

# Musical Culture of Prague Lutherans During the Pre-White Mountain Era

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## Road to Religious Freedom

One of the important centres of the Lutheran community in Pre-White Mountain Prague was the church and boys' school of St. Saviour's\*, from the festive opening of which four hundred years have passed in the year 2014. The construction of the sanctuary in 1611–1614 represented a culmination of the emancipation efforts of the Lutherans in the Old Town of Prague. They had to wait long decades until Rudolf II's Letter of Majesty, issued on 9 July 1609, assured full religious freedom for them.<sup>1</sup>

The Lutherans of Prague celebrated their emancipation less than a week later (on 15 July) in the Church of the Holy Cross the Greater (*svatého Kříže Většího*) with several thousands of faithful participating.<sup>2</sup> They had already used this church for their divine services since the end of the sixteenth century, as they did other churches in the Old Town with the permission of the relevant Utraquist ecclesiastical administrators and their parishioners. These were, for instance, the churches of the Our Lady before Týn, and of St. Nicholas. This is demonstrated, among others, by the topography of Prague, published by

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\* Two churches in Prague's Old Town bear St. Saviour as their title of dedication. The slightly older, built by the Jesuits, sits near the eastern end of the Charles Bridge. The church which concerns this article is located very close to the Old Town Square. Commonly known in Czech as *U Salvatora*, it is owned by the Evangelical Church of the Czech Brethren – a 1918 merger of Lutheran and Reformed churches – and is the largest Protestant church in Prague.

<sup>1</sup> For the history of the Church of St. Saviour, on the basis of now lost sources, see Ferdinand Hrejsa, *U Salvatora, Z dějin evangelické církve v Praze, 1609–1632* [St. Saviour's Church, From the History of the Evangelical Church in Prague, 1609–1632] (Prague, 1930). The architectural development was recently summed up by Kai Wenzel, "Konfese a chrámová architektura: dva luteránské kostely v Praze v předvečer třicetileté války [Confession and Church Architecture: Two Lutheran Churches in Prague on the Eve of the Thirty Years War]," *Pražský sborník historický* 36 (2008) 31–103. On the Lutherans, see Jiří Just, "Luteráni v našich zemích do Bílé hory [Lutherans in Our Lands until the White Mountain]," in *Luteráni v českých zemích v proměnách staletí* [Lutherans in the Czech Lands Through the Centuries], ed. Jiří Just et al. (Prague, 2009) 23–126.

<sup>2</sup> Hrejsa, *U Salvatora*, 5.

a Lutheran sympathiser, the priest Bartoloměj Martinides, at that time the parish priest of St. Michael's in the New Town of Prague:<sup>3</sup>

In media urbe supra præfatæ Veteris Pragæ templum nobilissimum est, dictum Ante lætam curiam D[ivæ] Mariæ, in nomi- || ne S[anctissimæ] Trinitatis consecratum; non sine arte, lapide et calce, reliqua[ue] ornamentorum copia, co[n]structum [...] cui ex diversis aliis partibus forum amænum, ex una templum vetus, D[ivo] Nicolao in nomine Uniustrini consecratum, succingitur.<sup>4</sup>

The text indicates that the Lutherans invented – for the borrowed Utraquist churches – new *patrocinia* referring to the mystery of the Most Holy Trinity. These “visiting” Lutheran services were accompanied by Lutheran organists, who otherwise were not on the staff of these churches. At St. Nicholas's it was Martin Krumbholtz, and at Our Lady before Týn, the organist of Duke Heinrich Julius of Brunswick, Valerius Otto (1579- after 1612). In their published works, however, they listed themselves as organists of the churches, in which they were mere “visitors”. Thus Krumbholtz calls himself “dieser Zeit bey S. Nicolai Kirchen in der Alten Stadt Prag Organist,” and Valerius Otto as “Organist in der Alten Stadt Prag bey unser lieben Frawen im Thein.” Their names, however, cannot be found in the financial accounts of the relevant churches.

Thus, Lutherans could conduct services in borrowed churches. The Utraquists, however, were not always willing to accommodate them. For instance, the officials of at the Church of the Virgin Mary on the Pool in 1610 repeatedly rejected several applications for permission to conduct Lutheran service there.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless at this time the Lutherans of Prague were already intensively engaged in searching for financial means to erect their own

<sup>3</sup> Bartolomaeus Martinides, *Descriptio amplissimae atque ornatissimae regiae urbis Pragensis, metropolis totius Boemiae* (Pragae, 1615). For a partial Czech translation, see *Poselství ducha, Latinská próza českých humanistů* [The Message of the Spirit: Latin Prose of Czech Humanists], ed. Dana Martínková (Prague, 1975) 209–222. On Martinides, see *Rukověť humanistického básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě* [Handbook of Humanist Poetry in Bohemia and Moravia] (henceforth cited as *Rukověť*), ed. Antonín Truhlář et al., v. 3 (Prague, 1969) 264–265.

<sup>4</sup> See Bartolomaeus Martinides, *ibid.*, ff. [E iiiiv] – [E vr].

<sup>5</sup> MS Prague, Archiv hlavního města Prahy, 1665, ff. 286r-286v: “It[em] v pondělí po Smrte-dlné neděli byli jsme obesláni od p[ánův] defensorův, aby v našem || [f. 286v] chrámu Páně služby Boží jazykem německým konány býti mohly. Páni starší osadní tomu povoliti nechtěli, chodili k panu administrátorovi, aby jim pana faráře k Velce [!] Noci opatřil, utraceno u něho na faře 26 gr[ošů] 4 b[ílých]. It[em] zase jsme chodili k panu administrátorovi, nebo když se prv k němu šlo, spečoval se p[ana] faráře opatřiti, až od pana Purgk[mistra] a pánův poručení míti budem. Že Němcům dovoleny služby Boží býti nemají, utraceno u něho na faře 1 [kopa]. It[em] ve čtvrtek po Smrte-dlné neděli od diktu[m] panu písaři, že Němci nemají při našem chrámu Páně přísluhovati dáno 1 [kopa].”

church, and they found support from fellow-believers throughout Europe.<sup>6</sup> Substantial help, of course, also came from domestic Protestant nobility. In that respect, Count Jáchym Ondřej Šlik (1569–1621) was the most generous; he provided in 1610 the newly created parish with structures for a parsonage and a school, as well as with a parcel of land to build the church itself – all that in the very heart of the Old Town of Prague. He did so by purchasing a house with a garden, standing on the north side of the Old Town Square, for 24,000 scores of Meissen groschen from Alžběta Kolovratová, née Berková z Dubé a z Lipého (d. 1632).<sup>7</sup> Thanks to his generosity, the Lutherans of the Old Town were in a position to proceed with the construction of the church. Even with the substantial additional donations from other sources, however, they had to deal constantly with a shortage of funds.

### Laying the Cornerstone

The glorious moment arrived on 27 July 1611. Then the cornerstone for St. Saviour's Church was festively consecrated in the Church of the Holy Cross the Greater with a large attendance of parishioners, as well as numerous guests from the ranks of ecclesiastical, secular, and university dignitaries. Thereupon the cornerstone was ritually installed, with great pomp, at the designated building site.<sup>8</sup> The liturgy was conducted by the Court preacher of Dresden and the newly appointed parson of St. Saviour's Church, Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg (1580–1645), whose sermon was published together with a description of all the relevant festivities.<sup>9</sup> The ceremonies were accompanied by “brilliant figural and instrumental music, which honoured this work well and remarkably.”<sup>10</sup> Further description informs the reader that music played both before and after the sermon, and afterwards during the solemn

<sup>6</sup> See Rudolf Schreiber, *Das Spenderbuch für den Bau der protestantischen Salvatorkirche in Prag (1610–1615)* (Salzburg, 1956). Their arduous labours are described by Kai Wenzel, “Konfese a chrámová architektura,” 66–82.

<sup>7</sup> Hrejsa, *U Salvatora*, 16–17.

<sup>8</sup> On the festivities, see *ibid.*, 18–20; Anna Ohlidalová, “Präsenz und Präsentation: Strategien konfessioneller Raumbesetzung in Prag um 1600 am Beispiel des Prozessionswesens,” in *Formierungen des konfessionellen Raumes in Ostmitteleuropa*, ed. Evelin Wetter (Stuttgart, 2008) 207–217; Kai Wenzel, “Konfese a chrámová architektura,” 55–56; Jiří Just, “Luteráni v našich zemích do Bílé hory,” 91.

<sup>9</sup> Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg, *Christliche Predigt/ Bey Foundation oder Legung/ Des ersten Grundsteins/ einer Kirchen/ für die Evangelischen Teutscher Nation/ in der Königlichen alten Stadt Prag. Den 27. Julii am Tage Caroli/ An. 1611. in grosser Volckreicher Versammlung gehalten/ und auff inständiges begehren in Druck verfertigt / Von Matthia Hoe, der H. Schrift Doctorn/ [et]c. Ist mit angehenget die Beschreibung/ wie es bey der Solennitet des Grundstein legens zugegangen sey* (Leipzig, 1611). The added description of the festivities is heavily used by Hrejsa, *U Salvatora*, 19–20.

<sup>10</sup> Hoë von Hoënegg, *Christliche Predigt*, 47: “In den Kirchen hat eine fuertreffliche Musica figuralis & Instrumentalis, diesem Werck zu ehren sich wol und statlich hoeren lassen.”

transfer of the cornerstone to the construction site, and during the act of its installation.<sup>11</sup> The author did not miss a chance to note that even at this moment “one could hear beautiful instrumental and vocal music, as well as one ecclesiastical motet.”<sup>12</sup> The festivity was concluded with the singing of the *Te Deum* by all the participants.<sup>13</sup>

We often meet with an assertion in academic literature that the court chapel of Emperor Rudolf II furnished the music during these festivities.<sup>14</sup> This opinion, however, lacks any foundation in the sources. It is based on the unfounded assumption that the Emperor – impressed by the church model and favouring the construction efforts of the Old Town Lutherans – sent his musical ensemble to the ceremony. The assumption, first expressed by Antonín Gindely, was repeated by subsequent writers.<sup>15</sup> While the participation of the Emperor’s orchestra cannot be entirely ruled out, other musical bodies were potential candidates. It was, for instance, possible that it was the orchestra of Heinrich Julius of Brunswick, who had stayed repeatedly in Prague since 1607; and who belonged among the generous supporters of St. Saviour’s Church and who was personally present at the festivities during its inauguration.<sup>16</sup> A possible indication of the participation of the Duke’s orchestra is a printed collection of dance compositions by Valerius Otto, the Duke’s Court musician, which is dedicated to the Duke and dated in Prague on 13 July 1611.<sup>17</sup> Considering that the laying of the cornerstone was witnessed also by members of both the Old Town Council and the Utraquist Consistory it is furthermore also possible to assume the presence of the Town Musicians (trumpeters and sackbut players) and other musical ensembles. Lacking, however, relevant source documentation, the answer as to who

<sup>11</sup> Hoë von Hoënegg, *Christliche Predigt*, 47, 50.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 50: “In dessen ein schoene Music, instrumentaliter & vocaliter, mit einer geistlichen motteten sich hoeren lassen.”

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>14</sup> From Hrejsa, *U Salvatora*, 20, this view is adopted by Kai Wenzel, “Konfese a chrámová architektura,” 55, and found its way into musicological literature, see Hans Joachim Moser, *Die Musik im frühevangeliſchen Österreich* (Kassel, 1954) 26; Rudolf Quoika, *Die Musik der Deutschen in Böhmen und Mähren* (Berlin, 1956), 48.

<sup>15</sup> See Antonín Gindely, *Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Böhmen* (Leipzig, 1894) 121. See also Josef Šebesta, *Luteránská hudba v Praze v předbělohorském období: tři skicy z hudebního života rudolfínské Prahy* [Lutheran Music in Pre-White Mountain Prague: Three Sketches from the Music Life of Rudolphine Prague] (PhD Dissertation, Faculty of Arts, Charles University) (Prague, 2006) 72.

<sup>16</sup> Hoë von Hoënegg, *Christliche Predigt*, 46. On the Duke’s financial contribution, see Rudolf Sreiber, *Das Spenderbuch für den Bau*, 21.

<sup>17</sup> See *Répertoire international des sources musicales* (henceforth cited as *RISM*) O 285: Valerius Otto, *Neue paduanen, galliarden, intraden und currenten, nach englischer und frantzösischer Art. Allen denen Musicanten und Instrumentisten, welche keinen Text nicht gebrauchen, zu Liebe mit fünfſt Stimmen componirt und in Druck gegeben* (Leipzig, 1611). For a facsimile of the preface, see Valerius Otto, *Neue Paduanen, Galliarden, Intraden und Currenten, nach Englischer und Frantzösischer Art: a 5*, ed. Michael Pospíšil (Prague, 1993) xxii.

actually played at the festivities at St. Saviour's Church must, for the time being, remain in the realm of mere speculation.

The contemporary testimonies praise in superlatives the character of the festivities' musical accompaniment, as it was then customary in describing these types of events. Unfortunately, we do not discover from the text, which specific musical compositions were played at these ceremonies. The only identifiable item is the double-choir eight-voice motet of Martin Krumbholtz, *Und da die Bauleute der Grund legten*, which was undoubtedly played at the laying of the cornerstone, and which was published, apparently in the same year, in Leipzig by the printer, Abraham Lamberg.<sup>18</sup> In it, the composer puts to music the text of the prophet Ezra [3: 10–11], that is, the same text chosen by Matthias Hoë for his celebratory sermon's point of departure.<sup>19</sup> From the compositional point of view the piece reflects in its style the contemporarily favoured compositional technique of Northern Italy, called *cori spezzati*, in which as a rule two – or even more – choirs alternate. This style influenced European musical technique particularly during the second half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries.<sup>20</sup> The overall character of the composition emphasises the joyful thrust of the biblical text. With the help of musical-rhetorical devices, the composer strives for the closest possible conjoining of music and the text, and his style shows that he was well acquainted with the fashionable composition style of the time. We can only regret that this is the only known work of this composer, and that virtually nothing is known even about his life. From the data, mentioned in the

<sup>18</sup> See RISM K 2830: Martin Krumbholtz, *Zu Gottes Lob und Zu Ehren Der Ehrwürdigen [...] Kirchen Rätthen und Eltisten, der Christlichen Evangelischen Gemeine [...] in der alten Stadt Prag, etc. Ist dieses Gesang (Und da die Bauleute [a 8 v]) componirt, und am Tage der ersten Grundlegung ihres löblichen Kirchen Baues, als den 27. Julii Anno 1611 gesungen worden* (Leipzig, [1611]). A commented edition of this composition with notes was published by Robert Haas, "Die Grundsteinlegung der evangelischen Salvatorkirche 1611 mit der Weihemotette von Martin Krumbholtz," in *Hundert Türme. Ein Buch vom alten Prag*, ed. Paul Nettel (Prague, 1929) 126–146 and by Josef Šebesta, *Luteránská hudba v Praze v předbělohorském období: tři skicy z hudebního života rudolfínské Prahy*, Appendix, 1–47. See also Josef Šebesta, "Martin Krumbholtz a luteránská hudba v Praze roku 1611 [Martin Krumbholtz and Lutheran Music in Prague in 1611]," *Opus musicum* 35 (2003) n. 3, 2–9.

<sup>19</sup> Hoë von Hoënegg, *Christliche Predigt*, 1. See Ezra 3: 10–11: "When the builders laid the foundation of the temple of the Lord, the priests in their vestments were stationed to praise the Lord with trumpets, and the Levites, the sons of Asaph, with cymbals, according to the directions of King David of Israel; and they sang responsively, praising and giving thanks to the Lord, 'For he is good, for his steadfast love endures forever toward Israel.'"

<sup>20</sup> On the technique *cori spezzati*, see Anthony F. Carver, *Cori spezzati. The development of sacred polychoral music to the time of Schütz* (Cambridge, 1988). For its occurrence and influence in the Czech Lands, see Kateřina Mařová, "Compositions for double choirs (*cori spezzati* compositions) in Bohemia at the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, The state of manuscripts and printed sources and the problems of migration of double choir singing," *Acta Universitatis Palackianae Olomucensis. Philosophica et Aesthetica* 17 (1998) 123–140.

publication of his composition, it can only be assumed that he stemmed from Benešov nad Ploučnicí (Bensen) in northern Bohemia.

### St. Saviour's Boys' School

Only three and a half months after the laying of the church's cornerstone, the six-grade boys' school at St. Saviour's Church started its operation also in a festive way. After the Sunday liturgy on 13 November 1611, 206 entering students were introduced to the public; the next day the teaching began according to the school regulations, which were published in 1612 together with a description of the opening ceremony.<sup>21</sup> The author of the rules was Petr Ailberus (d. 1648), who was summoned to Prague by Matthias Hoë to direct the boys' school.<sup>22</sup>

According to Ailberus's rules, the pupils from the second to the sixth grade always practiced music together during the first hour in the afternoon on Mondays and Tuesdays.<sup>23</sup> Music, however, was mandated also in other places in the curriculum. Only for the fifth grade is it specified when and what the students were to sing.

In the morning<sup>24</sup> it was to be hymn *Veni, maxime Spiritus*<sup>25</sup> or *Veni, creator Spiritus*,<sup>26</sup> or as the case may be, the German-language variant of the

<sup>21</sup> Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg, *Publicatio Et Introductio, Scholae Novae Evangelicae Pragensis. Das ist: Eröffnung und Einführung der Newen Evangelischen Schul, In der Königlichen Alten Hauptstadt Prag. Es werden allhie die Predigt, Oration, und beschreibung des gantzen Actus befunden* (Leipzig, 1612). On the high school, see Ferdinand Hrejsa, *U Salvatora, 20–26*; Rudolf Schreiber, *Das Spenderbuch für den Bau der protestantischen Salvatorkirche in Prag (1610–1615)*, 150–153. On the school regulations, see also Markéta Kabelková, *Hudba a škola v období české renesance* [Music and School during the Bohemian Renaissance] (Diploma thesis, Faculty Arts, Charles University) (Prague, 1984) 37–40.

<sup>22</sup> On his life and work, see *Rukověť*, v. 1 (Prague, 1966) 61–62.

<sup>23</sup> See Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg, *Publicatio Et Introductio...*, ff. P2r, P3v, Q1v, Q2r, Q4v a R1v.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, f. Q2r.

<sup>25</sup> In printed sources several variants occurred, all of them polyphonic. See *RISM Deutsche Kirchenlied* (henceforth cited as DKL) 1553<sup>10</sup> (Mi Los 1553): *Psalmodia, hoc est Cantica sacra veteris Ecclesiae selecta* (Nürnberg, 1553). Critical edition of the melody *Das deutsche Kirchenlied: Kritische Gesamtausgabe der Melodien. Abteilung III, Die Melodien aus gedruckten Quellen bis 1680, Band 1, Die Melodien bis 1570, Teil 1, Melodien aus Autoredrucken und Liederblättern*, ed. Joachim Stalman et al. (Kassel, 1993), 79 (Notenband), 95 (Textband). *RISM 1561<sup>1</sup>* (*RISM DKL 1561<sup>21</sup>*, Mi Schweh 1561): *Veteres ac piae cantiones praecipuorum anni festorum, quibus aliquot psalmi, hymni, et alia quaedam cantica adiuncta sunt. Omnia quatuor vocibus composita, iuventuti pietatis studiosae non tantum iucundissima, verum etiam utilissima futura* (Nürnberg, 1561). Critical edition of the melody *Das deutsche Kirchenlied: Kritische Gesamtausgabe der Melodien. Abteilung III, Die Melodien aus gedruckten Quellen bis 1680, Band 1, Die Melodien bis 1570, Teil 2, Melodien aus mehrstimmigen Sammelwerken, Agenden und Gesangbüchern I*, ed. Joachim Stalman et al. (Kassel, 1996) 34 (Notenband), 32–33 (Textband).

<sup>26</sup> *RISM 1561<sup>1</sup>* (*RISM DKL 1561<sup>21</sup>*, Mi Schweh 1561). Critical edition of the melody *Das deutsche Kirchenlied: Kritische Gesamtausgabe der Melodien. Abteilung III, Die Melodien aus gedruckten Quellen bis 1680, Band 1, Die Melodien bis 1570, Teil 2, Melodien aus*

first, *Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre Gott*. On Mondays the hymn *Aurora surgit fulgida*<sup>27</sup> was added; on several other days also paraphrases of the psalms by Georgius Buchanan (1506–1582) were sung. According to their identified appearances, it seems that in all these cases it was a matter of polyphonic settings. Singing likewise concluded the morning curriculum.<sup>28</sup> On Mondays and Tuesdays the programme included simple four-voice compositions *Dicimus grates tibi, summe rerum conditor gnate* or *Herr Gott, dich loben alle wir* of the German composer Seth Calvisius (1556–1615). The first of these was the hymn to the holy angels of Philipp Melanchton (1497–1560) set to music. The other one was a verse adaptation of Melanchton's text by Paul Eber (1511–1569) and utilised the melody of *Or sus, serviteurs du Seigneur* from the Huguenot psalter.<sup>29</sup> Both compositions are parts of Calvisius's collection *Harmonia cantionum ecclesiasticarum* from 1597.<sup>30</sup> For Wednesdays the Latin hymn *Te deum laudamus* was prescribed. On Thursdays the psalm paraphrase of Georgius Buchanan *Felix ille animi, quam non de tramite recto* was mandated, and on Fridays the sapphic ode *Aufer immensam, Deus, aufer iram*.<sup>31</sup> On Saturdays the morning curriculum was concluded by the five-voice reworking of Psalm 103 *Nun lob, mein Seel, den Herrn, was in mir ist den Namen sein* by Christoph Thomas Walliser (1568–1648).<sup>32</sup>

In the afternoon, vespers, at which pupils of all grades gathered together, were moreover followed by the Latin contrafactum *Serva, Deus, verbum*

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*mehrstimmigen Sammelwerken, Agenden und Gesangbüchern I*, ed. Joachim Stalman et al. (Kassel, 1996) 34–35 (Notenband), 33 (Textband).

<sup>27</sup> *RISM DKL 1583*<sup>06</sup> (d/lat SteiS 1583<sup>0</sup>): *Hymnorum oeconomicorum, in octonas heptadum classes distributorum, libri duo* (Nürnberg, 1583); *RISM DKL 1583*<sup>07</sup> (d/lat SteiS 1583<sup>0</sup>): *Hymnorum oeconomici veteres. Ad dierum horas canonicas, inque singulos dies mane & vesperi, & ad mensam canendi, ex latinis germanici facti, & in octo heptadum classes distributi* (Nürnberg, 1583). Critical edition of the melody *Das deutsche Kirchenlied: Kritische Gesamtausgabe der Melodien. Abteilung III, Die Melodien aus gedruckten Quellen bis 1680, Band 3, Die Melodien 1581–1595*, ed. Joachim Stalman et al. (Kassel, 2005) 27 (Notenband), 130 (Textband).

<sup>28</sup> Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg, *Publicatio Et Introductio*, f. Q2v.

<sup>29</sup> *Le psautier huguenot du XVIIe siècle. Mélodies et documents*, ed. Pierre Pidoux, Vol. 1 (Basel, 1962) 120.

<sup>30</sup> See *RISM C 258*: Seth Calvisius, *Harmonia cantionum ecclesiasticarum. Kirchengesenge und geistliche Lieder D. Lutheri und anderer frommen Christen, welche in christlichen Gemeinen dieser Landen auch sonst zu singen gebräuchlich sampt etlichen Hymnis &c. mit vier Stimmen contrapunctisweise richtig gesetzt und in gute Ordnung zusammen gebracht* (Leipzig, 1597) n. 41 & 42.

<sup>31</sup> The text of Matthias Bergius (1536–1592) was published in the collection *Scipionis Gentilis & Cunradi Rittershusii Carmina sacra: scripta editaque Academia Altorfina ob metum luis dissipata* (Nürnberg, 1613) [23] – [24].

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *RISM W 101*: Christoph Thomas Walliser, *Ecclesiodiae, Das ist Kirchen Gesäng, Nemblich Die gebräuchlichsten Psalmen Davids so nicht allein viva voce, sondern auch zu Musicalischen Instrumenten Christlich zugebrauchen, Mit 4. 5. und 6. Stimmen componirt* (Strasbourg, 1614) n. 27. The school regulations, on the contrary, refer to a six-voice composition, which I consider to be an error. See Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg, *Publicatio Et Introductio*, f. Q2v.

*tuum* of Luther's song *Erhalt uns, Herr; bei deinem Wort*,<sup>33</sup> together with the antiphon *Da pacem Domine*, the prayer *Pater noster*, and a hymn corresponding to the liturgical season.

A total survey of musical compositions included in the curriculum is illustrated by the following table:

Time of Day	Day of the Week	Composition
morning	Daily	Veni, maxime Spiritus
	Daily	Veni, creator Spiritus
	Daily	<i>Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre Gott</i>
	Monday	<i>Aurora surgit fulgida</i>
	Tuesday-Saturday	Psalm Paraphrase
before lunch	Monday, Tuesday	Seth Calvisius (1556–1615): <i>Dicimus grates tibi, summe rerum conditor gnate or Herr Gott, dich loben alle wir</i>
	Wednesday	Te Deum laudamus
	Thursday	<i>Felix ille animi, quam non de tramite recto</i>
	Friday	<i>Aufer immensam, Deus, aufer iram</i>
	Saturday	Christoph Thomas Walliser (1568–1648): <i>Nun lob, mein Seel, den Herrn</i>
afternoon	Saturday	<i>Serva, Deus, verbum tuum; Da pacem Domine, Pater noster; hymnus</i>

Hence music played a substantial role in the curriculum of the St. Saviour's boys' school, just as it was the case in other schools of the Old Town. The character of music was thus in line with the standard requirements for students of secondary schools: it included single-voice choral chant, ecclesiastical songs in the vernacular – in this case German – tongue, and simple polyphony, thanks to which the students acquired rudimentary knowledge not only of counterpoint, but also of ancient metric models.

### Musical Life at St. Saviour's after its Festive Inauguration

While the teaching was successfully developing at St. Saviour's boys' school despite financial constraints and mistrust on the part of other secondary schools and the university, the building site of the church was a busy place and

<sup>33</sup> See *RISM DKL*: 1543<sup>10</sup>; for a critical edition see Philipp Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, v. 3 (Leipzig, 1870) 27; a critical edition of the melody with a commentary is published in *Das deutsche Kirchenlied: Kritische Gesamtausgabe der Melodien. Abteilung III, Band 1, Teil 2*, ed. Joachim Stalman et al. (Kassel, 1997) 161 (Notenband), 207–208 (Textband); further, see Friedrich Blume, *Protestant Church Music. A History* (New York, 1974) 37–38; Robin A. Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music, Principles and Implications* (Grand Rapids, 2007) 107–115.



the completed church could be opened – again with the participation of numerous guests – on Sunday, 5 October 1614.<sup>34</sup> Ceremonies, connected with the consecration and the opening of the church lasted until 8 October. As was the case with the laying of the cornerstone, we can assume that music was a substantial component of the festivities. However, we again lack concrete testimony in sources concerning the music that was played during the feast.

Reconstruction of the musical repertoire of St. Saviour's Church, after its opening, is similarly problematic, inasmuch as sufficient direct evidence is not extant. It is obvious that musical style did not much differ from what was customary in other churches of the Old Town. In general, it can be said that the foundation of the musical apparatus was the choir school and the organist.<sup>35</sup> The active participation of the congregation – with its singing of religious songs during the liturgy – was also substantial. We do not know whether additional instrumentalists joined in during the great ecclesiastical feasts. It is, however, worth noting that Melchior Teyprecht of Prechting, one of the elders of St. Saviour's Church, was an excellent musician, who headed the Old Town musical society, called *Collegium musicum*, and about which we know from its extant rules from 1616.<sup>36</sup>

A vague idea about the musical repertoire of St. Saviour's Church may be derived from the witness of a few extant musical sources. One of them might be a copy of a print of four-voice compositions by Melchior Vulpus (ca. 1570–1615) *Der Ander Theil Deutscher Sonn-Täglicher Evangelischer Sprüche* from 1614,<sup>37</sup> which was found in 1998 in the collections of the Jewish Museum in Prague inside a book cover marked *Salvator*, in which, however, an old Hebrew volume was bound.<sup>38</sup>

A less ambiguous connection with St. Saviour's Church, however, is demonstrated by the convolute of three printed collections *Promptuarium musicum* with a manuscript attachment, which is currently deposited in the music department of the National Library in Prague.<sup>39</sup> Only the alto

<sup>34</sup> See Hrejsa, *U Salvatora*, 40–45.

<sup>35</sup> Hrejsa cautiously names among the organists of St. Saviour's Church – referring to historical literature – Valerius Otto and Adam Herrman. Evidence in sources, however, is lacking, see Ferdinand Hrejsa, *U Salvatora*, 74. The two individuals are also connected with the post of organist at St. Saviour's Church. Hans Joachim Moser, "Lutheran Composers in the Hapsburg Empire 1575–1732," *Musica disciplina* 3 (1949) 8.

<sup>36</sup> See Jan Baťa, *Hudební Praha 16. věku. I. Staré Město pražské* [Musical Prague of the Sixteenth Century. I. The Old Town of Prague] (Prague, 2015) forthcoming.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. *RISM V 2582*: Melchior Vulpus, *Der Ander Theil Deutscher Sonn-Täglicher Evangelischer Sprüche Von Trinitatis biss auff Advent mit besonderem Fleiss mit vier, etliche wenige mit mehren Stimmen Componirt* (Erfurt, 1614).

<sup>38</sup> See Josef Šebesta, *Luteránská hudba v Praze v předbělohorském období: tři skicy z hudebního života rudolfínské Prahy*, 76–82.

<sup>39</sup> Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, Music Department, 59 E 9726. See also Jan Baťa, "Between Prague and Pirna. A Story from the Period Before the Thirty Years' War," *De musica disserenda* 11 (2015) 41–50.

voice is preserved. According to the *supralibros*, which is formed by a monogram *NDBAD*, the convolute belonged to the organist *U Salvátora*, Mikuláš Berounský of Doubravín (1577–1647), whose dramatic lifelong fate mirrors the complicated political and religious development of the Bohemian Lands during the Thirty Years War – nailed by tongue during the Old Town executions, afterwards imprisoned, subsequent departure for Saxony, a brief return to the homeland in 1631; after the change of circumstances, again imprisonment and finally, lifelong exile.<sup>40</sup> From the vantage point of musical historiography, Diviš of Doubravín is remarkable, above all, because – in addition to political and religious treatises and song texts in Latin and Czech – he composed a Latin epitaph for Pavel Spongopaeus Jistebnický (ca. 1560–1619) with an acrostic and teletich of *voces musicales* ut – re – mi – fa – sol – la.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, he was the author of the now lost *Officia Dedicationis templi*, inscribed to the *litterati* brotherhood in Rakovník.<sup>42</sup>

Let us, however, return to the convolute of Diviš. As mentioned, it contains three printed anthologies of polyphonic motets – covering the entire ecclesiastical year – for five to eight voices, compiled by the cantor from Speyer, Abraham, Schadeus (1566–1626).<sup>43</sup> These collections contain more than three hundred compositions by almost a hundred authors. Among these works, Italian music, composed according to the double-choir technique, clearly predominates. The manuscript attachment is no less interesting. It includes in the first place, Diviš's record of the seven-voice *Missa super Cantate Domino Melchioris Vulpii* of the little known composer Jan Columella

<sup>40</sup> For a brief overview of his life and works, see *Rukověť*, (Prague, 1966) II: 48–49. For a detailed biography with a critical edition of his works, see Vojtěch Sokol, *Mikuláš Diviš z Doubravína* (Prague, 1932). This source contains on p. 21 a mention about the *supralibros* NDAD in the binding of the autograph of his work *Judicium leonis et aquilae* from 1629. For a belletristic version of his life, see Jan Blahoslav Čapek, *Za jazyk přibitý* [Nailed by the Tongue] (Prague, 1970).

<sup>41</sup> MS, Prague, KNM, V D 6/II, p. 216.

<sup>42</sup> Karel Konrád, *Dějiny posvátného zpěvu staročeského od 15. věku do zrušení literátských bratrstev, I. část, XV. věk a dějiny literátských bratrstev* [History of Old Czech Sacred Chant from the Fifteenth Century until the Suppression of the Choral Brotherhoods. Part 1, The Fifteenth Century and the History of the Choral Brotherhoods] (Prague, 1893) 497.

<sup>43</sup> See *RISM* 1611<sup>3</sup>: *Promptuarii musici. Pars prima, Quae concentus selectissimos qui tempore hyemali S. S. Ecclesiae usui esse possunt, comprehendit: sacras harmonias sive motetas V. VI. VII. & VIII. vocum: e divertsis, iisque clarissimis hujus et superioris aetatis autoribus, antehac nunquam in Germania editis, collectas exhibentis*, ed. Abraham Schadaeus (Strasbourg, 1611); *RISM* 1612<sup>3</sup>: *Idem, Promptuarii musici. Pars altera, Quae aestivi temporis festivitibus dominisque diebus selectiores concentus S. S. Ecclesiae usui inservientes continet: sacras harmonias sive motetas V. VI. VII. & VIII. vocum: e divertsis, iisque clarissimis hujus et superioris aetatis autoribus, antehac nunquam in Germania editis, collectas exhibentis* (Strasbourg, 1612); *RISM* 1613<sup>3</sup>: *Idem, Promptuarii musici. Pars tertia, Quae exhibet Concentus varios selectioresque, qui solennioribus sc. SS. Trinitatis...: sacras harmonias sive motetas VI.VII. & VIII. vocum: e divertsis, iisque clarissimis hujus et superioris aetatis autoribus, antehac nunquam in Germania editis, collectas exhibentis* (Strasbourg, 1613).

Stříbrský;<sup>44</sup> in the second place, it contains later additions from the time after the convolute had become the property of the Jesuit College in the New Town of Prague. Two thirds of these compositions (masses, motets, hymns, and psalms) are recorded anonymously; among those identified by author, most belong to Giovanni Valentini (1582/83–1649), the court musician of the Habsburg emperors, Ferdinand II and Ferdinand III.

Another piece of evidence of the musical repertoire at the church *U Salvátora* is an incomplete collection of vocal music (alto, base, *quinta*, *sexta*, and *septima vox*), deposited in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden.<sup>45</sup> It is a convolute of the printed collection of motets for the principal feasts of the ecclesiastical year *Cantiones sacrae* of the composer and organist from Hamburg, Hieronymus Praetorius (1560–1629),<sup>46</sup> and of manuscript attachments in the front and in the back parts, which contain eleven mostly Marian compositions. The convolute, in fact, originally had belonged to the Marian Sodality in the Clementinum College, and the Sodality's exlibris is still clearly visible on the title page of the print.<sup>47</sup> It is relatively easy to explain, how this Jesuit piece of music happened to migrate to a Lutheran church. After the expulsion of the Jesuit order from Prague – at the start of the uprising of the Bohemian estates in 1618 – the Clementinum Library came into the possession of Charles University. The inventorying of the library was entrusted to Fabian Natus (1591–1634), who at that time also held the office of pastor at St. Saviour's Church. He evidently took away some of the books from the *Clementinum*,<sup>48</sup> among which quite certainly was our piece of music. After brief use by the Lutherans of Prague, with the Lutherans' departure into exile, the book ended up in the Saxon Pirna, which was one of the centres of Bohemian Non-Catholic exile.

From the few extant sources connected with St. Saviour's Church, we can therefore conclude that the character of polyphonic music played there corresponded to the contemporary vogue of both Italian and Transalpine music composed with the technique *cori spezzati*, just as we can observe – at the same time – in the nearby church of Our Lady before Týn, or in the Jesuit Clementinum College. The Latin texts – set to music and included in the motet anthologies *Promptuarium musicum* – moreover, were not

<sup>44</sup> See *Rukověť*, v. 1 (Prague, 1966) 455–456.

<sup>45</sup> Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Musikabteilung, Mus. Pi 2.

<sup>46</sup> *RISM P 5336*: Hieronymus Praetorius, *Cantiones sacrae de praecipuis festis totius anni* 5. 6. 7. & 8. *vocum* (Hamburg, 1599).

<sup>47</sup> On the Clementinum Marian Sodality from the musical standpoint, see Jan Baťa, “Jesuité a hudební kultura předbělohorské Prahy: glosy ke vzájemné interakci na příkladu klementinské mariánské sodality [The Jesuits and the Musical Culture of Pre-White Mountain Prague: Glosses to the Mutual Interaction on the Example of the Clementine Marian Sodality],” in *Bohemia jesuitica 1556–2006*, ed. Petronilla Čemus (Prague, 2010) 977–983.

<sup>48</sup> Zdeněk Václav Tobolka and František Horák, *Národní a univerzitní knihovna v Praze, její vznik a vývoj. I. Počátky knihovny až do roku 1777* [National and University Library in Prague, Its Origin and Development I. Beginnings till 1777] (Prague, 1959) 38–39.

confessionally distinct and, therefore, they were usable in both the sub una, and the sub utraque milieu. Thus also in this regard, the musical practice at St. Saviour's Church conformed to the Central European standard.<sup>49</sup>

## Epilogue

Beautiful music did not resound for even a single decade in St. Saviour's Church. The political and ecclesiastical changes after the Battle of the White Mountain rapidly terminated the conditions of religious freedom. By the end of 1622, the church was closed and three years later it was transferred to the order of Saint Francis of Paola (Minims), who held it, except for the period of Saxon invasion in 1631–1632, until the eighteenth century. The fate of the musical archive turned out to be interesting. A part ended up as waste paper. Diviš's convolute was seized by the Jesuits, who continued to use it in their College in Prague's New Town well into the seventeenth century. On the contrary, the purloined part books of the Clementinum Marian Sodality never again returned to Prague. It might have been Diviš of Doubravín himself, who had carried them off into exile to the Saxon Pirna, where they continued to serve the community of the former Church of St. Saviour in Prague.

Translated from the Czech by Zdeněk V. David

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<sup>49</sup> Repertoire of a similar character could be found at that time also in the Nuremberg Lutheran Church of St. Giles. See Walter H. Rubsamen, "The International 'Catholic' Repertoire of a Lutheran Church in Nürnberg (1574–1597)," *Annales musicologiques* 5 (1957) 229–327.