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From Moravská Třebová to Klosterneuburg: To the Fate of One Part Book

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Abstract

Not many Renaissance musical sources survived to this day from the region of Moravia. Other sources, however, may also testify to what repertoire was performed in the churches in the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries. These include music inventories, for example, which survived in the case of some Moravian towns already from the late sixteenth century and, more numerously, from the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.

One such inventory was written in 1644 in Moravská Třebová and it captures the actual form of the music collection of the local Parish Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The inventory lists about sixty pieces of musical manuscripts and printed sheet music, most of them containing compositions by Baroque composers of the first half of the seventeenth century, in addition to some works by Renaissance composers. Except for three medieval liturgical codices, no sheet music survived from this music collection. This fact, however, has changed recently. A tenor book (a composite volume of four Nuremberg prints from the turn of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries – those of Kaspar Hassler, Christoph Demantius, and Valentin Haußmann), which had originally been part of the music collection in Moravská Třebová, has been identified among the holdings of the Klosterneuburg Abbey. In a 1644 music inventory written in Moravská Třebová, this composite volume figures as the thirty-second item. The part book probably made its way to Klosterneuburg only in the nineteenth century, i.e., it had been in practical use in the church in Moravská Třebová and not in the Klosterneuburg Abbey. This study aims to describe the facts we know about this part book and, at the same time, formulate some hypotheses and questions related to its transfer from the Czech Republic to Austria.

Key words

Moravská Třebová, Parish Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Klosterneuburg Abbey Library, Christoph Demantius, Trias precum vespertinarum, Valentin Haußman, Manipulus sacrarum cantionum, Kaspar Hassler, Sacrae symphoniae, Nuremberg, renaissance prints, vocal polyphony, part book, tenor, 1603, music inventory
A tenor part book has survived in the rich collection of musical manuscripts and prints of the library of the Augustinian Abbey in Klosterneuburg. It is a composite volume of four Nuremberg prints from the years 1598 to 1602 of a quarto format, which can be found in this library under shelfmark D II 164. These prints are Kaspar Hassler’s *Sacrae symphoniae* and *Sacrarum symphoniarum continuatio*, Christoph Demantius’s *Trias precum vespertinarum*, and Valentin Haußmann’s *Manipulus sacrarum cantionum*.1

In the early seventeenth century, these prints could be commonly found in the ecclesiastical collections of music (and not only in Protestant churches) all over Central Europe, so their presence in the musical collection of the Klosterneuburg Abbey is no surprise.2 However, an additional note can be found on the first folio of the volume, thanks to which the original place of use of this part book can be identified as the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Moravská Třebová. It is the description of this source and its possible fate on its journey from Moravská Třebová to Klosterneuburg (i.e., from the territory of the Czech Republic to Austria) from 1603 to this day that forms the subject of this study.

The facts that can be documented about this part book are as follows. This specific copy was given to the parish church in Moravská Třebová in 1603 by a councilman, Georg Fückenwirt.3 As the dedication note on the first folio reveals, Fückenwirt donated it to the church so that these compositions could be rehearsed and performed there.

“No 1603 am tag Georgi hat diss Opus Musicum der ersame wohlweise herr Gerg Fückenwirt bürger und rathsverwandter alhier in Tribaw Gott befoderst zu sonderlichen ehren und lob und nochmals zu aufuehrung der christlichen kirchen und entlich zu mehrer ubung der jugendt zum chor mit sondernd veß gekauft und verehret.”4

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1 Stiftsbibliothek Klosterneuburg, sign. D II 164; Hassler, Kaspar (ed.): *Sacrae symphoniae diversorum excellentissimorum authorum* (Nürnberg: Paul Kauffmann, 1598; RISM B/I: 1598); *Sacrarum symphoniarum continuatio, diversorum excellentissimorum authorum* (Nürnberg: Paul Kauffmann, 1600; RISM B/I: 1600); Demantius, Christoph: *Trias precum vespertinarum* (Nürnberg: Alexander Theodoricus, 1602; RISM A/I: D 1533); Haußmann, Valentin: *Manipulus sacrarum cantionum* (Nürnberg: Paul Kauffmann, 1602; RISM A/I: H 2377). The research on this musical source was carried out at the Institute of Musicology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava as part of the “Transregional Contexts of Sources of Sacred and Secular Music from the Territory of Slovakia in the Twelfth to the Seventeenth Centuries” VEGA Project, Number 2/0006/21; 2021–2024).

2 Latin sacred compositions could be used by the Catholics even if they were composed by Protestant composers. The collections of Kaspar Hassler and Christoph Demantius were widespread, as some known inventories of music from Bohemia and Slovakia document. For musical inventories from the Czech Republic, cf. MAŇAS, Vladimír – SPÁČILOVÁ, Jana – KAPSA, Václav. *Hudobné inventáre a repertoár viachlasnej hudby na Slovensku v 16. – 17. storočí [Musical Inventories and the Repertoire of Polyphonic Music in Slovakia in the Sixteenth and the Seventeenth Centuries]*. Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 1994. The distribution of the musical collections was often taken care of by the composers themselves. Christoph Demantius, for example, sent his *Trias precum vespertinarum* collection to the municipal councils of Brno, Znojmo, and Olomouc, cf. STUDENIČOVÁ, Hana. … einem ersamen Rath verehrt. Über Widmungen der Musikalien an mährische Städte ca 1560–1620. *Musicologica Brunensia*, 2020, Vol. 55, No. 1, pp. 15–37, specifically p. 23.

3 From among the already examined burgomasters’ registers in the municipality of Moravská Třebová, his activities as a councillor in the town can be documented at least between the years 1601 and 1607. For the citation of these sources, cf. Note 15.

4 Stiftsbibliothek Klosterneuburg, sign. D II 164, f. 1r.
**Figure 1** The front boards of the tenor book. Source: Stiftsbibliothek Klosterneuburg, sign. D II 164.
Fückenwirth presumably purchased these prints separately and later had them bound into part books and handed them over for use. This was the usual practice at the time: sheet music was bought separately and bound into composite volumes of several prints later.\(^5\)

The print was still demonstrably present in Moravská Třebová in 1644 because it figures in the music inventory of the Parish Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.\(^6\) At that time, about sixty pieces of musical manuscripts and prints could

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\(^5\) This practice is documented by some entries in the ledgers of Saint Michael’s Church in Znojmo where, in addition to entries about the acquisition of sheet music, there are also ones about expenses paid to bookbinders for their subsequent binding; cf. STUDENIČOVÁ, Hana. Kantori, varhanici, trubače. Hudobní kultura moravských královských měst v letech 1500–1620 [Cantors, Organists, Trumpeters. The Musical Culture of Moravian Towns in the Years 1500–1620]. Brno: Archiv města Brna, 2023, p. 159. In the opposite case, the printers themselves would bind individual works into a composite volume and sell them in this bound form. This practice is pointed out by Scott Edwards in the case of Frankfurt music prints; cf. EDWARDS, Scott. Repertory Migration in the Czech Crown Lands, 1570–1630. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2012, pp. 52.

\(^6\) Státní okresní archiv Svitavy se sídlem v Litomyšli [State District Archive of Svitavy, with its seat in Litomyšl] (hereinafter referred to as SOKA Svitavy), fond Farní úřad Moravská Třebová [Collection of the Parish Office of Moravská Třebová], Inv. No. 107, Book 380, f. 22r–25r; for the edition of the source with supplements, see SEHNAL, Jiří. Hudobní inventář kostela v Moravské Třebové z konce třicetileté války [The Musical Inventories of the Church in Moravská Třebová at the End of the Thirty Years’ War]. Brno: Archiv města Brna, 2005, p. 163.
be found in that church. Besides works of Early Baroque composers, the inventory also lists some collections of earlier composers, of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries. They include, for example, Orlando di Lasso, Jacob Handl Gallus, Melchior Vulpius, Leonard Lechner, Gallus Dressler, and Blasius Ammon. The thirty-second item refers to the prints of Caspar Hassler and Christoph Demantius: “Sacrae Simphoniae Casparis Hasleri in 4to, darbey Magnificat Christoph Demantii.” The music inventory does not mention whether the print of Valentin Haussmann also formed part of this composite volume. The entry reveals that the volume was of a quarto format but does not specify the number of part books. Only the tenor book survived to this day, although this composite volume of prints was to consist of six part books (D, A, T, B, 5, 6).

Inventory of the Church in Moravská Třebová from the End of the Thirty Years’ War. Hudební věda, 2015, Vol. 52, No. 1, pp. 55–78; the latest edition of this music inventory will form part of a volume on music inventories in the Czech lands, now under preparation, cf. Note 2.

7 SEHNAL, op. cit., p. 57.
Besides the four Nuremberg prints, the volume also contains some handwritten additions with notation. These are some selected antiphons for the Vespers of the whole liturgical year (Alleluia, In Exitu Israel, Domus Jacob, Beatus vir, In mandatis, Confiteor tibi, In concilio rectorum, Dixit dominus). They are notated in C-clef and are written according to their respective tone. Considering the Renaissance performance practice and polyphonic singing, the manuscript additions to the end of the composite volume must have been present in all the part books. Given the fact that it is a composite volume of prints bound into a single unit in 1603, the last two folios must have been inserted into it before it was bound. The handwritten additions may not have been written on them yet, but they obviously counted on them. What is certain is that the print was truly used for singing in Moravská Třebová in the early seventeenth century, serving the practical needs of the church choir there.

Not much is documented about the musical culture of the town of Moravská Třebová in the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries. It was an important, German-oriented town in Moravia, mostly sympathizing with Protestantism. As for its designation, it was not a royal town, but a serf town and a residential one. The owners of its demesne had their seat in the castle and the most significant ones included Václav of Boskovice and Ladislav Velen of Žerotín. It was under the latter that the castle became a prominent aristocratic seat, where various artists were active, including musicians. Just like in other Moravian towns, the main developments in music in Moravská Třebová took place mainly in its municipal Parish Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Few reports survived about the musical practices of this church, however. Some basic information is mentioned by Jiří Sehnal, but he drew mainly on earlier literature and, in the case of the names of some musicians in Moravská Třebová, on a writing of Josef Edmund Horký of 1812. Also, in the nineteenth century, Moritz Grolig wrote a text about school education in Moravská Třebová, including a number of names of rectors and school assistants. Some names of the staff of the school and the clergy can also be found in the handwritten notes of Jan Petr Cerroni. The Moravian school system in

8 The handwritten additions figure on the two penultimate folios of the tenor book.
12 Moravský zemský archiv v Brně (Moravian Regional Archive in Brno), fond G 12 – Cerroniho sbírka,
Figure 4 Handwritten additions to the end of the part book. Source: Stiftsbibliothek Klosterneuburg, sign. D II 164, the two penultimate folios.
general is dealt with by Jiřina Holinková in her monograph, which also contains a list of the school staff in Moravská Třebová.13

All these texts share one characteristic, the absence of any citations of primary archival sources from which the authors drew the information they present. The extant archival materials of the municipality of Moravská Třebová are kept in a separate collection in the State District Archive of Švihov with its seat in Litomyšl.14 For information about the musicians and the musical developments in Moravská Třebová, mainly the registers of the burgomasters of the town, extant from the early sixteenth century, although with major gaps in some years, appear to be most relevant.15 Moreover, there are a few volumes of cartularies, which contain not only the drafts of the sent out correspondence, but also records of the private legal proceedings of the burghers before the municipal council.16 Some prosopographical pieces of information may also be found in the book of marriage contracts17 and there is also an extant book of the inventories of estates for the time period in question.18 Archival documents related to the functioning of the Parish Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary are deposited in the Parish Office of Moravská Třebová Collection of the same institute.19

In Renaissance towns, the main figures in music were usually the cantor and his singers, followed by school employees, the organist, and the ensemble of the municipal trumpeter. Although the archival materials of the municipality of Moravská Třebová contain some information about all these musicians, no specific names have been found in them yet. The references in the sources are limited to notes that a regular salary or occasional remuneration was paid out to a musician, but these references are always anonymous. Moreover, there are no references to any specific musical events in the town or in the parish church, either. These pieces of information must have been recorded in other, non-extant or unexamined sources.20 Therefore, we must make do with some basic information about musical life in Moravská Třebová by citing mostly from secondary sources.

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14 SOKA Svitavy, fond Archiv města Moravská Třebová [Archive of the Municipality of Moravská Třebová Collection].
16 Ibid., Inv. Nos. 236–242.
17 Ibid., Inv. Nos. 356–357.
18 Ibid., Inv. No. 358.
19 SOKA Svitavy, fond Farní úřad Moravská Třebová Parish [Office of Moravská Třebová Collection].
20 The purpose of this research did not require a study of all the archival sources, as these pieces of information would have exceeded the framework of its objectives. For a comprehensive picture of the musical culture in Moravská Třebová in the Renaissance period, all the sources in the Archive of the Municipality of Moravská Třebová Collection and the Parish Office of Moravská Třebová Collection, as well as the sources in the various collections of the Moravian Regional Archive in Brno (e.g., Cerroni’s Collection, Boček’s Collection, etc.) should be systematically examined.
Around the year 1600, the cantor received a regular quarterly salary of two guilders and his salary was later raised to six guilders. In addition, he received various bonuses in kind. In 1587, the salary of the organist amounted to ten guilders, whereas in 1611, it was only eight guilders. The municipal trumpeter received a regular weekly salary of one guilder twenty-two and a half groschen and an allowance for firewood and canvas. Literature names Martin Querss (c. 1554), Kryštof Frencelinus Unansensius (1573), Georg Börner (probably in 1590–1593), Melchior Hasendorffius (c. 1595), Georg Kremer, and Georg Spenglerus (first an auditor, then a cantor, ultimately the rector of the local school) as cantors. From among the organists, a certain Johannes Totenwolf is mentioned in 1587. Two names are connected to the history of the organ in Moravská Třebová. In 1554, Stefan Unger, an organ builder from Olomouc, built an organ in the town and it was repaired in 1592 by Georg Koch.

As for concrete Renaissance sheet music used for singing in the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Moravská Třebová, the inventories document mainly works by Protestant composers (Demantius, Dressler, Franck, Gesius, Hassler, Lechner, Lindner, Vulpius, Walliser, and others) and works by Orlando di Lasso and Jacob Handl Gallus. However, it cannot be demonstrated when they were acquired and till when they were used for singing in the town. As for the way in which these concrete items of sheet music were acquired, they were presumably either purchased or received as donations, as these were the most common ways of acquiring Renaissance sheet music.

21 Information about his regular salary can be found in the burgomasters’ registers; as of now, only Inv. Nos. 897–905 have been examined.
22 SEHNAL, op. cit., p. 65.
23 SokA Svitavy, fond Archiv města Moravská Třebová [Archive of the Municipality of Moravská Třebová Collection], Inv. No. 904, f. 68r.
24 All the registers contain a separate rubric with the weekly salary of the trumpeter and an occasional remuneration (mostly six guilders annually) for clothing; expenses for heating figure in the rubrics of the general expenses of each councillor.
25 HOLINKOVÁ, op. cit., p. 106.
26 Ibid., p. 106.
28 HOLINKOVÁ, op. cit., p. 106.
29 Ibid., p. 107.
30 GROLIG, op. cit., p. 41.
31 HOLINKOVÁ, op. cit., p. 106.
32 SEHNAL, op. cit., p. 65; for more on the life of this organist in Olomouc, see STUDENIČOVÁ, op. cit. (Kantoři), p. 315.
33 SEHNAL, op. cit., p. 65; three organists surnamed Koch appear in total in Moravian sources, namely Jan, Jiří, and Štěpán; for their biographical entries, see STUDENIČOVÁ, op. cit. (Kantoři), pp. 255–256.
music in Moravian towns. Only references to donations of sheet music are specifically documented, though. In 1592, the composer Johann Knöfel donated his compositions to the municipal council but, surprisingly, his collection does not figure in the music inventory of 1644. The municipal council usually handed over the sheet music to the parish church. The composite volume of Nuremberg prints, which forms the subject of this study, also exemplifies donation. As mentioned above, it was acquired by Councillor Georg Fückewirt, who donated it to the church in 1603, i.e., this composite volume made its way to the collection of the church through the donation of a local burgher.

Refocusing exclusively on this print, in our effort to describe the historical circumstances under which the tenor book moved from Moravská Třebová to Klosterneuburg, we should also consider the other physical marks which this volume bears and which it acquired only in Klosterneuburg.

The title page of the first print (Sacrae symphoniae) bears a typical additional note about its deposition in the Klosterneuburg Abbey: “Bibliotheca Canon. Claustroneoburg.” Its other physical marks consist of the stamp of the abbey and a number 77 written in pencil. The Klosterneuburg Abbey Library still possesses many medieval codices and their fragments and, mainly, several musical compositions from the Baroque and the Classicist periods. In addition, its musical collection contains four Renaissance prints and two manuscripts of the choirbook type with a polyphonic repertoire. Some sources in the abbey library have an additional note about their deposition there in 1656. The previous hypothesis that this might have been the year when the sheet music was transferred from the choir of the church to the library was refuted by the staff of the library. This date may be viewed only as an entry about the cataloguing of the books and sheet music already present in the library. The respective tenor book does not contain the note with the year 1656 and the absence of this note may suggest that this sheet music was not present in the Klosterneuburg Abbey at that time. However, this is yet another hypothesis which cannot be proven.

Another highly important piece of information is the ordinal number and the date present on the last folio of the print: the number “418” and the note “A 26 januari 816”. These were most probably written on it in Klosterneuburg. The print may have therefore presumably made its way to the abbey library in 1815/1816, where it was registered under inventory number 418.

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35 On the ways sheet music was acquired in Moravian royal towns, see STUDENIČOVÁ, op. cit. (Kantoři), pp. 156–175.

36 SEHNAL, op. cit., p. 65; on the donations of musical compositions to Moravian municipal councils, see STUDENIČOVÁ, op. cit. (... einem ersamen Rath); p. 21 specifically on Knöfel.

37 Stiftsbibliothek Klosterneuburg, sign. D II 164, the title page of the Sacrae symphoniae collection.

38 Ibid.


40 I owe thanks to the staff of the abbey library for kindly sharing this piece of information with me.
Some of the above-mentioned marks (provenance marks, dates, and catalogue numbers written in pencil) are also present on some other extant prints and manuscripts in the library of the Klosterneuburg Abbey. However, due to the absence of music inventories and catalogues of the library in the period between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries, it is almost impossible to trace back what happened to the musical sources, in which year they were deposited in the abbey library, where they had come from, and whether any of them were used for singing in Klosterneuburg. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the history of the abbey library and its musical collection has not been processed in depth yet and several documents are present in the abbey archive that might shed some light on them by time.

The example of Rajhrad also points to the fact that something serious happened to the library in Moravská Třebová in the nineteenth century. Three medieval liturgical books
survived in Rajhrad to this day, which had been in the diaconal library in Moravská Třebová until 1853.\textsuperscript{41} It was in that year that the dean of that time, Franz Krönes, donated them to the Benedictine Abbey in Rajhrad along with some other items.\textsuperscript{42} This is the only officially documented transfer of books from the Moravská Třebová library, but some of its books may have been sold or stolen earlier. A correspondence survived from 1846, for example, when a certain burgher of Moravská Třebová offered twenty-five incunables to the library of Franz’s Museum in Brno.\textsuperscript{43}

**What to Say in Conclusion?**

The identification of the tenor book that had been originally used in the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Moravská Třebová and now forms part of the music collection of the Augustinian Abbey in Klosterneuburg raises a number of questions. Firstly, regarding the topicality of its repertoire. Till when had these four prints been used for singing in Moravská Třebová? Where was this part book all the time afterwards until the nineteenth century? What happened to the other part books?

It seems improbable that all the part books made their way to Klosterneuburg in the early nineteenth century together and only the tenor book survived to this day. Either all the part books were no longer present in Moravská Třebová in the nineteenth century or they were distributed/sold to various institutions anywhere in the world.

As for the topicality of the repertoire, this sheet music figures in the music inventory in 1644. Whether it was still used for singing at that time cannot be determined. What is certain is that this repertoire was no longer used in Klosterneuburg in the nineteenth century.


\textsuperscript{42} SEHNAL, op. cit., p. 63.

In the case of the transfer from Moravská Třebová to Klosterneuburg, it must have been either a case of a sale of books for profit, an exchange for newer literature, or a donation. We can only guess what value this specific part book had in the nineteenth century. It appears improbable, however, that only this single piece would have been sold. Rather, several codices must have been sold or donated from the parish library in Moravská Třebová at the same time. Sale by a third party cannot be ruled out, either, i.e., this print might have been stolen by someone from the parish library in Moravská Třebová and then sold for personal profit. However, unless further archival sources are discovered that would shed some light on the reason for the transfer of this composite volume of prints form Moravská Třebová to Klosterneuburg, we will not be able to find satisfactory answers to the questions formulated above.

On the other hand, the identification of this print in an Austrian musical collection brings hope that there might be more such discoveries in the future. In conclusion, we may establish in a somewhat non-scientific manner that, in many cases, such discoveries happen by chance and a good amount of luck is necessary for the identification of some lost items of sheet music and their assignment to their original musical collection. After all, this is the case also of the tenor book described in this study – if there had been no dedication note with the town and the councillor on its first folio, no researcher would have ever thought that this item did not come from Klosterneuburg but from Moravská Třebová.

Bibliography


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