

TRACES OF COUNTER-REFORMATION MUSIC IN THE SLOVENIAN LANDS

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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

Ključne riječi: protureformacija, gregorijansko pjevanje, pučke pjesme, polifonija, sanktoralna intercesija, papa, slovenske zemlje, biskup 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

¹ The principal studies are, for instance: Janez HÖFLER: *Glasbena umetnost pozne renesanse in baroka na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana: Partizanska knjiga, 1978; Edo ŠKULJ: *Cerkvena glasba v Hrenovem času, Cerkveni glasbenik*, 92 (1999) 7–9, 48–50; Edo ŠKULJ: *Škof Tomaž Hren in cerkvena glasba*, in: France M. Dolinar, Maximilian Liebmann, Helmut Rumpfer and Luigi Tavano (eds.): *Katholische Reform und Gegenreformation in Innerösterreich 1564–1628 / Katoliška prenova in protireformacija v notranjeavstrijskih deželah 1564–1628*, Klagenfurt: Hermagoras/Mohorjeva, Graz: Styria, 1994, 655–665; Metoda KOKOLE: *The Musical Repertoire Cultivated on the Territory of Modern Slovenia (1567–c. 1620) and Its Possible Connections with the Court Chapel in Munich*, in: Theodor Göllner and Bernhard Schmid (eds.): *Die Münchner Hofkapelle des 16. Jahrhunderts im europäischen Kontext. Bericht über das internationale Symposium der Musikhistorischen Kommission der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Verbindung mit der Gesellschaft für Bayerische Musikgeschichte, München, 2.–4. August 2004*, Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006, 171–190; Metoda KOKOLE: *From Graz to Today's Central Slovenia. The Influence of Italian Polychoral Music in the Period c. 1595 to c. 1620*, in: Aleksandra Patalas and Marina Toffetti (eds.): *La musica poliorale in Italia e nell'Europa centro-orientale fra Cinque e Seicento / Polychoral Music in Italy and in Central-Eastern Europe at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century*, Venice: Edizioni Fondazione Levi, 2012, 335–374. For the Reformation and Catholic musical culture before the Counter-Reformation, see Andrej RIJAVEC: *Glasbeno delo na Slovenskem v obdobju protestantizma*, Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1967; and the relevant chapters in Jurij SNOJ: *Zgodovina glasbe na Slovenskem I. Glasba na Slovenskem do konca 16. stoletja*, Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2012.

² For an overview on the general history of Slovenia in this period, see for example Igor GRDINA: *The Early Modern Period*, in: Oto Luthar (ed.): *The Land Between: A History of Slovenia*, 2nd ed., Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2013, 193–253.

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.⁴ 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 kerszhanske 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.«⁵ 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 Pleterje 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.⁶ 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*.⁷ 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.⁸ It is preserved rather badly and is also incomplete with many *lacunae*, which shows that this manuscript

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.

⁵ M. KOKOLE: *The Musical Repertoire Cultivated on the Territory of Modern Slovenia (1567–c. 1620)*, 172.

⁶ Cf. Jurij SNOJ: *Časovna os in prostorske mreže v zgodovini glasbe na Slovenskem*, in: Metoda Kokole and Maruša Zupančič (eds.): *Nacionalna glasbena zgodovina. Preobrazbe v drugi polovici 20. stoletja*, Ljubljana: SAZU, Založba ZRC, 2012, 209–217.

⁷ See J. SNOJ: *Zgodovina glasbe na Slovenskem I.*, 481–489. Trubar, however, held a negative attitude towards the Latin liturgical chant. *Ibid.*, 462.

⁸ Klemen GRABNAR: *So gornjegrajski rokopisni zvezki nastali na Kranjskem?*, *Muzikološki zbornik*, 53 (2017) 1, 60–64.

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).⁹

The most notable among the chants for our discussion are the acclamations *Christus vincit* (see Figure 1) and the responsory *Sedil ie k'misi 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.«¹⁰ 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.¹¹ Although Mantuani assumed these acclamations could be performed while Hren was solemnly installed as Bishop of Ljubljana,¹² 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 *Sedil ie k'misi 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 Iesus*) and one can notice some small differences between both melodies, necessitated by the differences in texts.¹³ 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

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.

¹⁰ »[U]vod in štiri aklamacije: prva je namenjena papežu Klemenu VIII., druga škofu Hrenu, tretja deželnemu knezu Ferdinandu, poznejšemu cesarju Ferdinandu II., a četrta krščanskemu ljudstvu.« Josip MANTUANI: *Ostanek stare liturgije iz dobe škofa Hrena*, *Cerkveni glasbenik*, 55 (1932), 100. Mantuani has also transcribed the acclamations (*Ibid.*, 99–100).

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 Iesus*. *Ibid.*, 136–141.

Duo peccatores post Kyrie eleison. Alta voce incipiunt

Et chorus idem respondet in eodem tono.

Cantores. *Christus vincit, Xps regnat, Xps imperat.*

Cantores. *Gloria nostra. Chorus. Xps vincit huc sit Chorus. Leti ducam*

Int. Su. *Cantores.* *Sumo Pontifici Clementi VIII. integritate fidei. Chorus. Dns conseruet.*

Chorus. *Episcopi rem bona. Deus conseruet. Cantor. Archiduce non terribili*

Chorus. *Deus conseruet istam sedem Cantores Deus conseruet populu xpianu.*

Cantores. *Felicitate felicitate felicitate. Cantores Tempora bona habeat*

Chorus. *tempora habeant. Chorus Simpliciter respondet A*

Chorus. *felicitate felicitate felicitate. Tempora bona habeat tempora*

Figure 1: Acclamations *Christus vincit* (excerpt) (Ljubljana, National and University Library, Manuscript, Rare and Old Prints Collection, MS 232, fol. 12v–13r)

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e dil ie k'misi Iesus s'froi mi tuanaistimi
 Jogri i = nu k'nim pravi: Suelikimi Shely
 Sim ielt sashelil letu ve likunozhnu Jagnie iesti
 s'uami, preiden bom martro terpil: S nu
 usame ta kruh, ie sa hualil, reslo mil,
 inu ga nym podal. Re kozh: Le = tu
 ie - - - moie Tellui. Versus
 Krail Alsuerus ie na redil gostouaine ue

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.¹⁴ Since in the relevant manuscript there are some chants (antiphons etc.) with the designation »in p[ro]cessionibus 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.¹⁵ 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'misi*. The fact that Hren knew this practice of singing supports this surmise.¹⁶

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.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ Hren even planned to publish a songbook (in collaboration with the Jesuit Janez Čandek)²⁰ that would contain Catholic songs in vernacular intended mostly for the singing of the laity, but unfortunately it was never published.²¹ 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.²² This period saw the intense promotion of Marian pilgrimage and also the cult of the Eucharist was promoted in in-

¹⁴ Slavko KRAJNC: Hrenov odnos do bogoslužja, in: Edo Škulj (ed.): *Hrenov simpozij v Rimu* (Simpoziji v Rimu 15), Celje: Mohorjeva družba, 1998, 293.

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.

²⁰ Jesuits settled in Ljubljana in 1597 (I. GRDINA: *The Early Modern Period*, 213).

²¹ Janez HÖFLER: Nekaj novega o pesmarici Tomaža Hrena, *Jezič in slovstvo*, 22 (1977) 4, 97–104; E. ŠKULJ: Škof Tomaž Hren in cerkvena glasba, 659–661.

²² The first songbook was printed only in 1729, when Ahacij Steržinar published his *Catholish Kershanskiga 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 GRÜBER: *Magnificatkompositionen in Parodietechnik aus dem Umkreis der Hofkapellen der Herzöge Karl II. und Ferdinand von Innerösterreich*, *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 51 (1967), 33–60.

²⁴ Janez HÖFLER: *Glasbena umetnost pozne renesanse in baroka na Slovenskem*, 36–41 and 134–157.

²⁵ For more on MS 344, see Klemen GRABNAR: The 'Litaniarum liber' (SI-Lnr, Ms 344): Transmission of Musical Litanies from Graz to the Duchy of Carniola, in: Jolanta Guzy-Pasiak and Aneta Markuszevska (eds.): *Music Migration in the Early Modern Age. Centres and Peripheries – People, Works, Styles, Paths of Dissemination and Influence*, Warsaw: Liber Pro Arte, 2016, 183–197.

²⁶ The texts of these litanies are published in Edo ŠKULJ: *Bogoslužna besedila v Hrenovih kornih knjigah*, in: Metod Benedik (ed.): *Arhivska zapuščina škofa Tomaža Hrena [...]*, (Acta ecclesiastica Sloveniae 19), Ljubljana: Inštitut za zgodovino Cerkve pri Teološki fakulteti, 1997, 496–536.

Heinrich Schütz.²⁷ 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.²⁸ 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.«²⁹

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

Shelfmark	Repertoire/Genres	Composers	Remarks
MS 207	Marian antiphons and a few other motets	B. Amon, A. Padovano, G. Belli, P. A. Bianco, J. de Brouck, G. Cavaccio, C. Clavius, B. Temnitz, B. Donati, A. Gabrieli, J. Handl-Gallus, G. G. Gastoldi, S. Gatto, R. Giovannelli, O. di Lasso, R. di Lasso, C. Luython, T. Massaino, C. Merulo, P. de Monte, G. B. Morsolino, A. Pacelli, G. P. da Palestrina, C. Porta, J. Regnart, B. Spontone, J. Vaet, O. Vecchi, J. de Wert, etc.	Altus part-book only
MS 232	Plainchant, a Magnificat, a motet and Masses	O. di Lasso, G. M. Asola, G. Croce	A Magnificat and a motet comprise only org. <i>partitura</i> , Masses are in a choirbook format
MS 284	Masses	J. de Cleve, A. Padovano	Tenor part-book only
MS 285	Motets and Masses	J. Handl-Gallus, O. di Lasso, C. Hollander, J. de Kerle, J. Lockenburg, P. de Monte in J. Regnart	Tenor part-book only
MS 339	Magnificats and Masses	M. Varotto, F. Rovigo, A. Padovano, B. Temnitz, T. Leonardus, J. Guyot, S. Gatto, O. di Lasso, I. Chamaterò, etc.	One of the so-called Hren choirbooks
MS 340	Masses	A. Perini, O. di Lasso, C. Antegnati, B. Spontone, P. de Monte, A. Padovano, S. Gatto, J. de Cleve	One of the so-called Hren choirbooks

²⁷ See Michael Praetorius: *Kleine und Grosse Litaneey, Zusambt dem Erhalt uns Herr bey deinem Wort: Zu diesen letzten betrübten und sehr gefehrlichen Zeiten in der Christlichen Kirchen zum offtern zugebrauchen: In zween Choren, Mit V. VII. und VIII. Stimmen gesezset*, Wolfenbüttel, 1613; Heinrich SCHÜTZ: *Zwölff Geistliche Gesänge, Mit vier Stimmen Für kleine Cantoreyen zum Chor Benebenst dem Basso Continuo nach beliebung zu gebrauchen [...] Opus decimum tertium*, Dresden: Wolfgang Seyffert, 1657.

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

²⁹ *Ibid.*

Shelfmark	Repertoire/Genres	Composers	Remarks
MS 341	Magnificats and Masses	O. di Lasso, I. Baccusi, O. Colombani, P. A. Bianco, S. Gatto, F. Stivori, B. Spontone, A. du Gaucquier, J. Handl-Gallus, C. Antegnati, P. Isnardi, A. Gabrieli, F. Rovigo, C. Porta, C. Merulo, I. de Vento, L. de Sayve, etc.	One of the so-called Hren choirbooks
MS 342	Masses	J. Regnart, S. Gatto	One of the so-called Hren choirbooks
MS 343	Psalms, Magnificats, hymns and Masses	G. Belli, B. Spontone, A. Feliciani, C. Cortellini, G. Gabrieli, C. Merulo, F. Stivori, O. di Lasso, L. de Sayve, A. Pacelli, L. Marenzio, M. Praetorius, S. Molinaro, T. Massaino, P. Lappi, etc.	One of the so-called Hren choirbooks
MS 344	Litanies and Marian anthipons	P. A. Bianco, S. Gatto, F. Rovigo, Orfeo Vecchi	One of the so-called Hren choirbooks

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

No.	Folios	Title	Composer	Remarks
1	fols. 2r–18r	Litaniae Spiritus Sancti ex Sacra scriptura depromptae	Pietro Antonio Bianco	Other version in Graz, Universitätsbibliothek (A-Gu), Ms 97
2	fols. 19r–34r	Litaniae Sacrae Dulcissimi nominis Ihesu ex variis locis Sacrae scripturae decerptae	Simone Gatto	Musically same as nos. 3, 5–12 and 19
3	fols. 35r–50r	Litaniae Sacrosanctae Eucharistiae, ex Sacra scriptura, Concilio Tridentino Sanctisque Patribus depromptae	Simone Gatto	Musically same as nos. 2, 5–12 and 19
4	fols. 51r–64v	Litaniae Sacrae de Sanguine domini nostri Ihesu Christi	Pietro Antonio Bianco	Other version in A-Gu, Ms 97
5	fols. 65r–75r	Litaniae Sacrae Deiparae virginis Mariae ex Sacra scriptura depromptae	Simone Gatto	Musically same as nos. 2, 3, 6–12 and 19
6	fols. 76r–87r	Litaniae Beatae Virginis Mariae. Pro die Dominico	Simone Gatto	Musically same as nos. 2, 3, 5, 7–12 and 19
7	fols. 88r–91v	Litaniae Beatae virginis Mariae. Pro die Lunae	Simone Gatto	Musically same as nos. 2, 3, 5–6, 8–12 and 19
8	fols. 92r–95v	Litaniae Beatae Virginis Mariae. Pro die Martis	Simone Gatto	Musically same as nos. 2, 3, 5–7, 9–12 and 19
9	fols. 96r–99v	Litaniae Beatae virginis Mariae. Pro die Mercurii	Simone Gatto	Musically same as nos. 2, 3, 5–8, 10–12 and 19
10	fols. 100r–103v	Litaniae Beatae virginis Mariae. Pro die Iovis	Simone Gatto	Musically same as nos. 2, 3, 5–9, 11–12 and 19
11	fols. 104r–107v	Litaniae Beatae virginis Mariae. Pro die Veneris	Simone Gatto	Musically same as nos. 2, 3, 5–10, 12 and 19
12	fols. 108r–11v	Litaniae Beatae virginis Mariae. Pro die Sabbathi	Simone Gatto	Musically same as nos. 2, 3, 5–11 and 19

No.	Folios	Title	Composer	Remarks
13	fols. 112r–122r	Litaniae de Sancto Michaeli Archangelo	Pietro Antonio Bianco	Other version in A-Gu, Ms 97
14	fols. 123r–135v	Litaniae Sacrae de Angelis	Pietro Antonio Bianco	Other version in A-Gu, Ms 97
15	fols. 136r–148v	Litaniae Sacrae de Apostolis	Pietro Antonio Bianco	Other version in A-Gu, Ms 97
16	fols. 149r–164v	Litaniae Sacrae de Martyribus	Pietro Antonio Bianco	Musically same as nos. 17 and 18; other version in A-Gu, Ms 97
17	fols. 165r–180v	Litaniae Sacrae de Confessoribus	Pietro Antonio Bianco	Musically same as nos. 16 and 18; other version in A-Gu, Ms 97
18	fols. 181r–198v	Litaniae Sacrae de Virginibus	Pietro Antonio Bianco	Musically same as nos. 16 and 17; other version in A-Gu, Ms 97;
19	fols. 199r–221r	Litaniae Sacrae de Omnibus Sanctis	Simone Gatto	Also in <i>Thesaurus litaniarum</i> (München, 1596); musically same as nos. 2, 3 and 5–12; other version in A-Gu, Ms 97
20	fols. 222r–241v	Litaniae pro uno fidei defuncto	Francesco Rovigo	Musically same as no. 21
21	fols. 242r–272v	Litaniae Sacrae pro fidelibus defunctis	Francesco Rovigo	Musically same as no. 20
22	fols. 273v–276r	Alma Redemptoris mater	Orfeo Vecchi	From Vecchi's <i>Psalmi integri</i> (Milano, 1596)
23	fols. 276v–278r	Ave Regina coelorum	Orfeo Vecchi	From Vecchi's <i>Psalmi integri</i>
24	fols. 278v–281r	Ave Regina coelorum	Pietro Antonio Bianco	Also in A-Gu, Ms 8 (wrongly attributed to Orfeo Vecchi)
25	fols. 281v–284r	Regina caeli	Orfeo Vecchi	From Vecchi's <i>Psalmi integri</i>
26	fol. 284v	Salve regina	Orfeo Vecchi	Incomplete; from Vecchi's <i>Psalmi integri</i>

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. Sanctoral 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 choir-book, 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 vespervas* 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 hora vespertina cantentur litaniae Beatissimae Virginis in cantu musico, vel in cantu choralis 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 *Sedil ie 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

³¹ Edo ŠKULJ: Dodatek: Škof Hren in cerkvena glasba, in: Edo ŠKULJ: *Hrenove korne knjige*, Ljubljana: Družina, 2001, 152.

³² Alexander J. FISHER: *Thesaurus litaniarum: The Symbolism and Practice of Musical Litanies in Counter-Reformation Germany*, *Early Music History*, 34 (2015), 58.

³³ Alexander J. FISHER: *Music, Piety, and Propaganda. The Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria* (The New Cultural History of Music), New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014, 30.

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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Sažetak

TRAGOVI PROTUREFORMACIJSKE GLAZBE U SLOVENSKIM ZEMLJAMA

Nepobitno možemo promatrati »nereligijske« 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, sakralne 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 litanija i Marijanskih antifona s naglaskom na dogmi sanktoralne intercesije; aklamacija *Christus vincit* sa svjedočanstvom religijskog integriteta pape Klemeta VIII (»Summo pontifici Clementi octavo integritatem fidei«); te rezponzorij *Sedil ie k' misi* s naglaskom na pretvorbi (transsubstancijaciji) - »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, uspješno napredovanje katoličke reforme u slovenskim zemljama početkom 17. stoljeća stabiliziralo je situaciju u mnogim glazbenim institucijama tako da se čak može uočiti nova životnost koju su kasnije tijekom stoljeća nastavili isusovci.