

# MUSIC AT THE COURT OF EMPEROR MATTHIAS

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In the last 15 years, there has been an incredible upsurge of interest in the arts at the court of Rudolf II. Probably the most important expression of this interest is R. J. W. Evans' excellent book about the Rudolfine period.<sup>1)</sup> Where the literature on Rudolf II has constantly grown, his brother and successor Matthias I is rarely discussed. If Matthias is mentioned at all, he is usually only considered in his role as a political antipode to the art-loving Rudolf. But Matthias seems to have been particularly conscious of the trappings of power that could be represented with literary, artistic or musical means — perhaps even more so because of his traditionally weak position as the younger brother of a ruling sovereign.<sup>2)</sup> If we add this factor to the differences in education, character and intellectual goals, a comparison of the patronage of the two brothers takes on particularly interesting aspects. Since the focal point here is Matthias, let us look at his biography before going on to his patronage of the arts. For the sake of convenience I will divide Matthias' life into three periods according to important events in his biography. The first period includes his childhood and education at the court of his father, Maximilian II, in Vienna. From 1578, when he became governor of the Low Countries, until 1608, when he was crowned King of Hungary, a more mature period is marked by his desire to gain power. The last ten years of his life are Matthias' zenith when he marries, becomes emperor and is confronted with the sticky problems of ruling a nation divided by religious conflict.

## CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

In each of these periods, Matthias was exposed to music as a form of representation and took an active interest in it. Unlike his brothers Rudolf and Ernst, Matthias was educated in Vienna where he experienced the atmosphere of the court of his music-loving father Maximilian II. Festive occasions included music for dancing as well as in the service of glorifying the Habsburg

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<sup>1)</sup> R. J. W. Evans, *Rudolf II and his world. A Study in Intellectual History 1576—1612*. Oxford 1984.

<sup>2)</sup> Maximilian's three oldest sons were: Rudolf (1552—1612) Ernst (1553—1595) Matthias (1557—1619). Some unpublished studies (Hausarbeiten) of students at the Institute of Austrian History at the University of Vienna have shed light on the cultural activities of Ernst and Matthias. The one on Matthias is: Gisela Kern, *Feste und Feiern zur Zeit des Kaisers Matthias*. Hausarbeit aus Geschichte eingereicht bei univ. Prof. Adam Wandruszka, o. J.

dynasty. All three brothers shared a common musical experience when their uncle Karl von Innerösterreich married Maria of Bavaria in 1571.<sup>3)</sup> Rudolf led his brothers in a dance of the stars descending from heaven, as a song composed by Filippo di Monte in praise of the constellations, i. e. the Habsburgs, was sung. The music provided for Rudolf's coronation as King of Hungary in 1572 has not survived, but again Matthias participated in those festivities. They are described in detail in Stephan Pigge's book *„Hercules prodicius, seu Principis juventutis, vita et peregrinatio.“*<sup>4)</sup> Along with a general description of life at the imperial court in the years 1571–1574, Pigge even discusses music as part of a princely education — an education that all of Maximilian's children enjoyed. Matthias' music teacher was Alard du Gaucquier, the vice-chaplain at the imperial court until 1578. Gaucquier's compositions are representative of the musical taste which was common to both Rudolf and Matthias: the so-called Franco-flemish school. Flemish singers and composers dominated the musical scene at the court until Matthias' death in 1619. Gaucquier was also the first composer to dedicate a work to Matthias.

#### RISE TO POWER

The second period in Matthias' life began when he accepted the position of governor of the Low Countries upon the sudden death of Don Juan d'Austria. Historians have generally considered this episode, which lasted approximately two years, as a political fiasco and even as the origin of the *Bruderzwist* which eventually brought Matthias the imperial throne. Whatever effects his stay in the Low Countries may have had on his political career, it brought the first fruits musically. Gaucquier seems to have taken the apparent rise to power of his student as an opportunity to quit service at the imperial court and return to his home country. There he published his only book of masses and dedicated them to Matthias.<sup>5)</sup> Gaucquier had been assigned to the position of vice-chaplain when Filippo di Monte came to the imperial court in 1568. Now he signs the dedication as „*Alardus Nuceus alias du Gaucquier, musicorum eiusdem Mathiae principis praeceptor*“ indicating that Matthias had at least some chamber musicians, if not his own musical chapel. Gaucquier calls on Quintillianus as well as the Pope to justify the position of mu-

<sup>3)</sup> K. Vocelka, *Habsburgische Hochzeiten 1550–1600 = Veröffentlichungen der Kommission fuer Neuere Geschichte Oesterreichs* Bd. 65 Wien–Köln–Graz 1976, p. 47–98 and 164–183. For a discussion of music at the wedding festival see: R. Lindell and H. Reitterer ed., F. di Monte and G. Zacchini, *Drei Widmungstuecke an Erzherzog Karl II. von Innerösterreich zu 4 Stimmen = Musik Alter Meister Heft 53* Graz 1988.

<sup>4)</sup> S. Pigge, *Hercules Prodicus, seu Principis juventutis vita et peregrinatio*, 1. Antwerp 1587, 2. Cologne 1609. For a discussion of references to music in *Hercules prodicius* see: R. Lindell, *Hercules Prodicus and the Coronation of Rudolf II as King of Hungary*, in: *Mito e Realtà del potere nel teatro dall'antichità classica al rinascimento*. Rom 1988, p. 335–354.

<sup>5)</sup> A. du Gaucquier, *Quatuor Missae*, Antwerp Plantin 1581. ed. by Milton Steinhardt, DTÖ 123 (1971).

sic at the courts of princes, and even includes a personal remark in passing: *Ea enim me hactenus semper humanitate, benevolentia, munificentiaque es prosequutus; ne quid Maiorum tuorum Invictissimorum Caesarum collata in me amplissima beneficia attingam; ut ego omnia mea studia ad tuam dignitatem convertere; tu eadem tuo tibi iure assere debeas & vindicare.* Gaucquier's collection of masses was printed in 1581. The composer's sudden death on the way to a new position as chaplain in Innsbruck prevented the culmination of his career as an imperial musician. Matthias spent the next years in Linz without any governing duties. This meant that his court was kept at a minimum. It is difficult to make any statement about Matthias' musical patronage in those years since he himself was dependent on the good will of his older brother Rudolf II for financial support.

Several musicians who stayed with Matthias until he became emperor were in his service as early as the 1580's. Most prominent among them is Lambert de Sayve. Although the contents of de Sayve's collection of motets (which he waited until 1612 to publish, see below) most certainly represent the musical repertoire at the court of Matthias, de Sayve's secular works (Italian canzoni and German Liedlein) all date from this period and can be considered as examples of Matthias' taste in chamber music.<sup>6)</sup> The patronage of Matthias for both de Sayve and Christoph Strauss, later chamber organist to Matthias, brought them immense material rewards which have been well documented.<sup>7)</sup>

A number of documents in Vienna indicate that Matthias used the purely intangible reward of ennoblement — again a form of recognition dependent on imperial bureaucracy — to bind musicians to his court. These include: Anton Dalleux from Cambrai, bass (1583); Pierre Descrollieres, who is listed as a „*Chamber servant*“ (1584); Paul Donat (1593) and Jacob Wanner (1598). Christoph Strauss had to wait for this reward until Matthias became emperor, although he is already recorded in court payments as the chamber organist of the archduke as early as 1601. Strauss is the only musician I have discovered from this period who indicated his profession in his coat of arms: it is divided horizontally into a red field with a white nymph playing a viol and a white field with a red nymph playing a small organ.<sup>8)</sup>

<sup>6)</sup> L. de Sayve, *Primo libro delle canzoni a la napolitana a cinque voci*, Vienna Stephan Creuzer 1582; 3 ed. in DTÖ, 77 (1934); *Teutsche Liedlein fur vier Stimmen*, (Vienna L. Formler 1602).

<sup>7)</sup> E. Schenk, *Zur Lebens- und Familiengeschichte von Lambert de Sayve, Festschrift Helmut Osthoff zum 65. Geburtstag*. Tutzing 1961; Schenk seems to have used a copy of de Sayve's will (see page 104) but the original document has survived in HHStA, Obersthofmarschallamt, Testamenta.

K. Geiringer, *Christoph Strauss. Ein Wiener Künstlerdasein am Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Zeitschrift fuer Musikwissenschaft 1930/31.

<sup>8)</sup> Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Vienna: Adelsakten — each identified by name and year. [All of the musicians mentioned except Strauss included a picture of the proposed coat of arms]; and alphabetically in: Karl Friedrich von Frank, *Standeserhebungen und Gnadenakte fur das Deutsche Reich und die Oesterreichischen Erblande bis 1806 sowie kaiserliche Oesterreich bis 1823 mit einigen Nachtraegen zum „Alt-Oesterreichischen Adels-Lexikon“ 1823–1918*. Selbstverlag Schloss Senftenegg 1973.

These concrete data are substantiated by other possible musical influences which cannot be proven. Matthias was obviously motivated by a strong desire for power. When this was denied him in the form of a governing position, he strove to prove himself as a military leader — a field in which his older brothers Rudolf and Ernst took only a theoretical interest. Starting with the Imperial Diet in Regensburg in 1594, Matthias began to assume this role. Lambert de Sayve, who had been at the imperial court since his training as a boy singer, is already listed as the chapelmaster of Matthias at the Regensburg Diet. De Sayve is the only member of Matthias' chapel who is named but the listing shows his entourage as including an organist, 12 "*Musici oder Singer*", six boy singers, twelve trumpeters and one drummer (Hoerpauker).<sup>9</sup> The presence of Matthias there and his participation in the campaign against the Turks in Hungary which immediately followed it are the basis of a tantalizing conjecture. Another potentate participating in that campaign was Francesco Duke of Mantua who brought along some of his musicians, including Claudio Monteverdi. The Duke travelled to Prague on the way to Vienna. Perhaps Vincenzo Neriti, a Mantuan musician in imperial service, cleared the way for contacts between Rudolf's and Matthias' musicians and those of the Duke of Mantua. In any case, even during a military campaign, the Duke was not wont to do without his famous music chapel. Perhaps Matthias was thus exposed to the new style that was developing in Italy. If so, he does not seem to have reacted to that influence for some time. It should be emphasized that both Rudolf and Matthias tended to maintain the traditional Habsburg prejudice for Flemish singers for the performance of sacred music, while preferring Italians as trumpeters and chamber musicians. The exceptions to this rule were their chamber organists; Carl Luython, Rudolf's organist, also came from Flanders and Christoph Strauß was an Austrian.

One is tempted to explain the general preference for Italian chamber musicians by the popularity of the Italian madrigal even north of the Alps, but the validity of such an argument is highly doubtful when one considers the probability that unlike his Spanish educated brothers, Matthias may have expressed a preference for German songs such as those of Regnart and de Sayve.

The year 1594 saw Matthias' return to a governing position when his older brother Ernst became governor of the Low Countries. Upon Ernst's untimely death in 1595, Matthias became second in line to the imperial throne. The political machinations that went on in these years are of little concern here. For an understanding of Matthias' attitude to music the only important factor is his rapprochement to his cousin, the later emperor Ferdinand II. Several festive occasions brought these two archdukes together over the next decade and musical entertainment played an important role in them. Aside from the wedding ceremonies for Ferdinand's sisters, two occasions linked the later emperors in these years. In June 1597 they were taken into the Order of the Golden Fleece in Prague. The only detailed description of the ceremonies hard-

<sup>9</sup>) Fleischmann, Kurtze und Aygentliche Beschreibung. . . Regensburg 1594, p. unnumbered.

ly mentions music and makes it clear that Rudolf II was not very interested in the proceedings.<sup>10</sup> The Emperor's indifference can be seen in his withdrawal after the church ceremonies, leaving the two archdukes to celebrate the traditional banquet alone. The document does, however, mention that the "*khayserliche Musica sambt der Regall*" — that is, the imperial chamber musicians and probably Luython — played the Tafelmusik.

The second occasion was the wedding of Archduke Ferdinand in April 1600 in Graz. Matthias was sent as the representative of the Emperor. This wedding was not only dynastically important for providing an heir to the imperial throne, but also musically, as the first major expression of Ferdinand's Italian tastes.<sup>11</sup> Little is known of those festivities and this Italianization only reached the imperial court when Ferdinand became Emperor.

#### POWER ACHIEVED

In the years after 1608 Matthias was the center of a series of celebrations that were the result of his political achievements. These include Matthias' coronations as King of Hungary (1608), King of Bohemia (1611) and Emperor (1612), his wedding to Anna of Tyrol (1611), her coronations, entries into Breslau, Vienna and Linz; the coronation of Ferdinand II as King of Bohemia and Hungary; and Diets in Regensburg (1609 and 1613) and Linz. Not all of these are documented and those that tell us little about music. In his application for an improvement of his coat of arms in 1619, the musician Jacob Wanner even specifically mentions the fact that he has been a faithful follower of Matthias through all of this apparently hectic period.

The first important festivities took place in connection with Matthias' coronation as King of Hungary in Bratislava in 1608.<sup>12</sup> The entry into Vienna included musicians on one of the triumphal arches and the usual trumpet fanfares.<sup>13</sup> The next known work dedicated to Matthias is more a curiosity than an example of his musical tastes as far as we can tell. Charles Tessier may have hoped to latch on to a new employer when he reprinted a collection of songs in French, Italian, Spanish, Swiss (!) and even Turkish in 1610.<sup>14</sup> Tessier's connection to Matthias is unknown and his publication differs only in the dedication to Matthias from the original edition of 1604 which was dedicated to Landgrave Moritz of Hessen-Kassel.

The first concrete fruits of his patronage appear only after Matthias coronat-

<sup>10</sup>) HHStA Vienna, OHA, Fam. Akten 107, fol. 46r-47v.

<sup>11</sup>) H. Federhofer, Musikpflege und Musiker am Grazer Habsburgerhof der Erzherzöge Karl und Ferdinand von Innerösterreich (1564-1619). Mainz 1967.

<sup>12</sup>) S. Halek, Krönungsfeierlichkeiten in Pressburg/Bratislava 1563-1830. Bratislava 1988, p. 20-26.

<sup>13</sup>) A. Gamesina, Feyerlicher Einzug des Königs Mathias in die Stadt Wien im Jahre 1608, in: Berichte und Mitteilungen des Altertumsvereines zu Wien 9 (1866), p. 1-15.

<sup>14</sup>) For information on Tessier see: Frank Dobbins, Tessier, Charles, The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, London 1980, vol. 18, p. 705.

tion as Emperor in 1612 — possibly for financial reasons. That year brought the publication of Lambert de Sayve's large collection of motets which may partially explain the composer's absence from the ceremonies in Frankfurt.<sup>15)</sup> These works and the collection of motets by Christoph Strauss that he published the next year are typical representational music of the period, i. e. large polychoral works requiring instruments and voices.<sup>16)</sup> Superficially de Sayve's collection is also designed as a form of artwork. Many of the surviving copies are decoratively bound in red leather with gold embossment — designed perhaps for use as imperial presents. Another musician in Matthias' entourage did participate in the ceremonies in Frankfurt. The Spanish chamber musician Vittorio even wrote several poems that he may have also set to music. The texts have survived in a laudatory publication composed on the occasion of a visit to Nuremberg after the coronation.<sup>17)</sup> Public events invited the dedication of musical works because the donor was almost certain of a reward. Several dedications can be linked to the Imperial Diet in Regensburg in 1613. Antonio Leckhate, the chapelmaster of the Bishop of Cologne, received 26 Gulden and Johann Stadelmaier, the chapelmaster of Archduke Maximilian III [another brother of Matthias, known as the *Deutschmeister*] was given 200 Gulden. Whether the extremely differing amounts are an indication of the emperor's appreciation or merely a reflection of the size of the musical works cannot be judged, since neither of them could be identified. They most certainly refer to pieces which were presented in manuscript, not printed works. Along with these rewards for compositions a number of payments to musicians and even actors indicate that these forms of entertainment played an important role as recreation at the 1613 Diet.<sup>18)</sup>

Matthias already employed some Italian musicians who stayed on under Ferdinand. Foremost among them is the lutenist Pietro Paulo Melli, who was apparently in Vienna as early as 1612. All of Melli's extant works were published in the next years and they clearly demonstrate his relations not only to his imperial employers but also to his musical colleagues such as Christoph Strauss and the chamber singer de Nagero.<sup>19)</sup> Melli could also be a link to the chamber music under Rudolf II. In his third *Intavolatura* of 1616 he honors a relative named Domenico. Could this be the Domenico mentioned by Praetorius in

15) G. Rebscher, Lambert de Sayve als Motettenkomponist. Frankfurt am Main 1959. 20ff.

16) For a reproduction of the titlepage of this collection see P. Gano ed., Christoph Strauss, Motet and Mass „O Sacrum Convivium“ in: *Series of Early Music* 80, 1978.

17) B. Praetorius, *Corona Imperialis: hoc est Vota et Congratulationes diversorum auctorum, in Electionem et Coronationem... Matthiae... Bern.* Praetorius collegit, recensuit, conjunctim edidit. Nuremberg 1613. p. 95—96.

18) HKA Vienna, Hofzahlamtsbuch 62 (1614); Ennoblement crowned the activities of the famous commedia dell'arte actor, Pier Maria Cecchini, on November 12, 1614. He and his troupe traveled to all of the larger European courts and he was no stranger to Rudolph II's court in Prague. Cecchini was so proud of the imperial patent (concept for the original document in: Vienna, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Adelsakten) that he had it printed at the end of a treatise on the theater.

19) T. Antonicek, Pietro Paolo Melli in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and musicians* London 1980, vol. 12, p. 110f.

his *Syntagma Musicum* as the owner of a large Cister?<sup>20)</sup> Even the long list of public celebrations mentioned above does not really give a clear indication of the musical duties (or opportunities) that confronted the musicians closest to the Emperor. Where the titles of Melli's compositions indicate his elbow-rubbing with the ladies and gentlemen of the imperial chambers, another work by Thomas Bodenstein, a chamber organist, from the year 1617 is a reminder of the many other unwritten duties of chamber musicians. It is a motet written — and probably performed — for Matthias' name day (24 February) in 1617 which has survived as a manuscript.<sup>21)</sup> The work for 11 voices begins with the text „*Benedictus Deus qui orantibus*“. It is usually forgotten that the New Year, birthdays and name days were welcome opportunities for imperial musicians to gain extra rewards by writing occasional pieces. Nothing is known about the music at the celebration which was organized by the Estates of Bohemia known as the „*Phasma Dionysiacum*“. A picture of the festivities proves that early Baroque stage works had certainly arrived at the imperial court by this point.<sup>22)</sup> It is perhaps not purely accidental that the scene illustrates a ballet performed by the leading men of the kingdom, for another addition to Matthias' court entourage after he becomes Emperor is a dance teacher. Although none of the music seems to have survived, Matthias and Anna were confronted with the work of one of the greatest German composers of those days on a state visit. On July 15, 1617, they were greeted with music and poems by Heinrich Schütz in Dresden. Aside from Schütz's references to the local spirit (the Elbe appears as a nymph), his musical texts reflect the common denominator of most courtly festivals in northern Europe in this period: Apollo and the nine muses greet the Imperial visitors one after the other and then together.<sup>23)</sup>

The presence of Melli, the chamber harpist Aloysio Ferrari and the first mention of a female chamber singer, Angela Stampa (in 1617),<sup>24)</sup> are an indication that at least the chamber music which Emperor Matthias I enjoyed was keeping pace with the latest developments in Italy. Even the preference for polychoral style for public occasions was thoroughly modern. Both aspects link music under Matthias to that under Rudolf II. It only remained, then, for Ferdinand II to take the last logical step towards the complete italianization of the Imperial court music chapel, which brought the era of predominance of Flemish musicians there to an end.

20) M. Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, vol. 2. De Organographia Wolfenbüttel 1619, Facsimile in: *Documenta musicologica* 7. Reihe, XIV Basel—London—New York 1964, p. 55.

21) Austrian National Library, Vienna — Codex 9814.

22) T. Volek & S. Jares, *Dejiny Ceske Hudby v obrazech od nejstarsich pamatek do vybudovani Narodniho divadla*. Prague 1977, illustration 125: *Phasma Dionysiacum*.

23) H. J. Moser, *Heinrich Schütz. Sein Leben und Werk* (Kassel 1936), p. 86—88; E. H. Müller, *Heinrich Schütz. Gesammelte Briefe und Schriften* (Regensburg 1931), p. 41—52.

24) HKA. HZAB 66 (1617), fol. 98r + 208r + v. Stampa earned 20 Gulden a month which compares favorably with Melli's 25 Gulden a month.



**MUSICAL WORKS DEDICATED TO EMPEROR MATHIAS**  
(in chronological order)

*Alard du Gaucquier*, Quatuor Missae 5, 6 et 8 vocum, Antwerp Plantin 1581

*Charles Tessier*, Aïrs et Villanelles Fran. Ital. Espa. Suïce et Turcq. a 3. 4 & 5 parties. Paris Veuve R. Ballard & Pierre Ballard son fils 1610.

*Lambert de Sayve*, Sacrae symphoniae, quas vulgo motetas appellant, tam de totius anni festis solennibus, quam de tempore, 4.5.6.7.8.9.10.11.12.15.&16. tam vocibus quam instrumentis accommodatae. Klosterbruck Johannes Fidler 1612.

*Christopher Strauss*, Nova ac diversimoda sacrum cantionum compositio, seu motetae, 5.6.7.8.9.&10. tam Vocibus quam Instrumentis variis (ut ad illas superis ac in Indice annotatum et maxime accommodatae). Vienna Johannes Fidler 1613.

1612/13 Unidentified compositions by Johannes Stadelmayr and Antonio Leckhate (also identified as chapelmaster of the Archbishop of Cologne)

*Antonio Vittorio*, Romance "Los cielos se regozian" Soneto "Parose el sol en medio el firmamento"

*Pietro Paolo Melli*, Intavolatura di Liuto attoribato Libro Secondo Venice Giacomo Vicenti 1614

*Thomas Bodenstein*, Benedictus Deus qui orantibus. for 11 voices Austrian National Library Vienna, Cod. 9814, number 5.

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## HANKOVY PADĚLKY V ČESKÉ HUDBĚ

JITKA LUDVOVÁ

Historie působení *Rukopisu královédvorského*, *Rukopisu zelenohorského* a dalších padělků z první poloviny 19. století v české hudbě má podvojnou tvář. Obladnou jako v jiných oborech formující se české vědy sloužily *Rukopisy* v českém hudebním dějepisectví jako historický pramen. Zalidňovaly nejstarší období českých dějin a nabízely „staročeská“ jména hudebních nástrojů. Ještě Riegrův *Slovník naučný* říká v hesle *Čechy* [1862] dějiny české hudby podle *Rukopisů*.<sup>1)</sup> Zároveň pronikaly padělané texty do společnosti a stávaly se zdrojem umělecké inspirace v literatuře, divadle, výtvarném umění a v hudbě. Rukopisné náměty byly jednou z podstatných součástí obsáhlého bloku témat, do nichž se v umění 19. století koncentrovalo historické vědomí.<sup>2)</sup> Přítomná studie se chce zabývat uplatněním rukopisných témat v české hudbě. Pokusí se komentovat jednotlivá zhudebnění textů i námětů a dotkne se širších společenských a repertoárových tradic, jež se v této souvislosti ustálily. Závěrečná část studie přináší přehled hudebního zpracování rukopisných textů a námětů.

### 1.

Umělecké využití textů „nalézáných“ po roce 1816, jejich zhudebnění nebo bohatší hudební zpracování dějových námětů zdaleka nepokračovalo tempem, jaké bychom předpokládali vzhledem k jejich významu v české kultuře. V cestě stály především hudebně technické překážky. Devatenácté století žilo zpěvem a zdálo by se samozřejmě, že „objevených“ básní bude použito ke kompozici písní. Očividný problém představoval však „starobylý“ jazyk, který se svou prozodickou nepravidelností naprosto vymykal charakteru veršů, zhudebněných kolem 1820. S tím souvisel další důležitý otázník: jak hudebně vyjádřit starobylost a národní svěbytnost textové předlohy. Pro generaci, která hledala v dějinách svou národní identitu, muselo být právě toto hledisko velmi důležité.

O první zhudebnění „staročeského“ textu se pokusil František Max Kníže (1784—1840), fagotista Stavovského divadla, výtečný kytarista, žák Tomáškův a dobrý přítel Hankův. Zvolil *Píseň vyšehradskou*, kterou „našel“ Josef Linda 1816 a vydal Václav Hanka v prvním svazku Starobylých skládaní. Kníže pu-

<sup>1)</sup> Tento aspektem působení RKZ v české kultuře se zabývá moje studie *Hudební motivy Hankových padělků*, *Hudební věda* 1988, č. 4, s. 293—310.

<sup>2)</sup> Sborník referátů k této tematice přináší Uměnovědné studie III, Praha 1981 — Historické vědomí v českém umění 19. století.