TRACES OF COUNTER-REFORMATION MUSIC IN THE SLOVENIAN LANDS

KLEMEN GRABNAR

Research Centre of the
Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts,
Institute of Musicology, Novi trg 2,
SI-1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia

Abstract

On the basis of direct and indirect evidence, three main types of musical repertoire in the early-seventeenth-century Slovenian lands can be established that directly relate to the Counter-Reformation: plainchant, sacred song in the vernacular, and contemporary polyphonic music. The textual emphasis of the preserved musical pieces above all helped to shape a distinctly Counter-Reformation religious identity: contemporary polyphonic compositions, above all Litanies and Marian antiphons, with the emphasis of the dogma of sanctoral intercession; the acclamations Christus vincit with the stating of the pope Clemens VIII’s religious integrity; and responsory Sedil ie k’misi with accentuation of the transubstantiation. Although the vernacular songs heard in Corpus Christi processions are lost to us, they were probably characteristic of the Catholic soundscape and also must have attracted the attention of the listeners and confronted them with the confessional challenge directly. With the campaign of reform and propaganda, promoted principally by the bishop Hren, the successful progress of Catholic reform in the Slovenian lands at the beginning of the seventeenth century stabilised the situation in many musical institutions.

Keywords: Counter-Reformation, plainchant, vernacular song, polyphony, sanctoral intercession, pope, Slovenian lands, bishop Tomaž Hren

Although we can unmistakably observe the “unconfessionalized” dimensions of musical culture in the period of Counter-Reformation, there could, on the other hand, be seen the use of music as demonstration of piety and propaganda as well, which divided the Catholic and Reformed cultures. Music in the Slovenian lands
of the period in question has been the object of quite some scholarly attention in Slovenia. However, the studies in the relevant topic are usually either general overviews or are concentrated on the preserved repertoire and its connections with major musical centres nearby.1 As none of these are mainly concerned with the relationship of music to confessionalisation, this article aims at revealing how and when music articulated Counter-Reformation religious identity in the Slovenian lands. Therefore, it is not the aim here to provide a thorough music-historical study of the extant Counter-Reformation music in the territory of present-day Slovenia, but to draw out some of the threads of the preserved music that has bearing on the question of religious representation in the age of the Counter-Reformation.

After the second quarter of the sixteenth century reformed sympathies became widespread among the nobility in the territory of modern Slovenia and the urban (and perhaps to a lesser degree rural) populace were also receptive to Protestant ideas.2 Thus, the Slovenian lands were in a way part of a confessional borderland, lying between Catholic Italy and Protestant Germany, where the success of Counter-Reformation Catholicism was not self-evident.3 One of the first Lutheran circles in the relevant territory was gathered around the bishop of Trieste, Pietro Bonomo (1458–1546), where the foremost exponent of Protestantism in the duchy of Carniola, Primož Trubar (1508–1586), became acquainted with the reformed ideas. Like in other lands, Protestant ideas were at the beginning present within the confines of the Catholic Church. For instance, Trubar was for a time canon and preacher in the Ljubljana cathedral and was even chosen as personal confessor to the then bishop.

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3 On the South-East the Turkish (Muslim) threat was also present.
Franz Kazianer. Only the bishop that succeeded him, Urban Textor, made an effort against the spreading of Protestantism among the clergy. Therefore, Trubar had to seek refuge in the northern part of the Holy Roman Empire, where Protestants were predominant. While in Germany he published a number of books in Slovenian that also contained Protestant songs with notated melodies. Nevertheless, quite a powerful Protestant movement did erupt after the mid-sixteenth century and by 1561 Trubar was appointed the first superintendent of the Protestant Church in Carniola. After he published Cerkovna ordninga (Church Ordinance) in Tübingen in 1564, the Inner-Austrian archduke Karl II permanently banished him from the country. Trubar nevertheless remained active and prepared the first Slovenian hymn book entitled Eni psalmi, ta celi catehismus, inu tih vegshih Gody, stare inu Nove kersz-hanske Peisni [...], which was printed in Tübingen in 1567. The second half of the sixteenth century was strongly marked by Protestantism. As Metoda Kokole has written: »Where music was concerned, the reformed institutions took the lead over traditional Catholic ones, especially during the decades of religious freedom preceding the turn of the century.« Only at the beginning of the seventeenth century did Catholic institutions began to restore their activity to its previous extent, although, some of them, such as the Pletnerje Carthusian monastery, had fallen into serious decline during the turbulent times.

On the basis of the indirect and direct evidence available three main types of musical repertoire (also) linked with Counter-Reformation can be established for the period in question: plainchant, sacred song in the vernacular, and contemporary polyphonic music. The singing of liturgical chant was common in Catholic churches but it was also present in the urban Protestant churches, as is evident from the Cerkovna ordninga. From the view of the Counter-Reformation, the most important source containing plainchant is MS 232, a manuscript volume that was part of the musical collection at Gornji Grad, where the foremost Counter-Reformation proponent, Tomaž Hren (Thomas Chrön), bishop of Ljubljana, had his residence, and today constitutes part of the Manuscript, Rare and Old Prints Collection at the National and University Library in Ljubljana. It is preserved rather badly and is also incomplete with many lacunae, which shows that this manuscript

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4 For the list of Slovenian Protestant hymnals and their repertoire, see for example J. SNOJ: Zgodovina glasbe na Slovenskem I. Glasba na Slovenskem do konca 16. stoletja, 461–480.
7 See J. SNOJ: Zgodovina glasbe na Slovenskem I., 481–489. Trubar, however, held a negative attitude towards the Latin liturgical chant. Ibid., 462.
was probably regularly in use. The content of the volume can be divided in three main parts: (1) liturgical chants for the celebration of the Mass (e.g. introits, alleluias, offertories and communions) and Vespers (e.g. antiphons for the Psalms of Vespers, antiphons for the Magnificat, responsories and hymns); (2) *partitura* of two double-choir compositions (the *Magnificat* by an yet unidentified composer and the eight-part *Ornaverunt faciem templi* of Giovanni Croce), i.e. a keyboard (organ) part comprising two staves with a *basso seguente* for each choir; and (3) polyphonic settings of the Ordinary of the Mass (almost exclusively of Orlando di Lasso’s settings for four voices).

The most notable among the chants for our discussion are the acclamations *Christus vincit* (see Figure 1) and the responsory *Sedilie k’miši Iesus* (see Figure 2).

As Josip Mantuani already noted, *Christus vincit* has an »introduction and four acclamations: the first devoted to pope Clemens VIII, the second to bishop Hren, the third to [Inner-Austrian] archduke Ferdinand, the later Emperor Ferdinand II, but the fourth to the Christian people.« Based on the period of activity of the three aforementioned persons – Clemens VIII (pope from 1592 to 1605), Tomaž Hren (bishop from 1597 to 1630) and Ferdinand II (archduke from 1590 to 1619) – he even dated the acclamations to the period between 15 October 1597, when Hren had been appointed as bishop of Ljubljana, and 5 March 1605, when pope Clemens VIII had died. Although Mantuani assumed these acclamations could be performed while Hren was solemnly installed as Bishop of Ljubljana, more likely they were sung more often, probably once per year between 1597 and 1605. Among the chants preserved in sources that are connected to the Slovenian lands the responsory *Sedilie k’miši Iesus* holds a special place. Though preserved incompletely, it is the only known chant with a text in the Slovenian language before the nineteenth century. Interestingly enough, in the manuscript it is preceded by an original Latin version (*Discubuit Jesus*) and one can notice some small differences between both melodies, necessitated by the differences in texts. It is not entirely clear when this responsory in the Slovenian language was sung. Slavko Krajnc pointed out, for instance, that it could be used in the liturgy on Holy Thursday, the feast of Corpus

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9 For a detailed contents of the manuscript, see Tables 2 and 3 in: K. GRABNAR: So gornjegrajski rokopisni zvezki nastali na Kranjskem?, 71–77.
11 Ibid., 100–101.
12 Ibid., 101.
13 Mantuani transcribed both versions (Latin and Slovenian), but he mistakenly included also the responsory *Jesus Nazarenus Rex Iudeorum*, as being part of the *Discubuit Jesus*. *Ibid.*, 136–141.
Figure 1: Acclamations *Christus vincit* (excerpt) (Ljubljana, National and University Library, Manuscript, Rare and Old Prints Collection, MS 232, fol. 12v–13r)
Figure 2: Responsory *Sedil ie k’misi Iesus* (Ljubljana, National and University Library, Manuscript, Rare and Old Prints Collection, MS 232, fol. 22v)
Christi or could even be sung as a part of the Corpus Christi procession. Since in the relevant manuscript there are some chants (antiphons etc.) with the designation »in [p]rocessionibus decantari«, the latter option could well be highly probable. Mantuani paralleled its existence with the Protestant songs in vernacular, claiming that it was produced as a counter-reaction to the latter. It has to be argued that Catholic vernacular songs did exist (however, there are no melodies preserved from that period). Also, in the coastal area, a tradition of liturgical singing in Old Church Slavonic (glagolitic chant) was present, which could have asserted an indirect influence on the production of Sedil ie k’mis. The fact that Hren knew this practice of singing supports this surmise.

Although it was probably the most characteristic of the Catholic soundscape, nothing exact can be said about the repertoire of Catholic song in the vernacular, since all of the sources containing them are now lost. Textual and musical literacy was not the norm, especially in rural areas, and consequently the circulation of notated melodies did not actually play a profoundly significant role. Surviving evidence suggests these were mainly part of the paraliturgical practices where laity could express their religious sentiments, e.g. processions and pilgrimages. Although processions and pilgrimages represent pre-Reformation practices, they were later given special attention, for instance, by bishop Hren, as is evident from numerous archival documents. Hren even planned to publish a songbook (in collaboration with the Jesuit Janez Čandek) that would contain Catholic songs in vernacular intended mostly for the singing of the laity, but unfortunately it was never published. It was the Protestant song above all that compelled bishop Hren to produce and disseminate a competing repertoire of vernacular songs. Notwithstanding his efforts to produce a Catholic songbook, at least some of the repertoire of these songs was spread among the laity. This period saw the intense promotion of Marian pilgrimage and also the cult of the Eucharist was promoted in in-

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15 J. MANTUANI: Ostanek stare liturgije iz dobe škofa Hrena, 140.
16 Janez HÖFLER: Glasbena umetnost pozne renesanse in baroka na Slovenskem, 12. In Croatian lands, there were quite some instances of plainchant with texts in Croatian language, the most important example being the translation of the Rituale Romanum from 1640 by the Jesuit Bartol Kašić.
17 Among the others pre-Reformation songs that found way into the Protestant hymnals were most probably used by Catholics in this period.
18 In his writings Hren often mentions »cantus slavicus«. E. ŠKULJ: Škof Tomaž Hren in cerkvena glasba, 658.
19 Josip TURK: Hrenove pridige, Bogoslovni vestnik, 18 (1938) 1–2, 57, 63 and 65. Most frequently Hren mentioned the Marian pilgrimage shrine Nova Štifta near Gornji Grad.
22 The first songbook was printed only in 1729, when Ahacij Steržinar published his Catholish Kershanskiaga Vuka Peissme in Graz.
numerable ways, mostly through Corpus Christi processions. One of the most ancient processions in question was already organised, from the Middle Ages, by the Corpus Christi confraternity. It was an elaborate spectacle of sight and sound, featuring the physical representations of biblical scenes and musical performances. The Jesuit-organised Marian confraternities, known as »sodalities« (e.g. Sodalitas Beatissimae Virginis Mariae in Coelos Assumptae), also held processions as did the Capuchin-organised confraternity Redemptoris mundi. Unfortunately we can no longer reconstruct music that was part of all these gatherings.

In regard to contemporary polyphonic music a great emphasis was placed – besides the Mass – on the celebration of Vespers, which could be seen as intensification of the Marian cult. In favour of this speak a number of preserved manuscripts from Gornji Grad (see Table 1), containing numerous Marian antiphons and Magnificats.23 As is evident from the »Inventarium librorum musicalium ecclesiae cathedralis Labacensis«, compiled at the order of Hren himself, also in the Ljubljana Cathedral many compositions emphasising the liturgical genres of Mass and Magnificat were part of the repertoire.24 One of the aforementioned manuscripts from Gornji Grad deserves special attention due to its strongly Catholic content, namely, the choirbook shelfmarked MS 344 that contains litanies plus a few Marian antiphons.25 In 1616 it was presented to the bishop Hren by Karl Kuglmann, a son of the Graz court bass singer and music scribe Georg Kuglmann, who had written out the choirbook. This very well preserved manuscript is a collection of twenty-one litanies for two choirs (comprising four and six voices, respectively) followed by five seasonal Marian antiphons for five voices (see Table 2).26 Litany played a much-reduced role in Protestant culture. A vernacular version, the »German litany«, found a way into early Protestant hymnals and they were at times set polyphonically: Michael Praetorius, for example, wrote polyphonic litanies as did

23 Composers working in Central Europe left a considerable number of compositions devoted to the Virgin, for instance by Orlando di Lasso, whose production of Magnificat settings was unsurpassed. See for example David CROOK: Orlando di Lasso’s Imitation Magnificats for Counter-Reformation Munich, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994. Also composers in Graz began to embrace the Magnificat, the Marian antiphons, and other forms of Marian devotional polyphony. See Hellmut FEDERHOFER: Musikpflege und Musiker am Grazer Habsburgerhof der Erzherzöge Karl und Ferdinand von Innerösterreich (1564–1619), Mainz: B. Schott’s Söhne, 1967; and Gernot GRUBER: Magnificatkompositionen in Parodieteknik aus dem Umkreis der Hofkapellen der Herzöge Karl II. und Ferdinand von Innerösterreich, Kirchenmusikalischen Jahrbuch, 51 (1967), 33–60.


Heinrich Schütz. A considerably minor role for the litany in the Protestant churches was due to the issue of sanctoral invocation. As David Crook points out, although neither Luther nor Calvin completely renounced the veneration of Mary, the Reformers uniformly disdained calling upon her for assistance. Invocations such as the title »Queen of Heaven« were regarded as demeaning to the unique mediatorship of Christ. The Council of Trent (held between 1545 and 1563), on the other hand, »defended the invocation of the Virgin Mary as well as her ability to intercede for the faithful on earth, and in the confessional struggles of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the cult of Mary became a favourite subject of controversy.«

### Table 1: Music manuscripts stemming from Gornji Grad at the time of bishop Hren (today held by the National and University Library in Ljubljana)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shelfmark</th>
<th>Repertoire/Genres</th>
<th>Composers</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MS 232</td>
<td>Plainchant, a Magnificat, a motet and Masses</td>
<td>O. di Lasso, G. M. Asola, G. Croce</td>
<td>A Magnificat and a motet comprise only org. partitura, Masses are in a choirbook format</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS 284</td>
<td>Masses</td>
<td>J. de Cleve, A. Padovano</td>
<td>Tenor part-book only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS 339</td>
<td>Magnificats and Masses</td>
<td>M. Varotto, F. Rovigo, A. Padovano, B. Temnitz, T. Leonardus, J. Guyot, S. Gatto, O. di Lasso, L. Chamaterò, etc.</td>
<td>One of the so-called Hren choirbooks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS 340</td>
<td>Masses</td>
<td>A. Perini, O. di Lasso, C. Antegnati, B. Spontone, P. de Monte, A. Padovano, S. Gatto, J. de Cleve</td>
<td>One of the so-called Hren choirbooks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


28 David CROOK: *Orlando di Lasso’s Imitation Magnificats for Counter-Reformation Munich, 69.

29 Ibid.
Table 2: Contents of the »Litaniarum liber« (Ljubljana, National and University Library, Manuscript, Rare and Old Prints Collection, MS 344)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Folios</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>fols. 2r–18r</td>
<td>Litaniae Spiritus Sancti ex Sacra scriptura depromptae</td>
<td>Pietro Antonio Bianco</td>
<td>Other version in Graz, Universitätsbibliothek (A-Gu), Ms 97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>fols. 19r–34r</td>
<td>Litaniae Sacrae Dulcissimi nominis Ihesu ex variis locis Sacrae scripturae decreptae</td>
<td>Simone Gatto</td>
<td>Musically same as nos. 3, 5–12 and 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>fols. 35r–50r</td>
<td>Litaniae Sacrosanctae Eucharistiae, ex Sacra scriptura, Concilio Tridentino Sanctisque Patribus depromptae</td>
<td>Simone Gatto</td>
<td>Musically same as nos. 2, 5–12 and 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>fols. 51r–64v</td>
<td>Litaniae Sacrae de Sanguine domini nostri Ihesu Christi</td>
<td>Pietro Antonio Bianco</td>
<td>Other version in A-Gu, Ms 97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>fols. 65r–75r</td>
<td>Litaniae Sacrae Deiparae virginis Mariae ex Sacra scriptura depromptae</td>
<td>Simone Gatto</td>
<td>Musically same as nos. 2, 3, 6–12 and 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>fols. 76r–87r</td>
<td>Litaniae Beatae Virginis Mariae. Pro die Dominico</td>
<td>Simone Gatto</td>
<td>Musically same as nos. 2, 3, 5, 7–12 and 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>fols. 88r–91v</td>
<td>Litaniae Beatae virginis Mariae. Pro die Lunae</td>
<td>Simone Gatto</td>
<td>Musically same as nos. 2, 3, 5–6, 8–12 and 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>fols. 92r–95v</td>
<td>Litaniae Beatae Virginis Mariae. Pro die Martis</td>
<td>Simone Gatto</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>fols. 96r–99v</td>
<td>Litaniae Beatae virginis Mariae. Pro die Mercurii</td>
<td>Simone Gatto</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>Litaniae Beatae virginis Mariae. Pro die Iovis</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>fols. 104r–107v</td>
<td>Litaniae Beatae virginis Mariae. Pro die Veneris</td>
<td>Simone Gatto</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>fols. 108r–11v</td>
<td>Litaniae Beatae Virginis Mariae. Pro die Sabbathi</td>
<td>Simone Gatto</td>
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<tr>
<td>No.</td>
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<td>Title</td>
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<td>Remarks</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>fols. 112r– 122r</td>
<td>Litaniae de Sancto Michael Angel Archangelo</td>
<td>Pietro Antonio Bianco</td>
<td>Other version in A-Gu, Ms 97</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>fols. 123r– 135v</td>
<td>Litaniae Sacrae de Angelis</td>
<td>Pietro Antonio Bianco</td>
<td>Other version in A-Gu, Ms 97</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>fols. 136r– 148v</td>
<td>Litaniae Sacrae de Apostolis</td>
<td>Pietro Antonio Bianco</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>fols. 149r– 164v</td>
<td>Litaniae Sacrae de Martyribus</td>
<td>Pietro Antonio Bianco</td>
<td>Musically same as nos. 17 and 18; other version in A-Gu, Ms 97</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>fols. 165r– 180v</td>
<td>Litaniae Sacrae de Confessoreribus</td>
<td>Pietro Antonio Bianco</td>
<td>Musically same as nos. 16 and 18; other version in A-Gu, Ms 97</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>fols. 181r– 198v</td>
<td>Litaniae Sacrae de Virginibus</td>
<td>Pietro Antonio Bianco</td>
<td>Musically same as nos. 16 and 17; other version in A-Gu, Ms 97;</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>fols. 199r– 221r</td>
<td>Litaniae Sacrae de Omnibus Sanctis</td>
<td>Simone Gatto</td>
<td>Also in Thesaurus litaniarum (München, 1596); musically same as nos. 2, 3 and 5–12; other version in A-Gu, Ms 97</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>fols. 222r– 241v</td>
<td>Litaniae pro uno fidelis defuncto</td>
<td>Francesco Rovigo</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>fols. 242r– 272v</td>
<td>Litaniae Sacrae pro fidelibus defunctis</td>
<td>Francesco Rovigo</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>fols. 273v– 276r</td>
<td>Alma Redemptoris mater</td>
<td>Orfeo Vecchi</td>
<td>From Vecchi’s Psalmi integri (Milano, 1596)</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>fols. 276v– 278r</td>
<td>Ave Regina coelorum</td>
<td>Orfeo Vecchi</td>
<td>From Vecchi’s Psalmi integri</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>fols. 278v– 281r</td>
<td>Ave Regina coelorum</td>
<td>Pietro Antonio Bianco</td>
<td>Also in A-Gu, Ms 8 (wrongly attributed to Orfeo Vecchi)</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>fols. 281v– 284r</td>
<td>Regina caeli</td>
<td>Orfeo Vecchi</td>
<td>From Vecchi’s Psalmi integri</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>fol. 284v</td>
<td>Salve regina</td>
<td>Orfeo Vecchi</td>
<td>Incomplete; from Vecchi’s Psalmi integri</td>
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The litany was often performed in churches on Rogation days, on Saturday evenings, at public and confraternal devotions, during Sacramental devotions, during the course of private spiritual exercises, and in public processions. Sanctuary litany was even part of the rites of exorcism in the late sixteenth century and by the early seventeenth century it was prescribed at the opening of the exorcism rite in the new Rituale Romanum (1614) and other manuals on exorcism. Litanies were also often performed on occasions of external threats. The imperial wars against the Turks were especially invoked and some litanies contain additions calling on God to confound the Turks. Similar additions are present also in some of the litanies in MS 344.30 Monophonic performance of litanies was certainly the

30 E.g. »Ab imminentibus Turcarum hoereticorum et omnium inimicorum nostrum periculis«, »Ut Ecclesiam suam sanctam Deus regere, conservare et a Turcarum feritate defendere dignetur«. See E. ŠKULJ: Bogoslužna besedila v Hrenovih kornih knjigah, 524, 526, 529, 531.
most common in pilgrimages, although simple polyphonic litanies could also have been performed during the pilgrimage by more musically proficient amateurs. A schematic and rather rigid, formulaic approach that emphasises brevity and consistent alternation of titles and petitions of litanies from MS 344 suggest they could have been performed during the course of processions or pilgrimages. Given that the source for these litanies, the Ljubljana ‘Litaniarum liber’, is a folio-size choirbook, these litanies could also suggest performance by stationary ensembles, rather than a mobile choir. Also, the codex contains polyphonic antiphons gathered under the title *Sabbatho post vesperas* indicating the performance on Saturdays. The practice perfectly conforms to the decree issued in 1621 by which Hren ordered the singing of the litany on all Saturdays: »In civitatibus vel pagis diocesis et in ecclesia oberburgensis monasterii singulis diebus sabbatinis cantentur litaniae Beatissimae Virginis in cantu musico, vel in cantu chorali ubi non sunt cantores«.31 The litany was a popular vehicle for the expression of Catholic piety in other parts of Inner Austria as well and its assertion of sanctoral intercession helped to guarantee it a prominent place in the devotional culture of the whole Catholic Counter-Reformation.32

As we have seen, central to the confessional programme of the Catholic authorities were the Virgin Mary, the Saints and the Eucharist and to a lesser degree the primacy of the pope. It is primarily the textual emphasis of musical pieces in the age of Counter-Reformation that helped to shape a distinctly confessionalist Catholic identity: contemporary polyphonic compositions, above all Litanies and Marian antiphons, with the emphasis of the dogma of sanctoral intercession; the acclamations *Christus vincit* with the stating of the pope Clemens VIII’s religious integrity (»Summo pontifici Clementi octavo integritatem fidei«); and responsory *Sedilia k'misi* with accentuation of the transubstantiation (»Letu ie moie Tellu« [»Hoc est Corpus meum«]). As Alexander Fisher has well put it: »The Eucharist in particular, the centrepiece of the Mass, was perhaps the greatest flashpoint in the Catholic-Protestant divide: even as the Lutheran and Reformed faiths rejected outright the principle of the Mass as a sacrifice, the catholic church reaffirmed the centrality of the priestly sacrifice and the transubstantiation of bread and wine, an act which in popular consciousness was enriched by a traditional belief in the mystical, indeed magical, properties of the consecrated Host. In Protestant lands divine worship was no less important, but here the Eucharist culture was displaced by a focus on the sermon and on congregational participation in a vernacular liturgy.«33 Though

the vernacular songs heard in Corpus Christi processions are lost to us, they must have attracted the attention of the listeners and directly confronted them with the confessional challenge. With the campaign of reform and propaganda, promoted principally by the bishop Hren, the successful progress of Catholic reform in the Slovenian lands at the beginning of the seventeenth century stabilised the situation in many musical institutions and we can even observe a new vitality that was later in the century continued by the Jesuits.

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Nepobitno možemo promotrati »nereligijске« dimenzije glazbene kulture u razdoblju protureformacije s jedne strane, ali i uporabu glazbe kao odraza pobožnosti i propagande koja je podijelila katoličke i reformirane kulture s druge. Na temelju izravnih i neizravnih dokaza moguće je uspostaviti tri glavna tipa glazbenog repertoara u slovenskim zemljama ranog 17. stoljeća koji su u izravnoj vezi s protureformacijom: gregorijansko pjevanje, sa- kralne pjesme na narodnom jeziku i suvremenu polifonijsku glazbu. Polaganje težišta na tekstove sačuvanih glazbenih djela poglavito je pomoglo u oblikovanju posebnosti protureformacijskog religijskog identiteta: suvremene polifonijske skladbe, osobito litanij i Marijanskih antifonā s naglaskom na dogmi sanktoralne intercesije; aklamacija Christus vincit sa svjedočanstvom religijskog integriteta pape Klemeta VIII (»Summo pontifici Clementi octavo integritatem fidei»); te responzorij Sedilie k'misi s naglaskom na pretvorbi (transsubstan- cijaciji) - »Letu ie moie Tellu« (»Hoc est Corpus meum«). Iako pjesme na narodnom jeziku koje su se mogle čuti u Tijelovskim procesijama nisu sačuvane, one su vjerojatno bile karakterističan dio katoličke zvukovnosti, te su zasigurno morale privući pažnju slušatelja i izravno ih suočiti s vjerskim izazovima. S promicanjem reforme i propagande, koju je osobito promovirao biskup Hren, uspešno napredovanje katoličke reforme u slovenskim zemljama početakom 17. stoljeća stabiliziralo je situaciju u mnogim glazbenim institucijama tako da se čak može uočiti nova životnost koju su kasnije tijekom stoljeća nastavili isusovci.