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THE MORAVIAN MONASTERIES OF THE ORDER OF BROTHERS HOSPITALLERS AND THEIR MUSIC COLLECTIONS

All monasteries of the Order of Brothers Hospitallers in today's Czech Republic originally belonged to the 'provincia germanica', which, in the late 18th century, covered nearly the whole of Central Europe. In 1781, the Emperor Joseph II decided that it has to be reorganised; the Polish and German monasteries formed the 'Provinz Skt. Carl Boromäus' (Bavarian), while the others were joined into the 'Provinz Skt. Michael' (Austro-Hungarian). The oldest monastery of the 'provincia germanica' was set up in 1605 in Lower Austria, in Feldsberg (the Czech Valčice, today Valtice); as a result of the 1919 Saint Germain en Laye treaty it became part of South Moravia. Similarly, the originally Bohemian Cieszyn (Těšín, Teschen), was in 1919, due to the Spa Conference treaty, divided between Czechoslovakia and Poland, and the Order monastery became Polish. A Czechoslovak province was established in the years 1919–1920; it was suspended by the Nazis in 1941, by the Communists in 1950, and re-established after the political changes in 1989. The seat of today's Czech province is Brno; the province consists of eight monasteries – Prague, Nové Město nad Metují and Kuks in Bohemia, and Valtice, Prostějov, Brno, Letovice and Vizovice in Moravia, not all of them active.¹

¹ For the general history of the Brothers Hospitallers see especially: Held, Johann. Theobald. *Kurze Geschichte der Heilanstalt der Barmherzigen Brüder in Prag*. Prague 1823; Sobel, Joannes de Deo: *Dějiny a slavnostní spis rak.-české řádové provincie Milosrdných Bratří*. Vienna 1892; id. *Geschichte und Festschrift der österr.-böhm. Ordensprovinz der Barmherzigen Brüder*. Wien 1892; Senfelder, Leopold. *Die Barmherzigen Brüder in Wien 1614–1914*. Wien 1914; Bogar, Benedikt. *Milosrdní bratři* [Brothers Hospitallers]. Prague 1934. For the music history of this Order in the Bohemian Lands cf. especially: Trola, Emilián. *Milosrdní bratři a hudba* [Brothers Hospitallers and Music]. *Cyril* LXIV, 1938, pp. 47–53; id. *Milosrdní bratři a hudba. II.* [Brothers Hospitallers and Music II]. *Cyril* LXX, 1944, pp. 20–23; Kopecká, Michaela. *Hudební život moravských konventů milosrdných bratří* [Music Life of the Brothers Hospitallers' Monasteries in Moravia]. In: *Morava v české hudbě*. Brno 1985, pp. 25–28; id. *Hudební život východočeských konventů milosrdných bratří* [Music Life of the Brothers Hospitallers' Monasteries in East Bohemia]. In: *Muzikologické dialogy 1984*. Hradec Králové 1986, pp. 193–211; Freemanová-Kopecká, Michaela. *Colectio Fratrum Misericordiae Kukussiensis*. Prague 1998; Freemanová, Michaela. *Provincia germanica of the Order of Brothers Hospitallers as a musical institution and as a centre of circulation of*

Music played an important role in the everyday's life of the Brothers Hospitalers, as well as in their education; in the 18th century, their novices were taught music together with the skills necessary for their future medical or pharmaceutical occupation, so that 'the province would have well educated and experienced [in the German version ,kunstverständigen und erfahrenen'] nursing staff'.² It seems that all Order monasteries had their own music collections; but, few of those belonging to the monasteries of the 'Provinz Skt. Michael', survived until today: in Austria, two small collections from Vienna and Graz, from the 19th century;³ in Bohemia, fragmentary collections from Prague⁴ and Nové Město nad Metují, East Bohemia,⁵ and the collection from East Bohemian Kuks, seemingly complete, consisting of more than nine hundred pieces of music.⁶ About the Těšín collection, and the collections belonging to the South Moravian monasteries in Letovice and Vizovice, nothing is known. But, their archive documents record the presence of such prominent Order musicians, like the Valtice monastery organist Concordius Pirstinger, installed in the Vizovice monastery in 1783 and 1784, or, in Těšín, the organist Symphorianus Zlesack, who previously was the choirmaster of the Viennese monastery, and Vincentius Kneer, who became the Těšín Prior in 1797, and in 1796 supplied Johann Gottfried Dlabacz with information on nearly forty Order musicians, some of which were in touch with Joseph and Michael Haydn, and other important period musicians, active in Vienna (Kneer himself was a boy chorister at the St Stephen Cathedral in the same time as both Haydns). Also, both of these monasteries were well equipped with music instruments, were

music and musicians in the Czech Lands and Central Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries. In: *De consortiis musicis et musicorum musicaeque in Bohemia Moraviaque circulatione 1600–1900*. In: *Acta Universitatis Palackianae Olomucensis, Musicologica Olomucensia* IV, Olomouc 1998, pp. 107–110; id. *Ve stopách Trolldova výzkumu hudebního života milosrdných bratří* [In the steps of Emilián Trolld's Research of Brothers Hospitalers' Music Life]. *Hudební věda* XXXVII, 2000, no. 3–4, pp. 287–305; id. *The two Haydns and the Brothers Hospitalers (Barmherzige Brüder, Fatebene Fratelli, O.S.I.): the four pupils, the less known sources*. *Hudební věda* XXXVIII, 2001, no. 3–4, pp. 333–342; id. *Bratři Haydnové a milosrdní bratři: dlouhodobý výzkum v kostce* [The Brothers Haydn and the Brothers Hospitalers – a brief Summary of a long-standing Research Project]. *Slovenská hudba* XXXV, 2009, no. 4, pp. 363–379.

² Cf. Sobel, *Op. cit.*, pp. 90–91, p. 102 in the German version.

³ Cf. Benedikt, Erich. *Die alten Notenarchiven der Schubertkirche in Lichtental und der Klosterkirche der Barmherzigen Brüder in Wien*. Sonderdruck aus: 'Musik muss man machen'. Eine Festgabe für Josef Mertin zum neunzigsten Geburtstag am 21. März 1994. Hrsg. Von Michael Nagy. Wien: Vom Pasqualatihaus 1994, pp. 51–98 (I am indebted for the information on this article to Ladislav Kačič); Schubert, Ingrid. *Musikalienbestände im Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Universität Graz*. 1. Teil (=Tabulae musicae Austriacae 12), Wien 1992, pp. 23–72.

⁴ Cf. Prague, National Archives, Brothers Hospitalers' papers, box 190, 191.

⁵ Cf. State Regional Archives, Zámorsk, Brothers Hospitalers' papers, Nové Město nad Metují, book 60–72.

⁶ Cf. Freemanová-Kopecká. *Collectio Fratrum...* (for detailed information on the history of the collection and the Brothers Hospitalers active in Kuks see the preface).

in touch with local musicians, especially headmasters, and their church festivities were accompanied by bell-ringing and music, and conducted ‘unter Pauken und Trompeten Schall’.⁷

The Prostějov monastery was founded in 1727;⁸ the history of its music making goes back to the 1730s, when a provisional chapel was used for services (the monastery church began to be built in 1751 and was finished only in 1764). The monastery employed local musicians and boy choristers; the monastery Vicar and later Prior was the ‘musicus praeclarus’ Wenceslaus Roswoda. In the 1760s–1790s, the same functions were taken by other prominent Order musicians, Benedictus Thum and Wernerus Hymbr. In Hymber’s time, the apothecary was Flosculus Tomesch, formerly erroneously believed to be identical by F. Tomich, whose presence in England Joseph Haydn noted in his London diaries.⁹ In the earlier decades, the monastery had Order organists (such as Emanuel Leitl); in the late 18th and in the 19th centuries, the Hospitallers employed the town organists, and, from 1890–1902 also a choirmaster. In that time, the organist was Tomáš Navara (1861–1929) who studied and graduated from the Brno Organists’ College, directed by Leoš Janáček. The choirmaster was the composer and music teacher Ezechiel Ambros (1861–1915), who worked in the same capacity for the Prostějov parish church, and studied at the Prague Organists’ College.¹⁰ The Prostějov Order monastery music collection must have been started soon after its foundation. In 1748, there were an already old organ and sixteen other instru-

⁷ For the Těšín, Letovice and Vizovice monasteries’ history cf. Brno, Moravian regional Archives, Brothers Hospitallers’ papers, Letovice, Brothers Hospitallers’ papers, Vizovice; Martin, Matica Slovenská, *Dějiny řádu Milosrdných bratří v českosl. Provincii* [The History of the Order of Brothers Hospitallers in the Czechoslovakian Province], MS-Ba C 253, fol. RHKS 1781; Kneer, Vincentius. *Erstes Jahrhundert der Krankenstiftung des Ordens der Barmherzigen Brüder in der Stadt Teschen kaiserlichen Antheils Schlesien am 30ten November 1800. In deren Klosterkirche gefeiert*. Vienna 1800; Sobel, *Op. cit.*, pp. 128–134, 154–159, 169–173; Illa, Milan. *Letovice. Milosrdní bratři* [Letovice. The Brothers Hospitallers]. Letovice 1999; Podsedník, Hubert a kolektiv. *250 let Milosrdných bratří v Letovicích* [250 Years of the Brothers Hospitallers’ Monastery in Letovice]. Letovice 2001; Müller, Dušan. 300 let nemocnice Konventu Milosrdných bratří v Těšíně [Three Hundred Years of the Brothers Hospitallers’ Hospital in Těšín]. *Těšínsko* XLIV, 2001, no. 4, pp. 17–18. For the music history of the Moravian monasteries of the Brothers Hospitallers cf. Kopecká, *Hudební život moravských...*; Freemanová, Michaela. *Fratrum Misericordiae Artis Musicae Collectiones in Bohemia et Moravia Reservatae*, Prague 2012 (forthcoming).

⁸ For the Prostějov monastery’s history cf. Brno, Moravian Regional Archives, Brothers Hospitallers’ papers, Prostějov; Joannes de Deo Sobel, *Op. cit.*, pp. 134–140; Smutný, Bohumil – Spurný, František. V branách průmyslového věku, 1697–1847. In: *Prostějov. Dějiny města*. Prostějov 2000, pp. 151–216.

⁹ Cf. Freemanová, *The two Haydns and...*

¹⁰ For the Prostějov monastery music life cf. Brno, Moravian regional Archives, Brothers Hospitallers papers, Prostějov; Freemanová, *Fratrum Misericordiae Artis...* For the general information on Ezechiel Ambros cf. Černušák, Gracian – Helfert, Vladimír (eds.). *Pazdříkův hudební slovník naučný. II. Část osobní. Svazek první. A–K*, Brno 1937, p. 12; for the additional details concerning his life and all information on Tomáš Navara I am indebted to Ingrid Silná.

ments, and of thirty one scores – Masses, Requiems, Offertories, and Litanies, some of them bought in Vienna. In the late 18th century, the scores were listed separately; only one of them, a *Salve Regina* by Ferdinand Schmid, survived. The rest of the collection, today consisting of altogether seventeen pieces, belongs to the sum of the typical early 19th century sacred music (Leonhard von Call, Leopold Koželuh, Wenzel Vincenz Maschek, Wenzel Müller, Jakub Jan Ryba, Johann Baptist Schiedermayr, and Jan August Vitásek, the local musicians – Carl Hruby, the town organist Adolf Vincenz Jauernik, and several Moravian musician teachers – Antonín Šebetovský, [Augustin?] Titz and Jakub Zdrahalik). Whether or not Ezechiel Ambros's and Tomáš Navara's keen interest in the aims of the purist Cecilian sacred music reform (they were both members of the local Cyrillic Society, which Ambros founded in 1890) were partially responsible for the extent of losses which the collection must have suffered during the 19th and 20th centuries, is today difficult to judge.¹¹

The only large Order music collections, surviving in Moravia, are those of Valtice (Feldsberg) and Brno (Brünn). Their history is rather complicated, especially after 1950, the year of the dissolution of all male religious Orders in the then Czechoslovakia, at the command of the Communist regime. The Valtice collection was last times seen in its original setting by the musicologist Otmar Urban, who, in the late 1940s, listed its contents and secured its earliest catalogue, put together during the 1770s and early 1780s. This catalogue comprised four hundred and fifty eight compositions.¹² The second Valtice catalogue, *Verzeichniss der Instrumente und Musikalien des Ehr. Klosters der barmherzigen Brüder zum heiligen Augustin zu Feldsberg*, from 1865, is a testament to the treatment of early sacred music in the 19th century, when the collection seemingly suffered major losses; it comprised two hundred and seventy two works. With the exception of several missing compositions or those which were added later, it corresponds to Otmar Urban's list.¹³ After the Communist dissolution of monasteries, the collection was moved from Valtice to the Brno Order monastery, where it was mixed up with the Brno collection.¹⁴ This, in turn, was transferred in several individual batches to the Department of the Music History of the Moravian Regional Museum, where it is still deposited. By the turn of the 20th century, Otmar Urban, according to his notes, separated the Valtice collection from the Brno collection; his catalogue was of invaluable help to me while preparing the catalogues of Valtice and Brno collection for publishing.¹⁵

¹¹ The Prostějov music collection consists today of seventeen scores. Cf. Brno, Moravian Regional Museum, Department of Music History.

¹² Cf. Brno, Moravian Regional Museum, Department of Music History, G 586, G 8038, J 100.

¹³ Cf. Moravian Regional Museum, Department of Music History, G 331.

¹⁴ Cf. Sehnal, Jiří. *Seznam hudební sbírky kláštera milosrdných bratří v Brně* [The List of the Music Collection of the Brno Monastery of the Brothers Hospitallers], 1972, Moravian Regional Museum, Department of Music History, G 334.

¹⁵ Cf. Urban, Otmar. *Tématický katalog (podle generálbasu)*, G 8038, inv. č. 194.295, *Konvent milosrdných bratří ve Valticích* [The Figured Bass Thematic Catalogue, G 8038, inv. no.

The first document to cover music performed in the Valtice monastery, is dated September 1661; in 1692, the administration books listed payment of one gulden against a Christmas play production. First purchase of scores was recorded in 1702; music was also borrowed for copying, from as far as the Münster Order monastery. In the early decades of the 18th century, music was performed only on special occasions; the monastery employed trumpeters, local headmaster, and ‘Discantisten v. Nicholsburg’ – boy choristers from today’s Mikulov, about fourteen kilometers from Valtice (probably attached to the local St Wenceslas Church or the Loretto shrine, supervised by the Capuchins). In 1739, the church was supplied with a new organ, built by Václav Thiel. There were also other instruments, bought mainly in Vienna; also bought was manuscript paper.¹⁶ The number of Order musicians working in Valtice, was high, all over the 18th century. Many of them, as well as the Valtice novices, were later put in charge of high Order functions; their music interests never took priority over their duties, with the exception of the members, who were old or handicapped.¹⁷ From 1773–74, the Valtice choirmaster was the than novice Blasius Smrček, sometimes believed to be the author of the earliest surviving catalogue of the Valtice collection, because his name appears on the penultimate page (‘Sub Regente Chori Blasio Smrczek’). In fact, this catalogue must have been put together by the most important Valtice Order choirmaster, Concordius Pirstinger, who signed the last page of the catalogue (‘Fr Concordius R Chori’), and whose name was in the the lists of the order members of the period designated as: ‘Organista. Zum Choro auserst gebräuchlich’. The catalogue was written by a single person who, by the end of his life, was suffering from heart disease; Pirstinger died in Valtice in 1785, Smrček in Vienna in 1813.¹⁸ In Pirstinger’s time, the collection consisted of one hundred and ten Masses, eight Missae Pastorales, fifty-eight Litanies, one hundred and one Offer-

194.295, The Brothers Hospitallers’ Monastery in Valtice], Moravian Regional Museum, Department of Music History, without shelf-mark.

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- ¹⁷ For the information on the music life of the Valtice monastery cf. Moravian Regional Archives, Brothers Hospitallers’ papers, Valtice; Kopecká, *Hudební život moravských...*; Sehnal, Jiří. *Z minulosti hudby ve Valticích*. In: *Město Valtice*. Valtice 2001, pp. 337–354; Freemanová, *Fratrum Misericordiae Artis...*
- ¹⁸ I am indebted for the information on the Valtice catalogue scribe’s health condition to the Bratislava graphologist Jozef Mistrik.

tories and Arias, eight Offertoria pastoralia, thirteen Vespers, eighteen Antiphons and Salve Regina, thirteen Alma Redemptoris, nineteen Ave Regina, sixteen Regina Coeli, seven Te Deum laudamus, two Requiems, two Stabat Mater, and, typically for the Brothers Hospitallers, eighty-three symphonies – which may have been performed also in the church.¹⁹ Also characteristic for the Order was the high number of compositions by Joseph and Michael Haydn. The rest of the catalogue offers a typical view of Central European monasterial repertoire of the time. There were compositions by the Brothers Hospitallers, as well as by members of other religious Orders, such as the Augustinians, Paulins, or Minorites and Franciscans (Engelbertus Katzer, one of the most important 18th century Central European Franciscan composers, who died in 1779 in the Valtice Franciscan monastery, which belonged to the Austrian province of this Order). There were also works by composers close to the Order in Prague, Vienna, or Eisenstadt, as well as music from other parts of Germany, Italy, and the Bohemian Lands. The Valtice monastery must have been in touch with the monasteries in Vienna (many scores were copied on Italian or Upper- and Lower Austrian paper), and Graz (copies of compositions by the Order member Abundius Micksh, who was the choirmaster here from 1772 to 1782), monasteries in Moravia (paper from the Mohelno paper-mill), and in Bohemia – Prague (characteristic, seemingly locally produced paper with the crescent moon and six-pointed star watermark), and Kuks (paper made at several places around Vrchlabí/Hohenelbe by the Kiesling family). The catalogue of the collection put together in 1865 by the Order member Faustus Gruber lists new, mainly Austrian and German sacred music which, from the beginning of the 19th century, replaced the pieces that no longer matched the church music requirements of the period. Some of this additional repertoire was written out by Johann Billek, who was the Valtice monastery church organist from the 1820s to 1830s, and by the local town councillor Carl Grolich; there are also numerous compositions by Johann Prachensky, a former military band Kapellmeister who, from 1791, was in the services of Prince Liechtenstein in Valtice, and around 1805 was also appointed the local parish church organist. None of all these additions can compensate for the substantial losses suffered by Pirstinger's collection. Of the original Haydn treasure-trove, only twenty works by Joseph and Michael Haydn have survived to the present day. The number of Masses fell in the 19th century to seventy-nine (most of them new works). The same applies also to the other sacred music; also diminished the number of music instruments.²⁰

¹⁹ Cf., for example, Zaslav, Neil. *Mozart's Symphonies. Context, performance Practice, Reception*. Oxford 1989, pp. 71–98.

²⁰ The Valtice music collection consists today of two hundred and seventy-four scores; none of the music instruments survived. Cf. Brno, Moravian Regional Museum, Department of Music History; Moravian Regional Archives, brothers Hospitallers' papers, Valtice.

Very similar to the story of the Valtice monastery music making was that of the Brno monastery, founded in 1747.²¹ Music played an important role in the life of the Brno Hospitallers long before the consecration of its church, in 1778. Musically talented were many Order members, working here; among them the very first Brno Prior, Caesarius Kohlicek, also Benedictus Thum who might have been called to Brno to help with his financial expertise at a time when the monastery was still under construction, and Vincentius Kneer. The Brno Hospitallers hired musicians, including a choirmaster, and a chest organ, as early as in 1749. The boy choristers may have come from the St Thomas Church, which belonged to the Brno Augustinian monastery and from where the Hospitallers borrowed scores and singers far into the 19th century. In 1766, the monastery already had an organ with six stops, a full set of other appropriate instruments, and also the necessary scores. Their covers reveal the names of those, who might have been in some way involved in performances, copying and lending music – among them two Brno Cathedral choirmasters – Johann Raymund Fiedler, and Gotthard Johann Pokorny. From 1764 to 1767, and apparently over an even longer period, the monastery employed musicians, but not a choirmaster. This duty was performed by Verecundus Faltus, the hospital infirmer, surgeon and anatomist with a degree from the Vienna University, also priest, Subprior, from 1775 to 1782 Prior of the Brno monastery, and, in addition, an excellent bassoon player, who mastered other wind instruments too. He contributed to the Brno collection considerably, choosing works by foremost Vienna and Prague composers, Joseph and Michael Haydn, and members of religious Orders, as well as by important musicians from other parts of Europe. Also performed were in this time oratorios; testament to this is a single MS copy of a libretto for an anonymous Easter oratorio: *Iustissima spei Anchora Christus Jesus*, from 1769.²² In the last decades of the 18th century, the Brno collection included also a fair amount of instrumental music, among others symphonies. The 19th century part of the collection shows the usual change of taste, and interest in the new sacred music. The pattern of the music-making changed, too: musicians were paid just for individual services, with the exception of a permanently engaged organist, and, around 1850, a choirmaster, who received the same wage as the organist. In the late 19th century account-books, the church expenses are either just summarised or omitted altogether; the Brno Hospitallers' music life was in decline. The same trend is also illustrated by the inventories of the monastery's assets: the number of instruments and scores gradually diminished. Among the most interesting 19th century scores count Joseph Haydn's *Die Jahreszeiten*, Hob. XXI: 3 and *Das Weltgericht* by Johann Christian Friedrich Schneider – the most performed oratorio in the period between Haydn and Mendelssohn. For such productions gathered in the Hospitallers' church boy

²¹ For the general history of the Brno monastery cf. Brno, Moravian Regional Archives, Brothers Hospitallers' papers, Brno; Sobel, Joannes de Deo, Op. cit., pp. 149–153.

²² For the information on the music life of the Brno monastery cf. Moravian Regional Archives, Brothers Hospitallers' papers, Brno; Kopecká, *Hudební život moravských...*; Freemanová, Michaela. *Fratrum Misericordiae Artis...*

and adult choristers from the St Peter and Paul Cathedral, the Franciscan and Augustinian monasteries, as well as the other Brno churches, and also members of the affluent local nobility and bourgeoisie. The Hospitallers in Brno obviously always played a similar role to the nearby Augustinians – they ran one of the town's most important music centres: a feature characteristic of the Brothers Hospitallers in general. In 1914, the last surviving inventory listed the organ with seventeen stops and a chest organ, one harmonium, one cello, one double-bass, a pair of timpani and a music collection, consisting of a little more than one hundred pieces, obviously chosen in accordance with their usability during the church services.²³ Unlike in Prague, the rest of the Brno collection was not discarded. Its three hundred and forty-two items survived, together with the Kuks and Valtice collections, as unique testimonies of the formerly rich music life of the religious Order from which they originated.

MORAVSKÉ KONVENTY ŘÁDU MILOSRDNÝCH BRATŘÍ A JEJICH HUDEBNÍ SBÍRKY

Všechny hospitály milosrdných bratří na území dnešní České republiky původně patřily pod řádovou *provincii germanica*, založenou roku 1605, která ve druhé polovině 18. století pokrývala téměř celou střední Evropu; v roce 1781 byla administrativně rozdělena na provincii bavorskou a rakouskou. Hudba hrála v životě milosrdných bratří mimořádnou roli – byla nedílnou součástí jejich vzdělávání. Zdá se, že všechny řádové hospitály měly vlastní hudební sbírky. Do dnešní doby se jich však dochovalo minimum – jedna údajně v Polsku (Wrocław), dvě v Rakousku (Viedeň, Štýrský Hradec), jedna v Čechách (Kuks) a dvě na Moravě (Valtice, Brno). Z dalších jsou známé jen zlomky (Praha, Nové Město nad Metují, Prostějov). Značný význam pro poznání hudebního života řádu mají archiválie a záznamy Vincentia Kneera, jenž zásoboval informacemi o řádových hudebnících Gottfrieda Johanna Dlabacze; díky tomu lze alespoň částečně rekonstruovat hudební život konventů, z nichž se nedochovaly žádné hudebniny (Těšín, Vizovice, Letovice) a detaily kontaktů řádu s Josephem a Michaellem Haydnem a dalšími významnými dobovými hudebníky. Bohatý archivní materiál je k dispozici v případě prostějovského, brněnského a valtického konventu, u kterých lze sledovat rozvoj a v souvislosti s proměnami vkusu, priorit a ekonomické situace řádu i úpadek jejich hudebního života od 17. do prvních desetiletí 20. století.

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The Brno collection consists today of three hundred and forty-two scores; no music instruments survived. Cf. Brno, Moravian Regional Museum, Department of Music History; Moravian Regional Archives, brothers Hospitallers' papers, Valtice.