

AMICUS IMMUSICUS

A STUDY ON THE TRADITION OF THE IDEA OF JAN CAMPANUS AS A COMPOSER¹

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In their day, the Latin poetic paraphrases of the psalms by Jan Campanus Vodňanský, a poet and professor at the University of Prague, were among his best known and most published works.² In Prague in 1611, the printer Jonata Bohutský issued the first volume of Vodňanský's odes, which contained paraphrases of psalms.³ A second volume followed two years later containing songs for feast days and Sundays throughout the year,⁴ then in 1616 the third volume appeared, a paraphrase of the *Song of Songs*.⁵ The popular title was soon printed abroad as well: the first volume was already printed in 1613 by Johann Schönfeld in Amberg.⁶ All three originally published books were united into a single volume and were published in Frankfurt am Main in 1618 in what is now the best known edition, which also had musical notation at the end of the volume.⁷ On

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- 1 This study has been prepared within the framework of the grant GA ČR GA16-09064S: Forms of Humanism in Literature of the Czech Lands (1469–1622), implemented at the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic.
 - 2 Basic information and literature: Josef TRUHLÁŘ – Karel HRDINA – Josef HEJNIC – Jan MARTÍNEK: *Rukověť humanistického básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě* (hereinafter *Rukověť*) 1. Academia: Praha, 1966, pp. 254–295; *Rukověť* 6, pp. 72–73, Jan KOUBA: *Slovník staročeských hymnografů (13.–18. století)*. Etnologický ústav AV ČR: Praha, 2017, pp. 65–68.
 - 3 M. Ioannis Campani Vodniani Odarum sacrarum liber prior psalmos Davidicos continens, Pragae, typis Ionatae Bohutsky 1611. *Rukověť* 1, p. 272.
 - 4 M. Ioh. Campani Vodniani Odarum sacrarum liber posterior, Pragae, typis Ionatae Bohutsky 1612. *Rukověť* 1, pp. 272–273.
 - 5 Cantica cantiorum in odaria LIII, rhythum metro copulantia etc., Pragae, typis Ionatae Bohutsky 1616. Only a single specimen of this volume has been preserved in Wittenberg; see *Rukověť* 6, pp. 72–73.
 - 6 *Rukověť* 1, p. 273; *Das Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts* (hereinafter *VD17*) 3:307261B.
 - 7 Sacrarum odarum libri duo, Frankfurt, Erasmus Kempffer 1618 (VD17 1:659816W). *Rukověť* 1, p. 273, KOUBA, *Slovník hymnografů*, pp. 67–68.

the basis of that edition, Campanus was long regarded as the composer, and to this day the compositions from the Frankfurt edition are given under his name at concerts, on recordings, and on the internet.

Robert Eitner appears to have been the first to mention Campanus in the context of composers and musicians in the entry *Campanus Johannes* in his lexicon, where in addition to a brief characterisation of the author, he included a reference to the Frankfurt edition of Campanus's odes including an indication of the number of voices for the compositions.⁸ Referencing Eitner and especially Antonín Truhlář,⁹ Pazdírek's Music Dictionary (*Pazdírkův hudební slovník*) contains a rather lengthy entry about Campanus, but it does not call him a composer; it merely states that "Besides his many humanistic treatises, he also translated metrorhythmic psalms... and published *Sacrarum odarum libri duo* (Frankfurt n. M 1618, where the psalms are printed in accordance with the 1611 edition with a four-voice arrangement)".¹⁰ A fundamental change to the understanding of Campanus's authorship in terms of his designation as a composer came with Jan Branberger's text *Kampanovy harmonie poetické* (Campanus's Poetic Harmony), which was accompanied by a bibliophilic edition of a selection from a translation of Campanus's psalms, odes, and ode collections, published in 1942.¹¹ This still remains an exceptionally modern edition of Campanus' work. Among those who took part in its realisation were Jan Blahoslav Čapek with a translation of selected verses, František Bílek with illustrations that are the last that he created, and Method Kaláb with the overall graphic design. The printed edition was intended for members of the European Literary Club (*Evropský literární klub*). Only a limited number of copies were printed, and the edition was prepared during a period that was unquestionably difficult for Czech patriots. For this reason, Branberger's text exhibits a certain nationalistic pathos, the purpose of which is to present more of the extraordinary artworks of the widely known man of letters from the period before the Battle of White Mountain, whose fate is known to the general public primarily from Zikmund Winter's novel.¹² At the conclusion of his text, he writes that he had already discovered Campanus as a musician in the spring

8 Robert EITNER: *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten*, vol. 2. Breitkopf & Haertel: Leipzig, 1900, p. 296, entry *Campanus, Johannes*.

9 Antonín TRUHLÁŘ: *Rukověť k písemnictví humanistickému, zvláště básnickému v Čechách a na Moravě ve století XVI*. ČAVU: Praha 1918, p. 180.

10 Vladimír HELFERT: *Campanus, Jan*. In: *Pazdírkův hudební slovník naučný* II/1, Část osobní A–K. Oldřich Pazdírek: Brno, 1937, p. 130.

11 *Lyra Kampanova. Výbor z žalmů, ód a odarií Jana Kampana Vodňanského, mistra svobodných umění a rektora vysokého učení Karlova*. Eds. Jan Branberger – Jan Blahoslav Čapek, Praha, 1942. As Karel Hrdina remarks in a review of this work, it was not actually published until after the war in 1945; see K. HRDINA: *Lyra Kampanova*. *Listy filologické* 70 (1946), pp. 205–208.

12 The first edition Zikmund WINTER: *Mistr Kampanus. Historický obraz*. Praha, 1906, was followed by a series of editions down to the present.

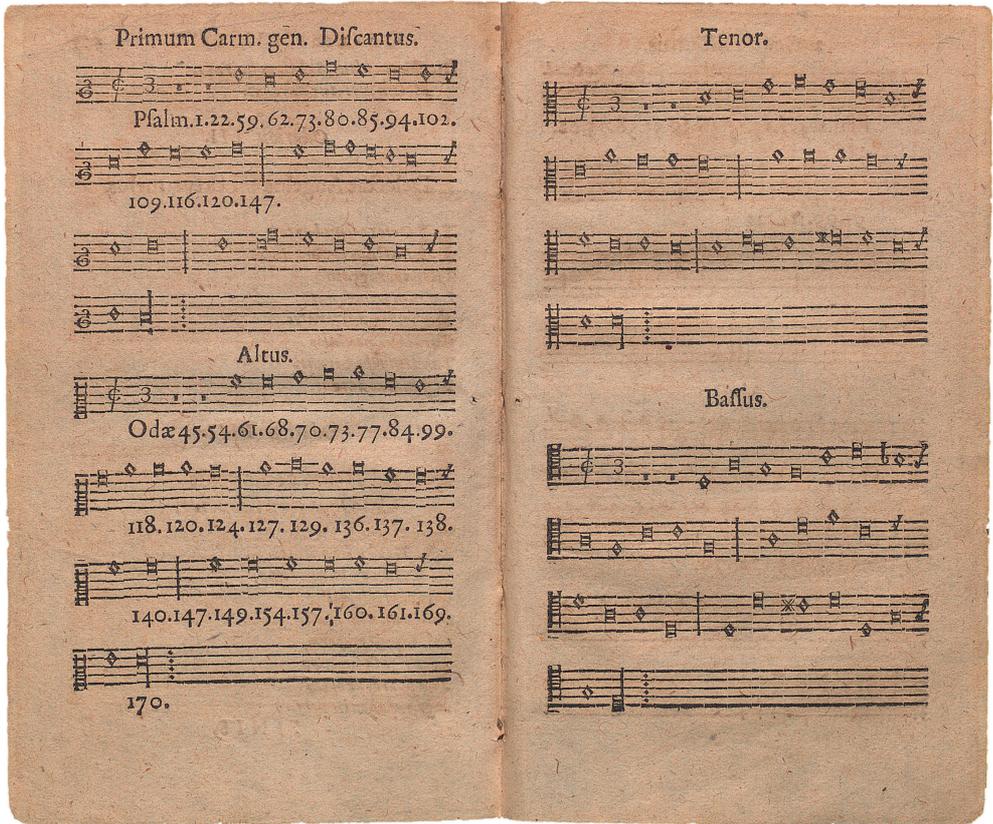


Fig. 1 Sample of notation from the print Johannes Campanus, *Sacrarum odarum libri duo*. Frankfurt, Erasmus Kempffer, 1618
Repro: archive of Petr Daněk

of 1937, and that same year he entrusted his compositions to an ensemble called the Czech Madrigalists for their first public performance.¹³ Branberger thus created Campanus as a composer, and this was accepted uncritically at a time when there was a need for the discovery of a glorious past for Czech culture. Ten years later, Jan Branberger published a though-provoking text on the relationship between music and Czech humanistic poetry, and in it he repeatedly mentions Campanus, although usually as an authority on poetry who inspired other poets of the period.¹⁴

¹³ *Lyra Kampanova*, p. 115.

¹⁴ JAN BRANBERGER: *Hudební úvahy o české humanistické poesii*. KČSN: Praha, 1948. Nonetheless, in the introduction to his study, he does not fail to recollect that "... in the spring of 1937 he found 38 melodies by Jan Campanus Vodňanský for his psalms, odes, and ode collections..."

Branberger's wartime text had made Campanus into a composer without any real support from sources, then in the 1950s Jitka Snížková followed up by publishing what was for its time a very inspirational anthology of compositions of Czech origin, mostly from the Renaissance.¹⁵ In it, she actually identifies Campanus as the poet and composer, and she also provides a transcription of three compositions with his name. The composition *Rorando coeli* from Campanus's Frankfurt collection also found its way into a popular and plentifully used anthology of Czech music published that year by Jaroslav Pohanka.¹⁶ A few years later, the Czechoslovak Musical Dictionary of Persons and Institutions (*Československý hudební slovník osob a institucí*) appeared, and in it Campanus is described in connection with the previous text as a Czech humanist and composer, and his musical works are characterised as being "still based on the old Renaissance style, but maturing with a tendency towards homophony bordering on early Baroque monody".¹⁷ Milan Poštolka elaborated on this characteristic with precision in 1970 in an analytical study in German, which was published in a renowned university compendium that was generously distributed at the time.¹⁸ Campanus was also discussed as a composer by foreign musicologists, especially in comparisons with the works of Jiří Tranoscusius. Jitka Snížková again returned to the editing of Campanus's collection of odes with the addition of musical notation at the end of the 1970s, when she published a transcription of all of the melodies found in the Frankfurt edition of Campanus's works in the series *Musica Antiqua Bohemica*.¹⁹ In her foreword to the edition, the author speculates very boldly about the musical and compositional stimuli that influenced Campanus in the course of his life, without any source material whatever to support her suppositions. Her interpretation of Campanus as a composer and the edition itself further strengthened the widespread belief that Campanus had composed music of his own. Milan Poštolka summarised his German study at the end of the 1980s in a brief paper in which he again attempted to defend the analyses by which he had documented Baroque elements in Campanus's musical works.²⁰ Poštolka is even the author or editor of the entry for Campanus in the latest edition

15 *Česká polyfonní tvorba. Výběr vícehlasých děl českého původu z XVI. a XVII. století.* Ed. Jitka Snížková, SNKLHU: Praha, 1958, pp. 13, 104, 91–94 editions of three compositions from *Odae sacrae*.

16 Jaroslav POHANKA: *Dějiny české hudby v příkladech.* SNKLHU: Praha, 1958, pp. 64–65.

17 Bohumír ŠTĚDRŮŇ: *Campanus, Jan.* In: *Československý hudební slovník osob a institucí*, vol. I, A–L. Státní hudební vydavatelství: Praha, 1963, p. 161.

18 Milan POŠTOLKA: *Die „Odae Sacrae“ des Campanus (1618) und Tranoscusius (1629): ein Vergleich.* *Miscellanea musicologica* 21–23 (1970), pp. 107–152.

19 *Jan Campanus – Vodňanský, Carmina festiva.* *Musica antiqua bohemica*, ser. II/9. Ed. Jitka Snížková, Editio Supraphon: Praha, 1978.

20 Milan POŠTOLKA: *Barokní slohové prvky v Campanových ódách.* *Proceedings from the conference Nové poznatky o dějinách starší české a slovenské hudby.* Petr Daněk (ed.), Česká hudební společnost – Společnost pro starou hudbu: Praha, 1988, pp. 127–135.

of the German musical encyclopaedia *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (MGG).²¹ There, too, it is assumed that Campanus is not only the author of the verses in the collection of odes in the Frankfurt edition of 1618, but also the composer of the music printed there. Nonetheless, in the final sentence of his text, he admits that this cannot be clearly proven. At the same time, the most recent edition of *The New Grove* appeared, and in it Jan Kouba prepared the entry for Campanus, and he still calls Campanus a composer.²² Later, however, he clarified his opinion in a recently published encyclopaedia devoted to the history of Czech hymnography in which, to the contrary, he casts doubt on Campanus's authorship.²³

The legitimacy of these doubts has been confirmed by the recently discovered complete edition *Odorum sacrarum libri duo*, printed by Schönfeld in Amberg the same year as the well-known Frankfurt edition (1618). There are two extant specimens of this printing – one at the State Library in Regensburg and another at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel.²⁴ The Amberg edition is identical to the Frankfurt edition in the texts of all three sets of poetry, but it differs in the number of accompanying poems and in particular in having a foreword by the author. Jan Kouba also made use of the forewords to the older editions of Campanus's odes known from the description in *Rukověť* for factual information about music history in his encyclopaedia. The content of the foreword to the Amberg edition of 1618 differs considerably from that of previous editions, and it contributes to clarifying our ideas about Campanus as a poet and the real story about the musical settings of his odes, which had already begun to be sung at schools before their first publication.²⁵

21 Milan POŠTOLKA – Jitka SNIŽKOVÁ: *Campanus Vodnianus Johannes*. In: MGG, Personenteil 4, Bärenreiter-Verlag: Augsburg, 2000, cols. 42–43.

22 Jan KOUBA: *Campanus Jan*. In: *The New Grove*, Second Edition, vol. 4. Oxford University Press: Oxford 2001, p. 886.

23 “As M. Poštolka (2000) pointed out, it is not entirely certain that the composer of the music from the 1618 printing is Campanus himself. This is already suggested by the aforementioned stylistic diversity of the collection; moreover, there is no other documentation in existence of Campanus having composed or engaged in other musical activities, and nothing even in the cited Frankfurt Odes from 1618 clearly implies his authorship”. KOUBA, *Slovník hymnografů*, p. 68.

24 M. Johannis Campani Vodniani *Odorum sacrarum libri duo*: Quorum priore psalmi Davidici, posteriore odae dominicales & feriales continentur; nunc primum simul editi, & cantico canticorum aucti, Ambergae, Schönfeldius, 1618 (VD17 23:330263W), specimens: Staatliche Bibliothek Regensburg – shelf-mark 999/Lat.rec.267; Herzog August Bibliothek, shelf mark Li 20 (2). The print is listed in a bibliography of Amberg book printing by Christine PASCHEN: *Buchproduktion und Buchbesitz in der frühen Neuzeit: Amberg in der Oberpfalz*. Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens 43 (1995), p. 157.

25 Campanus published some of his odes for the first time in 1606 as part of Jan Rosacius's treatise *Metameteica* (*Rukověť* 1, pp. 266–267). It received such acclaim that it was incorporated into instruction by his friends Václav Ripa and Martin Mylius as well as by teachers to whom he had no closer ties, and this led Campanus to consider publishing the complete set, as he himself writes in the foreword to the first edition of the odes: “Scholarcharum quoque non nulli (in his Vencesl. Ripa et Martinus Mylius) easdem meas odas in Scholas admiserunt... Verum enimvero cum in illis quoque Scholis, quibus nullo mihi devincti beneficio praeerant, easdem odas cantari

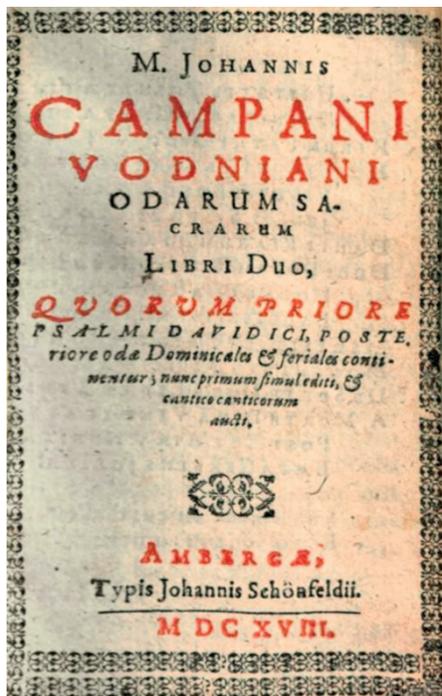


Fig. 2 Title page of the print M. Johannis Campani Vodniani Odarum sacrarum libri duo: Quorum priore psalmi Davidici, posteriore odae dominicales & feriales continentur; nunc primum simul editi, & cantico canticorum aucti. Amberg, Schönfeldius, 1618

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It must be noted first of all that the foreword is dated Angel's College of the Prague University, 1 January 1615, about three years before the printed edition appeared. In the introduction, the author recollects about the first edition of odes with Jonata Bohutský and about his initial concerns over their reception, in part because he dared to adapt psalms into a form that had been in use in the Middle Ages.²⁶ (Older Latin rhymed poetry had long been rejected by the humanists and replaced by the metres of Classical antiquity. In fact, even at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when poets were experimenting with new forms of verse and were no longer so strict in the avoidance of rhyme, Pope Urban VIII assembled a committee of four poets who were rewriting the original Medieval hymns and sequences in the Catholic liturgy into the metres of Classical antiquity²⁷). In this foreword, like in the older forewords to the odes, Campanus also recalls his Czech predecessors in this genre (Matouš

audirem...caepi non tantum continuationem, sed editionem quoque caepti operis meditari."
 (J. Campanus, *Odarum sacrarum liber prior*, Pragae, Jonata Bohutský 1611, 5b.)

26 *Odarum sacrarum libri duo*, Amberg 1618, A2ab: "stylo barbarae aetati usitato..."

27 Josef IJSEWIJN – Dirk SACRÉ, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, Part II. Leuven University Press: Leuven, 1998, p. 10.

Collinus and Václav Nicolaides Vodňanský²⁸), and he names all of the friends and benefactors who supported him in his work (the teachers Lukáš Ezechiel, Jochaim Golzius, Mikuláš Novaský, and Václav Nizenius; the benefactors Adam Rosacius and his brother Sofoniáš, Jan Benicius, and Jan Kralovický). The passage that follows is interesting with respect to the history of Latin poetry in this country: Campanus recounts the reaction of the Pomeranian theologian Isaak Hengeber to his odes – in his letter, Hengeber reproached Campanus for using ancient (pagan) names, and he suggests it would be a good idea to remove them so the odes could be used in the churches and schools in his region.²⁹ He also made references to the Lutheran theologian Matthias Hafenreffer³⁰ and the Calvinist theologian Matthias Martinus.³¹ By then, however, the second edition had already been printed, so nothing could be changed, as Campanus comments rather peevishly, and in defence of names and stories from Classical antiquity, he quotes such traditional Christian poets as Prudentius,³² Juvencus Presbyter,³³ and Alcimus Avitus.³⁴ In Campanus's opinion, contemporary poets could not do without embellishments from antiquity.³⁵ At the conclusion of the foreword, the author returns from rhetorical passages to the circumstances of the work's publication. He writes that after two years, he has been asked to publish both parts of the odes in a single volume. To them, he also added a paraphrase of the *Song of Songs*. When he tried to revise the original odes, he tended to distort them, so he decided to write new ones.

The foreword ends with a passage that was the cause for the writing of this study, so we are quoting it verbatim: “My advisor³⁶ wanted Czech melodies added as well, meaning (as he himself explained) sweet melodies;³⁷ I hoped

28 The importance of Nicolaides as Campanus's predecessor is unquestioned; it was he who used a combination of rhythm and metre for Latin translations of Czech sacred songs.

29 Hengeber, about whom we have been unable to find more information, worked in the principality of Cammin (Kammin, today Kamień Pomorski).

30 Professor of theology in Tübingen (†1619), the teacher of Jan Kepler and Johannes Valentinus Andreae.

31 Matthias Martinus (1572–1630), rector of a grammar school in Bremen.

32 Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (348–ca. 410) was an important Christian Roman poet, lawyer, and politician.

33 Juvencus Presbyter, an author of epics on Biblical subjects who lived in the days of Charlemagne.

34 Alcimus Ecdicius Avitus (ca. 470–517 or 519), a Latin poet and bishop in Vienne, France.

35 *Odorum sacrarum libri duo*, Amberg 1618, A5b: “... in nostri seculi poetis sine istis Deliciis nullas delicias, nihil praeclarum sine Apolline seu Phoebio, nihil Musicum et amoenum sine Musis et camaenis, nihil Venustum sine Venere, nihil amabile Amore videri...”

36 It is difficult to say who this was, but it may have been the Nuremburg lawyer and humanist Georg Remus, who introduced both foreign editions of Campanus's odes with his own poetry.

37 This is a noteworthy characteristic of Czech melodies (Czech music), because it is repeated in later centuries undoubtedly without knowledge of Campanus's foreword. The foreword is, however, one of the first documents in history where music from Bohemia was described in this way abroad.

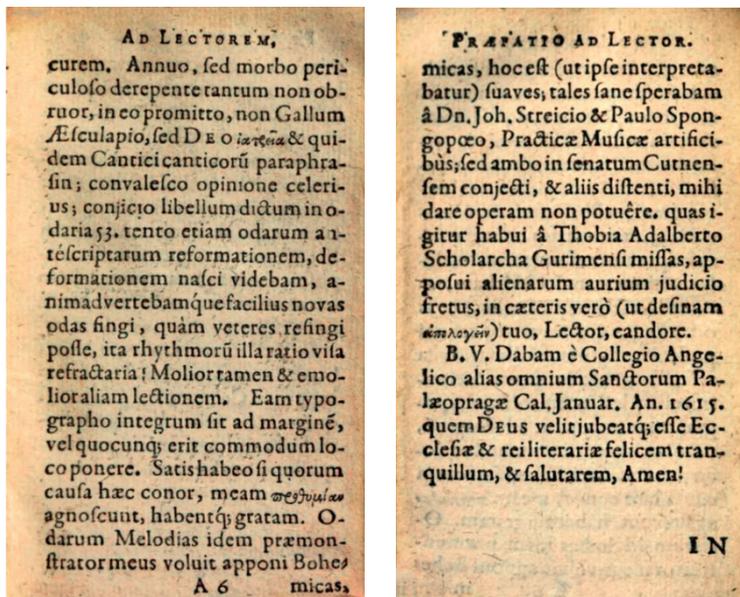


Fig. 3 Excerpts from the foreword of the print Johannes Campanus, *Odorum sacrarum libri duo*. Amberg, Schönfeldius, 1618

Repro: archive of Petr Daněk

to obtain such melodies easily from Jan Strejc³⁸ and Pavel Spongopoeus,³⁹ composers of practical music; both, however, were busy with activities on the Kutná Hora town council and elsewhere, so they were unable to help. For this reason, I added melodies that the Kouřim school administrator Tobiáš Adalbert⁴⁰ had already sent, relying on the opinion of the ears of others, and the rest, Dear Reader (that I might cease arguing in my own defence), I shall leave to your kind judgment⁴¹.

38 Johannes Streicius, a burgher of Kutná Hora; see *Rukověť* 5, p. 217.

39 Paulus Spongopoeus, noted musician, man of letters, and composer, a burgher of Kutná Hora, *Rukověť* 5, pp. 152–153. For a comprehensive evaluation, see Dana Soušková: *Pavel Spongopaeus Jistebnický*. OFTIS: Ústí nad Orlicí 2013. In connection with our text dealing with Campanus's verses and their period musical settings, one must remember the collection *Bicinia nova* (1579), for which the literary society member and composer Andreas Chrysoponus Jevičský created original two-voice works in the motet style for Latin couplets by Prokop Lupáč of Hlaváčov. Czech texts by David Crinitus of Hlaváčov are also documented in print, but these were made using already existing music. For more information, see *Andreas Chrysoponus Gevicenus, Bicinia nova 1579, voci con stromenti ad libitum*. Thesaurus Musicae Bohemiae, Seria A. Eds. Milena Sršňová – Martin Horyna, Editio Supraphon: Praha 1989.

40 Tobiáš Adalbert, school administrator and musician, *Rukověť* 1, pp. 37–38.

41 *Odorum sacrarum libri duo*, Amberg 1618, A6a–b: “*Odorum Melodias idem praemonstrator meus voluit apponi Bohemicas, hoc est (ut ipse interpretabatur) suaves; tales sane sperabam a Dn. Joh. Streicio et Paulo Spongopoeo, Practicae Musicae artificibus; sed ambo in senatum Cutnensem*

The final sentences of Campanus's foreword imply that the musical settings printed in the Frankfurt edition amount to a set of compositions probably by various composers and of varying origins compiled by Tobiáš Adalbert. This practice is not all that surprising. There is a similarly conceived Wittenberg printing *Harmonie univocae in odas Horatianas*,⁴² prepared on request by Matouš Collinus for Jan Hodějovský, and he apparently prepared some of the monophonic melodies intended for singing of Horace's odes, but mostly he collected melodies from various sources. Also continuing in this tradition was the third edition of Matouš Collinus's school manual, which Jan Nicolaides Brněnský had published in 1569 in Prague by the printer Jan Jičínský under the title *Libellus elementarius*. In that edition we also find 29 notated melodies carried over from the German tradition of musical settings for humanistic odes and from anonymous domestic archaic polyphony.⁴³ It should be added that in 1618 in Prague a new edition was published by the printer Daniel Carolides with a very costly rendering of a four-voice metrical treatment of the psalms, popular throughout Europe, by Claude Goudimel (called the *Genevan Psalter*) with rhymed translations in Czech by Jiří Strejc based on the German version by Andreas Lobwasser. This edition is further documentation of the popularity of musical settings of psalm poetry at the time.

Like Campanus, Tobiáš Adalbert was a native of Vodňany. Under Campanus's leadership he graduated from the Prague University, served as rector at schools in Prague and elsewhere, from 1617 was the church administrator at St Clement's Church in Prague's New Town. He finally wound up as an exile in Pirna. The topic of his bachelor's thesis was the question of whether mankind has been given anything more pleasant than music.⁴⁴ We know very few specifics about Adalbert's activities as a composer, but from a comment made by another of Campanus's pupils and followers in the tradition of metrorhythmic sacred poetry, Tobiáš Hauschkonius, we know that Tobiáš Adalbert wanted to write new four-voice melodies for Campanus's songs.⁴⁵ Campanus had good relations with him, wrote a poem to accompany the printing of Adalbert's

coniecti et aliis distenti mihi dare operam non potuere. Quas igitur habui a Thobia Adalberto, Scholarcha Gurimensi, missas, apposui alienarum aurium iudicio fretus, in caeteris vero (ut desinam ἀπολογεῖν) tuo, Lector, candore."

42 Wittenberg, haeredes G. Rhau, 1555.

43 Cf. KOUBA, *Slovník hymnografů*, pp. 70–71; also cf. entries for the individual persons mentioned in: Lucie STORCHOVÁ et al., *Companion to Central and East European Humanism, Volume 2: Czech Lands (Part 1)*. De Gruyter: Berlin - New York, (forthcoming).

44 Musica an quicquam datum homini iucundius?, 19 May 1609 (*Rukověť* 1, p. 37). A print of the thesis of this paper with a length of 76 hexametres, unknown to *Rukověť*, has been preserved at the Universitätsbibliothek Halle an der Saale under the title *Encomium Musicae pro acquirendo titulo baccalaureatus 19 Maii anno 1609 in Collegio Carolino dictum...a Tobia Adalberto Vodniano* (s. l., s. t., 1609), VD 17 3:645795Q. Link: <http://digitale.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/urn/urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:1-598740> (last accessed on 7 Sept. 2019).

45 Tobias Hauschkonius: *Pensum sacrum academico-evangelicum*, Dresden, Gimmel Bergen 1638, p. 207. This is also cited by HRDINA, *Lyra Kampanova* (recenze), p. 207.

bachelor's thesis, and in 1618, together with a few other non-Catholic clergymen, dedicated to him his elegy on the Nativity.⁴⁶

The Amberg edition with the foreword in which Campanus mentions the inclusion of melodies for the odes does not, in fact, contain any musical notation (!). We can perhaps assume that the foreword was originally intended for the Frankfurt edition, but ultimately it was not included because it was controversial. This may be possible to document using an excerpt that precedes Campanus's apologia for his nomenclature from antiquity: "It is appropriate to learn from the enemy, but in order to explain this more clearly and broadly, and thereby to prove the impartiality of my approach, I would rather allow that the foreword not be published in this edition, so as not to offend anyone, rather than to use a different, uncontroversial one like the foreword to the second book of odes."⁴⁷ It is more likely, however, that the Amberg printer omitted the musical notation from the edition for technical or financial reasons.

It is worth mentioning the poem by Georg Remus that accompanied both the Amberg and the Frankfurt editions of Campanus's odes. Here, the author identifies certain distinguished creators of Latin paraphrases of psalms in order then to highlight the importance of Campanus's version. First, he names Andreas Spethe, who published his metrorhythmic paraphrases of psalms based on Lobwasser's German Psalter in 32 types of metre with musical notation in four parts directly in the 1596 text.⁴⁸ The others who are named are Joachimus Goetzius, Helius Eobanus Hessus, Sebastianus Hermoldus, Georg Buchananus, and Marcus Hassaeus.

It is no coincidence that the printing was done in Amberg⁴⁹ – the local printers Michael Förster and Johann Schönfeld⁵⁰ published the works and occasional compendia of the professors from the nearby university in Altdorf, which was known for its orientation towards students from the Czech lands.⁵¹

46 *Rukověť 1*, pp. 277–278.

47 *Odarum sacrarum libri duo*, Amberg 1618, A3b: "Fas est ab hoste doceri: Sed ut planius et plenius ostendam, et probem ἐπιείκειαν meam, facile patior praefationem illam, ne quem offendant, in hac editione non edi, uti etiam alteram secundi libri odis praemissam, licet innocentem?"

48 *Psalmorum Davidis, prophetae regii, paraphrasis metrorhythmica ad melodias Gallicas et rhythmos Germanicos Ambrosii Lobwasseri...* accomodata, Heidelberg, apud Petrum Mareschallum 1596 (VD16 B 3261). Speth's edition was also accompanied by poems by Georg Rem. Besides those by Speth, there are also documented metrorhythmic paraphrases of psalms from Campanus's day by Christian Theodor Schosser and Valentinus Cremcovius (see Angelika MODLIŃSKA-PIEKARZ: *Votum Davidicum. Poetyckie parafrazy psalmów w języku łacińskim w XVI i XVII wieku*. Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II: Lublin 2009, pp. 247 and 258).

49 The importance of the Amberg printers for the Czech lands was already mentioned by Heinrich KUNSTMANN: *Die Nürnberger Universität Altdorf und Böhmen. Beiträge zur Erforschung der Ostbeziehungen deutscher Universitäten*. Böhlau Verlag: Köln-Graz 1963, pp. 97–98.

50 For information about book printing in Amberg, see PASCHEN, *Buchproduktion und Buchbesitz*, pp. 1–201.

51 Concerning the relationship between Campanus, Rem, and Rittershausen, see KUNSTMANN, *Universität Altdorf*, pp. 77–81.

The masters of the Prague University did not have too many foreign contacts, but their relations with their colleagues from Altdorf were one of the exceptions. The leading protagonists there, Konrad Rittershausen and Georg Remus, also engaged in literary exchanges with Jan Campanus, and the contact with the Amberg printer may have been through them; Campanus refers to the intermediary as “Salmuth” from Amberg.⁵² He writes about this in a letter to Petr Fradelius, in which he also sheds light on the circumstances of the creating of the Frankfurt and Amberg editions. The letter implies that after negotiations with a different printer had stalled (apparently Johann Schönfeld in Amberg), Campanus sent the odes to Godefrid Tampach in Frankfurt, who finally published them in 1618, perhaps through the intercession of Fradelius with a Hessian ruler, as Karel Hrdina believes.⁵³ Already a year earlier (in 1616) Campanus had promised Rudolf Goclenius Sr.⁵⁴ copies, but Salmuth did not fulfil his promises, because it was necessary to go to a different printer.⁵⁵

Campanus was not the only Czech humanist who published in Amberg. Tadeáš Hájek of Hájek had his apologia *Actio medica*⁵⁶ printed there, and Matyáš of Sudet his second edition of *De consuetudinibus feudorum*,⁵⁷ while Elias Rosinus took part in two printings,⁵⁸ and it was also in Amberg that theses related to Bohemia by Altdorf students were published, as well as treatises with Bohemian dedications.⁵⁹ Besides two editions of odes, Campanus himself is also represented in the production of Schönfeld’s printing press in the form of a poem accompanying the print *Gründliche Relation Wie es bey Eroberung*

52 It may have been the Amberg lawyer Heinrich Salmuth, whom Pavel of Jizbice already knew. Another possibility is Heinrich’s brother Johann Salmuth, who was a pastor at the time in Amberg (see Georg MÜLLER: *Johann Salmuth*. In: ADB 30 (1890), p. 274).

53 HRDINA, *Lyra Kampanova* (review), p. 206. He, too, did not doubt that Campanus was also a composer.

54 Rudolph Goclenius Sr. (1547–1628), a professor at Marburg University.

55 *Musa pulla... collecta... opera Petri Fradelii, Pragae, Paulus Sessius 1618, fol. Flab*: “Odarum ne ullum quidem mihi est exemplum. Nam quod reliquum fuit, Godefrido Typographo Francofurtum misi, postea quam mihi diutius fuit ab alio illud. Promiseram ego ante annum Domino Goclenio seniori exempla: Sed Salmuthi promissa non apparebant. Itaque ad alium fuit eundum. Quid a sperari debeat, dicit Casparus bibliopola in domo Saxonum MicroPragae.” (excerpt from a letter from Campanus to Fradelius dated 1 July 1617). Concerning the compendium *Musa pulla*, see Eva FRIMMÓVÁ: *Fradeliova Musa pulla z roku 1618*. Libri magistri muti sunt: pocta Jaroslavě Kašparové, Knihovna AV ČR: Praha, 2013, pp. 359–382.

56 KUNSTMANN, *Universität Altdorf*, p. 97. Published in 1596 by the printer Michael Forster.

57 1615, VD17 12:203281V.

58 *Ephemeridum aeris perpetuarum*, 1604 (VD17 39:143014X) a Georgii Remi Eikonōn Sive *Encomiorum libellus singularis*, 1610 (VD17 23:326713P).

59 In Venationes Christophora Welhammera, dedicated to Václav Vratislav of Mitrovice 1610; Radslav Kinský, to whom Nicolaus Taurellus’s foreword was addressed, 1611 (VD17 1:064632M); in 1612 Jáchym of Těchenice was the address of a foreword by Joachim Beringer (VD17 23:298174G), Elias Rosinus encomia of Georg Remus, 1610.

der Statt Pilsen in Böhmen... from 1619.⁶⁰ The Amberg printers also took over other prints from Prague printers, but further research is still needed for surveying this subject matter.

The discovery that Jan Campanus did not compose the melodies printed in the Frankfurt edition of his odes is no loss for Czech musical culture, nor does it call into question his exceptional literary quality and importance. There naturally remains the question of where Tobiáš Adalbert got the melodies;⁶¹ no clear source has yet been found. The melodies really were probably a selection of anonymous compositions that were in circulation and were being used in schools in Bohemia for the teaching of metre, singing, and apparently even composition. Most of these four-voice compositions can hardly be regarded a original or as bearing the real features of a particular author. Most of the music amounts to brief pieces with homorhythmic counterpoint that could have been mastered by a man of letters with musical education or by a university graduate. It is therefore very likely that for each type of metre that the humanists were using, there was a supply of monophonic and polyphonic melodies or tunes for school use that could be employed to set metrically identical texts. These melodies probably were not by a single composer; they amounted to something like *contrafacta* that were passed on entirely anonymously in the culture of the period. Thus, as in the case of Campanus's Frankfurt edition, these little compositions were either in the character of mensural songs with melodies in the discant or tenor, or they were humanist odes. To identify the melodies or their origins more exactly, it would be necessary to go through the vast, usually anonymous repertoire of European secular music like *canzonas*, instrumental music,⁶² humanist odes, or songs.

Martin Horyna has discovered interesting documentation of the occurrence of two melodies of compositions from Campanus's Frankfurt edition in the torso of a manuscript from Tábor.⁶³ Another example of period musical settings of Campanus's odes is the manuscript musical notation in a bundled lot containing nine of Campanus's printed volumes from 1606–1608, which possibly comes from the author's own library. In view of the fact that the bundled lot in question has not yet been reflected in the scholarly literature, at the end of the text of this study, we are attaching a brief characterisation of the manuscript portion, reproductions of all of the pages on which the inscriptions appear, and transcriptions of the compositions. These musical settings with textual incipits referring to the poems from Campanus's collections are

60 The print was issued a year earlier in a Czech and German version in Prague, *Rukověť* 1 p. 293, *Knihopis* 2993.

61 It is also possible that Tobiáš Adalbert set some of them to music himself.

62 Jitka Snížková also noticed the dance-like character of certain melodies in the Frankfurt edition. Cf. the foreword to the edition of the melodies from the Frankfurt edition: *Jan Campanus – Vodňanský, Carmina festiva*, p. IV.

63 Cf. Martin HORÝNA: *Česká vícehlasá píseň před Adamem Michnou*. *Hudební věda* 38 (2001), pp. 58–63. On p. 61 Horyna calls the source a “cantional fragment of a private nature”.

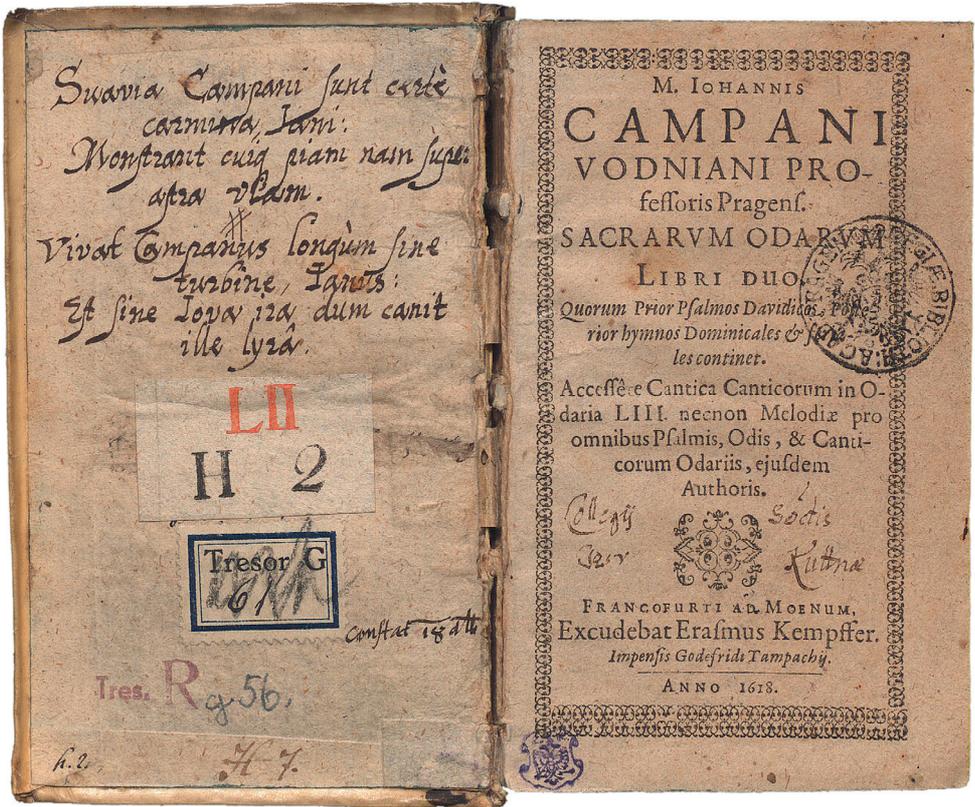


Fig. 4 Front and title page of the Campanus's works, National Library in Prague, shelf-mark 52 H 2
 Repro: National Library in Prague

of the same type as the compositions in the Frankfurt edition (compositions in the genre of odes or canzonettas), but they do not appear in that edition. They are therefore something like variant melodies that were used during Campanus's lifetime for singing his poems.

The unquestionable popularity of Campanus's works is documented by heretofore unpublished verses by an unknown author, a contemporary of Campanus, and probably the owner of a compilation of various editions of the Odes that is found in the collection of the National Library in Prague under shelf mark 52 H 2 (Fig. 4). On the front end-sheet, he inscribed verses in praise of Campanus in Leonine hexameters:

Suavia Campani sunt certe carmina Iani,
 monstrant cuique piam nam super astra viam.
 Vivat Campanus longum sine turbine Ianus,
 est sine Iova ira, dum canit ille lyrâ.

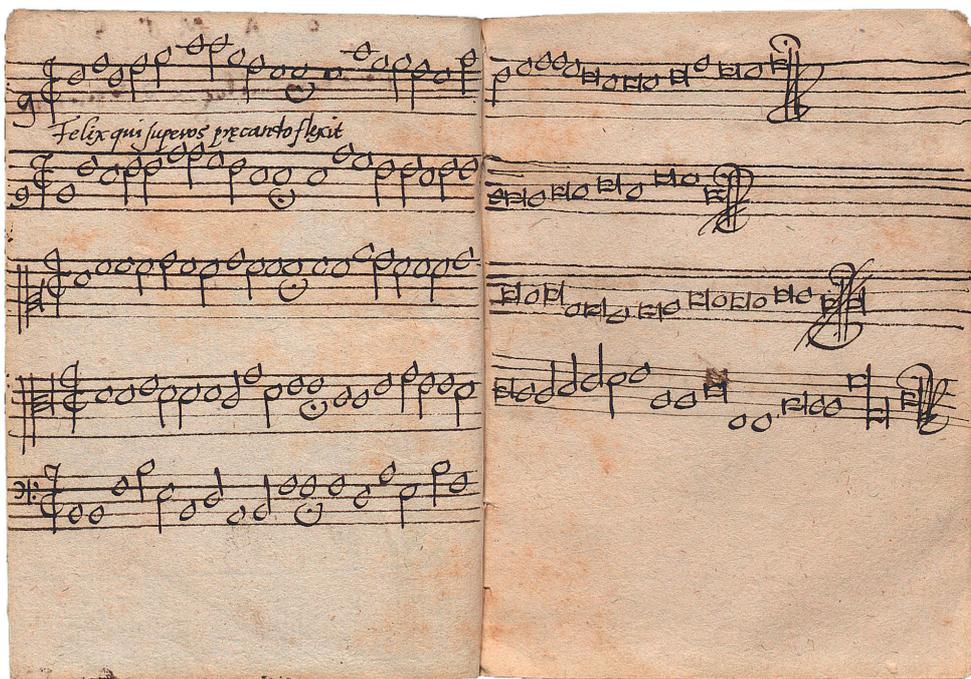


Fig. 5 Manuscript notation of five four-voice compositions in a bundled lot of Campanus's printed works at the National Library in Prague, shelf-mark 52 J 23

Repro: National Library in Prague

Appendix

Manuscript notation of three four-voice compositions and one five-voice composition in a bundled lot of Campanus's printed works at the National Library in Prague, 52 J 23.

Description of the bundled lot: the parchment binding is made of maculature from a Medieval manuscript; there are no older inscriptions identifying the owner; only on the title page is there a manuscript record of provenience from the Jesuit college in Kutná Hora (*Collegii Societatis IESU Cuttnae*).

The maculature binding indicates the possibility that the volume was from Campanus's own library (his books were usually bound in maculature from older parchment manuscripts), but one must still explain how the volume came to Kutná Hora. It might have belonged to one of Campanus's friends from the period of his previous activities (e.g. Pavel Spongopoeus or Jan Strejc, whom Campanus mentions in the foreword to the Amberg edition) and then found its way into the library of the Kutná Hora Jesuits. The bundled lot contains nine of Campanus's poetic works from 1606–1608. The great majority of the poetry consists of psalms and odes that were later published together in the collections *Odarum sacrarum libri*.

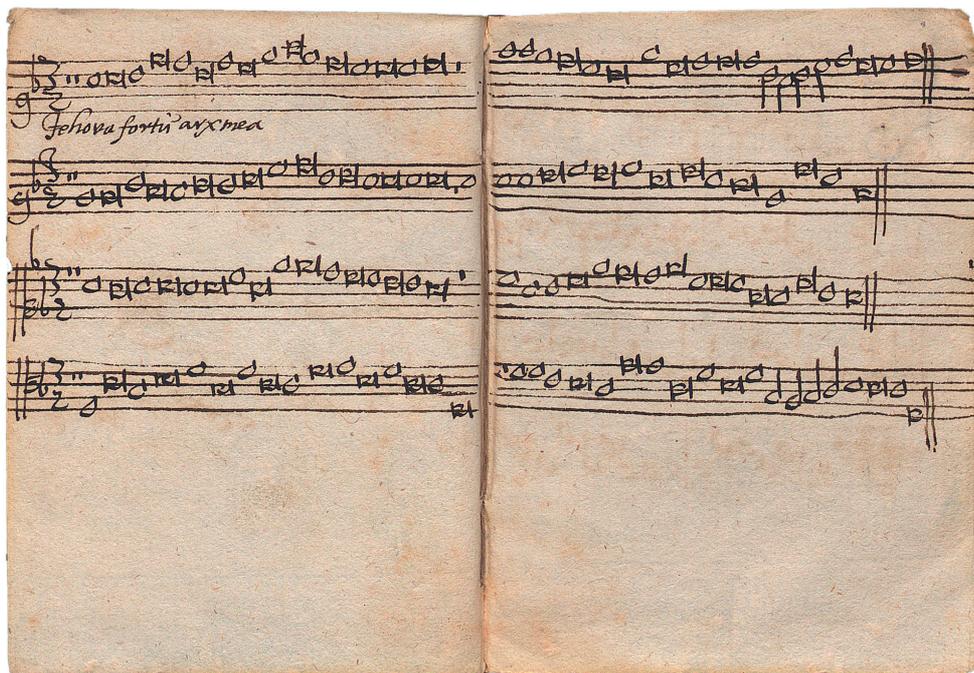


Fig. 6 Manuscript notation of four-voice composition in a bundled lot of Campanus's printed works at the National Library in Prague, shelf-mark 52 J 23

Repro: National Library in Prague

On the blank pages after the last volume, there is mostly fragmentary notation of melodies for three poems from Campanus's collections and one fragment without a textual incipit.⁶⁴ The notation ends on the back end sheet, and it contains the following compositions:

1. *Felix, qui superos precando flexit*, Psalm 32, in: *Metameletica M. Ioannis Rosacii Suticensi*, Praha 1606, text on B4b, same text in the Amberg edition of the odes, p. 48. In the Frankfurt edition notation 17. Gen. This is a fragment of a composition for five voices without an ending, written on the left side of the first of two blank pages.
2. Fragment of a four-voice composition without the beginning and without the text. Placed on the right side of the two-page spread (Fig. 5).
3. *Jehova fortis arx mea* (BRANBERGER, *Lyra Kampanova*, p. 52) *Jest Hospodin můj pevný hrad* (The Lord is my mighty fortress).⁶⁵ Psalm 28, *Ad te Domine*

⁶⁴ Cf. photographs in the appendix.

⁶⁵ According to Hrdina's review of the book *Lyra Kampanova*, p. 207, it is Psalm 16, but it is actually Psalm 28.



Fig. 7 Manuscript notation of four-voice composition in a bundled lot of Campanus's printed works at the National Library in Prague, shelf-mark 52 J 23

Repro: National Library in Prague

clamabo; in the Amberg edition of the odes the text is on p. 41. In the Frankfurt edition notation 16. Gen (Fig. 6).

4. *Ut vult Jehova, sic volo* (translation of a song by Tomáš Rosacius from Czech into Latin, *Ode tertiam dominicae precatationis petitionem explicans*, Prague 1606, text on A2b), Amberg edition of odes, 46 pp. 334–336, notation in the Frankfurt edition 28 Gen. The notation of the composition is again fragmentary because the end is damaged (Fig. 7).

Martin Horyna has made transcriptions of these compositions and in one case a reconstruction. The transcription has been made with a 2:1 reduction of note values. The original notation of the compositions is a careless copy with a large quantity of errors.

- 1) *Felix, qui superos*. Fragment without an ending, and in the highest voice a variant of the tenor of the ode *Vitam quae faciunt*. The first version is a transcription, and the second is an attempt at a reconstruction of the whole composition (Fig. 8).

D 1 - 1/3 d^{'''}; D 2 - 1/1 g^{''}; A - 1/8 h[']; T - 2/5 e.

1. Felix, qui superos praecando flexit

Fe-lix, qui su-pe-ros prae-can-do fle-xit,

Fig. 8 Felix, qui superos, transcription

Repro: Martin Horyna

2. Composition without beginning

5

Fig. 9 Fragment without beginning, transcription

Repro: Martin Horyna

3. Jehova, fortis arx mea

The image displays a musical score for the hymn "Jehova, fortis arx mea". It is arranged for four voices: Soprano (D), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The score is in 3/2 time and B-flat major. The lyrics are: "Je - ho - va, for - tis arx me - a".

The score is divided into three systems:

- System 1:** Shows the vocal parts with lyrics. The Soprano part begins with a whole rest, followed by a half note G4, a whole note A4, and a half note B4. The Alto part begins with a whole rest, followed by a half note F4, a whole note G4, and a half note A4. The Tenor part begins with a whole rest, followed by a half note E3, a whole note F3, and a half note G3. The Bass part begins with a whole rest, followed by a half note D3, a whole note E3, and a half note F3.
- System 2:** Continues the vocal parts. The Soprano part has a whole note B4, a whole note C5, and a half note B4. The Alto part has a whole note A4, a whole note B4, and a half note A4. The Tenor part has a whole note G3, a whole note A3, and a half note G3. The Bass part has a whole note F3, a whole note G3, and a half note F3.
- System 3:** Continues the vocal parts. The Soprano part has a whole note A4, a whole note G4, and a half note F4. The Alto part has a whole note G4, a whole note A4, and a half note G4. The Tenor part has a whole note E3, a whole note F3, and a half note E3. The Bass part has a whole note D3, a whole note E3, and a half note D3.

Fig. 10 Jehova fortis arx mea, transcription

Repro: Martin Horyna

4. Ut vult Jehova, sic volo

The image shows a musical score for the piece "Ut vult Jehova, sic volo". It consists of four vocal staves (D, A, T, B) and a piano accompaniment. The key signature is G minor (one flat) and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are "Ut vult Je-ho - va, sic vo-lo". The piano part includes a section starting with a measure rest of 3 measures, indicated by a '3' above the staff.

Fig. II Ut vult Jehova, sic volo, transcription

Repro: Martin Horyna

- 2) Fragment without a beginning and without text; the bottom voice cannot be coordinated with the upper voices (Fig. 9).
- 3) Jehova fortis arx mea (Fig. 10).
D - 7/2 e"; A - 1/1 g', 4/2 b', 12/2 e", 15/2-16/1 g', d"; T - 8/1 f', 16/1 a'.
- 4) Ut vult Jehova, sic volo. Fragment; the damaged ending probably belongs to the same movement (Fig. 11).

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AMICUS IMMUSICUS PŘÍSPĚVEK K TRADICI POJETÍ JANA CAMPANA JAKO HUDEBNÍHO SKLADATELE

■ Marta Vaculínová – Petr Daněk

Latinské přebásnění žalmů patřilo ve své době k nejvydávanejším dílům Jana Campana Vodňanského, básníka a profesora pražské univerzity. Tiskem vyšel první díl jeho ód v Praze roku 1611 u tiskaře Jonaty Bohutského. O dva roky později následoval díl druhý, v němž jsou písně na dny sváteční a nedělní po celý rok, a roku 1616 díl třetí, parafráze na *Píseň písní*. Populární titul byl brzy vytištěn i v zahraničí: první díl vyšel už roku 1613 v tiskárně v Ambergu u Johanna Schönfelda. Všechny tři původně vydávané knihy byly sjednoceny do jednoho svazku a vydány ve Frankfurtu nad Mohanem roku 1618 v dnes neznámějším vydání, doprovázeném v závěru svazku také notací. Na základě tohoto vydání byl Campanus dlouho považován i za hudebního skladatele a dodnes se skladby z frankfurtského vydání uvádějí na koncertech, nahrávkách či internetu pod jeho jménem.

Nedávno objevené souborné vydání *Odorum sacrarum libri duo*, realizované tiskařem Schönfeldem v Ambergu (1618), však potvrzuje pochybnosti o Campanově autorství nářevů. Předmluva v amberském vydání se od předchozích výrazně liší a svým obsahem přispívá k zpřesnění našich představ o Campanovi jako básníku i o tom, jak to vlastně bylo se zhudebněním jeho ód, neboť v ní Campanus uvádí: „Můj poradce chtěl, aby byly přidány také nářevy české, to jest sladké; doufal jsem, že takové snadno získám od pánů Jana Strejce a Pavla Spongopoea, skladatelů praktické hudby; ale oba byli vytíženi svou činností v kutnohorské městské radě a nemohli mi pomoci. Proto jsem připojil ty, které mi už předtím poslal kouřimský školní správce Tobiáš Adalbert“.

Z Campanovy předmluvy plyne, že se v případě nabízených zhudebnění otištěných ve frankfurtském vydání, jedná o souhrn skladeb různých autorů a různého původu, které shromáždil Tobiáš Adalbert. Zjištění, že Campanus nebyl autorem nářevů, není ztrátou pro českou hudební kulturu. Nezpochybňuje to ani jeho literární kvality a význam. Je samozřejmě otázkou, odkud získal Tobiáš Adalbert použité nářevy. Nejspíše se jednalo o výběr z anonymní tvorby, která kolovala v Čechách pro potřeby výuky meter, zpěvu a kompozice.

Klíčová slova: Jan Campanus Vodňanský; hudební tisk, odae sacrae, humanismus a hudba

AMICUS IMMUSICUS A STUDY ON THE TRADITION OF THE IDEA OF JAN CAMPANUS AS A COMPOSER

■ Marta Vaculínová – Petr Daněk

In their day, the Latin poetic paraphrases of the psalms by Jan Campanus Vodňanský, a poet and professor at the University of Prague, were among his best known and most published works. In Prague in 1611, the printer Jonata Bohutský issued the first volume of Vodňanský's odes. A second volume followed two years later containing songs for feast days and Sundays throughout the year, then in 1616 the third volume appeared, a paraphrase of the *Song of Songs*. The popular title was soon printed abroad as well: the first volume was already printed in 1613 by Johann Schönfeld in Amberg. All three originally published books were united into a single volume and were published in Frankfurt am Main in 1618 in what is now the best known edition, which also had musical notation at the end of the volume. On the basis of that edition, Campanus was long regarded as the composer, and to this day the compositions from the Frankfurt edition are given under his name at concerts, on recordings, and on the internet.

There is, however, a recently discovered complete edition, *Odarum sacrarum libri duo*, printed by Schönfeld in Amberg (1618), which confirms that doubts over Campanus's authorship of the melodies were well founded. The foreword to the Amberg edition differs greatly from the previously known ones, and its content gives us a more exact idea of Campanus as a poet and tells us more about how his odes actually came to be set to music, because in it, Campanus says: "My advisor wanted Czech melodies added as well, meaning (as he himself explained) sweet melodies; I hoped to obtain such melodies easily from Jan Strejc and Pavel Spongopoeus, composers of practical music; both, however, were busy with activities on the Kutná Hora town council and elsewhere, so they were unable to help. For this reason, I added melodies that the Kouřim school administrator Tobiáš Adalbert had already sent."

Campanus's foreword implies that the musical settings printed in the Frankfurt edition amounted to a collection of music by various composers and of various origins, which Tobiáš Adalbert had compiled. The discovery that Jan Campanus did not compose the melodies is no loss for Czech musical culture, nor does it call into question his exceptional literary quality and importance. There naturally remains the question of where Tobiáš Adalbert got the melodies. They were probably a selection of anonymous compositions in circulation in Bohemia for use for teaching metre, singing, and composition.

Key words: Jan Campanus Vodňanský; music print, odae sacrae, humanism and music

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