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A NEWLY FOUND SOURCE OF JACOBUS HANDL-GALLUS'S MASS COMPOSITIONS AND OTHER TRACES OF RECEPTION OF HIS MUSIC IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ROYAL PRUSSIA

IZVLEČEK: O recepciji glasbe Jacobusa Handla - Gallusa v Knežji Prusiji v 17. stoletju pričajo viri, ki so nastali v protestantskih okoljih, zlasti v Gdansku in Elblągu, ter v katoliških kolegijih in samostanih. V tem članku so obravnavani združeno in dopolnjeni z viri na novo identificiranih skladb in tudi z viri iz rokopisa, ki doslej ni bil predmet raziskave.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: Jacobus Handl - Gallus, Knežja Prusija, Varmija, duhovna glasba

ABSTRACT: Evidence of the reception of Jacobus Handl-Gallus's music in seventeenth-century Royal Prussia comes from sources produced both in Protestant environments, particularly in Gdańsk and Elbląg, and in Catholic colleges, monasteries and convents. In this article they are brought together and supplemented by sources of newly identified compositions and also sources from a manuscript not previously the subject of research.

KEYWORDS: Jacobus Handl-Gallus, Royal Prussia, Warmia, religious music

Royal Prussia, which from 1466 until the Partitions of the Commonwealth of Poland–Lithuania in 1772 and 1793 formed part of the Kingdom of Poland, encompassed the Gdańsk, Chełmno and Malbork regions, as well as the domain of Warmia, which enjoyed special status and was governed by a bishop. Particularly important in this part of the kingdom were the wealthy cities, especially Gdańsk, Toruń and Elbląg, which from the end of the first half of the sixteenth century were dominated by a multi-ethnic, largely German and Dutch, Protestant population. Music flourished in the principal Lutheran churches in those cities, and we find evidence to that effect still today in the holdings of the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences¹ and partly those in Toruń University Library, which include a small number of musical sources from the old church of St Mary in Elbląg.² The whole of Warmia, where a succession of music-loving bishops had their courts (in Lidzbark and Frombork), was a Roman Catholic enclave. Around the turn of the seventeenth century, those bishops included Andrzej Batory (1589–1599) and Szymon Rudnicki (1604–1621), who maintained their own music ensembles.³ In addition, Catholic monasteries and convents functioned in various parts of Royal Prussia, some of them known for the musical activity they cultivated and for the extant musical sources produced there. In the times of Batory and Rudnicki, we should mention above all the Cistercian monasteries in Oliwa, near Gdańsk (now within the Gdańsk municipality), and in Pelplin, near Tczew (approx. 50 miles from Gdańsk), the Benedictine convent in Toruń and the Jesuit college in Braniewo, Warmia. Linked to these centres is the compilation, during the first decades of the seventeenth century, of two large tablatures containing repertoire collections in the form of scores prepared in new German keyboard tablature notation: namely, the larger of the two so-called Braniewo-Oliwa Tablatures (Lietuvos mokslų akademija Vrublevskių biblioteka, Vilnius (LT-Va), LMAB RS F15-284)⁴ and the Pelplin Tablature (Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne Diecezji Pelplińskiej, Biblioteka, Pelplin (PL-PE), Mss 304, 305, 306, 306a, 307, 308).⁵ A third tablature, the earliest, comprising two parts (only the second part and the list of contents for the first part have come down to us), the Tablature of Johann Fischer of Morąg (Archiwum Państwowe w Toruniu, Toruń (PL-Ta), Kat. II, XIV 13a), was compiled during the 1590s in a Protestant milieu. We do not know for sure where, but it seems likely that Johann Fischer did most of the work in Morąg.⁶

1 See Popinigis, Długońska, Szlagowska and Woźniak, *Thematic Catalogue*; Szlagowska, *Repertuar*.

2 Leszczyńska, “Późnorennesansowe fragmenty mszalne”.

3 Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, “Music in Poland”.

4 *Tabulaturae Braunsbergenses-Olivenses*.

5 *Pelplin Tablature*, 10 vols.

6 Siciarek, “Tabulatura Johannessae Fischera”; Jeż, “Spis treści”.

In these tablatures and in manuscripts in ordinary mensural notation held by the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences — manuscripts from the church of St Bartholomew in that city (Ms 4005, compiled in the 1590s and the first two decades of the seventeenth century;⁷ Ms 4006, from the beginning of the seventeenth century;⁸ and Ms 4012, prepared in the 1610s and 20s)⁹ — and also in a songbook from the Benedictine convent in Toruń compiled in 1633, which is held without shelfmark by the Diocesan Library in Pelplin and given the siglum PL-Tb in the most recent catalogue of Jacobus Handl's works,¹⁰ although PL-PE (Tb) would doubtless be more appropriate, we find evidence of the reception of Handl's compositions in Royal Prussia around the turn of the seventeenth century, previously noted in lists of his works.¹¹ Confirmed to date is the presence in these manuscript sources of twenty-eight works by Handl preserved wholly or in part, a large number of them in intabulations (at times with a reduced number of voices), five compositions of uncertain authorship and four works of which the notation is lost, their titles being known from an extant list of the contents of the first part of the Tablature of Johannes Fischer of Morag,¹² where they are mentioned under the numbers 37, 79, 82, 130 and 147 (see Table 1 in the Appendix).¹³ A separate problem is the accessibility within this geographic area, and during the period in question, of prints containing works by Handl: both original editions¹⁴ published during the composer's lifetime plus their reprints¹⁵ and anthologies or liturgical books including his works that could have been used in musical practice and also as copy texts, as we will see below.

It is worth noting that many of the works at least partially preserved in Royal Prussia in manuscript sources of the period were written out without citation of the composer's name. This applies to seven of the eight intabulations of Handl's works

7 Szlagowska, *Repertuar*, 48–57.

8 Ibid., 57–70.

9 Ibid., 80–92. See also Wojnowska, “Studien”.

10 Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, 443. The Diocesan Library in Pelplin is identified as a repository of sources by Walter-Mazur (*Figurą i fraktem*, 351), who for the purposes of her book gives this manuscript lacking a shelfmark the siglum TorB.

11 Especially in the thematic catalogue included in Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, 389–708. They are also mentioned in the Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM) database.

12 Non-extant intabulations of works that in Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, have the numbers 61, 291, 391, 408 and 414. Yet they are not mentioned therein.

13 See Jeż, “Spis treści”, 104–105, 107–108.

14 Among them, those currently held in Toruń University Library: Handl, *Opus musicum*, 4 vols. (Prague, 1586–1590); Handl, *Harmoniae morales*, vols. 2 and 3 (Prague, 1590). See Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, 323–326.

15 Here, we should mention the edition *Sacrae cantiones* (Nuremberg, 1597), preserved incomplete partly at the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences and partly at the Library of the National Museum in Warsaw. See Mantuani, “Biblijografičen ‘unicum’”; Gancarczyk, “Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Music”; Gancarczyk, “Mystery”.

written into the Braniewo-Oliwa Tablature. The source, as Marcin Szelest established after carrying out research into the biography of the chief scribe, Jacobus Apfell, and making attributions of many of the compositions transmitted anonymously in the tablature, was compiled between c. 1610 and c. 1630.¹⁶ However the intabulations of all the compositions by Handl were made in Braniewo during the 1610s. They include two works of dubious authorship, one of which, *Jubilare Deo omnis terra*, is ascribed to this composer on account of the appearance of this attribution in other sources,¹⁷ while the other appears in the tablature with an indication of the author: “Resurrectio tua A 4 Jacobi Handell.”¹⁸ In the Pelplin Tablature, which, except for later additions, was compiled in Braniewo but mainly in Pelplin roughly during the period 1620–1640, a clear majority of the entries in score are furnished with the respective composers’ names. Among the twenty entries for seventeen works by Handl, seven were inscribed anonymously, while one, *Orationem meam audi Domine* a 6, not definitely by this composer, was given as a work by “Ioannis Ferretti”. In the case of two compositions, the first written anonymously into the tablature PL-PE, Ms 305 — namely, *Sepulto Domino* a 4 (*In die Sancto Parasceus*) and *Ecce quomodo moritur* a 4 (*Eodem tempore*) — the composer’s name was added to the manuscript at an indefinite later time: “auct. Jacobo. Handl (Gallus).”¹⁹ Although these two items were probably written into the Pelplin Tablature during the 1620s, the works themselves are likely the first, or among the first, works by Handl encountered in Poland–Lithuania (including Royal Prussia) in Roman Catholic environments. The four-part settings of the responsory texts *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus* (2.p. *In pace factus est locus eius*) and *Sepulto Domino signatum est* (2.p. *Ne forte veniant discipuli eius*) were originally published in Handl’s *Opus musicum*, vol. 2,²⁰ as nos. 13 and 14 respectively. Four years later, they were reprinted in choirbook notation (two parts to a page) with minor differences as compared with the print, in an *Agenda seu ritus caeremoniarum ecclesiasticarum* prepared by the arch-presbyter and canon of Kraków Hieronim Powodowski, published (as the second part, separately paginated) together with the *Agenda seu ritus sacramentorum ecclesiasticorum* (Kraków: In Architypographia Regia & Ecclesiastica, Lazari, 1591). Liturgical notes concerning the procession to the Holy Sepulchre on Good Friday contained in the ceremonial agenda, which was published by a press owned by Jan Januszowski from 1577, include chant melodies for the consecutive responsorial chants *Recessit pastor noster*, *Ecce quomodo moritur* and *Sepulto*

16 Szelest, introduction to *Tabulaturae Braunsbergenses-Olivenses*, 12–16.

17 See Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, nos. 523 and 539 in the catalogue.

18 See *Tabulaturae Braunsbergenses-Olivenses*, 1:260 (no. 150); and also Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, no. 539 in the catalogue (here, a different numbering: LT-Va, LMAB RS F15-284, no. 153).

19 See *Pelplin Tablature*, 3:12; *Pelplin Tablature*, 1:150 and 151.

20 Jacobus Handl, *Secundus tomus musici operis* (Prague, 1587), RISM A/I H 1981.

Domino,²¹ followed by the instruction “vel si videbitur in cantu figurali ut sequitur” and the notation of polyphonic settings by Handl (lacking his name) of *Sepulto Domino*²² (see Figure 1) and *Ecce quomodo moritur*²³ (see Figure 2).²⁴ This book, obligatory in the Gniezno and Włocławek dioceses (which also covered Gdańsk Pomerania), was reprinted unaltered in 1596 and published again in 1603, 1605 and 1617. It was widely distributed also in other dioceses, and certainly in the Warmia diocese, where until 1617, when a new agenda was published, the so-called Marcin Kromer Agenda was used — *Agenda ceremonialis ad usum dioecesis Varmiensis accommodata* (Cologne: apud Maternum Cholinum, 1578) — which also gave *Ecce quomodo moritur* and *Sepulto Domino* as the chants to be sung during the procession to the Holy Sepulchre,²⁵ though without specification of any chant melody, still less a polyphonic setting. It seems certain, however, that from the 1590s onwards Handl's settings of those texts became familiar thanks to the Hieronim Powodowski Agenda both in and around Gdańsk (including Oliwa and Pelplin) and also in Warmia (including the milieu of the Warmian bishops and at the Jesuit college in Braniewo). The spread of these works throughout Poland–Lithuania was increased by the publication of the first widely observed ritual for the Roman Catholic Church in those lands — *Rituale sacramentorum ac aliarum ecclesiae caeremoniarum* (Kraków: in officina Andree Petricovii, 1631) — known as the Piotrkowczyk Ritual; these works appeared again (in the same order) in the *Altera pars ritualis de caeremoniis ecclesiasticis* published together with the ritual (re-set, with additional printing errors).²⁶ This was reproduced unaltered in the next edition published by the same Kraków press in 1634.

Despite the differences between the versions of *Ecce quomodo moritur* and *Sepulto Domino* in the Powodowski Agenda (and then in the Piotrkowczyk Ritual) and in Handl's *Opus musicum*, vol. 2, from 1587,²⁷ it seems highly likely that they were based on this print or a copy of it, which could have come into the hands of the printer Jan Januszowski in connection with his contacts with Bishop Stanislas Pavlovský of Olomouc, Handl's patron. Printed by Januszowski, in 1585 and 1586 respectively, were two agendas prepared by Bishop Pavlovský for the Olomouc bishopric: *Agenda seu modus administrandi sacramenta secundum ritum cathedralis ecclesiae Olomucensis* and

21 Powodowski, *Agenda seu ritus caeremoniarum*, 105–107.

22 Ibid., 108–109.

23 Ibid., 110–111.

24 On this subject, see Zwolińska, “Einige Bemerkungen”, esp. 145–147; Jež, “Motets”, esp. 37–40; Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, 293–297.

25 *Agenda ceremonialis*, 63.

26 *Altera pars ritualis*, 124–131. Elżbieta Zwolińska (“Einige Bemerkungen”, 147), citing Tadeusz Maciejewski and Ireneusz Pawlak, relates that in this edition of the ritual, Handl's setting of the responsory *Recessit pastor noster* was also included, but this is not borne out by scrutiny of a copy of the print. Nor does such a work appear in the next edition of this book, from 1634.

27 Handl, *Secundus tomus musici operis*. See note 20, above.

Agenda caeremonialia secundum ritum cath. ecclesiae Olomucensis. This second book includes regulations concerning the Good Friday procession to Christ's tomb, with three matching responsories in chant notation: *Recessit pastor bonus*,²⁸ *Ecce quomodo moritur* and *Sepulto Domino*.²⁹ There are no polyphonic settings of these, or any other, texts in this agenda, published a year before the edition of Handl's *Opus musicum*. Purely hypothetically, of course, we may speculate that it was in connection with the relations between Januszowski and Pavlovský and the latter's role in preparing the liturgical books that were to codify the recommendations of the Council of Trent in Poland–Lithuania³⁰ that the idea arose of including four-part works by Handl in the Powodowski Agenda.

With regard to the differences existing between the first edition of this compositions and the version known from the Powodowski Agenda, the most important and easily noticeable discrepancy is the lack in the latter of the repetition in *Sepulto Domino* at the setting of the words "signatum est monumentum". In addition, special attention needs to be drawn to the order in which the polyphonic settings of the liturgical texts are presented in the Agenda: first *Sepulto Domino* and then *Ecce quomodo moritur*. This is because the order in which the responsories ought to be sung at the Holy Sepulchre, and in which they are published in Handl's original print, is the reverse one. Since these motets appear in the same order and form in the Pelplin Tablature, we may infer that the copy text for this intabulation was one of the editions of the Powodowski Agenda. On the other hand, in the Braniewo-Oliwa Tablature the basis for the intabulation must have been different. It was evidently either Handl's print or else some very faithful copy of it. The textual repeat is included in *Sepulto Domino*,³¹ and the intabulations of both works are placed as consecutive items in the source, but the first to be entered was *Ecce quomodo moritur*, which *Sepulto Domino* followed, thereby observing the order in which the responsories ought to be sung at the Holy Sepulchre.

Considering further the reception of Handl's *Ecce quomodo moritur* and *Sepulto Domino* in Royal Prussia, and especially in Warmia, we must skip forward in time and invoke an eighteenth-century edition of a ritual for the Warmia diocese, namely, *Rituale sacramentorum, ac aliarum Ecclesiae ceremoniarum* [...] *ad uniformem Ecclesiae et Cleri Varmiensis et Sambiensis* (Braniewo: Typis Collegii Societatis Jesu, 1733), known as the Ritual of Bishop Krzysztof Szembek. As part of the notes relating to the Good Friday procession, we find here, as in the Powodowski Agenda and Piotrkowczyk Ritual, *Recessit pastor noster*, *Ecce quomodo moritur* and *Sepulto Domino* in chant

28 The Powodowski Agenda has *Recessit pastor noster*.

29 Pavlovský, *Agenda caeremonialia*, 135–141.

30 See also Jež, "Motets", 37.

31 See *Tabulaturae Braunsbergenses-Olivenses*, 2:36.

108 FERIA Sexta. SUPERIVS.

S E pulto domino signatū est monumentū, volūtes lapidē ad ostium
monumentū, ponētes milites qui custodirēt illud. Secūda pars.

N E fortē veniant discipuli eius & furentur eum, & dicant
& dicant plebi, surrexit a mortuis, ponētes milites qui cu-
stodirēt illud.

TENOR.

S E pulto domino signatū est monumentū, volūtes lapidē ad osti-
um monumentū, ponētes milites qui custodirēt illud. Secūda pars.

N E fortē veniant discipuli eius & furentur eum, & dicant
& dicant plebi, surrexit a mortuis, ponētes milites qui cu-
stodirēt illud.

ALTUS.

109 Parasceues. ALTUS.

S Epulto domino, signatū est monumentū, volūtes lapidē ad ostium
monumentū, ponētes milites, qui custodirēt illud. Secūda pars.

N E fortē veniant discipuli eius & furentur eum, & dicant
& dicant plebi, surrexit a mortuis: ponētes mili-
tes, qui custodirēt illud.

BASSVS.

S Epulto domino, signatū est monumentū, volūtes lapidē ad ostium monu-
menti, ponētes milites, qui custodirēt illud. Secūda pars.

N E fortē veniant discipuli eius & furentur eum, & dicant
plebi surrexit a mortuis: ponētes milites
qui custodirēt illud.

Figure 1 | Jacobus Handl-Gallus, *Sepulto Domino*, from *Agenda seu ritus caeremoniarum ecclesiasticarum* (1591), Superius and Tenor (left), Altus and Bassus (right)

110 FERIA Sexta. SUPERIVS.

E Cce quomodo moritur iustus, & nemo percipit corde:
viri iusti tolluntur, & nemo cōsiderat: à faci e iniquitatis sub-
latus est iustus, & erit in pace memoria eius. Secūda pars.

I N pace factus est locus eius, & in Sion habitatio eius:
& erit in pace memoria eius. ij.

TENOR.

E Cce quomodo moritur iustus, & nemo percipit corde:
viri iusti tolluntur, & nemo cōsiderat: à faci e iniquitatis sub-
latus est iustus, & erit in pace memoria eius. ij.

Secūda pars.

I N pace factus est locus eius, & in Sion habitatio eius:
& erit in pace memoria eius.

ALTUS.

111 Parasceues. ALTUS.

E Cce quomodo moritur iustus, & nemo percipit corde:
viri iusti tolluntur, & nemo cōsiderat: à faci e iniquitatis sub-
latus est iustus, & erit in pace memoria eius. Secūda pars.

I N pace factus est locus eius, & in Sion habitatio eius:
& erit in pace memoria eius. ij.

BASSVS.

E Cce quomodo moritur iustus, & nemo percipit corde:
viri iusti tolluntur, & nemo cōsiderat: à faci e iniquitatis sublat-
us est iustus, & erit in pace memoria eius. ij.

Secūda pars.

I N pace factus est locus eius, & in Sion habitatio eius:
& erit in pace memoria eius.

Figure 2 | Jacobus Handl-Gallus, *Ecce quomodo moritur*, from *Agenda seu ritus caeremoniarum ecclesiasticarum* (1591), Superius and Tenor (left), Altus and Bassus (right)

notation,³² while written at the end of the volume (without pagination), in choirbook layout, but in rhomboid chant notation (without indication of rhythm!), are Handl's four-part settings of *Sepulto Domino* (see Figure 3) and *Ecce quomodo moritur*.

Returning to the first half of the seventeenth century, no attention has been paid in previous research to some other handwritten sources of these two works by Handl that were prepared around the same time in Royal Prussia. I have in mind a manuscript currently held by the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PL-GD, Ms Akc. 127).³³ This originates from the Benedictine convent in Toruń. It was prepared c. 1634 and constitutes just a single book (doubtless the *Quinta vox*) of a cantional not known today in its entirety.³⁴ In this source we find anonymous entries in ordinary notation of the mezzo-soprano part of *Ecce quomodo moritur*,³⁵ immediately followed by the alto part of *Sepulto Domino*.³⁶ In the latter work, as in liturgical books that were obligatory in Royal Prussia during the seventeenth century, the words "signatum est monumentum" are not repeated. It seems likely that the copy was based in this case on the Piotrkowczyk Ritual in its 1631 edition. In this book of the Toruń cantional, *Ecce quomodo moritur* is immediately preceded by the alto part of Handl's setting of the text of the responsory *Recessit pastor noster*,³⁷ familiar from *Opus musicum*, vol. 2, from 1587, but with a variant in the verbal text, the incipit of which was transmitted in this manuscript as "Recessit pastor bonus", as in the responsory's chant notation in the *Agenda caeremonialia secundum ritum cath. ecclesiae Olomucensis* from 1586. One is struck, in the source from the Benedictine nuns' cantional, by the lack of the repeat of the words in the second part and the musical setting of the text "hodie portas mortis et sortis et seras pariter salvator noster dirupit" (see Figure 4).³⁸ It is not known which source this work was copied from.

Other works by Handl were also known to the Benedictine nuns of Toruń. In the previously-mentioned songbook from 1633 (PL-PE (Tb)), Magdalena Walter-Mazur identified item no. 37 as the soprano and alto parts of *Elisabeth Zachariae* a 6.³⁹ Also written anonymously in this same manuscript, as no. 33, was *Domine quando*

32 Szembek, *Rituale sacramentorum*, 102–105.

33 See Popinigis, Długońska, Szlagowska and Woźniak, *Thematic Catalogue*, no. 5017; RISM ID NO. 305000953.

34 I am sincerely grateful to Magdalena Walter-Mazur for making photographs of this source available.

35 PL-GD, Ms Akc. 127, fols. 46v–48r. See Popinigis, Długońska, Szlagowska and Woźniak, *Thematic Catalogue*, no. 2848; RISM ID NO. 305000979.

36 PL-GD, Ms Akc. 127, fols. 48r–49r. See Popinigis, Długońska, Szlagowska and Woźniak, *Thematic Catalogue*, no. 4467; RISM ID NO. 305000980.

37 PL-GD, Ms Akc. 127, fols. 44v–46v. See Popinigis, Długońska, Szlagowska and Woźniak, *Thematic Catalogue*, no. 4395; RISM ID NO. 305000978.

38 Cf. the work's edition in Gallus, *Opus musicum*, 128–132, esp. 132.

39 Walter-Mazur, *Figurą i fraktem*, 355. See also Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, no. 299 in the

veneris iudicare a 6, a work also known at the beginning of the seventeenth century in Gdańsk (its organ part appears in PL-GD, Ms 4012, no. 206)⁴⁰ and in Braniewo and Pelplin (see an anonymous entry in PL-PE, Ms 305, no. 42).⁴¹ In this instance, besides the print in *Opus musicum*, vol. 2, we cannot rule out the possibility that the copy was based on one of the editions of the anthology of Eberhard Bodenschatz,⁴² in which Handl's work was printed as item no. 47.

Rituale Romanum
SUPERIUS.
S epulto Domino signatum est monumentum vol-
ventes lapidem ad ostium monumēti, ponentes milites
qui custodirent illud. ij ij

TENOR.
Sepulto Domino signatum est monumentū volvētes lapidem
ad ostium monumēti, ponentes milites, qui custo-
dirent illud. ij

Pro Feria Sexta Parasceves.
ALTUS.
S epulto Domino, signatum est monumentum, volventes
la pidem ad ostium monumēti, ponentes milites
qui custodirent illud. ij

BASSUS.
S epulto Domino, signatum est monumentū volventes lapi-
dem ad ostium monumēti, ponentes milites, qui cu-
stodirent illud. ij

Sequitur
SECUNDA PARS.
e e e 2

AL- SU-

Figure 3 | Jacobus Handl-Gallus, *Sepulto Domino*, from *Rituale sacramentorum, ac aliarum Ecclesiae ceremoniarum [...] ad uniformem Ecclesiae et Cleri Varmiensis et Sambiensis* (1733), Superius and Tenor (left), Altus and Bassus (right)

One hitherto overlooked source confirming the reception of Handl's works in Royal Prussia during the first decades of the seventeenth century is the sole extant partbook, produced by several copyists and containing various voices (in different

catalogue. It is worth mentioning that this composition was already familiar in the 1590s to Johannes Fischer of Morag.

40 Szlagowska, *Repertuar*, 86; Popinigis, Długońska, Szlagowska and Woźniak, *Thematic Catalogue*, no. 326.

41 *Pelplin Tablature*, vol. 1, no. 91.

42 *Florilegium selectissimarum cantionum* (Leipzig, 1603) or *Florilegium Portense* (Leipzig, 1618).

works, mezzo-soprano, tenor and bass, occasionally just tenor and bass), from a manuscript that once consisted of six books, probably the *Sexta vox* from a set of part-books. It is held by the Library of the Hosianum Seminary of Warmia Metropolis in Olsztyn (PL-Osem). In the catalogue of music-related items assembled there after the Second World War, having been transported to Olsztyn mainly from Warmia, it bears the shelfmark Ms Mus 51.⁴³ The exact provenance of this source is not known. Given the paper used to produce this book — of various kinds, but mostly bearing variants of fish-shaped watermarks, produced at a paper mill in the Gdańsk area, although partly also with a two-headed eagle in an escutcheon with a crown and a cross, not encountered in atlases and internet watermark databases but probably produced at one of the paper mills working for the Austrian imperial court — its production may be linked to Royal Prussia. On account of the repertoire, which includes full Mass cycles (Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus Dei, occasionally with a separate Benedictus) and variable parts of the Mass (especially introits), it was undoubtedly prepared within a Roman Catholic environment, but one probably linked to Protestant Prussian cities. Judging by the numerous eight-part compositions it contains and the functional character of the collection, we may assume that it was used in one of the larger musical centres of that Province. Hypothetically, that may have been the court of the bishops of Warmia, especially Bishop Szymon Rudnicki (1605–1621), in Lidzbark (today Lidzbark Warmiński) or Frombork, or possibly the Jesuit college in Braniewo.

In the extant partbook we find one or two parts of a total of twenty-two full Roman Catholic Mass cycles and fifty motets serving as Mass propers, above all introits. The authors of Masses and parts of Masses are Elias Hermann, most probably a local composer, whose works are known also from the Pelplin Tablature (*Missa ad imitationem* a 8 and *Missa Facta est cum angelo* a 5), Jacobus Clemens non Papa (*Missa J'ai vu le cerf du bois saillir* a 5), Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (*Missa Papae Marcelli* a 6), Orlando di Lasso (*Missa Domine Dominus Deus noster* a 6, *Missa Entre vous filles* a 5, *Missa Deus in adiutorium* a 5, *Missa Veni in hortum meum* a 5), Rudolph di Lasso (*Missa Vestiva i colli* a 5), Hans Leo Hassler (*Missa Verbum caro factum est* a 6), Luca Marenzio (*Missa Iniquos odio habui* a 8), Jacobus Handl-Gallus (three Masses, discussed below), Georg Flori (*Missa Come la tourterelle* a 5, *Missa Un jour l'amant* a 5), Blasius Ammon (*Kyrie Paschale* a 5), Giovanni Croce (*Missa Decantabat* a 8) and possibly Michael Engelsdorffer (*Missa Si qua rubent* a 8). The other works were written here anonymously. As regards the motets, twenty-eight of them are works by Blasius Ammon (entered here without the composer's name), taken from his *Liber sacratissimarum (quas vulgo introitus appellant) cantionum selectissimus* (Vienna: Stephanus Creuzerus, 1582), and there are also compositions by Elias Hermann, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina and possibly Jacobus Handl-Gallus. The composers of several motets

43 Litwinienko, Miernikiewicz, Popinigis and Woźniak, *Katalog tematyczny*.

have not been identified. The works by Handl in this manuscript are *Missa Elizabeth Zachariae* a 6 (see Figure 5), *Missa In Maien* a 5 (see Figure 6) and *Missa canonica* a 8 (see Figure 7), and of uncertain authorship is also a four-part setting of the introit *Asperges me* a 5, inscribed here as a work “Jacobi Handelij Authoris”, but not known from other sources by this composer, whether handwritten or printed (see Figure 8).

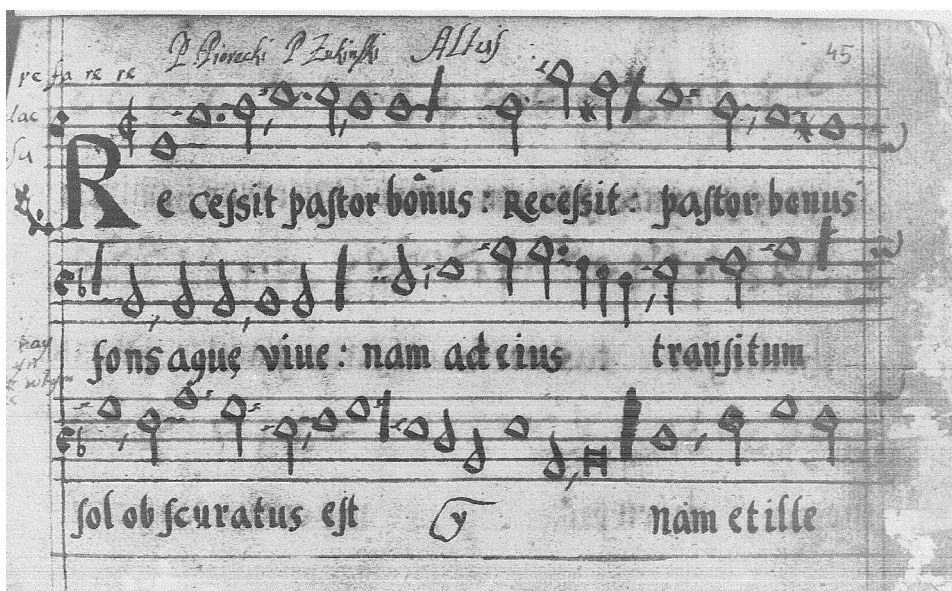


Figure 4 | Jacobus Handl-Gallus, the beginning of *Recessit pastor bonus*, Altus (PL-GD, Ms Akc. 127, fol. 45r)

On the one hand, the repertoire of this fragmentarily preserved collection displays similarities with works transmitted in manuscripts prepared in Protestant churches in Gdańsk and Elbląg; for example, Handl's *Missa Elizabeth [sic] Zachariae* and Hans Leo Hassler's *Missa Verbum caro factum est*, in a shortened form tailored to Protestant practice, were known in Gdańsk and Elbląg.⁴⁴ There are more similarities with the Gdańsk repertoire, concerning, for instance, Luca Marenzio's *Missa Iniquos odio habui*, familiar in Gdańsk and also in Pelplin (in both cases in a shortened version)⁴⁵ and works by Orlando di Lasso — *Missa Entre vous filles* a 5 and *Missa Veni in hortum meum*, preserved fragmentarily up to this day in the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences.⁴⁶ On the other hand, there is a clear presence in this

44 Cf. Leszczyńska, “Późnorenesansowe fragmenty mszalne”, 197.

45 See Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, “On the Trail”; Szlagowska, *Repertuar*, 63; Popinigis, Długońska, Szlagowska and Woźniak, *Thematic Catalogue*, no. 1354.

46 Szlagowska, *Repertuar*, 53, 74; Popinigis, Długońska, Szlagowska and Woźniak, *Thematic*

collection of works composed in the territory of the Empire. Besides Handl's compositions, this applies to the Mass and motets by Blasius Ammon, as well as to Masses by Giovanni Croce and Georg Flori (incidentally, this composer's *Missa Come la tourturelle* and Rudolph di Lasso's *Missa Vestiva i colli* could have been copied from Friedrich Lindner's anthology, popular in Northern Europe).⁴⁷



Figure 5 | Jacobus Handl-Gallus, the beginning of *Missa Elisabeth Zachariae*, Tenor II (PL-Osem, Ms Mus 51, fol. 35v)

Catalogue, nos. 1304, 1309 and 1305.

⁴⁷ *Missae quinque, quibus vocibus, a diversis et aetatis nostrae praestantissimis musicis compositae: Ac in usum Ecclesiae DEI nuperrimè editae, studio & opera Friderici Lindeneri* (Nuremberg: Catharina Gerlach, 1590), RISM ID no. 301010414.



Figure 6 | Jacobus Handl-Gallus, the beginning of *Missa Im Mayen*, Tenor II (PL-Osem, Ms Mus 51, fol. 50v)

The manuscript presented here in brief certainly requires further research. We should definitely look for arguments confirming the hypothesis about the place where it was prepared and used in musical practice. It remains an intriguing question where the copy texts used by the scribes were obtained. Anyway, this question also applies to a number of other sources mentioned in the article, which constitute testimonies to the reception of Handl's music in Royal Prussia in the seventeenth century or perhaps, if we remember *Rituale sacramentorum, ac aliarum Ecclesiae ceremoniarum* [...] *ad uniformem Ecclesiae et Cleri Varmiensis et Sambiensis* published in 1733, even for longer.

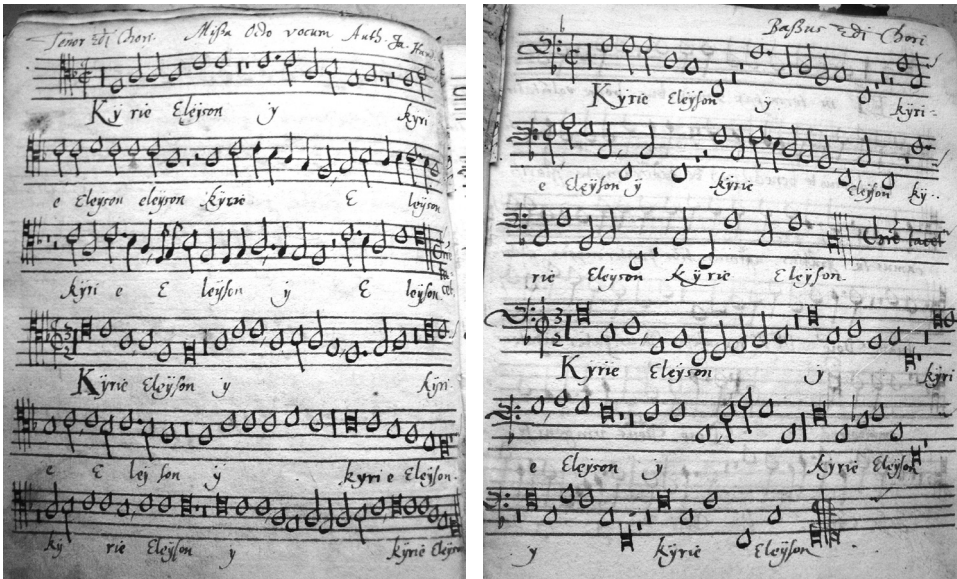


Figure 7 | Jacobus Handl-Gallus, the beginning of *Missa canonica*, Chorus II, Tenor (left) and Bassus (right) (PL-Osem, Ms Mus 51, fol. 109v)



Figure 8 | Jacobus Handl-Gallus?, the beginning of *Asperges me*, Tenor (PL-Osem, Ms Mus 51, fol. 3r)

APPENDIX

Table 1 | Manuscript evidence of the reception of works by Jacobus Handl-Gallus in Royal Prussia around the turn of the seventeenth century (sources of works not mentioned in previously published catalogues of compositions by Handl are marked in bold)

TITLE	NO. OF VOICES	SOURCE	CATALOGUE NO. (MOTNIK)	PERIOD PRINTS	REMARKS
<i>Alleluia. In resurrectione tua Christe</i>	8	PL-GD, Ms 4012, no. 240 (Org); LT-Va, LMAB RS F15-284, no. 83 (anon.); PL-PE, Ms 304, no. 86 (anon.)	148	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 2, no. 29; Bodenschatz, <i>Florilegium</i> (1603/1618), no. 65*	
<i>Angeli laetantur de mirando</i>	7	PL-Ta, Kat. II, XIV 13a, no. 121	499		Uncertain authorship
<i>Asperges me Domine</i>	5	PL-Osem, Ms Mus 51, no. 2 (T)			Uncertain authorship
<i>Cum Rex gloriae Christus (2.p. Triumphat Dei filius)</i>	8	PL-GD, Ms 4012, no. 36 (Org; only 2.p. <i>Triumphat Dei filius</i>)	149	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 2, no. 30	
<i>Dicunt infantes Domino laudes</i>	4	PL-PE, Ms 305, no. 11	79	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 1, no. 63	
<i>Dii tibi si qua pios respectant numina</i>	4	PL-Ta, Kat. II, XIV 13a, pt 1 (list of contents), no. 37	391	Handl, <i>Harmoniae morales</i> , vol. 1, no. 1	The tablature source of the work is lost
<i>Domine quando veneris iudicare</i>	6	PL-GD, Ms 4012, no. 206 (Org); PL-PE (Tb), no. 33 (S, A; anon.); PL-PE, Ms 305, no. 42 (anon.)	100	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 1, no. 84; Bodenschatz, <i>Florilegium</i> (1603/1618), no. 47	
<i>Ecce quomodo moritur iustus (2.p. In pace factus est locus iste)</i>	4	PL-GD, Akc. 127, no. 27 (Mezzo-S, anon., both parts): "2 Mutet"; LT-Va, LMAB RS F15-284, no. 27 (anon.); PL-PE, Ms 305, no. 6 (anon.; both parts) [†]	132	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 2, no. 3; Powodowski Agenda (1591) and further editions (anon.); Bodenschatz, <i>Florilegium</i> (1603/1618), no. 64; Gesius, <i>Christliche Deutsche und Lateinische Drucke</i> (1611), p. 42; Demantius, <i>Threnodiae</i> (1620), no. 5; Widmann, <i>Viertzig schöne geistliche Gesengelein</i> (1622), nos. 43–44; Piotrkowczyk, <i>Rituale sacramentorum ac aliarum ecclesiae caeremoniarum</i> (1631 and 1634)	

Table 1 | *continued*

TITLE	NO. OF VOICES	SOURCE	CATALOGUE NO. (MOTNIK)	PERIOD PRINTS	REMARKS
<i>Elisabeth Zachariae</i>	6	PL-PE (Tb), no. 37 (S, A); PL-Ta, Kat. II, XIV 13a, no. 66	299	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 4, no. 53; Schormann, <i>Suavis- simorum modularum selec- tissimae cantiones</i> (1590), no. 23*	
<i>Expecta Domi- num et custodi viam eius</i>	8	PL-PE, Ms 308, no. 31	511		Uncertain authorship
<i>Exultate Deo adiutori nostro</i>	8	PL-PE, Ms 305, no. 23; PL- PE, Ms 306, no. 135	235	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 3, no. 46	
<i>Exultate iusti in Domino</i>	8	PL-GD, Ms 4005, no. 25	387	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 4, no. 141	
<i>Hanc volo, quae non vult</i>	4	PL-Ta, Kat. II, XIV 13a, pt 1 (list of contents), no. 79	408	Handl, <i>Harmoniae morales</i> , vol. 2, no. 18	The tablature source of the work is lost
<i>Hodie nobis coelorum rex</i>	8	PL-GD, Ms 4012, no. 103 (Org)	43	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 1, no. 27	
<i>Hosianna dem Sohn Davids</i>	8	PL-GD, Ms 4012, no. 207 (Org)			Uncertain authorship
<i>Jerusalem gaude gaudio magno</i>	6	PL-GD, Ms 4005, no. 8; PL- GD, Ms 4012, no. 8 (Org)	24	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 1, no. 8; Bodenschatz, <i>Florilegi- um</i> (1603/1618), no. 82	
<i>Illuminare Hierusalem</i>	6	PL-Ta, Kat. II, XIV 13a, pt 1 (list of contents), no. 82	61	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 1, no. 45	The tablature source of the work is lost
<i>Isti sunt trium- phatores</i>	8	LT-Va, LMAB RS F15-284, no. 170 (anon.); PL-PE, Ms 305, no. 94 (anon.)	257	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 4, no. 11	
<i>Iubilare Deo</i>	5	LT-Va, LMAB RS F15-284, no. 214 (anon.)	523		Uncertain authorship
<i>Laetamini cum Jerusalem</i>	8	PL-GD, Ms 4012, no. 97; PL-PE, Ms 305, no. 89	21	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 1, no. 5	
<i>Laudate Domi- num in sanctis eius</i>	4	PL-Ta, Kat. II, XIV 13a, no. 27	239	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 3, no. 50	
<i>Laus et peren- nis gloria</i>	8	PL-GD, Ms 4005, no. 29; PL-GD, 4012, no. 74; PL-PE, Ms 305, no. 90; PL-Ta, Kat. II, XIV 13a, no. 52	246	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 3, no. 57*	

<i>Maria Magdalena et altera Maria</i> (2.p. <i>Cito euntes dicite discipulis</i>)	8	LT-Va, LMAB RS F15-284, no. 142 (anon.)	150	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 2, no. 31	
<i>Media vita in morte sumus</i>	8	PL-GD, Ms 4012, no. 221 (Org)	81	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 1, no. 65; Bodenschatz, <i>Florilegium</i> (1603/1618), no. 27	
<i>Missa canonica</i>	4/8	PL-Osem, Ms Mus 51, no. 59 (a 8; Coro II: T and B; Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Benedictus, Agnus Dei)[†]	16	Handl, <i>Selectiores quaedam missae</i> , vol. 4, no. 16	a 8
<i>Missa Casta novenarum</i>	8	PL-GD, Ms 4005, no. 27 (Kyrie, Gloria; Sanctus and Agnus Dei without text)	4	Handl, <i>Selectiores quaedam missae</i> , vol. 1, no. 4	
<i>Missa Elisabeth Zachariae</i>	6	PL-GD, Ms. 4005, no. 9 (Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, Agnus Dei); PL-Ta, Kat. II, XIV 13a, no. 56 (Kyrie and Gloria); PL-Osem, Ms Mus 51, no. 36 (T I; Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus Dei); PL-Tu, Ms V 845-850, no. 15 (T, V)	6	Handl, <i>Selectiores quaedam missae</i> , vol. 2, no. 6; Schor-mann, <i>Suavissimorum modulorum selectissimae cantiones</i> (1590), no. 24; Klingenstein, <i>Triodia sacra</i> (1605), no. 27 (Bc)	PL-Osem, Ms Mus 51 & PL-Tu, Ms V 845-850: "Missa super Elizabeth Zachariae"
<i>Missa Im Mayen</i>	5	LT-Va, LMAB RS F15-284, no. 64 (Kyrie; anon.); [†] PL-Osem, Ms Mus 51, no. 40 (T II; Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Benedictus, Agnus Dei)	11	Handl, <i>Selectiores quaedam missae</i> , vol. 3, no. 11	
<i>O magnum mysterium</i>	8	PL-GD, Ms 4012, no. 96 (Org)	48	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 1, no. 32	
<i>Omnes gentes plaudite manibus</i>	8	PL-GD, Ms 4012, no. 67 (Org)	155	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 2, no. 36; <i>Cantionale sacrum</i> (1646/1651), no. 83*	
<i>Orationem meam audi Domine</i>	6	PL-PE, Ms 305, no. 48 (Ioannis Ferretti)	536		Uncertain authorship
<i>Petre amas me</i>	6	PL-Ta, Kat. II, XIV 13a, pt 1 (list of contents), no. 130	291	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 4, no. 45	The tablature source of the work is lost
<i>Quam dilecta tabernacula tua Domine</i> (2.p. <i>Domine Deus virtutum exaudi orationem</i>)	8	PL-GD, Ms 4012, no. 136 (Org); PL-PE, Ms 305, no. 87	217	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 3, no. 28	

Table 1 | *continued*

TITLE	NO. OF VOICES	SOURCE	CATALOGUE NO. (MOTNIK)	PERIOD PRINTS	REMARKS
<i>Quid admir- amini? Quid opinamini?</i>	8	PL-PE, Ms 305, no. 88 (anon., immediately after Handl's works)	46	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 1, no. 30	
<i>Quid gloriaris in malitia</i>	6	PL-PE, Ms 305, no. 60	90	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 1, no. 74	
<i>Recessit pastor noster</i>	4	PL-GD, Ms Akc. 127, no. 26 (A; anon.)	131	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 2, no. 12	With the text "Recessit pastor bonus" (addition "Mu- tety do grubu panskiego" [Motets for the Holy Sepulchre]); shortened text
<i>Resurrectio tua (2.p. Ante cuius conspicuum mors fuit)</i>	4	LT-Va, LMAB RS F15-284, no. 150	539		Uncertain authorship
<i>Sepulto Domino signatum est (2.p. Ne forte veniant disci- puli)</i>	4	PL-GD, Ms Akc. 127, no. 28 (A; anon.) ; LT-Va, LMAB RS F15-284, no. 28; PL-PE, Ms 305, no. 5 (anon.) [†]	133	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 2, no. 14; Powodowski Agenda (1591) (anon.); Piotrkowczyk Ritual (1631 and 1634) (anon.; two parts)	
<i>Si prolixa facit sapientem barba</i>	4	PL-Ta, Kat. II, XIV 13a, pt 1 (list of contents), no. 147	414	Handl, <i>Harmoniae morales</i> , vol. 2, no. 24	The tablature source of the work is lost
<i>State super vias et videte</i>	6	PL-GD, Ms 4005, no. 26 (anon.); PL-PE, Ms 305, no. 47 (anon.)	542		Uncertain authorship (Handl given as author in SK-Le, Ms 13997 (56–68 A), no. 96)
<i>Veni Domine et noli tardare</i>	8	PL-GD, Ms 4012, no. 140; PL-PE, Ms 308, no. 65	19 [†]	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 1, no. 3; Bodenschatz, <i>Florilegi- um</i> (1603/1618), no. 84	
<i>Veniet tempus in quo salvabitur</i>	8	PL-GD, Ms 4006, no. 61; PL- GD, Ms 4012, no. 197 (Org)	222	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 3, no. 33; Bodenschatz, <i>Florilegi- um</i> (1605/1618), no. 36	
<i>Venite ascenda- mus ad mon- tem Domini</i>	8	PL-PE, Ms 308 no. 64	18	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 1, no. 2	

Veni sancte Spiritus reple tuorum corda	4	PL-Ta, Kat. II. XIV 13a, no. 17	185	Handl, <i>Opus musicum</i> , vol. 2, no. 66
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* Subsequent editions of this work not considered here

† Authorship identified and inscribed in the source at an unknown time

‡ Source not listed in Motnik, *Jacobus Handl-Gallus*

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NOVOODKRITI VIR MAŠ JACOBUSA HANDLA - GALLUSA
IN DRUGE SLEDI RECEPCIJE NJEGOVE GLASBE V
KNEŽJI PRUSIJI V 17. STOLETJU

Knežja Prusija, ki je bila del Poljsko-litovske zveze, se je razlikovala na etnični, verski in kulturni ravni. Glede na versko pripadnost se je tudi notranje razlikovala. V mestih, kot so Gdansk, Torun in Elbląg, je prevladoval protestantizem, medtem ko je bila knežja škofija Varmija domena katoliških škofov. O recepciji glasbe Jacobusa Handla - Gallusa pričajo viri, ki so nastali v protestantskih okoljih, zlasti v Gdansku in Elblągu, ter v katoliških kolegijih in samostanih v Braniewu, Pelplinu, Oliwi pri Gdansku (zdaj v Gdansku) in Torunju. V tem članku so obravnavani združeno in dopolnjeni z viri na novo identificiranih skladb, ohranjenih zlasti v rokopisih, ki izvirajo iz samostana benediktink v Torunju in so bili napravljeni okoli leta 1630.

V številnih virih, napisanih v Knežji Prusiji, so ohranjeni prepisi štiriglasnih skladb *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus* in *Sepulto Domino signatum est* Jacobusa Handla - Gallusa. Avtorica domneva, da je priljubljenost teh dveh del povezana z njuno prisotnostjo v izdajah *Agenda seu ritus caeremoniarum ecclesiasticarum* (Krakov, 1591 in naslednje izdaje), ki jo je pripravil krakovski vikar in kanonik Hieronim Powodowski, in pozneje v t. i. Piotrkowczykovem ritualu (*Rituale sacramentorum ac aliarum ecclesiae caeremoniarum* (Krakov, 1631 in 1634)), ki je bil obvezen v Katoliški cerkvi za celotno Poljsko-litovsko zvezo. Gallusova dela so edine polifone skladbe v teh liturgičnih knjigah. Zapisane so v menzuralni notaciji, in sicer kot v kornih knjigah, po dva glasova na vsaki strani odprte knjige. Zanimivo je, da sta bili omenjeni Gallusovi skladbi vključeni tudi v liturgično knjigo, izdano v Varmiji v 18. stoletju – *Rituale sacramentorum, ac aliarum Ecclesiae caeremoniarum* [...] *ad uniformem Ecclesiae et Cleri Varmiensis et Sambiensis* (Braniewo, 1733) –, znano kot Ritual škofa Krzysztofa Szembka. Na koncu zvezka (brez paginacije) sta bili objavljeni v obliki, kot v kornih knjigah, in sicer s koralnimi notami v obliki rombov (brez ritmičnih vrednosti!).

Posebna pozornost je v članku namenjena rokopisu iz prvih desetletij 17. stoletja, ki je nastal v katoliškem okolju Knežje Prusije (morda v Varmiji). Od celote se je do danes ohranil le en glasovni zvezek, v katerem so uglasbitve stalnih mašnih delov (Kyrie,

Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus Dei, občasno z ločenim stavkom Benedictus) in spremenljivih delov maše (zlasti introitov) skladateljev, kot so Blasius Ammon, Jacobus Clemens non Papa, Giovanni Croce, Georg Flori, Hans Leo Hassler, Elias Hermann, Orlando di Lasso, Rudolph di Lasso, Luca Marenzio in Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina. Rokopis vsebuje tudi naslednje Gallusove skladbe: *Missa Elisabeth Zachariae*, *Missa Im Mayen* in osemglasna *Missa canonica*, pa tudi petglasno skladbo *Asperges me*, znano le iz tega vira.