

Music and patronage at the court of Rudolf II

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The sudden death of Emperor Maximilian II during an imperial diet in Regensburg in 1576 catapulted one of the most controversial political figures of the sixteenth century onto the imperial throne. As Crown Prince, Rudolf II had already received the crowns of King of Hungary (1572), King of Bohemia, and King of the Romans (1575) in preparation for this last exaltation.¹ And yet, his father's untimely death forced the twenty-four year-old to confront for the first time the practical problems of ruling an empire divided by religious strife and threatened by the Infidel. At his death in 1612, it was said that he had turned his court in Prague into the "Parnassus of the arts."² But he achieved this only by ignoring the "real" world of politics and the battlefield and thus sowed the seeds that eventually destroyed almost everything he had created. Shortly after his death, his brother and rival, Matthias I, abandoned Prague and established Vienna as the imperial residence, thus effectively removing the cosmopolitan influence, not to mention the revenues, of imperial court life from the Bohemian capital. The outbreak of the Thirty Years' War ruled out Prague as a possible alternative for imperial residency and, at the close of that war, the city was sacked by the Swedes, who ostensibly had specific orders to pillage as many works of art as possible. The effect all this had on the music written for Rudolf II and performed at his court was particularly devastating, even if paintings and many *objets d'art* from his famous *Kunst- und Wunderkammer* survived. Rudolf's political fate is relevant to the discussion of music at his court because it is one of the factors that led to the loss of practically all the musical sources in use at the court. Less than ten choir books can be specifically designated as rudolfine, while virtually no manuscripts of secular music have survived.³ In the area of printed music, only a handful of sacred music with covers that might be identified as stemming from

¹ The point of departure of any study of Rudolf's court is R. J. W. Evans, *Rudolf II and his World. A Study in Intellectual History 1576–1612* (Oxford, 1984). Also very useful for music during Rudolf's early years is Walter Pass, *Musik und Musiker am Hof Maximilians II*, Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikwissenschaft (Tutzing, 1980).

² This assessment by the seventeenth-century art historian Joachim van Sandrart is quoted in Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *The School of Prague. Painting at the Court of Rudolf II* (Chicago and London, 1988), 3. This is probably the most easily accessible bibliographic overview of art historical literature in English. The two volumes of the exhibition catalogue *Prag um 1600. Kunst und Kultur am Hofe Rudolfs II*. (Freren, 1988) also present a bibliography of the court as a whole.

³ Carmelo Comberiati, *Late Renaissance Music at the Habsburg Court. Polyphonic Settings of the Mass Ordinary at the Court of Rudolf II (1576–1612)* (New York, 1987); an edition of Luython's *Missarum* by Comberiati is forthcoming.

the imperial chapel has come to light (Monte's book of Masses in Graz,⁴ a *Magnificat* by Zangius in Prague⁵) but nothing whatsoever of secular music. Aside from changes in taste caused by the spread of the *stile nuovo*, the desire of Emperor Matthias to create his own cultural heritage probably led him to abandon whatever music may have been left in Prague in 1612 at Rudolf's death.⁶ He certainly wiped the slate clean as far as his chapel musicians were concerned, leaving even a composer of the rank of Carolus Luython to end his days in poverty.⁷ Only Rudolf's trumpeters were deemed good enough to be kept on under Matthias. Given the paucity of extant music that has survived from the court of Rudolf II, it is necessary to reconstruct both the music chapel and its repertoire using archival documents and surviving works that can be directly connected to the court by means of composers and dedicatees.

The present study proposes that the musical world cultivated at the court of Rudolf II was not as deficient as the extant musical sources would suggest, but rather was one that could have rivalled any Renaissance court in Europe at the time. It is based not on any new discovery of the music once in the court's possession, but rather on a hitherto unknown corpus of archival documents housed today in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv and the Hofkammerarchiv, both located in Vienna. Taken together with the printed music dedicated to Rudolf II, it is now possible to re-evaluate the role that music played at his court. This in turn should dispel the notion that Rudolf II did not live up to the musical legacy which he inherited from his predecessors Charles V, Ferdinand I, and Maximilian II.

When he ascended to the imperial throne, Rudolf II made very few changes in the personnel of his father's court. One of these that might seem to be in keeping with the interests of a twenty-four-year-old was the addition of his dancing teacher to the payment role.⁸ This in itself would probably go unnoticed considering the importance that dancing took at every festive occasion, if it were not for the stilted picture that historians painted of Rudolf II in the nineteenth century. His contemporaries found the young emperor too "Spanish," i.e. cold and unapproachable, in comparison to his amiable father, but this was more indicative of Rudolf's religious stance than of his perception of the duties of a ruler. Rudolf's strict Catholicism was the result of his education in Spain. In 1563, Archdukes Rudolf and Ernst were sent to the court of their uncle Philip II, the brother of Empress Maria, to ensure their good Catholic upbringing. Maximilian II had long wavered between Catholic and Protestant beliefs but, like Henry IV later in the century, took a pragmatic course and decided that the imperial throne was worth some compromise. Two of the earliest musical compositions in honor of Rudolf mark the beginning of his education as a prince. (See Appendix.) After Maximilian's death, the papal nuncio reported triumphantly to Rome that the young emperor was cleansing the court of heretics, "starting with the Protestants in the music chapel . . ." but his delight was

⁴ Graz, University Library IV, 6600.

⁵ Prague, Státní knihovna CSR, Music 935/88.

⁶ Robert Lindell, "Music at the court of Emperor Matthias," *Hudební věda* 27 (1990), 293–8.

⁷ Carmelo Comberati, "Carl Luython at the court of Emperor Rudolf II. Biography and his polyphonic settings of the Mass," C. Comberati and Matthew Steel (eds.), *Music from the Middle Ages through the Twentieth Century. Essays in Honor of Gwynn McPeck* (New York, 1988).

⁸ Evangelista Pogozone is listed as "Edelknaben Tanzmeister" in the earliest surviving list of courtiers from Rudolf II's reign: Haus-, Hof und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, Obersthofmeisteramt, Sonderreihe 183/50, fol. 81v.

short lived.⁹ Along with his “Spanish” Catholicism, Rudolf learned to mistrust the papacy and the so-called purge of Protestants turned out to be quite insignificant.

One aspect of Rudolf’s appraisal of his duties permeated almost every detail of courtly life – the representation of imperial power. Virtually everything he did could become a form of representation whether it be by amassing a fantastic collection of paintings or by maintaining the largest music chapel in Europe. As every other Renaissance ruler, Rudolf was surrounded by music ranging from trumpet fanfares to esoteric chamber music. Yet as the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of German nations, he was obliged to excel all others in both the quantity and quality of the music he heard. Music in the quasi-private atmosphere of his chambers, at meals or in the ballroom was as necessary as tapestries or paintings on the walls. Although Rudolf II appears to have taken less of an active role in the music at his court than he did in other art forms, there are several indications that music meant more to him than simply the trapping of power.

Shortly after returning from Spain in 1571, Rudolf participated in the festivities surrounding the wedding of his uncle Archduke Charles to Maria of Bavaria in Vienna.¹⁰ The heir to the throne led his younger brothers in an allegorical dance of the stars descending from the heavens, to the music of the imperial chapelmaster Filippo di Monte, at the bridal ball on the evening of 26 August. Later as emperor, Rudolf II was said to love such festivities and music always played a part together with jousting and banquets whether at the weddings of courtiers, at the ceremonies surrounding the Order of the Golden Fleece (in 1585 and 1597) or at state visits, such as those of the Duke of Saxony in 1581 or of the Duke of Mantua in 1595. As early as 1564, Maximilian II had requested works by Lasso and Rudolf II lost little time in doing the same. On 12 March 1578, the emperor wrote to Wilhelm V asking for some of Lasso’s short madrigals (*villanellas?*).¹¹

One measure of musical patronage in the sixteenth century was the dedication of compositions. In this sense, at least in the number of works, Rudolf II was as much of a music lover as his father. Where most of the music dedicated to Maximilian II dates from 1567 to 1568 when it was common knowledge that the position of chapelmaster was vacant, the works dedicated to Rudolf II are spread over the first twenty-five years of his reign, as the Appendix makes clear. The latter are, however, almost exclusively by composers directly in his employ and therefore more or less obliged to please him. Monte, Regnart, Zanotti, Orologio, Gostena, Galeno, and Luython, to name just the more important ones, dedicated printed works to Rudolf, and there were obviously many dedicatory works in manuscript which have since been lost as evidenced by the rewards recorded in the court payment books.¹² A somewhat curious example of one such dedication has survived in the Austrian National

⁹ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Germania 73, fols. 274v–5r (Linz, 23 November 1576).

¹⁰ The Latin description of this festival is preserved as Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Codex 10.206. The literature concerning this festival is summarized in R. Lindell, “The wedding of Archduke Charles and Maria of Bavaria in 1571,” *EM* 18/2 (1990), 253–69.

¹¹ Wolfgang Boetticher, *Aus Orlando di Lassos Wirkungskreis. Neue archivalische Studien* (Basle, London, and New York, 1963), 25–6. “Desgleichen auch etliche compositionen von khurtzen madrigalen oder gesänng deß Orlando.”

¹² Records were kept even of the smallest payments given from the emperor’s private purse, but none of these has survived for the reign of Rudolf II. We know, however, from one kept for Maximilian II (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Codex 9089) that as little as 1 gulden rewarded poor musicians for their efforts.

Library in Vienna. It is a handwritten copy of Christian Hollander's *Lamentationes Jeremiae Prophetae*, which Michael Echamer dedicated to Rudolf in 1579 after the composer's death.¹³ Echamer preceded the composition with the following poem:

Indita sunt hominum menti divinitus, artis
Semina, quae cantus nomen ab arte, tenet.
Hanc igitur gens prima, sui vi luminis acta
Invenit, ut terrae conditus orbis erat.
Hac oracla canunt, sancti divina Prophetae,
Atque Patres, magni, facta stupenda, Dei.
Cumque viris insint divinae semina ment,
Quos iuvat harmonico, Musica sancta, sono:
Quis neget, aetherea multum virtutis, habere!
Austriacae, celsos gentis honores duces!
Dive igitur salve RVDOLPHE Patrone canentum,
Munera, et haec clemens, musica, Caesar habe.
Haec Ferdinandus avus, Pater haec, et sumptibus ultro,
Et coluere animo, Caesar uterque, pio.
Perge sequens, etiam maiorum exempla tueri,
Carmina, Pieridum, musica, dulce decus.
Ingenuas artes defendere, regia res est,
Nascitur aeterno hinc, gloria summa, Deo.
Sic TE, virtutem testis syncera, Vestutas
Miretur, Regni suspiciatque DECUS.
Sic quae non animis gestas maiora, sed annis
Proroget, Imperii Sceptra, iuветque Deus.
Vive diu foelix orbi, rara indole Caesar,
Austriacaeque domus, celsa propago Vale.¹⁴

Although Echamer is referring specifically to this composition of the *Lamentationes Jeremiae*, he goes on to predict that the young emperor will defend and propagate the arts, and music will take the lead.

The imperial court in Vienna and then Prague was a truly cosmopolitan gathering of the nationalities of Europe. This led to some degree of preference for certain nationalities in the various areas of musical activity. Singers and, for that matter, the chapelmaster came almost exclusively from the Low Countries. Trumpeters, on the other hand, were mainly Italians, and the two nationalities met in chamber music. Otherwise only Spain was important as the nation that provided discant singers (castratos). Although trumpeters could be accomplished musicians and even composers (e.g., Alessandro Orologio, Gregorio Turini) who impressed visiting dignitaries with their improvised *Tafelmusik*, they were delegated to the *Stallpartey*,

¹³ Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Codex 11.772; on Hollander and Echamer (Aichhammer) see W. Senn, *Musik und Theater am Hof zu Innsbruck* (Innsbruck, 1954), 104 and 114.

¹⁴ Comberinati, *Late Renaissance Music*, 198–210, provides several lists of the chapel personnel starting with 1576 and ending after Rudolf's death. At the Regensburg Diet in 1594 the chapel included Chimarrhaeus, fourteen chaplains, two altarboys, Monte, the organists Winde and Luython, four *musici* (Carlo and Giovanni Paolo Ardesi, Georg Ketterle, Hans Lambert), the lutenist Hans Lorentz, six basses, eleven tenors, eight altos, three male discant singers, sixteen boy singers and their teacher, an organ tuner, and a person in charge of the music (*Notist*). There were also twenty-six trumpeters and a drummer.

i.e. the stable personnel, in the court payment records, and only singers and the organist, and sometimes a lutenist, were listed as the more sophisticated *Capellnpartey*, i.e. music chapel *per se*. It was only natural that these different groups of musicians had widely varying duties.

The trumpeters

Like in other courts, every public appearance of the emperor was accompanied by fanfares. On special occasions, such appearances were announced by a wind band consisting of a cornett, sackbuts, shawms, and a bass curtal (see Figures 14.1 and 14.2). Visitors to the Hradschin palace were announced by trumpeters and trombonists (*Thurner* or *Thurmer* in German). This special group in the "White Tower" at the entrance to the palace precinct, and a similar body employed by the Chapter of St. Vitus Cathedral, signalled the approach of dignitaries or just marked the hours of the day acoustically. The trumpet and drum corps represented the physical (or even acoustical) presence of imperial power and it was a sign of special favor if they were sent to play during the meals of visiting high dignitaries.¹⁵ The trumpeters were not only impressive to hear but also to see as a series of colored drawings by Lucas Valckenborch in the *Albertina* in Vienna illustrates: brightly embroidered banners hung from their instruments and their own costumes were the visual expression of the ruler they served, i.e. blue and white for Bavaria or gold and black for the imperial family.¹⁶ Needless to say trumpeters were an important part of the printed lists of the imperial entourage included in descriptions of the imperial Diets of 1582 and 1594.¹⁷

One trumpeter still in the imperial list at the Diet in Augsburg in 1582 had probably already left to serve as head of the Bavarian trumpeters. Cesare Bendinelli (? –1617) was the author of the oldest surviving trumpet school. Bendinelli gave a copy of his "Tutta l'arte della trombetta" and his pretzel-shaped trumpet made by Schnitzer of Nuremberg to the *Accademia Filarmonica* of Verona when he retired there.¹⁸ Since most of the *Tafelmusik* played by trumpeters was improvised, Bendinelli's work gives us an invaluable example of the demands made on the talents of trumpeters, not only in Bavaria but at the imperial court as well. Bendinelli was also one of the many musicians that Rudolf II rewarded with the intangible (and even costly) gift of ennoblement.¹⁹ The emperor could also give quite lucrative rewards in the form of benefices by right of reservation (*preces primariae*). Rudolf II made

¹⁵ F.-G. Pariset, "Pierre Bergeron Prague (1600)," *Relations artistique entre les Pays-Bas et L'Italie dans la Renaissance* (Brussels, 1980), 188.

¹⁶ One of these drawings is reproduced in *Prag um 1600.*, 76.

¹⁷ The musicians involved in these two Diets have been the subject of musicological studies: Georges van Doorslaer, "Die Musikkapelle Kaiser Rudolfs II. im Jahr 1582 unter der Leitung von Philippe de Monte," *ZMw* 13 (1931), 481–91; Georges van Doorslaer, "La Chapelle musicale de l'empereur Rudolphe II, en 1594, sous la direction de Philippe de Monte," *AcM* (1933), 148–61; Gerhard Pietzsch, "Zur Musikkapelle Kaiser Rudolfs II," *ZMw* 16 (1934), 171–6.

¹⁸ Bendinelli's trumpet school is reproduced in facsimile with notes by E. Tarr in *Documenta musicologica* 2.Serie/V (Basle, 1975). Tarr was not aware of the existence of a further copy in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 10.819.

¹⁹ Allgemeines Verwaltungssarchiv, Vienna, Adelsakten – Bendinelli 1582. Rudolph II seems to have used this form of reward even more generously than his father Maximilian II. The document of ennoblement was subject to a tax which the emperor often waived if specifically requested by the musician.

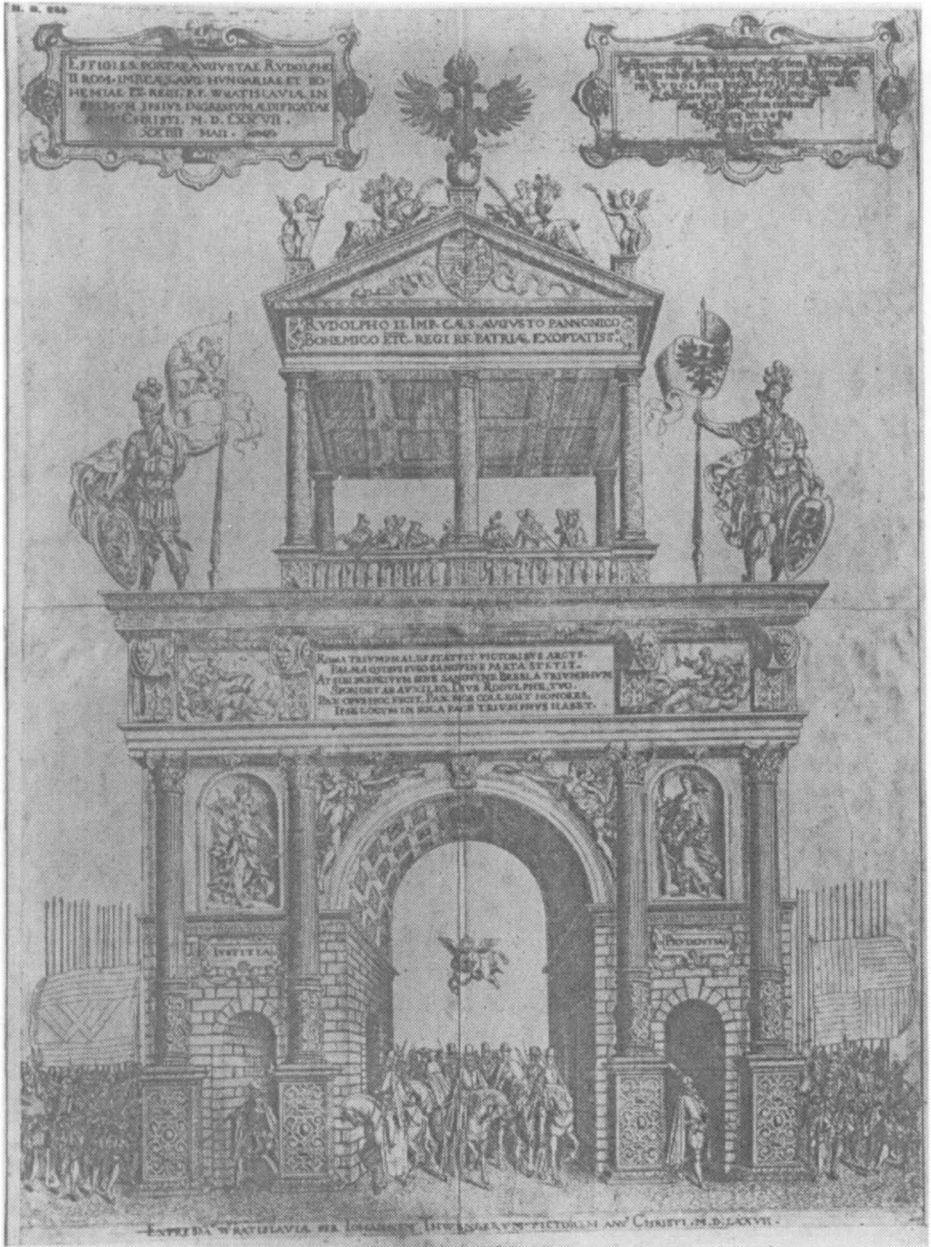


Figure 14.1 A wind band performing for the arrival of Emperor Rudolf II to Breslau (Wrocław) on 24 May 1577 (engraving by Johann Twenger, 1577: Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, HB 325).



Figure 14.2 Detail from the J. Twenger engraving showing the instrumental ensemble: a cornett, two sackbuts, two shawms, and a bass curtal.

ample use of this age-old privilege particularly as a means of rewarding his musicians. Almost all of the leading musicians in his service and many of the ordinary singers were thus given additional encouragement to remain in imperial service.²⁰

The music chapel

As a result of the ecclesiastical nature of the court chapel, the chapelmaster was not the highest ranking official of this organization at the imperial court. This is indicated in the payment books too where the court almoner, the imperial confessor, and chaplains are listed before the actual musicians.²¹ Under Rudolf II, many of these officials were also musicians and even important composers (Jacobus de Kerle, Giovanni Battista Galeno).

For most of his reign, a musician occupied the post of court almoner. Jacob Chimarraeus (1542–1614) from Roermond in the Netherlands came to the imperial court as a simple singer but soon became a chaplain and then almoner, which meant that he not only had some financial sway but could also determine the repertoire of the court chapel, at least in devotional matters. Rudolf showered him with honors, making him a count palatine, a special form of ennoblement, which he also awarded to the famous mannerist artist Giuseppe Arcimboldo.²² Chimarraeus also enjoyed a number of benefices and was a member of the Order of the Golden Spur. The insignia of these honors surround his portrait that Aegidius Sadeler engraved in 1601.²³ In that year or the next a musical collection with the title *Odae suavissimae* was printed in his honor.²⁴ All of the composers represented in this astounding work were either directly in imperial service or somehow closely related to the imperial chapel. These include Monte, Regnart, Zanotti, Schoendorff (another trumpeter–composer and also the editor of the *Odae*), Luython, de Sayve, Neriti, Furter, Vincentini, Galeno, Handl, Zanchi, Sales, Orologio, Ardesi, de la Court, Zigotta, Felis, Rudolf Lasso, Cornazani, Biffi, and Hans Leo Hassler.²⁵ This work was truly not only a monument to Chimarraeus's love of music but at the same time to the high standard of musical patronage at the court of Rudolf II.

Chimarraeus was also important as the founder of a lay brotherhood with a definite musical bias. The rules of the Corpus Christi Brotherhood were set down in Chimarraeus's *Sacrum Gazophylacium*,²⁶ first printed in 1588 and expanded in

²⁰ Monte held the most important benefice as treasurer of the Cathedral of Cambrai, but almost all the unmarried musicians requested benefices at one time or another. There is a unit in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna entitled *Preces Primariae* where many documents about the benefices of musicians can be found.

²¹ Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 382–92, gives a good picture of the hierarchy of the chapel as seen in the court payment books. He also includes the trumpeters unlike Comberinati in *Late Renaissance Music*.

²² Kaufmann, *The School of Prague*, 164–72 gives a good overview of Arcimboldo's paintings.

²³ The catalogue, *Prag um 1600*, vol. T, 102, reproduces Chimarraeus's portrait, and Monte's by Raphael Sadeler on p. 77.

²⁴ Klaus W. Niemöller, "Die musikalische Festschrift für den Direktor der Prager Hofkapelle Kaiser Rudolfs II. 1602," *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß Bonn 1970* (Cassel, 1971), 520ff.

²⁵ *RISM* 1610/18; there are articles in *Grove6* on almost all of these composers. Of those that are not represented there, Georg Zigotta was a leading trumpeter and Antoine de la Court was a singer at Rudolf's court.

²⁶ *Sacrum Gazophylacium laudabilis confraternitatis sanctissimi corporis Christi in aula Caesarea per Iacobum Chimarraeum Ruremundanum eiusdem Confraternitatis priorem* (Prague, 1/1588, 2/1594).

1594. The cosmopolitan nature of the court and hence the universal appeal of Catholicism is represented by the choice of the Brotherhood's officers. The Flemish organist Paul van Winde was Chimarraeus's assistant and then came four commissioners symbolically representing the nations assembled at the court: two chamber musicians for Italy and Spain, Mauro Sinibaldi and Martino Cuenca, then Johannes Pauseck from the imperial Chancellory for Germany, and the merchant-art dealer Roland von Holland for the Low Countries. Such representation reminds us of Arcimboldo's allegories that divided Europe into four parts that were headed by the emperor. Even though the Corpus Christi Brotherhood engaged in private charitable activities, these were outshone by their meetings and processions held on the first Thursday of each month. These became attractions which visitors to Prague did not want to miss due to their musical adornment.²⁷

Continuing in the hierarchy of the court music chapel, one of the most important musicians to serve as a chaplain was Matteo Flecha the younger (1530–1604).²⁸ He came to the court in the service of Rudolf II's mother, the Empress Maria, and returned to Spain with her in 1582. Nevertheless, he maintained ties to the court in Prague and travelled back and forth (at least once, with singers). Through the emperor, Flecha received the benefice of abbot at the monastery of Tihany in Hungary. In the long run however, Flecha got more from a benefice that Philipp II awarded him at the monastery La Portella in Catalonia because it enabled him to retire to Spain. Since Rudolf spoke perfect Spanish, it is not difficult to imagine that Flecha's edition of his own *Ensaladas* and those of his uncle, printed by Nigrinus in 1582, were performed by the imperial chamber musicians, who would have been expected to perform compositions in Italian, Spanish, or French. Flecha's *Completarium divinarum* of the same year might have been destined for the use of the Corpus Christi Brotherhood since this organization developed out of certain paraliturgical practices from the circle of Empress Maria.²⁹

Filippo di Monte (1521–1603) was certainly the most important composer working at the imperial court under Rudolf II.³⁰ He was in Naples in 1568 when Maximilian II called him to Vienna and soon became one of the most prolific composers of the period. Monte is known as the master of the Italian madrigal, and the sheer quantity of his works has overshadowed their importance for the development of that genre: four books for four voices, nineteen (!) for five voices, nine for six voices, and two for seven voices. When we consider that Monte fulfilled his duties as a teacher and organizer of music along with composing Masses and motets, it seems hard to imagine that he found the time for what was probably a far-reaching correspondence.³¹ Unlike many of the other composers working in Prague – including Handl/Gallus – Monte published his works in Venice. As a composer with an international reputation he could probably pick and choose in this respect, although the prestigious printer Christophor Plantin of Antwerp found it impossible to

²⁷ F.-G. Pariset, "Pierre Bergernon," 194.

²⁸ Maria Carmen Gomez, "Precisiones en torno a la vida y obra de Matheo Flecha el joven," *Revista de Musicología* 9 (1986), 41–56.

²⁹ The author describes this brotherhood in detail in R. Lindell, "Relations between musicians and artists at the court of Rudolf II," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 85/6 (1989/90), 79–88.

³⁰ Georges van Doorslaer, *La vie et les Oeuvres de Philippe de Monte* (Brussels, 1921).

³¹ R. Lindell, "Die Briefe Filippo di Montes. Eine Bestandsaufnahme," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 39 (Tutzing 1988), 37–54.

publish a second book of Monte's Masses in the 1590s. Monte's first and only printed collection of Masses (1587), was, of course, dedicated to Rudolf, although he obviously did not feel obliged to slavishly dedicate everything he published to the emperor. The list of dedicatees reflects more Monte's continuing links with Italy, be this to earlier patrons or perhaps even as a form of disguised diplomacy in the name of the Counter-Reformation.

Monte received several important benefices from Maximilian II and Rudolf II including those of treasurer and canon of the Cathedral of Cambrai, but when he decided to retire there in 1578, the emperor denied him permission to leave the court.³² This fact, unknown to Einstein, was probably the source of Monte's dissatisfaction that he expressed in the famous dedications of the 1580s.³³ It is also probably indicative of Rudolf's attitude toward music. He seems to have preferred the tried and true Flemish composers and singers and was not willing to let a man of Monte's reputation leave when no one else was there to take his place.³⁴ Several years later it seems that the right man came along. His name was Camillo Zanotti (c. 1545–91) from Cesena. He was the first composer who enjoyed Rudolf's official and public approval as evidenced by the use of the imperial coat of arms on the title page of both of the works he dedicated to the emperor. Nothing is known of Zanotti's activities before he came to the imperial court in 1587, but he may have worked as a free-lance composer in Prague. An indication of such connections may be seen in the contents and dedication of his *Madrigalia tam italica quam latina* of 1590.³⁵ As indicated in its title, the work is partly in Italian and partly in Latin. It is dedicated to Vilém z Rozmberk and contains compositions that may have been intended for the wedding of Rozmberk and Polyxena Pernstein (later Lobkowitz) which took place in January 1587, namely about six months before Zanotti became an imperial servant. In any case, Rozmberk was almost as important as Rudolf himself as a patron of music and Rudolf's musicians performed for the wedding guests.³⁶ Unfortunately, like Gallus/Handl and Regnart, Zanotti died young.

Apparently Rudolf did not see Jacque Regnart (c. 1540–99) as a replacement for Monte in 1579 but was willing to take him back in his former position as vice-chapelmaster after Zanotti's death.³⁷ Regnart came to the imperial chapel from Douai as a boy singer and studied in Italy after his voice broke. His Italian *Canzoni* of 1574 are the first works actually dedicated to Rudolf, who at that time was still "only" King of Hungary. Regnart's delightful German songs are reminiscent of Lasso, who actually recommended his young colleague Regnart as a worthy successor to Scandelli in Dresden in 1580. Considering that composers of the calibre of Regnart and Zanotti were available in Prague, the emperor's insistence on keeping the increasingly feeble Monte as a "figurehead" chapelmaster seems to indicate Rudolf's

³² Monte expresses his intentions to leave the court in a letter to Orlando di Lasso dated 25 April 1578, which is now in Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Kurbayern Äußeres Archiv 4579, fol. 86. Professor Jessie Ann Owens kindly made this letter available to me.

³³ Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal* (Princeton, 1949), 510.

³⁴ R. Lindell, "Filippo di Montes Widmungen an Kaiser Rudolf II. Dokumente einer Krise?" *Festschrift Othmar Wessely zum 60. Geburtstag* (Tutzing, 1982), 407–15.

³⁵ R. Lindell, "Camillo Zanotti's *Madrigalia tam italica quam latina* as Rudolfine state art," *Prag um 1600.*, 193–9.

³⁶ Frantisek Mares, "Rozmberská kapela," *Casiopis Musea Kralovstvi Ceskeho* 68 (1894), 217.

³⁷ Walter Pass, "Regnart, Jacob [Jacque]," *Grove6*, vol. 15, 691–3.

assessment of this post as a part of his imperial representation. That in itself could be interpreted as a lack of genuine personal interest in music, however.

After Monte's death in 1603, Rudolf did not appoint a replacement. This was probably the result of the emperor's general apathy after the turbulent developments in 1600.³⁸ Perhaps the vice-chapellmaster Alessandro Orologio was to serve in the interim while a search for a new chapellmaster took place. This would have been analogous to the situation in 1567/8 after the death of Jacobus Vaet, but most likely the emperor had no plans at all. Orologio and his predecessors, Regnart and Zanotti, probably had to carry out the duties that were theoretically Monte's anyway. Orologio was an accomplished composer of vocal music as a series of works, starting with his first book of madrigals for five voices (1586) – dedicated to Rudolf II – demonstrate. He also published a book of Intradadas in 1597 which (although dedicated to Christian IV of Denmark) can serve as a source of the kind of music that was played by the trumpet corps in Prague on public occasions.³⁹

If we return to the scheme of division of the court chapel in the court payment books, we arrive at the singers who are classified according to voice. Owing to the chapel duties of this musical body, the highest voices were sung by boys supported by men with high (falsetto) voices. This would have included the Spanish discant singers mentioned above and, of course, adult male singers who sang the rest of the voices. Many singers presented small compositions to the emperor and received equally small rewards.⁴⁰ Some even went on to become noted composers (Regnart, Gostena, Macque) often after further studies at the emperor's expense. Imperial service was often the best recommendation for musicians to find socially higher posts at other courts. Unlike Regnart, the Genoese nobleman Giovanni Battista Pinelli di Gherardi (c. 1544–87) had no compunctions about serving the Protestant Elector of Saxony and even published a collection of German *magnificat* settings in Dresden in 1583 which contain his own portrait.⁴¹ He gave up the post of court chapellmaster and returned to Prague, however, as a singer, where he died. Singer-composers like Franciscus Sales or Liberale Zanchi returned to Prague after working elsewhere, but the composers Alard du Gaucquier and Lambert de Sayve moved on to the service of Archduke Matthias where they remained.⁴² The archducal courts in Graz and Innsbruck sometimes gave singers the opportunity to climb to a higher position starting from the imperial court (Regnart, for example). The career of Giovanni Battista Galeno went in the other direction. He moved up to the position of chapellmaster to Archduke Ernst in Brussels after years of service as a singer in Graz and then became a chaplain to Rudolf in Prague.⁴³

³⁸ R. J. W. Evans, *Rudolf II and his World*, 71–2.

³⁹ Rudolf Plotzinger, "Alessandro Orologio und seine Intradadas (1597)," *Dansk Arbog for Musikforskning* 17 (1986), 53–64.

⁴⁰ Most compositions were deemed worthy of a reward amounting to the equivalent of a musician's monthly salary, usually 15 gulden. Orlando di Lasso received 150 gulden in 1571 for "ain meß und etliche gesanng-buecher," Luython received 500 gulden in 1609 for his book of Masses, which was probably the largest single award given to a musician for a composition under Rudolf II.

⁴¹ This portrait is reproduced in *Prag um 1600*, vol. II, 282; that of Lambert de Sayve is on p. 280.

⁴² See note 6; on Gaucquier see Milton Steinhardt's preface to the edition of his complete works in *DTÖ* vol. 123, vi–vii.

⁴³ Hellmut Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker am Grazer Habsburgerhof der Erzherzge Karl und Ferdinand von Innerösterreich* (Mainz, 1967), 77–9.

Music at the court – music in Prague

The imperial court existed to a certain degree in splendid isolation, whether in Vienna or in Prague. Although the Bohemian Estates hoped that Rudolf's choice of Prague as his residence would mean an upgrading of their own importance, the emperor often angered the locals by appointing people of other nationalities to traditionally Bohemian institutions. Chimarraeus, for example, was the provost of St. Stephan in Litoměřice, and Rudolf did not hesitate to use the offices available in the chapter of the Vyšerad to reward his Italian courtiers. The quality of musical life in Prague outside the court was very high as evidenced by the presence of Handl/Gallus (1550–91) at the church of St. John in Vado.⁴⁴ Although the music of court composers was accepted by the Bohemians, as can be seen in the Kutna Hora Codex, there seems to have been virtually no Bohemian influence on the music at court.

This one-sided relationship is evidenced by the two native composers associated with the court: Harant and Sixt. Christoph Harant z Polzic (1564–1621) was actually more of a musical courtier than a musician *per se*.⁴⁵ He probably received his first musical instruction from Alexander Utendal and Regnart at the court of Ferdinand of Tyrol. The few compositions by Harant that have survived show this Flemish polyphonic influence, but he was also interested in the music of other nations. In his *Cesta z kralovsti do Benatek . . . do zeme svaii*,⁴⁶ printed in Prague in 1608, he describes his travels to the Holy Land and includes many statements about the music of the countries he visited and even some drawings of native musicians. Harant had the dubious honor of being one of the very few persons allowed to wait on Rudolf II in the last years of the emperor's life. Jan Sixt z Lerchenfels (1582–1629) was a boy singer at the imperial court before studying at the Jesuit universities in Prague and Olomuc.⁴⁷ Although he is one of the rare examples of a local Bohemian working at the imperial court, he probably deserves to be remembered more as a staunch supporter of the ideals of the Counter-Reformation than as a composer.

The printing house of Jiri Nigrin acted as a central meeting place of musical life in Prague and the imperial court. Nigrin not only published the works of Handl/Gallus, but also one or more of Matteo Flecha, Jacobus de Kerle, Carolus Luython, Pinelli di Gherardo, Stefano Felis, Johannes Knöfel, Franciscus Sale, Tiburtio Massaino, and Liberale Zanchi.⁴⁸ After Nigrin's death, the high quality of his products was even surpassed in the last years of Rudolf's reign by the printer Nicholas Strauss, as is evidenced by the lavishly decorated title pages of Zangius's *Magnificat Secundi Toni A Sex Vocibus* and Luython's *Missarum* (both 1609).⁴⁹

Another common denominator of imperial and local music tradition deserves mention. During Rudolf II's reign, one of the largest organs of that time was in use in St. Veit's Cathedral. Unfortunately, no other instruments that can be directly related to Rudolf's music chapel survived long enough to be recognized as such.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ Dragotin Cvetko, *Jacobus Händl Gallus Vocatus Carniolus* (Ljubljana, 1991). There is no evidence that Handl was associated with the imperial court.

⁴⁵ Jan Racek, *Krystof Harant z Polzic a Jeho Doba* (Brno, 1973).

⁴⁶ *Description of the trip from Bohemia to Venice and from there to the Holy Land.*

⁴⁷ Gottfried-Johann Dlabacz, *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon für Böhmen* (Prague, 1815), vol. II, cols. 118–21.

⁴⁸ Petr Daněk, "Notiárska cinnost Jiriho Nigrina," *Hudebni Veda* 24/2 (1987), 121–36.

⁴⁹ The title page of Luython's *Missarum* is reproduced in *Prag um 1600*, vol. I, 82.

⁵⁰ Rudolf Quoika, "Die Prager Kaiserorgel," *KJb* 36 (1952), 45; K.W. Niemöller, "Musikinstrumente in der Prager Kunstkammer Kaiser Rudolfs II. um 1600," *Festschrift Heinz Becker zum 60. Geburtstag am 26. Juni. 1982* (Laaben, 1982), 332–41.

Travelling musicians

The imperial court acted as a magnet for artists hoping to find a better position or even merely looking for short-term employment at weddings and other festivals. The emperor was known to lavishly reward musicians he liked, as Maximilian II did when Stefano Rossetto (c. 1540–84) played for him in 1570 at the Diet in Speyer.⁵¹ Although Rossetto was actually employed by Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici (later Grand Duke of Tuscany), he seems to have spent much time in the empire. Not only is his only book of motets dedicated to Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, but there are also many unpublished archival documents that prove his close ties to Vienna and Prague. As an organist and composer he was intimately acquainted with the chamber music at the court. One can hardly expect Rudolf's taste in these matters to have been much different from his father's. Rossetto writes to Maximilian II of compositions he has prepared specially for the imperial court set for three sopranos and a bass.⁵² This and Rossetto's statements about Archduke Ferdinand's "singing girls" lead us to question if Rudolf too maintained some sort of consort similar to the famous singing ladies of Ferrara (at the court of Rudolf's uncle by marriage, Alfonso d'Este). No proof has been found of such an ensemble, but another travelling musician who can be documented at the imperial court in 1571/2 is the female singer–composer Maddalena Casulana. If she, like Rossetto, returned to the court under Rudolf II, she would have performed with other female singers such as Marta, the wife of Mauro Sinibaldi.⁵³

Stefano Felis (c. 1550 – after 1603) came to Prague as a member of the entourage of the papal nunzio Antonio Puteo. Felis mentions his stay in Prague in his sixth book of madrigals for five voices (Venice, 1591) and even includes a piece by Monte. Felis also published his first book of Masses for six voices with Nigrin in 1588 while he was staying in Prague. Several years later Tiburzio Massaino (before 1550 – after 1609) also published a work there. In 1592, he dedicated his *Liber primus cantionum ecclesiasticarum* to Monte.⁵⁴ In the dedication, Massaino not only expresses his gratitude for Monte's help in times of need – Massaino had fled Salzburg where he was charged with crimes against nature, i.e. homosexuality – but also mentions the fact that Monte's lodgings were a kind of meeting place in Prague, even for the highest nobles. This may be relevant to a statement in the dedication of one of Monte's own works. He justifies his choice of the papal nunzio, Camillo Caetano, as dedicatee of *Il quintodecimo libro de' madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1592) by referring to the pleasure Caetano had shown when the works had been performed for him on a consort of gambas. It would only seem logical that such a performance had taken place in Monte's own lodgings, unless, perhaps, he presented his newest

⁵¹ Robert Lindell, "New findings on music at the court of Maximilian II," *Kaiser Maximilian II. Kultur und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, Friedrich Edelmayer, Alfred Kohler (eds.), Wiener Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neuzeit, vol. 19 (Vienna and Munich 1992), 235. Rossetto's reward of 100 gulden for merely performing for the emperor was extremely generous. Maximilian II's own court organist Wilhelm Formellis only received 30 gulden a month salary.

⁵² Rossetto's letters to Maximilian II date from 6 December 1572 to 11 December 1574. They are included in my article: "Stefano Rossetto at the imperial court," *Essays in Honor of Ursula and Warren Kirkendale* (Florence, forthcoming).

⁵³ R. Lindell, "Marta gentil che'l cor m'ha morto. Eine unbekannte Kammermusikerin am Hof Maximilians II.," *Musicologica Austriaca* 7 (1987), 59–68.

⁵⁴ Modern edition by Rafaelo Monterosso in DTÖ, vol. 110 (Graz, 1964).

compositions in the form of chamber music or *Tafelmusik* for the emperor himself. This could explain the instrumental performance too. One could also ask if the many dedications of musical works (by Monte and other court musicians) to high-ranking politicians might not represent a kind of cultural propaganda on behalf of the emperor's political interests. After his book of Masses of 1587, Monte did not dedicate another work to Rudolf II, but he did choose a large number of influential personages ranging from papal nuncios to Bohemian aristocrats as dedicatees (his swan song was dedicated to Carl of Liechtenstein).⁵⁵

Chamber music

Francesco Turini was apparently a child prodigy as an organist and profited from Rudolf's musical patronage. His father Gregorio Turini was a trumpeter and composer at the court. In 1588, the elder Turini dedicated a book of motets to the leading medaillieur Antonio Abondio, which may be related to the Corpus Christi Brotherhood.⁵⁶ Rudolf II sent Francesco Turini to Italy to study but it is doubtful if the emperor himself ever reaped the musical benefits of his investment.⁵⁷ Turini later became a famous organist and composer in Brescia, the city of his ancestors.

Most of the documentation of Rudolf II's musical patronage is indirect. This is certainly due to the fact that almost no personal payment records or private letters from his hand have survived the centuries. In the few letters that were published after Rudolf II's death, several show his musical patronage (involving requests for benefices for Flecha and the brother of Zanotti) and one is the direct request to try to hire the French bass Lambert de Beaulieu (active *c.* 1576–90).⁵⁸ As far as we know, Beaulieu never came to Prague but the emperor's chamber music was praised on many an occasion. This ensemble consisted of male and female singers, cornettists, various string players, and of course organists or harpsichordists. The latter included Paul van Winde (one of the leading members of the Corpus Christi Brotherhood), Charles Luython, Liberale Zanchi, and perhaps Francesco Turini.⁵⁹

Among the string players, probably Mauro Sinibaldi was the most famous – the emperor gave him the princely present of 500 Crowns for his wedding in 1579.⁶⁰ Sinibaldi of Cremona is even mentioned in poems and treatises of the Italian poet Gregorio Comanini, and apparently acted as a musical advisor to Giuseppe Arcimboldo in the construction of a synaesthetic musical instrument that could display colors associated with the musical tones produced by the keyboard.⁶¹

⁵⁵ The author is preparing a modern edition of this book as a part of *Philippi de Monte Opera. New Complete Edition*, Leuven University Press.

⁵⁶ Lindell, "Relations between musicians", 82–4, discusses the dedication and reproduces facsimiles of the title page of Turini's work as well as of the Latin dedication.

⁵⁷ Nona Pyron, "Turini, Francesco," *Grove6*, vol. 19, 256–7.

⁵⁸ Benedetto de Pace, *Divi Rudolphi Imperatoris . . . epistolae ineditae* (Vienna, 1771), 210.

⁵⁹ The designation of musicians specifically as "chamber musicians" was inconsistent since they did not necessarily belong to the ecclesiastical chapel. Some composers simply referred to themselves as "musicus" on the title pages of their published works to set themselves apart from the singers, but this meant that they were "chamber musicians."

⁶⁰ Vienna, Hofkammerarchiv, Familienakten – Sinibaldi 1579. By comparison, Hans Leo Hassler, who was definitely one of Rudolf II's favorite musicians only received a present of a gilded silver chalice (*silbern ubergultes trinckgeschir*) worth between 40 and 45 gulden for his wedding in 1605; see Vienna Hofkammerarchiv, Gedenkbuch 166, fol. 50.

⁶¹ G. Comanini, *Il figino overo del fine della pittura . . .* (Mantua, 1591). Comanini calls the musician Mauro Cremonese, but this can only have been Sinibaldi who came from Cremona.

Although this artistic-musical cooperation probably dated from the reign of Maximilian II, the fact that Charles Luython owned a cembalo omnichordium which played quarter-tones is a sign that there was much experimentation going on at the imperial court.⁶² Carlo Ardesi (1550?–after 1612), another violinist, married Sinibaldi's widow, Marta. This musician was famous for her abilities as a singer and lutenist. Rudolf II ennobled Ardesi and his brother in 1589.⁶³ Ardesi also published a book of madrigals for four voices, which seems to have been the number of parts most commonly used in the imperial chamber ensemble.⁶⁴

Rudolf's patronage of the Hasslers seems to indicate a more than average interest in music, since Hans Leo and Jacob Hassler were apparently hardly ever in Prague. In spite of that, they were ennobled and held positions as Gentlemen of the Emperor's Chambers, although they did not dedicate works to Rudolf. Perhaps it was the pleasure the emperor took in the mechanical instruments that Hans Leo Hassler constructed for him, rather than his decided abilities as a composer, that attracted Rudolf II.⁶⁵ It seems strange that Rudolf would not have tried to replace Monte with someone he obviously favored as much as Hassler – and what a difference that would have made musically for the last decade of Rudolf's reign!

The mingling of the arts and sciences at Rudolf's court is also exemplified – on different levels – by two scientists. One is the famous astronomer Johannes Kepler, who was writing his *Harmonices mundi* while he stayed in Prague under Rudolf's patronage (although one might point out that he preferred Orlando di Lasso's compositions as examples of his ideas to those of his Prague contemporaries – Monte or Gallus, for example).⁶⁶ One of Rudolf's physicians, Michael Maier, employed musical canons as a technical aid for alchemistic formulas (which he claimed acted themselves as a mystical alchemistic symbol).⁶⁷ For the period, alchemy and astronomy were merely two different possible paths to the truth. That such diverging interests could be united under imperial patronage is just another example of the New-Platonic universality that dominated intellectual efforts at Rudolf's court.

Obviously mystical thoughts could influence musical works too. Monte wrote several works for seven voices divided into seven parts, and two of his last madrigal books, published in 1599 and 1600, were for seven voices. Where the numerical symbolism intended in a work dedicated to the Virgin Mary is clear, it seems less concrete when we consider its use in secular compositions. A possible connection to Rudolf's taste for the mystical might be seen in the dedication to the emperor of several such works. The first was a book of madrigals by the chaplain Giovanni Battista Galeno (1550/5–after 1626) which he dedicated to Rudolf in 1598. Galeno does not bother to mention why he chose the unusual number of seven voices for a secular work. Charles Luython culminated his career as a composer with his popular book of Masses which he dedicated to Rudolf in 1609. His intention is obvious

⁶² Charles Luython owned a cembalo that Michael Praetorius called an "Omnichordium." Luython was forced to sell it because Rudolf's successor did not pay his overdue salary. This instrument is described in detail in A. Smeijers, "Die kaiserliche Hofmusikkapelle von 1543–1619," *Studien Zur Musikwissenschaft* 8 (1921), 204ff.

⁶³ Vienna, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Adelsakten – Ardesi 1589.

⁶⁴ Carlo Ardesi, *Il primo libro de Madrigali a quattro voci* (Venice, 1597).

⁶⁵ Walter Blankenburg, "Hassler, Hans Leo," *Grove6*, vol. 8, 294–8.

⁶⁶ S. Jeans, "Kepler <Keppler>, Johannes," *Grove6*, vol. 9, 871.

⁶⁷ J. Rebotier, "Maier, Michael," *Grove6*, vol. 11, 535.

when the very first Mass in the volume uses seven voices of which one repeats the following text:

Caesar vive, faxit Deus noster
Omnes gentes clamant: Caesar vive!

The emperor is sacred and deserves to be raised to the level of the Saviour by intertwining these lines with the sacred texts of the Mass. Einstein suggested that the use of seven real polyphonic parts was a conscious development at the court in Prague as a reaction to the over-simplification of the polychoral style. If so, it was definitely a conservative element and one that went beyond musical considerations to mystical ones.⁶⁸

Summary

There are many indications that Rudolf II loved music and was willing to spend great sums to guarantee the quality of his court music chapel, which was one of the largest in Europe.⁶⁹ Aside from such official representation, the emperor also maintained a group of chamber musicians and composers that rivaled any other court in Europe. Working for Rudolf II was a lucrative business for musicians, for he could reward them with means such as ecclesiastical benefices by his right of reservation which was even confirmed by the Council of Trent. He was also generous when it came to expressing his appreciation of a musician with direct financial rewards, and almost every wedding of a musician or the baptism of a child reaped such a benefit. The most notable example of Rudolf's largesse was his wedding present of 500 Crowns to the violinist Mauro Sinibaldi in 1579. Rudolf also ennobled his musicians quite freely – an intangible reward that often even raised revenues for the state. From the viewpoint of the musicians there should have been more such occasional rewards, and it is interesting that Rudolf II tried to eliminate the traditional bonus that was expected for the New Year.⁷⁰ Bureaucracy and the proverbial pennilessness of most musicians defeated even such imperial aspirations. Rudolf only achieved a kind of standardization of this annual present based on the level of normal salary and he forbade requests for any other such "Gnadengeschenke." It is perhaps significant that he only seemed to object to this present for the chapel singers; he deemed his trumpeters worthy of such extra pecuniary rewards. As with any analysis of Rudolf's reign, music and its role must take into account the changes in the period after 1600. Dating from that year, Rudolf became more and more a recluse. Whether this was the result of mental illness or just his growing disappointment with the "real" world of politics can, at present, not be proven. For several years, only his closest chamber servants – among them Cristoph Harant z Polzice – had any contact with him, as he fled into an artificial world surrounded by his fabulous collections. These were, of course, the years when Kepler and Maier were in

⁶⁸ Alfred Einstein, "Italienische Musik und italienische Musiker am Kaiserhof und an den erzherzoglichen Höfen in Innsbruck und Graz," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 21 (1934), 25.

⁶⁹ The official musical body that accompanied the emperor to the imperial Diet at Regensburg in 1594 counted at least forty-four singers, five chamber musicians as well as twenty-six trumpeters and a drummer.

⁷⁰ Vienna, Hofkammerarchiv – Niederösterreichische Hofamt W 61/A, fols. 276–7v: (1579) The New Year's present is set at 1 crown for each of the trumpeters and one month's salary for the chapel members on the condition that they do not request any other special rewards during the year.

Prague, years when the emperor turned to alchemy and mysticism. Perhaps this development also explains his reticence about naming a new chapelmaster after Monte's death in 1603. Perhaps Rudolf chose to ignore the changing world that he could no longer influence.

Obviously such a change in a ruler of Rudolf II's importance seminated rumors that lived on in anecdotes. Two of these might contain a seed of truth that also indicates the state of music at the court in Prague in those last years of Rudolf's reign. The first anecdote claims that the emperor refused to attend Mass and had turned away from God to delve into alchemy and mysticism.⁷¹ We can only guess at the effect this would have had on the court music chapel, but it could have meant that there was little or no demand for sacred music performed by a large group of singers and instrumentalists. On the other hand, it seems hard to believe that the internal structure of the chapel, which implied continuous training of new boy singers and the performance of polyphonic Masses, would have suddenly stopped just because the emperor did not deign to be present.

The second anecdote relates how the chapel singers gathered under Rudolf's window in 1611 to draw his attention to their badly overdue salaries by singing a *Miserere*.⁷² If it indeed happened, it may even be related to the first story since it is the result of Rudolf's inaccessibility. The emperor had already lost any real power by that time and that circumstance may have caused the payments – never punctual anyway – to cease. It was probably the result of wishful thinking on the part of some later music lover that the anecdote claims the serenade moved Rudolf to order the immediate payment of his musicians, for the court records still speak of outstanding salaries owed to Rudolf's musicians into the reigns of Ferdinand II and even Ferdinand III! In any case, we can safely assume from the few documented statements by Rudolf II concerning music that this art also played an important role in imperial representation at his court.

Appendix

Works dedicated to Emperor Rudolf II or individual compositions in collections are indicated with *.

*Jacobus Vaet, "Currite foelices," printed in *Novi Thesauri Musici*, Bd. 5 (Venice, 1568) (modern edn CMM 64)

*Giuseppe Caimo, "Eccelsa e generosa prole" (probably for a celebration in northern Italy on the trip to Spain) in *Il Primo Libro de madrigali à Quattro Voci* (Milan, 1564) (modern edn Leta E. Miller, *Giuseppe Caimo Madrigali and Canzoni for four and five voices*, Recent Researches in Renaissance Music 84/5 [Madison, 1990])

Jakob Regnart, *Il Primo Libro delle Canzoni italiane* (Venice, 1574)

*Johannes de Cleve, "Veni maxime Dux" (motet for the entry in Wien 1577), printed in *Cantiones seu harmoniae sacrae* (Augsburg, 1579/80)

Filippo di Monte, *Il Settimo Libro delli madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1578)

Johann Knofelius, *Messe zum feierlichen Eingang in Breslau 1577* (MS in Budapest)

Christian Hollander, *Lamentationes Jeremiae Prophetiae* (1579 von Michael Echamer posthum gewidmet) Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna Cod. 11.772

⁷¹ Evans, *Rudolf II*, 196.

⁷² Dlabacz, *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, vol. II, col. 543.

- Filippo di Monte, *L'ottavo libro delli Madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1580)
Filippo di Monte, *Il Decimo Libro delli Madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1581)
Jacobus de Kerle, *Quatuor missae suavissimis modulationibus refertae, quarum una quatuor, reliquae vero quinque vocibus concinendae* (Antwerp, 1582)
Filippo di Monte, *Il Quinto Libro de Madrigali a sei voci* (Venice, 1583)
Giovanni Battista dalla Gostena, *Il Primo Libro de Madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1584)
Alessandro Orologio, *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1586)
Filippo di Monte, *Liber I Missarum* (Antwerp, 1587)
Camillo Zanotti, *Il Primo libro delli madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1587)
Camillo Zanotti, *Il Primo libro delli madrigali a sei voci* (Venice, 1589)
G. B. Galeno, *Il Primo Libro delli madrigali a sette voci* (Venice, 1598)
Liberale Zanchi, *Sacrae Cantiones Senis, Septenis, Octonis, & Duodenis Vocibus Concinendae* (Venice, 1589)
Jakob Regnart, *Missae Sacrae ad imitationem selectissimarum cantionum suavissima harmonia a quinque, sex & octo vocibus* (Frankfurt/Main, 1602)
*Orlando di Lasso, "Quid vulgo memorant?" and "Ergo rex vivat" for eight voices (Commending Rudolf as "Pater patriae" of the Germans at the imperial Diet in Augsburg in 1582) printed in *Magnus opus musicum* (1604); modern edn in *Orlandus de Lassus" Samtliche Werke*, ed. F. X. Haberl, vol. 19, pp. 122–132.
*Christoph Demantius, "Magnanimi Heroes" in *Tympanum Militare* (1/1600 and 2/1615)
Charles Luython, *Liber primus missarum* (Prague, 1609)