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INSTRUMENTAL ENSEMBLE MUSIC AS PART OF THE ROYAL INTRADAS IN EARLY-MODERN BRESLAU

IZVLEČEK: Instrumentalni repertoar, ki so ga med kraljevimi vstopi izvajali ansambli, imenovani *Stadtpfeiffer*, je redko ohranjen v glasbenih virih. Številni tovrstni politični dogodki so v večji meri dokumentirani v kronističnih poročilih, ki prinašajo veliko podatkov o glasbenih nastopih in omogočajo rekonstrukcijo glasbe, ki se je ob teh priložnostih izvajala.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: kraljevi vstopi, Wrocław/Breslau, instrumentalna glasba, *Stadtpfeiffer*, *intrade*

ABSTRACT: The instrumental repertory performed by *Stadtpfeiffer* ensembles during the royal entries is rare in the preserved music sources. Many of these political events are however documented in the chroniclers' accounts, which provide an amount of information about music performances and make possible to reconstruct music played in these occasions.

KEYWORDS: royal entries, Wrocław/Breslau, instrumental music, *Stadtpfeiffer*, *intradas*

The image of musical culture that emerges from direct (music) sources is different from that found in chroniclers' accounts, considered by most musicologists as indirect or auxiliary material. This divergence is particularly prominent where the amount of repertoire preserved in the form of notated music is out of proportion with its actual historical importance, or where contemporary accounts of music performances depict them as much more modest than the pieces we know from direct sources. In European musical culture of the modern era, these disproportions are particularly striking in the case of occasional music, which — because of its vital links to oral transmission and to improvisation practice — frequently falls outside musicologists' field of interest, whereas by historians of culture it is often considered as an unrewarding research subject. Some scholars, however, have proved capable of efficiently combining repertoire studies with a heuristic perspective¹ and rooting their source criticism in historical-cultural contexts.²

Such a dual methodological perspective is particularly useful in the study of occasional music repertoires, which, for the reasons listed above, were relatively rarely mentioned in handwritten and printed sources.³ Interest in this noteworthy area of European musical tradition inspires us to study the phenomena of musical practice *sub specie ludi* in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.⁴ The *agonal* quality of music concerns not only broadly conceived popular culture, typically associated with dancing and feasting,⁵ but also other forms of social activity that may be defined as a type of cultural game,⁶ such as the extraordinary musical performances that accompanied major political events held in cities. Information about such performances can be gleaned from both direct and indirect sources. Festivities held for the Bohemian kings' intradas, formal visits to Breslau for the performance of liege homage, were particularly rich. These events have already been researched by political and art historians.⁷ They ought to be studied by musicologists as well, since chroniclers' accounts of these ceremonies provide a fair amount of information about musical performances.

These sources do not quote titles of works or names of composers. Our point of departure is, therefore, not any particular piece of music⁸ but the chronicles themselves, in some cases — detailed enough to make hypotheses about the repertoire

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1 See, for instance, Kokole, "Echoes of Giovanni Gabrieli's Style".

2 See, for example, Puliti, *Lilia convallium*.

3 See Posch, *Musicalische Ehrenfreudt*.

4 Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, 196–198.

5 Posch, *Musicalische Tafelfreudt*, xxvi.

6 Burckhardt, *Civilization of the Renaissance*, 77 and 278.

7 Fink, *Geschichte der landesherrlichen Besuche*; Śliwowska, *Uroczyste wjazdy monarsze do Wrocławia*; Mlada, *Holdovací cesty českých panovníků do Vratislavi*.

8 Cf. Pietschmann, "Motet by Constanzo Festa".

performed on this occasion. A similar approach has been adopted in studies of parallel phenomena known from source descriptions elsewhere. The Medici's Florentine *entrate* have been presented as a kind of rite of passage aiming to demonstrate the court's political power, but also to manifest the burghers' republican ambitions. Musical performances, serving as a symbolic discourse of cultural narrative, dominated in the urban soundscape, carrying a message that was clearly understood by the elites.⁹ Rulers' triumphal entries or intradas, especially in Rome, frequently drew on ancient traditions. The ceremonies had both a public and a sacred character. They featured allegorical emblems and matching music, which also accompanied processions and church services, enhancing the sense of participation in the community.¹⁰ Music performances took place during the successive stages of the royal ceremony: the ruler's entry into the city, the *tableaux vivants* that were staged on the way (which were particularly elaborate during formal intradas in the Netherlands),¹¹ the religious service in the city's main church and the final feast. The municipal wind ensemble of *Stadtptfeiffer* was customarily present at all these functions. Their music affirmed the structure of authority and was a manifestation of the social order established by the rulers.¹²

Royal intradas thus evidently fulfilled a propagandist purpose, and their artistic elements served the rhetorical function of *persuasio*.¹³ The music performed in such contexts likewise played a pragmatic role. Notably, however, most chroniclers do not devote much attention to its descriptions, focusing instead on the visual aspect of the events. The natural dominance of the sense of sight seems to have determined the manner in which such events were reported, which marginalized the auditory experience.¹⁴ Static phenomena, such as the triumphal arch, were presented, first and foremost, in the spatial dimension which they defined, while in the case of mobile elements (the procession passing through the gate) their visual aspects were predominantly recounted, and the music performed on these occasions was only occasionally mentioned. What survived for later generations was primarily information about performances of vocal music, whose texts, typically drawing on the event's iconography and emblems, were included either in contemporary accounts or in poetic paraphrases.¹⁵ Conversely, instrumental music, whose links to unequivocally definable content were harder to grasp through the medium of language, was often described in ways that make objective study rather difficult.

9 Fenlon, "Theories of Decorum".

10 Lamothe, "Tale of Two *entrate*".

11 Wind, "Musical Participation".

12 Polk, "Trombone, the Slide Trumpet and the Ensemble Tradition", 390.

13 Chrościcki, *Sztuka i polityka*, 13–17.

14 Weißmann, *Kunst, Klang, Musik*, 174–187.

15 Fenlon, "Theories of Decorum", 143.

Despite these methodological problems, the surviving reports on royal intradas to modern-age Breslau do make it possible to reconstruct the music that accompanied them. The Bohemian kings usually visited the city on the river Oder in order to receive homage as liege lords. As for the city's inhabitants, such events confirmed the estates' privileges and manifested their trust in the monarch's supreme authority.¹⁶ Each intrada took place in a different political situation. On the one hand, the Habsburg court affirmed its centralizing efforts. On the other, the estates were progressively gaining autonomy in Silesia, and the political independence of Breslau itself was on the increase.¹⁷ The clash of these two tendencies found its social manifestation in the *agon* demonstrated by the visiting king and by the representatives of the city and the neighbouring duchies, who came to greet him. Notwithstanding some differences, royal intradas followed a conventionalised ceremonial, with an established sequence of events that may be interpreted as successive acts of a specific kind of *theatrum vitae*.¹⁸ These similarities manifested themselves especially clearly under Habsburg rule before the outbreak of the 'Thirty Years' War. The temporal scope of the present study has accordingly been defined as the years 1526–1617.¹⁹

Naturally, Bohemian kings also ceremonially visited the city in earlier years as well, ever since various Silesian duchies had become, one by one, fiefdoms of the king ruling from Prague. The festivities were usually held in Breslau, which in this way assumed the role of the region's informal political capital. Already under the Luxembourgian and Jagiellonian kings, the formal intrada ceremonial was conventionalized, comprising a succession of repeatable stages.²⁰ First, the monarch was greeted outside the urban walls and received symbolic keys to the city. Then, with his royal retinue, he entered Breslau and followed a route specially decorated for this occasion until he reached the boundary between the municipal and ecclesiastical jurisdictions. The king was greeted at the Dominsel Bridge by representatives of the clergy. After paying homage to the relics of the Holy Cross, the procession, with the monarch proceeding under a canopy, reached the cathedral, where a service with a special blessing was celebrated. Later the participants turned back and headed for the king's residence — the royal castle or specially equipped patrician houses in the city's central square. A solemn feast was held. In the following days, the act of homage itself was performed successively by different social groups — the royal provincial governor, the dukes, the clergy, representatives of the Silesian estates and burghers.

16 Matwijowski, *Uroczystości, obchody i widowiska*, 21–33.

17 Śliwowska, *Uroczyste wjazdy monarsze do Wrocławia*, 51–58.

18 Weißmann, *Kunst, Klang, Musik*, 222–232.

19 Some years later, in 1620, a similar intrada took place. For a description, see Jež, "Muzyczne konteksty wizyty Fryderyka V Wittelsbacha".

20 Fink, *Geschichte der landesherrlichen Besuche*, 5–53.

The ceremonies ended with tournaments and parties.²¹ All of them followed an established order reflecting the social structure. Many of the events were accompanied by gun salvos, the sound of church bells and various musical performances, which are very extensively described by chroniclers reporting on the intradas of monarchs belonging to the Habsburg dynasty.

For instance, during the intrada of Ferdinand I (on 1–20 May 1527) the *Stadt-pfeiffer* performed music at the Ohlauer Gate.²² The king's passage through the city was accompanied by wind and timpani music played from the towers of St Elisabeth's and St Mary Magdalene's churches as well as the city hall.²³ During the service at the cathedral, singers from the royal ensemble sang what is described as "beautiful music", without further details,²⁴ as well as a solemn Te Deum with organ accompaniment, most likely performed *alternatim*, as numerous comparable records inform us.²⁵

We have more details concerning the musical contribution to an intrada to Breslau by Maximilian II (6–27 December 1563). This ceremony began when the monarch was greeted outside the city walls by four Silesian dukes as well as the city's delegates. The former were invited by the king to lead his retinue during the entry, while the representatives of the city's authorities reluctantly had to take their position behind the royal council's trumpeters.²⁶ The city authorities, however, hoped to gain the ruler's favour regarding religious issues. They therefore erected near the Schweidnitzer Gate a triumphal arch in the king's honour, modelled on ancient Roman architecture, complete with inscriptions and emblems.²⁷ Maximilian's intrada into the city was accompanied by music from the *Stadt-pfeiffer*, who performed from a gallery above the gateway.²⁸ A second structure of this type, erected in the north-eastern corner of the central square, was topped with a double-headed eagle which greeted the monarch by bowing its head and moving its wings.²⁹ This greeting was once again accompanied by music from the *Stadt-pfeiffer*, placed on the gate's gallery. They were obliged to perform every time the king, or other important figures, passed through the gate.³⁰ It can be gleaned from the narrative sources that the ensemble consisted of six musicians, who played cornetts, pommers and

21 Mlada, *Holdovací cesty českých panovníků do Vratislavi*, 25–68, 235–239.

22 Śliwowska, *Uroczyste wjazdy monarsze do Wrocławia*, 67.

23 Fink, *Geschichte der landesherrlichen Besuche*, 57.

24 Śliwowska, *Uroczyste wjazdy monarsze do Wrocławia*, 67.

25 Mlada, *Holdovací cesty českých panovníků do Vratislavi*, 74.

26 Śliwowska, *Uroczyste wjazdy monarsze do Wrocławia*, 76.

27 Matwijowski, *Uroczystości, obchody i widowiska*, 28.

28 Fink, *Geschichte der landesherrlichen Besuche*, 63.

29 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 4:29–30.

30 Śliwowska, *Uroczyste wjazdy monarsze do Wrocławia*, 80–84.

trombones.³¹ When Maximilian reached the Dominsel Bridge, he was greeted with a Latin oration.³² The procession then went on, accompanied by the singing of the responsory *Elegit eum Dominus* with an appropriate verse and (unlisted) “hymni, vel alia cantica”.³³ The instruction in question also specified what repertoire should be sung in the cathedral, which had been adorned for the occasion with colourful tapestries and fragrant herbs. The service culminated in a performance of the *Te Deum*, described as *figuralis*, which was possibly accompanied by the *Trompetenmusik* mentioned in historical records.³⁴ Finally, the *Stadtptfeiffer* accompanied the monarch’s retinue back to his residence and played during the feast that was held there.

A similar account has been preserved for the intrada to Breslau of Rudolf II, which took place between 24 May and 20 June 1577. Rudolf entered the city through the St Nicolaus Gate, where instrumentalists are reported to have greeted him with music.³⁵ The musicians stood once again on a gallery upon a triumphal arch erected in the same place as before. The arch’s rich iconography had been designed by Nicolaus Steinberg, rector of the St Elisabeth-Gymnasium.³⁶ The chroniclers give us details of what that gate looked like and inform us that its spacious gallery held “die Stadtptfeifer mit ihrer lieblichen und künstlichen Musika”.³⁷ This is confirmed by Johann Thwenger’s woodcut of the arch, which shows six musicians playing cornetts, pommers and trombones.³⁸ As before, these were expected to perform whenever the retinues of the visiting dukes and magnates, and of the emperor in particular, passed through the gate. The king’s passage was accompanied by actions of the mobile royal eagle as well as the likeness of an angel “descending” inside the arched gateway and placing triumphal laurels on the monarch’s head.³⁹ Likewise movable were some figures of giants, which rhythmically moved their heads, eyes and whole bodies, bowing to the ruler as he passed by. Such theatrical *meraviglie* must doubtless have been to the king’s liking.⁴⁰ As the procession moved through the city, music was played from church towers, and (otherwise unspecified) liturgical works were performed in

31 Mlada, *Holdovací cesty českých panovníků do Vratislavi*, 91.

32 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 4:31.

33 Ordo recipiendi personaliter regem. Cf. Mlada, *Holdovací cesty českých panovníků do Vratislavi*, 162–163.

34 Fink, *Geschichte der landesherrlichen Besuche*, 66.

35 Mlada, *Holdovací cesty českých panovníků do Vratislavi*, 108–111.

36 Steinberg, *Porta Augusta in honorem ingressus Caesarei*.

37 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 4:87.

38 Johann Thwenger, *Effigies Portae Augustae Rudolpho II Rom. Imp. Caes. Aug. Hungariae et Bohemiae* [...], 1577, graphics, Biblioteka Naukowa PAU w Krakowie, 35243/1, <http://pauart.pl/app/artwork?id=582dfff0ocf2844219bff0dc>.

39 Mlada, *Holdovací cesty českých panovníků do Vratislavi*, 106.

40 Śliwowska, *Uroczyste wejścia monarchów do Wrocławia*, 94–103.

the churches themselves. Of the 9356 silver marks spent on the setting of this royal intrada by the city council, the musicians and their instruments cost 133 marks, while the *kaiserliche Trompeter*, another ensemble playing during those festivities, received extra fees totalling 15 marks.⁴¹

Even more information can be gleaned from accounts of the reception of homage in Breslau (18 September until 17 October 1611) by Matthias II, whose intrada rekindled the city's Protestant inhabitants' hopes for a normalization of the would-be emperor's religious policies. Georg Reutter reports in detail on the size of the retinues of the arriving Silesian dukes and different civic delegations. He cites not only the numbers of horsemen, but also those of the musicians,⁴² which varied from one to ten *Trommeter* or *Pfeiffer* per retinue, plus at least one *Kesselpaucker*. With their music they supported and announced the march of the entourage. In total, there were 3582 horsemen and over 160 musicians in the over twenty groups that arrived to pay homage. These musicians performed (on, among other instruments, trumpets and shawms) a repertoire that must have been as varied as the meticulously described colourful clothes of the musicians, the origins of which lay not only in Silesian duchies but also in many other European countries.⁴³ As this "river" of music approached Breslau, the retinues were greeted by *Trommeter* in the city's liveries playing from the St Nicolaus Gate. While proceeding further towards the central square, the guests heard pieces for voices and instruments performed from the church tower galleries of St Elisabeth's (into which a positive organ was also heaved up) and St Mary Magdalene's. This music was presented by the combined forces of choir members from several of the city's churches, whose voices were reinforced by instrumentalists.⁴⁴ The culminating point of these processions was a triumphal arch erected in the north-eastern corner of the central square, described in detail by the chroniclers.⁴⁵ They describe musicians with cornetts, pommers, trombones of various ranges and other instruments, who performed, during the passage of the royal retinue, an

41 Fink, *Geschichte der landesherrlichen Besuche*, 81.

42 Reutter, *Klare und eigentliche Beschreibung*, c. A3r–C1v.

43 Ibid., c. B1r: "1 Kozackischer Reuter, das Ross mit Leoparden bedeckt, der Man mit einer Tigerthier haut, 3 Kosacken, a Ein Tartarisch Ross, 1 Tartarischer Kesselpaucker, 1 Heyduckischer Schalmeyer, 7 Turckische Handross, dass eine mit einer Türckischen von Indianischen Federndecke, auff Turckisch schon geschmückt, 3 Türckische Reutter mit Türckischen Binden [...] 1 Kesselpaucker, 5 Trommeter, 1 Compagnia Deutsche Reutterey, 1 Trometer, 1 Obrister, 1000 Wahlonen mit roter Liberey, Summa Ross 285".

44 Ibid., c. C4r–v: "Als bald Ihr[e] Ma[jestät] ihren Weg in die Stadt genommen, und in das S. Niklas Thor angelanget, hat man auff dem Krantz der Thurmes zu S. Elisabeth ein Posittiff zu schlagen angehoben mit allerley Instrumenten, unnd von der Cant: in beyden Pfarrkirchen, auch S. Bernhard. und S. Barb. Choralisten, neben andern darzu bestellten Musicanten, darzu geholffen unnd gesungen worden".

45 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:95–105.

(unspecified) ten-part composition.⁴⁶ At least eight musicians playing the instruments listed above are depicted on a copper plate by Georg Hayer, which also confirms the use of moving figures already known from earlier similar structures.⁴⁷ Since the royal retinue had reached the Dominsel Bridge, a procession began, accompanied by the singing of students from the city's schools and choristers. After reaching the cathedral, a *figuralis* performance of the *Te Deum* was performed with the organ. The *Kesseldrummel* and *Trommeten* also sounded.⁴⁸ The royal retinue now turned back towards the central square, accompanied by the above-mentioned ensembles playing from the city's towers and the triumphal arch. The Breslau *Stadt-pfeiffer* were also present during the evening feast at the king's residence, where it was "trefflich musiciret und zu Tische geblasen".⁴⁹ On the following day, the *Stadt-pfeiffer* played from the morning onwards at the triumphal arch⁵⁰ as the king and his retinue went to the Dominican church to hear the Mass, performed again with voices and instruments,⁵¹ afterwards returning to the castle to receive homage from the clergy, the dukes and the estates. Following this ceremony, the king went to a dinner that opened with an intrada (in this case, identifying the musical genre)⁵² performed by ten instrumentalists divided into two symmetrical groups.⁵³ When the guests sat down to eat, musicians entertained them from the adjacent antechamber. These performances involved, *inter alia*, a positive organ.⁵⁴ The royal banquet ended with a ball.

46 Reutter, *Klare und eigentliche Beschreibung*, c. C4v: "Die Stadt Musici wolbestelt, haben mit allerley Pfeiffwerck, Quart und ander Posaunen, grossen Pombharren unnd Zincken, 10. Vocum schöne componirte stück trefflich wol musiciret, und der Kön: Mayt: als sie durch die *Portam* kommen, sich nachgewand, derogleichen dann auch beschehen, als Jhr May: wider zu rück erschienen".

47 Georg Hayer, *Effigies Arcus Triumphalis Matthiae II. Hungariae et Bohemiae Regi* (Breslau: Georg Hayer, 1613), London, British Museum, 1850,0612.140, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1850-0612-140.

48 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:104.

49 Reutter, *Klare und eigentliche Beschreibung*, c. D3r.

50 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:105.

51 Reutter, *Klare und eigentliche Beschreibung*, c. E4r: "Als die 4. Fürstlichen Personen für die Kirch Adalberti kommen, seind dieselben von ihren Rossen abgestiegen, und in die Kirch für Ihr Kön: Mayt: hinter den andern Herrn Räten und Officiere hergangen, und darin biß nach verbrachter Meß verblieben, wie dan nicht geprediget, sondern nur eine Messe gehalten, und trefflichen darbey Vocal: & Instrumental: musiciret worden".

52 Faber, "Chronicon Wratislaviense", fols. 366v–367r.

53 Reutter, *Klare und eigentliche Beschreibung*, c. Fiv: "Darauff ohn gefehr in einer halben stunde (in welcher wehrenden zeit, die wolbestelte *Musica*, von dem RathThurm lieblich zu Tische *musiciret*) haben darauff zur Königlichen Taffel die Trommeter, derer 10. gewesen, je 5. und 5. gegen einander abgefaßt, geblasen, und der Heerpäucker die Kesseldrummel frewdig darzu geschlagen".

54 Ibid., c. F2r: "In der AnteCamera ist eine treffliche, köstliche, liebliche, königliche *Musica*, mit einem *Regal* (an die Thür an, darmit der Thon unnd Schall in die Königliche Taffelstuben fiele, gefaßt) wol verordnet und bestellet gewesen".

The *Stadtpeiffer* also played at a tournament held several days later, at the end of the day on which the king confirmed the estates' privileges, and at the final farewell feast organized on the eve of the king's departure from the city.⁵⁵

Ferdinand II's intrada to Breslau (on 21–26 September 1617) was the Bohemian king's last sojourn in that city before the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. Although it was probably similar to the previous ones, descriptions of this event are much more laconic, most likely on account of the unfavourable political climate that foreshadowed the imminent conflict.⁵⁶ The intrada, which took just a few days, followed the same traditional stages: greeting the monarch outside the city walls, the royal entry (this time, through the Ohlauer Gate), the passage through the triumphal arch (placed on the northern side of the central square), a service at the cathedral, a feast at the monarch's residence and the reception of homage. Accounts describing this visit are modest, to say the least, and contain no information at all about the musical setting. One might well receive the impression that the city remained almost silent on this occasion since the king was not really welcome there. A sizable triumphal arch was naturally erected, but neither its description⁵⁷ nor its pictorial representation⁵⁸ reveals the presence of any musicians, which, I believe, is a significant detail in this historical context. Naturally, it does not follow that musicians were absent altogether. The city's *Stadtpeiffer* most likely played as usual from a gallery erected for them as well as arriving with their instruments for the other stages of the ceremony. The solemn *Te Deum*, however, was performed at the cathedral by musicians of the king's own ensemble, and, tellingly, there was no canopy to honour the ruler as he was proceeding towards the church.⁵⁹ There was, however, one new musical element of the royal intrada's *ornatus*: a spectacle staged in Ferdinand's honour by students from the St Elisabeth-Gymnasium, which involved vocal and instrumental music, most likely performed by the pupils themselves.⁶⁰ The libretto of this play as well as the entire literary programme of the triumphal arch were authored by the school's rector, Thomas Sagittarius.⁶¹

Historical reports of the five royal intradas to Breslau provide abundant information that music was indeed performed on these occasions, but specific genres are very rarely mentioned. We only have some data concerning liturgical music, in

55 Ibid., c. F4r, G1r.

56 Śliwowska, *Uroczyste wjazdy monarsze do Wrocławia*, 145–146.

57 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:136–138.

58 *Arcus triumphalis sereniss[im]o et potentiss[im]o principi ac dn. dn. Ferdinando II regi Boh.* [...], 1617, graphics, Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw, XVII.4.5853 adl., <https://polona.pl/item-view/8ed7dee6-828e-4b20-81ec-d80a78c2e919?page=0>.

59 Mlada, *Holdovací cesty českých panovníků do Vratislavi*, 147.

60 Sagittarius, *Actus gratulatorius*.

61 Śliwowska, *Uroczyste wjazdy monarsze do Wrocławia*, 176.

the context of which performances of the *Te Deum* are mentioned, as well as the thematically appropriate responsories and verses plus, sometimes, multi-part settings of the *ordinarium missae*. The vocal pieces prepared for these events are known from sporadic preserved occasional prints. We thus know that Samuel Besler, cantor of Breslau's St Bernardin's Church, composed an eight-part motet with the textual incipit "In te magna tuis spes" for the arrival of King Matthias II.⁶² Some scholars have attempted to reconstruct this repertoire on the basis of literary texts referring to elements of the iconographic programme of the triumphal arch, to which the performed music was naturally expected to correspond.⁶³ Other authors have suggested specific musical works, basing their conjectures on comparison of the performing forces listed by chroniclers with repertoire found in contemporary sources.⁶⁴ In the context of this research method, one should examine the large collection of occasional pieces found in manuscripts from the so-called Emil Bohn collection, which includes, among others, polychoral works by Giovanni Gabrieli and his imitators.⁶⁵

My focus, however, is on the instrumental repertoire, since it is the *Stadtpfeiffer* who are mentioned by far the most frequently in the above-discussed chroniclers' accounts. Naturally, the music they played from the triumphal arches may have included instrumental versions of vocal works⁶⁶ composed specially for these occasions, such as the above-mentioned motet by Besler.⁶⁷ It is equally probable that they played *colla parte*, supporting performances by vocal ensembles, which — as we learn from one of the records⁶⁸ — called for acoustic amplification when they took place in open urban space. Since the context of the *Te Deum* performance was particularly solemn, they may also have accompanied singers inside the cathedral, which was decorated with tapestries, functioning also as an acoustic damper.⁶⁹ The music performed during royal intradas probably included conventional fanfares based on commonly known improvisation patterns,⁷⁰ most likely executed by the music ensembles of the said retinues as they entered the city and marched down its streets. The social status of the *Stadtpfeiffer* was higher than that of the musicians attached to those retinues.⁷¹ One may therefore assume that their repertoire corresponded to

62 Besler, *In augustissimum*.

63 Śliwowska, *Uroczyste wejścia monarchów do Wrocławia*, 116.

64 Vladimír Mañas (Mañas, *Nicolaus Zangius*, 62–63) suggests that the ten-part piece performed for the royal intrada of Matthias II was the one of the motets of Nicolaus Zangius, a composer then active in Breslau.

65 Bohn, *Die musikalischen Handschriften*.

66 Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblemusik*, 61–127.

67 Cf. note 62.

68 Cf. note 44.

69 Welker, "Bläserensembles der Renaissance", 256.

70 Titcomb, "Baroque Court and Military Trumpets", 61–72.

71 Coffey, "City Life and Music", 172–176.

their rank and was of the most “natural” kind for an ensemble that consisted of instruments varied in register and timbre (cornetts, pommers and trombones).

Such ensembles first emerged in fifteenth-century German countries, where they played a major role in the public life of its cities and were financed, quite generously, by the urban authorities.⁷² The *Stadtppfeiffer* added splendour to major municipal festivities, such as the visits of important guests, solemn processions, banquets and weddings of the most distinguished members of the urban community. The ensembles consisted of shawm (later, also cornett), pommer and trombone players.⁷³ The number of *Stadtppfeiffer* employed depended on the given city’s budget, but the size of such ensembles tended to increase over time.⁷⁴ In the late fifteenth century German instrumentalists were the most highly valued of all and often found employment in Italian cities. A century later, Central European cities and courts imported musicians from Northern Italy (one example is the ensemble of Italian *trombeteri* working at the Prague court of Rudolf II).⁷⁵ The more ambitious German city councils naturally imitated the example of the imperial court.⁷⁶ This was also the case with Breslau, which at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries even tried to compete with Prague — especially during the intradas of the Bohemian king from across the mountains.⁷⁷

A *Stadtppfeiffer* ensemble existed in Breslau from the mid-fifteenth century or earlier.⁷⁸ From 1487 onwards its musicians maintained their own fraternity at St James’s Church.⁷⁹ Its members were instructed not to play dances belonging to the plebeian tradition at burghers’ weddings.⁸⁰ This ruling arose not only from the city councilors’ attempts to censor inappropriate themes at public ceremonies but also from the need to maintain a degree of dignity befitting the social status of the *Stadtppfeiffer*. Similar directives can be found in *Hochzeitsordnungen* issued in other urban centres. Musicians performing at patrician weddings were accordingly expected to play

72 Polk, “Instrumental Music”, 159–162.

73 Welker, “Bläserensembles der Renaissance”, 253.

74 Polk, “Trombone, the Slide Trumpet and the Ensemble Tradition”, 391–392.

75 Žáčková Rossi, “I musici dell’area padana”, 209–210.

76 Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblemusik*, 6.

77 Cf. *ibid.*, 158–166. The musical practice of city trumpeters in some other cities of the Bohemian Lands is described in Studeničová, “Musical Duties of the City Trumpeter”.

78 Polk, “Trombone, the Slide Trumpet and the Ensemble Tradition”, 390.

79 Brinzing, “Europäische Tänze im Breslau”, 34.

80 Klose, *Samuel Benjamin Klose’s Darstellung*, 205: “Vom Tanze. Am Tanze sollen sich die Gesellen mit bequemer Tracht der Kleidung ehrlich halten, züchtig und säuberlich, dass nicht was Spottes noch Aergerniss daraus erwachse; sich auch mit einander säuberlich vortragen, der Stadt zu Ehren und ihn selbst zu Lobe; an dem Tanze und in der Wirtschaft gute Ordnung halten, die alten und keine neue Tänze nicht, als Schmoller, Taubentanz, und wie die sein mögen, tanzen, bei der Busse obberurt”.

dignified rather than frivolous music.⁸¹ Dances performed in the fine, stately chambers of the city halls were therefore primarily of the processional kind, derived from the Burgundian *basse danse* tradition, which corresponded to the refined character of the ceremonies held there and to the social status of their participants. It is no coincidence that the *Hoftanz*, or court dance, is the dominant genre in sixteenth-century sources of instrumental music. For this reason, it is frequently referred to there as the *Stadtpfeiffer-Tanz*.⁸²

Large collections of this repertoire were published in 1555 in Breslau by the Hess brothers, Bartholomäus and Paul, who probably came from Pettau in Styria (now Ptuj in Slovenia). For many years, they had worked in the ensemble of Ferdinand I, which they provided with wind instruments they built themselves⁸³, including some of exceptionally low register. From 1549 onwards, the brothers found employment in the six-strong Breslau *Stadtpfeiffer* ensemble.⁸⁴ They dedicated each of their dance collections⁸⁵ to one of the ruling emperor's two sons: Ferdinand II, governor of Bohemia, and his elder brother, Maximilian II. The prints comprise dances for five or six different types of instruments ("auff allen Instrumenten gar lieblich zugebrauchen"), making up an ensemble covering a wide compass.⁸⁶ The main genre in the first collection is the *Hoftanz*, although lighter types of dance are also present. The second print contains predominantly Italian dances. As the preface informs us, the repertoire was consciously stripped of any references to the vocal prototypes. The pieces are untitled, only numbered, a fact that predestined them for strictly instrumental performance⁸⁷ — not only as an accompaniment to actual dancing, but also on other kinds of occasion, when people from different parts of the Empire were present.⁸⁸

81 Coffey, "City Life and Music", 174–176.

82 Gombosi, "Der Hoftanz", 52–57.

83 Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik*, 157–158.

84 Wieczorek, "Besolte Instrumentisten der Königlichen Stadt Breslaw", 75–77.

85 Hess and Hess, *Etlicher gutter Teutscher und Polnischer Tentz*; Hess and Hess, *Viel Feiner Lieblicher Stucklein*.

86 Brinzing, "Europäische Tänze im Breslau", 43–44. The examples of *chiavette* quoted by Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik*, 125–126, correspond very well with the instrumental forces known from the iconography discussed earlier in this paper.

87 Hess and Hess, *Viel Feiner Lieblicher Stucklein*, c. [3v]: "Erstlich, weil diese noten und Composition ohne namen und Text verlassen ist, das iere Carmen diese verkeret, auch solchs wenig zum singen, allein auff die instrument lieblich und dienstlich".

88 Hess and Hess, *Viel Feiner Lieblicher Stucklein*, c. [4r]: "Auch sind solche stück von uns nit allein zum tanzen vermaint. Sonder wegen ihrer frembden lieblichen unnd aller Nation annemblichen art, von unserer landtsgebrauch und Compositionen darinnen auch wunderliche unergrünte freud, und von himel entleihender gaben Gottes auff erden wenig mit geschmeckt, unnd manigfeldtigkeit under allen nationen wunderlicher weis zerteilt, vermerckt zu seinem Göttlichen lob und ehren, nachmals zu aufflösung und erquickung vielen Gotseliger und fromer, doch etlicher massen beladener und betrübter gemüter".

The royal intradas of Bohemian kings to Breslau constituted, without a doubt, precisely that kind of occasion. One may therefore assume that the music included in the print dedicated to archduke Maximilian Habsburg by Hess — who, from his earlier employment, was well aware of that ruler's love of dance and his musical tastes⁸⁹ — could be performed by his ensemble when, from the gallery on the triumphal gate, they greeted the monarch in Breslau as the king of Bohemia. Considering the amount of time it would take for the royal retinue to pass under that gate as well as the acoustic conditions at hand, the performed piece was probably not a through-composed work, demanding on the ear and acoustically problematic regarding its perception in an open space of the city, but a repetitive form whose distinct pulse would have corresponded much better with the rhythmic movements of the mobile figures placed on the gate. This hypothesis is made more probable by the fact that the royal intradas were a meticulously designed *Gesamtkunstwerk*, in which the narratives of the various arts were expected to complement one another, leaving no space for chance elements.⁹⁰

In this context, it seems that the musical settings of these ceremonies may have consisted, to some extent, of stylized dance pieces suitable for not only a private⁹¹ but also a public context, such as the royal procession, walking with a stately step that is sometimes associated with the *basse danse*.⁹² On the other hand, though, the military aspects of the royal intradas undoubtedly encouraged the performance of related repertoire. Such connotations had, after all, long been present in dances of Northern Italian provenance.⁹³ One musical genre that had reached Silesia from that very region fulfils all the criteria listed here. It is the musical genre known as the intrada, intended for performance as a *cantilena sine textu* by an instrumental ensemble. It was used as the opening to a dance suite, but also to accompany the entry of the honoured guests (hence the name).⁹⁴ Pieces belonging to this genre seem to have been the most “natural” musical ingredient of royal intradas, not only because of their relation to the dance and to military music but also, most importantly, on account of their representative function, characteristic of theatrical art.⁹⁵

89 Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik*, 163.

90 Fenlon, “Theories of Decorum”, 143.

91 Wieczorek, “Besolte Instrumentisten der Königlichen Stadt Breslaw”, 78.

92 Arbeau, *Orchesographie*, c. A3r–v.

93 Wieczorek, “Besolte Instrumentisten der Königlichen Stadt Breslaw”, 79.

94 Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, c. C3v–4r: “Von den *Praeludiis* zum Tantz als *Intraden*. Intrata (vulgò *Intrada*), vel *Entrata*, id est, ingressus vel aditus: ab intrando, vel introitu, welch man bey grossen Herren Einzug oder Auffzügen im Turnieren und sonst zu gebrauchen pflegt”.

95 Reimann, “Materialien zu einer Definition der Intrada”, 338–343.

That latter function, signalled by Praetorius himself when he assigns the intrada in his definition to the realm of Terpsichore,⁹⁶ seems crucial to understanding the royal intradas' theatrical character and the corresponding role of the music, which served as a fitting type of *repraesentatio* for such events. That the musical intrada possessed precisely these inherent qualities is evident from its links to the dance repertoire, where it served as an introduction, interlude or postlude to suites: that is, an invitation to dance, a brief interval, and the culmination of the entire dance cycle or of a simple two-piece set — for instance, a pavane and galliard.⁹⁷ Intradas brought order not only to dance choreographies (associated with the domain of Venus) but also to the march steps of military parades,⁹⁸ which manifested the martial (Mars-governed) strength of the royal and municipal authorities. For the passage of numerous colourful processions under the triumphal arch, however, one needed something more than just a few musical intradas. A richer and more varied sequence of pieces would have been required.

A large selection of such repertoire can be found, among other instances, in a collection of musical intradas dedicated to the Danish king Christian IV by Alessandro Orologio,⁹⁹ who played a major role in introducing Northern Italian instrumental music to Central European courts in Prague, Dresden, Kassel, Copenhagen and Wolfenbüttel.¹⁰⁰ Repertoire transmission was undoubtedly facilitated by Orologio's close contacts with wind ensembles operating in those cities, which performed this kind of music at various courtly, municipal and ecclesiastical events.¹⁰¹ Like Hess's

96 Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, c. C2r: "Der andern Art Balli oder Ballette seynd, welche keinen Text haben: Und wenn dieselbigen mit Schallmeyer oder Pfeiffen zum tantze gespielt werden, so heist es *stampita*. Im Französischen nennet man es un Ball, das seynd allerley Tänzte in genere, als *Bransle, Courranten, Volten, Gagliarden*, etc. Ballet aber sein sonderliche Tänzte zu Mummereyen und Uffzügen gemacht, welche zur *Mascarada* gespielt werden; Dieselbe werden uff ihre sonderliche *Inventiones* gerichtet, unnd hat ein jedes *Ballet* gemeiniglich drey theil. 1. Die *Intrada*, wenn die Personen in der Mummerey zum eingang erscheinen. 2. Die Figuren, welche die vermasclariten Personen im stehen, treten, auch umbwechßlung der örther, und sonst uff Buchstaben in eim Ringe, Crantze, Triangel, Vierecker, Sechsecker, oder andere Sachen formieren, und sich durch einander winden, darauff dann die gantze *Invention* und *Essentia* des Ballets bestehet und gerichtet ist. 3. Die *Retrajete*, das ist der abzug oder abtritt, damit die *Invention*, unnd ganz *Ballet* geendet unnd beschlossen wird, und werden dieselbe hernacher nicht mehr gebraucht, sondern hören zugleich mit der *Mascarada* auff. Doch seynd sie, als ein ander lieblicher Gesang, in der *Music* nach wie vor mit *Instrumenten* zu gebrauchen, nicht undientlich: Wie dann derselben Exempeln, nebenst andern allerley Französischen Tänzten und Liedern, als *Branslen, Couranten* und dergleichen in meiner *Terpsichore* gnugsam zu finden, daselbst dann auch hiervon mit mehrern gesagt worden".

97 See, for example, Posch, *Musicalische Ehrenfreudt*.

98 Reimann, "Materialien zu einer Definition der Intrada", 344.

99 Orologio, *Intradae*.

100 Colussi, "Orologio Alessandro".

101 Flotzinger, "Alessandro Orologio und seine Intraden", 57–63.

prints, the repertoire was advertised as one that “in omni genere instrumentorum musicorum usus esse potest”. Orologio’s intradas, as well as works by Johann Groh,¹⁰² Valentin Haussmann¹⁰³ and Melchior Franck,¹⁰⁴ were all promoted in this manner. In fact, however, such music was meant for performance by the ensemble of *Stadtptfeiffer* consisting of five or six wind instruments, which, if required, could be extended to include as many as ten musicians.¹⁰⁵ This, by the way, was precisely the nature of the performing forces described by chroniclers in the context of the royal intradas, as regards the music played both at the triumphal arch and at the start of the ceremonial royal feast.¹⁰⁶

That this repertoire was known in Breslau in the early seventeenth century is confirmed by surviving manuscripts. In accordance with contemporary practice, such music was frequently entered in New German organ tablatures, which, for obvious reasons, served to store and memorialize repertoire rather than to be used during its performances. The preserved tablatures from the area in question mostly contain liturgical music.¹⁰⁷ Several of the sources, however, comprise exclusively secular repertoire of this type. Within this group one of the most interesting tablatures is Wrocław, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne i Biblioteka Kapitulna (PL-WRk), 83, once the property of Johann Beuchell of Patschkau.¹⁰⁸ The manuscript is actually entitled “Intradae scriptae” and, as promised by its title, comprises first and foremost intabulations of several printed collections of intradas by Alessandro Orologio,¹⁰⁹ Heinrich Steuccius¹¹⁰ and Johann Groh,¹¹¹ as well as dances by the last-named composer.¹¹² Similar repertoire, though in different proportions, can be found in the tablature Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka (PL-WRu), 60417, of Breslau provenance,¹¹³ and

102 Groh, *Sechsenddreissig Neue liebliche und zierliche Intraden*.

103 Haussmann, *Neue Intrade*.

104 Franck, *Neue Musicalische Intraden*.

105 Mañas, *Nicolaus Zangius*, 117.

106 Cf. notes 46 and 53.

107 Bohn, *Die Musikalischen Handschriften*, shelfmarks: Slg Bohn Ms. mus. I, 2, 3, 4, 6, 18, 19, 20, 21, 33, 42, 43, 46, 47, 51, 52, 55, 57, 75, 101, 102, 105, 109, 110, 119, 120, 136, 150, 150a, 155, 160 and 357; nowadays stored mostly in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin — Preussische Kulturbesitz, some are now stored in Moscow, Gosudarstvennyj Central’nyj Muzej Muzykal’noj Kul’tury im. Michaila I. Glinki.

108 Jeż, “Tabulatura organowa z Paczkowa”. Gregor Beck, organist at St Elisabeth’s Church, may have been referring to the same manuscript when, in a document of 6 July 1624, he demanded from the city councillors a fee of 36 thalers for (otherwise unspecified) “Kirchen-Intraden” which he had presented to them. Cf. *Amtsführung der Geistlichen bei St. Elisabeth*, fol. 26.

109 Cf. note 99.

110 Steuccius, *Amorum ac Lepôrum Pars I*.

111 Cf. note 102.

112 Groh, *Dreissig neue* [...].

113 Jeż, “Rękopiśmienne tabulatury organowe”.

a similar manuscript originating from the same city: New York City, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Music Division (US-NYp), Mus. Res. MN T 131.¹¹⁴ These sources confirm that Breslau musicians showed great interest in secular repertoire in an Italianate idiom, including different dance genres and the numerous musical intradas that accompanied them.

We may assume that the Breslau *Stadtpeiffer*, the official city ensemble present at the most important municipal celebrations, were among the performers of those intradas. That Italian dances and intradas were played during the intradas of kings of Prague to Breslau is also confirmed by the instrument-building and publishing activity of the Hess brothers, who transplanted into, and established in, that city models of musical culture directly borrowed from the Viennese court of Ferdinand I and his sons. Another major factor recorded by chroniclers that facilitated the transmission of music performance traditions was the participation of the Prague court ensembles in these royal visits.¹¹⁵ The most representative of those groups was probably the Italian *trombeteri*, with which Alessandro Orologio was associated for many years, being both a member of Rudolf II's ensemble and a supporter of these musicians' mobility in Europe as they travelled to the courts in Dresden and Copenhagen.¹¹⁶ Nicolaus Zangius was another major figure responsible for establishing that repertoire in Breslau after the coronation of Matthias II as king of Bohemia. Half a year after that monarch's intrada to the city, Zangius entered a canon in *unisono* into an album belonging to Gottfried Wagner, the would-be cantor of St Elisabeth's.¹¹⁷ A month later, the same musician was appointed *Kapellmeister* of Johann Sigismund's ensemble in Berlin, to which he brought four trumpeters from Prague.¹¹⁸ The court of the Brandenburg Prince-Elector soon became a new centre where Italianate instrumental ensemble music was cultivated on a large scale.¹¹⁹ Perhaps it was no accident that later emperors held their intradas in that very city on the river Spree.¹²⁰

114 Wiermann, "Die deutsche Orgeltabulatur".

115 Cf. notes 41 and 59.

116 Eitner, "Drei Briefe von Alessandro Orologio"; Orologio, *Opera omnia*, 4–5.

117 Wagner, *Stammbuch Gottfried Wagner*, fols. 88v–89r. Cf. Mañas, *Nicolaus Zangius*, 67.

118 Mañas, *Nicolaus Zangius*, 70.

119 Sachs, *Musik und Oper*, 44–50.

120 Śliwowska, *Uroczyste wjazdy monarsze do Wrocławia*, 49.

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INSTRUMENTALNA ANSAMBELSKA GLASBA KOT DEL KRALJEVIH *INTRADA* V ZGODNJENOVAVEŠKEM BRESLAU

Priložnostni glasbeni repertoar je v rokopisnih in tiskanih glasbenih virih mogoče najti razmeroma redko. Podatke o glasbenih izvedbah pa je mogoče pridobiti iz posrednih virov, ki bi jih morali muzikologi preučiti v večji meri. Posebej bogate slovesnosti so spremljale obiske čeških kraljev v novoveškem Vroclavu ob uradnih slavnostnih sprejemih. Začetek teh obiskov, povezan s slovesnim vstopom kralja v mesto, se je v deželah pod italijanskim glasbenim vplivom pogosto imenoval *intrada*, tako kot ena od glasbenih zvrsti, ki so jo izvajali ob tej priložnosti. Glasbeni nastopi so se odvijali tudi med naslednjimi fazami dogodka, ki so sledile temu retorično prepričljivemu in simbolno pomembnemu obredu. Čeprav se je večina kronistov osredotočala na vizualni vidik teh dogodkov, je iz ohranjenih poročil vendarle mogoče rekonstruirati glasbo, ki jih je spremljala.

Glasba instrumentalnega ansambla je kralja pozdravila že pred vrati Braslaua. V osrednjem delu tega mesta je bil postavljen triumfalni slavolok, na katerem je šest do deset glasbenikov mestnega ansambla, imenovanega *Stadtppfeiffer*, igralo na cinke, bombe in pozavne, vsakič, ko je sprevod šel skozi vrata. Procesijo so sestavljale tudi delegacije šlezijskih vojvod in mest iz regije, ki so vključevale od enega do deset trobilcev (*Trommeter*) ali pihalcev (*Pfeiffer*) in vsaj enega pavkista (*Kesselpaucker*). Kraljev sprevod skozi mesto je spremljala vokalna, pihalno-trobilna glasba in glasba na timpane, ki so jo izvajali s stolpov cerkva sv. Elizabete (tja so pripeljali tudi orgelski pozitiv) in sv. Marije Magdalene ter z mestne hiše. Procesijo, ki je vodila do katedrale, je spremljal ustrezen liturgični repertoar. Izvajali so ga pevci in šolarji, ki so nastopali tudi v sami cerkvi, ob podpori pihal (včasih kraljevega lastnega ansambla, imenovanega *Hofpfeiffer*), in sicer izmenjaje z orglami. Ansambelsko glasbo so izvajali tudi med večerno pogostitvijo v kraljevi rezidenci in na najpomembnejših dogodkih naslednjih dni.

Glasba, ki jo je izvajal ansambel mestnih piskačev (*Stadtppfeiffer*), bi lahko vključevala instrumentalne različice vokalnih skladb, ki so na odprtem urbanem prostoru potrebovale krepkejši zvok. Najbolj značilen repertoar za te zasedbe, sestavljene iz instrumentov, ki

se razlikujejo tako po registrih kot barvah, pa bi lahko predstavljali plesi za procesije, ki jih v velikem številu najdemo v letu 1555 natisnjenih zbirkah bratov Hess, posvečenih habsburškim vladarjem. Drug žanr, ki se zdi še posebej primeren za te priložnosti, je bila intrada. Zdi se, da so bile skladbe tega žanra najbolj »naravna« glasbena sestavina kraljevih *intrad*, ne le zaradi njihove povezanosti s plesom in vojaško glasbo, temveč tudi zaradi njihove reprezentativne funkcije. Izbor takšnega repertoarja je mogoče najti v orgelskih tabulaturah, ki izvirajo iz Breslaua (PL-WRk, 83; PL-WRu, 60417; US-NYpd, Mus. Res. MN T 131) in vsebujejo tako intrade kot tudi plese, ki bi jih lahko izvajali v omenjenih okoliščinah. Ti viri potrjujejo, da je bil ta repertoar v Breslauu dobro poznan. Domnevamo lahko, da je bil med izvajalci tega repertoarja tudi breslauski uradni mestni ansambel mestnih piskačev, ki je bil prisoten na najpomembnejših mestnih praznovanjih.