

JAHRBUCH
DER KUNSTHISTORISCHEN
SAMMLUNGEN IN WIEN

BAND ~~1886~~ 1887/88

Sonderheft Nr. 327

VERLAG ANTON SCHROLL & CO · WIEN

RELATIONS BETWEEN MUSICIANS AND ARTISTS AT THE COURT OF RUDOLF II

BY ROBERT LINDELL

In the last twenty years the interest in Emperor Rudolf II, stemming from his role as a patron of the arts, has increased startlingly. A by-product of that interest expressed mainly by art historians has often been the gathering of data useful to writing a history of Rudolf's musical patronage. The two areas seemed to overlap mainly where architectural goals were defined by musical needs, such as in the construction and repairs of one of the largest organs of the period in St. Veit's Cathedral¹, or in connection with inventories of the Emperor's collections².

R. J. W. Evans pointed out the importance of other possible sources. He quotes the letters of the imperial chapelmaster Filippo di Monte as a source on the cultural activities at the court of Rudolf II, and Monte (1521–1603) is a logical focal point for the examination of the relationships between artists and musicians at the court³.

I. MONTE AND ARTISTIC RELATIONS

There were many artists working at the courts of Maximilian II and Rudolf II with the surname Monte or variations thereof. In reality, Filippo di Monte's name was an italianized version of what may have been "van den Berghe". Filippo di Monte was Flemish, his birthplace Mechelen in Brabant. The same letters to Charles L'Ecluse (= Clusius in the following) which Evans quotes concerning the art of gardening in imperial Prague contain several other items of interest to Art Historians⁴. One is the mention of Monte's acquaintance with Bartholomaeus Spranger⁵. Another refers to Monte's nephew, who is a painter. Clusius has sent his old friend the chapelmaster a portrait of himself, but Monte wants his nephew Jacob to paint one too because, in his opinion, no other artist could do it as well. Monte writes from Prague on 16 May 1587 to Clusius in Vienna, . . . *questa sarà solamente per dirle che ho pregato con ogni caldezza al S(igno)r Iacomo mio nepote di farmi tanto favore che di far lui il ritratto ch'io desidera haver di V(ostra) S(ignoria) come la scrissi, et se ben mel'havesse mandato, fatto per man d'altri, di gratia non se increzca di lasciarsi contrahere da mio nipote, ch'io son sicurissimo che niuno altro in questi paesi ne forse altrove che dirle (sic)*⁶. Little is known of Jacob Monte and few of his works have been identified, but his relationship to the famous chapelmaster has generally been neglected. Apparently he was a chamber artist to Archduke Charles of Inner Austria in Graz and died before Filippo, sometime in the 1590's⁷. A portrait of Clusius by him is unknown.

Since Jacob Monte was a relative of the imperial chapelmaster, the question of how many other Montes there were at the imperial court from the same family arises. A much more important but equally mysterious artist at Rudolf's court was Hans Mont. The older literature suggested that Hans Mont may have been a brother of Jacob Monte, which would have made him too a nephew of Filippo. Mont's birthplace in Ghent and birthdate (c. 1545) could even strengthen this possibility since Filippo di Monte (born 1521) could have had a brother who remained in Flanders and had children by the 1540's⁸.

¹) R. QUOIKA, Die Prager Kaiserorgel, Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch 36 (1925), 45.

²) K. W. NIEMÖLLER, Musikinstrumente in der Prager Kunstkammer Kaiser Rudolfs II. um 1600, in: Festschrift Heinz Becker zum 60. Geburtstag (Laaber 1982), 332–341; G. STRADNER, Die Klangwelt der Musikinstrumente in Prag um 1600, in: Exhibition catalogue „Prag um 1600“, 2 (Freren 1988), 28–31.

³) R. J. W. EVANS, Rudolf II and his World. A Study in Intellectual History 1576–1612 (Oxford 1973¹, 1984²), 119 f.

⁴) A transcription of the Clusius letters is in: G. van Doorslaer, La Vie et les Œuvres de Philippe de Monte (Brussels 1921, reprint New York 1980), 280–296. More recently discovered letters of Monte are listed in: R. LINDELL, Die Briefe Filippo di Montes. Eine Bestandsaufnahme, in: Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 39 (Tutzing 1988), 37–54.

⁵) DOORSLAER, op. cit. 281.

⁶) DOORSLAER, op. cit. 289. The only known portrait of Clusius belongs to the University of Leiden. It carries the date 1585 and cannot therefore be the one by Jacob Monte referred to here. See: S. A. AUMÜLLER & JÓZSEF JEANPLONG (eds.), Carolus Clusius Fungorum in Pannoniis observatorum Brevis Historia et Codex Clusii. Mit Beiträgen von einer internationalen Autorengemeinschaft. Budapest, Graz 1983, p. 33.

⁷) U. THIEME & F. BECKER, Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart (Leipzig 1931), 25 : 84.

⁸) Ibid, 76; L. O. LARSSON, Hans Mont van Gent, in: Konsthistorisk tidskrift 36 (1967), 6–7.

All of the Montes mentioned until now seem to have been Flemish. A certain Johannes de Monte, however, was not. He was an Italian painter who received a diploma from Rudolf II dated 6 June, 1583. It is a recommendation for Johannes de Monte, *pictore aulico*, who was returning to his home country, Italy, with his family: *ab aula nostra Caesarea in Italium patrium solum una cum familia*⁹. The document is interesting because it states that Giovanni di Monte, as he must have been called, had served both Ferdinand I and Maximilian II. This supports the theory that there were two artists with similar names, i. e. Johannes de Monte/Hans Mont, as Hilde Lietzmann suggests, although she did not quote this document¹⁰. The two decisive facts that identify Johannes de Monte as being a separate identity from Hans Mont are his Italian homeland and his service under Ferdinand I, since Hans Mont only came to the court under Maximilian II. As important as such archival documentation can be in identifying the interrelationships of musicians and artists, other less concrete evidence can be more revealing of the imperial court culture as a whole.

II. ANTONIO ABONDIO AND GREGORIO TURINI

Most of the combined efforts of musicians and artists centered on the court festival. The best documented example of the coordination of music and the other arts in a festive Gesamtkunstwerk is the wedding festival of Archduke Charles of Inner Austria and Maria of Bavaria in 1571, an event in which Rudolf II participated. Here Filippo di Monte collaborated with Giuseppe Arcimboldo to provide music for an allegorical dance of the stars descending from the heavens, as well as for an outdoor "tournois á thème"¹¹.

Unfortunately this is the only festival in the Rudolfine period where such concrete evidence of musical artistic activities at the imperial court could be documented. Other festival descriptions such as the printed one of the festivities in June 1585 surrounding the Order of the Golden Fleece rarely refer to music, although this one does mention that a work for three choirs was performed on that occasion.

It is very difficult to go beyond such public activities to discover what happened in the imperial chambers. Did musicians and artists present their latest creations to the Emperor and his highest officials in some kind of academy? No proof of this kind of interaction there has survived but apparently music was heard in the gatherings of artists on other levels.

Although personal letters of artists or musicians can be very informative, they are generally very rare. Another source of historical information about the relations between artists and musicians that remains almost unused is the dedicatory letter that accompanied almost every piece of published music. Again, it is Filippo di Monte, who provides proof of such meetings where a private performance of some of his musical works took place. Monte dedicated his fifteenth book of madrigals for five voices (1592) to Camillo Caetano, the papal nuntius to the Imperial court. The composer explains his choice of Caetano as dedicatee by mentioning the fact that he had shown his pleasure over the compositions when they were played – in Monte's house? – on violas da gamba several months earlier¹². Tiburtio Massaino (see below) identifies Monte's lodgings as a center for meetings with musicians and even the highest members of the court. It is hard to imagine that this would have been anything less than a mirror of the Emperor's activities in his inner circle of artists.

Differences of status among musicians were indicated in much the same way as with artists. The latter were designated as painters, or whatever their profession was, of the Emperor's chambers (Kammermaler), etc., in the court payment books to distinguish them from their run-of-the-mill colleagues, and this title also indicates possible direct contact with the Emperor. The term "Kammerorganist" (as with Paul de Winde or Carolus Luython) or "Kammerbassist" (Luigi Fenice) was used to differentiate the virtuoso from regular chapel musicians. This stems from the fact that there was no organization for artistic endeavors similar to the court chapel for music – nor was there any need for one. But many musicians who achieved chamber status were still designated merely as "musicco" or by their main instrument. When used in this way, the term implies an instrumentalist as opposed to a singer but probably also implied chamber musician status. Perhaps that is why the trumpeter-composer Gregorio Turini

⁹) A copy of the document is in Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna Reichs Register Rudolfs II, Vol 4, folio 433 recto.

¹⁰) H. LIETZMANN, *Das Neugebäude in Wien: Sultan Süleymans Zelt – Kaiser Maximilians II. Lustschloß* (München – Berlin 1987), 152. Unfortunately this author repeats a mistake that can be traced to the seventeenth century concerning Filippo di Monte which identifies this composer as a student of Orlando di Lasso. The main argument against this assumption is that Monte was Lasso's senior by over ten years.

¹¹) For documentation and other literature see: R. LINDELL, *The Wedding of Archduke Charles and Maria of Bavaria*, *Early Music* XVII/2 May 1990, 253–269.

¹²) DOORSLAER, *op. cit.* 243 f.

used the expression on the title page of his first printed work: "S.C.M. Rudulphi II. Musicum". This book of motets is interesting not only because Turini dedicated it to one of the leading artists at the court of Rudolf II, Antonio Abondio, but also for its possible link to one of the major cultural organizations promoted by the Emperor (Facsimile of dedication and frontespiece from Turini, *ill. 80 and 81*. The full title of the work and the text of the dedication are in the Appendix).

It was not uncommon for trumpeters at the imperial court to also be accomplished composers. Another example is Alessandro Orologio. Turini came from Brescia and was probably born around 1550. His son Francesco Turini (born 1589) was a child prodigy who studied in Italy at Rudolf II's expense and later became a well-known composer and organist in Brescia¹³. Gregorio Turini's other publications (a book of German songs in 1590 and Italian Canzoni 1597) have only survived in incomplete copies. His Cantiones, however, were apparently quite popular and were reprinted after his death¹⁴. The most obvious explanation of the dedication and the relationship of Turini and Abondio is their contact as artists of the Emperor's inner circle.

It was common for musicians to dedicate their works to aristocrats in the expectation of a financial reward or even the simple hope of having the printing costs paid by the dedicatee. In the case of Turini's dedication, however, a more personal reason seems to apply. Such dedications between artists were comparatively rare – perhaps because they could bring no financial reward. It seems that here we have the simple expression of the friendship between two artists, without discounting the aspect of such dedications as a form of artistic propaganda. Turini's dedication represents a personal expression of Abondio's status as an artist and even provides some added information concerning his biography. By addressing Abondio as his patron, Turini might be indicating that the artist not only stood somehow closer to imperial favor but also was in a position to express his own support in the form of commissioning works or possibly by putting in a good word with imperial officials.

Turini begins the dedication by stating that music takes the first place among the arts when it comes to relieving human beings from the sorrows and cares of life. He then justifies this position by quoting authors from ancient Greece and Rome before moving on to the scriptures and David. Then he ingeniously connects this appeal to divine authority with the contents of the present book, i. e. with the psalms of David which are the source of most of the motet texts in this collection. The justification for his choice of Abondio as dedicatee is the pleasure and understanding of music the artist has expressed. This in turn leads Turini to expound on Abondio's fame. Abondio's works, he says, could easily stand comparison with those of Myron, Praxiteles, Polycletes and other ancient sculptors.

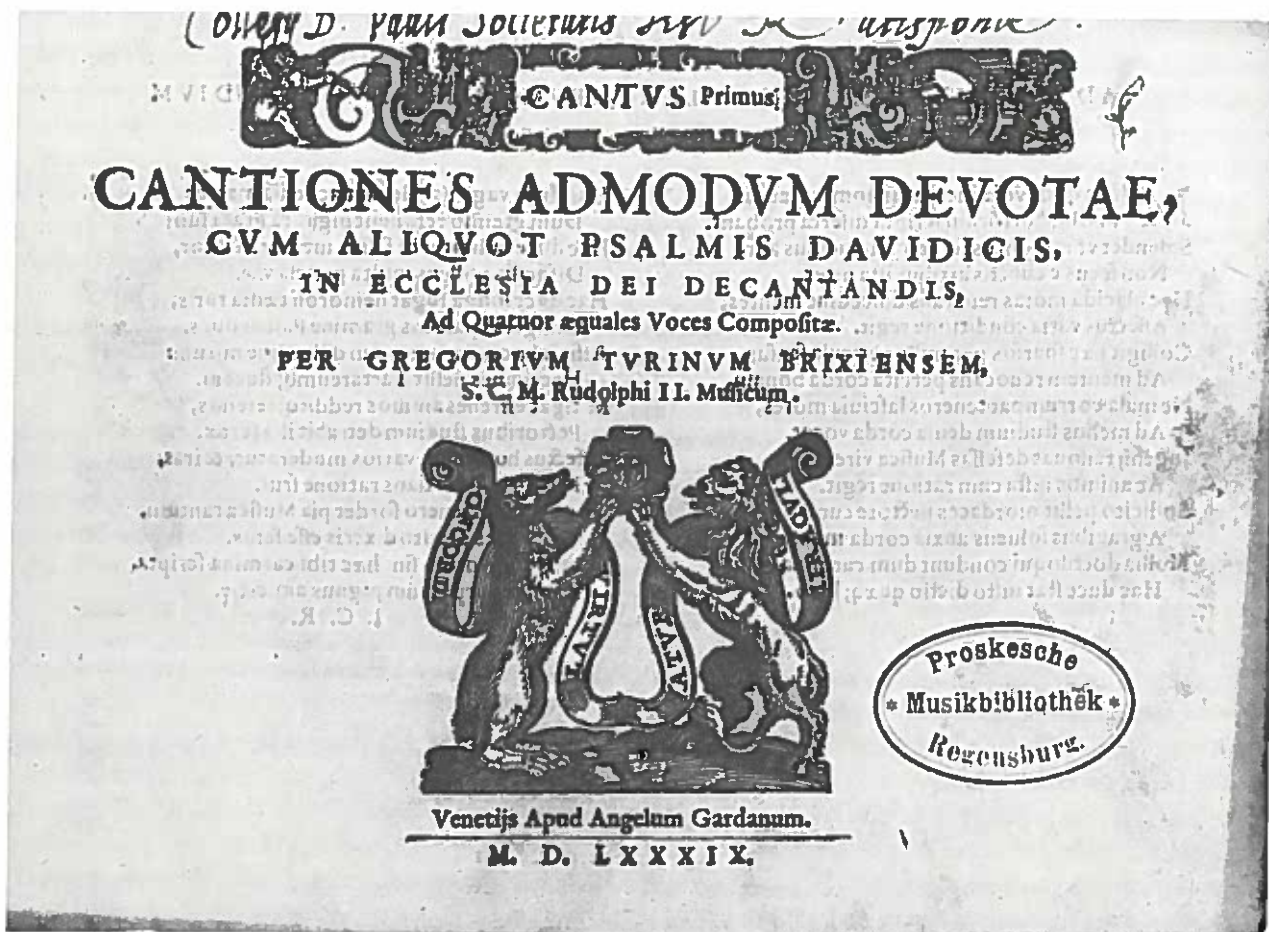
This praise is intertwined with some short statements about Abondio's activities away from the imperial court, and it is here that he provides some new information. Turini states that Maximilian II, who had called Abondio to his court, then sent him to show his art to the courts of Spain and France. Although these trips are no surprise as such, the point in time that Turini quotes is¹⁵. If Abondio visited France, chances are that it was when he was returning to Vienna after traveling to Spain in 1571–1572. A stay in France would seem logical since Maximilian II's daughters were married to the rulers of the two countries. Archduchess Anna became queen of Spain through her marriage to her uncle, Philipp II, in 1570. Elizabeth became Queen of France in that same year by marrying Charles IX. Cellini's famous Saliera came to the imperial collections at that time as a present from Charles IX to Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, who acted as the bridegroom in the *per procuratorem* wedding in Speyer¹⁶. Would not such a spectacular present have demanded some sign of special favor such as the sending of the famous sculptor/medaillieur Abondio in return? On the other hand, Turini's source of information is unknown and, if indeed it were not Abondio himself, this reference could just represent the usual symbolic connection of the name of Maximilian II with the two Queens, his daughters, which was common in talking about the glory of that Emperor. In any case, it would seem likely that the death of Charles IX in 1574 and the subsequent return of Elizabeth to Vienna as her place of retirement would be the logical point in time *ante quem* such a visit by the artist would have made any sense, at least if we assume Abondio had actually been sent there by the Emperor. Until that

¹³) W. PASS, Gregorio Turini in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 19 (London 1987), 265 f.

¹⁴) The reprint (after Turini's death?) in 1606 by the Venetian publisher Alexander Raverio deletes the dedication. This was a common practice and probably appropriate since the dedicatee had died in the meantime.

¹⁵) THIEME – BECKER 1 : 26–28 (1907) makes no mention of a trip to France. The latest study which clarifies some of Abondio's activities in the early 1570's is: H. LIETZMANN, *Unbekannte Nachrichten zur Biographie von Antonio Abondio und Carlo Pallago* in: *Jahrbuch des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte* 5 – 1989 (Munich 1991).

¹⁶) K. VOCELKA, *Habsburgische Hochzeiten 1550–1600* (Graz 1976), 107.



80. Title page of Gregorio Turini's "Cantiones Sacrae". Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek

point, the hopes of linking the northern branch of the Habsburg dynasty with the throne of France called for repeated assurances of close political and artistic ties, which a visit by a major artist (probably bearing presents) would represent.

III. THE CORPUS CHRISTI BROTHERHOOD

Turini's book of motets may have been one of a series of similar works that were published in the period between 1580 and ca. 1600, all of which might be associated to the Corpus Christi Brotherhood.

The "Confraternitas Corporis Christi in Aula Caesarea" grew out of certain devotional activities that flourished under Empress Maria. One might call this brotherhood her religious legacy to a son, who – at least upon her return to Spain in 1582 – seemed to be a much more devout Catholic than his father. It is probably indicative of Rudolf's attitude (or reticence) that such an organization would have been left to go its own way even after his own disenchantment with other religious practices. The prior of this brotherhood was the court almoner Jacob Chimarraeus. As the most important figure in the bureaucracy of the court chapel, Chimarraeus exercised substantial influence on the day to day religious activities at court. He originally came there as a singer and advanced in a very short time to the position of almoner. Rudolf II rewarded him with various important benefices and gave him the same honor as Arcimboldo, i. e. the "palatinatus". His portrait as executed by Aegidius Sadeler is surrounded by the symbols of these various honors as well as by that of the papal Order of the Golden Spur¹⁷. III. 82 gives us the opportunity of comparing the famous Sadeler engraving with that of a lesser, contemporary artist.

As the author of a laudatory poem which precedes the dedication, Chimarraeus provides the basis for relating Turini's book of motets to the brotherhood:

¹⁷) Sadeler's etching is reproduced in the exhibition catalogue "Prag um 1600. Kunst und Kultur am Hofe Rudolfs II." 1 (Freren 1988), 102.

ENCOMIUM MUSICES

AD MAGNIFICUM AC NOBILEM VIRUM ANTONIUM ABUNDIUM

S. C. M. Aulicum dignissimum.

*Musica quot verae mereatur nomina laudis,
 Undique doctorum scripta diserta probant.
 Splendet ut impositus fulvo carbunculus auro
 Non secus è cunctis artibus ista nitet.
 Haec placida motas reparans dulcedine mentes,
 Affectus varia conditione regit.
 Colligit haec sparsos per mille pericula sensus,
 Ad mentem revocans percita corda bonam,
 Ne mala corrumpat teneros lascivia mores,
 Ad melius studium devia corda vocat.
 Ingenii renovat defessas Musica vires,
 Ac animos iusta cum ratione regit.
 Sollicito pellit mordaces pectore curas,
 A gravibus solvens anxia corda malis.
 Mollia doctiloqui condunt dum carmina vates,
 Hac duce stat iusto dictio quaeque loco.
 Hac duce vagitus relevant ac taedia matres
 Dum gremio revovent pignora grata suo.
 Hac duce fallit iter defessus membra viator,
 Difficilis pellens multa pericla viae.
 Hac duce longa fugat nemorosi taedia ruris,
 Lanigeras pascens gramine Pastor oves.
 Afficit haec mira summum dulcedine mirum:
 Haec manes pellit Tartareumque ducem.
 Mitigat effrenes animos redditque serenos,
 Pectoribus studium detrahit illa ferox.
 Affectus hominum varios moderatur, et iras,
 Pro furiis iusta dans ratione frui.
 Ergo quibus tenero sordet pia Musica tantum,
 Sylvestres merito dixeris esse feras.
 Te precor Antoni sine haec tibi carmina scripta,
 Nostrae perpetuum pignus amicitiae.
 I(acobus) C(himarrhaeus) R(uremundis)*

The first composition that might be related to the brotherhood comes from the pen of Mattheo Flecha (c. 1530–1604), who was a chaplain to the Empress Maria. Flecha went with the Empress when she returned to Spain in 1582. He seems to have never severed his ties to Prague and indeed acted somewhat as a go-between concerning musical matters, traveling back and forth several times until he too retired to Spain in 1602. Flecha's "Divinarum Completarium" may have been the first set of religious compositions destined for use in the meetings of the Corpus Christi brotherhood. Perhaps Flecha intended to retire to Spain himself, for he not only published this set of motets that year but also his vernacular *Ensaladas*¹⁴. Where this latter shows a definite Spanish inclination with its texts and its dedication to the Spanish ambassador to the court, Juan de Borgia, the *Completarium* is much more universal. It is dedicated to the Venetian ambassador to the court, Alberto Badoer. Only very incomplete lists of members of the Corpus Christi Brotherhood have survived, so that Badoer could easily have been one. Pierre Bergeron later reports that he saw the Venetian and Florentine ambassadors as well as the papal nuntius

¹⁴) M. C. GOMEZ, Precisiones en torno a la vida y obra de Mattheo Flecha el joven in: *Revista de Musicologia* 9 (Madrid 1986), 41–56. On Alberto Badoer see *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 5:92f. (Rome 1963).

ADMODVM NOBILI AC MAGNIFICO VIRO DOMINO
ANTONIO ABONDIO S. C. M. AVLICO OPTIME MERITO,

Domino & Patrono suo multum obseruando.



Natura communis & benignissima rerum omnium parens Vir generis animiq; nobilitate, ac varijs dotibus ornatus, homini qui a primo statim ortu in hunc mundum ceu in quandam carnificinam omnium malorum exponitur, etiam ingenij & mentis beneficium contulit, ad inquirendum ea quibus animi in gremio, dolore, tristitiam, mulceret, condiret, edulceret. Inter haec verò Musicam faciliè principem obtinere locum, omnes ferè mortales, vel qui se ad Rempublicam contulerant, vel qui rerum cognitione delectantur, vel etiam qui suum negotium quarunt otiosi, testes esse poterunt, qui sanè absq; Musica vitam nullam esse arbitrantur. Apud Græcos nemo doctus habebatur, qui non psalms canere didicisset, teste Cicerone l. T. busculana, & Lyram a conuicijs abesse turpissimum ceusebatur, Galeno si credere fas est. Apud Arcades austerioris alioquin vsq; homines vti scribit Polybius adolefcentes ad trigentesimum vsque ætatis annum hac arte imbucndos curabant ceteras verò ignorasse pudor haud erat nullus. Socrates etiam Philosophorum faciliè princeps iam natum grandior Musica institui voluit. Sed quor sum hæc ex Ethnicorum fontibus hausisse iuuat, cum sacri Bibliorum codices non tam huius artis qua proximè ad Angelorum ministeria accedimus, præconia desantent, quam etiam quod David Rex cum cantoribus Cytbaram percussisset, eoq; factò a Saule demones fugasse testantur, seduloq; nos admonent, vt Dominum de cælis in voce Psalms, in tubis dulcibus, in cymbalis benefonantibus, inq; voce tuba corne & incessanter laudemus. Hinc igitur incrudidissimè arti quia me totum a puero deuoni, vt Dei Opt. Max. cultum in sua sancta Ecclesia pro posse meo ampliarem pijs hæc cantiones cum Psalmis aliquot Davidicis vocibus quasi paribus cantandas aptavi, ac sub tuo nomine vir Amplissimè qui plurimum hac diuina arte delectaris, in lucem prodire curavi. Et licet concentus iste non respondeat auribus iam suauissima harmonia repletis, totam namq; Italiam peragratus eos, & ab Imperatore D. Maximiliano II. felicissima recordationis ad serenia vocatus Regna florentissima Hispaliarum ac Galliarum missus ab ipso Cesare vt Reges ac Reginas illorum tua arte (qua faciliè ipsum Apollinem Myronem Praxiclem, Polycletem, & quotquot huius artis insignes, vel colit antiquitas vel hoc seculum habeat superas) ad viuum quasi cæles, tamen vt animi mei promptitudinem declararem, ac amoris, studij & beneuolentiæ erga te validissimum pignus statuerem, quicquid illud est, tuæ dignitati confexere volui, petens interim vt placido vultu munusculum accipere, ac offerentis animum suum ad aspiciere velis. Vale vir Amplissime, & in suorum numero me præcor esse sinat. Praga Anno Virginie partus M. D. lxxix. Die xxvij. Martij.

A. V. D. Adulcissimus

Gregorius Turinus Brixienfis S. C. M. Musicus.

A 2

81. Dedication to Antonio Abondio. Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek

participating in a meeting of the brotherhood¹⁹. The possible connection of this work to this brotherhood – as opposed, for example, to the already established Jesuit brotherhood, the Congregazione degli Italiani – might be seen in the person of Flechia, who most certainly was involved in the religious practices cultivated by the Empress.

If indeed these works are related to the brotherhood, Turini's compositions would be the next in a chronological list and the first to be published after the brotherhood was officially recognized by a papal indult in 1588. A similar dedication of sacred works *inter pares* at the imperial court followed Turini's several years later. In 1592, Tiburtio Massaino (before 1550–c. 1609) dedicated his only book of motets for four voices to Filippo di Monte²⁰. Perhaps there are some parallels to the Turini/Abondio dedication. Both Abondio and Monte had served at the imperial court for many years and were very respected artists. In both cases, the dedication of the work added to the fame of the dedicatee as well as that of the composer and could be seen as a kind of internal courtly propaganda not unknown to all the major Italian courts.

Possibly Abondio showed his appreciation for the dedication by reciprocating with a portrait or medallion of Turini or with some other form of personal thanks. As far as Monte and Massaino are concerned, the latter mentions that the court chapelmaster had come to his aid in times of trouble, hence the reward was already given in advance, so to speak. In any case, both publications fit into a musical scheme that might be indicative of Rudolph's musical taste or at least of the popular taste in Rudolphine Prague, i. e. a demand for simple, homophonic music for

¹⁹ F.-G. PARISSET, Pierre Bergeron à Prague (1600) in: Relations artistiques entre les Pays-Bas et l'Italie à Renaissance (Brussels 1980), 194. Bergeron's full text in Czech translation with maps and illustrations, in: Tři francouzští kavalíři v rudolfinské Praze, ed. E. FUČIKOVA and J. JANAČEK (Prague 1989).

²⁰ T. MASSAINO, Liber primus cantionum ecclesiasticarum ut vulgo motecta vocant (Prague 1592), mod. ed. by R. MONTEROSSO in: Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich 110 (Graz 1964).



82. Jacob Chimarraeus kneeling before crucifix from the 1594 edition of his "Sacrum Gazophylacium". Prague, Library of the National Museum



83. Title page of 1588 edition of "Sacrum Gazophylacium". Prague, Library of the Charles University

four voices. This cannot be seen solely as a result of the requirement of clearer understanding of the texts of religious works – one of the major demands of the Council of Trent – since it is also indicative of many secular compositions written by Rudolf's chamber musicians (Ardesi, Neriti). Perhaps this would not deserve more than passing attention if it were not for Massaino's book of motets. His use of only four voices is almost surprising since it is completely untypical of his other compositions of the 1590's, which tend to require larger and even polychoral settings, thus indicating some sort of influence of the *genus loci*; it is also the only work he composed and published in Prague²¹.

Monte and Vincenzo Neriti, like Flecha, a chaplain-musician at the imperial court, both published works for four voices within a few years of each other. Neriti's book of Magnificats appeared in 1593 under the protection of Chimarraeus himself and carries the latter's coat of arms on its title page²². Here too, the dedications are interesting for the thesis that these compositions were all related to the Corpus Christi brotherhood. In 1596 Monte dedicated his only book of motets for four voices to Thomas Mermann of Schönberg, a well-known doctor who worked for the

²¹) An overview of the musical production of the most important publisher in Rudolfine Prague is: P. DANĚK, Nototiskařská Činnost Jiřího Nigrina in: Hudební věda XXIV/2 (Prague 1987), 121–136.

²²) V. NERITI, Magnificat Octo Prima Chori per omnes tonos. Quatuor Vocibus decantandi (Venice 1593); The only complete copy of this work is in the Gesamthochschulbibliothek Kassel, Germany. I would like to thank the library for making a microfilm copy of this work available to me.

Dukes of Bavaria and apparently spent some time in Prague²³. The connection of all these works is mainly the use of four voices and Prague as their place of composition. Only one such publication actually mentions the brotherhood, and it doesn't fit into this simplified scheme. This is Monte's seventh book of motets for five voices (Venice, 1600)²⁴. It is also dedicated to Chimarraeus. The composer specifically refers to the brotherhood, albeit indirectly, since he only mentions the important work done by Chimarraeus as evidenced by his book "Sacrum Gazophylacium", i. e. the handbook of the brotherhood (fig. 83).

Although deeply religious, Monte would hardly have actively participated in the meetings of the brotherhood since he lived in the old town of Prague (Staré Město), i. e. comparatively far away from the meeting place of the brotherhood St. Thomas (see below fig. 84), and was already extremely feeble by 1600²⁵. Chimarraeus was not only a trained singer and composer but also mastered various instruments (among them, the *lyra da braccio*), as laudatory poems and Monte's dedication mention. These musical interests were honored in 1602 (?) with what has been called a musical „Festschrift“. This was a collection of musical compositions – mostly based on Chimarraeus' motto *Domat omnia virtus* by musicians and composers working at or somehow affiliated with the imperial court²⁶.

Those musical interests were also expressed in the activities of the Corpus Christi Brotherhood. The brotherhood met on the first thursday of every month in the St. Thomas church in the Malá Strana (the lesser side) where most of the court artists who had daily duties lived (for example, the organist Carolus Luython). This choice of venue stemmed from the patronage of the Emperor. Rudolf II gave St. Thomas the status of an alternative court church to St. Vitus in the (Hradschin) castle precinct which has been interpreted as a conscious attempt to strengthen the Catholic belief in the imperial residence²⁷.

Rudolf's favor was also evidenced by a major restoration of St. Thomas initiated by the Emperor in 1592. Chimarraeus' book „Sacrum Gazophylacium“ appeared in two widely differing versions in 1588 and 1594²⁸. It served as a devotional guide for the brotherhood and included transcriptions of such documents as a papa bull and an indult for the brotherhood. Polemical writings against the enemies of Christianity, i. e. the Turks, the Hussites, and the Lutherans, as well as many poetic re-interpretations of the Psalms from Chimarraeus' pen, expanded the second edition to almost twice the size of the first.

Aside from a definite musical emphasis, the organization of the brotherhood is interesting because it is basically cosmopolitan, and this is a decided reflection of the composition of nationalities from the Emperor's inner circle. Paul Sixt Trautson was the Protector, Chimarraeus the Prior, and the chamber organist Paul van Winde his assistant. Representatives from the four nations that made up the "Imperial Aula" were chosen as sub-directors. These were the chamber musicians Mauro Sinibaldi for Italy and Martino Cuenca for Spain; Johannes Pauseck from the Imperial Chancellory represented Germany and the merchant Roland van Holland, Belgium, i. e. the Low Countries. The predominance of musicians is obvious. Aside from the usual charitable activities of such brotherhoods, processions were the most open public activity of both the Congregazione degli Italiani and the Corpus Christi Brotherhood²⁹. Perhaps the musical aspect dominated here too for Pierre Bergeron specifically mentions attending the monthly procession of the Corpus Christi Brotherhood in St. Thomas as a highlight of his stay in Prague³⁰.

²³) Philippi de Monte S. C. Maiestatis Capellae Magistri Sacrarum Cantionum cum quattuor vocibus . . . Liber Primus (Venice 1596). The dedication is transcribed in DOORSLAER, op cit: 266 f.

²⁴) Philippi de Monte . . . Liber septimus motettorum cum quinque vocibus (Venice 1600) modern edition by G. VAN DOORSLAER, Opera Omnia 17 (Cologne 1931).

²⁵) DOORSLAER, La Vie 285 = letter to Clusius of 13 July 1586.

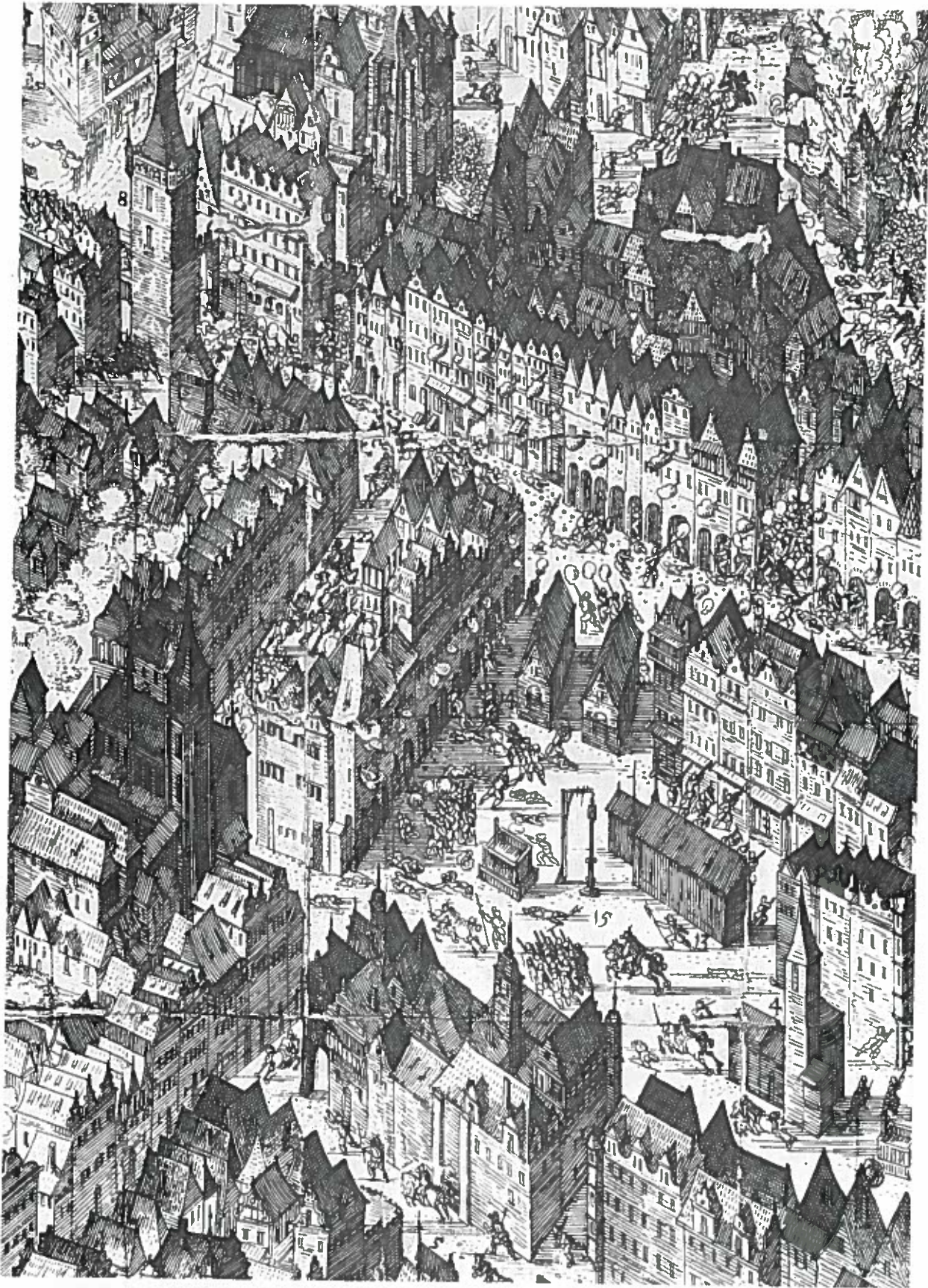
²⁶) K. W. NIEMÖLLER, Die musikalische Festschrift für den Direktor der Prager Hofkapelle Kaiser Rudolfs II. 1602, Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß Bonn 1970 (Kassel 1971), 250–252.

²⁷) B. MATEJKA, Přestavba a výzdoba chrámu sv. Tomáše při klášteře poustevníků řádu sv. Augustina na Menším Městě Pražském, in: Památky Archaeologické a Místopisné (Prague 1896). I would like to thank Dr. E. FUCIKOVA for drawing this article to my attention and for providing me with the photograph for illustration 84.

²⁸) J. CHIMARRHAEUS, Sacrum Gazophylacium Laudabilis Confraternitatis Sanctissimi Corporis Christi in aula Caesarea (Prag 1588, expanded edition 1594).

²⁹) For a description of the activities of this brotherhood, see: P. RIGETTI, Historische Nachricht . . . der Wellischen Congregation (Prag 1773). Rigetti lists the benefactors of the brotherhood including Rudolf II for the year 1608 and Dionysius Miseroni for 1611.

³⁰) PARISET, *ibid.*



84. Detail of the St. Thomas church on the lesser side (Malá Strana) from the portrayal of the invasion by the so-called Passau troops of 1611. St. Thomas is marked with the number "2" in the lower left corner of the scene

The Corpus Christi Brotherhood didn't leave any lasting expression of its activities similar to the Italian Hospital which was founded by the Jesuit rival group, but it managed to survive long after the death of its founder Chimarrhaeus in 1614. In 1616 the Prior of the Augustine convent St. Thomas became head of the brotherhood and in 1672 a plaque in German was erected in the sacristy commemorating it¹¹. Schottky mentions it in a list of brotherhoods in Prague that survived until 1770 but had been dissolved in the meantime¹².

Although the Corpus Christi Brotherhood was definitely a product of mainline religious thought at the court of Rudolf II, the conjecture that it was a meeting place for musicians and artists from the court cannot as yet be proven by direct documentary evidence. In any case, this particular function would have been lost by the time the Imperial residence was moved from Prague to Vienna.

APPENDIX*

Gregorio Turini, Cantiones admodum devotae, cum aliquot Psalmis Davidicis, in Ecclesia Dei decantandis, ad Quatuor aequales Voces compositae. Per Gregorium Turinum Brixiensem, S. C. M. Rudolphi II. Musicum. Venetiis apud Angelum Gardanum. MDLXXXIX.

ADMODUM NOBILI AC MAGNIFICO VIRO DOMINO Antonio Abundio S. C. M. Aulico Optime Merito, Domino & Patrono suo multum observando.

Natura communis et benignissima rerum omnium parens Vir generis animiq(ue) nobilitate, ac varijs dotibus ornatissime, homini qui a primo statim ortu in hunc mundum ceu in quandam carnificinam omnium malorum exponitur, etiam ingenij et mentis beneficium contulit, ad inquirendum ea quibus animi maerorem, dolorem, tristitiam, mulceret, condiret, edularet [sic!]. Inter haec verò Musicam facilè principem obtinere locum, omnes ferè mortales, vel qui se ad Rempublicam contulerunt, vel qui rerum cognitione delectantur, vel etiam qui suum negotium quaerunt otiosi, testes esse poterunt, qui sanè absq(ue) Musica vitam nullam esse arbitrantur. Apud Graecos nemo doctus habebatur, qui non fidibus canere didicisset, teste Cicerone I. Thusculana, et Lyram a convivijs abesse turpissimum censebatur, Galeno si credere fas est. Apud Arcades austerioris alioquin vitae homines uti scribit Polybius adolescentes ad trigesimum usque aetatis annum hac arte imbuendos curabant ceteras verò ignorasse pudor haud erat ullus. Socrates etiam Philosophorum facile princeps iam natum [sic!] grandior Musica institui voluit. Sed quorsum haec ex Ethnicorum fontibus hausisse iuvat, cum sacri Bibliorum codices non tam huius artis qua proximè ad Angelorum ministeria accedimus, praeconia decantent, quam etiam quod David Rex cum cantoribus Cytharam percusserit, eoq(ue) facto a Saule daemones fugasse testantur, seduloq(ue) nos admonent, ut Dominum de caelis in voce Psalmi, in tubis ductilibus, in cymbalis benesonantibus, inq(ue) voce tubae corneae incessanter laudemus. Huic igitur iucundissimae arti quia me totum a puero devovi, ut Dei Opt(imi) Max(imi) cultum in sua sancta Ecclesia pro posse meo ampliarem pias hasce cantiones cum Psalmis aliquot Davidicis vocibus quasi paribus cantandas aptavi, ac sub tuo nomine vir Amplissime qui plurimum hac divina arte delectaris, in lucem prodire curavi. Et licet concentus iste non respondeat auribus iam suavissima harmonia repletis, totam namq(ue) Italiam peragratus eos, et ab Imperatore D(omino) Maximiliano II. felicissimae recordationis ad servitia vocatus Regna florentissima Hispaiarum [sic!] ac Galliarum missus ab ipso Caesare ut Reges ac Reginas illorum tua arte (qua facilè ipsum Apollum Myronem Praxitelem, Polycletum, et quotquot huius artis insignes, vel colit antiquitas vel hoc saeculum habeat superas) ad vivum quasi caelares, tamen ut animi mei promptitudinem declararem, ac amoris, studijs et benevolentiae erga te validissimum pignus statuerem, quicquid illud est, tuae dignitati confèxere volui [sic!], petens interim ut placido vultu munusculum accipere, ac offerentis animum suum adaspicere velit [sic!]. Vale vir Amplissime, et in suorum [sic!] numero me praecor esse sinat [sic!]. Pragae Anno Virginei partus M. D. Lxxxix. Die xxvij. Martij.

A(mplissimo). V(iro). D(ilecto). Addictissimus Gregorius Turinus Brixiensis S(acrae) C(aesareae) M(aiestatis) Musicus.

After completion of this article, I discovered yet another work dedicated to Chimarrhaeus, which partially fits my thesis. It is: Franciscus Sale, Salutationes ad Beatissimam Dei Genetricem ac Virginem MARIAM, in Ecclesia Catholica per totum anni cursum cantari solitae, quatuor, sex & octo vocum (Prague 1598). Once again, the publisher is Nigrinus.

* I would like to thank Hubert Reitterer for editing the latin texts.

¹¹) Státní Ústřední Archivni, Praha, RA Ia1, fol 119.

¹²) J. M. SCHOTTKY, Prag wie es war und wie es ist (Prague 1837) 1:255 ff.; 421. SCHOTTKY believed the brotherhood had its seat in the Corpus Christi Chapel on the city square of the "new town" (novi město) which, aside from the positive identification of St. Thomas, would have been impossible because that chapel was protestant at that time.