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CATHOLIC MUSIC IN THE DIOCESE OF AUGSBURG *c.*1600: A RECONSTRUCTED TRICINIUM ANTHOLOGY AND ITS CONFESSIONAL IMPLICATIONS

After decades of suffering and agony, Catholicism in Augsburg entered a phase of gradual recovery around 1550. The first half of the sixteenth century was characterised by the rapid expansion of the Reformation and the marginalisation of the Catholics in the town. At the zenith of Protestant predominance, the Lutherans even managed to force the entire Catholic clergy into exile from 1537 to 1547 and for a few months in 1552.¹ The episcopate of Cardinal Otto Truchsess von Waldburg (1543–73), however, marked a turning point for Catholics in Augsburg. The Peace of Augsburg (1555) conceded political parity to the Catholic minority in town. Due to Otto von Waldburg's zealous activities, his severely decimated flock even managed to grow again slowly over the years. Combining

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¹ H. Immenkötter, 'Kirche zwischen Reformation und Parität', in G. Gottlieb et al. (eds), *Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg: 2000 Jahre von der Römerzeit bis zur Gegenwart* (2nd edn, Stuttgart, 1985), pp. 391–412, at pp. 392–400.

diplomatic slyness with fervent commitment, the prince-bishop took efficient measures not only to push forwards the consolidation of Catholicism in the free imperial city of Augsburg and his diocese, but also to display this revival before the envious eyes of his enemies on the Protestant side. This double strategy can best be seen in the following three examples. First, von Waldburg founded a Catholic university at Dillingen in 1549. Owing to notorious conflicts with the city council of the free imperial city of Augsburg, in 1486 the residence of the prince-bishops of Augsburg was transferred to Dillingen (Figure 1).² The violence of anti-Catholic sentiments in Augsburg later even necessitated the provisional transfer of the episcopal seat to Dillingen, a peaceful town in episcopal territory (*Hochstift Augsburg*) that was at a safe distance of some 50 kms from Augsburg. The foundation of a seminary with an attached university at Dillingen answered the prince-bishop's desire to establish a higher standard of education for prospective priests of his diocese. It is notable that Otto von Waldburg, one of the most ardent advocates of the Catholic reformation, was among the pioneers to realise this project, later to become a major concern of the Council of Trent. In the initial years the seminary was run by Dominicans of great learning, such as the renowned Spanish theologian Pedro de Soto.³ In 1564, however, Otto von Waldburg delegated the direction of the university to the *Societas Jesu*. It was under the supervision of the Jesuits, efficient propagators of Catholic renewal, that the university of Dillingen soon flourished as the leading centre of counter-reformatory education in southern Germany (see Figure 2).⁴ The

² R. Kießling, 'Augsburg zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit', in Gottlieb et al. (eds), *Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg*, pp. 241–51, at p. 241.

³ Pedro de Soto gained a great reputation among contemporaries as the author of a celebrated series of prayers for the Council of Trent. Set to music by Waldburg's *maestro di cappella* Jacobus de Kerle, the *Preces speciales* received enormous attention among the fathers of the council. Within the diocese, they became so popular that the official printer of the University of Dillingen, Sebald Mayer, reissued de Soto's prayers, with the words slightly altered to accommodate the more general needs of the Catholic community in Germany: the *Preces pro Salubri Generalis Concilii Continuatione & Conclusionem* (1551) thereby became *Preces speciales pro Salute Populi Christiani* (1558).

⁴ For general information on the history of the University of Dillingen, see especially the following publications: T. Specht, *Geschichte der ehemaligen Universität Dillingen (1549–1804) und der mit ihr verbundenen Lehr- und Erziehungsanstalten* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1902; repr. Aalen, 1987); A. Layer, 'Die Residenz- und Universitätsstadt Dillingen in der Musikgeschichte', *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins Dillingen*, 80 (1978), pp. 197–204; R. Kießling (ed.), *Die Universität Dillingen und ihre Nachfolger: Stationen und Geschichte einer Hochschule in Schwaben* (Dillingen, 1999).

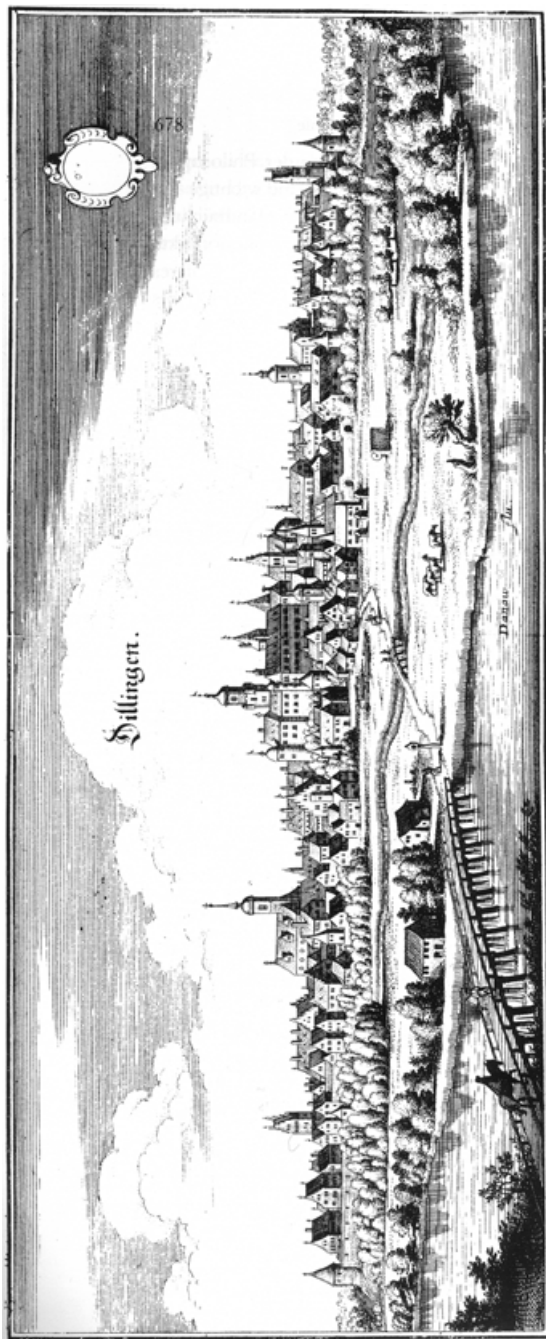


Figure 1 Etching of Dillingen by Matthaeus Merian, *Topographia Suecica* (1643)
reproduced from Kießling (ed.), *Die Universität Dillingen*

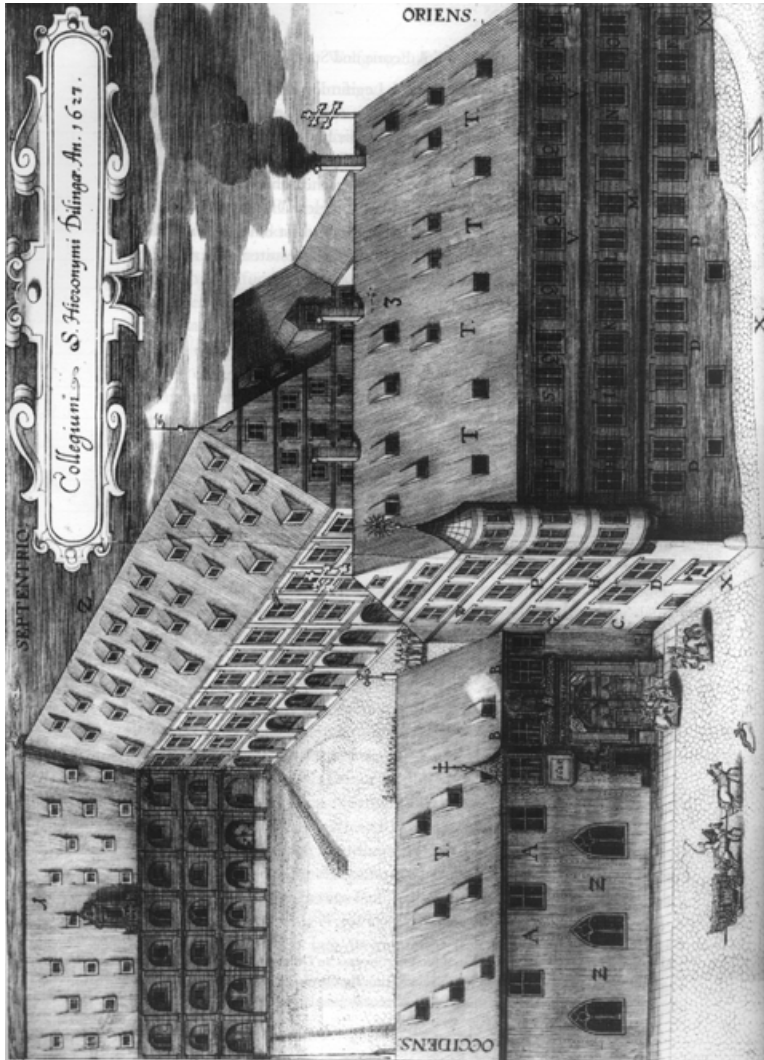


Figure 2 The University of Dillingen, viewed from the south. Etching by Wolfgang Kilian, 1627, reproduced from Kießling (ed.), *Die Universität Dillingen*

international fame of *Collegium Dilinganum* was expressed by the flattering nickname ‘the Swabian Rome’.⁵

Another important initiative launched by von Waldburg concerned the printing market. The rise of the Reformation had taught that printers played a considerable part in the successful dissemination of Luther’s doctrines and anti-papist polemics. Cardinal von Waldburg had learnt this lesson and consequently devoted his energy to the establishment of devoutly Catholic printing houses in his diocese. This strategy worked much more smoothly in Otto’s residence town of Dillingen than in the aggressive confessional climate of Augsburg. In 1549 von Waldburg persuaded Sebald Mayer from Ingolstadt to open a printing press at the new University of Dillingen.⁶ Although seemingly a sign of economic prosperity, the high number of publications issued in the 1550s involved financial risks and obligations that nearly ruined Mayer’s press. In order to save it from imminent bankruptcy, Otto bought the press from Mayer in 1560 and eventually bequeathed it to the Jesuits, in 1568.⁷ Sebald Mayer, his son Johann and Johann’s wife Barbara were employed by the university. Issuing altogether some 1,200 books until Barbara’s death in 1619,⁸ the Mayer press became a stronghold of Catholic printing in southern Germany, which actively promoted counter-reformatory writings. These two initiatives, the foundation of a Catholic university and the setting-up of a loyal printing market, concerned the propagation of Catholic reform on an intellectual and visual level.

The third innovation was the foundation of a music chapel at the cathedral of Augsburg in 1561. Through the activities of the music chapel the renaissance of Catholicism in Augsburg also found an audible expression. Facilitated by an endowment made in the will of the canon Jakob Heinrichmann,⁹ the establishment

⁵ H. Immenkötter, ‘Universität im “schwäbischen Rom” – ein Zentrum katholischer Konfessionalisierung’, in Kießling (ed.), *Die Universität Dillingen und ihre Nachfolger*, pp. 43–77.

⁶ H.-J. Künast, ‘Die Akademische Druckerei der Universität Dillingen’, *ibid.*, pp. 595–626, at p. 600.

⁷ O. Bucher, ‘Sebald Mayer, der erste Dillinger Buchdrucker 1550–1576’, *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins Dillingen*, 54 (1952–3), pp. 125–30.

⁸ This approximate number is extrapolated from Künast’s table in ‘Sebald Mayer’, p. 598.

⁹ H. Fischer and T. Wohnhaas, ‘Miscellanea zur Augsburger Dommusik’, in F. Brusniak and H. Leuchtmann (eds), *Quaestiones in musica: Festschrift für Franz Krautwurst zum 65. Geburtstag* (Tutzing, 1989), pp. 123–45, at pp. 127–8.

of a cantorate at the cathedral met von Waldburg's passion for polyphonic music. Already at the Council of Trent, Cardinal von Waldburg ranked among the most fervent opponents of a ban on polyphony in the liturgy. He sought to achieve his purpose by commissioning two elaborate works from the director of his private chapel, Jacobus de Kerle, that were to comply with the recent ideas about reform in an exemplary manner. The *Preces speciales* and in particular de Kerle's *Sex Misse* (both Venice: Gardano, 1562) had a great impact on the fathers at Trent and enjoyed a broad dissemination after the Council.¹⁰ Even if von Waldburg's diplomatic missions as papal ambassador of the Holy Roman Empire (*Protector Germaniae*) prevented him from frequent visits to Augsburg, the music chapel at the cathedral was never short of support from the bishop. Thus it soon achieved a high reputation that spread far beyond the city walls and at the same time filled the Protestant citizens of Augsburg with envy. The fame of the chapel, however, only reached its apex after von Waldburg's death. Under the direction of Bernhard Klingenstein (1545–1614) the musical standards were raised to a degree that gloriously heralded the restored power of Catholicism in town.

BUSINESS PARTNERS

The three factors characteristic for the Catholic revival in late sixteenth-century Augsburg just delineated form the context for the music print to which this essay is devoted. This source, called *Triodia sacra*, contains a collection of sacred music for three voices by various composers and was edited by Bernhard Klingenstein, *Kapellmeister* at the cathedral of Augsburg.¹¹ The anthology was published in 1605 by Adam Meltzer, who owned a printing press at Dillingen. The reasons why Klingenstein preferred Meltzer to the big publishers in Munich or Nuremberg are manifold. The

¹⁰ These aspects are discussed extensively in chapter 4 of my thesis on the sacred music of Jacobus de Kerle within the context of sixteenth-century confessionalisation: 'Zwischen Kirche und Kunst: Eine Fallstudie zur "katholischen" Musik der Spätrenaissance am Beispiel der Werke von Jacobus de Kerle' (in preparation).

¹¹ A concise summary of Klingenstein's biography, which takes into account all previous scholarship on the composer, is given in M. Schmidmüller, 'Die Augsburger Domkapellmeister seit dem Tridentinum bis zur Säkularisation', *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Augsburger Bistumsgeschichte*, 23 (1989), pp. 69–107, at pp. 75–8.

close connection between Augsburg and Dillingen, residence town of the bishops of Augsburg and home of the diocesan university, might have influenced Klingenstein's choice in the first place. It was only natural that a canon of Augsburg Cathedral who intended to bring out a book would turn first to a printer either at Augsburg or at Dillingen. At the time of publication of Klingenstein's *Triodia sacra*, however, the Augsburg alternative did not appear very promising, since the only Catholic printer in town, Mang, had opened his press only in 1601 and still lacked professional experience in music printing.¹² As far as the Dillingen option was concerned, Meltzer was the most attractive candidate. Although not the official printer at the Jesuit university, Adam Meltzer had passed his apprenticeship with Johann Mayer and worked subsequently at the university press until he set up his own business in 1603. In complementary contrast to his colleague Johann Mayer, Meltzer specialised in music printing.¹³ He seems to have mastered the specific techniques of typesetting music very quickly, for in the two years before the publication of Klingenstein's *Triodia sacra* he had already brought out a number of music prints. The majority of these publications featured works of Jacob Reiner, *Kapellmeister* at the monastery of Weingarten (*Liber motettarum*, 1603; *Sacrarum missarum sex vocum . . . liber primus*, 1604; *Missae tres cum litaniiis de SS. Sanguine Christi . . . Liber primus*, 1604; *Canticum gloriosiss. Vir. Dei genetri. Mariae*, 1605). Moreover, Meltzer published the first volume of Christian Erbach's series of proper settings for the liturgical year, *Modorum sacrorum tripertitorum* (1604), and the *Fasciculus cantionum ecclesiasticarum* by Michael Tonsor (1605).¹⁴ This impressive output clearly marks the work of an experienced printer who had soon surpassed the stage of a novice. Klingenstein thus did not take a risk in asking Meltzer to print his *Triodia sacra* in 1605. In addition, Klingenstein even had first-hand testimony of

¹² T. Wohnhaas, 'Notizen zu Druck und Verlag katholischer Kirchenmusik in Augsburg', *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Augsburger Bistumsgeschichte*, 31 (1997), pp. 152–64, at p. 155.

¹³ On Meltzer's activity as a printer in Dillingen see O. Bucher, 'Adam Meltzer (1603–1610) und Gregor Hänlin (1610–1617) als Musikaliendrucker in Dillingen', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1956, pp. 216–26, at pp. 216–21. Out of the entire output of fifty-five publications issued by the Meltzer press (continued after Meltzer's death by Gregor Hänlin) an overwhelming majority of prints (44) contained polyphonic music. See J. Focht, 'Die Musik im Umkreis der Jesuiten-Universität', in Kießling (ed.), *Die Universität Dillingen und ihre Nachfolger*, pp. 533–78, at p. 549.

¹⁴ Bucher, 'Adam Meltzer . . . als Musikaliendrucker in Dillingen', pp. 217–18.

Meltzer's reliability, since one year earlier Meltzer had printed Klingenstein's other anthology, the *Rosetum Marianum*, containing thirty five-part settings of different stanzas from the popular Marian hymn 'Maria zart'.¹⁵ Apart from these general considerations, the very contents of the *Triodia sacra* also recommended publication by Meltzer. As will be shown below, Klingenstein's anthology was designed for use at the Jesuit university of Dillingen. Therefore it was convenient to have it printed within easy reach, ideally in town. And since the official university printer, Mayer, did not have the equipment or the specialist knowledge to undertake this enterprise, Adam Meltzer was the favourite candidate. In the light of his specialisation and his previous job at the university, the Jesuits often sought Meltzer's help in difficult printing matters, and he in turn remained a loyal partner of the university until his death in 1609.

These circumstances explain why Klingenstein's choice fell on the Meltzer press when he was seeking the ideal printer for his *Triodia sacra*. Yet there was also a third party that was to have a share in this business, namely the Jesuit administration of Dillingen University. It remains an open question whether Klingenstein received a commission from the Jesuits at Dillingen or whether the cooperation followed his own initiative. Nevertheless, it is beyond doubt that the *Triodia sacra* were intended for use by the students of the University of Dillingen. While Klingenstein's dedication (see Appendix 1, including an English translation)¹⁶ singles out two brothers who were registered as students in Dillingen, it also is addressed to students in general, 'thinking that these [tricia] would serve at the same time for all musical youth'. Moreover, as Klingenstein states, his anthology was compiled in order to provide exemplary sacred compositions for students at an affordable price. This agenda must have met the warm approbation of the Jesuit authorities who were in charge of the University of Dillingen. For after initial reservations concerning polyphonic music, the Jesuits had soon learnt to value and use music as a particularly powerful instrument for the

¹⁵ For a critical edition of this collection see B. Klingenstein, *Rosetum Marianum*, ed. W. E. Hettrick (Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, 24–5; Madison, Wis., 1977).

¹⁶ I should like to express warm thanks to Leofranc Holford-Strevens for his learned translations of these texts.

propagation of Catholicism.¹⁷ Music not only played an important role in academic life in general, it also formed an integral part of the curriculum, outstanding in its ‘multimediality’.¹⁸ The musical activities included, for example, the participation at Mass and the Divine Office, the singing of sacred music (both monophonic and polyphonic) in class, the use of vernacular songs for catechism instruction¹⁹ and the performance of musical numbers in Jesuit dramas.²⁰

As a consequence, both *Kapellmeister* Klingenstein and the university hoped to profit from their cooperation. From Klingenstein’s perspective, the conditions could hardly have been more promising: the fact that the *Triodia sacra* were published directly at the university warranted a prosperous marketing potential, at least on a regional scale. In addition, subsidies from the Jesuits might have contributed to keep the selling price low and open up an even broader market. Klingenstein highlights that his anthology on the whole appeals to an almost universal range of prospective buyers: ‘For some lack the money to purchase large volumes containing a great number of polyphonic compositions; others lack a larger choir of musicians, others again lack both. These odelets are on sale for a few pence, and can be sung by more or fewer singers’). As the anthology contained only compositions for three voices, the music could be performed flexibly by singers of varying number (starting with a minimum of three) and talent. Klingenstein underscored the latter on the title page, announcing that his anthology would satisfy the requirements of beginners as well as of advanced singers (‘tam ad tironum, quam peritiorum usum’; see

¹⁷ T. Culley, SJ, *Jesuits and Music, i: A Study of the Musicians Connected with the German College in Rome during the 17th Century and of their Activities in Northern Euorpe* (Sources and Studies for the History of the Jesuits, 2; Rome and St. Louis, 1970), pp. 15–22.

¹⁸ Focht, ‘Die Musik im Umkreis der Jesuiten-Universität’, pp. 541–2. R. Haub, ‘Jesuitisch geprägter Schulalltag’, in *Das Kurfürst-Maximilian-Gymnasium zu Burghausen: Vom Kolleg der Societas Jesu zur Königlich Bayerischen Studien-Anstalt*, ed. D. Grypa and W. Gutfleisch (Würzburg, 1997), pp. 41–51, at p. 43.

¹⁹ B. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge in der ersten Hälfte des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, 1 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1913), pp. 455–60.

²⁰ The latter aspect was recently explored in an illuminating series of essays by Franz Körndle, ‘*Ad te perenne gaudium*: Lassos Musik zum *Vltimum Judicium*’, *Die Musikforschung*, 53 (2000), pp. 68–70; ‘*Apocalipsis cum figuris*: Orlando di Lasso und das Theater der Jesuiten’, *Einsichten*, 17 (2000/1), pp. 48–50; ‘Herodes und der Antichrist auf der Kollegienbühne: Orlando di Lasso in Regensburg und das Theater der Jesuiten’, *mälzels magazin*, 4 (2001), pp. 4–8.

Appendix 1). But in addition to these nearly optimal marketing conditions, the *Triodia sacra* offered Klingenstein a welcome opportunity to present his chapel at Augsburg Cathedral at its best: as will be demonstrated below, he primarily drew upon compositions that were exclusively documented in the music manuscripts of his chapel, lost since the secularisation.²¹ This enabled him to kill two birds with one stone. On the one hand, the anthology offered an opportunity to exhibit exclusive gems from the repertory of his chapel. On the other hand, he allowed the public only a glimpse of his treasures, since he did not include more than the three-voice portions of originally larger works or cycles.²²

The Jesuits in turn received from their business partner a collection of sacred music that could readily be integrated into the everyday curriculum, in other words a ‘school book’ for music-making in class. Despite the loss of any correspondence between Klingenstein and the rector of the university at Dillingen, it can be presumed that the Jesuits did not hesitate to dictate the standards that the material supplied ought to meet. Accordingly, they were certain to obtain from Klingenstein an anthology tailor-made for their educational purposes at the college. Beyond the immediate teaching context, however, Klingenstein’s *Triodia sacra* had even more to offer. Propagators of the Catholic faith as fervent and ruthless as the Jesuits could not have failed to see the promising prospects of making this anthology an instrument for their

²¹ According to Adolf Sandberger (*Bemerkungen zur Biographie Hans Leo Hasslers und seiner Brüder, sowie zur Musikgeschichte der Städte Nürnberg und Augsburg im 16. und zu Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern, 5, pt. 2; Leipzig, 1904, p. lix, n. 6), the repertory of the chapel is documented only until the end of the eighteenth century. Therefore it is likely to have been sold during the course of the large-scale expropriation of ecclesiastical property in the early nineteenth century. Unfortunately, despite the combined efforts of musicologists, it has not been possible to trace more than a few scattered volumes, the majority of which are now kept at the Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek at Regensburg. In February 2002, however, I discovered evidence at the British Library that at least a number of music prints from the cathedral repertory are still extant; see below, n. 24.

²² From the designation ‘partim ex lectis auctoribus selecti, partim recens conditi’ (partly selected from choice authors, partly newly composed) on the title page, the second phrase does not adequately describe the character of the items selected by Klingenstein. The collection does not contain a single work that had not been taken over from previous music prints and at the same was published complete. It does not seem a reasonable motivation for a composer to write only a three-part section, such as a verse of a sequence, for a tricinium anthology, when the rest of the composition would be of no use for this publication. Therefore it is likely that Klingenstein on principle selected three-part portions from existing musical works.

counter-reformatory mission, the rebuilding of the Catholic church in the spirit of Trent. An anthology of 'Catholic' church music, musically distinguished and consistent with Catholic orthodoxy, could be turned into a very subtle weapon in their anti-Protestant propaganda, a weapon that could persuasively strengthen the Catholic position and attack the Protestants on the musical as well as the denominational battle line. What is more, through their cooperation with Klingenstein the Jesuit authorities reserved the possibility of intervention or censorship in case Klingenstein's selection was considered to follow their party line insufficiently.

OBSTACLES: INCOMPLETENESS AND REMOTENESS

The institutional and propagandistic frame in which Klingenstein's anthology is located exposes a rich context, clearly suggesting that the *Triodia sacra* are more than a peripheral source for late Renaissance music and music-making in Catholic southern Germany. As a consequence, a thorough analysis of its content and context provides valuable insights into a broad range of issues, including late sixteenth-century aesthetics and ecclesiastical politics connected with music. It is unfortunate that previous scholarship has ignored such a potentially valuable and far-reaching source. This situation, strange at first sight, is due to two circumstances, both of which have hindered study of the *Triodia sacra* up to the present day. First, the *Triodia sacra* have not been transmitted in a complete copy; from the entire edition of 1605 only a single partbook has survived, the *Inferior Vox*.²³ And secondly, since 1862 this partbook has been housed at the British Library,²⁴ which

²³ The weak transmission of the *Triodia sacra* edition does not necessarily imply that it was not a success on the contemporary music market. Taking into account that Klingenstein's anthology was made for use, the fact that only one partbook has survived suggests the contrary: the available copies must have been used frequently. Therefore it is likely that wear and tear is more responsible for the dramatic loss of exemplars than their (alleged) poor appeal to prospective buyers.

²⁴ During research visits to the British Library I discovered that the British Museum acquired large amounts of Continental music prints, particularly in the 1860s (revealed by acquisition stamps in the respective books). An examination of the invoices of that period indicated that the majority of books were bought at an auction of Usher & Co. at Berlin in 1861. In a number of cases it has been possible to trace the provenance of individual copies, specified by *ex libris* entries. These findings clearly suggest that most prints acquired by the British Museum were originally ecclesiastical property, sold or stolen during the secularisation, with provenance mainly from Augsburg and Bavarian Swabia. It is unfortunate that this repertory, which belongs to the world's finest collec-

somewhat surprisingly happened to be beyond the range of German musicologists studying the regional history of their own country. This was certainly true for the period between the two world wars, when Alfons Singer prepared his thesis on the life and works of Bernhard Klingenstein, submitted in 1921 and still the only extended study on this subject. Under the constraints of the immediate post-war period Singer could provide little more than the indication that Klingenstein's *Triodia sacra* existed: 'The fact that the only copy is kept at the British Museum at London made its inspection impossible. At present an enquiry there would have been hopeless.'²⁵ Yet one cannot help wondering why subsequent scholarship has remained ignorant of this source, even though the British Library had undoubtedly become 'accessible' again for scholars from the Continent. To mention only the most recent examples, the *Triodia sacra* are not even mentioned in Josef Focht's historical survey of music at the University of Dillingen, published in 1999 in the *Festschrift* celebrating the 450th anniversary of its foundation.²⁶ Neither does Alexander Fisher's thesis on confessional music in Counter-Reformation Augsburg contain more than a passing reference to this source.²⁷ In this sense, the following discussion of Klingenstein's anthology, complemented by a (partial) reconstruction of its contents, explores an undiscovered but important spot at the margins of musicological scholarship. What is more, the reconstruction of the *Triodia sacra* marks the first step to overcoming the major obstacles caused by the incomplete source material. An analysis of the (reconstructed) content and the elucidation of its context will thus provide a reasonable factual ground for conclusions and speculations ranging from regional

tion of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century music prints from Germany, has not received the attention it deserves.

²⁵ A. Singer, *Leben und Werke des Augsburger Domkapellmeisters Bernhardus Klingenstein 1545–1614* (Ph.D. diss., Munich 1921 (typescript)), p. 97: 'Von dem Werk hat sich nur ein einziges Stimmbuch erhalten, und war die "vox inferior". Da sich dieselbe im Britischen Museum in London befindet, war eine Einsichtnahme unmöglich; eine diesbezügliche Anfrage dortselbst wäre zurzeit aussichtslos gewesen.'

²⁶ Focht, 'Die Musik im Umkreis der Jesuiten-Universität'.

²⁷ A. J. Fisher, 'Music in Counter-Reformation Augsburg: Musicians, Rituals and Repertoire in a Religiously Divided City' (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2001), pp. 226–7. Fisher's vague knowledge of the contents of the *Triodia sacra* seems to have come from scattered remarks in the secondary literature. Unfortunately, this did not prevent him from making unwarranted assumptions about the musical compositions of the anthology and the strategy behind their collection.

music history and general questions of aesthetics to the history of the Counter-Reformation. It is necessary to anchor an examination like the following, which to a considerable extent involves speculative assumptions, in firm evidence. Therefore my analysis will take as starting point the editor's preface, the only part of Klingenstein's *Triodia sacra* that can justly be assumed to have been transmitted identically in the lost partbooks of the two upper voices.

THE PREFACE

In his preface, Bernhard Klingenstein dedicated his anthology of forty-four sacred compositions to two young patricians: the brothers Johann Wolfgang and Johann Egolph von Leonrod, who studied at the University of Dillingen from 1598 and 1599 respectively to 1607.²⁸ Since the Leonrod brothers were pursuing their studies at Dillingen when the *Triodia sacra* were published, it becomes apparent that Klingenstein used a *pars pro toto* dedication in order to designate the larger circle of recipients for whom the anthology was intended, that is, the students of the Jesuit university of Dillingen. Besides the two young men, the prologue mentions Georg Resch (1576–1643), who acted as the youths' educator ('studiorum . . . vestrum moderator') during their academic education at Dillingen and accompanied them during their subsequent studies at the universities of Orléans, Siena and Perugia. Resch's biography, intertwined from early on with the Jesuits of southern Germany, reveals paradigmatically the prospects for promotion that the Jesuit network offered to talented young men regardless of their birth. With its help, the son of a poor fisherman in Dillingen managed to pursue an astonishing career after his studies at the Jesuit universities of his home town and Munich, the

²⁸ For biographical details on the Leonrod brothers and Resch I am greatly indebted to Paul B. Rupp, director of the university library at Augsburg and administrator of the database of biographies of Bavarian Swabians, an enormously valuable research tool for local and regional historians. After having studied at Dillingen, Orléans, Siena and Perugia until 1610, the ways of the Leonrod brothers had parted by 1620. From that year Johann Wilhelm is recorded as 'Herr von Münsterhausen and Tennenlohe', while his brother Johann Egolph held the position of a bursar of Eichstätt and Burgau ('eichstädtischer Pfleger and burgauischer Kämmerer'). Johann Egolph is also known to have married into the Hundt von Lauterbach family.

apex of which was marked by his promotion to assistant bishop of the diocese of Eichstätt.²⁹

Klingenstein's prolegomena, however, provide even more explicit clues that clearly suggest that the *Triodia sacra* are closely tied to the Jesuit context. To mention only the most striking examples, the *Hexastichon*, preceding the dedicatory address (see Appendix 1), alludes to the pedagogical motto of the Jesuits, 'Non multa sed multum', indirectly expressed in the final phrase: 'Ex multis semper non nisi pauca placent':

Let others concert with thirty different voices
And add lyres and trumpets to them,
But do not you despise these 'Triodia', though contained in only
three partbooks.
They may attract less praise, but exhibit no less art.
Sweeter than three hundred crows sings a single nightingale;
Out of many things only a few ever provide real pleasure.

It might be significant that Klingenstein's comparison between the sweet melodies of the nightingale and the raucous cawing of a murder of crows is paralleled in a contemporary Jesuit school drama from Fulda: this play, called *Dialogus musicae*, theatrically stages a singing contest between nightingales and cuckoos, including drastic caricatures of other 'uncultured' animals.³⁰ Thus, this analogy suggests that Klingenstein drew upon a metaphor that was popular to some extent in Jesuit circles of the period.

Klingenstein's dedicatory address begins with a political pleading: 'He is wasting his time, most noble youths, who in these days thinks of removing the art of singing from the state.' He could hardly have expounded his position more clearly: quite bluntly, any plans to abolish music are described as vain. And although he refers explicitly only to the state ('è Repub.'), his criticism surely reminded his contemporaries of recent events in the history of the Catholic Church – above all the debates about banning polyphonic

²⁹ Born in 1576, Georg Resch was registered as student in Dillingen from 1585 and continued his secondary education at the Jesuit grammar school in Munich in 1596. After obtaining the degree of Master of Philosophy in 1599 he was ordained at the cathedral of Augsburg in 1602. After two years as priest in the parishes of Meining (near Starnberg, from 1603 to 1604) and Unterbrunn (1604–5) he became educator of the Leonrod brothers. After this interval, he took up his priestly duties again in 1610 and was promoted to assistant bishop of the diocese of Eichstätt in 1611. He died in 1643.

³⁰ I am grateful to Franz Körndle for drawing my attention to this play, a manuscript copy of which is housed at the Hessische Landesbibliothek Fulda, 4° C 13, fols. 150^r–155^r.

music from the liturgy at the Council of Trent and the legend that Palestrina saved church music through the impression his *Missa Papae Marcelli* made on the church fathers at the Council.³¹ It is striking that the myth was established only a short time after the publication of Klingenstein's *Triodia sacra* by another person closely associated with the Jesuits. Agostino Agazzari, *maestro di cappella* of the Jesuit Collegium Germanicum and the Seminario Romano in Rome, was the first person to bring this seminal myth into the world, reported in the preface of his thorough-bass treatise of 1607.³² It can hardly be a coincidence that the danger of a ban on sacred polyphony is conjured up almost simultaneously with a time when these problems had long been settled. In addition to their temporal vicinity, these references show up in the publications of musicians who held positions at Jesuit colleges: Agazzari at Rome and Klingenstein as music director at the Jesuit college of St Salvator in Augsburg.³³ While this fact alone does not permit any firm conclusions, it is too striking to be left unremarked. Thus, notwithstanding the risk of overinterpretation, I should like to add at least some hypothetical annotations. Attempting a plausible explanation of this peculiar coincidence, it could be argued that Agazzari was not making up the Palestrina myth entirely on his own, but that he was referring to something circulating orally in Jesuit circles around 1600. This interpretation is supported by Pierre Galliard and Michael Heinemann, who emphasised the Jesuit background of this myth from a different angle.³⁴ Without

³¹ On this issue see the following seminal studies: O. Ursprung, ch. 2, 'Die tridentinische Reform der Kirchenmusik', in his edition of Jacobus de Kerle, *Preces speciales* (Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern, 26; Augsburg, 1926), pp. xlii–lix; K. Weinmann, *Das Konzil von Trient und die Kirchenmusik* (Leipzig, 1919); E. Weber, *Le Concile de Trente et la musique: de la réforme à la Contre-Réforme* (Musique-Musicologie, 12; Paris, 1982); K. G. Fellerer, 'Das Konzil von Trient und die Kirchenmusik', in *Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik*, ii: *Vom Tridentinum bis zu Gegenwart*, ed. Fellerer (Kassel, 1976), pp. 7–9.

³² A. Agazzari, *Del sonare sopra 'l basso con tutti li stromenti* (Siena, 1607; repr. Bologna, 1969), p. 11.

³³ Singer, *Bernhardus Klingenstein*, p. 29, and T. Kroyer, 'Gregor Aichingers Leben und Werke. Mit neuen Beiträgen zur Musikgeschichte Ingolstadts und Augsburgs', introduction to Gregor Aichinger, *Ausgewählte Werke* (Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern, 10, pt. 1; Leipzig, 1909), p. 1. I have not been able to find any firm evidence to support Kroyer's and Singer's assertion that Klingenstein was in charge of the choir at St. Salvator. See also Fischer, 'Music in Counter-Reformation Augsburg', p. 225.

³⁴ This presumption is already expressed in P. Galliard, 'Histoire de la légende palestrinienne', *Revue de musicologie*, 57 (1971), pp. 11–22, at pp. 11–12, and M. Heinemann, *Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina und seine Zeit* (Laaber, 1994), pp. 63–4. See also F. Körndle, 'Was wusste Hoffmann? Neues zur altbekannten Geschichte von der Rettung der Kirchenmusik auf dem Konzil von Trient', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 83 (1999), 68–90, at pp. 68–9.

doubt, the propagation of Palestrina as the saviour of sacred polyphony fits neatly in the Jesuit agenda of establishing Rome as the model for Catholic Christendom. For Palestrina was the first distinguished composer of the papal chapel who was not only not a foreigner from beyond the Alps, but even a 'native' Roman, born in the immediate surroundings of this capital.³⁵ The perspective of the contemporary Jesuits might thus help to explain why the story of the imminent ban of polyphony was revived even when this threat had long been overcome. From this perspective, the perpetuation of the legend that sacred polyphony was once in danger of abolishment could act as a constant reminder for composers not to leave the orthodox line, manifested in declarations of the Council. Otherwise, the ban might still be enacted.³⁶ This reading, although hypothetical, is in accord with virulent tendencies characteristic of the Jesuits of the period: their propagation of Rome as model for Catholic Christendom, their zeal for organising all aspects of life in the spirit of Catholic orthodoxy and their notorious battle against heresy and its roots. Although the reservations and even the hostility of the Jesuits at the time of Ignatius of Loyola was soon superseded by a far more tolerant, even friendly attitude, these legends might act as a moralistic admonition to constant vigilance.³⁷

One might read Klingenstein's attempts to defend music against its (supposedly) imminent abolishment as unrealistic and, at worst, hysterical. The emphatic character of his pleading, however, demands that it be taken seriously. The background sketched above is capable of explaining what made Klingenstein write so passionate a justification of sacred music. True, at first his argument does not go beyond the common praise of music, supported by the testimony of classical authorities, ranging from the Ancient Greek writers Plutarch and Athenaeus to the early medieval theologian and philosopher Cassiodorus. But then he departs from the level of rhetorical commonplaces, and his pleading culminates in the contention that only a person who is insane and inhuman

³⁵ See Heinemann, *Palestrina*, p. 63.

³⁶ It is often overlooked that the abolition of elaborate church polyphony, expressed in the decree *Docta Sanctorum* by Pope John XXII around 1324, was a legal precedent that had not been withdrawn by the time of the Council of Trent (and even up to the twentieth century!). See Körndle, 'Was wusste Hoffmann?', pp. 69–74.

³⁷ Culley, *Jesuits and Music*, i, pp. 15–17.

could reproach music: 'I omit to praise that which no one unless devoid of healthy and human feeling has disparaged.' Yet, harsh as this polemical statement appears, it is immediately moderated in the further course of his argument. For Klingenstein leaves no doubt that the music he advocates is of a purity and excellence that would never have justified a ban. Moreover, he is eager to declare that the selection of sacred polyphony provided in his anthology does not contain anything impure or reproachable, but is above such criticism. According to the rhetorics of this genre, Klingenstein describes his choice in more metaphorical terms ('I deemed it appropriate to . . . sing you these *tricinia*, selected not from the Marsyases but from the very Phoebuses, that is the most outstanding masters of singing').

THE COMPOSERS

But who were those composers Klingenstein elevated to Apollonian heights, far beyond the reach of ecclesiastical reproaches? Do the individual pieces gathered in the *Triodia sacra* really meet the high demands that Klingenstein claimed? And if they do, what are the common traits they share? Owing to the incomplete source material of this print these questions can only partially be solved. In order not to leave all of them unanswered, however, I have tried to reconstruct the two missing partbooks by way of tracking down parallel transmissions of the respective pieces.³⁸ The result of this enterprise is presented synoptically in Table 1, while Table 2 specifies in detail the sources (prints and manuscripts) containing concordances to *Triodia sacra* compositions.

The composers on which Klingenstein drew for his selection of *tricinia* can be divided into four different groups:

³⁸ A major obstacle to this enterprise is that many items of Klingenstein's anthology are middle sections taken from larger compositions. Thus in many cases it was not sufficient to check the incipit entries in library catalogues. In addition, it proved necessary to consult the original sources. Due to these constraints, the table is provisional as far as the *unica* are concerned. Nevertheless, it should be reasonably reliable, since it covers at least all printed works of the relevant composers. With regard to potential concordances in music manuscripts, the catalogues of all major European libraries have been consulted. Potential concordances in manuscripts were consulted in many libraries in southern Germany and northern Italy. This geographic limitation is justified by the fact that most of the composers represented in Klingenstein's anthology were active in these regions.

Table 1 *Reconstruction of the contents of Triodia sacra (1605)*
 Bold type indicates unica. Italics designate the caption in the original source. MA = *Missale secundum ritum Augustensis ecclesie*
 (Dillingen, 1555).

No.	Composer	Text incipit	Caption	genre	(source)	Clef combination
1	Bernhard Klingenstein	Reple tuorum	<i>De Sancto Spiritu</i>	(antiphon for first Vespers)		? ? c3
2	Bernhard Klingenstein	Crucifixus	mass section			? ? c3
3	Bernhard Klingenstein	Cæsaris tu fasces	<i>De Sancto Laurentio</i>	(sequence versicle, MA 311)		? ? c4
4	Bernhard Klingenstein	Crucifixus	mass section			? ? c4
5	Bernhard Klingenstein	Benedictus	mass section			? ? c4
6	Orlandus Lassus	Crucifixus	mass section	(<i>Missa super Congratulamini mihi</i>)		g2 c2 c3
7	Antonio Mortaro	Decantabat populus	motet			c1 c1 f4
8	Philipp de Monte	Christe eleyson	mass section	(<i>Missa Inclina cor meum</i>)		g2 c2 c3
9	Jacob Regnart	Benedictus	mass section			? ? c4
10	Tiburcio Massaino	Crucifixus	mass section			? ? f3
11	Jacobus Peetrinus	Mane nobiscum domine	Latin canzonetta			g2 c1 c3
12	Jacobus Peetrinus	Iam quod quæsi	Latin canzonetta			g2 c1 c4
13	Jacobus de Kerle	Illuxit dies	<i>De Resurrectione</i>	(sequence versicle, MA 119)		? ? c4
14	Jacobus de Kerle	Et tremens	<i>De Ascensione</i>	(sequence versicle, MA 137)		? ? c3
15	Gregor Aichinger	Augusta civitas Dei	motet (prima pars)			? ? c3
16	Jacob Reiner	Domine exaudi	motet section			g2 c2 c3
17	Christian Erbach	Benedictus	mass section			? ? f4
18	Christian Erbach	Crucifixus	mass section			? ? c3
19	Conrad Stuber	Laudate pueri	psalm setting (Ps. 112: 1, 3, 5/6, 8, doxology)			? ? c2/c3/c4

20	Johannes Eccart	Crucifixus	mass section (<i>Missa Mon cœur se recommande</i>)	g2 c2 c3
21	Orlandus Lassus	Crucifixus	mass section (<i>Missa super Le Berger et la Bergere</i>)	g2 c2 c3
22	Antonio Mortaro	Sicut mater consolatur	motet	c1 c1 f4
23	Bernhard Klingenstein	Te libri virgo	<i>De Assumptione BMV</i> (sequence versicle, MA 311)	? ? f4
24	Bernhard Klingenstein	De cœlo Patris vox	proper setting or sequence versicle	? ? f4
25	Johannes Lockenburg	Crucifixus	mass section	? ? c3
26	Lambert de Sayve	Crucifixus	mass section	? ? c3
27	Jacobus Gallus (Handl)	Benedictus	mass section (<i>Missa super Elisabeth Zachariae</i>)	g2 c2 c3
28	Johannes a Fossa	Cum iam renovatus	<i>De S. Michæle</i> (sequence versicle, MA 332)	? ? f3
29	Jacobus de Kerle	Quem laudat sol	<i>De SS. Trinitate</i> (sequence versicle, MA 187)	? ? f4
30	Philipp Zindelin	Crucifixus	mass section	? ? f4
31	Clemens non Papa	Et resurrexit	mass section (<i>Missa, Jay veu le cerf</i>)	c1 c1 c3
32	Orlandus Lassus	Sicut locutus est	Magnificat section (<i>Magnificat Octavi toni Benedicta es</i>)	c1 c1 c4
33	Gregor Aichinger	Sicut locutus est	Magnificat section	g2 g2 c3
34	Bernhard Klingenstein	Fecit potentiam	Magnificat section	? ? c3
35	Jacob Regnart	Quia fecit	Magnificat section	? ? c4
36	Philipp de Monte	Esurientes	Magnificat section (<i>Magnificat Octavi Toni</i>)	c1 c3 c4
37	Giuglio Gigli da Imola	Sicut locutus est	Magnificat section	? ? c4
38	Giovanni Palestrina	Monstra te esse	hymn section (<i>Ave Maris stella</i>)	? ? c3
39	Christian Erbach	Sicut locutus est	Magnificat section	? ? c4
40	Conrad Stuber	Fecit potentiam	Magnificat section	? ? c3
41	Bernhard Klingenstein	Fecit potentiam	Magnificat section	? ? f4

Table 2 *Concordances for compositions in the Triodia sacra*

No.	Composition and concordances	Modern edition
6	Orlando di Lasso, Crucifixus from <i>Missa super Congratulamini mihi Praestantissimorum divinæ musices auctores missæ decem</i> (Leuven: Phalèse & Bellère, 1570)	<i>SWNR</i> 7
7	Antonio Mortaro, <i>Decantabat populus Israel Sacrae cantiones tribus vocibus concinendæ</i> (Milan: Tini & Besozzi, 1598 and subsequent editions), no. 9	
8	Philippe de Monte, Christe from <i>Missa Inclina cor meum</i> Brussels, Conservatoire de Musique, mus. ms. 27089	<i>Missa Inclina cor meum</i> , ed. C. van den Borren (Düsseldorf, 1930)
11	Jacobus Peetrinus, <i>Mane nobiscum, Domine Il I° Libro del Iubilo di San Bernardo con alcune canzonette spirituali</i> (Rome: s.n., 1588)	Appendix 2
12	Jacobus Peetrinus, <i>Iam quod quæsivi Il I° Libro del Iubilo di San Bernardo con alcune canzonette spirituali</i> (Rome: s.n., 1588)	Appendix 2
15	Gregor Aichinger, <i>Augusta civitas Dei Divinarum laudum ex floridis R. D. Jacobi Pontanis . . . Pars prima</i> (Dillingen: Meltzer, 1609), no. 8 no complete version transmitted	
16	Jacob Reiner, <i>Domine exaudi Cantionum piarum . . . tribus vocibus</i> (Munich: Berg, 1586)	Appendix 2
20	Johannes Eccard, Crucifixus from <i>Missa Mon cœur se recommande</i> Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtsbibl., MS Tonk Schl 17, no. 4; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., Mus. ms. 57	<i>SWNR</i> 11
21	Orlando di Lasso, Crucifixus from <i>Missa super Le Berger et la Bergere</i> <i>Quinque Missæ . . .</i> (Venice: Gardano, 1570)	<i>SWNR</i> 3
22	Antonio Mortaro, <i>Sicut Mater Sacrae cantiones tribus vocibus concinendæ</i> (Milan: Tini & Besozzi, 1598 and subsequent editions), no. 6	
27	Jacobus Gallus, Benedictus from <i>Missa super Elisabeth Zachariæ</i> Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtsbibl., MS Tonk Schl 18, no. 8	DTÖ 117
31	Clemens non Papa, Et resurrexit from <i>Missa J'ay veu le cerf</i>	CMM 4/vi

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Table 2 *Continued*

No.	Composition and concordances	Modern edition
32	Orlando di Lasso, <i>Sicut locutus est</i> from <i>Magnificat Octavi Toni Benedicta es Liber primus cantiones sacrae Magnificat . . .</i> (Munich: Henricus, 1602)	<i>SWNR</i> 15
33	Gregor Aichinger, <i>Sicut locutus est Vespertinum Virginis Canticum sive Magnificat quinis vocibus varie modulatur</i> (Augsburg: Custos (apud Praetorium), 1603), and subsequent editions	Appendix 2
36	Philippe de Monte, <i>Esurientes</i> from <i>Magnificat Octavi Toni</i> Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibl., MS Tonk Schl 20	<i>VIII Magnificat</i> , ed. Georg van Doorslaer (Düsseldorf, 1930)

CMM = Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae

DTÖ = Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich

SWNR = Orlando di Lasso, *Sämtliche Werke. Neue Reihe*

1. Musicians active at Augsburg or with connections to either the cathedral of Augsburg or the Fugger family

By far outnumbering the rest, the first group consists of musicians from Augsburg or with close connections to the musical life there. As might have been expected, the editor, Klingenstein, is at the head of this group. The choirmaster himself contributed about a fifth of the works presented in the *Triodia sacra*. Three compositions are by Jacobus de Kerle (c.1531–91), who resided in Dillingen in 1563 as *Kapellmeister* of Cardinal Otto of Waldburg's private chapel, dissolved later that year. But his patron and constant supporter re-employed him, as soon as an adequate position became vacant at Augsburg Cathedral. From 1568 to 1575 he served there as cathedral organist. Otto Ursprung, author of a comprehensive monograph on de Kerle, relates the story that de Kerle left Augsburg full of resentment at Klingenstein. After the death of the *Kapellmeister* Anton Span in 1574 de Kerle applied for his position, hoping the chapter would remunerate his loyalty over many years to Otto of Waldburg and the chapter with this promotion. Yet the chapter passed him over and hired the musically inexperienced Bernhard Klingenstein. Despite this obvious disadvantage, the chapter favoured Klingenstein: in contrast to

the foreigner de Kerle he was an inside candidate who had studied at the cathedral school and continuously served at the cathedral chapel from the 1550s.³⁹ This turn of events aroused de Kerle's anger.⁴⁰ And not unjustly so, because Klingenstein had yet to receive a thorough training in composition. For this purpose the chapter engaged Jean de Cleve, the retired *Kapellmeister* of Archduke Karl of Habsburg at Graz, who taught Klingenstein from 1578 to 1582.⁴¹ I shall return to this point below.

Gregor Aichinger (1564–1628), Christian Erbach (c.1568–1635) and the cornettist Philipp Zindelin (c.1570–1622) held positions both in households of the Fugger family and the cathedral. Although Aichinger was not employed at the cathedral chapel, the long-serving organist of SS Ulrich and Afra nevertheless was associated with the cathedral chapter since he held prebends there. After positions as organist to the church of St Moritz as successor of Hans Leo Hassler from 1602 to 1614, Christian Erbach served first as assistant, then as main organist at the cathedral of Augsburg. In this role Erbach is presumably depicted in Figure 3, which shows the cathedral chapel during the council of the diocese in 1610. The elderly man directing the choirboys can with some certainty be identified as Bernhard Klingenstein himself, then aged 75. Beyond that, the musicians in the painting cannot be assigned to individual members of the chapel.

An interesting case is the Protestant Johannes Eccard (1553–1611), who was to be celebrated later as the main representative of the 'Berlin Protestantism' style of composition.⁴² In this light, the appearance of his Crucifixus setting in Klingenstein's anthology is puzzling. A possible reason why it was nevertheless included (perhaps even against denominational reservations of the Jesuits) might have been that the respective mass had already been composed in 1578. At that time Eccard was studying with Lasso in Munich and serving in the household of

³⁹ Singer, *Bernhardus Klingenstein*, pp. 23–6.

⁴⁰ Ursprung, *Jacobus de Kerle*, pp. 90–1.

⁴¹ Singer, *Bernhardus Klingenstein*, pp. 26, 29. Although seemingly curious, the decision to hire a musically inexperienced member of the chapel as choirmaster was characteristic for the cathedral chapter at Augsburg: Klingenstein's successors Aichmiller and Merz also received their appointment prior to the beginning of thorough compositional training. See Kroyer, 'Gregors Aichingers Leben und Werke', p. 1, n. 1.

⁴² C. Böcker, *Johannes Eccard: Leben und Werk* (Berliner musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten, 17; Munich and Salzburg, 1980), *passim*.



Figure 3 The cathedral chapel of Augsburg at Mass during the Council of the Diocese in 1610
Painting by Thomas Maurer in the Choir Sacristy of Augsburg Cathedral, reproduced from Denis A. Chevalley (ed.), *Der Dom zu Augsburg* (Munich, 1995), Pl. 250.
Photo by Eberhard Lantz

Jacob Fugger in Augsburg. It was only one year after the composition of the parody mass *Mon cœur se recommande* that Eccard entered the Protestant sphere, receiving an appointment as *Vice-Kapellmeister* at the Court of the Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach. The two Latin canzonette of Jacobus Peetrinus (c.1553–c.1593) were available in at least two printed editions, but possibly Klingenstein's attention was drawn to this composer by his connection with the Fugger family, as Peetrinus' patron in Rome was the Count of Montfort, nephew of Jacob Fugger. Moreover, these works are settings of spiritual texts by St Bernard of Clairvaux, whose writings were in vogue among the Catholics of the early seventeenth century.⁴³

2. Musicians from the Munich court chapel

The second group encompasses musicians of the Munich court chapel. In the 1560s Cardinal Otto of Waldburg had established a frequent musical exchange between the cathedral chapel of Augsburg and the musicians of the nearby residence of the Dukes of Bavaria.⁴⁴ Therefore it is not surprising that Klingenstein drew heavily on works by his colleagues from Munich. Orlando di Lasso (c.1530–94), one of the most distinguished composers of this period, is represented with three three-voice sections from liturgical compositions. Notably, Lasso's parody Magnificat on Josquin's *Benedicta es*, the source for no. 32 of Klingenstein's anthology, is recorded at Augsburg in a choirbook manuscript as early as 1583, preceding the first printed edition by nearly twenty years. This choirbook belonged to the Benedictine monastery of SS Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg, the other flourishing centre of Catholic polyphony in the city besides the cathedral.⁴⁵ Owing to the loss of all the musical sources of the cathedral and the lack of any contemporary inventories we do not know whether Klingenstein's

⁴³ Fisher, 'Music in Counter-Reformation Augsburg', pp. 292, 299–300. The fashion for polyphonic settings of texts by St Bernard also found vivid expression in the diocese of Augsburg. Aichinger published his *Odaria lectissima ex melitiss. D. Bernardi Iubilo* in 1601 (printed by Custos); Erbach's *Mele sive cantiones sacræ* (Augsburg: Schultes, 1603) were also based on texts by St Bernard. In addition, Adam Meltzer issued the *Rhythmus, et Suavissima D. Bernardi Oda, vulgo iubilus dicta* by Johannes Feldmayer in 1607, and his wife Sabrina the *Parvulus flosculus, ex melitissimo D. Bernardi Iubilo delibatus* by Christian Keifferer from Weissenau in 1610.

⁴⁴ Ursprung, *Jacobus de Kerle*, pp. 11–15.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 85–6.

chapel also possessed a copy of this work. Yet this is not improbable, since the two institutions were in close contact.⁴⁶

Moreover, Klingenstein drew upon an otherwise unknown sequence versicle of Johannes de Fossa (c.1540–1603), *Vice-Kapellmeister* under Lasso and upon Lasso's death in 1594 *Kapellmeister* of the Munich court chapel. Further compositions by musicians from this institution were written by the organist Johannes Lockenburg (c.1530–c.1591) and the instrumentalist Giuglio Gigli da Imola (fl. 1600). A subcategory is formed by pupils of Lasso. Besides Johannes Eccard, already mentioned above, Klingenstein's choice fell on Jacob Reiner (before 1560–1606), who had studied with Lasso in the 1570s. Later on he was to become choirmaster at the abbey of Weingarten. In addition, it is striking that Reiner extensively published at the Meltzer press during the early seventeenth century (see above). Possibly Klingenstein had learnt to value this master through these prints, because he had already asked Reiner to contribute to his *Rosetum Marianum* collection of 1603.

3. Musicians from Habsburg courts

The third group of musicians represented in Klingenstein's *Triodia sacra* consists of composers from Habsburg courts and the Imperial Court in particular. Jacob Regnart (c.1540–99) served the house of Habsburg nearly all his life and several members of this dynasty throughout his career. Philippe de Monte (1521–1603) filled the position of the choirmaster at the Imperial Chapel of Rudolph II, while Lambert de Sayve (c.1549–1614) served as director of the choir in the chapel of Rudolph's brother, the Archduke Matthias of Habsburg, which was to become the Imperial Chapel upon Matthias's succession in 1612. Jacobus de Kerle was appointed court chaplain at Rudolph's court in 1582, a post he held until his death. Although not a member of the Imperial Chapel, Jacobus Gallus (1550–91) established close connections with this institution during his time as cantor at the church of St Jan in Prague.

Among the musicians included in this category, Tiburtio Massaino (c.1550–1609) is the one most loosely associated with the

⁴⁶ It should be noted that another early manuscript copy of this mass, dating from 1582, belonged to the church and college of St Michael in Munich, the splendid base of the Jesuits in the city centre.

Habsburg family. The Italian composer served as a singer and chaplain in the court chapel of Archduke Ferdinand II at Innsbruck in 1589–90. Thereafter he was employed by Wolf Dietrich of Reithenau, Archbishop of Salzburg. After little more than one year, however, Massaino was banned from Salzburg for delicate reasons: the Augustinian canon was convicted for homosexual conduct. He then took refuge in Prague, where he became acquainted with members of the Imperial Chapel, particularly with Philippe de Monte. He stayed in Prague, and over the course of time his ill reputation was cleared. Later he returned to his native country, where he managed to start a second career, eventually receiving an appointment as choirmaster at the cathedral of Piacenza.

4. Other backgrounds

The fourth and last group includes the figures who do not fall clearly into a specific category: Conrad Stuber (c.1550–c.1605) belongs to the composers who had previously contributed compositions to Klingenstein's other editorial project, the *Rosetum Marianum*.⁴⁷ Conrad Stuber might have become an attractive candidate for both prints because he was *Kapellmeister* at the court of Eithelfriedrich IV in Hechingen, one of the most ardent Counter-Reformers in southern Germany. For this reason, the Jesuits were doubtlessly pleased with Klingenstein's decision to include a composition by Stuber, if this choice was not guided by their recommendation.

Music prints seem to have been the source of the works of Clemens non Papa (c.1510–c.1555) and Antonio Mortaro (fl. 1587–1610) that Klingenstein included in his *Triodia sacra*. In

⁴⁷ It is curious that, although the *Triodia sacra* was envisaged not more than one year after the publication of the *Rosetum Marianum*, the composers represented in the two collections show surprisingly little overlap. Of the thirty-three composers who contributed polyphonic settings of stanzas of *Maria zart*, only nine are also in the *Triodia sacra*, i.e., Gregor Aichinger, Christian Erbach, Johannes a Fossa, Bernhard Klingenstein, Jacob Regnart, Jacob Reiner, Lambert de Sayve, Conrad Stuber and Philipp Zindelin. This striking difference, however, is due to the different nature of the two projects: all settings of the *Rosetum Marianum* were commissioned by Klingenstein particularly for this anthology, while for the *Triodia sacra* he drew on pre-existing material, the repertoire of his chapel at Augsburg Cathedral. Accordingly, the former collection contains exclusively works by contemporary composers, while a considerable amount of *tricinia* in the latter anthology are by masters who had died many years before its publication in 1605 (e.g., Clemens non Papa, Lassus, Palestrina, de Monte, de Kerle). For a more detailed account of the *Rosetum Marianum* see Singer, *Bernhardus Klingenstein*, pp. 51–96, and the modern edition by W. E. Hettrick (including the accurately researched and updated introduction).

Clemens's case, this assumption is supported by the appearance of his mass movement in the same mass print as Lasso's *Missa super Congratulamini mihi*, from which Klingenstein chose the Crucifixus section. The two motets of Antonio Mortaro (nos. 7 and 22) were first published in his popular motet print *Sacrae cantiones* in 1598. This volume not only enjoyed several new editions, but received broad dissemination, particularly in the south German and Habsburg lands.⁴⁸

Last but not least, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525–94) constitutes a curious case. Oddly enough, the *Triodia sacra* do not contain any works from the Roman school, which had become the celebrated model of Catholic polyphony, nor compositions written by members of the *Societas Jesu*. But it is even more surprising that somebody like Palestrina, although generally considered the most prominent composer in the Catholic area, is remarkably under-represented with only one work. To increase the perplexity, this composition (a movement of an *Ave maris stella* setting) is not transmitted in any source apart from Klingenstein's *Triodia sacra* (see Figure 4). As a consequence, Palestrina scholarship has not taken this work into account. Ultimately, the unique transmission of this piece, completely atypical for compositions by Palestrina, casts reasonable doubt on its attribution. The final section of this article will present a possible explanation for this puzzling fact.

TRICINIA: SACRED AND PROFANE, CATHOLIC AND
PROTESTANT

So far I have scrutinised the *Triodia sacra* from different perspectives, proceeding from general matters to more specific ones like Klingenstein's preface and the composers represented in his anthology. The next step takes an even narrower focus: the investigation of the compositions considered worthy to be included in the publication. Glancing through Table 1, one cannot fail to note the overwhelming predominance of liturgical compositions among

⁴⁸ It is noteworthy that the 1598 printed edition of Mortaro's *Sacrae cantiones* includes a partbook that gives the compositions in full score, though without texts ('Partitio Sacrarum Cantionum'). This volume is now kept at the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale in Bologna. I am very grateful to Barbara Ventura, librarian at this institution, for assistance.

Tenor. IOANNES PRÆNESTINVS XXXVIII.

On-stra mon-stra te ef- se Matrem, su mat
per te præ- ces, qui pro nobis na- tus,
tulit esse tu- us, tulit ef- se
tuus, tulit esse tu- us,

Figure 4 Palestrina, *Monstra te esse*, no. 38 of Klingenstein's *Triodia Sacra*.
Reproduced with permission of the British Library

the total content of the *Triodia sacra*: masses (16), Magnificats (9), sequences (6), psalms (1), other propers (1 or 2) and hymn settings (1). By contrast, motets (4) and madrigals or canzonette (2), which usually prevail in prints addressed to a broad public, only play a marginal role in Klingenstein's selection.

A comparison of the *Triodia sacra* with other *tricinia* anthologies

of the period helps to explain this striking imbalance.⁴⁹ Table 3 provides a survey of tricinia publications between 1570 and 1610. From this list it becomes clear that the market for tricinia was dominated by secular compositions. The majority of these prints were issued in Italy or southern Germany and the German publications often reprinted pieces from Italian repertory, adapted to the German market by translations of the original texts, attesting to the popularity that three-voice *canzonette* enjoyed among a broad public in both countries. It is difficult to imagine that the Jesuits were not dissatisfied, given the enormous dissemination of these secular compositions. Moreover, due to their convivial and often even frivolous character, these *canzonette* must have appeared to them as the epitome of the ‘lascivum et impurum’ condemned by the Council of Trent. The combination of orthodoxy, pragmatism and utilitarianism, characteristic for the Jesuit approach, might thus have created a strategy such as the following: given the popularity of three-voice compositions, the Jesuits intended to propagate an emphatically sacred counterpart to these secular collections. This plan rests on the premise that the public demand responded more to the three-voice texture, with its more flexible performing conditions, than to the actual content of the respective collections. But even if public taste was not as indifferent as expected (clearly a reasonable alternative!), the active use of a sacred collection of tricinia at the university itself would at least help to turn its own students away from the dangerous temptations arising through contamination with the profane repertory.

As usual, the Jesuits’ battle was fought simultaneously against secular temptations in general, and their Protestant enemies in particular. The anthologies of sacred polyphony (shown in bold in Table 3), demonstrate a clear geographic division: the Italian market is dominated by vernacular *canzonette spirituali*, while in Germany three-voice settings with Latin or German texts prevail. It cannot be overemphasised that nearly all of the latter were printed by Protestants (chiefly in Nuremberg and Erfurt). In

⁴⁹ J. E. Lindberg, ‘Origins and Development of the Sixteenth-Century Tricinium’ (Ph.D. diss., University of Cincinnati, 1988) provides an excellent and comprehensive analysis of tricinium publications in the sixteenth century, particularly of the first three quarters of the century. Read against the material Lindberg presents, the unusual nature of Klingenstein’s anthology, with its emphasis on liturgical compositions, is striking.

Table 3 *Printed anthologies of polyphony for three voices, 1570–1615*

Note: This list provides a provisional survey of anthologies containing exclusively settings for three voices, based primarily on RISM B I: *Recueils imprimés XVI^e–XVII^e siècles* (Munich, 1960). Music publications by individuals are included in so far as they are mentioned in Bruce Bellingham's article 'Tricinium' in *NG II* or in J. E. Lindberg, 'Origins and Development of the Sixteenth Century Tricinium' (Ph.D. diss., University of Cincinnati, 1989). Instrumental music is not included. Full details are given only for sacred collections; secular collections are cited by short title. Publications containing sacred music exclusively are listed in bold type.

Prior to the specified period the following anthologies deserve to be mentioned:

- 1559 Wolfgang Figulus, *Tricinia sacra ad voces pueriles* (Nuremberg, 1559)
 1567² ***Tricinia sacra*** (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1567): Clemens non Papa, Debuissons, Galli, Heylanus (3), O. di Lasso (2), Loys, de Novo portu (2), Prenner (5), Regnart (4), Vaet (3), anon. (6)
- 1572⁶ *Il primo libro delle justiniane a tre voci* (Venice: Scotto, 1572; = 1578¹⁹, 1586¹³)
 1573 Christian Hollander, *Triciniorum . . . fasciculus* (Munich: Berg, 1573)
 1574 Jean de Castro, ***Triciniorum sacrorum . . . liber I*** (Leuven: Phalèse & Bellère, 1574)
 1574³ ***La Fleur de chansons a trois parties*** (Leuven: Phalèse, and Antwerp: Bellère, 1574)
 1575¹⁴ *Il secondo libro delle giustiniane a tre voci* (Venice: Scotto, 1575)
 1583³ ***Il primo libro delle laude spirituali a tre voci***. Stampata ad istanza delli Reverendi Padri delle Congregatione dello Oratorio (Rome: Gardano, 1583 = 1585⁹): anon. (30)
 1584 Jacob Regnart, *Tricinia, kurtzweilige teutsche Lieder zu dreyen stimmen* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1584; = Munich: Berg, 1590)
 1584¹⁰ *Il secondo libro delle canzoni a tre voci* (Venice: Vincenzi & Amadino, 1583)
 1585⁷ ***Canzonette spirituali de diversi a tre voci. Libro primo*** (Rome: Gardano, 1585; = 1588⁵), 3 vols.: Dragoni, Giovanelli (2), Marenzio (2), Nanino, Quagliati (16), anon. (3)
 1585⁸ ***Madrigali spirituali a tre voci di Lelio Bertani et di Costanzo Antegnati*** (Brescia: Sabbio, 1585): Antegnati (9), Bertani (10)
 1586¹² *Il gaudio primo libro de madrigali . . . a tre voci* (Venice: Scotto, 1586)
 1587⁶ *Fiori musicali de diversi auttori a tre voci* (Venice: Vincenzi, 1587; = 1590¹⁸)
 1587⁷ *Canzonette a tre voci* (Venice: Amadino, 1587; = 1594^{9?})
 1588¹² ***Teutsche Psalmen: geistliche Psalmen, mit dreyen Stimmen, welche nit allain lieblich zu singen, sonder auch auff aller hand Art Instrumenten zugebrauchen*** (Munich: Berg, 1588): O. di Lasso (25), R. de Lasso (25)
 1588¹⁹ *Giardinetto de madrigali et canzonette a tre voci . . . Libro primo* (Venice: Amadino, 1588)
 1588²⁰ *Fiori musicali di diversi auttori a tre voci. Libro secondo* (Venice: Vincenzi, 1588; = 1598¹⁰)

Catholic Music in the Diocese of Augsburg

Table 3 *Continued*

- 1588²⁵ *Canzonette a tre voci, di Giuliano Paratico. Libro secondo* (Brescia: Marchetti, 1588)
- 1588²⁶ *Canzonette di Paolo Quagliati a tre voci . . . Libro secondo* (Rome: Gardano, 1588)
- 1588³⁰ *Dodekatonon musicum triciniorum . . . Neue auserlesene Tricinia . . . in den Druck fertiget von Henningo Dedekindo . . .* (Erfurt: Baumann, 1588)
- 1589¹⁰ *Canzonette a tre voci . . . Libro primo* (Venice: Amadino, 1589)
- 1591¹³ ***Canzonette spirituali a 3 voci composti da diversi ecc. musici*** (Rome: [Verovio], 1591; = 1599⁷): Anerio, Giovanelli, Griffi, Ingegneri, de Macque (3), Marenzio, del Mel (10), Nanino, Pacelli (2), Santini
- 1592 Jean de Castro, ***Triciniorum sacrorum, quae moteta vocant . . . liber unus*** (Antwerp: Phalèse & Bellère, 1592)
- 1592⁵ ***Il devoto pianto della gloriosa Vergine, et altre canzonette spirituali à 3 voci, composte novamente da diversi eccellenti musici*** (Rome: [Verovio], 1592): Anerio, Giovanelli (2), Griffi, di Macque, del Mel, Nanino (3), Pacelli (2), Santini (2)
- 1592²⁰ *Il terzo libro delle fiammelle amorse . . . A tre voci* (Venice: Amadino, 1592; = 1596¹⁵?)
- 1594 S. F. Fritzius, ***Etlliche deutsche geistliche Tricinia*** (Nuremberg, 1594 (lost), only mentioned in *NG II*)
- 1594¹⁰ *Di Ippolito Baccusi . . . il primo libro de madrigali a tre voci* (Venice: Amadino, 1594)
- 1594¹⁵ *Il primo libro delle canzonette a tre voci* (Venice: Amadino, 1594)
- 1597¹⁶ *Madrigali a tre voci . . . Libro primo* (Venice: Gardano, 1597; = 1551¹⁰, 1555²⁸, 1561¹¹, 1569²², 1569²³)
- 1597²¹ *Canzonette à tre voci* (Venice: Gardano, 1597; = 1597²², 1606¹³)
- 1598 Gregor Aichinger, ***Tricinia Mariana, quibus antiphonae, hymni, Magnificat, litaniae, et variae laudes ex officio Beatiss. Virginis suavissimis modulis decantantur*** (Innsbruck: Agricola, 1598; = RISM 1609² Dillingen: Meltzer 1609, including an additional motet by Reiner)
- 1599¹¹ *Canzonette a tre voci* (Venice: Vincenti, 1599)
- 1599¹⁴ *Il quarto libro delle canzonette a 3 voci* (Milan: Tini & Besozzi, 1599)
- 1600¹² *Il secondo libro delle canzonette a tre voci* (Venice: Amadino, 1600)
- 1600¹⁷ *Canzonette leggiadre a tre voci* (Milan: Tini & Besozzi, 1600)
- 1601 Gregor Aichinger, ***Divinae laudes ex floridis Iacobi Pontani potissimum decerptae, modisque musicis ad voces ternas factae*** (Augsburg: Custos (apud Praetorium), 1602; repr. Dillingen: Meltzer, 1609)
- 1601⁸ *Canzonette alla romana . . . a tre voci* (Venice: Gardano, 1601)
- 1603 Gregor Aichinger, ***Ghirlanda. Di Canzonette spirituali a tre voci*** (Augsburg: Praetorius, 1603, ²1603, ³1604)^a
- 1603 Stephanus Calvisius, ***Tricinia. Auserlesene Teutsche Lieder, der meisten theil aus des Königlichen Propheten Davids Psalterio gezogen, neben etlichen anderen geistlichen und anmütigen Politischen Texten*** (Leipzig: Apel, 1603)
- 1603⁷ *Canzonette a tre voci . . . Libro secondo* (Venice: Vincenti, 1603; = 1604¹⁴)
- 1603¹² *Canzonette a tre voci . . . Libro primo* (Venice: Vincenti, 1603; = 1604¹⁸, 1607²³)

Table 3 *Continued*

- 1604 Karl Hagius, *Neue deutsche Tricinien* (Frankfurt am Main: Richter, 1604)
- 1604¹³ *Fiori musicali a tre voci* (Antwerp: Phalèse, 1604)
- 1605¹ ***Triodia sacra, sive modi musici ternis vocibus tam ad tironum, quam peritiorum usum facti . . . Liber I*** (Dillingen: Meltzer, 1605)
- 1605³ ***Sacrarum melodiarum tribus vocibus compositarum, ab Josepho Hoelzlin Cive augustano & musico*** (Nuremberg: Wagemann, 1605):
Jer. Hölzlin, Jos. Hölzlin (17), Jeep
- 1605¹⁰ *Canzonette a tre voci . . . Libro quinto* (Siena: Ghini, c.1605)
- 1605¹¹ *Le Vergini d'Ippolito Baccusi. Madrigali a tre voci libro secondo* (Venice: Amadino, 1605)
- 1605¹² *I nuovi fioretti a tre voci* (Venice: Amadino, 1605; = 1607¹⁷)
- 1606⁸ *Leggiadre nimphe a tre voci* (Venice: Gardano & fratelli, 1606)
- 1606¹³ *Canzonette, mit dreyen Stimmen . . . mit teutschen Texten beleget* (Nuremberg: Kauffmann, 1606; cf. 1597²¹, 1597²²)
- 1607¹¹ ***Canzonette spirituali a tre voci, di Marcantonio Tornioli senese . . . Libro primo*** (Venice: Gardano & fratelli, 1607): Cenui, Tornioli (20)
- 1607¹⁴ *Canzonette alla romana* (Antwerp: Phalèse, 1607)
- 1607²⁵ *Johann-Jacobi Gastoldi und anderer Autorn Tricinia . . . mit teutschen weltlichen Texten* (Nuremberg: Kauffmann, 1607)
- 1608⁴ ***Lodi, et canzonette spirituali. Raccolte da diversi autori: & ordinate secondo le varie maniere de' versi. Aggiuntevi à ciascuna maniera le loro arie nuove di musica à tre voci assai dilettevoli*** (Naples: Longo, 1608): anon. (all)
- 1608²² *Neue teutsche Canzonetten mit dreyen Stimmen . . . mit unser Sprach . . . unterlegt* (Frankfurt: Richter, 1608)
- 1609² ***Tricina Mariana, quibus Antiphonæ, Hymni, Magnificat, Litanie, et variae laudes ex officio Beatissi. Virginis suavissimis modulibus decantantur, in usum tum sodalium, tum aliorum cultorum et amantium matris Dei, &c. auctore R. D. Gregorio Aichinger*** (Dillingen: Meltzer, 1609):
Aichinger (18), Reiner
- 1609² *Canzonette et arie a tre voci . . . Libro primo* (Venice: Raverii, 1609)
- 1609²⁵ *Scherzi musicali a tre voci di Claudio Monteverde* (Venice: Amadino, 1609)
- 1610 Johannes Jeep, *Schöne ausserlesene liebliche Tricinia, . . . mit lustigen Teutschen Texten ersetzt* (Nuremberg: Wagenmann, 1610)
- 1610⁷ Antonio Mortaro, ***Sacræ cantiones tribus vocibus concinendæ. Una cum basso ad organum*** (Venice: Amadino, 1610)
- 1611 Michael Prætorius, *Bicinia und Tricinia* (Hamburg and Wolfenbüttel: Hering, 1611)

During the specified period the following bicinia collections were published (cf. RISM B I): 1579⁷, 1584^{9a}, 1586⁶, 1590¹⁹, 1591¹⁹, 1591²⁷ (*Bicinia sacra*, Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1591), 1594¹³, 1598¹³, 1607⁷, 1607¹⁸, 1609⁴ (+ B.c.), 1609¹⁹.

^a The subsequent editions are described in Ernst Fritz Schmid (rev. Bettina Schwemmer), 'Aichinger, Gregor', *MGG*², *Personenteil*, i, col. 267.

addition, it appears that even if printers from Catholic cities did publish tricinia collections, they were primarily directed to Protestant buyers. The most prominent example of this phenomenon is certainly the *Teutsche Psalmen: geistliche Psalmen* (Munich: Berg, 1588) by Orlando di Lasso and his son Rudolf, which present the psalms in a German translation and not according to the Vulgate.

Viewed in this context, it becomes evident that the Jesuits of Dillingen played a key role in establishing an emphatically Catholic type of tricinia in Germany, defined in opposition to its secular and Protestant counterparts. It is remarkable that Klingenstein's *Triodia sacra* acted as the prototype for the constitution of this new (and consciously pioneering) paradigm. On the German market, the *Triodia sacra* was only preceded by two other collections of sacred polyphony for three voices, both of which display an equally Catholic repertory: the *Tricinia Mariana* (Innsbruck, 1598) and the *Divinae laudes* (Augsburg, 1601), each containing original compositions for three voices by Gregor Aichinger. It is surely more than a coincidence that Klingenstein's only precursor was a Catholic priest and musician who was not only active at Augsburg, but had also cultivated a warm relation with the Jesuits from his academic studies at their universities. It was the Meltzer press at Dillingen that bore the fruit of these ties. During the first decade of the seventeenth century, Aichinger published both extensively and (almost) exclusively at Dillingen. Many of his music prints enjoyed several editions. Others, originally published elsewhere, were reprinted. Quite significantly, the second editions of the above-mentioned prints *Divinae laudes* and *Tricinia Mariana* (with an additional motet by Reiner) belong to the latter category, both reissued at Dillingen in 1609. This fact provides yet another piece of circumstantial evidence for the assumption that the Jesuits of Dillingen were among the first actively to instrumentalise the popularity of tricinium collections for the propagation of a pure Catholic repertory. And this agenda suggests a plausible answer to the question why Klingenstein's *Triodia sacra* shows so striking a predominance of liturgical compositions.⁵⁰ A

⁵⁰ Given the admirable richness of Fisher's thesis on 'Music in Counter-Reformation Augsburg', it is unfortunate that he fails to recognise the liturgical impulse of Catholic sacred music composed after the Council of Trent. In his determination to ascribe a dis-

complementary explanation, however, can be given by adapting the editor's perspective: Klingenstein, in search of appropriate three-voice compositions for his anthology, obviously drew on the repertory of his own chapel. As this was an ecclesiastical chapel, it is not surprising that its choirbooks contained primarily liturgical polyphony.

THE COMPOSITIONS

The homogeneity of genre found in the *Triodia sacra* is paralleled by a similar homogeneity of compositional style. In the majority of cases, the latter is characterised by an imitative fabric in which the single voices are merged in smooth and – despite the three-voice texture – sonorous harmonies. Good examples are the Benedictus from the *Missa super Elisabeth Zachariae* by Jacob Handl, presented in Example 1, and Aichinger's *Sicut locutus est* from the *Magnificat super Liquide perl'amor*, to be found in Appendix 2.⁵¹ Next in importance are passages in simple counterpoint, which, although occurring less often, are fairly common.⁵² Reiner's motet *Domine exaudi*, no. 16 in Klingenstein (see Appendix 2), gives a paradigmatic impression of this musical fabric. It is noteworthy that even if some works unambiguously show tendencies towards a madrigalesque setting of the text (as would not be surprising in the case of Lasso and his followers), the text-expressive devices never exceed the boundaries of well-balanced structural clarity. The maximum degree of tone-painting found in the *Triodia sacra* can be seen paradigmatically in Peetrino's Latin canzonetta *Mane*

tinctly Catholic character exclusively to patently Marian, eucharistic or other characteristically devotional compositions, Fisher plays down the relevance of liturgical music for Catholic music of the Counter-Reformation. Judging from this slightly distorted and narrow perspective, he disregards the markedly Catholic profile of Klingenstein's *Triodia sacra*, stating: 'The texts of the pieces selected by Klingenstein seem to have no overt religious significance, consisting mainly of individual movements from the Mass and Magnificat' (p. 227).

⁵¹ Appendix 2 to this essay provides an edition of (reconstructed) tricinia not available in a modern edition.

⁵² It is notable that chordal writing is also typical for the majority of musical numbers in Jesuit dramas of the period. In particular, the polyphonic choruses written by Christian Erbach for the drama *Didymus* (1613) come very close stylistically to the *contrapunctus simplex* compositions in Klingenstein's *Triodia sacra*. For a partial edition of one of Erbach's two choruses, contained in Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, 8° H 1840, see Fisher, 'Music in Counter-Reformation Augsburg', pp. 103–4.

with auxiliary or passing notes. A more sophisticated form of tone-painting characterises the musical rendition of the word 'reple' (bars 17–24). The text of the last verse, formulating the prayer 'Fill the world with sweetness', appears twice. Upon its repetition the rhythmic tempo, dominated by minims and semiminims, shifts to a higher level. Then, from bar 21, minims and semibreves prevail. The technique of slowing down in the closing passage, straightforward and inconspicuous as it seems, expresses the text quite subtly: as the fabric thickens at the repetition of the prayer, it suggestively signals that the Lord had already heard the prayer and indeed 'filled' the world – even if not exactly in the sense wished.⁵³

It has to be emphasised that the level of text expression apparent in Peetrino's settings already represents an extreme, by far exceeding the average degree of tone-painting in the *Triodia sacra*. As far as the partial reconstruction of its tricinia permits so general a conclusion, it can be said that in all compositions the rules of counterpoint are strictly observed. The fabric is always correct, smooth and at times even dry. Bold harmonic progressions and other exuberant means of text expression, which the church might disapprove, are entirely absent.

These stylistic features certainly matched the Jesuits' insistence on genuine and pure church music that was to eschew any 'lascivious' sensationalism or musical extravagance. From a modern perspective, these compositions might thus be disregarded as aesthetically irrelevant, if not boring. On the other hand, it is precisely these aspects which represent a more general stream of sacred music around 1600, regardless of denomination, the emergence of what was to be called the *stylus ecclesiasticus*.

In addition to the homogeneity of style and genre, the distribution of voice registers is also fairly uniform. As can be gathered from the clef combinations shown in Table 1, two upper voices (g2, c1 or c2) are supported by a bass in lower register, which is more flexible with regard to cleffing (from c3 to f4). This design is definitely tailor-made for the pedagogic context to which

⁵³ Needless to say, Peetrino's text-expressive devices do not work when the second stanza is sung to the same music. Hence it becomes clear that his composition is mainly concerned with the text of the first stanza – the usual procedure in settings of polystrophic texts.

Klingenstein's anthology belongs. At Jesuit universities or grammar schools of the period, *tricina* were performed with the students singing the upper voices, accompanied by an educator or teacher from the staff, who took over the bass part and conducted the ensemble.

In every aspect discussed so far, Klingenstein emerges as an editor who took great care to avoid any offences against the Church's norms. It is therefore all the more surprising that his *Triodia sacra* also included a few parody compositions on *secular* models (see Table 4), a technique vehemently condemned by Church authorities in the context of the Council of Trent.⁵⁴ It is true that the use of secular models for liturgical compositions received a more tolerant assessment as time proceeded. Nevertheless, one has to wonder whether and why the Jesuit heads of the university did not object to the fact that an official publication of the university was 'contaminated' with material that, although tacitly tolerated, was far from being officially approved by the Catholic Church. The reasons for this curious phenomenon are manifold. First and foremost, the musical excellence of a composition as a whole may have been the decisive criterion when offences occurred in either occasional details or exterior circumstances such as the use of a frivolous model – an important, though often underrated, factor.⁵⁵ In this regard, the generally orthodox musical style of all pieces in the anthology more than compensated for individual offences. Furthermore, a milder judgement might seem to be appropriate if the trespassing composer was commonly held in great esteem and respected as an authority. Consequently, amidst the 'impure' pieces among the *Triodia sacra*, at least the mass sections by Lasso and Clemens might have been excused. Lasso and Clemens had, after all, the reputation of nearly 'classical' authorities.

⁵⁴ Weber, *Le Concile de Trente et la musique*, pp. 86–90; Weinmann, *Das Konzil von Trient und die Kirchenmusik*, pp. 49–56; Palestrina, *Pope Marcellus Mass*, ed. L. Lockwood (New York, 1975), p. 12. A well-balanced account from a more recent perspective is given in F. Kördle, 'Das musikalische Ordinarium Missæ nach 1400', in *Messe und Motette*, ed. H. Leuchtmann and S. Mauser (Handbuch der musikalischen Gattungen, 9; Laaber, 1998), pp. 154–88, esp. p. 175.

⁵⁵ This aspect will be more extensively explored and elaborated in my thesis. David Crook justly speculates that from the perspective of sixteenth-century musicians, the holiness of a sacred or liturgical text might have transformed the originally secular model into a 'sacred gift'. See D. Crook, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats for Counter-Reformation Munich* (Princeton, 1994), pp. 80–2.

Table 4 *Parody compositions in the Triodia sacra and their models*

Parody Compositions on Secular Models

Clemens non Papa, <i>Missa J'ay veu le cerf</i>	Pierre de Manchicourt, <i>J'ay veu le cerf</i> . French drinking song, text by an anonymous author. Source: Manchicourt, <i>Le neuvieme livre des chansons à quatre parties</i> (Antwerp: Susato, 1545)
Johannes Eccard, <i>Missa mon cœur se recommande</i>	Orlando di Lasso, <i>Mon cœur se recommande à vous</i> . Chanson, text by Marot. Source: <i>Quatorzieme livre de chansons à quatre & cinq parties, d'Orlande de Lassus & autres autheurs</i> (Paris: Roy & Ballard, 1567; RISM 1567 ⁸ = 1571 ¹ = 1575 ⁸)
Orlando di Lasso, <i>Missa Super Le Berger et la Bergere</i>	Nicolas Gombert, <i>Le bergier et la bergiere</i> . Chanson, text by an anonymous author. Source: <i>Le cinquiesme livre contenant trente et deux chansons . . . composées par maistre Nicolas Gombert et aultres excellens autheurs</i> (Antwerp: Susato, 1544; = RISM 1544 ¹³)

Parody Compositions on Sacred Models

Jacobus Gallus, <i>Missa super Elisabeth Zachariae</i>	Jacobus Gallus, De S. Ioanne Baptista. <i>Elisabeth Zachariae</i> . Motet on a liturgical text. Source: Gallus, <i>Quartus tomus musici operis</i> (Prague: Nigrinus, 1590)
Orlando di Lasso, <i>Missa Super Congratulamini mihi</i>	Orlando di Lasso, <i>Congratulamini mihi omnes</i> . Motet. Source: Lasso, <i>Sacrae cantiones . . . quinque et sex vocum</i> (Venice: Gardano, 1566; = 1569e = 1578e = 1578g = 1599a)
Orlando di Lasso, <i>Magnificat Octavi Toni Benedicta es</i>	Josquin Desprez, <i>Benedicta es</i> . Motet. Earliest printed source: <i>Liber selectarum Cantionum</i> (Augsburg: Grimm & Wyrnung, 1520; = RISM 1520 ⁴) and many subsequent editions
Philippe de Monte, <i>Missa Inclina cor meum</i>	Philippe de Monte, <i>Inclina cor meum</i> . Motet. Source: de Monte, <i>Liber II. Sacrarum Cantionum cum quinque vocibus</i> (Venice: Scotto, 1573)

Yet it is also imaginable that Klingenstein did not want to arouse the Jesuits' suspicion unnecessarily and therefore hid the pieces endangered by Jesuit censorship amongst the unproblematic compositions, which made up the majority of his collection.⁵⁶ This would have been easy to achieve, because in the *Triodia sacra* only the author and text incipit are specified and *not* the larger works from which those sections were taken. In addition, the passages for few voices in masses and Magnificat cycles were normally only loosely, if at all, connected with the model. This custom might thus have supported Klingenstein's 'window-dressing' tactics, a strategy which might justly be termed 'Jesuitical'. For the same reason that the connection with the offensive model was hardly recognisable to non-connoisseurs, it might ultimately have found even the Jesuits' approval.⁵⁷

Nonetheless, these particular items in Klingenstein's anthology break significantly with those compositional conventions. Clemens non Papa's *Et resurrexit* (Example 2) is perhaps the most striking example, as the allusion to Manchicourt's drinking song *J'ay veu le cerf* could hardly have escaped recognition. The unambiguous quotation of the incipit of this chanson becomes even the more 'dangerous' when one takes into account that students have always tended to be familiar with the repertory of songs featuring a bawdy text. As a consequence, it is likely that aesthetic appreciation acted as the decisive criterion for the Jesuits' approval, provided that they recognised the problematic pieces as such in the first place.

⁵⁶ In that case one would have to pose the question whether Klingenstein simply wanted to eschew justifying his choice or whether he included the 'impure' material for subversive reasons. Unfortunately, there is no evidence for either alternative.

⁵⁷ In a forthcoming study on 'An Instance of Early Modern Music Censorship', David Crook discusses a source (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 9237, pp. 31–5) that provides illuminating insights into musical censorship among the German Jesuits in late Renaissance. This late sixteenth-century document was written by Ferdinand Alber, rector of the Jesuit College in Munich in the 1580s and from 1591 Provincial of the south German province of the *Societas Jesu*. Alber sets out a number of criteria for the evaluation of musical compositions and includes a list of permitted and prohibited songs. Among the pieces listed in the category *Cantiones quo ad textum et notas prohibita* (songs prohibited on account of their text and music), Alber explicitly bans all parody masses on secular models. That Jesuit censors scrutinised not only the texts but also the music is indicated in Alber's §3, which obliges the Superior to consider all structural features ('aedificationis omnis ratio') in the examination of any composition that aroused suspicion. I am greatly indebted to David Crook for generously sharing the texts of his paper with me.

Christian Thomas Leitmeir

Et re-sur-re-xit ter-ti-a di-e se-cun-dum
Et re-sur-re-xit
Et re-sur-re-xit ter-ti-a di-
scrip-tu
ter-ti-a di-e se-cun-dum
e se-cun-dum scrip-tu ras, scrip-

Example 2a Clemens non Papa, Et resurrexit
from the *Missa J'ay veu le cerf* (mm. 1–8)
after the *Opera omnia*, ed. K. Ph. Bernet Kempers, vi, p. 122

lay veu le cerf du bois sai-lir et boire à la fon-tai-
lay veu le cerf du bois sai-lir et boire à la fon-
lay
ne, iay veu et boire à
tai-ne, et boire à la
veu le cerf du bois sai-lir et boire à la fon-tai-ne,
lay veu le cerf du bois sai-lir et boire à la fon-tai-

Example 2b Pierre de Manchicourt, *J'ay veu le cerf*, mm. 1–9
after the *Opera omnia*, ed. K. Ph. Bernet Kempers, vi, p. 140

PROPOSITIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The final part of this essay is dedicated to questions and puzzles that so far have remained unanswered. The first issue to be addressed is the allegation that Klingenstein's anthology primarily draws upon the repertory of the cathedral chapel in Augsburg, a premise on which some of the previous conclusions rested. At first sight, there is no hard evidence to prove this hypothesis. As stated above, nearly all the musical sources from this chapel have been lost since the early nineteenth century and no contemporary inventory has survived. There is, however, considerable circumstantial evidence that points to this conclusion. First, out of the entire contents of the *Triodia sacra* twenty-eight pieces, more than half of its content, are not transmitted in any other source. Second, it is striking that all of these unica are liturgical compositions. And third, the composers of these works are known either to have held positions at Augsburg themselves or at least to have established contact with Klingenstein (for instance, as contributors to his *Rosetum Marianum* of 1604). Summing up these indications, it can justly be assumed that these compositions were written exclusively for the music chapel at Augsburg Cathedral and perhaps even commissioned by this institution. An examination of the chapter minutes (*Domrezeßbücher*), which contain account and administrative information, helped to produce more corroborating evidence for this supposition. Despite considerable gaps within the collection of account books for the period in question, it was possible to discover a number of payment records involving composers represented in the *Triodia sacra* with unica (their names are highlighted in bold in Table 5).⁵⁸ In 1577 Johannes Eccard received 5 Taler for the composition of a mass, which, though not specified, may have been his *Missa Mon cœur se recommande*, the source of Klingenstein's item no. 20. Smaller amounts of money were given to Conrad Stuber for the dedication of compositions in 1586, possible candidates for the psalm and Magnificat sections in the *Triodia sacra*. And in 1587 Jacobus de Kerle was compensated with

⁵⁸ This examination partly draws upon previous studies of chapter minutes by Kroyer, 'Gregor Aichingers Leben und Werke', p. lix, and Singer, *Bernhardus Klingenstein*, pp. 30–1. As the entries concerning musical affairs have not been published so far, they are listed in Table 5, which covers the period from 1560 to 1605.

Table 5 *Payments for compositions in the chapter minutes of Augsburg Cathedral (1560–1605)*

Between 1560 and 1610 the following *Domzessionalien* (chapter minutes) are missing: 1562, 1571, 1579, 1582, 1583, 1588, 1590, 1593, 1594, 1596, 1597, 1598, 1605, 1607. The shelfmark of the minutes books is given in parentheses after each year. The shelfmark numbers refer to the following collection at the Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Augsburg: Hochstift Augsburg, Neuburger Abgabe, Akten. The names of composers in Klingenstein's anthology are given in bold type.

1576 (5509)

17 February 1576

Jo: Friderich Missa

Joachim Friederichs meinem G. Herrn dedicirteß Missa, soll dem Capellmaister zugeställt, und bey Ime Capellmeister ob diß ein neüe Composition erkundiget, auch wo dem allßo Er Friederich demwegen verehrt werde.

1577 (5510)

27 February 1577

Dedicatio Missæ.

Johannj Eckhart. Fuggerischem Componisten. so Meinem H. Herrn, ein Missam offerirt, sollen 5. Thaller verehrt werden.

1578 (5511)

15 January 1578

Meßgesang Munus.

Dem welschen Componisten sollen meinen G: Herrn offerirter Messordnung halber 10 fl. verert werden.

1580 (5512)

23 September 1580

Jo: Lottero 4 fl.

Johannes Lotterus H. dht zur Inspruglich Capellsinger meinem gnedigen Herrn offerierten Compositiones Missa halber 4 fl. zu vereren.

1581 (5513)

1 February 1581

Blasius Tribauer Missæ dedicatio.

Blasius Tribauer Musicus offerirt meinem gnedigen Herrn ein Missen quinque vocum, weill solliche Composition von dem Capellmeister geriembt, soll Er Musicus mit 4 fl. verert werden.

1586 (5516)

21 July 1586

Conrado Stubero presbitero offerirter gesang halber. wellche Herrn Capellmeister zugeställt sollenwerden .i. fl. zugäben/

[Further entries with regard to Stuber are mentioned in Singer, *Bernhardus Klingenstein*, p. 30. The entries below the dates 21 June and 16 September 1586, however, do not contain any information on Stuber, nor do any other entries within the same account book.]

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Table 5 *Continued*

24 October 1586

Johann Vischer von Großenaurach seinem offerierten gesang halber Commune responsum zugeben

1587 (5517)

25 March 1587

de Kerlin Vererung

Dem Herrn Kerli offerirter Cancionum halber mitt 15 fl. zu verehren

9 September 1587

Orlando

Dem orlando zu München. Isst meinem gnädigen Herrn offerirter Vererung Cancional halber mit 25 fl. zu verehren befolchen.

1589 (5518)

29 März 1589

Jo: Galli a Stain Canicones [*sic*]

Joannis Galli a Stain meinen gnedigen Herrn offerirte canciones. sollen dem Herren Capellmeister zugestölt werden und uf dabei befindung seines fleis und discretion, Er mitt 4 fl. verert. Wie auch sunsten Zur Weiteren befürderung seine qualitates obseruirt werden.

23 June 1589

Orlando Erung

Dem Orlando di Lasso zu Minchen sollen Meiner gnedigen Herrn offerierten Exemplars seiner Neulich im Truckh gegertigter Mössen halber 10 fl. verert werden.

30 June 1589

Cancional Erung

Gedeon Leben von Littich so hievor vmb dem . . . [*pale, illegible*] gesungen, Soll meinem gnedigen Herrn dedicirten geschriebnem Cancionals halber .15. fl. verehrt werden.

7 July 1589

Gedeon Leban von Littich sollen uff sein bitt umb mehrere ergötzlichkeit, Meinem gnedigen Herrn hievor dedicirten Cancionals halber noch 4 fl. gegeben werden

4. Oktober

offerirt Cancional

Heinrich Leutgebs fl. Württembergischen Ingrosisten vnd musici, Meinem gnedigen Herrn offerirt Eucharisticum canticum Beatæ Virginis Mariæ, soll dem Herrn Capellmeister uns darin Zuversehen ob der Text nitt corrumpiert vnd wie es mit der Composition beschaffen sey zugestölt. sich dabei befolchen werden, wie Er die sachen befinden werde, Meinem günstigen Herrn Thumbscholaster bericht zu gäben vnd sonderlichen auch was solliches zu schreiben werdt sein möchten, Man auch darnach gögen Ime Leutgeben eine Verehrung zu erhalten habe

Table 5 *Continued*

25. Oktober
 [pale, illegible] Musicus vererung.
 Heinrich Leutgeben fürstlichen Württembergischen Ingroßisten und Musici
 seiner offerirten Compositionum halber 5 fl. zu göben

1592 (5520)

15. Oktober
 Musici Erteilung
 Martinus Langgeredern, und Nicolaus Zengen Componisten sollen Ire meinem
 gnedigen Herrn offerierte gesang wiederumb gegöben und 1:fl pro viatico
 mittgeteilt werden.

15 Gulden for the dedication of polyphonic music (*offerirter cantionum halber*).⁵⁹

Supported by this testimony, it is nearly certain that the repertory of the Augsburg Cathedral chapel formed the primary resource for Klingenstein's *Triodia sacra*. In turn, this relationship provides valuable indirect clues for a hypothetical reconstruction of this repertory, previously hindered by the enormous loss of source material. On a specific level, these clues allow one to make reasonable assumptions about individual pieces, like the potential identification of works mentioned in the account books. Taking a broader perspective, however, the *Triodia sacra* even shed light on the agenda of Klingenstein's activities as *Kapellmeister* of Augsburg Cathedral, hitherto uncovered. The predominance of compositions for the proper among the unica in his anthology suggests that Klingenstein started on the creation of a (new) polyphonic proper cycle for the liturgical year. This liturgical impulse represents a characteristic tendency of post-Tridentine Catholic church music that was also shared by Klingenstein's colleagues at the Benedictine monastery of SS Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg and at the Munich court chapel. Despite the similarity of intent, the focus of activity at these institutions is clearly different from that of Klingenstein and his chapel. The updating efforts at SS Ulrich and

⁵⁹ Through records at institutions outside Augsburg other unica of the *Triodia sacra* can be documented. Bernhard Klingenstein, for instance, received payments for 'songs and masses' from Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria in 1582; see W. Boetticher, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit. 1532–1594* (Kassel, 1958), pp. 536–7.). Together with the *Triodia sacra* items nos. 2, 4, 5 this is the only evidence for Klingenstein's activity as a composer of masses.

Afra and at the Munich court chapel were primarily concerned with a new hymn cycle for Vespers.⁶⁰ At these (and supposedly many other) institutions innovations were necessitated by the introduction of the revised Roman breviary, the *Breviarium Romanum, ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum, Pii V Pont. Max. jussu editum* (1568), which the papal bull *Quod a nobis* declared compulsory for all Catholics.⁶¹ There is no evidence that Klingenstein made similar efforts to adapt the Vesper hymns to the Romanised standard. By contrast, the *Triodia sacra* compositions document that Klingenstein's efforts were particularly devoted to an entirely different repertory that was both pre-Tridentine and regional: sequences. Apart from mass and Magnificat settings, Klingenstein's anthology contains principally polyphonic versicles of sequences for the solemnities of Easter, Ascension, Holy Trinity (de Kerle: nos. 13, 14, 29), Pentecost, Assumption, St Laurence (Klingenstein: nos. 1, 2, 23) and St Michael (Fossa: no. 28). Klingenstein's project of creating a new sequence cycle appears puzzling not so much because of its extremely conservative outlook. More crucially, it seems at striking odds with the radical curtailment of this repertory by the church authorities at Trent. For this reason one wonders why the Jesuits, who eagerly propagated the Romanisation of the Catholic Church, would have approved of the presentation of pre-Tridentine sequence versicles in Klingenstein's anthology.

To some extent, these puzzles can be explained by reference to the peculiar historical circumstances of liturgical reform in the diocese of Augsburg. Originating in the Carolingian era, the Augsburg rite was officially exempt from the Tridentine reform of the liturgy, which permitted the continuation of any rite that had been in use for more than 200 years.⁶² Consequently, Otto von

⁶⁰ D. Zager, 'Liturgical Rite and Musical Repertory: The Polyphonic Hymn Cycle of Lasso in Munich and Augsburg', in I. Bossuyt et al. (eds), *Orlandus Lassus and his Time* (Peer, 1995), pp. 215–31; and id., 'Post-Tridentine Liturgical Change and Functional Music: Lasso's Cycle of Polyphonic Latin Hymns', in P. Bergquist (ed.), *Orlando di Lasso Studies* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 41–63. A study of Lasso's involvement in the updating of the hymn repertory can also be found in Franz Körndle's *Habilitationschrift* on the Munich court chapel in the sixteenth century (forthcoming).

⁶¹ P. Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, trans. Atwell M. Y. Baylay (London, 1912), pp. 191–200.

⁶² F. A. Hoeyneck, *Geschichte der kirchlichen Lithurgie des Bisthums Augsburg. Mit Beilagen: Monumente liturgica Augustanae* (Augsburg, 1889), pp. 36–8.

Waldburg acted in accord with the Council when he published a revised version of the *Missale secundum ritum Augustensis ecclesie* in 1555, printed by Sebald Mayer at Dillingen. As indicated in Table 1, the sequence versicles included in the *Triodia sacra* all refer to this source. Considerable confusion, however, arose when Bishop Otto von Gemmingen, following his Counter-Reformatory desire to Romanise his diocese, introduced the Roman rite in 1597 notwithstanding the legal exemption.⁶³ Yet the Catholic clergy in general and the cathedral chapter in particular successfully opposed this reform. Their resistance was so obstinate that Otto von Gemmingen conceded the publication of a supplement to the Roman missal, which contained the traditional proper texts for a number of regional feasts. This supplement, the *Proprium Augustanum*, was issued twice in 1597 and in 1605.⁶⁴ It was only at the diocesan synod in 1610 that Bishop Heinrich von Knoeringen managed to re-enforce the Roman rite for the entire bishopric. This strong conservatism, which had hindered the effective introduction of the Roman rite prior to 1610, explains why Klingenstein's sequence project could have been envisaged on orthodox grounds.

The historical context furthermore suggests that he planned his polyphonic sequence cycle in the 1580s, when his contributor Jacobus de Kerle was still alive. Since de Kerle, who composed sequences for a number of major solemnities, died in 1591, the project must have reached at least an advanced stage by then, if it had not already been completed. In this case the sequence cycle initiated by Klingenstein considerably preceded the first attempts at Romanising the Augsburg rites, undertaken by Otto von Gemmingen in 1597. Correspondingly, the respective polyphonic sequences, not included in the Roman rite, could easily be justified even from the perspective of 1605. This reason, if any, might have won the Jesuits' approval of the sequence versicles in Klingenstein's *Triodia sacra*, although they generally advocated the abolition of the Augsburg rite. The sequence portions presented in this anthology furthermore suggest that Klingenstein asked composers like Johannes de Fossa and Jacobus de Kerle to contribute to the choirmaster's own production of sequences, which

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 38–40.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 303–5.

certainly formed the basis of this enterprise. It is worthwhile mentioning that de Kerle's participation in this project is at odds with the traditional view of his personal relationship with Klingenstein. As mentioned earlier, Otto Ursprung believed that de Kerle bore a notorious grudge against Klingenstein, his more successful competitor in the application for the position of *Kapellmeister* at Augsburg Cathedral.⁶⁵ Yet in the light of the discoveries made above, it becomes obvious that de Kerle's resentment must have been short-lived, for otherwise he would not have continued to collaborate with his former rival Klingenstein.⁶⁶

The fact that Klingenstein turned to the repertory of his chapel in search of pieces for an anthology also sheds light on the mysterious *Monstra te esse* by Palestrina, exclusively transmitted in the *Triodia sacra*. It is true that the unique transmission of this piece contradicts the usual source situation of Palestrina's works, which are either broadly disseminated in printed editions or documented in the manuscripts of the papal chapel.⁶⁷ One might therefore be inclined to regard Klingenstein's attribution of this piece to Palestrina as spurious. Yet a closer examination reveals that Palestrina's authorship is not as questionable as it might first appear. Through Cardinal Otto von Waldburg, bishop of Augsburg, the chapels of Augsburg and the Vatican had established intensive contacts from the early 1560s. Frequently residing at Rome, Otto von Waldburg was not only a fervent opponent of the abolition of polyphonic music from the liturgy at the Council, but also an active patron of musicians in Rome.⁶⁸ To mention only one example, in 1561 he launched an exchange of compositions by Lasso and Palestrina between Rome and Munich⁶⁹ – a diplomatic mission said to have had some impact on the Council's decrees on music.⁷⁰ Keeping this background in mind, it

⁶⁵ See above, n. 40.

⁶⁶ According to the entries of the chapter minutes, de Kerle is documented as having contributed to the repertory of Klingenstein's chapel until at least 1587 (see Table 5).

⁶⁷ A striking exception are Palestrina's compositions written at request of Guglielmo Gonzaga for the chapel of St Barbara in Mantua. The respective repertory was only discovered after the Second World War in the library of the Milanese conservatory. See K. Jeppesen, 'The Recently Discovered Mantova Masses of Palestrina', *Acta musicologica*, 22 (1950), pp. 36–47.

⁶⁸ F. Zoepfl, *Kardinal Otto Truchseß von Waldburg* (Lebensbilder aus dem Bayerischen Schwaben, 4; Munich, 1955), pp. 25–32.

⁶⁹ This fact was first noted by Ursprung, *Jacobus de Kerle*, pp. 12–13.

⁷⁰ Weinmann, *Das Konzil von Trient und die Kirchenmusik*, pp. 35–7.

is reasonable that Palestrina might have dedicated an exclusive copy of an *Ave maris stella* setting to his patron von Waldburg. This assumption appears even more plausible in the light of von Waldburg's appointment as titular bishop of Preneste, Palestrina's home town, in 1570.⁷¹ This position would surely have intensified the contact between von Waldburg and Palestrina. Accordingly, it could very well account for the fact that Palestrina's composition became an exclusive part of the musical repertory at the cathedral of Augsburg. Owing to the loss of this repertory by the early nineteenth century, no other source than Klingenstein's hitherto unstudied *Triodia sacra* bears witness to this composition. This is admittedly only a speculation. But together with the preceding considerations it argues persuasively for the profit that is to be drawn from the study of fragmentary and neglected musical sources. As the present study has shown, fragments are capable of providing valuable missing links in our fragmented and incomplete understanding of music history.

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⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

APPENDIX 1

The Title Page, Epigram and Preface of the *Triodia sacra*

The title page, epigram and preface are transcribed from the unique copy of the *Inferior Vox* partbook in the British Library, shelfmark C.255.a.

fol. 1^r:

TRIODIA SACRA

SIVE MODI
MVSICI TERNIS VO-
CIBUS TAM AD TIRONVM,
QVAM PERITIORVM VSVM FACTI,
ET PARTIM EX LECTIS AVCTORIBVS
delecti, partim recens conditi.

Liber I.

A

BERNARDO KLINGENSTEIN
Cathedralis Ecclesiae Augustanae Musices
praefecto.

VOX INFERIOR

DILINGÆ

In officina Typographica ADAMI
MELTZER.

M. D. CV.

fol. 1^v:

HEXASTICHON

Ter deno certent alij discrimine vocum,
Atque fides addant vocibus atque tubas.
Tu ne temne tribus contenta triodia cartis
Forte minus laudis: non minus artis habent.
Dulcius una canit coruis philomela trecentis
Ex multis semper non nisi pauca placent.

fol. 2^r: NOBILISSIMIS ET ORNATISSIMIS ADOLESCENTIBVS
IOANNI GVILIELMO, ET *IOANNI EGOLPHO* A LEONROD IN
Truegenhouen Münsterhausen & Dischingen, à Christo S.

FRustra est, nobilissimi adolescentes, qui hodie canendi artificium è
Repub. tollere cogitat: nec minus actum agit qui idem ciuibus laudare &

suadere studet, hic enim soli facem inferre & rem commendare instituit iam omnibus retro sæculis vsu perpetuo omniumque ferè gentium auctoritate tantopere commendatam & firmatam, vti nemo infirmare amplius aut eleuare possit; ille ipsa extinguere sidera nec quicquam conatur. Mitto ergò ex Plutarchis, Athenæis, Cassiodoris, & his æuo maioribus minoribusque illam celebrare disciplinam, quæ nunquam in obscuro iacuit, aut incelebris fuit. Mitto laudare quam nemo, nisi sano & humano simul sensu destitutus vituperauit. Vos ergo, maioresque vestros, adolescentes præstantissimi, tanto humaniores, adeoque magis homines arbitror, colo & veneror, quanto maiori humanitatis studio huius elegantissimæ artis cultores complectimini. Quod [fol. 2^v] ego, quamvis in hoc amplissimo præstantissimorum Musicorum concessu & senatu, pedarius & postremissimus, coram sæpius & Dilingæ, & in ditionibus vestris sum expertus, quando & clarissimi nobilissimique parentes & aui vestri, atque cum his R. & doctis: vir D. Georgius Reschius studiorum vestrorum moderator, & vos ipsi officiosissimè liberalissimeque accepistis, perindeque obseruastis, ac si nouus aliquis Orpheus ab inferis extitisset. Qua ego vestra in me beneuolentia inuitatus, meis putauit partibus conuenire, vti Gratias Gratijs reponerem, vobisque hæc triodia non ex Marsyis, sed Phœbis ipsis, hoc est præstantissimis canendi magistris delibata multorum exemplo canerem, illisque nonnunquam etsi impari symphonia accinerem, quæ ex quadraginta, inscriptis singulorum nominibus facilè animaduertetis, ratus hæc vniuersæ simul iuuentuti Musicæ seruitura. Alijs enim æs deest magna plurimorum concentuum volumina coemendi; alijs chorus Musicorum plenior, alijs vtrumque. Hæc odaria & paucis assibus comparantur, & à pluribus paucioribusque decantari possunt. Valete adolescentes ornatissimi, & liberales artes, artiumque excultores, vti facitis, colite, memoriamque nominis vestri virtute vestra æternitati consecrate. Augustæ Vindel. ferijs D. Vdalrici Urbis patroni. M.D.CV.

Nob. & dig. vestræ studiosissimus
Bernhardus Klingenstein

To the most noble and accomplished youths Johann Wilhelm and Johann Egolph von Leonrod in Trügenhoven, Münsterhausen and Dischingen, salvation from Christ.

He is wasting his time, most noble youths, who in these days thinks of removing the art of singing from the state; no less is he doing what has already been done who strives to praise and urge it upon the citizens, since he sets about carrying a torch into sunlight and commending a thing already so much commended and established in all ages past by

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perpetual use and the authority of well-nigh all peoples that no one can any more weaken or slight it; he tries in vain to put out the very stars. I therefore omit to praise, out of the Plutarchs, Athenaeuses, Casiodoruses and their predecessors and successors, that discipline which has never lain in darkness or gone unpraised. I omit to praise that which no one unless devoid of healthy and human feeling has disparaged. You, therefore, and your elders, most outstanding youths, I consider the more civilised, and therefore more human, respect and revere them, the more you embrace with greater love of civilisation those who pursue this most elegant art. Which I, though in this most honourable gathering and senate of outstanding musicians the last among backbenchers, quite often experienced publicly both at Dillingen and in your domains, when only your most renowned and most noble fathers and grandfathers, and with them the reverend and most learned man Dr Georg Resch, the director of your studies, and you yourselves received me most kindly and generously, and looked after me as if a new Orpheus had risen from the dead. Encouraged by this your good will towards me, I deemed it appropriate to my place that I should return favour for favour, and following the example of many sing you these tricinia, selected not from the Marsyases but from the very Phoebuses, that is the most outstanding masters of singing, and at times sing in harmony, albeit unequal, with them, which from the forty, with the names of the individuals attached, you will easily observe, thinking that these would serve at the same time for all musical youth. For some lack the money to purchase large volumes containing a great number of polyphonic compositions; others lack a larger choir of musicians, others again lack both. These odelets are on sale for a few pence, and can be sung by more or fewer singers. Farewell, most accomplished young men, and, as you are doing, cultivate the liberal arts and those who cultivate those arts, and consecrate to eternity the memory of your name by your virtue. Augsburg, on the feast of St Ulrich, patron of the city [4 July], 1605.

He who is most zealous for your nobility and dignity
Bernard Klingenstein

Christian Thomas Leitmeir

APPENDIX 2

Edition of Reconstructed Compositions from the *Triodia sacra*

This appendix presents a reconstructed edition of four compositions not yet available in a modern edition.

Jacobus Peetrinus, *Mane nobiscum, Domine* (no. 11)

[Cantus] Ma - ne no - bis-cum, Do - mi - ne, ma - ne no - bis-cum, Do - mi -

[Altus] Ma - ne no - bis-cum, Do - mi - ne, ma - ne no - bis-cum, Do - mi -

[Tenor] Ma - ne no - bis-cum, Do - mi - ne, ma - ne no - bis-cum, Do - mi -

ne, Et nos il - lu - stra lu - mi - ne. Pul - sa, pul - sa, pul - sa,

ne, Et nos il - lu - stra lu - mi - ne. Pul - sa, pul - sa,

pul - sa men - tis ca - li - gi - ne, Mundum re - ple dul -

pul - sa men - tis ca - li - gi - ne, Mundum re - ple dul -

re - ple dul - ce - di - ne, mundum re - ple dul - ce - di - ne.

ce - di - ne, mundum re - ple dul - ce - di - ne.

ce - di - ne, mundum re - ple dul - ce - di - ne.

Quando cor nostrum visitas,
Tunc lucet ei veritas,
Mundi vilescit vanitas
Et intus fervet caritas.

Source: *Di Iacobo Peetrino il primo libro del Iubilo di S. Bernardo con alcune canzonette spirituali scritte & intagliate a tre et quattro voci* (Rome, 1588), p. 4

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Jacobus Peetrinus, *Iam quod quaesivi* (no. 12)

[Cantus] Iam, quod quae - si - vi, vi - de - o, iam quod quae - si - vi, vi - de - o,

[Altus] Iam, quod quae-si-vi, vi - de-o, iam quod quae - si - vi, vi - de - o,

[Tenor] Iam, quod quae - si - vi, vi - de - o, iam quod quae - si - vi, vi - de - o,

6 quod con - cu - pi - vi, te - ne - o, quod con - cu - pi - vi, te - ne - o.

quod con - cu - pi - vi, te - ne - o, quod con - cu - pi - vi, te - ne - o.

quod con - cu - pi - vi, te - ne - o, quod con - cu - pi - vi, te - ne - o.

11 A - mo - re Ie - su lan - gue - o et cor-de to - tus, et cor-de

A - mo - re Ie - su lan - gue - o et cor-de to - tus, et cor-de

A - mo - re Ie - su lan - gue - o et cor-de to - tus, et cor-de to -

18 to-tus, ar - de - o.

to - tus, ar - de-o.

tus ar - de-o.

Iesus, cum sic diligitur,
 Hic amor non extinguitur.
 Non tepescit nec moritur,
 Plus crescit at accenditur.

Source: *Di Iacobo Peetrino il primo libro del Iubilo di S. Bernardo*, p. 18

Christian Thomas Leitmeir

Jacob Reiner, *Domine, exaudi* (no. 16)

The musical score is written for three voices: Cantus (Soprano), Altus (Alto), and Bassus (Bass). It is in a 3/4 time signature with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are in Latin and are repeated in three parts across the system.

Part 1 (Measures 1-4):

Cantus: Do - mi - ne, ex - au - di o - ra - ti - o - nem me - am, & clamor me - us ad te
 Altus: Do - mi - ne, ex - au - di o - ra - ti - o - nem me - am, & clamor me - us ad te
 Bassus: Do - mi - ne, ex - au - di o - ra - ti - o - nem me - am, & clamor me - us ad te

Part 2 (Measures 5-8):

Cantus: ve - ni - at.
 Altus: ve - ni - at. Non a - ver - tas fa - ci - em tu - am à me, in - quacun - que di -
 Bassus: ve - ni - at. Non a - ver - tas fa - ci - em tu - am à me, in - quacun - que di -

Part 3 (Measures 9-12):

Cantus: In - quacun - que
 Altus: e tri - bulor, in - cli - na ad me au - rem tu - am. In - quacun - que
 Bassus: e tri - bulor, in - cli - na ad me au - rem tu - am. In - quacun - que

Part 4 (Measures 13-15):

Cantus: di - e in - vo - ca - ve - ro te, ve - lo - ci - ter ex - au - di me. Qui - a de - fe - ce -
 Altus: di - e in - vo - ca - ve - ro te, ve - lo - ci - ter ex - au - di me. Qui - a de - fe - ce -
 Bassus: di - e in - vo - ca - ve - ro te, ve - lo - ci - ter ex - au - di me.

Part 5 (Measures 16-18):

Cantus: runt si - cut fu - mus di - es me - i, & os - sa me - a si - cut cre - mium a - ru -
 Altus: runt si - cut fu - mus di - es me - i.
 Bassus: & os - sa me - a si - cut cre - mium a - ru -

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20 e - runt. Per - cus - sus sum ut foe - num, & a - ru - it cor me - um, qui a ob -
 Per - cus - sus sum ut foe - num, & a - ru - it cor me - um, qui a ob -
 e - runt. Per - cus - sus sum ut foe - num, & a - ru - it cor me - um, qui a ob -

23 li - tus sum com - e - de - re pa - nem me - um.
 li - tus sum com - e - de - re pa - nem me - um. A vo - ce ge - mitus me - i,
 li - tus sum com - e - de - re pa - nem me - um. A vo - ce ge - mi - tus me -

26 Si - mi - lis fac - tus
 ad - hae - sit os me - um car - ni me - ae. Si - mi - lis fac - tus
 i, ad - hae - sit os me - um car - ni me - ae. Si - mi - lis fac - tus

30 sum Pel - li - ca - no so - li - tu - di - nis, & fac - tus sum, &
 sum Pel - li - ca - no so - li - tu - di - nis, & fac - tus sum, & fac - tus sum, &
 sum Pel - li - ca - no so - li - tu - di - nis, & fac - tus sum, & fac - tus sum

34 fac - tus sum si - cut noc - ti - cor - ax in do - mi - ci - li - o.
 fac - tus sum si - cut noc - ti - cor - ax in do - mi - ci - li - o.
 si - cut noc - ti - cor - ax in do - mi - ci - li - o.

Source: *Cantionum piarum . . . tribus vocibus* (Munich: Berg, 1586), no. 5: 'Quintus Psalmus'

Christian Thomas Leitmeir

Gregor Aichinger, *Sicut locutus est* (no. 33)

Cantus

Quintus

[Inferior Vox?]

Si - cut lo - cu - tus

Si - cut lo - cu - tus est ad pat-res no - stros, ad pat-res no -

Si - cut lo - cu - tus est ad pat-res no - stros, ad

est ad pat-res no - stros, si - cut lo - cu - tus est ad patres no - stros,

stros, ad pat - res no - stros, si - cut lo - cu - tus est ad

pat-res no - stros, si - cut lo - cu - tus est, si - cut lo - cu - tus est ad patres no -

si - cut lo - cu - tus est, si - cut lo - cu - tus est, si - cut lo - cu - tus est ad

patres no - stros, si - cut lo - cu - tus est, si - cut lo - cu - tus est

stros, ad pat - res no - stros, ad pat-res no - stros, ad pat - res no -

pat-res no - stros, Ab - ra - ham, Ab - ra - ham &

ad pat-res no - stros, Ab - ra - ham, A - braham

stros, ad pat - res no - stros, Ab - ra - ham, Ab - ra - ham & se-mi ni

se-mi-ni e - ius, & se-mi-ni e - ius, & se-mi-ni e - ius in se - cu - la, in

& se - mi - ni e - ius, & se - mi - ni e - ius in se - cu -

e - ius, & se-mi-ni e - ius, & se - mi - ni e - ius in se - cu - la,

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se - cu - la, in se - cu - la.
la, in se - cu - la.
in se - cu - la, in se - cu - la.

Source: *Magnificat Liquide per'amor*, in *Vespertinum Virginis Canticum sive Magnificat quinque vocibus varie modulatur* (Augsburg: Custos (apud Praetorium), 1603), Cantus, p. 16; Quintus, p. 16, [Altus], p. ?; *Inferior Vox* taken from *Triodia sacra*.