

“GALLUS APUD BELGAS” THE DOUAI *MORALIA* (1603) RECONSIDERED

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Izveček: Zbirka *Moralia* (Nürnberg, 1595) je edina izdaja Gallusove glasbe, ki je bila že kmalu po njegovi smrti ponatisnjena, in to v Douaiju, mestu, ki leži daleč od srednjeevropskega prostora, v katerem so skladateljeva dela sicer najbolj razširjena. Prispevek ocenjuje kakovost tega novega natisa v primerjavi z izvorno izdajo.

Abstract: The collection of *Moralia* (Nuremberg, 1596) is the only volume of Handl's music to have been republished shortly after the composer's lifetime, and this in Douai, a city very distant from the Central European area where Handl's music was most widely circulated. The nature of the new print is discussed in relation to the *editio princeps*.

Ključne besede: Douai, Jacobus Handl - Gallus, Georgius Handl, Alexander Philipp Dietrich, Jean Bogard.

Keywords: Douai, Jacobus Handl-Gallus, Georgius Handl, Alexander Philipp Dietrich, Jean Bogard.

The collection of *Moralia* by Jacobus Handl-Gallus (1550–1591), which appeared in Douai in 1603,¹ could probably be taken for a new publication within the printed music market of the Southern Low Countries. In terms of content, however, it contained nothing different from the original publication brought out in Nuremberg seven years earlier by Alexander Philipp Dietrich.² These Nuremberg *Moralia* are the last collection from the composer's

¹ The latest and most accurate study of Handl's works and sources is Marko Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, where the Douai *Moralia* are discussed on p. 327. The sole known example of this print, preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) in Paris, has been scanned and is accessible online free of charge via the BnF digitized items website, Gallica, on the web page <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90598111.r=Moralia.langFR>. Please refer to this online resource for all mentions of the source in this article.

² Handl, *Moralia* (Nuremberg: Alexander Philipp Dietrich, 1596). Motnik, 327. This source is preserved complete in the Ratschulbibliothek Zwickau and the Bibliotheca Fürstenbergiana of Schloss Arnsberg-Herdringen in Germany. Incomplete copies are preserved in Prague and Hradiště u Znojma in the Czech Republic; Augsburg, Kassel and Neustadt an der Orla in Germany; the British Library in London; Warsaw and Lublin in Poland; Stockholm and Uppsala in Sweden. The Augsburg example, preserved almost complete with five out of its six partbooks, has been scanned. Six specimen pages (title page, index and first two pages of the Cantus II section of

own time to have been published under his name. They form an entertaining succession of forty-seven secular Latin pieces written for five, six and eight parts on texts taken either from classical authors such as Ovid, Virgil and Martial or from anonymous medieval and early Renaissance *adagia*. Varied in their scale and form of setting, these pieces also differ from one another in style. We find in these light compositions some of Handl's finest achievements in the refinement of expression, such as Dido's lament "Dulces exuviae" (no. 43), taken from Virgil's *Aeneid*, and two praises of music "Musica noster amor" (no. 28), and "Musica musarum germana" (no. 29), where Handl seems to display a *summa* of his art in its multiple aspects. We also find examples of what comes closest to scansion *à l'antique* in the whole of his oeuvre, such as "Quid petitur sacris" (no. 8), on a text from Ovid's *Ars amatoria*, among many other pieces.³ A number of the pieces adopt the simple form of a couplet, and these sound like proverbs, delivered musically in a variety of lighter forms and replete with irony.⁴ The term *Moralia* was itself proposed by the composer explicitly to affirm the moral character of these compositions, as opposed to the more sensual and lyrical world of the madrigal.⁵ In this respect, the volume of *Moralia* formed a complement to the collection issued only a short time earlier by Handl: the *Harmoniae morales* published in three books in Prague in 1589–1590, which contained fifty-three similar pieces, all written in four parts.⁶

The fact that this masterpiece should have been reprinted is not in itself surprising. What is more remarkable is that these *Moralia* are unique in this respect within Handl's vast printed oeuvre. No Mass by him,⁷ not a single volume of his *Opus musicum*,⁸ nor even the *Harmoniae morales* collection, was ever reprinted⁹ – a fact that makes one wonder: why the *Moralia*? The place of the new publication may also appear unexpected: why Douai? Although this city appears to have been home to several printers, it never became

the Cantus partbook) are accessible free of charge from the web page: <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0185-schl2493>. The entire digitized source can also be ordered against payment from the same page via the Harald Fischer Verlag Download service.

³ The strict declamatory style is probably the outstanding feature of the entire collection.

⁴ Thirty-one pieces out of forty-seven are composed on texts taking the form of a couplet.

⁵ See Handl, *Harmoniae morales*, vol. 1, fol. 2. In the foreword that Handl wrote for the *Harmoniae morales* he proclaimed: "instead of the name of madrigals, I substitute for these works the more adequate term *Moralia*, and wish from now on that they be called thus, so that their moral aspect should become as little licentious as possible, and that they should even shun the shadow of obscenity" ("et Madrigalium loco substitutum laetioerem hunc cantum, MORALIA, inscribo, sicque ut deinceps vocentur opto; quod potissima pars morum sit minimè lascivorum, sed qui obscenitatis etiam umbram reformident").

⁶ See Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, 326–327. The complementarity of the two collections is also implied by the numerically perfect sum of their combined content: fifty-three pieces (*Harmoniae morales*), plus forty-seven pieces (*Moralia*) form a corpus of exactly one hundred secular compositions.

⁷ Four books of Masses were published in 1580 in Prague under the title of *Selectiores quaedam missae, pro Ecclesia Dei non inuiles*. See Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, 322–323.

⁸ Published in four books between 1586 and 1591 under the title of *Tomus primus [–quartus] musici operis*. See Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, 323–326.

⁹ The unsold copies of the fourth book of *Opus musicum* came to be sold again as *Sacrae cantiones* in 1597, but constitute neither a reprint nor a new edition (on this point, see below, p. 74).

an important centre for music printing on a par with Prague, the cradle of most of Handl's printed production. Moreover, Douai was actually situated quite far from Handl's place of residence, and equally far from the Central European area where his work was published, copied, appreciated and most widely circulated. The dates also raise questions of their own: the original *Moralia* print was published in 1596: that is, five years after the composer's death. This lapse of time appears somewhat long, since the music must certainly have been ready in 1591 at the very latest. The fact that this collection was published not in Prague, like all Handl's earlier volumes, but in Nuremberg, suggests that some difficulties occurred during the process. On the other hand, the seven years that separate the Douai edition from the first, Nuremberg edition – hardly longer than the interval separating the composition of the pieces from their first edition – appears, in contrast, to be a rather short gap. Why republish the *Moralia* so quickly? And, once again, why choose solely this volume from the whole of the composer's output?

Today a secondary city of northern France, Douai was at the beginning of the seventeenth century at the peak of its intellectual and artistic splendour. Belonging at that time, together with the whole of Flanders, to the Spanish Netherlands governed by the Madrid Habsburgs, it was situated not far from the French border, and within the space of a few decades was granted several important institutions that would enhance its Catholic character. This included a university founded in 1559, whose influence rose to a peak during the early seventeenth century.¹⁰ In the face of the "dangerous" example of neighbouring France, which had been beset by religious turmoil for almost forty years, and where freedom of confession had finally been granted to Protestants by Henry IV in 1598, Douai developed as a centre for the Counter-Reformation under the leadership of the Jesuits, hosting in its many colleges students in Theology, Law, Medicine and the Arts. It also became an important cultural centre of studies for English-speaking Catholics, ensuring higher education at a convenient geographical location situated close enough to the English Channel.

It is in this context of Jesuit influence that the printing trade developed in Douai, with the transfer of technology and craftsmanship mostly coming from more important centres within the Southern Low Countries. Jacques Boscard (d. 1580) and Jean Bogard (ca. 1531–1616) both came from Leuven; Balthazar Bellère came from Antwerp. The last two men also printed music.¹¹ If we join the strict Catholic allegiance of the city to the rapid development of the printing industry, it is no surprise to discover in the 1603 edition of the *Moralia* a short report from the censor stating that nothing in the collection offended

¹⁰ On the singular history of the university in Douai, see Dehon, *L'Université de Douai dans la tourmente*, esp. 12–22. On the context of the Counter-Reformation in Douai and its influence on music, see Bossuyt, "Counter Reformation and Music in Douai."

¹¹ Prints published in Douai started to be listed as early as 1842 by Hippolyte-Joseph-Romain Dutillhœul in his *Bibliographie douaisienne*. The most recent and accurate list of books printed in Douai is that contained in the two sections of the *Bibliotheca bibliographica Aureliana* devoted to Douai by Albert Labarre. Recent studies with a special focus on music prints include Persoons, "Joannes I Bogardus, Jean II Bogard en Pierre Bogard," 613–666; Vanhulst, "Balthazar Bellère," 175–198 and 227–263; Vanhulst, "Music in the *Indicis librorum*," 87–106.

piety or morals.¹² Given that the *editio princeps* originated from Lutheran Nuremberg, the securing of such official permission was of course a necessary step to take before having the book published in Douai.

As a matter of fact, those scholars who have studied the Douai *Moralia* up to the present day seem to have focused above all on the matter of the distance between Douai and Nuremberg, as if this would necessarily bring about change or variation in the transmitted music. Josip Mantuani (1860–1933), the pioneering musicological authority on Handl's life and works active at the beginning of the twentieth century, focused in particular on the *Opus musicum*,¹³ but made a special examination of the *Moralia* in 1929,¹⁴ probably with the intention of publishing a modern edition of the collection.¹⁵ He urged his former professor, Guido Adler (1855–1941), who spent that autumn in Paris, to obtain photocopies of the Douai print for him.¹⁶ Modern scores did not, however, appear before the late 1960s. Again uniquely within Handl's oeuvre, the *Moralia* have appeared in modern editions no fewer than three times in under thirty years.¹⁷ The editors responsible for these editions, respectively Dragotin Cvetko and Ludvik Zepič (1968), Allen B. Skei (1970) and especially Edo Škulj (1996), have stated that the Douai edition was strictly dependent on the original one. Closer to the present time, Marko Motnik has also remarked in his monograph on Jacobus Handl that the Douai print differed from the Nuremberg one only in the fact that the foreword, the introductory poems and the index to contents at the end were missing.¹⁸ It is not our intention to question these conclusions here: the present article aims, rather, to investigate in fuller detail the Douai print as compared with the *editio princeps*, and to attempt a more precise assessment of its importance within Handl's musical legacy.

Origin of the Douai *Moralia*: Where Does the Music Come From?

This question is probably far less simple than we might initially imagine. We have, certainly, to consider the transfer of the music from Nuremberg to Douai. But we also

¹² "In his *Moralibus Cantilenis Iacobi Handelini nihil est quod pietatem aut bonos mores offendat. Actum Duaci 15. Septembris. 1603.*" [There is nothing in these Moral Cantilenas by Jacobus Handelinus [!] that offends piety or morals. In Douai, 15 September 1603.] Handl, *Moralia* (1603), Cantus partbook, fol. [G4v]. This permission bears the signature of Georges Colveniers (Georgius Colvenerus), Professor in Philosophy at the Faculty of Arts in Douai and censor of books.

¹³ Mantuani was responsible for the first complete edition of the *Opus musicum*, published in six volumes by Artaria in Vienna between 1899 and 1919 within the series *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*.

¹⁴ As we may infer from his correspondence. See Hilscher, "Josef Mantuani und Guido Adler," 23–74.

¹⁵ Transcribed scores of the *Moralia* as well as Mantuani's correspondence with Guido Adler certainly establish that an edition was planned. See Motnik, *Jacobus Handl-Gallus*, 20–21.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 61.

¹⁷ In chronological order: 1. Cvetko and Zepič, *Jacobus Gallus Carniolus (Jacobus Handl): Moralia* (1968); 2. Skei, *Jacobus Handl: The Moralia of 1596* (1970); 3. Škulj, *Jacobus Gallus: Moralia* (1996).

¹⁸ Motnik, *Jacobus Handl-Gallus*, 48–49.

have to take into account the fact that the Nuremberg edition itself has a rather complex history that until now has never been examined in detail.¹⁹ Indeed, it seems necessary to insist on the fact that Nuremberg does not represent a "fixed point" in the transmission history of the music. As we know, the composer Jacobus Handl died in Prague in 1591. It was his brother Georgius who took care of these still unpublished *Moralia*, and it was this same Georgius Handl who wrote the prefatory page introducing the music, together with a dedication to the Senators of the Old Town of Prague, in fulfilment, as he wrote, of a wish of Jacobus. The foreword itself is dated 20 March 1596 in Prague.²⁰

Having Nuremberg on its title page but containing music composed in Prague in or before 1591 and then dedicated and presented in Prague in 1596, this publication implies that at least one journey from Prague and back again was executed by the music. Should we wish to summarize the transmission process in its totality, an itinerary including at least three (not two) places appears before us:

- A1. Prague: the music is composed and assembled in the city, which it then leaves in manuscript form;
- B. Nuremberg: the music is printed;
- A2. Prague: the music comes back in printed form to be dedicated;
- C. Douai: the music is reprinted.

The origin of the music contained in the Douai print could be, as we see, either Nuremberg at point B or Prague at point A2; but the possibility also exists that it was actually transferred directly from Prague at point A1.

The Importance of the *Moralia* among the Jean Bogard Music Prints in Douai

Regarding the final destination of this itinerary, Douai, it seems necessary, first, to emphasize the fact that the father and son both named Jean Bogard²¹ were not primarily music printers. Only twenty books of music are today preserved out of a total of thirty, a number that represents only a small proportion of the roughly five hundred books issued under their imprint.²² Among the Bogard music prints that have survived, the *Moralia* form an

¹⁹ Despite information found in Skei, "Jacob Handl's *Moralia*," 431–447, which, however, mostly concern musical content, not the history of the printed source itself. The most recent discussion of this source occurs in Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, 44–46.

²⁰ A reproduction of the foreword is included in Škulj's edition of the *Moralia*, p. xxxii. The same author has also published a complete Slovenian translation of this text (together with the Latin original) in a publication devoted to all the prefatory texts found in Handl's original publications: *Gallusovi predgovori in drugi dokumenti*, 102–107. An English translation is provided in Skei's edition of the *Moralia*, p. 10.

²¹ Jean I Bogard (?1531–1616) left his son Jean II (1561–1627) to run the Douai printshop during his multiple sojourns in Leuven in 1586 and after he retired to that city in 1607, at which point Jean II Bogard became sole manager of the printing house.

²² Bain, "Bogard, Jean."

isolated volume, and Jacobus Handl appears, indeed, to be something of an outsider among those composers whose works were issued in Douai. Although modest in size, even when taking into account the volumes that today are lost, the Bogard music production can be divided into three discrete groups of publications:²³

1. A first group is devoted to composers whose sole known works are ones published in Douai and who appear for the most part to be local musicians:

- Jean Pennequin, *Chansons nouvelles à quatre et cinq parties et une à huit* (1583)
- Jean Machgielz, *Premier livre des chansons nouvelles à quatre, cinq et six parties convenables tant aux instruments comme à la voix* (1583)
- François Gallet, *Sacrae cantiones* (1586) and *Hymni communes sanctorum* (1586)
- Antonius Marissal, *Flores melodici sive cantiones sacrae* (1611)
- [Jean Sardonius, *Angelica musa* (1629)]²⁴

2. Composers from the Franco-Flemish area, whose works would have enjoyed a wider circulation and were also published in Antwerp or Paris, form a second group:

- Andreas Pevernage, *Cantiones aliquot sacrae* (1578)
- Jean de (Jan-Jacob Van) Turnhout, *Sacrarum cantionum I* (1594)
- Piat Maulgred, *Airs et chansons à 4, 5, 6 et 8 parties* (1616)
- Jean de Bournonville, *Missae tredecim* (1619)

3. Composers with an international reputation form the third group, the most prestigious of the three:

- at least four volumes were devoted to Jean de Castro: [*Novae cantiones sacrae* (1588)],²⁵ *Trois odes [...] en musique à 4 parties* (1592), [*Tricinia* (1603), IL fol. O4v], *Sonets du Seigneur Pierre de la Meschinière* (1611)
- Jacques, François, Charles and Pascaise Regnart, *Novae cantiones sacrae* (1590)
- [Roland de Lassus, *Psalmi poenitentiales* (1600), IL, fol. O4v] (reissued from the Munich edition of 1584)

²³ The list of music volumes printed by Jean I and Jean II Bogard presented here has been reconstructed with the aid of references mostly taken from Vanhulst, “Balthasar Bellère,” but augmented by Labarre’s source list in *Bibliotheca bibliographica Aureliana* and also by references given in Warengien, *La Musique à Douai au XVIe siècle*, in cases where it has been possible to confirm these in the *New Grove*, RISM or either of the sources first mentioned. Titles within brackets indicate volumes now lost. Except where otherwise mentioned, reference to them is made in the *Indicis librorum [...] prima pars* (Douai: Jean Bogard, 1619) [abridged as *IL*].

²⁴ Warengien, “La Musique à Douai au XVIe siècle,” 107 (with the erroneous date of 1579, corrected in accordance with the *New Grove*). Baron Amaury Philippe de Warengien was responsible for the first study of music in Douai in the sixteenth century. This came out in 1904 and contains a list of publications on pp. 98–109.

²⁵ Quoted by Warengien, “La Musique à Douai au XVIe siècle,” 99, after Draud.

- Jacobus Handl, *Moralia* (1603) (reissued from the Nuremberg edition of 1596)
- [Ioannin Favereo, *Cantiunculae sacrae* (1616), IL, fol. O4v]
- [Jacob Reiner, *Missae quatuor trium vocum* (before 1619), IL, fol. O4r]

A first glance at this list brings to light a “peak” in the Bogard production, which seems, however, to have been of rather limited duration, roughly occupying the period 1590–1603. Bogard had previously printed only music by young Franco-Flemish composers, some of whom, such as Andreas Pevernage, would later also be published elsewhere. The printer’s son Jean II Bogard would revert to this tendency after 1603 (more precisely in 1611), with musical volumes devoted mostly to lesser composers (Bournonville and Castro excepted). Leaving aside a lost volume of three-part Masses by the Württemberg composer Jacob Reiner published before 1619, whose origin has not been traced, only two prints in this list originate from Germany: the *Psalmi poenitentiales* by Lassus, today lost, which most probably echoed the 1584 Munich edition of the same work; and the *Moralia* by Handl, which, as we know, postdate the Nuremberg 1596 print. This last collection, as we remarked, is an outlier in the list, since it appears to be the only one absolutely foreign to the area of the Spanish Netherlands in terms of its printed dissemination – not merely within the third category but even in the entire Bogard production.²⁶ The policy of the Bogard firm thus develops in three phases: initially, it assists young, promising composers (Pevernage, Gallet); it then focuses for a short time on major international personalities, among whom we find the brilliant Regnart brothers as well as Roland de Lassus; finally, under Jean II Bogard’s management, it returns to publishing composers who may be regarded as provincial or of minor importance.

The Original *Moralia* Published in Nuremberg

If we next examine the transmission route of the *Moralia* from their Nuremberg starting point, we observe that Handl was no less of an outsider within Dietrich’s production than he was in Bogard’s. Alexander Philipp Dietrich appears to have been even less involved in music printing than Bogard.²⁷ His books centred essentially on the Lutheran faith, and above all on the publication of Bibles in large format, which included several polyglot versions edited by Elias Hutter.²⁸ Leaving aside the *Moralia*, Handl’s name appears on

²⁶ Even the French composer Jean de Bournonville, who was to be published mostly in Paris, was born in Noyon in northern Picardy close to the border with the imperial territories. Bournonville’s places of activity, such as Amiens, Rouen and Abbeville, were all situated in the northern part of the kingdom and never extended to the capital itself.

²⁷ On Dietrich, see Reske, “Alexander Philipp Dietrich,” 702–703, which draws on and complements the study by Benzing, “Alexander Philipp Dietrich,” 362; Grieb, “Dietrich, Alexander,” 74; Voit, “Dietrich, Alexander Philipp,” 211.

²⁸ Elias Hutter (1553–1602?) was Professor of Hebrew at Leipzig and produced both an edition of the Hebrew Old Testament and a Hebrew translation of the New Testament. His edition of the Polyglot Bible, known as the “Nuremberg Polyglot,” was published by Dietrich in 1599 with a choice of four different languages in addition to the five common to all copies (*Ebraicè*,

one other volume with the Dietrich imprint: his *Sacrae cantiones*, published in 1597.²⁹ This volume has been well studied since the time of Mantuani,³⁰ most recently by Paweł Gancarczyk.³¹ It is now clear that it constitutes not a new edition (except in a formal bibliographic sense) but only a new title page applied to unsold copies of the fourth book of the *Opus musicum*, which had been published in Prague by Nigrin in 1591. This fact immediately casts a shadow over the *Moralia*: could this 1596 publication be similarly a disguised version of an earlier Prague edition, one that today is lost? A first glance at the print already brings clear evidence that this is not the case. Despite the presence of many features common to this print and the Prague publications by Nigrin that transmit Handl's music, such as the form of initial capitals and the music type itself, the 1596 Dietrich print also exhibits specific elements that never appear in Nigrin publications: most notably, the type used for running titles.³²

A close examination of small details indeed confirms the somewhat slapdash and poorly executed nature of the Dietrich print. Except in the case of the Polyglot Bibles and New Testaments bearing his name, all printed in 1599 and 1600, Dietrich does appear to have been a rather absent figure in the printing trade.³³ First mentioned as a type founder at the Gerlach printing house, he married Katharina Schmid, Katharina Gerlach's daughter, in 1586; he then became a bookseller in 1590 before setting up his own printing house in 1595. Archival documents repeatedly mention his poor health, and he had to retire from the market as early as 1597, leaving his printing business to his wife before dying in 1599. It is therefore to his wife Katharina Dietrichin, née Schmid, that we have to turn in order to learn more about the activities of the Dietrich printing house, especially as regards music prints. Being Katharina Gerlach's daughter, this Katharina Dietrich forms a direct link between her husband, Alexander Dietrich, and one of the most powerful dynasties of the German printing trade, that of the Gerlach family, itself heir to the famous Berg [Montanus] & Neuber firm, active since 1542. The genealogy of the family is quite complex, but thanks to an illuminating article written by Susan Jackson on the subject,³⁴ we can summarize without too much trouble that:

- a. Katharina Dietrich (1539–1605) was the daughter of Katharina Gerlach (ca. 1515/20–1592)

Chaldaicè, Graecè, Latinè, Germanicè): a sixth column gives the text either in French (*Gallicè*), Italian (*Italicè*), Saxon (*Saxonicè*) or Slovenian (*Sclavonicè*). A subsequent edition of the New Testament, published in 1600 under the Dietrich imprint, adds Spanish, Czech, English, Danish and Polish versions of the text to the languages already mentioned.

²⁹ Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, 327.

³⁰ Mantuani, "Bibliografičen 'unicum' Gallus-ovih del," 65–67.

³¹ Gancarczyk, "Mystery of *Sacrae Cantiones*" 25–33.

³² Fols. [2]v and [3] of the Cantus II partbook in the 1596 Dietrich edition, freely available from the web page mentioned in note 2, constitute a clear case in point. The same page layout is reproduced throughout the whole edition.

³³ See Benzing, "Alexander Philipp Dietrich."

³⁴ Jackson, "Who is Katherine?," 451–463. We acknowledge our debt to this substantial article in the lines that follow.

- b. She was married three times, the last occasion being in 1586 to our Alexander Dietrich (d. 1599), at that time a type founder at the Gerlach printing house.³⁵
- c. She managed the Dietrich printing house almost alone between 1597 and 1605.³⁶

A capable businesswoman in her own right, Katharina Dietrich had a very good model to imitate in the person of her own mother Katharina Gerlach, née Bishoff. The mother was likewise married three times:

- a. first in 1536 to Niclas Schmid (d. 1540), with whom she had her first daughter, the above-mentioned Katharina;
- b. then in 1541 to Johann vom Berg (d. 1563), the famous printer from the Nuremberg house Berg & Neuber, with whom she had her second daughter, Veronica (b. 1545). When Berg died in 1563, she herself took over the running of the Berg & Neuber printing house;
- c. finally in 1565 to Dietrich Gerlach von Aerdingen (d. 1575), a former employee of the Berg & Neuber firm.
- d. Gerlach died in 1575, and his widow, now known as Katharina Gerlach (or Gerlachin), managed the firm along during the next twenty years, maintaining and even enhancing its status as one of the foremost German music-publishing houses.³⁷

We know that the links between Prague and Nuremberg were very active in the printing trade and the exchange of print technologies during the sixteenth century. A conference held in Prague in 2008 took as its theme this long-standing connection between the Franconian and Bohemian capital cities.³⁸ Thanks to a recent Master's thesis presented at the Charles University by Petra Jakoubková,³⁹ we can be sure that the links between the Nigrin printshop in Prague and the Nuremberg printing houses were indeed fairly strong. Through a detailed examination of all the types employed by Nigrin, Jakoubková has convincingly established that the Nigrin house shares with the Gerlach family firm not only the use of identical initials but also an identical musical typography.⁴⁰

In this connection it seems necessary to emphasize that after 1585 a major change occurred in the Nigrin house, as we now learn from Jakoubková's thesis. From that year onwards Nigrin started to publish music with a new musical type, identical to that of the

³⁵ Her two previous marriages had been to the colour-merchant Hanns Braun and the bookseller Lamprecht von Neden.

³⁶ During this period (and ignoring the *Sacrae cantiones* edition of 1597, which is not a proper edition), the Dietrich printing house issued eight music books, comprising five collections of polyphonic music and three of monodies.

³⁷ Gustafson, "Gerlach," 783–787.

³⁸ *Ztracená blízkost, Praha-Norimberk v proměnách staletí = Verlorene Nähe, Prag und Nürnberg im Wandel der Jahrhunderte, international conference Prague, October 7–8, 2008*. Proceedings edited by Olga Fejtová, Václav Ledvinka and Jiří Pešek under the same title.

³⁹ Jakoubková, "Typografie hudbních tisků Jirího Nigrina."

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 41–43.

Berg-Neuber-Gerlach tradition in Nuremberg.⁴¹ If we correlate this fact with known biographical data regarding Jacobus Handl, this year 1585 seems to have significance, since it was exactly then that the composer asked for release from the service of the Bishop of Olomouc, Stanislav Pavlovský, in which he had been engaged since 1579 or 1580, in order to settle in Prague and supervise the printing of his compositions at Nigrin's establishment.⁴² The place where Handl acquired his title of *regens chori* in Prague was the small Romanesque church, now destroyed, known as St John-on-the-Bank (Svätý Jan na Břehu). In the light of the printing supervision undertaken by the composer this location may appear extremely strategic, since the church was situated only a few steps away from Nigrin's printshop.⁴³ Although the two facts initially seem unrelated, it is probably relevant to recall here that in 1588 or 1589 Georgius Handl, until then working in Nigrin's printshop, left Prague, probably for Nuremberg, where it is possible that he helped Dietrich with the setting up in type of the Polyglot Bibles.⁴⁴ Jacobus, no longer being able to rely on his brother's vital support in Prague, therefore had to seek alternative means of bringing about the printing of his many works still unpublished.⁴⁵

A study of all the music prints published under the Dietrich imprint brings to light only a few more items. Leaving aside the two Handl volumes already mentioned, these publications were all made at a later point in time by Katharina Dietrich, most often in association with the bookseller Conrad Bauer.⁴⁶ These later volumes do not resemble the previous ones completely, since they feature a music type and page layout that appear in all their aspects the same as those of Nigrin's productions, running titles not excepted.⁴⁷ It therefore appears a peculiarity of the 1596 *Moralia* that they should constitute the only volume published under the Dietrich imprint to display a characteristic of the Gerlach printshop not shared by Nigrin's: the specific Gerlach form of running titles. An examination

⁴¹ Jakoubková establishes the existence of two sets of music types in use at the Nigrin printshop. Set no. 2 appears to be used in the majority of cases, if not exclusively, from the year 1586 onwards. *Ibid.*, 32–36.

⁴² The document by which Bishop Pavlovský grants Jacobus Handl release from his service in 1585 has been commented by most Handl scholars since Mantuani's time. It is reproduced and edited with a Slovenian translation in Škulj, *Gallusovi predgovori in drugi dokumenti*, 128–131.

⁴³ Nigrin's printshop stood on what is today Křižovnické náměstí 1 in Prague 1, at the Old Town end of the Charles Bridge. See Jakoubková, "Typografie hudebních tisků Jirího Nigrina," 16 and n. 25.

⁴⁴ This hypothesis is discussed in Desmet, "Typographicum robur fractum," 13–25.

⁴⁵ In 1589 the fourth and last book of *Opus musicum*, plus the secular music collections *Harmoniae morales* and *Moralia*, remained unpublished.

⁴⁶ See Reske, "Konrad Bauer," 5–6. Bauer had been a typesetter at the Neuber, Dietrich Gerlach and Katharina Gerlach printshops and therefore was very experienced in musical typesetting.

⁴⁷ If we except the specific case of monodic *Gesangbücher* printed in small format, the prints of polyphonic music produced by the Dietrich firm under Katharina following her husband's death comprise only three items: the *Motetae novae pro praecipuis in anno festis decantandae* by Johannes Agricola (1601); the *Sieben und siebentzig neue außerlesene liebliche zierliche Polnischer und Teutscher Art Tantz*e by Christoph Demantius (1601); and the *Contrapuncti compositi* by Melchior Franck (1602). All these exhibit strong similarities to Nigrin prints.

of the vicissitudes undergone by the Gerlach family perhaps helps us to understand the reason for this peculiarity.

- a. It is obvious that the printshop owned by Katharina Gerlach played a central role so long as it enjoyed full commercial strength: Dietrich was an employee there, and Georgius Handl may have worked there as well, given the strong links with Nuremberg that he himself would later maintain as a printer.⁴⁸
- b. This situation seems to have deteriorated after 1592, when Katharina Gerlach, who died in that same year, stated in her will that she was passing on all of her firm not to her elder daughter Katharina Dietrich but to her younger daughter Veronica, by that time Veronica Kauffmann.⁴⁹ Katharina Dietrich attempted to contest the will, but in vain. Katharina senior had perhaps understood that Paul Kauffmann (1568–1632), one of Veronica's ten children who had worked in his grandmother's printshop since the late 1580s, had more potential for the printing trade than Katharina junior. The dispute was solved only in 1594: Katharina junior obtained in compensation the right to represent the Gerlach firm at the book fairs of Frankfurt and Leipzig. The overall impact of this family saga may be summarized at this juncture in the following manner:
 1. in 1585, the Gerlach type entered the Nigrin printshop in Prague, where it remained in use. Nigrin did not use the Gerlach type for running titles, which came instead from the Berg-Neuber tradition, but only its music types and the text type for the underlay to the music. That same year Jacobus Handl left his only official position in order to settle in Prague. A question: did Georgius Handl play a role in these two simultaneously occurring changes? In other words, do these two changes mean that Georgius Handl himself settled in Prague in 1585, in parallel with the change of printing technology at Nigrin's printshop?
 2. Georgius Handl left Prague for Nuremberg in 1588 or 1589.
 3. The Dietrich edition of the *Moralia* bears all the marks of a Gerlach print (and not of a Nigrin one), including the running-titles of the Berg-Neuber tradition, as well as the custom of repeating the name of the composer at the start of every single piece.
 4. Conversely, all the ensuing Dietrich music publications, most especially those produced by Dietrich's widow, Katharina II, resemble Nigrin prints. They do not retain the characteristic Gerlach type for running titles.

We can clearly see that the matter of dates is crucial here, since we are dealing with a volume of *Moralia* whose musical contents must have been conceived as a complement to the *Harmoniae morales* at the latest in 1590 or 1591: that is, *in extremis*, just before

⁴⁸ Also given the fact that most of the printed music books listed in Jacob Handl's inventory carry the Gerlach imprint. See Desmet, "Typographicum robur fractum," 17, and below, p. 79.

⁴⁹ Jackson, "Who is Katherine?," 462. Veronica, née vom Berg, had married the Lutheran preacher Johannes Kauffmann in the mid-1560s. They had ten children, among them Paul Kauffmann (1568–1632) who, as a printer, became the most important continuer of the Berg-Neuber-Gerlach tradition.

the composer's death. The fact that, unlike all Dietrich editions, this one displays distinct Gerlach characteristics inclines one to think that its first impression could have been made immediately after Handl died; or if not, then at a time when he was still alive, but the Nigrin printshop was completely preoccupied with the preparation of the fourth and largest part of the *Opus musicum* and could not be burdened with these *Moralia* in addition. At that time, Dietrich and probably Georgius Handl were still working at Gerlach's establishment, and the first print of the *Moralia* could well have been made in this printshop. Katharina Gerlach then bequeathed the major part of her inheritance to her younger daughter Veronica. Dietrich and his wife Katharina left the family-owned business and started a printshop of their own, where Georgius Handl joined them, having in his possession the neither sold nor corrected copies of the first *Moralia* prints. The volume was finally issued only in 1596, but with a substituted Dietrich title page. It is therefore reasonable to surmise that with this volume of *Moralia* from 1596 we are facing a case similar to that of the 1597 *Sacrae cantiones*: the provision of a new title-page for a print executed earlier in a different printshop. Gerlach represents for the 1596 (but originally 1591) *Moralia* what Nigrin does for the 1597 (but originally 1591) *Sacrae cantiones*.

Support for this claim can be found in one of those unsolved mysteries that are not uncommon in Handl studies, and which in this instance arise from the ambiguous first lines of the inventory drawn up at the composer's home immediately following his death.⁵⁰ This inventory is simply a list of the music prints he had in his possession, in which the large number of copies recorded shows that he very probably took a leading part in financing and marketing his own editions.⁵¹

The first eight lines of this inventory are styled as follows:⁵²

1. *Prydnie partes swazany w czerwony kuži zely opus* (First of all partbooks of the whole opus in red leather bindings)
2. *Item partes tež swazany w byly kuoži Orlandi* (Then partbooks of Orlandus with white leather bindings)
3. *Item Moraliū 19 w traktatyach* (Then nineteen *Moralia* in bindings)
4. *Item quatuor Tomi Moraliū 260* (Then 260 copies of the *Moralia* in four books)
5. *Item tomus 1.us Harmoniarum opus 25* (Then the first book of *Opus Harmoniarum* twenty-five)
6. *Item 2.us tomus 60 exemplarzuw* (Then the second book, sixty copies)
7. *Item 3.us tomus Harmoniarum 100* (Then the third book of *Harmoniarum*, hundred)
8. *Item 4us Tomi 250* (Then the fourth book, 250)
9. *Item Tricinia Orlandi niemezky dwoge* (Then two *Tricinia Orlandi*) [etc.]

⁵⁰ This document in Czech drawn up in 1591 was published and commented on as early as 1888 by Zikmund Winter in his *Malé historie ze života staročeského*, 114ff. It later found its way into all Handl studies from Mantuani to Škulj. Škulj, *Gallusovi predgovori in drugi dokumenti*, 138–149, provides a Slovenian translation and a detailed commentary.

⁵¹ Gancarczyk, "Mystery of *Sacrae Cantiones*," 30.

⁵² I have added these numbers for the sake of clarity in the discussion that follows.

If all scholars agree to identify as items 5–8 the four books of the *Opus musicum* (whose titles do indeed read *Liber Musici Operis Harmoniarum* in the original title pages), we see that the *Moralia* are, curiously, mentioned twice: as items 3 and 4. The 260 copies of item 4 can refer only to the *Harmoniae morales* (that is, *Harmoniarum Moralium* according to the original title-page) already printed by Nigrin. According to Edo Škulj, their division into four books as recorded for this item is a rather strange one, since the *Harmoniae morales* actually divide into three books, not four.⁵³ The *quatuor tomi* (four books) of this item must therefore refer instead to the collection's four separate *voces* (Cantus, Contra, Tenor, Bassus), even though none of the later items in the list adopts the same basis of numbering. The previous mention in item 3 is intriguing as well: to what do these *Moralia* in nineteen separate gatherings refer? Might they not correspond to an initial, limited print-run of the *Moralia* proper? Or else to a single proof-reading print, comprising the nineteen sections needed to group the parts for pieces conceived variously for five, six and eight voices ($19 = 5 + 6 + 8$)? If this was indeed the case, we would have confirmation that Jacobus Handl died just prior to completing the proof-reading of the first print of his *Moralia*, which would therefore have been produced in the Gerlach printshop at a time (1591) when Dietrich, who by then had not started up his own business, was still working there. The numerical preponderance of Gerlach prints⁵⁴ among the following entries in this inventory seems to confirm this hypothesis, which also marks out the Gerlach printshop as a very likely workplace for Georgius Handl himself.

The Douai Print Compared with the Nuremberg *editio princeps*

The Douai print offers a sharp contrast to the original edition when both are directly compared. The intricate history, hybrid character and rather poor quality of the Nuremberg print stand in contrast to the impeccable and consistent appearance of the Douai edition. An examination of the later edition makes the difference of print quality obvious in every respect. The Douai *Moralia* are distinguished first and foremost by far better textual editing, a factor that affects both the placement of capital letters on the page and that of the sung text under the notes.⁵⁵ It is revealed even more in the consistent treatment of textual punctuation throughout the volume.⁵⁶ Another pointer towards Bogard's close

⁵³ Škulj, *Gallusovi predgovori in drugi dokumenti*, 141.

⁵⁴ Of the twenty-five items listed in the inventory, seven titles correspond to Nigrin prints of Handl's own oeuvre. Among the remaining eighteen items, thirteen can be associated with a Nuremberg provenance, out of which twelve indeed come from the Gerlach printshop.

⁵⁵ One example among many is the textual underlay for "Qui sermone placet" (*Moralia*, no. 12) and "Cui bene succedit" (*Moralia*, no. 13) in the Cantus I part, which is made much easier for the reader/singer in Bogard (nos. 20 and 21, respectively) than in Dietrich (nos. 12 and 13, respectively).

⁵⁶ In the Cantus II part of "Usibus edocto" (*Moralia*, no. 3) Bogard restores all commas that are left out by Dietrich, as well as introducing capital letters, and the same kind of improvement is found in many other pieces ("Cede repugnanti", "Sperne lucrum"). In "Usus amicorum" (*Moralia*, no. 46) the last line is affected by an erroneous (but repeated) comma in the Dietrich print, a mistake similarly corrected by Bogard.

attention to textual details is seen in some minute modifications to the spelling of certain words in order to adapt them to the linguistic environment of a Douai publication: that of French-speakers. For example, the cuckoo's call in "Permultos liceat cuculos" (*Moralia*, no. 27), reads "guggug" in Dietrich⁵⁷ but "coucou" in Bogard,⁵⁸ while the treatment of some individual letters, such as an initial *j* / *i*, likewise reveals that the texts have been carefully revised in order to facilitate correct pronunciation by Francophone readers.⁵⁹ Lastly, the overall elegance of the Douai print leaves the hybrid and hasty character of the *editio princeps* far behind.⁶⁰ That the order of the pieces, as often remarked, should have been altered (working upwards from five voices to eight, instead of the reverse as in Dietrich) in itself represents no great change, although it already shows how much care Bogard took in order to make the volume conform to his established practice.⁶¹

From a musical point of view, if the new print is not otherwise distinct from the Nuremberg original, as all scholars have already observed, careful note should be taken of the various typographical errors present in Dietrich that have been corrected in Douai.⁶² Significantly, however, those errors in the Dietrich print that come to light only when a score is prepared from the partbooks are present in the Bogard edition at exactly the same points.⁶³ One infers, therefore, that Bogard worked directly from the text of Dietrich's partbooks without first taking the precaution of making a performing score from them.

Publishing the *Moralia* in Douai

We can now return to our opening question about the provenance of the music used by Bogard. A link between Douai and Prague is easy to establish for the 1590s, since it is associated with the name of the famous composer Jacques (Jacobus) Regnart, born in Douai and active at the Habsburg court first in Vienna, then in Prague between 1576 and 1582, then at the Innsbruck court of archduke Ferdinand, and finally again in Prague in 1596, where Regnart held the post of court vice-*Kapellmeister* under the direction of Philip de Monte up to his death in 1598.⁶⁴ Regnart always retained close contact with

⁵⁷ In the Cantus I part, fol. [17].

⁵⁸ In the Cantus I part, no. 35.

⁵⁹ For example, "jucunditas" (Dietrich) vs. "iucunditas" (Bogard) in "Adeste Musae" (*Moralia*, no. 9).

⁶⁰ In Bogard initial letters provide many opportunities for an elegant layout absent from the earlier print: see, for example (among many other instances), the elaborate initial used for "Diversos diversa juvant" (no. 38), which opens the section for eight-part compositions in Bogard's Altus and Tenor partbooks.

⁶¹ All Bogard music prints are ordered, where relevant, in an ascending number of parts.

⁶² For example, a sharp printed by mistake by Dietrich (fol. [14]) in the Cantus I part of "Turpe sequi casum" (*Moralia*, no. 21) is removed in the Bogard print (no. 29).

⁶³ In the critical apparatus of the most recent edition, that by Edo Škulj (*Moralia.*, nos. 19–23), every note of the Dietrich print identified as an error on account of its relationship to the other parts occurs unchanged in the Bogard print.

⁶⁴ Except for a few articles, Regnart's bibliography has not significantly evolved since the publication, in 1969, of a thematic catalogue devoted to his complete works. See Walter Pass,

his homeland. Four other Regnart brothers are known, among whom three were also composers of some merit: Paschaise, Charles and François. François Regnart is known to have been choirmaster of archduke Matthias in 1573; he also worked at the cathedral of Tournai. Charles and Paschaise sang in the Capilla Flamenca of Philip II under Pierre de Manchicourt,⁶⁵ while a fourth brother, Augustin, held a canonry at the church of Saint-Mauritius in Lille. However, none of the Regnart brothers enjoyed a fame to equal that of Jacques, who achieved great success with his collections of German Lieder published in many collections from 1574 onwards.⁶⁶ The extraordinary international recognition accorded to Jacques alone did not prevent the brothers from remaining in close contact, as exemplified by an important publication bringing together the five Regnart brothers published by Jean I Bogard in Douai in 1590: a book of motets composed by Jacques, François, Charles and Paschaise, with a foreword written by Augustin.⁶⁷

It is not known with any certainty whether Jacques Regnart was acquainted with Jacobus Handl personally, but a potentially significant fact is that in 1595 their two names were mentioned together by the Naumburg cantor Abraham Ratz. Under the title of *Threni Amorum* Ratz had translated into German Regnart's first collection of Italian *canzoni* for five parts: *Il Primo libro delle canzone italiane*, a cycle originally published in Vienna in 1574. This new, "German" version of the *canzoni*⁶⁸ was published in Nuremberg at the Gerlach printshop in 1595 – that is, at a time when this printshop was already in the hands of Veronica Kauffmann's son, Paul Kauffmann.

Regnart returned to Prague in November 1596, the very same year when Georgius

Thematischer Katalog sämtlicher Werke Jacob Regnarts. The composer's complete works, edited by the same scholar, came out in the Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae series between 1973 and 1975 (vol. 62, nos. 4–5).

⁶⁵ The source for this assertion is the lengthy biography of the Regnart brothers by Warengnien (see n. 29). According to Warengnien, Charles and Paschaise are mentioned as members of Philip II's Flemish *capilla* in Madrid in 1559, under the direction of Pierre de Manchicourt. See Warengnien, "La Musique à Douai au XVI^e siècle," 84.

⁶⁶ Under the title of *Kurtzweilige teutsche Lieder nach Art der Neapolitanen oder welscher Villanellen* (Merry German songs in the manner of Neapolitan or Italian villanellas), three volumes of such pieces composed for three voices were published in Nuremberg by the Gerlach printshop respectively in 1574, 1577 and 1579; the first volume was reprinted in 1578. Another collection for five parts, *Neue kurtzweilige teutsche Lieder*, was published by the same printer in 1580, while a complete edition of the three-part *Lieder* was brought out in one volume in Munich by Adam Berg in 1583 (*Teutsche Lieder [...] in ein Opus zusammengedruckt*). In 1584 this single-volume edition was reprinted in Nuremberg under the title of *Tricinia: kurtzweilige teutsche Lieder*. A further volume followed, this time for four parts, and was published in Munich in 1591 (*Kurtzweilige teutsche Lieder*). These well-liked pieces also appeared in a number of anthologies during the first decade of the seventeenth century (see RISM 1585¹⁷, 1600^{5a}, 1600⁶, 1602¹¹, 1609²⁸, 1610¹⁸), while an anthology of similar songs solely devoted to Regnart appeared again in Nuremberg in 1614 (*Allerley kurtzweilige teutsche Liedlein*).

⁶⁷ *Novae Cantiones Sacrae 4, 5 et 6 vocum, auctoribus Francisco, Jacobo, Paschasio, Carolo Regnart, fratribus germanis.*

⁶⁸ *Threni amorum, der erste Theil Lustiger weltlicher Lieder mit fünff Stimmen* (Nürnberg: in der Gerlachischen Druckerey durch Paulum Kauffmann, 1595). See Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, 53.

Handl, then on his way to Olomouc to start up his own printing firm, signed in the same city the dedicatory foreword of the Nuremberg *Moralia*. Did the two men meet? Could Georgius Handl have given Jacques Regnart a volume of the Dietrich *Moralia*? We do not know; nor do we know whether Regnart ever returned to Douai before his death in 1598. But we need to place on record here that a number of clues conspire to make the years 1595–1596 a very plausible time for a significant encounter between Georgius Handl and Jacques Regnart either in Nuremberg (1595: publication of the German version of *Threni amorum*) or in Prague (1596: foreword of the *Moralia*).

Conclusion

1. Jacobus Handl-Gallus's collection of *Moralia* printed in Douai by Jean Bogard in 1603 deserves fresh consideration. Although strictly identical, in terms of contents, to the *editio princeps* published in 1596 in Nuremberg by Alexander Philipp Dietrich, as all scholars have already observed, the later edition displays a quality of text editing and an overall elegance of conception that surpass the rather mediocre quality of the original print.

2. The fact that these Douai *Moralia* are the only section of Handl's oeuvre to have been republished is intriguing, as is also its place of publication, which is rather distant from the central European area where Handl's music was composed, copied and printed. Both of these unexpected details seem to point towards a personal link as the vital factor lying behind the travel of the music.

3. A direct Prague (or Nuremberg) – Douai connection is indeed perfectly plausible when one considers the influential personality of Jacques Regnart, a native of Douai who became one of the celebrated Habsburg composers working in Innsbruck, Vienna and Prague, and who is likely to have known the Handl brothers either in Nuremberg or in Prague. A transfer of the music occurring by a route other than personal recommendation is also possible, although less likely, since this print is the only one originating from Protestant Nuremberg in the whole of the Bogard production.

4. The investigation into the second publication of the *Moralia* also sheds a retrospective light on the hybrid and mediocre character of the *editio princeps*. Published with a Dietrich title-page but displaying characteristics of a Gerlach print (uniquely among Dietrich music publications), this original edition points to difficult circumstances that possibly delayed the printing and publishing process.

- a. The composer Jacobus Handl died before managing to correct the initial proof copies of the collection, as revealed by the inventory.
- b. These proof copies were produced in 1591 in the printshop managed by Katharina Gerlach in Nuremberg. Dietrich was still working there at that time, as was possibly also Georgius Handl, who had left Prague for Nuremberg in 1588 or 1589. The Nigrin printshop in Prague, where all of Handl's previous volumes had been printed, was not available at that time, on account of the great backlog of Handl compositions awaiting publication.
- c. The complicated Gerlach succession also conspired to delay publication of the *Moralia*, Katharina Gerlach having bequeathed her printshop not to her elder, but

- to her younger, daughter, Veronica Kauffmann, whose son Paul Kauffmann was already one of the most promising young printers active in the German trade.
- d. Dietrich did not start up his own printing business together with his wife Katharina (that is, Katharina Gerlach's elder daughter), before 1595. With assistance from Georgius Handl he published the copies of the *Moralia* produced in the Gerlach printshop, substituting a title page of his own, in 1596. He would act similarly one year later, adding to the unsold copies of the fourth book of *Opus musicum*, originally published in Prague by Nigrin, a new title page of his own that gave the collection the name of *Sacrae cantiones*.

5. Difficult conditions surrounding the initial print of the *Moralia* and a possible meeting between Georgius Handl and Jacques Regnart in 1596 in Prague may explain how the music of Gallus came to be known within a French-speaking environment as early as 1603 via a new edition that compensated not for all, but at least for the most immediately apparent, imperfections of the *editio princeps*. It is important to emphasize the exceptional character of this print in terms of both geography and chronology: This not only because neither the Prague-Douai nor the Nuremberg-Douai route would have been favoured at that time according to the criterion of "cultural vicinity" (in contrast to the Prague-Nuremberg route), but also because Gallus's music would not appear again in a French-speaking environment until 1845.⁶⁹

6. The sole preserved example of the Douai *Moralia* formed part of the personal belongings of the French composer and music theorist Sébastien de Brossard (1655–1730). Brossard was responsible for the initial nucleus of the Music Department at the Bibliothèque Royale, later Bibliothèque nationale de France, in Paris, where this example is still found today. It is also thanks to this Douai edition that the music of Gallus came to be known by French students of music and men of letters as, according to Brossard, "l'une des plus excellentes de ce temps là."⁷⁰

⁶⁹ *Recueil des morceaux de musique ancienne* (Paris, n.d., ca. 1845), vol. 6, containing three motets (*Media vita, Adoramus te* and *Ecce quomodo moritur*) published by Joseph Napoléon Ney, prince de la Moskowa, for the historical concerts organized for the nobility in Paris. See Campos, *La Renaissance introuvable*.

⁷⁰ Brossard, *La Collection Sébastien de Brossard*, 177.

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»GALLUS APUD BELGAS«
PONOVNÍ PREMISLEK O DOUAIŠKI IZDAJI *MORALIJ* (1603)

Povzetek

Čprav je mesto Douai v začetku 17. stoletja gostilo številne pomembne tiskarje, nas dejstvo, da je tam že kmalu po natisu prve izdaje zbirke *Moralia* Jacobusa Handla - Gallusa (Nürnberg, 1596) izšel pri tamkajšnjem tiskarju in založniku Jeanu Bogardu leta 1603 njen ponatis, preseneča. Dosedanji raziskovalci so vsi ugotavljali, da izdaja iz Douaija ne prinaša ničesar novega ali drugačnega od prve izdaje, razen vrstnega reda skladb. Tudi se zdi, da je bila Handlova glasba povsem tuja repertoarju, ki ga je Jean Bogard sicer objavljaj. Tiskal je namreč predvsem glasbo franko-flamskih skladateljev, še predvsem lokalnih avtorjev, katerih dela so že izšla v Leuvenu ali Antwerpnu.

Podrobnejši pregled izvirne izdaje sicer potrjuje dejstvo, da je bila nürnberška izdaja *Moralij*, v že tako maloštevilnih glasbenih tiskih z naslovnico Alexandra Philippa Dietricha, še večja izjema. Dietrichovi glasbeni tiski so namreč nastajali šele v času, ko se je iz tiskarskih poslov že umaknil in je nadzor na tiskom prevzela njegova žena Katharina. Ta je uporabljala enako tipografijo kot Nigrin v svoji praški tiskarni in s kakršno je bila pred tem natisnjena vsa Handlova glasba. A med Dietrichovimi glasbenimi tiski le izdaja *Moralia* ne kaže podobnosti z Nigrinovo praško delavnico, temveč z eno najpomembnejših nürnberških tiskarn, tisto, ki jo je vodila Katharina Gerlach in v kateri sta delala tako Dietrich kot verjetno tudi Georg Handl, skladateljev brat. Podrobna analiza te izdaje pripelje do nove hipoteze, in sicer, da bi bila lahko zbirka *Moralia* natisnjena leta 1591 v Gerlachovi tiskarni, a je izšla šele 1596 z Dietrichovo naslovnico in brez skladateljevega pregleda. To predpostavko potrjuje tako Handlov zapuščinski inventar kot tudi zapleteno nasledstvo v Gerlachovi družini; Katharina Dietrich je bila namreč starejša hči Katharine Gerlach.

V primerjavi z nürnberškim izvirnikom so v tisku iz Douaia opazni popravki v glasbi in besedilih, razporeditvi sistemov in estetiki zunanjega videza. Popravljeni so tudi nekateri napačni glasbeni znaki iz izvirne izdaje. Vendar pa te izboljšave ne vključujejo popravljanje napak, ki so prisotne v izdaji iz leta 1596, kar bi lahko pomenilo, da so nürnberški glasovni zvezki predstavljali osnovo za tisk v Douaiu ter da so popravke delali samo na podlagi partov, niso pa preverili skladnosti vseh partov skupaj.

Razlog za izid v mestu Douai bi lahko morda iskali v povezavi med skladateljem Jacquesom Regnartom, ki je bil doma iz tega mesta in je deloval na habsburškem dvoru, predvsem v Pragi, ter sta ga zato Jacobus Handl in njegov brat Georgius tudi poznala. Edini ohranjeni izvod tiska iz Douaia je prišel konec 17. stoletja v Pariz, kjer so ga že zgodaj francoski glasbeniki in učenjaki uporabljali kot vzorčni primer Gallusove glasbe.