

## Jacobus Handl Gallus' Inventory: New Suggestions about the Music Books Found in the Composer's Belongings

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An inventory of the books possessed by the composer Jacobus Handl-Gallus was established in July 1591, a few days after the composer died. Today preserved at the Prague City Archive, this document has already been analysed and commented by many scholars, and from a rather early date. However, a number of details still deserved closer examination, concerning in particular the identification of the volumes contained in the inventory, and the link between these volumes and the composer's own creation and personal history.

Jacobus Handl, named "Gallus" (1550–1591), has left us a number of music prints elaborated directly by him and the Prague printer Jiří Nigrin (?–1606), with the help of his brother, Georgius Handl (?–1616).<sup>1</sup> These documents contain his music along with a significant number of texts, poems and declarations, which are the basic, and almost our only source of information on the composer.<sup>2</sup> Apart from manuscript accounts of visits made by Handl to specific places, or records mentioning his publications having been received by acquaintances or institutions, there is only one other significant document directly related to him in archival collections, which is the inventory of the music volumes found at his place of residence in Prague, established soon after he died in July 1591. This inventory, preserved at the Prague City Archive,<sup>3</sup> was written in Czech and has been carefully studied from a rather early date. Interestingly, the first mention of it was not made by a musicologist but by a historian, the prolific Zikmund Winter, in his *Malé historie ze života staročeského* [Little History of Old-Bohemian Life] published in 1888, which contains an integral transcription of the text.<sup>4</sup> Although Winter believed that the complete works of Handl had recently been published in London in 50 volumes, thus confusing his work with the first *opera omnia* publication devoted to the more famous George Frideric Handel,<sup>5</sup> he gave an interesting view

<sup>1</sup> This article is a reworking of a presentation delivered at the international musicological conference *Pramene renesanční a barokové hudby na Spiši a v Európe / Sources of Renaissance and Baroque Music in Spiš (Zips) and in Europe*, held in Svätý Jur, Slovakia, 24–25 June 2016. The latest and most accurate monograph devoted to Jacobus Handl Gallus and the sources of his music is Marko MOTNIK: *Jacob Handl-Gallus. Werk-Überlieferung-Rezeption, mit thematischem Katalog*, Tutzing 2012. Basic information about Jiří Nigrin as a printer can be gathered in Petr VOIT: "Černý, Jiří", in: *Encyklopedie knihy. Starší knižnická a příbuzné obory mezi polovinou 15. a 19. století* [Book Encyclopaedia. Early prints and related fields between mid 15<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries], Praha 2006, pp. 186–188.

<sup>2</sup> The only publication devoted to these texts is Edo ŠKULJ: *Gallusovi predgovori* [Gallus' Forewords], Ljubljana 1991, which gives a transcription of all known texts alongside with a Slovenian translation. A transcription of all texts, without translation, is also to be found in Dragotin CVETKO: *Iacobus Hándl Gallus vocatus Carniolanus*, Ljubljana 1991, pp. 137–177.

<sup>3</sup> Archiv Hlavního Města Prahy, *Liber Inventariorum*, Ms. 1173, ff. 235v–236r.

<sup>4</sup> Zikmund WINTER: *Malé historie ze života staročeského* [Little History of Old-Bohemian Life], Velké Meziříčí 1888, pp. 114–117. Accessible online at page: <<http://archive.org/stream/malehistoriezez00wintgoog#page/n4/mode/2up>> [access: 9 November 2016].

<sup>5</sup> This misunderstanding, which would still be widespread around 1900, was actually not Winter's since it originated some thirty years earlier in Ivan KUKULJEVIČ-SAKCINSKI: "Gallus, Jakob", in: *Slovník*

of this inventory considering that it represented the average musical culture of a cantor in Bohemia in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>6</sup> After this seminal mention, we find allusions to the inventory in almost every important Gallus studies of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, although no musicologist ever referred to Winter as its first modern editor. Moreover, the document does not seem to have been analysed in detail before 1991 and the publication of the *Gallusovi predgovori* [Gallus' Forewords] by Edo Škulj.<sup>7</sup> Before this, the first eminent Gallusologist, Josip Mantuani, had of course mentioned the document,<sup>8</sup> but only briefly and in relation to the mention it contains of Handl place of activity in Prague Old Town, the small romanesque church Svätý Jan na Břehu [Saint-John-on-the-Bank].<sup>9</sup> Later on, Dragotin Cvetko and Jitka Snížková also mentioned the document,<sup>10</sup> but it appeared to these two scholars that its contents seemed too limited to give an accurate idea of the complete collection of music books Gallus probably had had in his possession. Škulj's study therefore came to alter substantially the general opinion, when it made it clear, after a detailed depiction of each music book mentioned in the inventory, that these volumes actually mostly consisted of anthologies containing music by no less than 105 composers and 27 anonymous authors, reaching a total of 646 compositions.<sup>11</sup> Škulj also drew attention upon the high number of copies of Handl's own prints, leading him to suspect that the composer was himself at least partly responsible for the distribution of his prints.<sup>12</sup> More recently, Paweł Gancarczyk has given an even more detailed account of the commercial aspect of Handl activities, also on the basis of this inventory.<sup>13</sup> Although it seems that we are now well informed about this document,<sup>14</sup> the following remarks are intended to complement already available studies by several points or alterations, which can also serve as suggestions for further research.

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*umjetnikah jugoslavenskih* [Dictionary of Yugoslav Artists], vol. 1, Zagreb 1858, pp. 95–96. Accessible online at page: < <https://books.google.com/books?id=aktRAAAAcAAJ> > [access: 14 November 2016].

<sup>6</sup> An idea which would also be mentioned in Winter's monumental study *Život církevní v Čechách* [Ecclesiastical Life in Bohemia] eight years later (vol. 2, Praha 1896, p. 971). Accessible online at page: < <http://archive.org/stream/ivotcirkvenvehc00wintgoog/page/n6/mode/2up> > [access: 9 November 2016].

<sup>7</sup> ŠKULJ, *Gallusovi predgovori* (see note 2), pp. 140–149.

<sup>8</sup> First mentions in Josip MANTUANI: "Jakob Gallus", *Cerkveni glasbenik* 14, (July 1891), no. 7, p. 50 and nos. 8–9, p. 65. Later in Josip MANTUANI: "Einleitung", in: *Jacob Handl (Gallus), Opus Musicum I* [= OM I, 1–64], Wien 1899, p. XXIX.

<sup>9</sup> Also known as Svätý Jan na Zábradlí [Saint-John at the balustrade].

<sup>10</sup> CVETKO, *Jacobus Händl Gallus...* (see note 2), pp. 34–36 and 124–125, was preceded by *Jacobus Gallus: sein Leben und Werk*, München 1972, p. 34 and p.113, by the same author. Jitka SNÍŽKOVÁ: "Gallus und Prag in drei Dokumenten", in: *Jacobus Gallus and his time / in njegov čas*, Dragotin Cvetko, Danilo Pokorn (eds.), Ljubljana 1985, p. 137. Between these two studies, the inventory was also published without an attempt at identifying the titles by Jiří PEŠEK: "Z pražské hudební kultury měšťanského soukromí před Bilou horou" [From Prague Musical Culture of Burgher Privacy before 1620], *Hudební věda* 20 (1983), no. 3, p. 255.

<sup>11</sup> ŠKULJ, *Gallusovi predgovori* (see note 2), pp. 146–148.

<sup>12</sup> ŠKULJ, *Gallusovi predgovori* (see note 2), p. 141, note 290.

<sup>13</sup> Paweł GANCARCZYK: "The Mystery of *Sacrae Cantiones* (Nuremberg 1597): remarks on Jacob Handl and 16<sup>th</sup> century printing practice", *De Musica Disserenda* 3 (2007), no. 2, pp. 29–30. And, Paweł GANCARCZYK: *La Musique et la révolution de l'imprimerie, les mutations de la culture musicale au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, French translation by Wojciech Bońkowski, Lyon 2015 (orig. Polish ed.: Toruń, 2011), pp. 177–179.

<sup>14</sup> The latest transcription of this inventory, with commentary, is in Scott EDWARDS: *Repertory Migration in the Czech Crown Lands, 1570–1630*, Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley 2012, pp. 28–30. Accessible online at page: < <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/40v1r1r0#page-2> > [access: 14 November 2016].

The inventory is introduced by a few lines recalling the composer's former situation and mentioning the four persons responsible for its establishment and copy.<sup>15</sup>

“Leta panie 1591 w strzedu v Wigilij s° Jakuba aposstola stal se popis partes a knih po niekdy Jakubowi Handlowi ~~Geo. M. C.~~ kantoru przi kostele s° Jana na Brzehu, v przitomnosti Girzika Handle tehož Jakuba Handle Bratra Thomasse Ffolckmana, Jana Ssumana, a Pawla Pihaweho rychtarze miestskeho pisarze.”

In the year of the Lord 1591, on Wednesday, vigil of Saint James the apostle,<sup>16</sup> has been established a depiction of partbooks and books at the late Jakub Handl's, cantor (deleted: of His I.[mperial] M.[ajesty])<sup>17</sup> at the church Saint-John-on-the-Bank, in presence of Jiřík Handl, brother of this Jakub Handl, Tomáš Folkman, Jan Šuman, and Pavel Pihavý, lawyer at the municipal notary study.

Two of the four persons whose names are mentioned can be easily identified. Jiřík (Georgius) Handl is the composer's brother, working himself as a printer and long standing partner of both Nigrin in Prague and the Gerlach workshop in Nuremberg.<sup>18</sup> Another member of the printer's milieu is the famous Jan Šuman (Schumann), a printer from Germany who, at the time, was only starting his business but who would later become one of the most important characters of the book culture in Rudolphine Prague.<sup>19</sup> Among the two remaining persons, Pavel Pihavý is only known through the mention of his profession, but Tomáš Folkman appears to have been an important contributor to the wealth and care of the Saint-John church, as we can infer from a later depiction of the building, which is said to have been decorated by a painting and inscription honouring Folkman, who was a benefactor of the church.<sup>20</sup>

After these introductory lines, the inventory itself begins, containing mention of 26 items, listed with abridged reference of their title, sometimes of their author and format, and with the number of exemplars found in Handl's belongings. Below is a literal reproduction of this list, to which have been added reference numbers at the beginning of each line for the sake of commodity. Each item is followed by an English translation in second column.

<sup>15</sup> The author of the article has used Edo Škulj's transcription of the text (see note 2). Details of this transcription may have been modified by the editorial board of *Hudební věda* on the basis of a later comparison with the original manuscript.

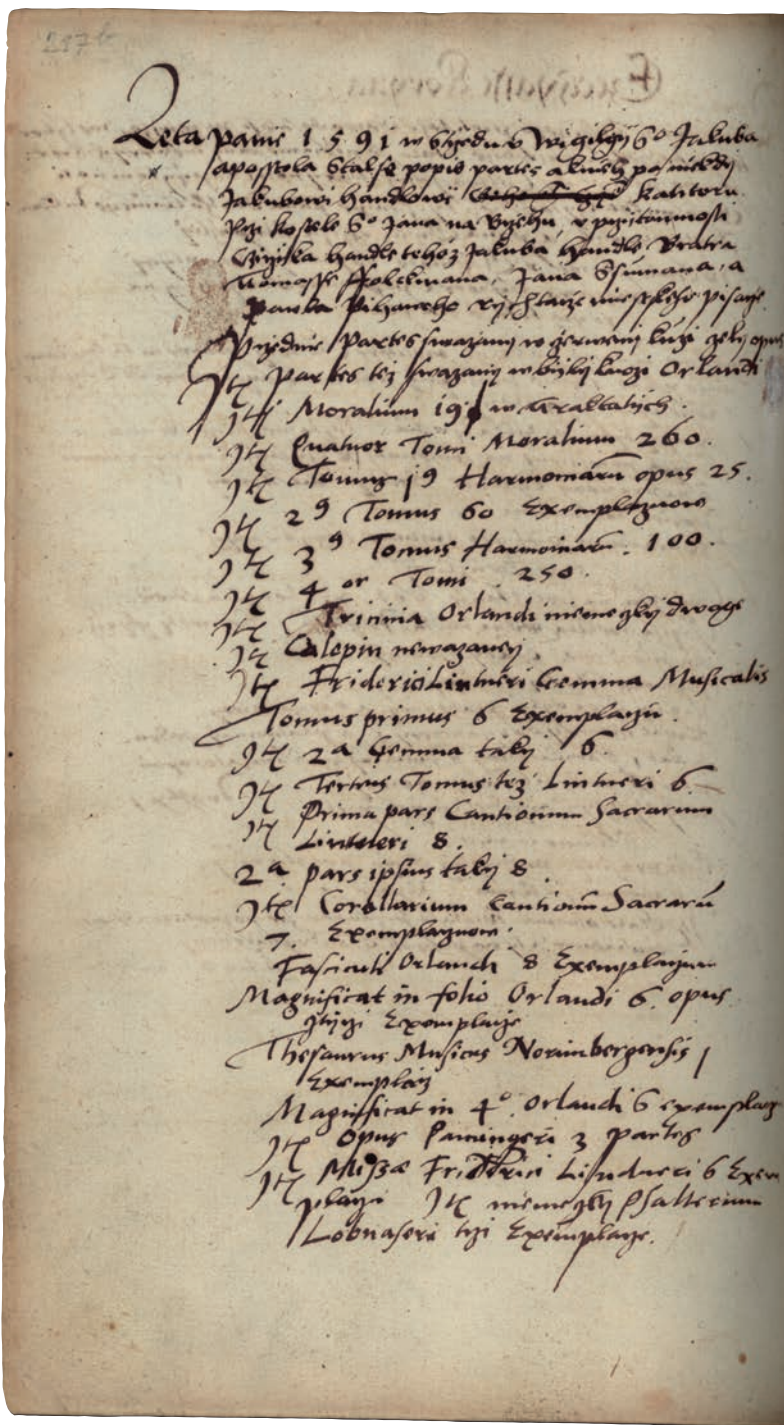
<sup>16</sup> That is Wednesday 24<sup>th</sup> July, 1591, six days after the composer died.

<sup>17</sup> Until now, no explanation has been given about the curious deletion of the term “imperial” associated with the composer's function, already noticed by Mantuani 1899 (note 8, p. XXIX). As a matter of fact, if the church was itself under protection of Rudolph II, the composer himself did not belong to any of the imperial musical forces at Prague Castle, which may explain why the mention was suppressed, although it remains to be established if this deletion drawn with an ink was made at the time of the inventory itself, or at a later date.

<sup>18</sup> About Georgius Handl as a printer, cf. Vorr, *Encyklopedie knihy* (see note 1), p. 341. About the link between this printer and Jacobus Handl's brother, see Marc DESMET: “‘Typographicum robor fractum’: Jacob Handl's Relationship with the Printing Press”, *De musica disserenda* 3 (2007), no. 2, pp. 13–25. Accessible online at page: < <http://ojs.zrc-sazu.si/dmd/article/view/2039> > [access: 14 November 2016].

<sup>19</sup> About Jan Schumann, cf. Vorr, *Encyklopedie knihy* (see note 1), pp. 803–804 and Petra VEČEŘOVÁ: *Šumanská tiskárna 1585–1628*, Praha 2002.

<sup>20</sup> On the left of the main altar of the church, stood an altar devoted to Saint John Nepomucene with an image of Saint Antony of Padua. An inscription underneath the image read: “This altar was built at the expense of the noble and honest widow Markéta Folkman in memory of her husband, the reputable gentleman Tomáš Folkman, a citizen of Prague's Old Town.” See Joannes Florianus HAMMERSCHMID: *Prodromus gloriae Pragenae*, Vetro-Pragae 1723, pp. 222–223. Accessible online at page: < <https://books.google.com/books?id=GxtLAAAACAAJ> > [access: 14 November 2016].



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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Przednie partes swazany w czerweny kuzi cely opus</i></li> <li>2. <i>Item partes tež swazany w bijly kuozi Orlandi</i></li> <li>3. <i>Item Moraliium 190 w traktatijch.</i></li> <li>4. <i>Item Quatuor Tomi Moraliium 260.</i></li> <li>5. <i>Item Tomus 1<sup>[us]</sup> Harmoniaru[m] opus 25.</i></li> <li>6. <i>Item 2<sup>[us]</sup> Tomus 60 exemplarzuow</i></li> <li>7. <i>Item 3<sup>[us]</sup> Tomus Harmoniaru[m] 100.</i></li> <li>8. <i>Item 4<sup>[or]</sup> Tomi 250.</i></li> <li>9. <i>Item Tricinia Orlandi niemezky dwoge</i></li> <li>10. <i>Item Calepin newazaney</i></li> <li>11. <i>Item Friderici Lintneri Gemma Musicalis Tomus primus 6 Exemplarzu.</i></li> <li>12. <i>Item 2<sup>a</sup> Gemma taky 6.</i></li> <li>13. <i>Item Tertius Tomus tež Lintneri 6.</i></li> <li>14. <i>Item Prima pars Cantionum Sacrarum Lintneri 8.</i></li> <li>15. <i>2<sup>a</sup> pars ipsius taky 8.</i></li> <li>16. <i>Item Corollarium cantionu[m] Sacraru[m] 7 exemplarzuow.</i></li> <li>17. <i>Fasciculi Orlandi 8 exemplarzuw<sup>21</sup></i></li> <li>18. <i>Magnificat in folio Orlandi 6. opus ctyrzy Exemplarze</i></li> <li>19. <i>Thesaurus Musicus Norimbergensis 1 Exemplarz</i></li> <li>20. <i>Magnificat in 4°. Orlandi 6 exemplarzu</i></li> <li>21. <i>Item Opus Pamingeri 3 partes</i></li> <li>22. <i>Item Missae Friderici Lindneri 6 Exemplarzu</i></li> <li>23. <i>Item niemezky Psalterium Lobuaseri trzi Exemplarze.<sup>22</sup></i></li> <li>24. <i>Item Opus Sacraru[m] Cantionum Dresleri</i></li> <li>25. <i>Harmoniae Lechneri dwie</i></li> <li>26. <i>Modulationes Sacrarum quinq[ue] dwa Exemplarze</i></li> </ol> <p><i>Item wsseliyakych deffectuow mnoho w temž sklepie gest.</i></p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. First, partbooks of the whole <i>opus</i> bound in red leather</li> <li>2. partbooks of <i>Orlandi</i> also bound in white leather</li> <li>3. 19 <i>Moralia</i> in gatherings</li> <li>4. Four tomes of <i>Moralia</i>, 260 [copies]</li> <li>5. 1<sup>st</sup> Tome of the <i>Harmoniarum opus</i>, 25 [copies]</li> <li>6. 2<sup>nd</sup> Tome, 60 copies</li> <li>7. 3<sup>rd</sup> Tome of the <i>Harmoniarum</i>, 100 [copies]</li> <li>8. 4<sup>th</sup> Tome, 250 [copies]</li> <li>9. <i>Tricinia Orlandi</i> in German, two [copies]</li> <li>10. <i>Calepinus</i> unbound</li> <li>11. First Tome of <i>Friderici Lindneri Gemma Musicalis</i>, 6 copies</li> <li>12. 2<sup>nd</sup> [tome of] <i>Gemma</i> also 6 [copies]</li> <li>13. Third Tome also of <i>Lindneri</i>, 6 [copies]</li> <li>14. First part of <i>Cantionum Sacrarum Lindneri</i>, 8 [copies]</li> <li>15. 2<sup>nd</sup> part of the same, also 8 [copies]</li> <li>16. <i>Corollarium cantionum Sacrarum</i> 7 copies</li> <li>17. Partbooks of <i>Orlandi</i> 8 copies</li> <li>18. <i>Magnificat Orlandi</i> in folio, opus 6, four copies</li> <li>19. <i>Thesaurus Musicus</i> of Nuremberg 1 copy</li> <li>20. <i>Magnificat Orlandi</i> in quarto, 6 copies</li> <li>21. <i>Opus Pamingeri</i>, 3 parts</li> <li>22. <i>Missae Friderici Lindneri</i> 6 copies</li> <li>23. German <i>Psalterium</i> by Lobwasser, three copies</li> <li>24. <i>Opus Sacrarum Cantionum</i> by Dressler</li> <li>25. <i>Harmoniae</i> by Lechner, two [copies]</li> <li>26. <i>Modulationes Sacrarum quinq[ue]</i> two copies</li> </ol> <p>There are many defective items of all kinds in this cellar.</p> |
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Items 1. and 4. to 8. are easily identified and concern Handl's own production, they are listed in the following table.

<sup>21</sup> This line is missing in Škulj's transcription and translation. ŠKULJ, *Gallusovi predogovori* (see note 2), p. 142.

<sup>22</sup> EDWARDS, *Repertory migration in the Czech crown lands...* (see note 14), p. 29, reads the expression "psany" on the inventory at the beginning of this line [*psany item nemecky Psalterium Lobwasseri*], meaning that this copy of the Psalter would be manuscript... we prefer to read at this point, instead of "psany", the syllables "-plarzu", which form the end of the word "Exemplarzu" started at the end of the previous line.

Table I – Handl’s own production in the inventory

Item	Author – Title	Year	Copies	RISM A/I
1.	Handl – <i>Opus musicum</i> (complete)	1586–1591	1	[H 1980-2/1985
4.	Handl – <i>Harmoniae Morales</i>	1589–1590	260	[H 1983
5.	Handl – <i>Opus musicum</i> I	1586	25	[H 1980
6.	Handl – <i>Opus musicum</i> II	1587	60	[H 1981
7.	Handl – <i>Opus musicum</i> III	1587	100	[H 1982
8.	Handl – <i>Opus musicum</i> IV	1591	250	[H 1985

These first items, easily identified, already make it clear to the reader that their titles do not necessarily follow the expressions of the title pages in their exact order. Thus the expression *Harmoniarum* calls for the *Opus musicum*, whose title indeed reads *Tomus primus [-quartus] musici operis Harmoniarum*. The *Harmoniae Morales* are likewise called by their plural genitive *Moralium* found in their title page with the expression *Liber Harmoniarum Moralium*. This selective but meaningful reading of the titles implies that the editing of these titles in the inventory has necessarily been made by someone who had a full understanding of the titles and of the contents of the books, which cannot mean someone else than Georgius Handl, the composer’s brother. As for the number of copies, it seems clear that the *Harmoniae Morales* (item no. 4) together with tome IV of the *Opus Musicum* (no. 8), having been published in 1590,<sup>23</sup> were still “fresh” productions out of the printing workshop, hence with a high number of available copies. Given this high number, one should carefully take notice that these six items alone represent a global amount of no less than 4552 volumes, if we reckon every partbook as a separate entity.<sup>24</sup> It is not known to what division the mention of the *quatuor tomi* [four tomes] of item no. 4 may refer, since the *Harmoniae Morales* are divided into three books and not four, as Škulj already remarked.<sup>25</sup> A ready-made explanation would identify in these four *tomi* the four partbooks of this collection. If this were the case, however, then this depiction of the item would be unique in the whole inventory which elsewhere never reckons the partbooks as entities. We also note that the four books of Handl’s masses, printed in 1580,<sup>26</sup> are absent from this list. Motnik suggests that the drawing of these volumes must have been limited and that none of them was actually available at the time when the inventory was established.<sup>27</sup>

Two “problematic” items are found, mingled within this initial group, at nos. 2 and 3. The *Orlandi* title, mentioned immediately after Handl’s own copy of the *Opus Musicum* as item no. 2 can only refer to a Roland de Lassus (Orlandus Lassus) printed edition, but remains something of a riddle, since the use of the

<sup>23</sup> Although tome IV of the *Opus musicum* bears 1590 as its publication date, its foreword is dated January 1591.

<sup>24</sup> On the possibly commercial significance of this high number of volumes possessed by Handl, see notes 12 and 13.

<sup>25</sup> ŠKULJ, *Gallusovi predogovori* (see note 2), p. 141, note 289.

<sup>26</sup> RISM A/I [H 1976–H 1979].

<sup>27</sup> MOTNIK, *Jacob Handl-Gallus. Werk-Überlieferung-Rezeption...* (see note 1), p. 34.

genitive form *Orlandi* in the title is not a useful clue. The high number of Lassus' editions elaborated in Venice, Munich or Nuremberg bearing the mention *Orlandi Lassi Sacrae Cantiones* at the top of their title page leaves us with no decisive argument for a possible match. Given the almost absolute pre-eminence of Nuremberg as a printing place among the documents mentioned in the inventory, the enquiry about this *Orlandi* item could perhaps be limited to the three *Orlandi Lassi* titles emanating from this famous workshop

1. *Sacrae Cantiones quinque vocum* (Dietrich Gerlach, 1575, RISM [L 880])
2. *Liber missarum quatuor et quinque vocum* (Gerlach, 1581, RISM [L 924]) or
3. *Teutsche Lieder mit funff Stimmen* (Catharina Gerlach, 1583, RISM [L 947]),

but there is no reason to consider why another, more ambitious publication, should be discarded at that point.<sup>28</sup> If we take into account the fact that this *Orlandi* item finds itself immediately after Handl's own entire *Opus musicum*, and just before Handl's separate collections, and that it is also bound in leather, that is in a "luxury" fashion of which these first two items are the only occurrences in the whole inventory, this *Orlandi* could in fact call for the *Orlandi de Lasso Patrocinium Musicum* series, of which five volumes had been issued in Munich by Adam Berg between 1573 and 1576.<sup>29</sup> Another item found at no. 18 seems to confirm this hypothesis.<sup>30</sup>

The *Moralium* volume in nineteen gatherings mentioned in no. 3 had previously not been identified by Edo Škulj,<sup>31</sup> but the author of this article suggested in a recent article to identify here one of the proof exemplars of the not yet published *Moralia*.<sup>32</sup> The arguments made in favour of this assumption are taken predominantly from nineteen gatherings which could perfectly correspond to the number of sections necessary for the constitution of a volume containing music for 5, 6 and 8 parts (5 + 6 + 8 = 19), which is exactly what the *Moralia* stand for.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Both the *Selectissimae Cantiones* published in 1568 in two parts or the revision made by Leonhard Lechner of this publication in 1579, also in two parts, could also be considered, although they lack the *Orlandi* genitive.

<sup>29</sup> This ambitious series of choirbooks volumes in-folio whose titles were always starting with the expression: *Patrocinium Musices Orlandi de Lasso*... written in capital letters. See for example title page of part one, from the digital collections of the Bavarian State Library in Munich at page: < <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0009/bsb00092954/images/?viewmode=1> > [access: 14 November 2016]. The series was to be continued, also with Lassus' music from 1587 onwards, but with a different mention of the author on the title page (*authore Orlando de Lasso*), situated after the title in lower case, and not at the beginning.

<sup>30</sup> Item no. 18 may indeed refer to another volume of the *Patrocinium Musices* series, see further in this article, pp. 450–451.

<sup>31</sup> ŠKULJ, *Gallusovi predgovori* (see note 2), p. 141, note 288 saw here the probable mention of a collection of texts only.

<sup>32</sup> Published later on posthumously in Nuremberg in 1596 by Alexander Philip Dietrich, this volume shows many signs of a hasty and neglected editing process which reveal that obstacles have probably contributed to a complicated initial setting. See Marc DESMET: "'Gallus apud Belgas' or the Douai *Moralia* (1603) Reconsidered", *De musica disserenda* 11 (2015), nos. 1–2, pp. 67–86. Accessible online at page: < <http://ojs.zrc-sazu.si/dmd/article/view/3067/2798> > [access: 14 November 2016].

<sup>33</sup> Another support for this assertion lies in the aspect of the *Moralia* print itself as we know it today, issued as late as five years later in Nuremberg. If its title-page bears the address of printer Alexander Philipp Dietrich (a former type setter at the Gerlach press who did not start his own business before 1595), its content, unlike all other music prints established from the Dietrich workshop, shows to be typographically equivalent to Gerlach prints and could therefore have been prepared at the Gerlach workshop (active until 1592), at a time when the composer was still alive.

Items no. 9. to 26. consist mostly of anthologies, among which the following twelve items have been already identified.

**Table II – Volumes of the inventory already identified**

Item	Author (or Editor), Title	Publisher – Year	Copies	RISM A/I or B/I
11.	Lindner (ed.), <i>Gemma Musicalis</i> I	C. Gerlach – 1588	6	1588.21
12.	Lindner (ed.), <i>Gemma Musicalis</i> II	C. Gerlach – 1589	6	1589.8
13.	Lindner (ed.), <i>Gemma Musicalis</i> III	C. Gerlach – 1590	6	1590.20
14.	Lindner (ed.), <i>Sacrae Cantiones</i> I	C. Gerlach – 1585	8	1585.1
15.	Lindner (ed.), <i>Sacrae Cantiones</i> II [continuatio]	C. Gerlach – 1588	8	1588.2
16.	Lindner (ed.), <i>Sacrae Cantiones</i> III [corollarium]	C. Gerlach – 1590	7	1590.5
19.	<i>Thesaurus Musicus</i> I [or I–IV]	Montanus & Neuber – 1564	1	1564.1 (or 1564.1–4)
20.	Lassus, <i>Magnificat octo tonorum sex... quatuor vorum</i>	Th. Gerlach – 1567 (or R/1573 or R/1580)	6	L 805 [L 861 – L 923]
21.	Päminger, <i>Ecclesiasticae cantiones</i> I–II–III	Th. Gerlach – 1573 (I–II) K. Gerlach & Bergs Erben 1576 (III)	1	P 828-829-830
22.	Lindner (ed.), <i>Missae quinque quinis vocibus</i>	C. Gerlach – 1590	6	1590.1
24.	Dressler, <i>Opus sacrarum cantionum</i>	C. Gerlach & Bergs Erben – 1577 or C. Gerlach – 1585	1	D 3522 or D 3523
25.	Lechner (ed.), <i>Harmoniae miscellae</i>	Gerlach – 1583	2	1583.2

More than half of the items on this list, consisting exclusively of Nuremberg prints, are anthologies compiled by Friedrich Lindner, displaying an extensive choice of Italian madrigals (*Gemma Musicalis*, items nos. 11–13), alongside anthologies of motets (items nos. 14–16) and masses (item no. 22) also originating from Italian masters, with few exceptions. This choice placed the Italian compositional and stylistic environment at an easy reach indeed for Handl, as did the *Harmoniae miscellae* compiled by Leonhard Lechner (item no. 25), which added still another volume of Italian motets. It seems also significant that both the three volumes of *Sacrae cantiones* compiled by Lindner (items nos. 14–16) and the *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* by Leonhard Päminger (item no. 21) are distributed according to the liturgical seasons, in a way which echoes (or announces) exactly



the distribution of Handl's own *Opus musicum*. Another, older, motet anthology is the *Thesaurus musicus* published in 1564 (item no. 19), but it is not clear whether this item designates only the first tome or the whole, four tome, collection. Among the two remaining items (nos. 20 and 24), the Lassus' *Magnificat* publication in-quarto made in Nuremberg in 1567 appears to have been one of the most successful of the Gerlach workshop and was reprinted twice, in 1573 and 1580.<sup>34</sup> It is not known to which one of these three prints Handl's inventory may refer to, nor can we guess to which of its two Gerlach editions (1577 or 1585), the Dressler *Opus* mentioned as item no. 24 should be associated.

The six remaining items of the inventory have not yet been identified. They sometimes call for a renewed approach, sometimes appear simply out of our reach. This is especially the case of the *Calepinus* dictionary (item no. 10), already widespread in many editions in 1591,<sup>35</sup> out of which nothing can be inferred given the laconic inscription of the inventory. The same can be said for item no. 23, the German *Psalterium* by Lobwasser, which is also impossible to identify, for the same reasons. Škulj quotes the original, Leipzig 1573 edition,<sup>36</sup> as a target here, but there is no reason why the inventory could not refer to any of the other editions elaborated until 1591 as well.<sup>37</sup> Item no. 9 on the other hand, the *Tricinia Orlandi niemezky*, can only stand for a volume containing three part polyphony (*Tricinia*) by Lassus (*Orlandi*) in German (*niemezky*), but these details do not easily match any of the known Lassus publications elaborated before or in 1591. In terms of contents, they could possibly refer to the *Teutsche Psalmen... mit 3 Stimmen* published in 1588 by Roland de Lassus and his son Rudolph,<sup>38</sup> which are indeed for three parts and on German texts,<sup>39</sup> although the word *Tricinia* mentioned in the listing does not appear on the title page. They could also refer to a collection with German texts of which trace has been today lost. Other three voice collections by Lassus are referred to as *Motetti a 3 voci* (Gardano 1592, a source not yet printed at the time of the inventory) or *Liber Motettarum trium vocum* (Berg 1575), but neither of them as *Tricinia*, and they would not correspond to the "German" language mentioned in the inventory either. An easier

<sup>34</sup> See Annie CŒURDEVEY: *Roland de Lassus*, Paris 2003, pp. 146–147.

<sup>35</sup> Initially conceived as a latin dictionary from its first edition in 1502, the *Calepinus* soon extended to a latin and greek edition (1513), then to editions in five (1546), seven (1567) and eleven languages (1590), the last two of these published in Basel.

<sup>36</sup> *Der Psalter dess Königlichen Propheten Davids... durch... Ambrosium Lobwasser*, Hans Steinmann und Ernst Vögelin, Leipzig 1573. Lobwasser conceived his translation to be sung on the melodies of the Genevan psalter first published in 1562, but many editions of this psalter, as already this first in 1573, were published with the four voice polyphony by Claude Goudimel, first published on the original French text in Paris and Geneva in 1564 and 1565. On the complex history of the Lobwasser publications, see Andreas MARTI: "Das Genfer Psalter in den deutschsprachigen Ländern im. 16 und 17. Jahrhundert", *Zwingliana* 28 (2001), pp. 45–72. Accessible online at page: <<http://zwingliana.ch/index.php/zwa/article/viewFile/216/127>> [access: 14 November 2016].

<sup>37</sup> At least sixteen different editions are known between 1573 and 1591 (not including twin editions published the same year), originating from Leipzig (1573, 1576, 1584), Heidelberg (1574, 1577, 1578), Neustadt (1582, 1585, 1586, 1590, 1591), Strasburg (1586), Geneva (1587), and Herborn (1587, 1589, 1591), cf. MARTI, "Das Genfer Psalter..." (see note 36), p. 66.

<sup>38</sup> RISM B/I 1588.12.

<sup>39</sup> This three-voice psalm collection was composed on the metrical translation of psalms conceived by the Catholic theologian Caspar Ulenberg as a counterpart to the Lobwasser Protestant version.

identification is provided by item no. 17, an item which is curiously omitted in Škulj's transcription, and seems at first to present a case similar to item no. 2. Its mention of *fasciculi* (fascicles) devoted to Lassus is not as vague as one could think however, since only one edition can correspond to it, which is the *Orlandi Lassi... Fasciculi aliquot sacrarum cantionum* published in Nuremberg in 1582 and in 1589 at the Gerlach workshop.<sup>40</sup> Item no. 18, which refers to an in-folio Magnificat edition by *Orlandi* (Lassus), appears on the other hand more problematic. The "in folio" mention would mean it is a volume in choir book format. It is therefore not possible here to follow Edo Škulj, who gives the Nuremberg 1567 print (or 1573/1580) as a target.<sup>41</sup> Not only does this very print appear clearly mentioned two lines afterwards in the inventory as item no. 20, but it is furthermore printed in the shape of in-quarto partbooks, not in-folio. Item no. 18 could therefore much better correspond to one of the two in-folio, Munich editions, of Lassus' Magnificats

1. *Patrocinium Musices Orlandi de Lasso... Magnificat aliquot quatuor... octo vocum, quinta pars* (Munich, Adam Berg, 1576) [RISM A/I L 885]  
or
2. *Patrocinium Musices... B.V. Mariae canticum Magnificat 4, 5 & 6 vocibus... authore Orlando de Lasso* (Munich, Adam Berg, 1587) [RISM A/I L 974].

As far as the title is concerned, both these editions match the inventory depiction since the word *Magnificat* appears clearly set in capital letters in both of them.<sup>42</sup> We do not find an indication that any of them should be a "6 opus" however, as it is clearly specified in the inventory. Although this addition appears somewhat puzzling, it probably gives us a clue towards choice no. 2. We have to remember that the *Patrocinium Musices* series started in Munich in 1573 with a *prima pars* (first volume = motets), and was to encompass up to 1576 a total of five volumes solely devoted to Lassus, with the publication of the Magnificat collection mentioned above as no. 1, which clearly bears the indication "Quinta Pars".<sup>43</sup> Seven other volumes would follow in this series, published up until 1598,<sup>44</sup> but without any more mention of a numbering on the title page and not necessarily devoted to Lassus. The first volume to be published in this new series (therefore the sixth of the whole *Patrocinium* collection) appeared in 1578 and contained Passion music by Ludwig Daser.<sup>45</sup> The Lassus' Magnificat volume of 1587 (no. 2 above) then followed, as the seventh of the whole *Patrocinium* collection, but actually representing the sixth entirely devoted to Lassus' music.

<sup>40</sup> RISM A/I [L 937 (1582) or [L 991 (1589)].

<sup>41</sup> ŠKULJ, *Gallusovi predogovori* (see note 2), p. 143, note 296.

<sup>42</sup> Compare these two title pages, both scanned and accessible online at the Digital Collections of the Bavarian State Library in Munich: <<http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0009/bsb00092952/images/?viewmode=1>> (1576) [access: 2 November 2016] and <<http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0009/bsb00092958/images/index.html?id=00092958&groesser=&fip=193.174.98.30&no=&seite=3>> (1587) [access: 2 November 2016].

<sup>43</sup> Although this expression was also used at the time for partbooks designed for the "fifth voice", there is no ambiguity here since we are dealing with a choir book in folio, each double page of the opened book bearing all voices of the polyphony. "Quinta pars" therefore means "Fifth volume" (of the *Patrocinium* series).

<sup>44</sup> CŒURDEVY, *Roland de Lassus* (see note 34), p. 225.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 340.

Shall we see here an explanation for the mysterious “6 opus” mention found in the inventory? The hypothesis certainly deserves to be formulated, and not the least because it would enhance the hypothesis of item no. 2 as being constituted of the five other *Orlandi* volumes of the series.<sup>46</sup>

A last problematic identification is the *Modulationes sacrarum* (item no. 26), which had been associated by Škulj to the collection *Modulationes aliquot quatuor vocum* published in Nuremberg in 1538.<sup>47</sup> This would seem a rather early date compared to the rest of the collection, with a title furthermore not really matching the expression used in the inventory. A more convincing candidate for this item could be the print entitled *Jaches Wert musici suavissimi Modulationum Sacrarum, quinque et sex vocibus* published in Nuremberg in 1583,<sup>48</sup> since it both corresponds to the title<sup>49</sup> and has a more recent date of issue. Moreover, the layout of the title page could easily explain why the first words of the title, printed in small type, should have been dropped out by the editor of the list.<sup>50</sup> The suggested identifications of all these remaining items are summarised in the following table.

**Table III – Suggested identifications for remaining items**

Item	Suggested identification	Publisher, Year	Copies	RISM A/I or B/I
2.	Lassus, <i>Patrocinium Musices</i> I–V	Adam Berg, 1573–1576	1	[L 857 (I) [L 873 (II) [L 874 (III) [L 877 (IV) [L 885 (V)
3.	Handl, <i>Moralia</i> (proof drawing in 19 bindings)	[? C. Gerlach, 1591?] posth. published by Alexander Philipp Dietrich, 1596	1	[H 1988
9.	Lassus, <i>Teutsche psalmen... mit 3 Stimmen</i>	Adam Berg, 1588	2	1588.12
10.	<i>Calepinus</i>	???		

<sup>46</sup> See above in this article, p. 447.

<sup>47</sup> ŠKULJ, *Gallusovi predgovori* (see note 2), p. 145, note 304.

<sup>48</sup> RISM A/I [W 853].

<sup>49</sup> The modification of *Modulationum* into *Modulationes* in the inventory again proves that the editor of the list, presumably Georgius Handl, was really familiar with title pages of music collections.

<sup>50</sup> This title page can be viewed through the scan accessible online at the Digital Collections of the Bavarian State Library in Munich: <<http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0009/bsb00094076/images/?viewmode=1>> [access: 3 November 2016]. Another possible identification of this volume has been suggested, referring this time to the *Modulationes sacrae* by Johannes Nucius (Nigrin, 1591 / RISM N 806). This hypothesis proves less convincing than the Wert's volume, however, in that it would make this item a complete outsider compared with the others on the list. Not only would it be the only Nigrin publication outside Handl's own works, but it would also be, moreover, the only title described in the inventory with a forged genitive form not present on the original title page. Although Handl and Nucius did both work in Prague at the same time and probably knew each other well, the Wert suggestion seems more convincing also for stylistic reasons. Handl had already built one of his masses on a model by the Flemish master, and he also showed in many of his motets of the *Opus musicum*, including the famous *Mirabile mysterium*, that Wert's dramatic use of chromaticism as well as his subtle management of voice settings were probably not foreign to him.

Table III (continuation) – Suggested identifications for remaining items

Item	Suggested identification	Publisher, Year	Copies	RISM A/I or B/I
17.	Lassus, <i>Fasciculi aliquot sacrarum cantionum</i>	Gerlach, 1582 (R/1589)	8	[L 937 (1582) [L 991 (1589)
18.	Lassus, <i>Patrocinium musices</i> , [VI] <i>Magnificat</i>	Adam Berg, 1587	4	[L 974
23.	Lobwasser, <i>Psalterium</i>	???	3	
26.	Wert, <i>Modulationes Sacrarum</i>	Gerlach, 1583	2	[W 853

### Conclusion

If we take into account all items and available copies mentioned in the inventory, and reckon every partbook as separate entities, the amount of books described in Jacobus Handl's inventory reaches circa 5 000 volumes! From the point of view of sources, this inventory sheds light on the great importance of Lassus' music for Gallus, together with Italian compositions. It also reveals that psalm compositions, both catholic and calvinist, were not unknown to the Carniolian composer, and that further research will probably gain from a closer examination of models in the works of Giaches de Wert or Gallus Dressler. It also confirms some hypotheses about the chronology of his brother's activities. Should we leave aside the composer's own prints, together with the three references which are completely out of reach (Calepinus, Lobwasser and the *Orlandi* of item no. 2), as well as the two Lassus items which for now will remain conjectural (1587 *Magnificat* in-folio as no. 18, and the 1588 *Teutsche Psalmen* as no. 9, both presumably Munich editions), we find ourselves in front of a list which is exclusively made of Nuremberg prints, and which bear publication dates belonging to three different groups

- a) a small group is made of early prints, the items of which follow one another in the inventory
  - 1564 (*Thesaurus*, no. 19)
  - 1567[–73/80] (Lasso's *Magnificat* in quarto, no. 20)
  - 1573/6 (Päminger's *Ecclesiasticae cantiones*, no. 21)
- b) another small group bears 1583 or 1585 as dates of print, which also follow one another in the inventory, with one exception (no. 14)
  - 1583 (Lechner's *Harmoniae*, no. 25; Wert's *Modulationes*, no. 26)
  - 1585 (Lindner's *Sacrae cantiones I*, no. 14; Dressler's *Opus sacrarum*, no. 24)
- c) a larger group bears dates comprised between 1588 and 1590, and is all devoted to Lindner's anthologies
  - 1588: (Lindner's *Gemma I*, no. 11; 15. Lindner's *Sacrae cantiones II*, no. 15)
  - 1589: (Lindner's *Gemma II*, no. 12)
  - 1590: (Lindner's *Gemma III*, no. 13; Lindner's *Sacrae cantiones III*, no. 16; Lindner's *Missae*, no. 22).

These groups display a continuity of publication dates after 1585, which is only interrupted in 1586 and 1587. Should we infer that Gallus was receiving music volumes from his brother working in Nuremberg, then this chronology appears interesting in that it reveals by the “negative” of the years 1586 and 1587, that Georgius Handl could well have left Nuremberg during that time in order to be present in Prague at the Nigrin workshop. Not only do the years 1586 and 1587 indeed coincide with the publication of tomes I to III of Handl's *Opus musicum*, but Petra Jakoubková has moreover shown in her recent thesis about Jiří Nigrin<sup>51</sup> that some time in 1585 a change of typographical material occurred in his workshop, incorporating music type that was identical to that of Gerlach.<sup>52</sup> We know that 1585 was also the year when Gallus asked for his leave from the service of the Olomouc Bishop, Stanislav Pavlovský, in order to come to Prague and supervise his music publications. The collaboration between the two brothers at Nigrin's workshop does not seem to have lasted too long however. In a text dated 1589, Gallus complained about the fact that he had lost support at the printing press workshop.<sup>53</sup> He already had secured an imperial privilege for tome III of the *Opus Musicum* published in late September, 1587, also displayed in tome IV published early 1591. It appears possible, as a conclusion, to connect all these facts together, and suggest that the temporary transfer of Georgius Handl to Prague from Nuremberg between 1585 and 1587 is not only responsible for the transfer of Jacobus Handl from Olomouc to Prague in 1585, but that it could also have been linked, at least partly, to the transfer of the Gerlach typographical material for music prints from Nuremberg to Prague.

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<sup>51</sup> Petra JAKOUBKOVÁ: *Typografie hudebních tisků Jiřího Nigrina* [The Typography of Jiří Nigrin's Music Prints], Master thesis under the direction of Petr Daněk, Univerzita Karlova v Praze, Prague 2014. Accessible online at page: < <https://is.cuni.cz/webapps/zzp/download/120148693> > [access: 14 November 2016].

<sup>52</sup> Ibidem, pp. 41–43.

<sup>53</sup> [...] *dedi nonnulla, quae cantantur et audiuntur propè quotidie: adderem plura, ni viribus essent hoc tempore imparia meis. Ars integra est, sed nervus praeli et typographicum robur fractum* [“I produced a few compositions that are sung and which one can hear almost every day. There would be more, if this task were not at present beyond my strength. Art is not deficient, but the strength of the printing press and the robustness of the type are broken”], Foreword of *Harmoniae Morales* (1589), text edited in ŠKULJ, *Gallusovi predogovori* (see note 2), p. 94. On the meaning of this declaration, see DESMET, “‘Typographicum robur fractum’: Jacob Handl's Relationship with the Printing Press” (see note 18), p. 19.

## **Inventář Jacoba Handla-Galla: nové úvahy o hudebninách z knižní pozůstalosti skladatele**

Marc Desmet

Inventář knih, z nichž sestávala knihovna skladatele Jacoba Handla-Galla, je jedním z mála archivních dokumentů, které se k tomuto autorovi dochovaly. Sepsán byl bezprostředně po skladatelově smrti v červenci 1591 jeho bratrem Georgem Handlem a třemi dalšími osobnostmi; česky psaný dokument je nyní uložen v Archivu hlavního města Prahy (Liber Inventariorum, Ms. 1173). Obsahuje výčet 26 samostatných položek, zejména hudebnin, které jsou většinou uvedeny v několika exemplářích, někdy i v impozantním počtu svazků (až 260 výtisků stejného titulu). Kritickou reflexi tohoto soupisu započal český historik Zikmund Winter, jenž jej uvádí v plném znění ve dvou svých studiích (*Malé historie ze života staročeského*, 1888, a *Život církevní v Čechách*, 1896). Poté byl dokument často zmiňován v literatuře o životě a díle J. Handla-Galla (Mantuani 1891–1899, Snížková 1985, Cvetko 1991), ale teprve Edo Škulj jej poprvé podrobně analyzoval (*Gallusovi predgovori*, 1991). Čtvrt století od vydání jeho studie lze poznatky významně doplnit: kromě toho, že jedna položka z inventáře byla v této studii opomenuta, je zřejmé, že dnes můžeme revidovat identifikaci některých tisků. Nové poznatky v oblasti typografie Gerlachovy dílny v Norimberku i Nigrinovy v Praze totiž umožňují nový pohled na zde diskutovaný soupis tisků. Nyní se jeví jako pravděpodobné, že putování Georga Handla mezi Norimberkem a Prahou korespondovalo nejen se zásadním zlomem v kariéře Jacoba Handla-Galla, ale může také být spojováno s typografickými změnami v produkci Jiřího Nigrina, ke kterým došlo ve stejné době.

*přeložil Ondřej Maňour*