

‘Linguarum non est praestantior ulla latina’
The ‘*Harmoniae morales*’ of Jakob Handl Gallus and Latin in
sixteenth-century Prague

Much has recently been written on the Slovenian composer Jakob Handl Gallus, so the present contribution will add hardly anything new to our knowledge of his work.¹ Nonetheless, despite assiduous research (in Austria, Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia) on his life, there are still some fundamental aspects of his artistic personality that need further illumination. One frequently raised question awaiting an answer concerns his links with the intellectual circles of Prague, the city where he settled around the middle of 1586 after serving as *choro praefectus* at Olomouc (Olmütz) and elsewhere in Moravia. Then there is the matter of his job as *regens chori* at the church of Svati Jan na Bržehu, a position that makes him a less important figure than Philippe de Monte and Charles Luython, both of whom were directly employed by the emperor Rudolph II. In his probable isolation, however, Gallus found comfort in the friendship of the poets and academicians of Prague. Among these were Jakob Chimarraeus, court chaplain and *kantor*, who supported Gallus’ activities and was duly rewarded with the composition of the six-voice ode *Chimarrae tibi io*,² Jan Sequenides Černovický, whose backing was vital to the publication of the *Moralia* (1596)³ and the various writers whose texts contributed (more or less directly, as the case may be) to the realization of a part of this collection.⁴

Another issue on which there is room for further debate – and on which we do not pretend to offer a definitive solution here – is that of Gallus’s decision to publish a collection of secular works in Latin at the peak of his artistic maturity, and of the influences that lay behind that decision.

Before tackling this subject it is worth taking a quick glance at the tradition of scholastic polyphony and at the changes that occurred in central

¹ The most recent substantial contribution is that of EDO ŠKULJ, *Clare vir. Ob 450 letnici rojstva Iacobusa Gallusa* [*Clare vir. 450 years after the birth of Iacobus Gallus*], Ljubljana, Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti, 2000; on the subject dealt with here, see in particular the chapter “Gallusovi madrigali” [“The madrigals of Gallus”], pp. 245-297.

² DRAGOTIN CVETKO, *Iacobus Handl Gallus vocatus carniolanus*, Ljubljana, Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti, 1991, p. 33.

³ JACOB HANDL, *The ‘Moralia’ of 1596*, ed. by Allen Bennet Skei, Madison, A-R, 1970.

⁴ Evidence of Gallus’s contact with the Prague humanists has been collected by JITKA SNIŽKOVÁ, “Jacobus Handl Gallus und Prag in drei Dokumenten”, in *Jacobus Gallus and his Time*, ed. by Dragotin Cvetko and Danilo Pokorn, Ljubljana, The Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1985, pp. 134-141.

Europe after the middle of the 16th century in connection with the gradual affirmation of the national languages over the use of Latin.

In the use of Latin we observe above all a great diversity between Italy and the central European countries, for in the latter areas Latin was widely used not only in the administration and in the Catholic Church, but also in the literature and, particularly, in the poetry. In the absence of any linguistic unity binding Poles, Germans, Hungarians, Ruthenians, Slovaks, Czechs, and Croats, and in the absence of conditions justifying a link with the vernacular (as had been claimed by the Italian literati: “È necessario essere latino chi vuol essere buon toscano”, was Cristoforo Landino’s slogan), Latin was assiduously cultivated in the schools and universities and the language was codified as the medium for personal and poetic expression.⁵ Working against this established scholastic tradition, however, was the growing tendency of the German and Franco-Flemish musicians operating in that vast area to prefer the new secular genres (madrigal, chanson, villanella and Lied) and to relegate the dead language almost exclusively to the domain of sacred music. Against this background Gallus’s work distinguishes itself from that of his contemporaries, above all the Dutch, who (with the typical ability of those accustomed to thinking in various languages) rapidly adapted to setting Italian, French and German texts. By a singular departure from this mainstream Gallus opted, in both his *Harmoniae morales*⁶ and the *Moralia*, for the poetry of Lilius, Vitalis, Asmenius, Virgil, Catullus, Maximianus, Ovid and Martial, together with 37 works by anonymous Czech authors collected in the anthology *Carmina proverbialia* (1576), and other fragments of Andreas Gartner’s *Proverbia dicteria* (1575). The following list (the result of meticulous research carried out by Allen Bennet Skei, Heinz Walter Lanzke and Edo Škulj) offers a more detailed picture:⁷

⁵ BOJAN BUJČ, “Humanist Tradition, Geography and the Style of Late Sixteenth-Century Music”, in *Gallus carniolus in evropska renesansa* [*Gallus carniolus and the European Renaissance*], I, ur. Dragotin Cvetko in Danilo Pokorn, Ljubljana, Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti, 1991, pp. 7-22.

⁶ The most reliable editions of this work are: JACOBUS GALLUS CARNIOLUS, *Harmoniae morales quatuor vocum*, ur. Dragotin Cvetko in Ludvik ŽEPIČ, Ljubljana, Slovenska Matica, 1966; and ID., *Harmoniae morales*, ur. Edo Škulj, Ljubljana, Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti 1995 (*Monumenta Artis Musicae Sloveniae*, 26).

⁷ ALLEN BENNET SKEI, *Jakob Handl ‘Moralia’*, I, Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1965, pp. 76-78; ID., “Jakob Handl *Moralia*”, in *The Musical Quarterly*, LII, 1966, pp. 431-447; HEINZ WALTER LANZKE, *Die weltlichen Chorgesänge ‘Moralia’ von Jacobus Gallus*, Doktorwürde Diss., Universität zu Mainz, 1964, pp. 13-16, GALLUS, *Harmoniae morales*, ur. Edo Škulj.

Harmoniae morales lib. I, 1589

- 1 Dii tibi, si qua pios (VIRGIL, *Eneide*)
- 2 O fortuna potens (*Anthologia latina*)
- 9 Anna soror (OVID, *Heroides*)
- 10 Heu, crucior certe (GARTNER, *Proverbia dicteria*)
- 11 Nusquam tuta fides (*Carmina proverbialia*)

Harmoniae morales lib. II, 1590

- 15 Si vis laudari (*Carmina proverbialia*)
- 16 Si tibi gratia (*ibid.*)
- 17 Nil est asperius misero (CLAUDIANUS, *Eutropius* e *Carmina proverbialia*)
- 18 Hanc volo quae non vult (AUSONIUS, *Epigrammata*)
- 20 Quod licet, ingratum est (OVID, *Amores*)
- 21 Dulcis amica, veni (*De Philomela*)
- 22 Si vox est, canta (OVID, *Ars amatoria*)
- 23 Perfer et obdura (OVID, *Amores*)
- 24 Si prolixa facit sapientem barba (*Carmina proverbialia*)
- 25 Quisquis amat dictis (*Anthologia latina*)
- 26 Ne iactes (*Carmina proverbialia*)
- 27 Vos, qui nulla datis (*ibid.*)
- 28 O homo, si scires quidnam esses (*ibid.*)
- 29 Nemo placet stultis (*ibid.*)
- 30 Vitam quae faciant beatiorem (MARTIAL, *Epigrammata*)
- 31 Libertas animi cibus est (*Carmina proverbialia*)
- 32 Barbara, Celarent, Darii, Ferio (classical logic)
- 31 Vivite felicies (VIRGIL, *Eneide*)

Harmoniae morales lib. III, 1590

- 34 In terra sumus rex est (*Proverbia dicteria* e *Carmina proverbialia*)
- 35 Cui dolus est gratus (*ibid.*)
- 36 Archipoeta facit versus (*Carmina proverbialia*)
- 37 Doctus ait se scire nihil (*ibid.*)
- 39 O quam dura premit miseros (MAXIMIANUS, *Elegiae*)
- 40 Sunt tibi vitandis sermones (*Proverbia dicteria* e *Carmina proverbialia*)
- 41 Quid sis, quid fueris (*Carmina proverbialia*)
- 42 O mors quam dura (*ibid.*)

- 43 En ego campana (*ibid.*)
44 Numquam bella bonis (*ibid.*)
46 Linquo coax ranis (*ibid.*)
51 Lex et natura (*ibid.*)
52 Opto placere bonis (*ibid.*)
53 Pascitur in vivis livor (OVID, *Amores*)

In appearance, therefore, Gallus's work seems to follow the approach laid down by the early 15th-century *magistri* Konrad Celtes and Petrus Tritonius. Here it is sufficient to remember that Celtes founded a series of literary societies, among which the *Sodalitas litteraria danubiana* (which flourished in Vienna under the emperor Maximilian in 1497 and became an example for other humanistic circles), and that various musical editions issued from this milieu. Examples are the *Melopoiae sive harmoniae tetracenticae* of Petrus Tritonius (1507), the Horatian odes in the *Harmoniae poeticae* of Paul Hofhaimer and Ludwig Senfl (1539) and the *Melodiae prudentianae et in Virgilium* of Nikolaus Faber, set by Lucas Hordisch and Sebastian Forster (1533). The link with Gallus's *Harmoniae morales* – and to a much lesser extent with the *Moralia* for five, six and eight voices – is evidenced by the common use of texts then in vogue at the literary societies and by their four-voice setting (where the choice of four is dictated by the perfection attributed to this number in Pythagorean symbology).⁸ By the time of the *Moralia*, however, the historical link between homophony and classical lyric poetry was extinct as a convention even in the heart of Europe. In his *Dodecachordon* (1547) Heinrich Loriti Glareanus, much earlier than in Italy, distinguishes between the *phonasci*, i.e. the performers of monody (also understood as homophonic singing for several voices), and the polyphonists or *synphonetae*. From the purely formal point of view Gallus would seem to have been proceeding along the route mapped out by the illustrious predecessors mentioned above. But the musical structure of the *Harmoniae morales* and its assimilation of the madrigal and motet style contradict such superficial appearances and differentiate his work from the scholastic works with their syllabic writing closely based on metrical criteria: for Gallus this was just one of the many components that had to be adapted to the overall polyphonic structure.⁹

⁸ GIUSEPPE VECCHI, "Lirica di Catullo e umanesimo musicale", in ID., *Dulce melos*, IV, Bologna, AMIS, 1982, pp. 9-19; see also the introduction to *Petri Tritonii Melopotae sive harmoniae tetracenticae*, a cura di Giuseppe Vecchi, Bologna, AMIS, 1967.

⁹ The paradigmatic relationship between the *Harmoniae morales* and the literary circles of Prague has also been investigated by HARTMUT KRONES, "Musik und Humanismus im Prag Rudolfs des II. am Beispiel der *Moralia* von Iacobus Gallus", in *Wiener humanistische Blätter*, 33, 1992, pp. 57-74.

On Gallus's use of Latin, interesting conjectures have been advanced. To start with, it is worth noting that he praises the language in both the preface and one of the *moralia* (H. m., III, 49).¹⁰ While, as he observes in the prefatory letter, the Italians "delight in listening to madrigals" and are attracted to napolitane and villanelle, and while the French and Germans swell with pride when they hear music set in their respective languages, Latin is clearly superior because nobody (no matter whether "italus, gallus, germanus sive polonus") can boast of his intellect if he is ignorant of the language of the classics, the only idiom for the transmission of knowledge and hence the widest spread – though one unjustly neglected by musicians ("Latinam linguarum reginam in hoc genere penè deserta video"):

Harmoniae morales lib. III, 49

Lingarum non est praestantior ulla latina,
 quam quisquis nescit, barbarus ille manet,
 sis Italus, Gallus, Germanus sive Polonus,
 nil nisi vulgaris diceris, arte rudis,
 quisquis latine nequit, nulla se iactet in arte,
 nil scit, nil didicit, barbarus ille manet.

Dragotin Cvetko has justly supposed that while the composer – as a true *carniolanus* (as he liked to describe himself) – certainly knew both German and Czech, he perhaps failed to identify with any of the secular musical genres that had recently emerged.¹¹ In those years the Slavic languages had made their appearance only in collections of devotional songs and in the liturgy of the reformed churches, or among the Bohemian Utraquists and the Slovenian and Croatian followers of Luther. Most likely it was Gallus's remoteness from the languages commonly used in the secular repertory that made him resort to Latin. In other words, as a Slovenian unable to employ his mother tongue he inevitably turned to Latin. If that were not the case, he wouldn't have used the madrigal form as his manner of setting the scholastic texts, thus breaking with an old custom observed at the cities he had frequented in Austria, Silesia, Bohemia and Moravia. In this connection we must not be deceived by the fact that secular works in Latin were also composed by other composers active in Prague at about the same time. For example, the five- and six-voice *Madrigalia, tam italica, quam latina* by Camillo Zanotti (Nuremberg, Gerlach,

¹⁰ Hereafter the title of Gallus's individual works is followed by the letters H. m. (= *Harmoniae morales*), a roman numeral indicating the volume number and an arabic numeral indicating its place in the three-volume collection.

¹¹ CVETKO, *Iacobus Handl Gallus vocatus carniolanus*, pp. 102-103.

1590)¹² are laudatory in tone (honouring the marriage of Vilelm z Rožbemberka to Polyxena Pernstein) and here we find the same characteristics in both the Latin and Italian poetry.¹³ Hence, paradoxical though it may seem, the classical texts and those of his Czech contemporaries served Gallus to assert that he belonged to Slovenian stock or, at the very least, to express indifference to the current ‘nationalist trend’.

Another aspect that throws important light on Gallus’s artistic development is the diffusion in Bohemia of *fraternitates litteratorum*, lay societies formed by ordinary citizens and scholars and usually devoted to the performance of polyphonies and monodic songs in Latin and Czech. Following the decline of the ecclesiastical institutions ever since the time of the Hussite Wars, these groups offered their permanent services at the churches of the capital and were inclined to take their cue from the composers employed at the imperial court.¹⁴ Now, Gallus’s use of madrigal formulas in combination with the traditional genre of the polyphonic ode could well have been encouraged by colleagues of certain *literátská bratrstva*. Examples were the *fraternitas* of the church of St John, where Gallus performed duties as *kantor*, or the societies of St Michael and St Henry.¹⁵ In this connection Jitka Snižková has succeeded in unearthing an inventory of the books owned by Gallus, a five-voice parody mass *super Levavi oculos meos* and a large printed sheet containing the funerary odes written on Gallus’s death in 1591.¹⁶

Apart from the inventory – drawn up in Czech and signed by, among others, his brother Girzik and the humanist Jan Šuman – what particularly arouses our curiosity is the positioning of the mass in the *Graduale latino-bohemicum* of the University Library of Prague. This manuscript, drawn up by the corporation of St Michael in 1578, collects pieces in Latin and Czech, some written by Jan Trojan Turnovský. The mass bearing Gallus’s name fol-

¹² EMIL VOGEL – ALFRED EINSTEIN – FRANÇOIS LESURE- CLAUDIO SARTORI, *Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700* [*The new Vogel*], Pomezia, Minkoff, 1977, 3014.

¹³ ROBERT LINDELL, “Music at the Court of Rudolf II”, in *Gallus carniolus in evropska renesansa* [*Gallus carniolus e il rinascimento europeo*], II, ur. Dragotin Cvetko in Danilo Pokorn, Ljubljana, Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti, 1992, p. 160.

¹⁴ JAN KOUBA, “Od husitsví do Bílé hory” [“From the Hussites to the White Mountain”], in *Hudba v českých dějinách od středověku do nové doby* [*Music in the history of the Czechs from the Middle Ages to modern times*], Praha, Supraphon, 1989, pp. 83-146: 98-100.

¹⁵ ALLEN BENNET SKEI, “Handl, Jacob”, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, London, Macmillan, 1980, VIII, pp. 140-142: 141. About the *oda* see CLAUDIO GALLICO, “Oda è canto. Livelli musicali di umanesimo”, in *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, XXXIV, n. 2, 1999, pp. 207-229.

¹⁶ SNIŽKOVÁ, *Prispevek k odnosom Jacobusa Gallusa Handla do Prage* [*Contribution on Jacob Gallus Handl’s relationship with Prague*], in *Muzikološki Zbornik*, VI, 1970, pp. 12-19; ID., “Jacobus Handl Gallus und Prag in drei Dokumenten”.

lows an Utraquist version divergent from the Roman liturgy, lacking the *Sanc-tus*, *Benedictus* and *Agnus Dei*, replaced by the motets *Laus tibi Christe*, *Mit-tit ad Virginem* and *Beata es Virgo Maria*, with the interpolation of chants from the Bohemian Gradual in the tenor and discantus.¹⁷

Finally, the printed sheet entitled *In tumulum Iacobi Handेलii Carnioli insignis musicae practicae Artificis*, embellished with the emblem of *Pax et concordia* and an effigy of the deceased, collects epicedia by Jan Khernerus Plzenus, rector of the Carolinum University from 1585, Martin Galli, Jan Matthiolus Vodniansis and Jan Sequenides Černovický, respectively rector, *succentor* and gentleman on the staff at the school of St Henry.¹⁸

The *Harmoniae morales* are published in three books and total 53 pieces. The first book, with 14 pieces, is entitled *Quatuor vocum liber I harmoniarum moralium quibus heroica, facetiae, naturalia, quodlibetica, tum facta fictaque poetica & c. admixta sunt* (Prague, Nigrin [=Černý], 1589).¹⁹ The second and third, printed in 1590 again by Nigrin in Prague with an imperial privilege, contain 19 and 20 pieces respectively. The work is dedicated to the friends and admirers who convinced Gallus to publish it ("Iacobus Handl suis musicaeque amicis"). There is nothing at all rhetorical about the dedication, as there is cause to believe that he had been criticized for his work as a composer entirely dedicated to sacred music.

The pieces collected by Gallus do not all belong to the genre of the *moralia*. In other words, they do not always pursue didactic designs. His typology has a broader ethical scope than that laid down by the humanists. As for the use of sources, his recourse to the classical lyric is utterly free of constraint (hence the term *quodlibetica* in the title) and he freely unites lines distant from one another or juxtaposes new lines to original lines, as means of improving the correspondence between text and polyphonic setting.²⁰

Gallus's modernity is expressed through a varied use of counterpoint and an equally impressive use of harmonic elements; rarely, however, do we find

¹⁷ SNIŽKOVÁ, "Jacobus Handl Gallus und Prag in drei Dokumenten", pp. 135-137. The mass studied by Snižková must be seen not so much as a special or exceptional phenomenon, but rather in relation to its functional use in a tradition common also to the Catholic church. In Milan in Franchinus Gaffurius's day, for example, *motetti missales* were introduced either for devotional reasons or in connection with the festivities of the diocese's liturgical calendar. These departures, which can be observed in the so-called *missa brevis*, respond to different criteria from those governing the adaptations of the Utraquist mass, which are rather the result of dogmatic choice. The importance of clarifying this point was recommended to me by Professor Giulio Cattin, whom I warmly thank.

¹⁸ SNIŽKOVÁ, "Jacobus Handl Gallus und Prag in drei Dokumenten", pp. 137-139.

¹⁹ See the modern edition by Cvetko and Žepič (cited above, fn. 6).

²⁰ As is also attested by the wide range of sources in the list of identifications: SKEI, "Jakob Handl 'Moralia'", in *The Musical Quarterly*, LII, 1966, pp. 431-447: 432, 438.

the sort of chromaticism that was then an emerging trait of the avant-garde music. *Imitatio naturae* is also strongly featured. Gallus applies the principles of mimesis while observing the rhythmic stresses of the lines (that sensitively translate the metre into note values) and uses madrigal techniques to represent the pictorial value of the words. The procedure is striking in the pieces with animals as a subject. *Currit parvus lepulus* (H. m., I, 4), a *contrafactum* of an earlier motif by Jan Campanus Vodnianský set by the students of Prague (*Flevit lepus parvulus*), employs a madrigalism on “ascendo” to depict the running of the hare.²¹ As in the prefaces to other works the composer makes ironic play with his own name in *Gallus amat Venerem* (H. m., III, 36), though here the cock is not zoomorphically represented, but suffers the agonies of human love; the onomatopoeia at the words “cucuri curit”, stated in scalar succession by all four voices, throws a satirical light on the model of the amorous lament typical of the contemporary madrigal (Ex. 1).

The hen, on the other hand, is the subject of the seventh piece of the *Harmoniae*, *Quam gallina suum parit ovum*, in which the rapid succession of chords is reminiscent of the clucking of *Ein Hennlein weiss* by Antonio Scandello (*Neue und lustige weltlichen deutsche Liedlein*, 1570).²² Compared to the homophony of the Lied, however, the texture of Gallus’s madrigal draws on a greater variety of expressive resources. Particular emphasis is given to the shift from triple to duple time and the imitation of cackling at “glo-glo, gloc-ci-nat”: here, with the last syllable, the soprano rises by a fourth, at which all the voices suddenly make the leap from C to G major. Likewise, for the cuckoo call in *Permultos liceat cuculus* (*Moralia*, 27), drawn from the *Carmina proverbialia*, Gallus makes the relevant voices leap by a fifth and fourth. In *Anseris est giga* it is the goose, cuckoo and crow that make an appearance, while in *Liquo coax ranis* (H. m., III, 46) the stupidity of the magpie is likened to the foolishness of those who speak without anything to say, with a probable reference to the musician’s detractors, “pica sibi propria garrulitate placet” (Ex. 2).

The two elegiac distichs of *Dulcis amica veni* (H. m., II, 21), inspired by the 11th-century *De Philomela*, exalt the vocal skills of the nightingale. Instead of attempting an improbable onomatopoeia, the composer prefers to insist on the word “mille”, thereby alluding to the multiple nuances expressed by the bird in question. The same syntagma, a standard feature of the madri-

²¹ DANILÓ POKORN, “Animal Pictures in Gallus’ ‘Moralia’”, in *Jacobus Gallus and his Time*, pp. 118-133; in addition to Pokorn’s contribution, see also the formal analysis of the music for Catullus’s elegiac distich *Odi et amo* by PETER ANDRASCHKE, “Textwahl und Sprachbehandlung in den *Moralia* von Jacobus Gallus”, in *Gallus in mi – Gallus und Wir*, Ljubljana, Slovenski Glasbeni Dnevni, 1991, pp. 71-79.

²² POKORN, “Animal Pictures in Gallus’ ‘Moralia’”, pp. 122-123.

gal ever since Arcadelt's day (cf. "di mille morti" in *Il bianco e dolce cigno*), is again proposed by Gallus in *Archipoeta facit versus* (H. m., III, 36), where the intention is to scoff at writers in the habit of reeling off encomiums for all their colleagues and hence resorting to an interchangeable phraseology devoid of emotional involvement (Ex. 3).²³

Again in relation to corrupt culture, *Doctus ait se scire* (H. m., III, 37) describes the imaginary erudition of the culture-less man.²⁴ The dynamic tension resulting from the distribution of attacks (the technique of making the voices enter one by one) makes this one of the boldest pieces in the collection; it also rules out all comparison with those Italian canzonette that describe either pedants or poets that indulge in radical forms of linguistic experimentation in the name of anti-Petrarchism.

Equally complex is *Heroes, pugnate viri fortissimi!* (H. m. I, 12), which begins like a motet (largo and maestoso) and then evokes the atmosphere of the battle through a denser and more nervous compositional style, also employed to represent the explosions of the "bombardae" (exemplary is the conduct at "bom, bidi, bidi-bom" and the analogous "fam, fari, fari-ron"). While the descriptive element emerges very strongly, as it does in certain pieces by Matteo Flecha (a Spanish musician employed at Rudolph II's chapel), Gallus still observes the teaching of the former *magistri* and employs a pseudo-quantitative scheme that correctly translates the poetic metre into note values (Ex. 4).

The examples reproduced suggest that the *Harmoniae morales* circulated in Prague's intellectual environment during the fertile period when the Habsburg court was committed to important artistic patronage in the city. This, then, must have been the ideal milieu for performing these Latin madrigals, which are as moralizing in tone as the *consilia* of Johannes Murmelius (*Sententiae et proverbia ex Plauto, Terentio, Virgilio, Ovidio, Horatio*, 1534), Johannes Anysius (*Sententiae morales*, 1529) or Johannes Camerarius (*Opuscula quedam moralia*, 1583), all of which draw on quotations from the classical *auctores* to preach the vanity of man and of love and the transience of all things. In Gallus's *Harmoniae* ancient knowledge reverberates not only as an inspiration to fine poetic creation and for its strength of logic (see the

²³ Arcadelt uses a similar formula to achieve his madrigalism, but in an opposite way, by inverting the musical textures. While in Gallus's work the passage moves from imitation to homorhythm and introduces an extended, percussive reiteration of the same notes at "mille" ("Archipoeta facit versus pro mille poetis"), the Flemish master, at the same word in his text by Giovanni Guidiccioni, places the homorhythmic passage before the imitation as a means of expressing the idea of echo; see, among the various editions: JACQUES ARCADELT, *Venti madrigali a quattro voci dal I libro*, a cura di Luigi Lera, Udine, Pizzicato, 1989, pp. 42-43.

²⁴ See CVETKO, *Iacobus Handl Gallus vocatus carniolanus*, p. 79.

mnemotechnical function of the lines of *Barbara Celarent*), but also as the ideal vehicle for free debate between men of culture.²⁵ The decision to breathe fresh life into the academic tradition by adopting a more varied style can be seen as an exercise of great erudition and appeal. But if viewed against the future developments in polyphony and the political events that would soon cast their shadow over central Europe, the approach was also a solitary and retrospective one. For the Habsburg reaction was to leave not a trace of that humanist tradition – a tradition that had absorbed the lesson of Hussite teaching in Prague and had even implicated the Carolinum, driving out all the Catholics so as to form a compactly evangelical and Czech bourgeois class.²⁶ That Gallus can be fleetingly associated with these ideas, is plausibly demonstrated by his friendships with the rector of the university Jan Plzenus, the Utraquist musician Turnovský and the humanists of the societies of St Michael and St Henry. As further evidence we may add the above-mentioned mass of the *Graduale latino-bohemicum* and his contribution of music for *O Herre Gott in meiner Noth ruff ich zu dir* to the *Christliche Psalmen, Lieder und Kirchengesange* of the Protestant theologian Nicolaus Selnecker (Leipzig, Beyer, 1586).²⁷

(Engl. trans. Hugh Ward-Perkins)

²⁵ LANZKE, *Die weltlichen Chorgesänge 'Moralia' von Jacobus Gallus*, p. 33.

²⁶ I derive this information from the well-documented article by ANNA SKÝBOVÁ, “Le ordinazioni dei sacerdoti utraquisti a Venezia nella prima metà del XVI secolo”, in *Italia e Boemia nella cornice del rinascimento europeo*, a cura di Sante Graciotti, Firenze, Olschki, 1999 (Civiltà veneziana, 49), pp. 51-65: 67.

²⁷ CVETKO, *Jacobus Handl Gallus vocatus carniolanus*, pp. 103, 121.