viacerých majiteľov (hudobníkov) migrujúcich v stredoeurópskom priestore na nemeckom, českom, prípadne na sliezskom území.