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The motets of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli in the Rokycany Music Collection

This work provides a global survey on the Italian music repertoire contained in the music collection that is preserved in the Roman-Catholic parish of Rokycany, a town located near Pilsen in West-Bohemia, with a special regard to the polychoral repertoire of the composers Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli and their influence on Bohemian cori-spezzati compositions. The mutual comparison of the Italian and Bohemian polychoral repertoire comprises also a basic comparation with the most important music collections preserved in the area of the so-called historical Hungarian Lands (today's Slovakia), e.g. the Bardejov [Bartfeld / Bártfa] (BMC) and the Levoča [Leutschau / Löcse] Music Collections.

From a music-historical point of view, the Rokycany Music Collection (RMC) of musical prints and manuscripts stemming from the second half of the 16th to the first third of the 17th centuries represents a very interesting complex of music sources. They were originally the property of the Rokycany litterati brotherhood.

The history of the origin and activities of the Rokycany litterati brotherhood can be followed only in a very fragmentary way.[1]

[1] Cf. Jiří Sehnal, "Cantionál. 1. The Czech kancionál", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* ed. Stanley Sadie, 29 vols. (London–New York: Macmillan, 2001²), vol. 5: 59–62. To the problems of the litterati brotherhoods was devoted the conference, held in 2004

The devastation of many historical sites during the Thirty Years War, followed by fires in 1728 and 1784 that destroyed much of Rokycany and the church, resulted in the loss of a significant part of the archives. Consequently, we can obtain only an indirect picture of how the litterati functioned in the societal organism of the city. It is gained from the modest archive transcriptions of the Rokycany town books, the surviving manuscript collections of vocal polyphony, some surviving imported printed materials, and several printed commemorative Latin poems by one of the scribes of these collections.

The exact date when the litterati brotherhood in Rokycany was founded can be traced to the year 1516.[2] The earliest surviving register of the brotherhood dates from 1612, while the earliest date given on the fly-leaf of a volume in the manuscript collection ROk A V 23 (this marked by a later hand with the inscription Theophrastus) is 1569.

The Rokycany litterati operated through the decanal church of Our Lady of the Snows and, as evidence of religious conditions there shows, this was a Protestant church of the Utraquist faith.

The main task of the brotherhood was to provide liturgical singing during church services. Apart from these duties, the brothers had to take part in church processions, funerals and a variety of celebrations, such as weddings or birthday celebrations of important members of the Town Council.

As the surviving manuscript collections show, the Rokycany litterati flourished from the second half of the 16th century to the 1630s (the last transcription being dated 1638). In light of the hardships caused by the Thirty Years War, this is an indication of the exceptional devotion and energy of the Rokycany litterati, comparable with the famous Hradec Králové choir. At the same time we have to infer that we are talking about the reproduction of

at the University of Pardubice. Cf. *Bratrstva. Světská a církevní sdružení a jejich role v kulturních a společenských strukturách od středověku do moderní doby* [Brotherhoods. Secular and ecclesiastical corporations and their role in the cultural and social structures from the Middle Ages up to the modern times] (Sborník příspěvků z III. pardubického bienále, 29.–30. dubna 2004) [Proceedings from the 3rd Pardubice's Biennial, 29th–30rd April 2004], eds. Tomáš Jiránek, Jiří Kubeš (Pardubice: Univerzita Pardubice, 2005).

[2] Cf. State Regional Archives (SOkA) Rokycany, Archives of the town Rokycany (further quoted as AM Rokycany), 1st department, Books, inv. No. 41, councellor's manual from the years 1578–1581, f. 202 v. The SOkA now belongs to the State Regional Archives in Pilsen.

written compositions. Otherwise, the very existence of the litterati brotherhood would lose its main meaning and justification.

As is confirmed by the author's extracts from the registers together with information about musical expenses obtained from the burgomaster's accounts of 1573–1609 by the previous director of the State Regional Archives (SOkA) in Rokycany, Hana Hrachová, from the point of view of society, the litterati brothers were not isolated individuals. They actively communicated with each other, primarily through the exchange of scores.

In the case of the Rokycany litterati, these ties were specifically with cultural and musical circles — the litterati not excepted — in Prague, Mladá Boleslav, Louny, Rakovnik, Pilsen, Domažlice, Klatovy, Sušice and Prachatice. Although a direct link to the legendary Hradec Králové litterati brotherhood is not confirmed by the brief surviving transcripts of the musicians' expenses from the town books, the large number of correlations with their repertoire of the 16th century indicate that there was some direct contact, even if only for a short time, thanks to the the frequent exchange of schoolmasters and pastors among Bohemian cities and towns.

The copious exchange of sacred compositions of Bohemian and foreign provenance, beyond the context of what were at that time political borders and religious barriers, is well documented in the above-mentioned accounts by a 1577 consignment of compositions from the Bavarian city of Amberg, at that time Lutheran in orientation (although the lords of the domain — the Electors of the Palatinate — enforced Calvinism for the most part) and by a 1585 entry about a student, "*qui carmina in cantionem M. Lutheri dedicavit 15 gr.* [Bohemian groschen]."

The above-mentioned town books of the burgomaster's accounts for Rokycany very eloquently capture how the city patriarchy strived to ensure a musical repertoire which would in the best possible way enrich the litterati archives and motivate them to improve the musical side of the most ceremonial religious services. Documented contacts between Czech composers and those of other nationalities, and the direct commissions of compositions (unfortunately rarely specified) by them merely sketch the favourable atmosphere of the time through which the members of the Town Council — well-travelled and educated in the humanities — achieved the muse of music. Of the earliest mentioned musicians with whom Rokycany citizens were in close contact between 1573–1609, it is worth mentioning the composer of Silesian origin,

Simon Bariona Madelka Oppoliensis (c. second half of the 16th century),[3] settled in not-so-distant catholic Pilsen, for whom there is evidence of several commissions for compositions in 1585, 1586 and 1592; the Bohemian Ondřej Chrysophonus Jevíčský (c. second half of the 16th century),[4] who was engaged in Rokycany as a teacher in the local school from April 1589 till May 1595 and delivered motets and officia to Rokycany in 1576, 1591, 1592, 1593, 1594 and 1598; Šimon Frozínus, also from Bohemia (c. second half of the 16th century),[5] the German organist from Silesia, Johann Cnefelius (c. second half of the 16th century), active in Prague's church of St. Henry,[6] who dedicated some "*partes*" in 1592,[7] and David Thusius (active at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries), who gave the local town councillors "*officium 6 voc. ad Socios super Dixit Joseph fratribus suis*" in 1600 and a motet in 1605.[8]

It seems that an interesting note in the accounts at the end of 1587 "*To the messenger who brought the parts from Handle and then reminded, 20 gr. 4 d.*" conceals the probability that the Rokycany town council and litterati commissioned music to the esteemed Slovenian composer Jakob Handl-Gallus (1550–1591),[9] at that time already established in Prague. The hypothesis is quite acceptable, for the surviving musical repertoire of the Rokycany litterati

[3] Cf. Jitka Snížková, Bohumír Štědroň, "Bariona, Šimon Oppoliensis", in *Československý hudební slovník osob a institucí* [The Czechoslovak music encyclopedia of musicians and institutions], 2 vols. (Praha: Státní hudební vydavatelství, 1963), vol. 1: 49–50.

[4] Cf. Bohumír Štědroň, "Chrysogonus z Jevíčka, Ondřej", in *Československý hudební slovník* 1: 545.

[5] Cf. "Frozinus, Šimon", in *Československý hudební slovník osob a institucí* 1: 349.

[6] Cf. "Knöfel, Johann", in *Československý hudební slovník* 1: 686. See also a study by Josef Šebesta, "Johannes Knefelius und die Literatenbruderschaft bei St. Heinrich als Zentrum der Intellektuellen in Prag um 1590", in *Město a intelektuálové od středověku do roku 1848* [City and the intellectuals from the Middle Ages up to the year 1848], eds. Olga Fejtová, Josef Ledvinka, Jiří Pešek (Praha: Scriptorium, 2008) (Documenta Pragensia 27): 585–597.

[7] Cf. SOkA Rokycany, AM Rokycany, 1st department, Books, inv. No. 19, town burgomaster's accounts from the years 1585–1593, 1592: 570, record from the 7th of March.

[8] Cf. SOkA Rokycany, AM Rokycany, 1st department, Books, inv. No. 20, town burgomaster's accounts from the years 1593–1602, 1600: 592, record from the 26th of August or *ibidem*, inv. No. 21, town burgomaster's accounts from the years 1603–1609, 1605: 232, record from the 20ieth of August.

[9] Cf. Allen B. Skei — Danilo Pokorn, "Handl [Gallus, Händl, Handelius], Jacobus [Jacob, Jakob]", in *The New Grove Dictionary* 10: 814–815. Cf. SOkA Rokycany, AM Rokycany, 1st department, Books, inv. No. 19, town burgomaster's accounts from the years 1585–1593, 1587: 212, record from the 28th of November.

contains a large number of multi-part Latin motet compositions by this composer.[10]

Only scant information is to be gained from surviving sources of non-musical considerations of that time as to practising musicians who were responsible for their own study of musical compositions.

The existence of a single registered *Chorrektor*, the humanist poet Viktorin Cherbiczer (Cherbitzer), can be deciphered from named entries in the first volume of Dlabač's *Künstlerlexikon* of 1815. With intervals, he worked in Rokycany in 1611 and 1612–1615 as administrator of the Rokycany school, then briefly in Mladá Boleslav, Chrudim and Hradec Králové.

Unfortunately, neither the available archive material in the Rokycany State Regional Archives and the National Archives in Prague,[11] nor other sources (the celebrated poems of a humanist nature in a number of early publications, including some by Cherbicer) sufficiently confirm Cherbicer's direct connection with the Rokycany litterati choir at the church of Our Lady of the Snows, and it is questionable what faith can be placed in Dlabač's labelling of the *Chorrektor*. From the registered number of 49 known members of the litterati brotherhood from the years 1574–1663,[12] three village mayors, six primates, sixteen town councillors, eight elders and one town's scribe were identified.

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[10] Up to this time the author of this paper has identified in the RMC twenty 5 parts till 12 parts motets of Jakob Handl-Gallus, written by hand: 3 motets in ROk A V 19 a-b, 16 motets in ROk A V 20 a-e and 1 motet with an added Czech translation in ROk A V 43. As a printed source served a famous collection of Handl's motets, published in Prague by Georgius Nigrinus in the period of the years 1586–1590: "Tomus primus — Quartus tomus musici operis, cantionum quatuor, quinque, sex, octo et plurium vocum". Cf. *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, series A/I/1 – 15, Einzeldrucke vor 1800* (Kassel-Basel-Tours-London-New York: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1971–2003), 15 vols., further quoted as RISM A/I H 1980, H 1981, H 1982 and H 1985: 111. The largest number of the compositions was copied from the fourth volume — 16 ones. See also Petr Daněk, "Nototiskařská činnost Jiřího Nigrina" [The musical prints of Georg Nigrin from the years 1571–1608], *Hudební věda* 24/2 (1987): 121–136.

[11] The previous official title of this institution was *Státní ústřední archiv* [The State Central Archives].

[12] Cf. Hana Hrachová, Kateřina Maýrová, "Intelektuál a hudba. Příspěvek k dějinám hudby v raně novověkých Rokycanech" [The intellectual and music. A contribution to the music history in the early modern Rokycany], in *Město a intelektuálové*: 599–651.

The burgomaster's accounts from 1586–1593 indicate regular quarterly payments to Jiřík the organist, about whose specific organ activities nothing more is known. Even from such fragmentary, incomplete records and thanks to practice, confirmed by a broad comparative study of the organisation of other Bohemian and Moravian litterati brotherhoods from the period before the Battle of the White Mountain, it is possible to reconstruct some sort of assumed model of their musical activities and tasks. We can assume that, beside the musically most able members of its own litterati brotherhood (whose number at the end of the 16th century could vary from 12–20 singers), also the organist, the schoolmaster, his assistants, and even some school pupils (probably those responsible for the highest part, the descant) were involved in the concrete practice of composition.

The economic, social and religious situation of Italy, which played a prominent role in the development of European music style, differed considerably from that of Bohemia. Nevertheless, the surviving Rokycany scores testify to the quality of the sacred polyphonic music culture of a small but prosperous Bohemian town. They also evidence support from the cultural elites of that time — the Latin Humanists, schoolmasters and clergy, the accessibility of foreign printed music, and the exchange of repertoire items, helping the spread and circulation of new compositions. This all enabled original Bohemian work to influence stylistic changes under way in European church music.

As far as scribes are concerned, several dozen alternating hands have been identified at work on the manuscripts in the relevant time span. In this respect the surviving manuscripts show no recognisable order or system. It seems that the sets were created on the whole by chance, by a gradual adding to compositions whose transcription was apparently shared by all the litterati who understood the musical notation of that time.

The four shelf marks which are each demonstrably written by one hand (ROk A V 22 a-b, ROk A V 38 a-e, ROk A V 41 and ROk A V 44) come from different periods of the litterati's activity and represent transcriptions by four different individuals. Thanks to the scribe's initials "*J. K. R.*", one of those can be identified as Jan Klečka of Rokycany, a Rokycany citizen at the turn of the 16th and the 17th centuries (the main scribe of ROk A V 38 a-e, where he more or less regularly transcribed compositions from 1615 to 1638), who also played an active role in the musical records ROk A V 19 a-b, ROk A V 20 a-e, ROk A V 21 a-c, ROk A V 23 a-d and ROk A V 37 a-e.

The Rokycany Music Collection (the original Czech name was Rokycanská hudební sbírka) has no official name.[13] It now belongs to the Roman-Catholic parish in Rokycany and was lately signed by the shelf marks of the owner and provided by the stamp of the Rokycany deanery.

The present owner of the collection (e.g. the Roman-Catholic parish in Rokycany) has not yet catalogued the collection, while the author of this paper is now working on the thematic catalogue of this collection, so the single shelf marks are described in detail, including the repertoire. It is important to stress that none of the in all fifteen sets have survived complete.

Altogether, the Rokycany Music Collection consists of fifteen volumes, ten of them handwritten (ROk A V 19 a-b, ROk A V 20 a-e, ROk A V 21 a-c, ROk A V 23 a-d, ROk A V 37 a-e, ROk A V 38 a-e, ROk A V 41, ROk A V 43, ROk A V 44, and ROk A V 45 a-b), two printed (ROk A V 39 and ROk A V 42 a-b), and three of them consisting of manuscripts and additional printed material (ROk A V 22 a-b, ROk A V 40 and ROk A V 24 a).

They contain approximately 901 sacred compositions: 236 of them in print (including the additional printed materials) and 665 in handwritten part-books. Among this number, mostly motet and mass compositions on Latin texts, one can also find Czech repertory (motets and sacred songs composed on Bohemian texts). From the preserved musical prints we can identify six by certain authors[14]

[13] The author of this paper has firstly started to use the above mentioned title Rokycanská hudební sbírka [Rokycany Music Collection] in her musicological studies, as analogous term to the most important music collections from the 16th and 17th centuries, preserved in the area of the so called historical Hungarian Lands (today's Slovakia), e.g. the Bardejov [Bartfeld / Bártfa] (BMC) and the Levoča [Leutschau / Löcse] Music Collections.

[14] According the alphabet there are preserved the author's prints of Agostino Agazzari in ROk A V 39 (cf. *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales,* further quoted as RISM A/I A 356: 19), Christoph Demantius in ROk A V 22 a (cf. RISM A/I D 1533: 339, Nos. 2, 3, 5 and 7), Orlando di Lasso in ROk A V 22 a and ROk A V 24 a (cf. RISM A/I L 961: 249), Jakob Regnart in ROk A V 24 a (cf. RISM A/I R 731: 126), Franciscus Sale in the same shelf mark (cf. RISM A/I S 394: 309) and Johann Walther in ROk A V 21 a–c (cf. RISM A/I W 176: 170).

from the period 1557 to 1607 and two collections from the years 1564[15] and 1590.[16]

As far as the Italian repertoire that was preserved, it practically forms the first greater circle of sacred music performed in Bohemia in the Rokycany litterati circles during the observed period. The following survey provides a basic idea of the music repertoire which migrated from the Italian to the Bohemian region through Germany.

The indicated number of 37 Italian composers are listed alphabetically as follows: Agostino Agazzari, Felice Anerio, Lodovico Balbi, Giovanni Bassano, Giulio Belli, Carlo Berti, Francesco Bianciardi, Lucio Billi, Geminiano Capilupi, Francesco Carato, Giuliano Cartario, Giovanni Cavaccio, Orazio Colombani, Jacopo Corsini, Francesco Croatti, Girolamo Dorati, Giovanni Battista Dulcino, Andrea Gabrieli, Giovanni Gabrieli, Ruggiero Giovanelli, Francesco Maria Guaitoli, Marco Antonio Ingegneri, Domenico Lauro, Leone Leoni, Silvio Marazzi, Luca Marenzio, Claudio Merulo, Antonio Mortaro, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Silla da Palestrina, Nicolaus Parma, Giovanni Piccioni, Antonio Scandello, Annibale Stabile, Ascanio Trombetti, Michele Varotto and Stefano Venturi.[17]

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[15] Cf. *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, series B/I/1–12, Recueils imprimés XVIe–XVIIe siècles* (München-Duisburg: Henle, 1960–2003), further quoted as RISM B/I 1564[3]: 247.

[16] RISM B/I 1590[5]: 347.

[17] It is quite obvious, due to the leading role of the contemporary Italian musicians on forming of the new stylistic tendencies in the sphere of the sacred music at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries and a numerous diffusion of their compositions in Central Europe through the South German printing houses, that there are many compositions in the RMC, coming from Italy. In statistical terms, these are only surpassed by the Dutch editions, related to the oldest layer of the sacred repertory. Concerning these Franco-Netherlandish sacred works, the author of the present contribution finished in the year 2016 their catalogue in collaboration with prof. Stephanie P. Schlagel from the University of Cincinnati, Ohio and with the above mentioned Mgr. Hana Hrachová, PhD. This catalogue was financially supported only by the Ministery of Culture of the Czech Republic and is accessible in the form of an e-book on the web pages of the National Museum — the Czech Museum of Music. Cf. http://www.nm.cz/Publications/Electronic-Publications/The-Rokycany-Music-Collection-A-Catalogue-of-Franco-Netherlandish-Sacred-Works-Preserved-in-the-Oldest-Layer-of-the-Repertoire.html.

In connection with the Italian musical repertoire we can put the question whether the Italian community (represented mostly by the architect and mason professions), which has been settled in Rokycany already since the end of the 16th century, has been in contact with the local litterati brotherhood. At Rokycany we can illustrate such an activity of the Italian

As to the sacred music of Andrea Gabrieli (1532/33–1585, Venice),[18] the following is preserved:

I. Five parts of five handwritten records of his motets in ROk A V 20 a-e, namely:

1) The 8-part motet *Iubilate Deo omnis terra* for 2 choirs, No. 8; the author is indicated as *Andreas Gabriel* and the number of parts is not listed.[19]

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architect and master-builder Giovanni Battista Salla around the year 1579. Cf. Hana Hrachová and others: *Rokycany. Historie — Kultura — Lidé* [Rokycany. History — Culture — People] (Praha: Nakl. Lidové Noviny, 2011), 318 pp., esp.: 69–70.

For the basic information on the enumerated Italian composers, cf. the corresponding entries in the music encyclopedias *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik begründet von Friedrich Blume*, second, new reworked edition, 26 vols., ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel-Basel-London-New York-Prag: Bärenreiter, and Stuttgart-Weimar: Metzler, 1994–2007), and *The New Grove Dictionary*, 29 vols.

[18] Cf. Iain Fenlon, "Gabrieli. Familie: Andrea (1), sein Neffe Giovanni (2)", in *Die Musik in Geschichte*, *Personenteil* 7: 329–349.

[19] Cf. RISM A/I/3: 135, G 58, 1587, *Concerti di Andrea, et di Gio: Gabrieli* […] *continenti musica di chiesa, madrigali, § altro, per voci, et stromenti musicali, a 6. 7. 8. 10. 12. et 16.* […] libro primo et secondo (Venezia: Angelo Gardano, 1587) — St., No. 31. See also *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales. Series A/II. Musical Manuscripts after 1600,* the database, accessible on the internet address https://opac.rism.info. Cf. RISM ID Nos. 450303349 and 450108162 and the Bardejov Music Collection (further quoted as BMC), Ms. mus. Bártfa 1, No. 183, author not indicated, where are preserved all 8 parts, in addition other 3 complementary parts to ROk A V 20 a-e: Quintus and Sextus (Altus and Bassus) I. chori and Octava pars (Altus) II. chori. Cf. Vienna, the Austrian National Library, ÖNB-ANL, ms. No. 16 703, No. 33, ff. 223v–230r. Cf. ROk A V 20 a, ff. 7r–7v = Bassus II. chori, ROk A V 20 b, ff. 8r–9r = Tenor II. chori, ROk A V 20 c, ff. 9r–10r = Altus II. chori, ROk A V 20 d, ff. 7v–9v = Cantus (Superius) I. chori and ROk A V 20 e, ff. 9r–9v = Septima pars (Tenor) I. chori (with mistakes). As a possible printed model could for the Rokycany's scribe serve the print of *Continuatio cantionum sacrarum quatuor, quinque, sex, septem, octo et plurium vocum* […] (Nuremberg: Catharina Gerlach, 1588), 6 vol. in 8^0 obl., 56 f. (S), 59 f. (A), 58 f. (T), 52 f. (B), 62 f. (5), 48 f. (6), where Gabrieli's motet is listed as No. LIII (RISM B/I/1, 1588^2: 338). Four part books (*Discantus, Tenor, Sexta vox* and *Basis* (sic !) of this South German print are preserved in Prague, in the collections of the Manuscript Department of the National Library, under the shelf mark Be 267–Se 1337. Two parts of this print (*Cantus* and *Bassus*) are preserved also in the collections of the Museum of the Eastern Bohemia in Hradec Králové, under the shelf mark II A 38 a-b (HKm 1266), not listed in RISM B/I/1, 1588^2: 338. See also the critical edition of this motet, in *Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Andrea Gabrieli (1583–1585),* ed. David Bryant (Milano: Ricordi, 1989), vol. 2, No. 31: 45–62. Cf. Harry B. Lincoln, *The Latin Motet: Indexes to Printed Colletions, 1500–1600* (Ottawa: The Institute of Medieval Music, 1993), 835 pp., esp.: 113.

2) The 7-part motet *Domine Deus meus, in te speravi*, No. 22; the author and the number of parts are not indicated.[20]

3) The 8-part motet *Congratulamini mihi omnes, qui diligitis Dominum* for two choirs, No. 27; the author is not indicated.[21]

4) The 8-part motet *Exsurgat Deus et dissipentur inimici eius et fugiant*, No. 34; the author and the number of parts are not indicated.[22]

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[20] Cf. RISM A/I/3: 135, G 58, 1587, *Concerti di Andrea, et di Gio: Gabrieli*, No. 11. See also RISM ID Nos. 450108142 and 450108002. In BMC this motet has not been preserved. Cf. ROk A V 20 a, ff. 17v–18r = Bassus (with little mistakes), ROk A V 20 b, ff. 19v–20v = Tenor, in the part book ROk A V 20 c the record is missing, ROk A V 20 d, ff. 21r–22r = Cantus (Superius) and ROk A V 20 e, ff. 21v–22v = Altus. As the most possible printed model could for the Rokycany's scribe serve the print of *Corollarium cantionum sacrarum quinque, sex, septem, octo, et plurium vocum* (Nuremberg: Catharina Gerlach, 1590), 6 vol. in 8^0 obl., 64 f. (SAT), 56 f. (B), 78 f. (5), 60 f (6), where Gabrieli's motet is listed as No. LXVII, f. OO 3r. There has been preserved one part of *Bassus* of the indicated print in ROk A V 40, so *Corollarium* could be the printed model. Cf. RISM B/I/1, 1590^5: 347. Two parts (*Bassus* and *Cantus*) of this print survived also in the collections of the Museum of the Eastern Bohemia in Hradec Králové, under the shelf mark II A 38 b (HKm 1266), not listed in RISM B/I/1: 347. See also the critical edition of this motet in *Edizione Nazionale delle Opere*, ed. David Bryant, vol. 1, No. 11: 105–114. Cf. Lincoln, *The Latin Motet*: 112.

[21] Cf. RISM A/I/3: 135, G 58, 1587, *Concerti di Andrea, et di Gio: Gabrieli*, No. 24. See also RISM ID Nos. 450108157, 211004139 and 220032537. In BMC this motet not has been preserved. See also ROk A V 20 a, ff. 22r–22v = Bassus I. chori, ROk A V 20 b, ff. 24r–24v = Tenor I. chori, ROk A V 20 c, ff. 23v–24r = Sexta vox (Altus) II. chori, ROk A V 20 d, ff. 26r–26v = Cantus (Superius) I. chori and ROk A V 20 e, ff. 26v–27r = Altus I. chori. As a possible printed model could for the Rokycany's scribe serve the cited print of *Continuatio cantionum sacrarum,* where the Gabrieli's motet is listed as No. XI. Four part books (*Discantus, Tenor, Sexta vox* and *Basis* (sic !) of this South German print are preserved in Prague, in the collections of the Manuscript Department of the National Library, under the shelf mark Be 267–Se 1337. Two parts of this print (*Cantus and Bassus*) are preserved also in the collections of the Museum of the Eastern Bohemia in Hradec Králové, under the shelf mark II A 38 a (HKm 1266), not listed in RISM B/I/1, 1588^2: 338. See also the critical edition of this motet, in *Edizione Nazionale delle Opere*, vol. 1, No. 24: 243–256. Cf. Lincoln, *The Latin Motet*: 112.

[22] Cf. RISM A/I/3: 135, G 58, 1587, *Concerti di Andrea, et di Gio: Gabrieli*, No. 26. See also RISM ID Nos. 220030924, 305000466, 220031704, 450108156, 305000262 and 300042832. In BMC this motet has been preserved in two shelf marks: 1) No. 96, Ms. mus. Bártfa 1, No. 96, author indicated as Ga[brieli] An[drea], preserved completely 8 parts, 3 parts in addition to ROk A V 20 a-e, namely Cantus I. chori, Bassus I. chori and Altus II. chori; 2) No. 1605, Ms. mus. Bártfa 21, No. 17, author not indicated, preserved 4 parts. Cf. ROk A V 20 a, ff. 26r–27r = Bassus II. chori, ROk A V 20 b, ff. 29v–30r = Tenor II. chori, ROk A V 20 c, ff. 28r–28v = Sexta vox (Altus) II. chori, ROk A V 20 d, ff. 30v–31r = Cantus (Superius) I. chori and ROk A V 20 e, ff. 32r–32v = Septima pars (Tenor) I. chori. As a possible printed model could for the Rokycany's scribe serve the cited print of *Continuatio cantionum sacrarum,* where Gabrieli's motet is listed

II. In ROk A V 40, which consists of the *Bassus* part of the print of the already mentioned *Corollarium cantionum sacrarum* from the year 1590 and a written part of 21 compositions,[23] there are published six of Andrea Gabrieli's motets in the former printed source, namely:

1) The 8-part motet *O Crux spendidior cunctis astris*,[24] No. XXI.

2) The 8-part motet *Benedictus Deus Sabaoth*,[25] No. LXV.

3) The 8-part motet *Egredimini et videte filiae Syon* for 2 choirs,[26] No. LXVI.

4) The 7-part motet *Domine Deus meus in te speravi*,[27] No. LXVII.

5) The 6-part motet *O fili Dei succurre miseris*,[28] No. LXVIII.

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as No. XLVII. See also the critical edition of this motet in *Edizione Nazionale delle Opere*, vol. 1, No. 26: 269–286. Cf. Lincoln, *The Latin Motet*: 113.

[23] From this number 12 of them are written by the Rokycany compatriot and Latin humanist Bartoloměj Cirrinus. Cf. "Cirrinus (Čirýn), Bartoloměj" (1574, Rokycany — [died inter 1655 and 1660, ibidem ?]), in *Rukověť humanistického básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě (Enchiridion renatae poesis in Bohemia et Moravia cultae),* 6 vols., eds. Antonín Truhlář, Karel Hrdina, Josef Hejnic and Jan Martínek, vol. 1 (Praha: Academia, 1966): 362–365. See the inscription in the written part, f. 5r: "*Sequuntur/CANTILENAE SACRAE Ali-/quot Melodiis suavissimis ex 8 ad 6 voces/aequales redactis subjunctae et descriptae/in usum/Amplissimi CHORI Rocheczanensis/ studio et opera/Barptolomaei Cirrini Civis Patricii ibidem/Anno/TV Rochesana sona seMper In aXe Deo*". [chronostich gives the date 1616]. For the information on Cirrinus's last years of his life I am thankful to Hana Hrachová.

[24] Cf. RISM A/I/3: 135, G 58, 1587, *Concerti di Andrea, et di Gio: Gabrieli*, No. 21. See also RISM B/I/1, 1587[16]: 337 and RISM ID Nos. 450108160, 211004140 and 450107956. In BMC this motet has not been preserved. Cf. ROk A V 40, the cited print of *Corollarium cantionum sacrarum*, No. XXI, ff. EE 2r-EE 2v = Bassus. See also the critical edition of this motet, in *Edizione Nazionale delle Opere*, vol. 2, No. 21: 11–30. Cf. Lincoln, *The Latin Motet*: 114.

[25] Cf. RISM A/I/3: 135, G 58, 1587, *Concerti di Andrea, et di Gio: Gabrieli*, No. 20. See also RISM B/I/1, 1587[16]: 337 and RISM ID Nos. 450108151, 450108000, 300042828 and 211004023. In BMC this motet has not been preserved. Cf. ROK A V 40, the cited print of *Corollarium cantionum sacrarum*, No. LXV, ff. OO 1v-OO 2r = Bassus. See also the critical edition of this motet in *Edizione Nazionale delle Opere*, vol. 1, No. 20: 181–198. Cf. Lincoln, *The Latin Motet*: 111.

[26] Cf. RISM A/I/3: 135, G 58, 1587, *Concerti di Andrea, et di Gio: Gabrieli*, No. 22. See also RISM B/I/1, 1587[16]: 337 and RISM ID Nos. 451018489, 850037230, 300042829, 230001720 and 450108001. In BMC this motet has not been preserved. Cf. ROk A V 40, the cited print of *Corollarium cantionum sacrarum* , No. LXVI, f. OO 2v = Bassus I. chori. See also the critical edition of this motet, in *Edizione Nazionale delle Opere*, vol. 1, No. 22: 215–226. Cf. Lincoln, *The Latin Motet*: 112.

[27] Cf. the footnote No. 20.

[28] Cf. RISM A/I/3: 135, G 58, 1587, *Concerti di Andrea, et di Gio: Gabrieli*, No. 1, where this motet was published with the original text *Sancta Maria succurre miseris*. See also RISM B/I/1, 1587[16]: 337. The text of A. Gabrieli's motet was then adapted to the Protestant practice

6) The 6-part motet *O gloriose Domine, excelse super Sydera*,[29] No. LXIX.

As far as the sacred music of Giovanni Gabrieli (c 1554/1557, Venice ?–1612, Venice)[30] is concerned, the RMC has only five (uncompletely) preserved handwritten parts of the 8-part motet in the shelf mark ROk A V 20 a-e: namely *Iubilate Deo omnis terra, servite Domino in laetitia* for two choirs,[31]

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and firstly published under the text *O fili Dei succurre miseris* in the cited print of the *Corollarium,* cf. ROk A V 40, No. LXVIII, f. OO 3v = Bassus. See also RISM ID Nos. 806044720 and 450108003. In BMC this motet has not been preserved. See also the critical edition of this motet in *Edizione Nazionale delle Opere*, vol. 1, No. 1: 31–38. Cf. Lincoln, *The Latin Motet*: 114.

[29] Cf. RISM A/I/3: 135, G 58, 1587, *Concerti di Andrea, et di Gio: Gabrieli*, No. 6, where this motet was published with the original text *O gloriosa Domina, excelsa super Sydera*. See also RISM B/I/1, 1587[16]: 337. The text of this A. Gabrieli's motet was then also adapted to the Protestant practice and firstly published under the text *O gloriose Domine, excelse super Sydera* in the cited print of the *Corollarium*, cf. the shelf mark ROk A V 40, No. LXIX, f. OO 4r = Bassus, where the Czech free translation has been underlied by hand under the first line of the printed text: "*Bože tě za Otce mame, we gmenu Krysta wolame*" ["*We take You as a Father, God and we cry in the name of Christ*"]. See also RISM ID Nos. 450108004 and 450108137. In BMC this motet has not been preserved. See also the critical edition of this motet in *Edizione Nazionale delle Opere*, vol. 1, No. 6: 71–78. Cf. Lincoln, *The Latin Motet*: 114–115.

[30] Cf. Iain Fenlon, "Gabrieli. Familie: Andrea (1), sein Neffe Giovanni (2)", in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, *Personenteil* 7, Fra–Gre: 349–369.

[31] Cf. RISM A/I/3: 137, G 86, 1597, *Sacrae symphoniae / Ioannis Gabrielii / Sereniss. Reip. Venetiar. Organistae / In Ecclesia Divi Marci / Senis, 7, 8, 10, 12, 14, 15, et 16, Tam / vocibus, Quam Instrumentis / Editio Nova. / Cum Privilegio / (Marc. tip.) / Venetiis, apud Angelum Gardanum / M. D. XCVII*: 12–13 [No. 11]. See also RISM B/I/1, 1598[2], No. LX: 379, 1601[2], No. LX.: 389, 1613[1], No. LXI: 440 and 1617[24], section I., No. XXXVIII: 461. See also Richard Charteris, *Giovanni Gabrieli (ca. 1555–1612). A Thematic Catalogue of his Music with a Guide to the Source Materials and Translations of his Vocal Texts* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1996) (Thematic Catalogue 20), 597 pp., esp.: 32–35, where is listed in details a brief survey of the printed and manuscript sources, modern editions, indexes, text sources and a commentary. The indicated G. Gabrieli's motet is listed here under the shelf mark C 16. Ms. 5 parts of this motet from RMC are not mentioned there in the list of the Manuscript Sources: 32. Cf. ROk A V 20 a, ff. 6v–7r = Bassus II. chori, ROK A V 20 b, ff. 7r–8r = Tenor I. chori, ROk A V 20 c, ff. 8r–9r = Quintus I. chori, ROk A V 20 d, ff. 6v–7v = Altus I. chori, ROk A V 20 e, ff. 8r–8v = Septima vox (Superius, Cantus) II. chori. See also RISM ID Nos. 450111616, 450108186, 806150600, 806150656 and 300042759.

In BMC this motet has been preserved in 1 shelf mark, cf. No. 1595, Ms. Mus. Bártfa 21, No. 7, f. 4r, where are preserved 4 parts, 2 complementary ones in addition to ROk A V 20 a-e, Sextus (Tenor) II. chori and Octavus (Altus) II. chori. See also the critical edition of this motet in Giovanni Gabrieli, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, *Motetta. Concerti* (1587), *Sacrae Symphoniae* (1597), ed. Denis Arnold (Roma: American Institute of Musicology, 1957) (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 12), V + 181 pp., motet not numbered, cf. pp. 105–113. Cf. Lincoln, *The Latin Motet:* 117. As a possible

No. 7 (in ROk A V 20 d indicated as No. 8, and wrongly attributed to *Andre: Gabriel*, first published in 1597 in the famous collection under the title *Sacrae symphoniae*.[32]

II. In ROk A V 40, the *Bassus* part of the already mentioned print of *Corollarium cantionum sacrarum* from the year 1590 includes one motet by Giovanni Gabrieli: the 10-part motet *Deus, Deus meus ad te de luce vigilo* for 2 choirs,[33] No. LXIV.

Comparing all the accessible records of both Gabrielis sacred compositions already released either in the RISM lists[34] or in the already mentioned Charteris's *Thematic Catalogue of the Works of Giovanni Gabrieli*,[35] we will

printed source for the Rokycany's scribe could most probably serve either the print *Sacrae symphoniae, diversorum excellentissimorum authorum* (Nuremberg: P. Kauffmann, 1598) or its reedition, cf. RISM B/I/1, 1598[2]: 379 and 1601[2]: 389. The latter print has been preserved in the collections of the Musical Department of the National Library in Prague, only *Quinta vox* survived, under the shelf mark Tres B 21 — H 11 489, in the collection of 4 prints from the years 1600–1607, not mentioned in RISM B/I/1: 389 and 2 part-books of the same print, *Cantus* and *Quinta pars* are preserved in the collections of the Music-Historical Department of the Czech Museum of Music, under the shelf mark VII E 9. On this source an detailed musicological study has been recently published by a colleague of mine, Dagmar Štefancová, "Hlasové knihy z latinské jáchymovské školy", ["Part-Books from the Latin Jáchymov-Joachimsthal's School"], in *Poohří 3, Ohře — spojnice lidí a osudů* [*Poohří 3, Oder* — Connecting line of the people and the fates], volume from the conference, held in Kadaň from the 4th until the 5th of October 2012, ed. Jana Šídlová (Kadaň: Kulturní zařízení Kadaň, 2013): 116–129.

[32] Cf. footnote 31.

[33] Cf. RISM A/I/3: 136–137, G 85, 1587, *Concerti di Andrea, et di Gio: Gabrieli*, No. 37. See also RISM B/I/1, 1587[16]: 337. See also Charteris, *Giovanni Gabrieli*: 6–9, C 4, where are introduced other printed and manuscript sources; Rokycany's printed part-book of the *Corollarium* is not mentioned here, pp. 6–7. See also RISM ID Nos. 301009097, 450303346, 456009016, 453005618, 452521462, 700006172, 450108168, 450108169, 605000314 and 450107999. In BMC this motet has not been preserved. Cf. ROk A V 40, *Corollarium cantionum sacrarum*, No. LIV, in index listed as the work of Andrea Gabrieli, by the own printed record on f. NN4v it is correctly marked as Giovanni Gabrieli, part indicated as *Bassus primi chori* and on f. OO1r, part indicated as *Primus Chorus. Bassus* = 9. vox of the first choir, according the below mentioned critical edition of this motet. Cf. *Edizione Nazionale delle Opere*, vol. 2, No. 37: 135–150. See also Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae (CMM 12), Giovanni Gabrieli 1: 18–33 and Lincoln, *The Latin Motet*: 116. The indicated surveys of the printed and manuscript sources in Charteris's catalogue and lists of both RISMs unambiguously confirm the great popularity and circulation of this composition by Giovanni Gabrieli.

[34] They concern the lists of RISM A/I, B/I, and *Music Manuscripts after 1600,* now available on the internet. The below discussed polychoral motet's repertory on Czech texts is not dealt with in any of these reference books.

[35] Cf. footnotes 31 and 33.

notice that, thanks to the publishing houses of Catharina Gerlach and Paul Kauffmann in Nuremberg, Central Europe was the most frequented path for the diffusion of Gabrielis' music. Although none of the original Gabrieli-authored Venetian prints of Angelo Gardano are preserved in Rokycany,[36] the local burgomaster's records confirm the contact of the councellors with the Venetian ambassador, who took a night's lodging in Rokycany in the year 1599[37] and a testament (the so-called *kšaft*) of the *cantor* Jiřík Žampach Roudnický from the year 1598 confirms the gift of the Venetian print to the members of the litterati brotherhood.[38]

In this context there should be mentioned seven not completely preserved anonymous polychoral motets with Czech texts[39] and one motet at-

[36] The only known author's print of Giovanni Gabrieli's compositions in Bohemia can be illustrated by one example of the *Basso per l' organo* part of his posthumous instrumental ensemble works *Canzoni e Sonate del Signor Giovanni Gabrieli*, Stampa del instrumental ensemble works *Canzoni e Sonate del Signor Giovanni Gabrieli* (Venezia: Stampa del Gardano appresso Bartholomeo Magni, 1615), cf. RISM A/I G 88 and Charteris, *Giovanni Gabrieli (ca. 1555–1612)*: 262–282. It is preserved in the collection of Italian prints, now preserved in the Musical Department of the National Library in Prague, under the shelf mark 11 B 41 (59 E 10 109 — Tres B 649). Its original owner was the rich noble-man Franciscus Godefridus Troilus á Lesoth (lived at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries). Cf. Gracian Černušák, "Troilus á Lesoth Franciscus Godefridus", in *Československý hudební slovník* 2: 792.

[37] Cf. SOkA, AM Rokycany, the Register of Incomes from the years 1599–1600, f. 130. Cf. Petros Cironis, "Účty města Rokycan v letech 1599–1600" [Rokycany accounts from the years 1599–1600], *Minulostí Rokycanska* 7 (April 1997): 3–21, esp.: 12.

[38] Cf. SOkA, AM Rokycany, 2nd department, Books, inv. No. 84, Testaments' Book from the years 1517–1828, f. 107v.

[39] Cf. especially a series of articles of the Czech music historian, dr. Emilián Trolda (1871–1949), published in the journal *Cyril*:

1) Emilián Trolda, "Kapitoly o české mensurální hudbě I.-IV." [On Bohemian mensural music I–IV], *Cyril* 59/1–2, 3–4, 5–6, 7–8 (1933): 4–7, 27–31, 52–56, 74–78.

2) Id., "Česká církevní hudba v období generálbasu I." [Bohemian sacred music in the figured-bass period 1], *Cyril* 60/5–6 (1934): 49–52 and "Česká církevní hudba v období generálbasovém II. (1639–1648)" [Bohemian sacred music in the figured-bass period 2 (1639–1648)], *Cyril* 60/7–8 (1934): 75–78.

3) Id., "Česká církevní hudba v období generalbasovém III. (Adam Michna)" [Bohemian sacred music in the figured-bass period 3 (Adam Michna)], *Cyril* 60/9–10 (1934): 103–110. The personality and importance of the composer Adam Michna of Otradovice is dealt with by the major part of the journal *Hudební věda* 38/1–2 (2001).

4) Id., "Česká církevní hudba v období generálbasovém IV. Vrstevníci Michnovi" [Bohemian sacred music in the figured-bass period 4. Adam Michna's contemporaries], *Cyril* 61/1–2 (1935): 2–7.

tributed to three different authors on the text *Wesel se této chvíle lidské pokolení* [Be joyful the human race at this moment-in this time],[40] all from ROk A V 20 a-e.

5) Id., "Česká církevní hudba v období generálbasovém. Skladatelé z konce XVII. století" [Bohemian sacred music in the figured-bass period 5. The composers from the end of the 17th century], *Cyril* 61/3–4 (1935): 25–31.

6) Id., "Česká církevní hudba v období generalbasovém. VI. Hudba u sv. Víta" [Bohemian sacred music in the figured-bass period 6. Music in St. Vitus' Cathedral], *Cyril* 61/5–6 (1935): 56–59.

7) Id., "Česká církevní hudba v období generalbasovém. VII. Mikuláš František Xaver Wentzeli" [Bohemian sacred music in the figured-bass period 7. Mikuláš František Xaver Wentzeli], *Cyril* 61/7–8 (1935): 73–78.

8) Id., "Česká církevní hudba v období generalbasovém. VIII. Závěr." [Bohemian sacred music in the figured-bass period 8. Conclusion], *Cyril* 61/9–10 (1935): 98–99.

9) Cf. the Trolda's estate, in the Music History Department of the Czech Museum of Music, Prague. Cf. Anna Chadová, *Trolda Emilián. Estate,* Prague, National Museum — Museum of Czech Music, Music Archives, List of collections, vol. 199, 1980, 155 pp.

10) Cf. Alexander Buchner, "Hudební sbírka Emiliána Troldy" [Emilián Trolda's music collection], in *Sborník Národního musea v Praze — Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae, sv. VIII-A — Historický č. 1 — Volumen VIII-A*, *Historical. No. 1* (Praha: Artemis, 1954), 132 pp.

11) The personality and work of Emilián Trolda as a music historian is dealt with in the journal *Hudební věda* 37/3–4 (2000), 376 pp.

[40] In the RMC it is indicated as a composition of Paulus Spongopaeus Gistebnicenus (1560–1619), by the initials P. S. G. in ROk A V 20 c. Cf. further ROk A V 20 a-e, ff. 31v–32v, 35v–36r, 33v–34r, 36r–37r and 37r–38v, in Klatovy's two part books (*Tenor* and *Bassus* — (1–2 K), cf. No. [30]–26, ff. 119r–120r/128v–129v) as a composition of Joannes Stephanides Pelrzi[movinus] (died 1592 in Rakovník), and in IV H 64 (the so called "*Kancionálek český*" from Jaromierz ?, two part books of *Tenor* and *Bassus*), held in the Library of the National Museum in Prague as a composition of Simon Philophrosinus Novodomensis (lived in the second half of the 16th century). Cf. the latter shelf mark, No. [45]–42, ff. 33r-33v/29v. Cf. Jitka Snížková — Gracian Černušák, "Spongopeus, Pavel Jistebnický", in *Československý hudební slovník* 2: 581, Id., "Stefanides, Jan Pelhřimovský", in *Československý hudební slovník* 2: 611. See also Dana Soušková, *Pavel Spongopaeus Jistebnický. Příspěvek k poznání života a tvorby* [Pavel Spongopaeus Jistebnický. Contribution to the knowledge of his life and works] (PhD. diss., Charles University, Prague, 1984), 117 pp. + 154 pp. of Appendix. The mentioned 2 preserved parts in 1–2 K (KLm — RK 103 and 102) are Tenor II. chori (in the 4th transposition below to ROk A V 20 b) and Bassus I. chori (a complementary part to ROk A V 20 a), in IV H 64 there are written 2 complementary (supplementary) voices of the composition No. 42 from ROk A V 20 a–e, also in transposition. Cf. Soušková, *Pavel Spongopaeus Jistebnický* (Hradec Králové-Ústí nad Orlicí: Oftis, 2013), 126 pp., esp.: 103–104.

As to these anonymously recorded compositions, there is evidence of some orders of the probable cori-spezzati repertoire in the Rokycany burgomaster's accounts and in the litterati's *registra*, but they cannot be connected directly with any specific composition.[41]

1) The 8-part motet *Již starý rok od nás pryč jde* [The old year is parting from us], No. 37.[42]

2) The 8-part motet with I. pars: [*Y*]*akž Buh raczi, tak ya chcy též* [As is the God's will, so I will do];

II. pars: [*Y*]*akž Buh raczi, necht ma wěcz gde* [As is the God's will, let my wish go], No. 73.[43]

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[41] For example in the indicated litterati's *registra* from the years 1612–1618 there is a record of "Jan Valentin Kutnohorský — composer who obtained 2 five dozens and 10 gr.[oschen] for 4 motets 8 v.[ocum] and 2 motets 12 v.[ocum] together with theirs messenger". It could be a person, known under the name Jan Assulinus Kutnohorský and active in the years 1616–1618 in Kutná Hora and from the year 1619 in Zdice (not far from Rokycany) as a priest. After the battle of the White Mountain he departed to Zittau and in 1631 he returned back to Prague with the Saxon troops. Cf. "Assulinus (Assula), Jan", in *Rukověť humanistického básnictví* 1, A–C: 109–110. See also SOkA Rokycany, shelf mark A K 248, A K 38: the *registra* are represented only by a few, loose folios. As far as the evidence of the active Czech (Bohemian) composers in the 16th century is concerned, cf. "Jan Trojan Turnovský (ca 1550–1606). Opera Musica", ed. Martin Horyna (České Budějovice: Jihočeská univerzita v Českých Budějovicích, 2002) (Monumenta Musicae Antiquae Bohemiae Meridionalis 2): VII-XX, Introduction; see esp. footnote 20, where are listed some new names). See also Martin Horyna, "Česká reformace a hudba. Studie o bohoslužebném zpěvu českých nekatolických církví v období 1420–1620" [Czech reformation and music. Study on the liturgical chant of the Bohemian protestant churches in the period 1420–1620], *Hudební věda* 48/1 (2011): 5–40.

[42] Cf. footnote 39, Trolda, *Kapitoly o české mensurální hudbě I.*: 54. Although he has given a hypothesis that this composition was composed by a foreign author on a original German text *Das alte Jahr vergangen ist* or *Das alte Jahr ist nun vergahn*, most probably set to music for 8 parts by Sethus Calvisius in 1603, the author of this paper could not verify his opinion. Nevertheless a comparison with the BMC indicates that the original text would be a German one, for this composition has been preserved there in three shelf marks (Nos. 143, 911 and 2232) with the text *Das alte Jahr vergangen ist*, also as an Anonymous work. In the BMC collection, shelf mark Mus. mus. Bártfa 1, No. 143 it is preserved completely, in Ms. mus. Bártfa 16, Koll. 4, No. 214 — 2 parts and in Ms. mus. Bártfa 26, No. 2232, f. 33v — as a lute tablature. There are preserved 5 parts in ROk A V 20 a-e (three parts of the I. choir: Vagans, Tenor and Bassus and two parts of the II. choir: Septima vox and Altus). Cf. ROk A V 20 a-e, ff. 28v–29v, 32v–33r, 30v–31r, 33r–33v and 35r–35v.

[43] Cf. ROk A V 20 a-e, ff. 52r–54r, 58r–60r, 56r–58r, 60r–62v and 60v–62v.

3) The 8-part motet *Chwaltež Pána národové* [Praise the Lord the nations], No. 82.[44] It bears a Czech text in verse, freely paraphrasing the 117th Psalm *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes* and represents an interesting transmittional form, thus combining elements of the motet (division into sections of different length) and a strophic structure. Both choirs were most probably set to music on the same volume level, e.g. S, A, T, B.

1) The 8-part motet with the prima pars: [*W*]*ssemohaucy Wěczny Bože, w sameho tie dauffam* [Almighty eternal God, I am trusting in you alone] and the secunda pars: *Y kdož bude moczy twe mocnosti odeprziti* [Who would dare to refuse your might], No. 92.[45] It is composed also on the non-liturgical text, written in verse and using the so-called *ich* form. It has a homophonous chordal structure, which emerges from the text's declamation. The tenor part of the second choir freely quotes a single melody of the middle-ages latin cantio *Pulcherrima rosa*, which in the 16th century was usually connected with the Czech text of the same title as this motet had.[46]

2) The 8-parts motet [*K*]*ryste wykupiteli, tebe twa przemila mati když porodila* [Christ the redeemer, when your gentle mother has given birth to you], No. 93.[47] Its text has a free prosaic structure and is freely related to the Feast of the Lord's Birth in the Christmas time, being reminiscent of the lullaby. The timbre's volume of both choirs was in this case more differentiated and divided into one higher and one lower choir.

3) The 8-part motet [*W*]*sselike swieta stworzeni, alleluya* [Manifold creatures of the world, alleluya], No. 94.[48] The text model of this motet is in

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[44] Cf. ROk A 20, ff. 60r–60v, 67r–67v, 64v–65r, 69v–70r and 69v–70r. One part of the same voice (Tenor I. chori) has been preserved also in V F 6, as No. 23, ff. 28v–29r = ROk A V 20 b, No. 82, ff. 67r–67v.

The former shelf mark is held in the collections of the Library of the National Museum in Prague and has an unknown provenance (it is most probably coming from the property of some litterati brotherhood in Prague ?). The written parts have not an unified position — ranging from Discantus, Altus, Tenor to Bassus. The preserved volume contains 73 anonymous, often polychoral compositions with the Czech and Latin texts: Below the Latin texts there are added their Czech translations and vice-versa. A more detailed examination of its repertory should be done, regarding the possible Latin import from the available foreign prints and the relation between the Latin and Czech declamation.

[45] Cf. ROk A V 20, ff. 69v–72r, 78r–80r, 75r–77r, 82r–84v and 81v–83v.

[46] Cf. for example the *Daniel Karlsperk's kancionál* from the year 1620: 409.

[47] Cf. ROk A V 20, ff. 72r, 80v, 77r–77v, 84v–85r and 83v–84r.

[48] Cf. ROk A V 20, ff. 72v–73r, 80v–81v, 77v–78v, 85r–85v and 84r–85r.

verse, non liturgical — as was the case with Nos. 37 and 82, as well. From the point of view of its range, it was most probably composed with the same structure of both choirs, e.g. S, A, T, B, as in No. 82.

4) The 8-part motet [*W*] *mieste Bethleme zrozene* [In the town of Bethlehem there was born], No. 96.[49] The Czech text submitted to the notes reveals that this composition was sung at Christmas time.[50]

5) The 8-part motet *Wesel se této chvíle lidské pokolení* [Be joyful the human race at this moment — in this time], No. 42.[51]

The following part of this paper briefly mentions the results of the analysis of a sample of the polychoral compositions by the foremost European composers of the time compared with the anonymous Bohemian works of the same period surviving in the Rokycany Music Collection.

The analysis covered six anonymous polychoral works on Czech texts, compared to single cori-spezzati compositions by Andrea Gabrieli, Giovanni Gabrieli, Ruggiero Giovanelli, Christian Erbach, Claudio Merulo and Hans Leo Hassler.[52]

The analysis of the polychoral works of foreign and Bohemian provenance led to the following results:

1) The range of the choirs in the Bohemian works is smaller.

2) Preference is given to homophonic settings. The stronger accent on the verticals is linked with the change of the melodic and thematic relations between the parts — as in the foreign works; the Bohemian motets show a liking for repeated motives of the same notes and key.

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[49] Cf. ROk A V 20, ff. 74r–74v, 82v–83r, 79v–80r, 86v–87v and 86r–86v.

[50] In his "Kapitoly o české mensurální hudbě III." [On Bohemian mensural music 3]: 55, Trolda has expressed a suspicion that this motet was originally composed on the Latin text *Inter natos mulierum* and that its author could have been a foreigner. His hypothesis could not be confirmed until the present time — in any case the preserved one-part Latin sequence on this text has not revealed any similarity in melody and rhythm with any of the five parts of the polychoral motet. Cf. Jaromír Černý, "Soupis hudebních rukopisů muzea v Hradci Králové" [List of the musical manuscripts of the museum at Hradec Králové], *Miscellanea Musicologica* 19 (1966): 91 and Dobroslav Orel, *Kancionál Franusův* [The Franus Kancionál], *Knihovna časopisu Cyrill* 10 (1922): 111, where the musical transcription of this sequence has been published.

[51] Cf. footnote 40.

[52] Cf. ROk A V 20, Nos. 37, 73, 82, 92, 93, 94, 96, 42 and Nos. 8, 7, 5, 13, 23 and 44.

3) Concerning the new tendency towards the major-minor tonal system, the Bohemian compositions are more conservative and keep more to the earlier modal tonality.

4) Respect for the language structure while setting the texts is common for European and Bohemian composers — here, and in the compositional structural changes the style development is most pronounced.

5) The compositions show a tendency towards symmetrical forms, where the parts of the work repeat; in most cases, however, the parts are simply added, or the repetition is short and incomplete. Sacred music to be used for the town's occasions (official secular works were much less frequent), was, it seems, in Bohemia of a rather utilitarian character.

Also, if compared with Venice or Rome, music performances were *semi-professional* — depending on the conditions of cultural development offered by a rather small, but prosperous town. Town music culture was represented here only by sacred music, in a way which might not have stimulated the Bohemian composers sufficiently to write works of high artistic value. It is necessary to take into account the possibility of smaller, limited talents.

The surviving repertoire, however, reveals that, in comparison with other Bohemian towns (such as Sedlčany, in Central Bohemia), the town music culture in Rokycany was on a high level, and, like Prague, kept in touch with European music life in the performance of the sacred music repertoire.

The analysis shows that in general, the Bohemian compositions have the same features as those of Europe — differing in the case of the number and quality of use of the cori-spezzati technique.

The Bohemian polychoral works are approximately on the level of the early works by Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli — as in their polychoral motets from their *Concerti* and *Sacrae Symphoniae* from 1587 and 1597. They demonstrate less compositional skill, however, depending on the composers' abilities.

The volumes of vocal polyphonic music in the Rokycany litterati testify to the importance and place of such brotherhoods in the development of town music culture in the Bohemian lands of the time. They are of special interest, because the number and character of their repertoire show the links to the music development of other European countries.

The final part of this paper is devoted to comparing the RMC in Bohemia and the two music collections from Bardejov [Bartfeld / Bártfa] and Levoča [Leutschau / Löcse].[53]

The two most important surviving music collections from the 16th and 17th centuries in the territory of the historic Hungarian Lands are the Bardejov (BMC) and Levoča (LMC) collections. While they originated from the local German evangelical communities, the Rokycany litterati brotherhood, from the late 16th century up to the 1630s, came mainly from the Czech, humanistically educated bourgeoisie.

In their denomination, the members of the Rokycany litterati brotherhood were Old Utraquist Protestants. In their religion, they became closer to their Upper Hungarian counterparts from the Spiš and Šariš regions after 1574, when Neo-Utraquists may also have been found in Rokycany. From 1619, it is stated in the quoted literature that Rokycany was under the influence of the Calvinist Church.[54]

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[53] Cf. Kateřina Maýrová, "Hudební repertoár tzv. Rokycanské hudební sbírky a jeho srovnání s Bardějovskou a Levočskou sbírkou hudebnin. Shody a rozdíly v migraci duchovní hudby období renesance a raného baroka v Čechách a na území tzv. historického Uherska ve 2. polovině XVI. a první třetině XVII. století" [Music repertoire of the so called Rokycany Music Collection (RMC) and its comparison with the Bartfa (BMC) and Levoča — Letschau (LMC) music collections]. The correspondences and differences in the migration of the sacred music from the Renaissance and the early Baroque period in Bohemia and in the historic Hungarians lands in the second half of the 16th and the first third of the 17th centuries], *Musicologica Istropolitana* 10–11 (2012–2013): 275–317. Cf. Jana Kalinayová-Bartová, "Polychoral Music in Seventeenth-Century Slovakia: Italian Models and Local Variants", in *La Musica policorale in Italia e nell'Europa centro-orientale fra Cinque e Seicento* [Polychoral music in Italy and in central-eastern Europe at the turn of the seventeenth century], eds. Aleksandra Patalas, Marina Toffetti (Venezia: Edizioni Fondazione Levi, 2012), 439 pp., esp.: 377–397, where is mentioned the basic literature on the topic of the polychoral repertoire, preserved in today's Slovakia, including the BMC and LMC collections. The author is given a brief characterisation of this kind of *cori-spezzati* music from this area and divides it into 7 groups, cf. p. 384. The mutual comparation of the polychoral sacred compositions in the RMC, BMC and LMC collections gives the result, showing that in the RMC are preserved polychoral motets and masses, belonging to the first 4 groups, cf. ibid.: 384. See also Robert Á. Murányi, *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Musiksammlung von Bartfeld (Bártfa)* [The thematic catalogue of the Bártfa music collection] (Bonn: Schroeder, 1991) (Deutsche Musik im Osten 2).

[54] Cf. Hrachová and others, *Rokycany*: 74.

Comparing the BMC and LMC collections with the RMC collection, there are two important differences: the minimal number of organ tablatures in RMC, where there is just one fragment of a new German tablature from the beginning of the 17th century, surviving as a front and back end paper (ROk A V 44),[55] and, especially, the strictly sacred repertoire. With one exception, RMC does not contain any secular music.

In comparison with BMC and LMC, the RMC repertoire consists of relatively early music, plus new polychoral concertante music up to c. 1640. Apart from foreign composers, whose works were either bought printed, or copied for the Rokycany litterati brotherhood library from contemporary printed versions, there are also concertante Masses (ROk A V 45 a-e) by Bohemian composers about whom little is known (Joannes Cyrillus, Jacobus Christophorus Rybnický, Joannes Kozelský). They testify to the migration of especially Italian and German late Renaissance and early Baroque music further to the European East.

The repertoire common to all three collections compared here — RMC, BMC and LMC — represents all three basic compositional strands of the time: the earliest (music of the 16th century Low Countries composers and their followers); the middle (reflecting the late 16th century repertoire, including Jakob Handl-Gallus, Orlando di Lasso, Jacob Regnart, and others); and the last and most extensive, which includes works by composers living in the first three decades of the 17th century.

There are no works by composers from the Siebengebuerge region, or today's Slovakia in the RMC. Music was obviously imported via the main Nuremberg trade and diplomatic road, leading from Prague across the land borders to Bavaria. The importance of this road is also illustrated by the number of items surviving in the Rokycany collection (three of eight) that were printed in Nuremberg. Two contemporary records listed in the Rokycany town books testify to the litterati brotherhood having been in touch with their colleagues in Moravia and to their contacts having extended to North-East

[55] On the tablature repertoire from the Levoča / Leutschau / Löcse music collection see Marta Hulková, "Central European Connections of Six Manuscript Organ Tablature Books of the Reformation Era from the Region of Zips (Szepes, Spiš)", *Studia Musicologica* 56/1 (2015): 3–37.

Moravia,[56] as well as to the Silesian town of Těšín (Teschen) at the time of Emperor Rudolf II. Even if their number is small, these records demonstrate that the Rokycany litterati brotherhood did not restrict their social contacts to the Bohemian brotherhoods closest to them. It is possible to assume that they also kept in touch with Wittemberg or Amberg in Germany, where the important representatives of the litterati brotherhood studied or built up their cultural links. In this respect, the Bardejov and Levoča music communities were socially more active. During the Thirty Years' War, however, Rokycany had no opportunity for an undisturbed and rich cultural development.

Summary

The Rokycany Music Collection (RMC) consists of altogether 15 items: 10 mss., 2 printed items and 3 mss. with additional printed scores attached to them. There are 901 handwritten compositions, and 236 contemporary printed items (including additional scores). 665 compositions survived in the form of part-books. Twenty-one per cent of the repertoire consists of polychoral masses and motets.
From the preserved musical prints we can identify six individual collections from the period 1557 until 1607 and two anthologies from the years 1564 and 1590.

As far as the sacred music of Andrea Gabrieli, there are preserved:

I. Five parts of 4 handwritten records of his motets in ROk A V 20a-e, firstly published in Venice in the year 1587 in the print of *Concerti*.

II. In ROk A V 40, which consists of the *Bassus* part of the print of *Corollarium cantionum sacrarum* from the year 1590 and a handwritten part of 21 compositions, there are published 6 Andrea Gabrieli's motets in the cited printed source.

As far as the sacred music of Giovanni Gabrieli is concerned, the RMC has:

I. Five (uncompletely) preserved handwritten parts of the 8-part motet in ROK A V 20 a-e: namely *Iubilate Deo omnis terra*, *servite Domino in laetitia* for 2 choirs, No. 7. Firstly published in 1597 in the famous print of *Sacrae symphoniae* on pp. 12–13.

II. In ROk A V 40, in the cited *Bassus* part of *Corollarium* one Giovanni Gabrieli's motet has been published, namely the 10-parts motet *Deus, Deus meus ad te de luce vigilo* for 2 choirs, No. LXIV.

[56] Cf. SOkA Rokycany, AM Rokycany, 1st department, Books, inv. No. 21, town burgomaster's accounts from the years 1603–1609, 1605: 226, record from the 23rd of July. The problems of the Moravian litterati brotherhoods are dealt with in the works of Vladimír Maňas. See also Lucie Brázdová, *Hudba a kardinál Dietrichstein 1599–1636* [Music and the cardinal Dietrichstein 1599–1636] (Olomouc: the Palacký's University, 2012).

In this context there should be mentioned seven not completely preserved anonymous polychoral motets with Czech texts and one motet attributed to three different composers, all from ROK A V 20 a-e.

The analysis shows that in general, the Bohemian compositions have the same features as those of Europe — differing in the case of the number and quality of use of the cori-spezzati technique. The Bohemian polychoral works are approximately on the level of the early works by Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli. While the two most important music collections from the 16th and 17th centuries surviving in the territory of the historic Hungarian Lands, i. e. the Bardejov (BMC) and the Levoča (LMC) music collections, originated from the local German evangelical communities, the Rokycany litterati brotherhood, from the late 16th century up to the 1630s, came mainly from the Czech, humanistically educated bourgeoisie. In their denomination, the members of the Rokycany litterati brotherhood were mainly Utraquist Protestants.

Comparing the BMC and LMC collections with the RMC collection, there are two important differences — the minimal number of organ tablatures in the RMC (only one fragment of a new German tablature) and, especially, the strictly sacred repertoire.

In comparison with BMC and LMC, the RMC repertoire consists of relatively early music, plus new polychoral concertante music up to c. 1640. The repertoire, common to all three collections compared here represents all three basic compositional strands of the time: the earliest (music of the 16th century Low Countries composers and their followers), the middle (reflecting the late 16th century repertoire: Jakob Handl-Gallus, Orlando di Lasso, and others), and the last and most extensive, which includes works by composers living in the first three decades of the 17th century. Music was mainly imported via the main Nuremberg trade and diplomatic road.

Translated by Michaela Freemanová

Keywords: Rokycany Music Collection, Bardejov [Bartfeld / Bártfa] and Levoča [Leutschau / Löcse] Music Collections, Rokycany litterati brotherhood, polychoral motets of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli, anonymous polychoral motets on Czech texts



Figure 1. Rokycany — Czech Republic, Library of the Roman-Catholic parish, the shelf mark ROk A V 20 a, the title cover page of the part-book Bassus, owner of the reproduction right: The Bishop's Seat at Pilsen.
The author of this paper is thankful to the both mentioned church institutions for their agreement to publish this photo

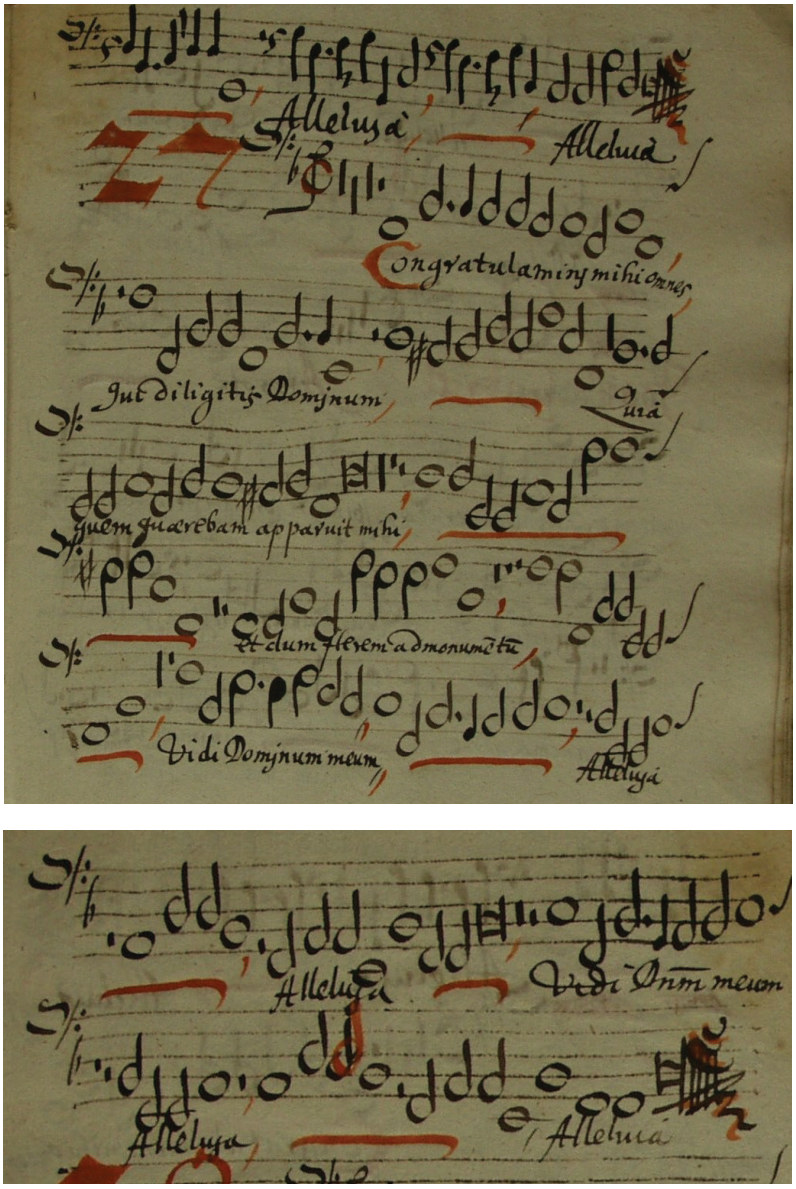


Figure 2. Rokycany — Czech Republic, Library of the Roman-Catholic parish, the shelf-mark ROk A V 20 a, part-book Bassus, No. 27, the polychoral motet of Andrea Gabrieli *Congratulamini mihi omnes, qui diligitis Dominum a 8 vocum*, ff. 22r-22v, Bassus I. chori,
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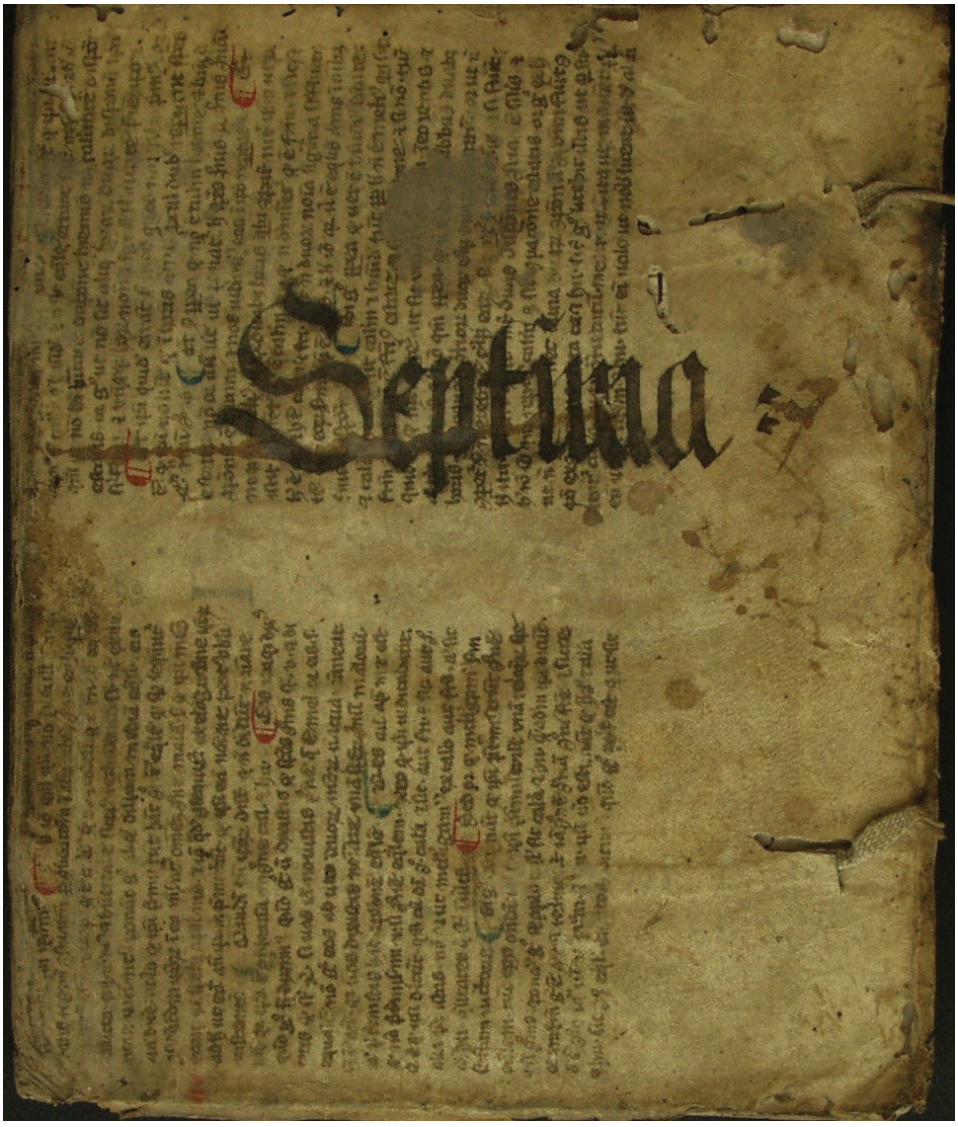


Figure 3. Rokycany — Czech Republic, Library of the Roman-Catholic parish, the shelf-mark ROk A V 20 c, the title cover page of the part-book Septima, owner of the reproduction right: The Bishop's Seat at Pilsen.
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Figure 4. Rokycany — Czech Republic, Library of the Roman-Catholic parish, the shelf-mark ROk A V 20 c, part-book Septima, No. 7, the polychoral motet of Giovanni Gabrieli *Iubilate Deo omnis terra a 8 vocum*, ff. 8r-9r, Quintus I. chori, owner of the reproduction right: The Bishop's Seat at Pilsen. The author of this paper is thankful to the both mentioned church institutions for their agreement to publish this photo



Figure 5. Rokycany — Czech Republic, Library of the Roman-Catholic Deanary, the shelf-mark ROk A V 40, part-book Bassus, the title page of the print *Corollarium cantionum sacrarum* (Nürnberg: C. Gerlach, 1590), owner of the reproduction right: The Bishop's Seat at Pilsen. The author of this paper is thankful to the both mentioned church institutions for their agreement to publish this photo



Figure 6. Rokycany — the Czech Republic, the Library of the Roman-Catholic Deanary, the shelf-mark ROk A V 40,
part-book Bassus, the printed part of the polychoral motet of Giovanni Gabrieli *Deus, Deus meus ad Te de luce vigilo a 10 vocum*, No. LXIIII, Bassus I. chori,
in the above cited print of the *Corollarium*, ff. NN4v — OO1r,
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