

Praga festivans.

Music played during the Prague Festivities of 1527 and 1558*

Jan Baťa

This article considers the role of music during the two most elaborate Prague festivities during the reign of Ferdinand I, in 1527 and 1558. Using extant narrative and musical sources, it tries to identify particular monophonic and polyphonic compositions that were performed.

KEYWORDS:

Ferdinand I (1503–1564); Arnold von Bruck (1500–1554); festivities; musical culture; Prague; Staatsmotette; Adrian Willaert (ca 1490–1562)

In one of the dramatic scenes of Jiří Menzel's famous film *Larks on a String*, the minister of education Zdeněk Nejedlý, while visiting a steelworks, proclaims to a cheering crowd: "Beautiful! Beautiful! So many flowers! Beautiful! If only Božena Němcová had lived to see this! Or Smetana... Can you hear? I can hear what's missing here. Music! Where has the music got to?"¹ The same question arises when browsing through some narrative and iconographic sources on court and civic festivals in sixteenth-century Europe.² Where is the music that played such an important role in festivals' splendour and impact?

As a temporal art — if not written down in scores or part books — music is only a fleeting moment that cannot be expressed adequately either by text or by image. Our knowledge of a musical accompaniment at a Renaissance festival relies on the extant narrative and musical sources. A crucial point for the music historian is the narrator's attitude to music. In most cases, an eyewitness points out visual rather than aural elements of the festivities, unless the music is his passion or even profession. An exceptional case is the description of the wedding of Bavarian Duke Wilhelm V (1548–1626) and Renata of Lorraine (1544–1602), one of the most brilliant festivities of its time that took place in Munich from 21 February to 10 March 1568. A text entitled

* This study is part of the research project *Prague — Residence of Ferdinand I of Habsburg and his Cultural Circle, 1526–1564*, which is supported by Czech Science Foundation Grant No. 13–16963S. I am grateful to David R. Holeton for his generous revision of the English and to Eliška Baťová, David R. Beveridge, Jana Hubková and Jiří K. Kroupa for their valuable comments.

1 Jiří MENZEL (dir.), *Larks on a String*, © Filmové studio Barrandov, 1969.

2 For a general survey see Helen WATANABE-O'KELLY — Anne SIMON, *Festivals and Ceremonies: A Bibliography of Works Relating to Court, Civic, and Religious Festivals in Europe, 1500–1800*, London 2000; James Ronald MULRYNE — Helen WATANABE-O'KELLY — Margaret SHEWRING (edd.), *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe I–II*, Aldershot 2004.



Discorsi delli triomfi, giostre, apparati, e delle cose piu notabile fatte nelle sontuose nozze, dell illustrissimo e excellentissimo signor duca Guglielmo (Munich, 1568) was written by Neapolitan musician Massimo Troiano (died after 1570) and is full of detailed references to the music performed.³ As Kenneth Kreitner said pertinently that, “the chroniclers were always maddeningly more interested in the musicians’ clothing than in, say, their instrumentation.”⁴ Moreover, there is another important reason for neglecting the musical parts of the celebrations by the narrators. The role of music on these occasions was not primarily artistic, but functional: it accompanied and supported the other elements of a celebration.⁵ Thus, the music formed one of the most ephemeral parts of the festivities. It is therefore a very difficult task to trace it in the relevant sources.

Nevertheless, this study will try to focus on the musical accompaniment of important festivals in sixteenth-century Prague in the reign of Ferdinand I. Even if the festivities in early modern Prague have attracted scholars during the last decades, this phenomenon still deserves much more attention.⁶ From the musicological point of view, the discrepancy between research in the Czech Republic and abroad is even more marked.⁷

3 Cf. Horst LEUCHTMANN (ed.), *Die Münchner Fürstenhochzeit von 1568. Massimo Troiano — Dialoge*, München 1980.

4 Kenneth KREITNER, *Music in the Corpus Christi Procession of Fifteenth-Century Barcelona*, *Early Music History* 14, 1995, pp. 153–204, at p. 153.

5 For a valuable overview of sixteenth century music from the functional point of view see Heinrich BESSELER, *Umgangsmusik und Darbietungsmusik im 16. Jahrhundert*, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 16, 1959, pp. 21–43.

6 Among the most important contributions are Jiří PEŠEK (ed.), *Pražské slavnosti a velké výstavy* [Prague Festivities and Great Exhibitions] (*Documenta pragensia XII*), Praha 1995; Pavel KRÁL — Václav BŮŽEK (edd.), *Slavnosti a zábavy na dvorech a v rezidenčních městech raného novověku* [Festivities and Entertainment at Courts and Residential Towns in the Early Modern Age] (*Opera historica* 8), České Budějovice 2000; Marina DMITRIEVA-EINHORN, *Ephemeral Ceremonial Architecture in Prague, Vienna and Cracow in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries*, in: James Ronald Mulryne — Elizabeth Goldring (edd.), *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance. Art, Politics and Performance*, Aldershot 2002, pp. 363–390; Jan BAŽANT, *Pražský Belvédér a severská renesance* [The Prague Belvedere and the Northern Renaissance], Praha 2006, esp. pp. 222–236.

7 There exist few contributions to the topic, most of them from non-musicologists, e.g. Jaroslav PÁNEK, *Aristokratické slavnosti české renesance* [Aristocratic Festivities of the Bohemian Renaissance], *Opus musicum* 19, 1987, No. 10, pp. 289–297; Alena RICHTEROVÁ, *Einige Überlegungen zur Literatur über die Geschichte von Feierlichkeiten in Prag zwischen dem 15. und 17. Jahrhundert*, in: *Berichte und Beiträge des Geisteswissenschaftlichen Zentrums Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas e. V.*, Leipzig 1999, pp. 111–142. Much attention has been devoted to the Prague festivities of 1617. Cf. Jaroslav PÁNEK, „*Phasma dionysiacum*“ und die manieristischen Festlichkeiten auf der Prager Burg im Jahre 1617 (*Der zeitliche und typologische Rahmen*), *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity*, H 29, 1994, pp. 33–44; Miloš ŠTĚDRŮŇ — Miloslav ŠTUDENT, *Phasma dionysiacum musicae*, *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity*, H 29, 1994, pp. 45–61; Miloš ŠTĚDRŮŇ, *Amor, Merkur a další postavy v pražské opeře Phasma dionysiacum 5. února 1617 na Pražském hradě* [Amor, Mercury



Ferdinand's Prague experienced several kinds of memorable festivities — solemn entries, coronations of Bohemian Kings, banquets, tournaments, and the ruler's funeral. Each of them inspired many printed or handwritten accounts and descriptions that form the historians' body of knowledge. Concrete remarks on musical accompaniment in these narratives are scarce. This corresponds to the functional role of music mentioned above. We can, however, find traces of incidental musical repertory that has come down to us through the printing press or scribal hand. This genre, composed specifically for ceremonial or state occasions, is represented mainly by the *staatsmotette*. Although its musical style coincides with the liturgical motet, the *staatsmotette* differs through the setting of the text that is usually "custom-made" for a particular occasion.⁸

In the following text, we will focus on the two most lavish festivities — Ferdinand's solemn entry and coronation as Bohemian King in 1527 and his solemn entry as Roman Emperor into the city in 1558.

FESTIVITIES OF 1527

On Tuesday 5 February 1527 Ferdinand I entered Prague to the sound of trumpets and drums as new ruler of the Kingdom of Bohemia.⁹ Two groups of trumpeters — the former belonging to Ferdinand's household, the latter to Anne Jagiello's — were

and Other Figures in the Prague Opera *Phasma dionysiacum* 5 February 1617 at the Prague Castle], in: Jana Nechutová (ed.), *Druhý život antického mýtu*, Brno 2004, pp. 206–213; Miloš ŠTĚDROŇ, *Marginálie k pražské hudební slavnosti Phasma dionysiacum* [Marginalia to the Prague Musical Festival *Phasma dionysiacum*], *Acta musicologica* 2004, No. 1, <http://acta.musicologica.cz> [retrieved 2. 6. 2015]. A much broader perspective is presented by musicologists abroad, e.g. Walter SALMEN, *Musikleben im 16. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1983; Thiemo WIND, *Musical Participation in Sixteenth-Century Triumphal Entries in the Low Countries*, *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 37, 1987, pp. 111–169; Edmund Addison BOWLES, *Musical Ensembles in Festival Books, 1500–1800: An Iconographical & Documentary Survey*, Ann Arbor, 1989; Tess KNIGHTON — Carmen MORTE GARCÍA, *Ferdinand of Aragon's Entry into Valladolid in 1513: The Triumph of a Christian King*, *Early Music History* 18, 1999, pp. 119–163; Mary Tiffany FERER, *Music and Ceremony at the Court of Charles V: The Capilla Flamenca and the Art of Political Promotion*, Woodbridge 2012, esp. pp. 221–240.

⁸ Cf. Albert DUNNING, *Die Staatsmotette 1480–1555*, Utrecht 1969.

⁹ For a list of the most relevant sources see Čeněk ZÍBRT, *Bibliografie české historie III/2* [A Bibliography of Bohemian History], Praha 1905, pp. 271–272; Rudolf WOLKAN, *Böhmens Antheil an der Deutschen Litteratur des XVI. Jahrhunderts I: Bibliographie der deutschen Litteratur Böhmens im XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Praha 1905, p. 7; H. WATANABE-O'KELLY — A. SIMON, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, p. 3; *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts*, VD 16, <http://www.vd16.de> [retrieved 26. 6. 2015]. See also Sněmy české od léta 1526 až po naši dobu I [Bohemian Assemblies since 1526 up to Our Time], Praha 1877, pp. 202–229, Nr 152–159; Václav Vladivoj TOMEK, *Dějepis města Prahy XI* [A History of the City of Prague], Praha 1897, pp. 36–38.



present.¹⁰ Ferdinand's entry through the city gates was preceded by polyphonic singing of Jews who had assembled in the outer part of the city to pay tribute to the future King. The Jewish singing in polyphony ("in Figurativis") had to be exceptional as a reporter remarked in his description.¹¹ The solemn entry into the city ended at St. Vitus' Cathedral where the royal couple was led first to the chapel of St. Wenceslaus where two musical works were sung — Easter processional antiphon *Advenisti desiderabilis* and a responsory to the feast of St. Wenceslaus, *Castus mente corpore docens*.¹² It seems that these two chants were monophonic. If so, we can assume that they were sung either by the clergy or the ordinary cathedral choir was used.¹³ Using these two pieces gave to the welcome a highly symbolic, truly eschatological dimension. The first one formed the second part of the antiphon *Cum Rex gloriae* that was a part of the ritual of the "Harrowing of Hell" which depicted their forefathers in Hell greeting the victorious Christ.¹⁴ The second responsory linked the future King with Bohemian spirituality and statehood. After a prayer, a *Te Deum* was performed.¹⁵ One of the accounts says that the hymn was sung by Ferdinand's music chapel.¹⁶ The

10 Beschreibung der Krönungsreise Ferdinands I. und seiner Gemahlin Anna nach Prag und der Krönungsfeier daselbst, *Sněmy české I*, No. 155, pp. 205–213, here p. 208: "Der Kunigin teutsch Trummetter sampt einem Heerpauker VII Pferd. Der k. Mt. Trummetter sampt Irer Mt. Heerpauker X Pferd." The model for this edition was: *Küniklycher magestat zn Behem vnd Hungern* [et]c. *Züg vnd eynreytten / auff die Croenung gen Prag Anno etc. M.D.XXvij*, Straßburg, Matthias Schürer (Erben), 1527, VD16 K 1868.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 209: "Item es sein auch k. Mt. und derselben Gemahel auf ein Viertel Meil für die Stat Prag entgegen gangen bis in III.C. Juden, köstlich in Samet, Tamast und ander seidn Gewand und mardrin Schauben gekleidt, auch zum Teil in iren geistlichen Habiten und ir Preceptor köstlich mit guldin Tuch und edelen Gestein umbwunden und gezieret, unter einen Himmel entgegen getragen, auch zwo ir eigne Cantreien gehabt, die auf Hebreisch in Figurativis und sunst nach irer Manier gesungen haben." For other witnesses see *ibid.*, p. 204.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 203. It is not without interest that the antiphon ("Canticum triumphale") *Advenisti desiderabilis* already welcomed future King Wenceslas II in 1283. Cf. Josef EMLER (ed.), *Kosmův letopis český s pokračovateli* [The Bohemian Chronicle of Kosmas with Successors], (Fontes rerum bohemicarum II), Praha 1874, p. 366. See also Karel KONRÁD, *O posvátném zpěvu staročeském* [On the Holy Bohemian Chant], Cecilie. Časopis pro katolickou hudbu posvátnou v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku 4, 1877, pp. 41–43, at p. 42; IDEM, *Dějiny posvátného zpěvu staročeského I* [A History of the Holy Bohemian Chant], Praha 1881, p. 40.

13 We leave aside the fact that the text *Advenisti desiderabilis* was set to polyphony several times — twice by anonymous composers (Cf. Guido ADLER — Oswald KOLLER (edd.), *Sechs Trienter Codices. Geistliche und weltliche Compositionen des XV. Jahrhunderts* (Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich 7), Wien 1900, pp. 83–88), once by Johann Walter (1496–1570).

14 Cf. Karl YOUNG, *The Drama of the Medieval Church I*, Oxford 1933, pp. 151–152, 425, 431; Reinhard STROHM, *The rise of European music, 1380–1500*, Cambridge 1993, pp. 305, 332. In both see further literature.

15 *Sněmy české I*, p. 203, 205.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 209: "[...] da haben k. Mt. Cantrei das Te Deum laudamus und ander gesungen [...]" Further information on the music chapel in Markus GRASSL, *Die Musiker Ferdinands I.*:



composition sounded *alternatim*, i.e. for odd verses plainchant was used, even verses were performed in polyphony. In our context the term *alternatim* signifies that the organist improvised on the plainchant melody and the choir with instruments replied singing: “Then the lord bishops started a solemn canticle, *Te Deum*, that was played alternately by the organ and singers together with their fellows [i.e. instrumentalists] until the end.”¹⁷ We can only speculate which polyphonic *Te Deum* was used — either from the circle of the music chapel or from a more distant milieu. Heinrich Finck (1444/1445–1527), at that time Ferdinand’s *maestro di cappella*, did not compose any such piece.¹⁸ The opposite was the case of his successor, Arnold von Bruck (1500–1554) who wrote an *alternatim* (!) *Te Deum* for four voices that is, however, claimed to have been composed too late for Ferdinand’s coronation as Holy Roman King in 1531.¹⁹ Nevertheless, the only source of this hymn bears the inscription “Arnoldus de Bruck ad organum” which corresponds to the Latin account of the ceremony.²⁰ Though Arnold de Bruck became *maestro di cappella* in June 1527, this coincidence is remarkable. It supports our assumption of Bruck’s *Te Deum* having been already composed for Ferdinand’s entry into Prague.

Three weeks afterwards, on Sunday 24 February 1527, the same cathedral saw the coronation of the newly elected King with the participation of many important figures of European political and religious life.²¹ The anonymous author of the account noted the presence of singers and instrumentalists (organists, cornetto, sackbut and

Addenda und Corrigenda zur Kapelle, Wissenschaftliches Jahrbuch der Tiroler Landesmuseen 5, 2012, pp. 25–49.

- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 203: “Tunc inchoatum est dominorum episcoporum solenne canticum *Te Deum* laudamus, quod hydraulis et cantores cum suis familiaribus *alternatim* ad calcem usque prosecuti sunt.”
- 18 Cf. Lothar HOFFMANN-ERBRECHT, *Finck, Heinrich*, in: Stanley Sadie — John Tyrrell (edd.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians VIII*, London 2001, pp. 821–823, at p. 823.
- 19 Cf. Othmar WESSELY — Walter KREYSZIG, *Bruck, Arnold von*, in: Stanley Sadie — John Tyrrell (edd.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians IV*, London 2001, pp. 456–458, at p. 457. This statement is based upon Wessely’s own assumption already presented in Othmar WESSELY, *Arnold von Bruck. Leben und Umwelt. Mit Beiträgen zur Musikgeschichte des Hofes Ferdinands I. von 1527 bis 1545*, unpublished habilitation Universität Wien, Wien 1958, p. 280. Further discussion of this composition is in Helmut OSTHOFF, *Das Te Deum des Arnold von Bruck*, in: Anna Amalie ABERT — Wilhelm PFANNKUCH (edd.), *Festschrift Friedrich Blume*, Kassel 1963, pp. 252–257. A modern critical edition of the piece is in Othmar WESSELY (ed.), *Arnold von Bruck. Sämtliche lateinische Motetten* (Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich 99), Wien 1961, pp. 63–70.
- 20 Stiftsbibliothek Klosterneuburg, Ms. 70, fol. 297^v–307^r. See also note 17 and O. WESSELY (ed.), *Arnold von Bruck*, p. 121 (critical apparatus). Cf. also Mack Clay LINDSEY, *Klosterneuburg, Chorherrenstift, Codices 69 and 79. Two Sixteenth-Century Choirbooks, their Music, and its Liturgical Use*, Ph.D. thesis, Indiana University, Bloomington 1980, especially pp. 155–156.
- 21 For the order of the coronation see Jiří KUTHAN — Miroslav ŠMIED (edd.), *Korunovační řád českých králů* [The Coronation Rules of Bohemian Kings] *Ordo ad coronandum Regem Boemorum*, Praha 2009.



trumpet players) who performed a mass,²² and after the coronation, also a *Te Deum*.²³ All of the comments on music are unfortunately too vague to identify particular pieces of music performed except the plainchant.²⁴ However, at least one musical witness of the coronation has survived — the motet *Haud aliter pugnans fulgebat Caesar in armis*:

<p>Haud aliter pugnans fulgebat Caesar in armis ac tu, spes patriae bellica tela ferens.</p> <p>Magna trophea paras, dum tu contendis in hostem, Vincislai paras nomina magna quoque.</p> <p>Nam merito sortitus eras haec nomina laudis, cum toties victor vincere doctus eras.</p>	<p>Hardly otherwise did Caesar shine, armed in battle, than you, the hope of the homeland, bearing weapons of war.</p> <p>Great laurels you gather when you thrust against the enemy, and you win the great name of the victorious Wenceslas.</p> <p>For rightly you've attained that glorious name, when so many times — knowing how to triumph — you've been the victor.</p>
--	--

The work was composed by the famous Flemish composer Adrian Willaert (ca 1490–1562) and published in his first book of motets for five voices from 1539 which contains — apart from liturgical pieces — several secular motets lauding the Sforza family and Medici popes.²⁵ Willaert's familiarity with the Central European region dates to the time of his service for Cardinal Ippolito I d'Este (1479–1520) who became Archbishop of Esztergom in 1517. Although Willaert's association with the d'Este family lasted until his appointment to the post of *maestro di capella* in the Venetian basilica of San Marco (1527), he was also mentioned in the period sources as *cantor regis Hungariae*. This remark has been interpreted as a link to Ferdinand I, though we know nothing about Willaert's employment at the Habsburg court.²⁶ Petr Daněk

22 *Sněmy české I*, p. 210: “Nach derselben Sermon ist das Ampt durch den Bischof von Olmütz angefangen mit Cantarei, Orgeln, Posaunen, Zinken und Trummeten auf köstlichs. Nach dem Gloria in excelsis ist kön[iglicher] Mai[estat] für den Altar getreten und sich mit den Antlitz zu der Erden geneigt, ein gute Weil also liegen blieben, haben Bischof, Abt und Probst die Litanei ob seine kö[niglicher] Ma[iestat] gesungen.“

23 *Ibid.*, p. 211: “Alsobald darnach haben alle Trummeter aufgeblasen und der Chor das Te deum laudamus gesungen mit grossen Freuden.”

24 *Ibid.*, especially pp. 213–222 (No. 156: *Ceremoniae observatae in coronatione Ferdinandi I. regis Bohemiae anno 1527. Coronatio regis Bohemiae*).

25 Adrian WILLAERT, *Musica quinque vocum (quae vulgo motecta nuncupatur) [...] liber primus, Venezia 1539*. Modern critical edition published Hermann ZENCK (ed.), *Adriani Willaert Opera omnia. Vol. 3, Motetta V vocum 1539 et 1550*, Corpus mensurabilis musicae 3/3, Rome 1950, pp. 87–89.

26 Cf. Lewis LOCKWOOD et al., *Willaert, Adrian*, in: Stanley Sadie — John Tyrrell (edd.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, XXVII, London 2001, pp. 389–400, at p. 389. In his earlier article, Lockwood connected this reference with the Ferdinand's predecessor, Ladislaus II Jagiello (1456–1516). Cf. IDEM, *Adrian Willaert and Cardinal Ippolito I d'Este: New*

A



Di - es ve - nit vic - - to - ri - e

B



Haud a - li - ter pu - gnans ful - ge - bat Cæ - sa

Haud a - li - ter pu - gn

FIG. 1: A: incipit of the medieval plainchant hymn *Dies venit victoriae* (cf. Dobroslav OREL, *Hudební prvky svatováclavské*, Prague 1937, p. 342); B: incipit of the motet of Adrian Willaert (cf. H. ZENCK (ed.), *Adriani Willaert Opera omnia*, p. 87).



has claimed the melodic material of the motet cites a medieval plainchant hymn venerating St. Wenceslaus, *Dies venit victoriae*,²⁷ but the similarity between the two pieces seems to be rather coincidental. If we accept the idea of a deliberate citation of the hymn, there would be nothing more than a short and inaccurate incipit [Fig. 1].

Several scholars have pointed out that there existed other occasions on which the composition could have been used — the celebration of the victory over the Turks in 1529 or the coronation as King of Romans in 1531.²⁸ Nevertheless, the emphasis on the name Vincislaus (Wenceslaus), the principal patron of the Kingdom of Bohemia, is so obvious that the anonymous author of the text had to have in mind the proclamation of Ferdinand's coronation as King of Bohemia. If we suppose the secular motet *Haud aliter pugnans* was really suitable for the coronation of 1527, we have to ask when and where it could have been used. The most probable place and time would be the “Great Hall” (i.e. Vladislav Hall) of the Prague Castle during the banquet held after the ceremony. The feast would be inconceivable without music.²⁹

Light on Willaert's Early Career in Italy, 1515–21, *Early Music History* 5, 1985, pp. 85–112, at p. 89.

27 Sleeve-note to the compact disc *Felix Austriae Domus. Music in the 16th Century Habsburg Empire*, Praha 1997.

28 For further discussion see especially A. DUNNING, *Die Staatsmotette*, pp. 283–284; Ignace BOSSUYT, *Adriaan Willaert (ca 1490–1562). Leven en werk. Stijl en genres*, Leuven 1985, p. 23; Victoria PANAGL, *Lateinische Huldigungsmotetten für Angehörige des Hauses Habsburg. Vertonte Gelegenheitsdichtung im Rahmen neulateinischer Herrscherpanegyrik*, Frankfurt am Main, 2004, pp. 92–94; Viktor VELEK, *Musikalische Wenzelstradition (bis 1848) im Kontext der böhmischen historischen Traditionen*, Ph.D. thesis, Masaryk University, Brno 2010, pp. 145–149.

29 *Sněmy české I*, p. 211: „Darnach ist sein kön[iglicher] Ma[iestat] unter der Cron, Zepter und Apfel auch in obgemelten andern königlichen Habiten, eben in der Ornung wie



On Monday 25 February 1527, St. Vitus Cathedral saw another coronation. Anne Jagiello (1503–1547) was crowned the Bohemian Queen by the abbess of St. George's monastery.³⁰ We can assume again the participation of the King's music chapel and other musicians — mainly from the household of Queen Anne — during the solemn liturgy.³¹ The glittering ceremony of the double coronation ended on Tuesday 26 February 1527 with a tournament and a ball in Vladislav Hall with the participation of more than thirty trumpeters (some of them were from Spain and the Netherlands).³²

Summarising our knowledge of the musical accompaniment of the festivities in Prague in 1527, we have to say that there are abundant accounts of the music played during either the sacred or secular parts of the celebration. Unfortunately, more tangible evidence of concrete musical pieces performed is lacking.

FESTIVITIES OF 1558

The reign of Ferdinand I was marked by another, much more magnificent, ceremony that left a long-lasting impression on the participants and became the most splendid festivity in Prague during the 16th century. On 8 November 1558, Ferdinand I entered Prague as Holy Roman Emperor [Fig. 2].³³ This event was a real landmark in the life of the Kingdom of Bohemia, not only because of its splendour or sophisticated organisation,

in Eingang, widerumb aus der Kirchen in des Schloss über den grossen Saale in die grossen Stuben, darin man die Landtafel zu besetzen pflegt, gangen und ir das Schwert vorgetragen, auch trumeten und posaunen lassen. In derselben Stuben [...] haben die behemischen Erbampton das Essen bracht, die Trummeter all aufgeblasen und ist also ein köstlich Panket gehalten, kön[iglicher] Ma[iestat] von den Behemen in allweg höflich und fleissig gedient worden. Ir kön[iglicher] Ma[iestat] hat auch Cron, Zepter und Apfel vor ir auf der Tafel gehabt und ist irer kön[iglicher] Ma[iestat] für und für mit Posaunen, Zinken und andern Instrumenten gedienet worden.“

30 *Ibid.*, pp. 211–212, 225, 228.

31 Like her husband Ferdinand, Anne employed her own trumpeters and a drummer as well as other musicians. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 208; see also Othmar WESSELY, *Die Musiker im Hofstaat der Königin Anna, Gemahlin Ferdinands I.*, in: Heinrich Hüschen (ed.), *Musicae scientiae collectanea. Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer zum 70. Geburtstag am 7. Juli 1972*, Köln 1973, pp. 659–672.

32 Cf. *Sněmy české I*, pp. 212–213.

33 The two most important accounts of this event are Martin CUTHENUS, *Brevis et succincta Descriptio Pompae in Honorem Sacratissimi ac Invictissimi Imperatoris Ferdinandi Primi [...]*, Prague [s. a.]; Pietro Andrea MATTHIOLI, *Le solenni pompe, i superbi, et gloriosi apparati, i trionfi, i fuochi, et gli altri splendidi & dilettevoli spettacoli, fatti alla venuta dell'Invittissimo Imperadore Ferdinando primo [...]*, Pragae 1559. For a list of other relevant sources see Č. ZÍBRT, *Bibliografie české historie III/2*, Praha 1905, pp. 432–434; Antonín TRUHLÁŘ et al. (edd.), *Rukověť humanistického básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě II [Handbook of Humanist Poetry in Bohemia and Moravia II]*, Praha 1966, p. 139; H. WATANABE-O'KELLY — A. SIMON, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, p. 4; *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts*, VD 16, <http://www.vd16.de> [retrieved 26. 6. 2015].



FIG. 2: Entry of Ferdinand I into Prague, 8 November 1558, lithograph, 19th century (Photo © National Gallery in Prague [Fotografie © Národní galerie v Praze], R 222789).

but mainly because of its political impact. There was still a strong living memory of the unsuccessful rebellion of 1547 when the Czech Estates refused to pledge allegiance to King Ferdinand.³⁴ The entry of 1558 was therefore perceived as an act of reconciliation and recognition of the sovereignty of the monarch. The secret director of this festivity was Ferdinand of Tyrol (1529–1595) who served as governor of the Kingdom for almost twenty years (1547–1567).³⁵ Celebrations of this kind were his favourite distraction.³⁶ He also paid great attention to the presentation of the festivity in the official narrative sources.

³⁴ Cf. Jaroslav PÁNEK et al., *A History of the Czech Lands*, Praha 2009, pp. 199–201.

³⁵ Cf. Václav BŮŽEK, *Ferdinand Tyrolský mezi Prahou a Innsbruckem. Šlechta českých zemí na cestě ke dvorům prvních Habsburků* [Ferdinand of Tyrol between Prague and Innsbruck. Nobles of the Czech Lands on the Way to the Courts of the First Habsburgs], České Budějovice 2006; IDEM, *Ferdinand von Tirol zwischen Prag und Innsbruck. Der Adel aus den böhmischen Ländern auf dem Weg zu den Höfen der ersten Habsburger*, Wien 2009. For a special focus on the relationship of Ferdinand of Tyrol to the musical culture of the Czech Lands see Jan BAŤA, *Ferdinand of Tyrol and the Music Culture in Renaissance Prague*, *Wissenschaftliches Jahrbuch der Tiroler Landesmuseen* 5, 2012, pp. 16–23.

³⁶ Wilfried SEIPEL (ed.), *Wir sind Helden. Habsburgische Feste in der Renaissance*, Wien 2005, *passim*.



The Emperor received a welcome from eight thousand riders outside the city walls and then led the procession through the streets towards the Prague Castle.

During this tour he encountered a crowd of church and academic dignitaries that praised the Lord with a polyphonic sacred composition.³⁷ The Emperor was then welcomed by nine singing Muses, who were the students of leading Prague parish schools.³⁸ Six Muses welcomed the Emperor at various locations in the New Town. The first Muse on the route, Calliope, was supported by the singing of a boys' choir from St. Henry's School. The second one, Thalia, was accompanied by the St. Gallus' choir. Boys from King Charles' College assisted the third Muse, Euterpe. Clio was accompanied by a school choir from the church of Our Lady before Týn. The fifth Muse, Polyhymnia, was supported by boys from St. Giles's Parish School. St. Nicholas's choir sang with Urania. Twelve trumpeters and drummers welcomed the Emperor at the city gate to the Old Town. Then the seventh Muse, Terpsichore, paid tribute to the ruler with St. Peter's boys' choir. The eighth one, Erato, greeted Ferdinand with St. Stephen's boy singers. The last Muse, Melpomene, was accompanied by schoolboys from the Lesser Town. All these choirs performed polyphonic pieces.³⁹ However, the account cites only the sung texts that consisted of many different verse patterns (odes, Sapphic strophes, elegiac couplets and hymns). We can assume that the musical settings were not original and used music composed previously, because the repertory of musical pieces based upon ancient metric schemes was an integral part of the daily order at parish schools in those days.⁴⁰

The Emperor was also acclaimed by a choir of Prague teachers that sang a polyphonic vocal composition.⁴¹ The participation of Jewish musicians was a remarkable music feature of the festivities. They sang polyphonic arrangements of Hebrew psalms for the passing Emperor.⁴² Also, Jesuits were active participants and

37 M. CUTHENUS, *Brevis et succincta Descriptio*, fol. D ij^r; P. A. MATTHIOLI, *Le solenni pompe*, fol. B iij^v: “[...] tutto il clero comincio a cantare un bello hinno in canto figurato pregando, et dando laude al Signore.”

38 Following description and opinions are based upon M. CUTHENUS, *Brevis et succincta Descriptio*, fol. D ij^r–F iij^r; P. A. MATTHIOLI, *Le solenni pompe*, fol. B [iv]^r–C iij^v.

39 Cf. Formulations as *variorum vocum modulatio, vocum concentus* (Cuthenus), *canto figurato, aggregredevolissimo concento* (Matthioli).

40 Cf. Markéta KABELKOVÁ, *Hudba a škola v období české renesance* [Music and School in the Era of the Bohemian Renaissance], master thesis, Charles University, Praha 1984, *passim*; Martin HORYNA, *Polyphonic Music in Bohemia in the 15th and 16th Centuries, and its Interpreters*, *Hudební věda* 43, 2006, pp. 117–134, at p. 123.

41 M. CUTHENUS, *Brevis et succincta Descriptio*, fol. E iij^r: “Hinc versus sinistram in alium vicum, praeter castellum, et adiacentem huic lacum, declinantes turmas consecutus Imperator, praeteribat coetum cantorum, quos ita vocat, qui ex aliis atq[ue] aliis ludis in angulum eius vici non procul a lacu dissitum confluerant. Canebatur autem ab his variato quinq[ue] vocum modulamine [...] hendecasyllabum.”

42 M. CUTHENUS, *Brevis et succincta Descriptio*, fol. C [i]^r: “Psalms Hebraica lingua concentu vario decantantes.”; P. A. MATTHIOLI, *Le solenni pompe*, fol. C iij^v: “[...] i quali cantavano psalmi in Hebreo, in vari modi [...]”



FIG. 3: Bartoloměj Paprocký z Hlohola a Paprocké vůle, *Diadochos IV*, Praha 1602, p. 141.

this event marked one of the first occasions for their performing in public since their coming to the city in April 1556.⁴³

The finale of the first festive day included a theatre performance in front of the Prague Castle gates, symbolising a triumphal procession of Bacchus. The next day another, even more impressive, production took place in front of the royal summer house with huge decorations depicting the victorious fight of Jupiter with five Giants.⁴⁴

This two-day pageantry was depicted in many period narrative sources and humanist poems.⁴⁵ However, it left few iconographical traces. They are captured in a book devoted to the history of the Kingdom of Bohemia called *Diadochos*, written by the Polish humanist Bartoloměj Paprocký (ca 1543–1614) that appeared in 1602.⁴⁶ The series of woodcuts unfortunately displays almost none of the musical action apart from one scene with a flute player [Fig. 3].

43 M. CUTHENUS, *Brevis et succincta Descriptio*, fol. F iij^r: “A musis venit deinde Caesarea Maiestas ad fratres de societate Iesu, qui et ipsi cum coetu suorum discipulorum eius Maiestatem exceperunt, instructi certo quondam apparatu, nimirum erecta statua Martis a Pace et Iusticia prostrati. Et praeterea puero super mensa tapetibus, contacta, locato, a quo hymnus ille angelicus, Gloria in excelsis Deo [et caetera], praecinebatur, reliquis vario modulamine vocum eum cantum prosequentibus.”

44 František ČERNÝ (ed.), *Dějiny českého divadla I: Od počátků do sklonku osmnáctého století* [A History of the Czech Theatre I: From the Beginnings towards the End of the Eighteenth Century], Praha 1968, pp. 139–140; J. BAŽANT, *Pražský Belvédér*, pp. 230–236.

45 See note 32.

46 Bartoloměj PAPROCKÝ Z HLOHOLA A PAPROCKÉ VŮLE, *Diadochos id est Successio. Jinák posloupnost knížat a králův českých biskupův a arcibiskupův pražských a všech třech stavův slavného království českého IV* [Diadochos id est Successio. Otherwise the Succession of Bohemian Kings and Princes, Bishops and Archbishops of Prague and all the Three Estates of the Glorious Kingdom of Bohemia], Praha 1602, pp. 139–144.



As we have shown, music played a pivotal role in the pomp and ceremony of the Prague festivities in 1527 and 1558. If we want to answer the initial question of where the music has gone, the most reliable way is to look for it in the period narrative sources. From these accounts of music-making during the celebrations we can get an idea of the different types of music heard in the city landscape. On the one hand there had been both sacred and secular music suitable for many other occasions used in the daily life of the city (i.e. singing of the *Gloria*, *Te Deum*, fanfares of civic and court trumpeters). On the other hand, incidental music had been performed whose existence usually started and ended with the celebration itself (Willaert's *Haud aliter pugnans*). Nevertheless, some part of the repertory was made from pre-existing music material that had been given new, appropriate, texts (odes, elegiac couplets, hymns). Thus, combining all the different types of compositions, we can still hear the music that is missing. Its sound is faint (faint enough for the scholar seeking compelling arguments), but sufficient to make our perception of the festivities more real.

RÉSUMÉ:

This article considers the musical content of Prague festivities in 1527 and 1558 associated with Ferdinand I. In the introduction it points to insufficient scholarly activity of Czech musicologists concerning Early Modern Age festivities in comparison with foreign scholars, and outlines some methodological problems that musical historiography has to face in research with a similar focus.

The first festivity included the triumphal entry of the newly elected ruler into Prague on Tuesday 5 February 1527 and his coronation on Sunday 24 February. Although there is scant mention of the music then played in the extant accounts, it is possible to glean information from them about music played by two ensembles of pipers and drummers, the first of which belonged to Ferdinand of Habsburg and his wife Anne Jagiello (of Bohemia and Hungary). Reporters also recorded some polyphonic music of Prague Jews but we know no details of its nature. The triumphal entry was terminated in Saint Vitus Cathedral with the singing of the Easter procession hymn *Advenisti desiderabilis* and the Saint Wenceslas responsory *Castus mente corpore docens*; Ferdinand's entry was enriched by them with a Christological (eschatological) and Saint Wenceslas dimension. The sources also record the singing of the polyphonic hymn *Te Deum*, which the author of this article attempts to attribute to Ferdinand's later Kapellmeister Arnold von Bruck (1500–1554). The coronation ceremony is highly likely to be linked to the motet *Haud aliter pugnans* composed by Adrian Willaert (ca 1490–1562), which does not however cite the Saint Wenceslas' hymn as it is claimed in the existing literature.

We have many more accounts of the musical accompaniment of Ferdinand's triumphal entry in the role of the newly elected Emperor on 8 November 1558. The event was carefully arranged by Governor Ferdinand of Tyrol, who had its official printed descriptions made. In addition, the festivity sparked the interest of the humanists, who joined with collections of Latin panegyrics. It is evident from the texts that those who participated in the musical component of the festivity were professional musicians (pipers, drummers), clergy, academic community, pupils of private schools, Jesuits, and Jews. Although individual Latin lyrics are listed in the accounts, there is not a single mention of the creators of the musical settings. Thus we can only surmise the character of the music played during Ferdinand's triumphal tour through Prague. Since the texts set to music are written in antique verse schemes, we can assume that this music was used repeatedly and routinely in the milieu of private schools. Unfortunately, we know nothing at all about the music for a theatre performance played in the vicinity of the Royal Summerhouse on 9 November 1558.

Many genres of music could have been played during the two festivities. Besides liturgical monophony, polyphonic compositions were played with a text created especially for these occasions. Besides, there were works composed directly for a given purpose, for which we use the term *staatsmotette* (this is the case of the motet *Haud aliter pugnans* by Adrian Willaert). Unfortunately, the greater part of this repertory, whose purpose and function were connected with the fleeting moment of a festivity, is irretrievably lost.

Mgr. Jan Baťa, Ph.D., works at the Institute of Musicology of the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague. He specialises in research into the musical culture of the Czech Lands during the Renaissance period with a special focus on the city of Prague at the turn of the 17th century (jan.bata@ff.cuni.cz).

