

**MUSIC IN SLOVENIA BEFORE THE CENTURIES
OF THE ŠKOFJA LOKA PASSION PLAY:
16TH AND 17TH CENTURY MUSIC IN THE DUCHY OF CARNIOLA**

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Abstract. *In the 16th and at the beginning of the 17th century, church and secular, vocal as well as instrumental music was present in Slovenia and in the Duchy of Carniola. We can see this on the basis of material provided during the first decade of the 17th century, i.e. immediately before the first procession of the Škofja Loka Passion play (1721). Among the composers we can mention Tomaž Hren and the Ljubljana Jesuits, although we do not know of any composer at the beginning of the 17th century who may have been anchored as a creator at home. Yet we can find them among emigrants: Gabriel Plavec Carniolus (Plautz, Plautzius) in Mainz/Germany (1641), Daniel Lagkhner from Maribor/Slovenia (in Loosdorf/Austria; 1607) and Isaac Posch (in Carinthia). He died in 1621 or 1622 and he was known above all for the variation suite. Plavec and Lagkhner made the transition from the Late Renaissance to the Early Baroque, while Posch explicitly by the monody, i.e. in the early Baroque. The music and the musicians mentioned above were important in this period of more than one hundred years, even if not always and everywhere alike. The music grew from humble beginnings and, within the Slovenian territory, did not diverge from all which was modern west of the Slovenian ethnic borders.*

Key words: *the procession, Tomaž Hren, Gabriel Plavec, Daniel Lagkhner, the variation suite, Isaac Posch.*

1. INTRODUCTION

The 16th and the 17th century, especially a larger part of the 16th century are very significant and characteristic for the Slovene region. On the one hand detached Turkish invasions were still occurring. They were desolating the country and diminished the

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economical level of these places. On the other hand it is necessary to take into consideration the general social state which reveals ever growing differences between the classes, the pressure of the church and the aristocracy on the peasantry and the ever increasing tension between the feudal lords and rulers. All this did not benefit one class or the other. Therefore, each class in their own way weakened socially and caused continuous instability, which further exacerbated peasantry revolts. This contributed to the peasants' rebellion. All of this was then joined by religious antagonism towards the end of the first half and in the second half of the 16th century. The appearance and growth of the Reformation destroyed any uniformity up to that time. The general opposition between Catholicism and Protestantism became more successful for the latter. The overall situation was therefore anything but encouraging for acceptable development in all aspects. During this period of time all this was most interesting in the Duchy of Carniola,¹ one of the Slovene provinces, but, to some extent, it also penetrated other parts of the Slovene ethnic space (see Fig. 1).



Fig 1 Italian translation of the title page of Vale's print of Santonino's *Diary 1485-1487*; in the Italian language (1942–43; copy of the Original).

¹ The Germany Krain, the Latin Carniola is the historical landscape, which encompassed the present Slovene landscapes Gorenjska, Dolenjska, Notranjska and the parts of Primorska. It was the first mentioned in the year 973 as a part of the Duchy of Carinthia. From the year 1002 Krain/Carniola was made an independent frontier-county with its own frontier-earls. In the year 1364 Krain/Carniola was elevated to a duchy i.e. the country of the Habsburgs (= the old governmental dynasty in Europe, 1020-1918) granted rights confirming its own authority. These rights developed the landscape's classes. The Habsburgs spread their estates to the Karst in Primorska and in Istria and they annexed the duchy of Carniola. From year 1849 to 1918 the crowning glory as an administration unit, Krain/Carniola, became part of the Holy Roman Empire and then also the Habsburg Monarchy. With the founding of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs the Habsburgs Monarchy was abolished. The whole territory under the Rapallo contract belonged to Italy (i.e. the peace contract, which was on November 12, 1920 in Rapallo/Italy signed by the Kingdom SCS and the Kingdom Italy. This contract fixed the border between the states and one third part of the Slovene ethnic territory, Istria and the part of Dalmatia assigned to Italy. It recognised the Kingdom SCS in exchange).

2. THE MUSIC STATE AND DEVELOPMENT

In order to answer the questions about what (the) music (situation) was like before the Reformation, one has to look back a little bit further, i.e. to the end of the 15th century. In the years 1486-1487 the examiner² Pietro Carlo da Caorle³ visited the Slovene region which lay on the southern side of the river Drava and were under the church administration of the Aquileia patriarch, except Ljubljana, which was directly subordinate to the diocese of Rome. His secretary, Paolo Santonino, accurately reported these issues and included in his records the impressions he gained while listening to music in churches and monasteries, mansions and elsewhere, also in Villach, Škofja Loka, Velesovo, Tržič, Slovenske Konjice and Ptuj. He heard church and secular, vocal and instrumental music; the first of them at masses and the second at receptions outside church walls. He did not make notes of the titles of compositions and their authors. In addition to everything he noticed, we can conclude that the singing, accompanied by an organ, was polyphonic singing and of good quality and that the instrumental music was performed on wind instruments. He did not wonder at the level of music eproduction, more the opposite, he was thrilled by the fact there were no differences between the performances or stylistic trends which he had heard at home, in Italy, and those which he had the opportunity to hear here in Slovenia.⁴ As we do not have other proof available or sufficient documentation, we can only assume that a similar situation existed in Slovene towns north of the river Drava, which were under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Salzburg and the diocese of Ljubljana, founded in 1461. The diocese had its seat in Ljubljana and the cathedral its own music school which was founded earlier. For the first time care was taken of the choir singers, thus further importance was attained. Similar schools with much alike intentions could be found in other larger churches and monasteries around Slovenia i.e. the Stična Monastery, where sources prove that the abbots paid special attention to music. The state of music at the end of the 15th century was probably similar to that of the first half of the 16th century. The scope and the quality of both church and secular music performances were dependent on liturgical needs, the abilities of the performers and the affection that the heads of a specific church or monastery had for music, which was not always the same everywhere. To what extent, how, and in what way secular music was cultivated in those times is a question to which the available data does not testify much, even though we do learn a lot about this, above all about the growth of secular music (was) in

² The German Krain, the Latin Carniola, is the historical landscape which encompassed the present Slovene regions of Gorenjska, Dolenjska, Notranjska and parts of Primorska. It was first mentioned in the year 973 as a part of the Duchy of Carinthia. From the year 1002 Krain/Carniola was made an independent frontier-county with its own frontier-counts. In the year 1364 Krain/Carniola was elevated to a duchy i.e. the country of the Habsburgs (the old governmental dynasty in Europe, 1020-1918) granted rights confirming its own authority. These rights developed the landscape's classes. The Habsburgs spread their estates to the Karst region in Primorska and in Istria and they annexed the Duchy of Carniola. From 1849 to 1918 the crowning glory as an administration unit, Krain/Carniola, became part of the Holy Roman Empire and then also the Habsburg monarchy. With the founding of the State of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes the Habsburgs monarchy was abolished. The whole territory under the Rapallo contract belonged to Italy (i.e. the peace contract, which was on November 12, 1920 in Rapallo/Italy signed by the Kingdom Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and the Kingdom Italy. This contract fixed the border between the states and a third of the Slovene ethnic territory, Istria and part of Dalmatia were assigned to Italy. It recognised the Kingdom Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in exchange).

³ Pietro Carlo (1470–1513) was a Roman Catholic prelate (i.e. a high ecclesiastical dignitary), nominated as a Bishop of Caorla.

⁴ Križnar, F., (2017), Paolo Santonino: The Italian writer of travels and his works, appropriated music, too. (*Novi Matajur/The New Matajur: the weekly of Slovenians in the Province of Udine*, No. 20, Cividale del Friuli, May 24, 2017, p. 5).

aristocratic courts. The proof for this is the court in Ptuj from the time of the earlier mentioned Santonino, which is certainly not an isolated example; neither at that time nor later. Again, everything depended on the initiative a particular aristocrat had or did not have in that direction, or eventually on his wealth. All this determined whether or not instrumentalists could be hired and paid to play music for a short or long time, thus enriching life in a castle or palace. Such a man was Ljubljana's inhabitant Vid Khis/e/l, whose inscription addressed to Jurij Khisl in a Protestant song-book from the year 1567 bears witness. There among other things we can find that Jurij is »[...] a religious and highly intelligent gentleman and grandfather, the late, noble and respected Mr. Vid Khisel ... showed a great love for God's word, for everything ... liberal arts and in particular music [...].« A quartet of musicians was agreed upon by the Ljubljana city council in the year 1544. Arriving from Villach that same year, it turned out that they were not the first here. According to data there were forerunners who had appeared there already in 1537. These 'artists' we know as 'pipers' and they were in employed by the city and were paid, too. They carried out various jobs. The first was that the musicians had to play a cornet and three trombones daily on a special tower of the castle. Then they had to play when elections were being held for city representatives as well as at other city ceremonies, such as at receptions for high dignitaries who visited Ljubljana, and if necessary in church. Beside this they were teaching children instrumental music and according to one source the clavichord, too. This meant that they mastered other instruments besides wind instruments. Therefore, they were greatly appreciated. The ability and knowledge of playing multiple instruments also enabled them to have other jobs, too. This was useful because the pay they received for their regular work was not worth mentioning. Noblemen and citizens hired them as performers for various occasions.

The Kranj/Carniola country classes hired and supported country pipers. These together with country timpanists formed quartets. They collaborated together on war marches and they played to the officers during their meals. As the musicians played various instruments it was possible for them to earn additional money. At the beginning of the 1570's the musicians and pipers were associating with the city players, too. They were not professionals. Playing with them was another additional job and once more another source of income. In the capital town of the Duchy of Carniola there were in those days enough musicians, vocalists (singers) and instrumentalists (musicians). In addition, at least in one case, *meistersingers* appeared. The instrumentalists or musicians were mostly professionals, and in addition to the city musicians and country trumpeters they were mostly in the employed by the nobility, not only in Ljubljana but also elsewhere in rich manor-houses. Archive sources list them even by individual names, a lot, in the first and more in the second half of the 16th century, and later, too. The musicians mainly came from other towns but amongst them there were some locals, too. Regarding their position in society, sources about them are very meagre. As much as there is about them, it can be understood that they were socially judged and badly mistreated. Because of that they often violated the norms of behaviour, especially the musicians, who, given the way they acted, had the greatest potential for doing so. From the documents it is evident that in such cases they were convicted and even punished. However, they were needed and as such it was not possible to be without them. Consequently, their role in society at that time was in a sense based on how their client and payer treated them. They were important especially in imposing and supporting music, secular and church. They were music performers, spreading music throughout the social classes. What and how they performed is a very difficult question to provide an

exact answer to. The performance level was probably suited to both secular and church music. The repertoire for church performers followed the example from neighbouring Italy, and stylistically moving in the direction of the Dutch⁵ and the Roman⁶ schools. But we do not have any material which can provide proof of this. This leaves only the hypothesis that, in during this period, the church's musical practice in Slovenia was carried out in accordance with the practice of others. Even for the secular music of that time and space there is no evidence. So again, we can only assume that the city musicians of Ljubljana as well as their contemporaries played in Klagenfurt, Graz and other places where such performances were held. How many of them were touched by the then stylistic streams we cannot prove. But they probably did not completely bypass them.

Whether there were any composers among these musicians is not known. It should not be out of the question that some of them were concerned with creativeness, even though the conditions for this type of work were not yet favourable. At that time, as well as earlier, music emigration was obvious and there are sources, too. The various, modest reasons for it were confirmed by Jurij Slatkonja (1456–1522)⁷ and Balthasar Praspergius (15th century – 16th century?).⁸ A different picture is provided by the second half of the 16th century, about which the materials are more comprehensive and richer. The Catholic circle was at that time pushed into the background, which diminished its music and influence. Protestantism (1517) came to the fore causing a new specific state. From a musical point of view it can neither be compared to that of the immediate past, nor to the contemporary Catholic context. Reformation in Slovenia, as far as the question of music is concerned was followed by Martin Luther (1483–1546).⁹ Luther wrote to Ludwig Senfl (1486–1543)¹⁰ in 1530 that music is »[...] one of the prettier and the most charming gifts of God [...].« Who understands it is a good human. Luther emphasized that music is »[...] closer to theology [...]« and that the youth have to always be »[...] orientated to this art which makes the people very skilful [...].« Our Primož Trubar (1508–1586),¹¹ thought so, too. He placed music in a significant place within the church and in schools as well as outside both of these

⁵ Franco-Flemish music dates from around 1430 to the end of the 16th century. It is the music of composers who came from southern Holland, Belgium (Germanic Flemish composers and the Roman Wallonia south) and northern France (close to the Belgium border). In history it is usually defined as early Burgundian (1430-1470) and later Dutch school. For its final formation the style is significant in the application of imitation at the beginning of particular sections of composition (too-imitation) and the equality of all voices. The main forms: the motet, the cycle composed of the ordinary mass, the worldly songs in French and partially in the Dutch language. The main author-masters are: G. Dufay, G. Binchois, J. Ockeghem, J. d. Prez, J. Obrecht, H. Isaac, A. Willaert, O. d. Lasso, J. P. Sweelinck and so on.

⁶ The term for the group of composers in Rome from around the middle of the 16th century whose creativity regarding stylistic equilibrium and clarity of text were suited to the demands of Humanism and the Counter-Reformation. Therefore, their work remained as the ideal Catholic music up to this very day. The stylistic fundament is the Dutch polyphony of the early 16th century, but also in Rome some other composers from the north were working (among them G. Dufay, J. d. Prez and others), and that was joined by domestic tradition full-sonority, homophony and melodiousness. The composers of the Roman school avoided excessive melismatic content, instead of that in the forefront is a syllabic composition, where highlights arise from the text and marked by a calm, flowing and steady rhythm. Its main proponent was G. P. d. Palestrina.

⁷ Slovene bishop, choirmaster and composer, was the second Novo mesto provost and the first residential Bishop of Vienna. He founded the *Vienna Boys' Choir* (1498 →).

⁸ He was from Mozirje/Slovenia, music theorist, master of the arts (music) from the University in Basel/Switzerland.

⁹ German theologian and former Augustinian monk, founder of the Reformation, translator, composer and poet.

¹⁰ The composers.

¹¹ A Protestant priest and the leader of the Reformation in Slovenia; translator and the author of the first printed books in the Slovenian language and songs, too (with written notes).

institutions. He attributed music an important function in society and was committed to realizing it. He personally acted in this direction when the words of the songs that were sung during worship had the purpose of Reformation teachings. In his *Katekizmu/Catechism* (1550) and in *Enih duhovnih pejsnih/Some Ecclesiastical Songs* (1563) he marked each song with the tune it had to be sung to. His intentions were most expressed in the *Eni Psalmih/Some Psalms* (1567), the first Slovene songbook that in addition to the texts included a number of melodies in mensural notation.¹² The basics of the point he took, or leaned on, are in consistent relation to the texts. For the most part the melodies originated in Latin, German, Czech and Slovak church songs, and Catholic, if they were not in opposition to the new Protestant teachings, as well as the songs of Czech brothers and from the repertory of Slovene Mediaeval songs. In some cases their origins were not ascertained. We also do not know whether or not Trubar is the author of some of the tunes, which, given that he was accomplished in music, is quite possible (See Fig. 2,3).

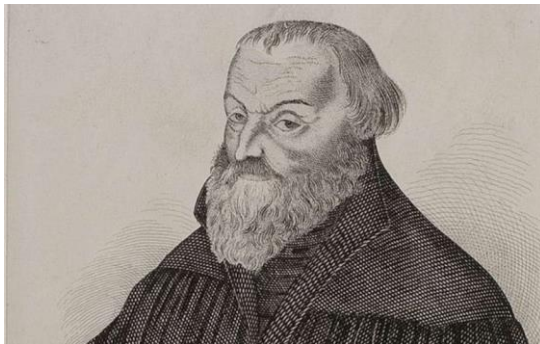
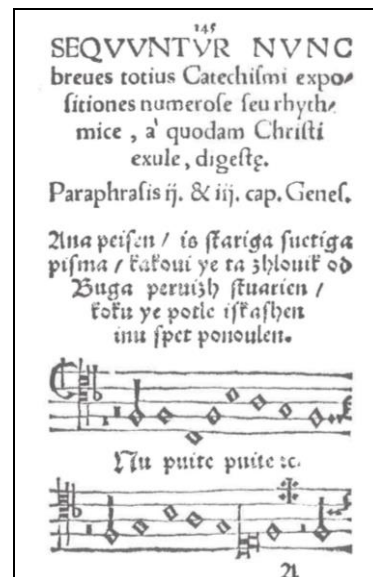


Fig. 2 Primož Trubar (1508–1586 see Wikipedia).

Fig. 3 Trubar's *Cathecismus*, Tübingen 1550 (the first Slovene printed songbook with music notes see the Catalogue of the The Protestantism by /Škofja/ Loka at the 500 years of anniversary of the Trubar's birth).



There were several editions¹³ of Trubar's songbook and each of them was extended by the addition of new texts and tunes, and had a wide impact. The songs were sung everywhere and naturally in churches and schools first. The tunes were very interesting and quickly grew in popularity and this was their greatest value. These new ideas had been actively strengthened through the melodies.

Singing in church, according to the regulations, was in unison and the whole congregation sang, and then in turn the organ brought changes that created more sounds

¹² It is the system of notation, i.e. written notes, which around 1260 was introduced by the theoretician Franco from Cologne/Germany. It came directly from square notation, where the forms of individual notes, meaning longo, brevis and semibrevis, were established a little earlier. Franco also laid down rules that accurately set the note values in the ligatures, which meant the final elimination of any ambiguity of notation regarding the duration of tones. It was in effect until around 1600.

¹³ 1574, 1579, 1584 and 1595.

and song arrangements. With time this led to more vocal tunes in the mood of motet but in practice it was performed a cappella,¹⁴ or so that unison singing was accompanied by instruments. This practice is proved by documents from Ljubljana left by P. Trubar. In the afore mentioned dedication to Khisel we can see his stylization, that singing had to be five-voice and that was then accompanied by the organ, trombones, trumpets and pipes.¹⁵ For this method of playing music the Slovene Protestants had many German examples i.e. Johann Walter (1496–1570)¹⁶ and Alexander Agricola (1445-1506).¹⁷ It was not the same everywhere, only where technical possibilities were at their disposal, i.e. in greater city churches, in villages it was not possible because of the modest conditions. The important role music had in the church influenced its position in Protestant schools in its elementary form and in Latin, too. Singing was cultivated in the Slovene, German and Latin languages. School singing was first intended to prepare singers to participate in church services, in which the Slovene language was highly respected. This is confirmed by the Church Ordinance (Church Order, 1564), which specified in detail (regarding) singing in Slovenian Protestant churches. The language of the people was thus emphasized in a normal and supreme way so that people could understand what the texts were saying and absorb the spirit of the Reformation. In the Latin school, the role of music was even greater and therefore a little different than in primary school. Along with choral¹⁸ singing figural¹⁹ was also taught. Teaching was entrusted to the cantor, who was the most important member of the teaching staff after the rector and the deputy headmaster. Thus, he was one of the central figures of the school and therefore, he had a lot of work to do, and for this he had an assistant: sub cantor, succantor, succantor. In terms of direct connection to the church, schools emerged as soon as the Reformation gained importance in Slovenia. For example, as a Latin "praeceptor", teacher Lenart Budin was already mentioned in the year 1453, when the provincial Latin school was established in Ljubljana, and he became its first administrator. Already skilled in music, he put together the first school rules (1568) in which he specified the scope of singing and the manner in which it was taught. Even more comprehensive were the revised school rules (1575) set by Adam Bohorič (1520–1598).²⁰ He ordered extensive exercises in music, and defined what the pupils sang before and after lessons. For pupils in the 3rd class Bohorič stipulated that singing exercises must be carried out on the last four days of the week. These rules also highlighted books, and textbooks for teaching music. On the whole it is evident that in the Latin school aesthetic, beautiful singing was cultivated because just technical competence was not satisfactory. Even more sophisticated organization of music lessons was defined in the school rules of 1584, drawn up by the then rector of the Latin school, Nicodemus Frischlin. These rules, similar to those of Bohorič's and Budin's, followed German practices, expanding the scope of music lessons and classifying capable students as singers, who were accomplished to perform in figural

¹⁴ Sung by a group of people without any musical instruments.

¹⁵ "Als offt man zu Laibach / Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist / oder Ozha / Syn / Duh / nebeski Kral / or the Father / the Son / the Holy Ghost/ the Heavenly King &c. mit fünf stimmen beim Regal / Posaunen / Zincken / vnnd Scholmainen in der Kirchen hat gesungen" (thus with the first Slovene printed words!).

¹⁶ German composer.

¹⁷ Belgian composer.

¹⁸ Based on simple unison or polyphonic Protestant Church songs in the folk language, all believers sing.

¹⁹ In the 15th and 16th centuries mensural (i.e., polyphonic music of the 13th-16th centuries, in which is specified the duration of the tones and which is arranged by longa and brevis values, but not by heavy ones, as required by the later introduction of tactile focuses) polyphonic / multi-voice music unlike the unanimous Gregorian coral.

²⁰ Slovene Protestant, grammarian and teacher.

singing. They also introduced the final rehearsal, which was performed every Saturday, the day before Sunday, when it was necessary to sing in church. In this rehearsal, in addition to the singers, organists and musicians participated, thus all those responsible for the musical part of the church service were present.

This is a confirmation that the singing in the Protestant church was accompanied by instrumental music played by the city musicians. All of them were certainly followers of Protestantism and were paid for by the city council, which was in the Protestant hands. Therefore, they were obliged to participate in Protestant worship. Therefore, collaboration with the choirs of the Catholic churches had to be declined. This resulted in the musical impoverishment of the Catholic liturgy and the enrichment of the Protestant.

The significance of musicians increased during the time of the Reformation. The number of musicians also increased. There were also singers and instrumentalists from Catholic circles as well as those from Protestant circles, including abundant cantors and their assistants. The latter, mostly came from the German Protestant region but in the course of time they associated with the natives. For both we even know their names. So, we also know that there were some excellently versed musicians among them. Their ability, in addition to taking into account the fact that music was given an eminent function, provided them with an adequate social status. This became greater than before but wavered in cases when musicians through their bad behaviour lowered their status. These were the causes of their poor social situation which continuously forced them to look for additional work away from their official obligation.

What the church music repertoire was, however, is difficult to ascertain for both the Protestant and Catholic frameworks. Therefore, we can only believe that Protestants and Catholics followed German or even Italian examples, and that Protestant musicians resorted to the Renaissance style in stages. Towards the end of the 16th century this thesis converted into a concrete form (Wolfgang Striccius /around 1570–?).²¹ This very noteworthy point also draws attention to the fact that the reformers first limited Catholic influences from Italy, thus inhibiting the spread of Renaissance music. It was only after Protestantism had firmly anchored itself in Slovenia that they became more flexible and therefore in their work they no longer saw Renaissance music as a danger. This explanation is also supported by information related to A. Bohorič. In the 1680s he offered to sell his library to the Country Classes, which included two thousand pieces of music. He stated that the works were partly written and partly printed for 8, 7, 6, 5, 4 and 3 voices in Latin, German, Italian, French and Kranj/Carniola, i.e. Slovene language. He added they had been lovingly and artistically written by the most famous old and new composers and that these compositions could be used not only in churches but at various events for entertainment and ceremonies, and that they could be performed on various instruments. The compositions, which Bohorič possessed, were not only the works of German Protestants but of other authors, too, regardless of their religious and national origin, and not only old but also new works. In other words, these were pieces of music of different stylistic orientation, from the Dutch to the Venetian²² school. Considering that this offer was a repertoire of the 16th century, they

²¹ German composer.

²² A group of Flemish and Italian composers who were working around 1530 and up to the beginning of the 17th century in Venice's cathedral St. Marco. Its founder was the Flemish composer Adrian Willaert, who in compositions of psalms (1550) used the two-choir technique (*cori spezzati*). It was not at that time entirely new but he and his successors could reach specific effects. The division of the sonorous matter into two and later with more choirs accelerated to assert the accord, homophony mode of composing; thus the harmony and

included songs that already adhered to the principles of the newly emerging, monadic (= Baroque) style.

Bohorič in this case was not the only one who had such an extensive collection in his hands. It is also likely that he did not keep this musical arsenal just for himself. He may have lent the compositions to other performers, as well as Protestants, possibly Catholics, even for church use or for secular purposes. This and other sources for the time of transition into the next (17th) century show that the style arch in Slovenia of the religiously and ethnically mixed area, was ever more widespread, and that the musical reproduction was not only limited to the church, but was also vibrant to the field of secular music. This was not preserved only in closed places but spread onto the streets, which troubled many citizens. We do not know what the musicians, trumpeters, fiddlers and possibly singers from the secular repertoire performed. Perhaps, as the sources from 1620 remind us, those songs can only be spoken about. Nevertheless, there is nothing tangible in this direction that can prove or at least presuppose it, and which could then even lead to a conclusion. The time of the Reformation in this case certainly revived musical life in Slovenia. Singing and music spread to all classes across the whole Slovene ethnic area, but was concentrated in Ljubljana. Reproduction was intensified, sometimes to a higher level, other times to a lower level. The number of performers increased. Therefore, their role increased, too. The activity of local musicians at this time was greater than ever before. It should therefore be reiterated that the most active were local musicians with the exception of two foreign composers and cantors in Ljubljana, Sebastian Sermonizer²³ and Wolfgang Striccius. It is thought that they were probably of average quality. Both can be ascribed some importance in just a local meaning. It is significant that many foreign musicians came to Slovenia at that time, mainly because of the needs of Protestantism. At the same time, musicians of Slovenian provenance left to work abroad. It was probably not because they did not agree with the new religious movement, but because abroad they had better conditions for their own artistic development as well as greater earnings. This emigration, which can be confirmed on both sides, Slovene and German, continued at that time and also later. It is very difficult to trace musicians of Slovenian descent due to the frequent Romanisation, Germanisation and Latinisation of their names and surnames. However, they can be found in the various courts just over the Slovene frontiers; i.e. in Graz, Innsbruck, Vienna, Prague, Olomouc and elsewhere. Some of them gained respect and a reputation as singers and instrumentalists i.e. Krištof Kral, Mihael Globokar (Globogger), Jurij Knez (Khness, Khnies, Khuess) and so on. In this context, we ask ourselves: were there also any composers among the musicians who in the middle and second half of the 16th century worked in Slovenia in the Protestant and Catholic framework? This would be possible because composing was an obligation, especially for the cantors. We do not have evidence for any Slovene composers; of the German composers we already cited S. Semnizer and W. Striccius. Especially the latter was very important. He was a cantor in the Ljubljana provincial school (1588–1592). In Ljubljana he issued two of his own collections: *Neue teutsche Lieder and Der erste Theil newer teutscher Gesänge* (1593).²⁴ In them we discover the compositional elements of a

colours of pieces of music developed more and more. Willaert's students were C. d. Rore, A. Gabrieli and G. Zarlino. Through A. and G. Gabrieli this school reached its pinnacle.

²³ Biographic data about him, except that he was German, is unknown.

²⁴ W. Striccius was the only Protestant musician, who worked in the former Duchy of Carniola, whose works were preserved. He worked in Ljubljana between 1588–92.

style that had barely appeared - Baroque. His songs were certainly sung by Striccus' Ljubljana pupils, thus introducing the stylistic orientation that the composer represented in his works (See Fig. 4).



Fig. 4 Jacobus Carniolus Gallus
(1550–1591 see Wikipedia).

There are some other Slovene composers from the ranks of emigration. Of these, the best known is certainly Yuri Knez, a bassist and composer who, apart from “[...] neu componirte Verspergesänge neben ainen musicalischen Magnificat [...],” probably wrote other works. However, the most popular is definitely Jacobus Gallus Carniolus (1550–1591), the famous composer of masses,²⁵ motets²⁶ and madrigals.²⁷ In his numerous pieces of music, (which number) several hundred works, Gallus was inspired by the new, stylistic streams, he spread the tradition of the Venetian composer school in Central Europe, and he became one of the major composers of the European musical renaissance. His opus became cosmopolitan, and Gallus himself a composer of European format (See Fig. 5).

His first music collection contained 21 four-voice, predominantly polyphonic and spiritual songs for a boys' choir, in the second collection there are 26 expansive secular songs for four and five-voiced choirs for high and the low voices, which show the stylistic influence of the Italian Renaissance. This collection also contains the author's the best known work for six-voices Motet Exulta satis filia Sion.

²⁵ *Selectiores quaedam missae*, 1580.

²⁶ *Opus musicum*, 1586, 1587, 1690.

²⁷ *Harmoniae morales*, 1590; *Moralia*, 1596.

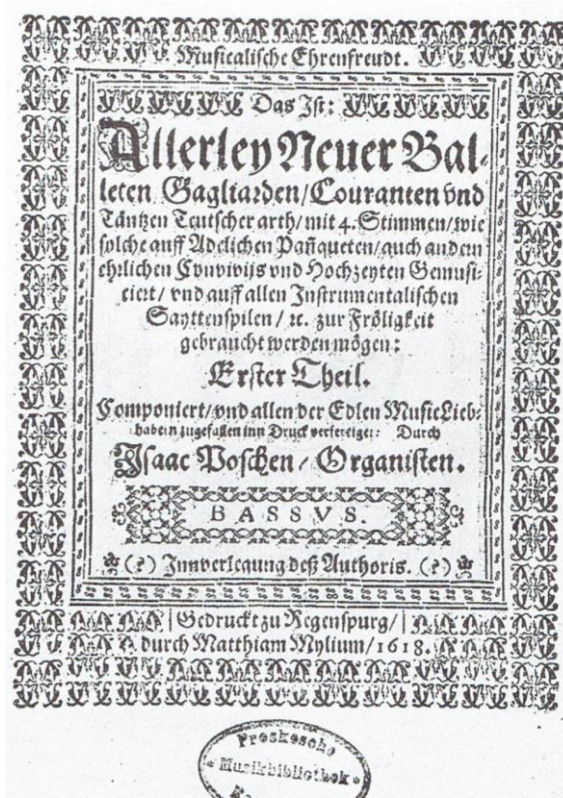


Fig. 5 The title page of Poš's collection *Musicalische Ehrenfreudt* from the year 1618. (NUK Ljubljana).

When with the decline of the 16th century the Counter-Reformation began its persecution of Protestants and finally managed to expel them from Slovenia by the end of the 1720's, the changes which arose through the process of Re-Catholicisation were also reflected in music. Its Protestant bearers went underground, the Protestant churches closed, and schools came under Catholic influence. *Eni psalmi/Some Psalms* was not an actuality. The vitality, which marked the music life of the Reformation, stopped for a period of time or diminished; however, only temporarily. The leader of the Counter-Reformation in Slovenia, Prince-Bishop Tomaž Hren (1560–1630)²⁸ was very fond of music. He was addicted to it and he clearly understood the important role music played in the previous period of Reformation and how significant it could be for Re-Catholicisation. Therefore, he did not take away singing and music and did not diminish its role and meaning. He was able to salvage and find a solution to what was happening, i.e. by abolishing Protestantism. Hren wanted to replace the Protestant songbook with a Catholic one, which would also be in Slovene, and which he himself prepared. He named it *Hymnologium slavicum*, but it was never published in print. Perhaps he was prevented by the Jesuits. They asserted that it was no longer necessary, because Re-

²⁸ Firstly Ljubljana bishop (od 1597 →), later the interior imperial regent for Austrian provinces.

Catholicisation in the 1720^s had already been carried out to a large extent. There were also other reasons why Hren's song-book was not published. Among them, (was that) Hren did not have enough time for printing. He was a man who did his best in both Ljubljana and his co-residence in Gornji Grad, and he was also a royal deputy in Graz (1614–1621). He renewed the music of the Ljubljana cathedral choir, where afterwards - when stability took over - in addition to the organist, singers and instrumentalists, as well as numerous musicians who did not necessarily belong to the formation of the cathedral's chapel made a contribution. Among the instrumentalists were also musicians who could play if they stayed in Ljubljana and had not been banished. Some of them were newcomers and the musicians were again restored to a full ensemble. Thus Hren returned music to its previous state. Even more: in Gornji Grad in the choir of the cathedral, to which he was greatly devoted, he founded the Collegium Marianum. Future priests were schooled here. They had to be highly skilled in music, so that they could give to the church and to the school what the Protestant cantors had given them before. T. Hren kept an exact record of all this. From his notes we can find that a great number of young people of Slovenian origin who were schooled at this college in Gornji Grad proved themselves in music. From these and from some other sources the names of organists were also listed. One after the other students continued to attend the school in the first three decades of the 17th century, as did instrumentalists, city musicians and country trumpeters. All of them, after the restoration of Catholicism, continued their own work not only in their elementary jobs but also in the cathedral and in the bishop's mansion. They played here on ceremonial occasions (See Fig. 6).

The image shows a page of a musical manuscript. At the top left, it is labeled 'I. Chorus a 3' and 'Vox.' (Voice). A large, ornate initial letter 'A' is on the left side of the first staff. The music is written on several staves with notes and rests. Below the staves, there are lines of Latin text: 'Ave dulcis mater Christi quae de omni suscepti visis etiam mortuam pro te plena in te. tuum pro te nate tuum visis et clementer foveas mater gratia cum omnibus cum omnibus fidelibus solamina poscentibus solamina poscentibus visis tuae clementer foveas mater gratia cum omnibus cum omnibus fidelibus solamina poscentibus solamina poscentibus in te. Amen'. The text is arranged in lines corresponding to the musical staves.

Fig. 6 Gabriel Plavec: *Flosculus vernalis* (1621–22), the beginning of *Ave dulcis mater Christi*. (*Flosculus vernalis*, Mainz, 1621-22; NUK, Ljubljana).

This proves that the earlier mentioned stagnancy was only short-lived. The musical life, ecclesiastical and secular, was almost revived. Singers and instrumentalists again achieved a reputation, which was always and still is today, dependent on the importance and role of music in general. The music activities that were performed in Hren's presence consolidated with the works of Ljubljana's Jesuits. They helped Hren in his Counter-Reformation endeavours. Further, the Jesuits took over the Latin school that was earlier under Protestant administration. Through the coeval model in the other Jesuit provinces they comprehended the power of music and applied significant attention in their own collegiums. Two further reasons led to this: they needed music for worshipping and for equipping the "school of comedies", through which they could portray biblical themes and perform them in their own theatre. This was also accessible to a wider audience. The performers were Jesuit students who, in many cases, are mentioned by name. How many of them were singers and instrumentalists is not known. Almost certainly the Ljubljana Jesuits acted in concord with a practice that had been applied elsewhere and according to which the rector of the college must take care of at least ten good singers: 3–4 descant singers, two tenorists, two alt singers and two bass singers. They sang in the choir of the Jesuits' church and elsewhere on different occasions performing secular songs. Evidently, they were rather lively and in many places led to disorder. The municipal council made several complaints to the rector of the college. Beside the singers, the instrumentalists also had favourable possibilities for schooling. Evidence shows that they knew how to play the trumpet, the trombone, the bassoon, the violin, the zither and the organ. In this matter, the Jesuits' students of music were better than their peers from the school of St. Nicholas; beside this they had a much wider circle of work. The Jesuits participation in theatre performances made them more skilled in music. In addition, it seems that they were prepared more thoroughly in the art of music, not only in reproduction, but also they were familiarised with the technique of compositional movement. In doing so, they were trained to compose music. For the first decades of the 17th century there is not adequate evidence i.e. proof. This, however, appears in the second half of the 17th century.

These musicians were not professionals. The professionals were not then schooled at the cathedral. When they finished their studies they were able musicians and they made it their business and did it professionally. This means that they have contributed to the musical life in the sacred and secular fields. From the evidence material we can conclude that the music activities in Slovenia, and especially in the Duchy of Carniola, in the first decades of the 17th century were quite lively. When the earlier connections with Italy opened up a little further cultural influences began to flow from there immediately. This was very encouraging for music, especially for its stylistic orientation. This is evinced by the music funds from the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century, which have been recorded so far.

Among them there are printed works issued in the years 1599–1615. They contain masses, motets and psalms by various authors i.e.: Palestrina, de Rore, Willaert, Gallus and so on, the printed collection of Joannellus Petrus²⁹ and a series of manuscript collections of masses, litanies and magnificats, and among them also the litaniae written by J. Kuglman and dedicated to T. Hren and Archduke Ferdinand (1616), the works of composers except one (the Italian Orazio Vecchi, 1550–1605) were working in Graz at the Archduke's court (Pietro Antonio Bianco, Simon Gattus, Francesco Rovigo and so on). Here are numerous collections which contain pieces of music by reputable composers (O. d. Lasso, G. and A.

²⁹ *Novi thesauri musici liber primus*, 1568.

Gabrieli, P. de Monte, L. d. Viadana, A. Perini, M. Praetorisu and so on). A document worth mentioning is *Inventarium Librorum Musicalium Ecclesiae Cathedralis Labacensis* (1620). It was commissioned by the order of the Prince-Bishop T. Hren and it was later supplemented. It is very significant for thoroughly studying the music situation in Slovenia in the first decades of the 17th century. This paper cites masses, motets, magnificats, madrigals and instrumental pieces of music which are in most examples secular. Among the authors of the church pieces of music were: L. d. Viadana, G. Puliti, J. Gallus, A. and G. Gabrieli, C. d. Rore, O. Vecchi, L. Marenzio and so on. For the “concerts” are cited A. Gabrieli, for the “sonatas” C. Gussago, for the “symphonies” L. d. Viadana, and for the “fantasies” G. Puliti and G. Frescobaldi. Quoted in the index are the villanelles (L. Marenzio), the canzonettes, *Musicalisches Rosengärtlein* of M. Odonti (1612), the *Musicalisches Introduction* of C. Hagijs and the *Musicalische Tafelfreudt* of I. Posch and numerous canzones and ricercars of many authors from the beginning of the 17th century. The opera *Euridice* by G. Caccini is twice quoted. The compositions which we could find in the *Inventarium* ..., are not identical to the other collections of print and manuscripts. It is a pity that these pieces of music were not preserved and their whereabouts is unknown. But they must have been numerous, since the census alone indicates around 300 units. Most of them were perhaps placed in the archive of Ljubljana’s cathedral during the time of Tomaž Hren’s regime of the diocese of Ljubljana. Some of them were there before, and may even be from Bohorič’s collection, but in part they were definitely purchased to order, at least those printed after 1600. The material, whether prints or manuscripts or cited in the *Inventarium* ..., cleared up many questions raised in connection to this. All of them give evidence to a great stylistic span at the beginning of the 17th century. It is obvious that a new stylistic concept arrived to the forefront, the *monody* (= *Baroque*). It is said that alongside church music, secular music was also important. In this context mostly instrumental music was performed on different occasions in the diocesan mansion and even in the palaces of the wealthy aristocracy. They were very interested in music, either because they imitated foreign models or because of their own initiatives. It was probably desired and actual in the higher classes of society. It is an assumption of this thesis that sometime in the 1720’s, Caccini’s opera *Euridice* (?) was performed in Ljubljana. However, it is not documented. For all it seems, that they, in Ljubljana, would not have acquired it if they did not intend to perform it on stage. There was no shortage of performers. There were enough instrumentalists and able singers, too. If they needed more opera singers they could have hired them from one of the Italian impresario. If it was performed, it was the most significant fact not only for the question of the beginning of opera performances in Slovenia, but also for the history of opera production in general: Caccini’s *Euridice* was first staged in Florence at its inception (1602) and it is not known to have been repeated anywhere else in the following two decades. So the possible staging of Caccini’s *Euridice* in Ljubljana may have been the second performance in a row (See Fig. 7, 8).

3. CONCLUSION

This insight shows that music in Slovenia and in the Duchy of Carniola during the mentioned period i.e. in the 16th and at the beginning of the 17th century, was always present: church and secular, vocal and instrumental. Its function and significance were dependent on numerous factors, artistic and non-artistic which continuously, directly and



Fig. 7 Tomaž Hren (1560–1630), around 1625 (See Wikipedia).



Fig. 8 The title page of *Inventarium Librorum Musicalium Ecclesiae Cathedralis Labacensis*, 1620. (NUK Ljubljana).

indirectly, had an influence and great effect on its stylistic orientation. Among these influences the Reformation and Counter-Reformation certainly had a significant role, parallel to other European countries, which suffered the same obstacles and encouragement. Moreover the Slovene territory was on the periphery of the Habsburg monarchy juxtaposed with a less favourable position, more precisely a worse position. This, in its own way, was also reflected in the life of music. The rise of musical endeavours, which can be confirmed on the basis of material, can be traced back to the first decades of the 17th century. It is reflected in the continuous increase in the number of musicians and the gradual improvement of their position, especially because of the careful attention paid to the development of young musicians by T. Hren, as well as the Ljubljana Jesuits. All this can be labelled as successful. Once again it is worth noting that the emigration of the domestic, Slovenian musical element continues despite the expanded and more favourable possibilities for musical activity. Through this the musical reproduction was enriched considerably and the quality was raised. This leads to the conclusion that the situation in Slovenia was not attractive enough to keep the native musicians at home, for they wanted to achieve more. In this we can see one of the reasons why at the beginning of the 17th century, we do not know of any composer who was based and worked in their homeland. Some of them we can confirm, but only among the emigrants: Gabriel Plavec Carniolus (Plautz, Plautzius) who worked in German Mainz and died there (1641), Daniel Lagkhner from Maribor, who decided to stay in Loosdorf in Lower Austria, but after 1607 there is no trace of him, and Isaac Posch (Poš, Poschius). All we know about him is that he was a musician of Carinthia's Country Classes and he had close correspondence with the *Country Classes* of Kranj and with T. Hren. He died in 1621 or 1622. Posch who is still not nationally defined, was certainly the most important among them. He was the leading person in the area of the variation suite in the European framework. The first two among them (Plavec and Lagkhner) were in transition from the Late Renaissance to Early Baroque, Plavec more noted than Lagkhner. But Posch more distinctively orientated in monody.

Music and musicians in the aforementioned, over a period of one hundred years, especially in the Duchy of Carniola, and thus in Slovenia, were important in general even if not always everywhere equally. They grew up from humble beginnings, and from an ever growing wealth of material sources it is evident that music, in spite of periodic stagnancy, grew step by step, gradually consolidating the position of the art and its performers. All of this, for known reasons and truths, was not identical to the role played by musicians and music in many other cities in the West. As far as stylistic orientation was concerned, there were no major differences, although periodic delays did occur. All in all, we can finally say that from this point of view, the situation in the Slovenian area did not differ from what was happening west of the Slovene ethnic borders (See Fig. 9).



Fig. 9 The organ of master Tomaž Krek in Crngrob (1649; the title page LP: Milko Bizjak-Orgle/ The Organ; Ljubljana: *Helidon*, 1985; the photo of original LP).

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MUZIKA U VEKOVIMA PRE ŠKOFJELOŠKE PASIJE: MUZIKA U 16. I 17. VEKU U VOJVODINI KRANJSKOJ

U 16. i na početku 17. veka u Sloveniji (a time i u Vojvodini Kranjskoj) postojala je crkvena i svetovna vokalna i instrumentalna muzika. To se može primetiti i utvrditi na osnovu građe prve decenije 17. veka, neposredno pre prvog izvođenja procesije Škofjeloške pasije (1721). Među kompozitorima bili su aktivni Tomaž Hren i ljubljanski Jezuiti, iako na početku 17. veka još uvek nije bilo zanimanja domaćeg kompozitora. Nekoliko kompozitora bilo je među emigranata: Gabiel Plavec Carniolus (Plautz, Plautzius), u Majncu, Nemačka (1641), Danijel Lagkhner iz Maribora, Slovenija (u Loosdorfu, Austrija, 1607) i Isak Poš (u Koruškoj). On je preminuo 1621. ili 1622. godine, a bio je prepoznatljiv po variacionoj sviti. Plavec i Lagkhner stvarali su na prelazu iz kasne renesanse u rani barok, dok Pošovo stvaralaštvo odlikuje monodija, odnosno vezuje se za rani barok. Pomenuta muzika i muzičari bili su značajni u ovom periodu skoro čitav vek, iako ne uvek i ne svuda podjednako. Muzika se razvijala iz skromnih početka, tako da se na prostoru Slovenije nije razilazila sa svim onim što je bilo aktuelno zapadno od slovenačke granice.

Ključne reči: procesija, Tomaž Hren, Gabiel Plavec, Daniel Lagkhner, variaciona svita, Isak Poš.