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Music in the Writings and Imagination of Silesian Humanists

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Abstract

Music in the Writings and Imagination of Silesian Humanists explores the sound-world of early modern Silesia through the writings of humanists active there in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who both observed musical culture and actively participated in it: a poet, a publisher, a pedagogue, a physician, a historian, and a regionalist. Such an approach makes it possible to reconstruct their perceptions and understandings of music—as a constitutive element of their community. Since these authors were drawn more to representations of music than to the art itself, the book collates vignettes of the collective memory of the republic of scholars: their individual and common *imaginarium*.

Keywords

Silesia – Wrocław/Breslau – humanism – Renaissance – writings – *imaginarium* – collective memory – narrative – hermeneutics – generations – self-fashioning – music performances – music perception – music education

1 Prologue

The close connections between humanism and the musical traditions of early modern Silesia date from the late fifteenth century. To make these connections apparent and shed new light on those traditions, this book delves into the writings of key figures who are representative of that culture and in whose works can be found many and varied allusions and references to music. Admittedly, this is not a tack commonly taken in traditional musicology. Some more recent approaches, however, reflect a shift in focus, from studying musical works seen in their historical context to studying the history of music seen as cultural

history.[1] Scholars adopting this mode of inquiry quote, analyze, and interpret writings of the period not as ancillary sources but as their primary domain of intellectual engagement. Research informed by this approach is less concerned with the objective reconstruction of historico-musical factual data and more focused on ways of perceiving and describing it by employing the writings of author-participants in that culture. An approach of this kind makes it possible to illustrate how musical culture functioned and what role it occupied in a given milieu. One of the attributes characteristic of the humanistic *Weltanschauung*, moreover, was the focus of attention being not so much on the work *per se* as on how it was presented. And the purpose of that ploy was indeed to construct, in full awareness, a group collective memory.[2] Similarly, the end-goal of my undertaking is a subjective portrayal of culture from a composite of vignettes; as the perspective broadens, so inter-subjective affinities begin to reveal themselves.

Source material for this book has been excerpted from the works of authors who had a long association with Wrocław (Breslau), the region's biggest administrative center and, effectively, its capital city during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Silesian capital warrants that metonym by dint of its historical sphere of influence and because no other city could rival its concentration of important institutions, their jurisdiction recognized throughout Silesia. The choice of Wrocław can also be explained in terms of cultural aspects, as it can rightly be regarded as a microcosm of enlightenment in itself.[3] The integrated nature of the tradition that interests me argues in favor of leaving the book's narrative in the hands of the authors. While it is true that they took part in musical life, they were neither professional musicians, nor composers, nor music theorists. Essentially, our authors were observers of musical culture. Adopting the approach I am proposing serves to retain the objectivity of the accounts while facilitating investigation, unencumbered by specialist musicological terminology, into their common set of values. Furthermore, by proceeding in this manner, I hope to make the narrative more accessible to cultural historians, whatever their scholarly disposition, and afford musicologists new and stimulating interpretative vantage points.

The stuff of my research are images, representations, and ideas to do with music, as expressed in the writings of leading cultural figures of our chosen

1 Stefano Lorenzetti, *Musica e identità nobiliare nell'Italia del Rinascimento: Educazione, mentalità, immaginario* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2003), 21.

2 Krzysztof Pomian, *Historia: Nauka wobec pamięci* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2006), 165–67.

3 Norman Davies and Roger Moorhouse, *Microcosm: Portrait of a Central European City* (London: Pimlico, 2003).

period. A phenomenological approach lends itself to studying texts of this kind; however, a temporary reduction of material being assimilated is required.[4] In this case, strictly musicological knowledge is bracketed out, the better to concentrate on selected phenomena and achieve a truer picture of the past derived directly from writings of the period. It is my contention that such a perspective, above all, facilitates grasping the essence of the images, representations, and ideas that are of interest to us: to be more specific, understanding the meaning and intrinsic worth they held for the authors who employed them. I define this awareness, discernible in their writings, as *imaginarium*—a snapshot view of the world that, first and foremost, determines the author's place in it.[5] Taking our authors' perspective and view of matters that refer in one way or another to music is what engages me; after all, music was one of the more important languages of cultural communication during this period. Tackling our study from this angle makes possible the reconstruction of the musical *imaginaria* of Wratislavian humanists and affords us an insight into them through the process of hermeneutical understanding.[6]

If the writings of authors considered to be the most representative are to serve as the starting point for describing history, then the strategy Karl Mannheim (1893–1947) proposed, and historians and sociologists have continued over the past century, could provide a way of organizing them. His approach takes as its temporal unit the generation, understood as a specific cohort of people coexisting at a particular time, sharing similar social foundations, and playing an active role in the accretion, creation, and transmission of its cultural heritage.[7] The natural rhythm of one generation succeeding another does more than just determine who succeeds whom: it sets up its own sort of accumulative "polyphony," one voice melding with another—as one generation dies out, the next generation is in the ascendance, while yet another is just beginning to make its presence felt in cultural discourse.[8] In this understanding, a generation is a cultural history in symbolic form—authors' identity defined through collective experience of shared images and ideas or

4 Edmund Husserl, *Ideen zu einer reinen Phänomenologie und phänomenologischen Philosophie* (Halle: Verlag von Max Niemeyer, 1913), 56–57.

5 Edith Stein, "Die weltanschauliche Bedeutung der Phänomenologie," in *Welt und Person: Beitrag zum Christlichen Wahrheitsstreben von Dr. Edith Stein Unbeschuhte Karmelitin*, ed. Lucy Gelber (Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1962), 6:1–17, here 1.

6 Wihelm Dilthey, *Der Aufbau der geschichtlichen Welt in den Geisteswissenschaften* (Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, 1979), 137–38.

7 Karl Mannheim, "Das Problem der Generationen," *Kölner Vierteljahrshefte für Soziologie* 7 (1928): 157–85, 209–330, here 170–85.

8 Wilhelm Pinder, "Das Problem der geschichtlichen Gleichzeitigkeit," in Pinder, *Das Problem der Generationen in der Kunstgeschichte Europas* (Leipzig: Seemann, 1940), 1–31, here 17–18.

through theirs being the dominant narrative in the discourse.[9] As a technique of social self-reference, this is not only a fruitful subject for research; it also provides an invaluable explanatory tool, so long as the necessary detachment is maintained from shows of self-fashioning that often occur in such contexts.

The need for an image uninhibited by excessive accuracy is another distinctive attribute of Renaissance culture shaped by humanistic ideals.[10] Most sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Wratislavian authors succumbed to this temptation, including my author-colleagues whose sources I am sharing in this book. Our authors represent quite varied professions. In keeping with the Renaissance ideal of *l'uomo universale* (polymath),[11] each of them was active in many different spheres of the arts and sciences, and especially the canonic disciplines of the liberal arts. These scions of culture are connected by being participants in a community of humanistic discourse, a cultural community of their own that continued operating down the generations, passing on material and values that they, themselves, had created collectively. In the cases I examine, we are dealing with the greater part of the educated intellectual elite of Silesia who were active as authors of various kinds of cultural texts. Moreover, in a social context, the members of this group were indistinguishable from those who were directly responsible for the character of the cultural tradition they had brought about, one that operated within our focus city. Not by accident did the elite of such a polity refer to it as a republic, applying that term in its strict sense to the circle of its most esteemed participants, leaders, and dignitaries.

The surer our understanding of what our authors took "musical culture" to mean, their conception of it, the more clearly defined our field of research. Concepts derived from classical authors played a central role in humanist narratives: their pronouncements on music constituted the *loci communes* (agreed fundamentals) in Renaissance writings, and the same obtained in writings disseminated in Silesia. In its broadest and most basic etymological meaning, the term "musical arts" (τέχνη μουσική), as understood by classical authors, covered all the skills and abilities tended by Apollo and his Muses.[12]

9 Ulrike Jureit, "Generation, Generationalität, Generationenforschung," in Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte, https://docupedia.de/zg/Jureit_generation_v2_de_2017 (accessed March 21, 2024).

10 Peter Burke, *Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy* (Cambridge: Polity, 2013), 203–11.

11 Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, introduction by Hajo Holborn (New York: Modern Library, 1954), 104.

12 Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: Vom Ursprung der Kultur im Spiel*, in close cooperation with the author translated from the Dutch by H. Nachod, with an afterword by Andreas Flitner (Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch, 2015), 174–75.

In the domain of *otium* (leisure), they embraced all aspects of human activity connected with verbal-musical performances involving gesture and dance. The Muses' attributes hint at their musical associations—the kithara held by Erato (love poetry), Euterpe's aulos (lyric poetry), Terpsichore's lyre (dance). The arts represented by Melpomene (tragedy), Polyhymnia (sacred poetry), and Thalia (comedy) also possessed obvious musical qualities. Activities presided over by Calliope (epic poetry), Clio (history), and Urania (astronomy) were originally accompanied by performance in the form of melo-declamation. All other arts (plastic and kinesthetic) were outside the realm of the Muses.

In the strict definition of the word, μουσική does, indeed, designate forms of acoustic expressions made by man that are ordered in terms of melody, harmony, and rhythm.[13] Typically, these three elements are present in prose, the flow of which determines what meter is appropriate to the subject matter and what musical accompaniment fits the expressive character.[14] The language of tragedy, too, is defined by a group of elements such as stage appearance, singing, and verbal expression.[15] Different verbal-musical genres, organized according to defined precepts, can be identified by the contents of their transmission.[16] Focusing on the purpose of these genres, one could list ethical songs—operating in a moral sphere and, as a consequence, useful in the process of education; practical songs—spurring to action and useful for the functioning of social institutions as a consequence; enthusiastic songs—arousing pleasure and aiding relaxation. And animating the realization of these specific functions are the music modes appropriate to each purpose.[17] That music should be the prime mover in all these domains stems from the fact that its construction is analogous to the "harmonic" constitution of the soul and to the nature of its affects as well.[18] It is these similarities that determine the key role music plays in social life,[19] in the service of the perfection of virtue and ennoblement of moral character.[20]

13 Robert Gregg Bury, ed., *Plato in Twelve Volumes*, vol. 10, *Laws: Books 1–6* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 128–29.

14 Aristotle, *The "Art" of Rhetoric*, with an English translation by John Henry Freese (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), 382–85.

15 Aristotle, *Poetics*, ed. Stephen Halliwell; Longinus, *On the Sublime*, ed. William Hamilton Fyfe; Demetrius, *On Style*, ed. Doreen C. Innes (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 46–49.

16 Plato, *Laws*, 1:244–45.

17 Aristotle, *Politics*, ed. Harris Rackham (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 668–71.

18 Aristotle, *Politics*, 660–61.

19 Plato, *Laws*, 1:110–13; Aristotle, *Politics*, 656–57.

20 Plato, *Laws*, 1:156–57; Aristotle, *Politics*, 648–51.

Viewed in that light, musical works appear to be derivative in character. In essence, they seek through words, melody, and rhythm[21] to imitate reality as perceived by the senses.[22] Melodic and rhythmic character derive directly from the meaning of the words being imitated[23] or may be determined by the rhythm of the dance accompanying the performance.[24] In tragedy, the most important constituent is, in fact, the unfolding drama; its greatest attribute is μελοποιία (melic composition), far more fundamental to the reception of art than the *mise-en-scène* of the performance.[25] Acting as intermediary in the ethical workings upon listeners, the musical work affords them the experience of being cleansed of their feelings of sympathy and trepidation (κάθαρσις).[26] Since music's aim is to persuade, it warrants being regarded as one of the rhetorical arts: composed according to a standard oratorical formula and performed according to universally recognized quality criteria. In the first group of criteria, composition—including musical composition—should have clearly defined functions, starting with an introduction that serves as an entrée to the body of the work.[27] In the domain of performance style, it should exhibit an appropriate intensity of volume, melodic contour, and rhythm.[28]

A particularly important train of thought in Greco-Roman reflections on music is its efficacious role in education, not only with a view to training an excellent orator but also having regard to general education dedicated to social groups more broadly.[29] A belief that music is essential in the formation of intellectual elites and in the education of the young stems from the integral connection between the art of sound and philosophy, literature and religion. That it was a necessity is abundantly clear from the presence of music in ancient legal codes and the way those codes were realized in practice.[30] Music was particularly useful for individuals preparing to become involved in social activities: speeches improved in quality when the orator modulated melody and rhythm in a manner appropriate to the subject matter being presented and the moods expressed, in much the same way as happens in musical performance.[31]

21 Aristotle, *Poetics*, 28–31.
22 Plato, *Laws*, 1:140–45.
23 Aristotle, *Poetics*, 38–39.
24 Aristotle, *Poetics*, 42–43.
25 Aristotle, *Poetics*, 52–53.
26 Aristotle, *Poetics*, 46–49.
27 Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 424–27.
28 Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 344–47.
29 Quintilian, *Institutionis oratoriae libri duodecim*, vols. 1–2, ed. M. [Michael] Winterbottom (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 1:58–59.
30 Quintilian, *Institutionis oratoriae*, 1:60–61.
31 Quintilian, *Institutionis oratoriae*, 1:63; 2:666–82.

Music's importance in the formation of the younger generation is even more significant: if education is to attract and guide the young to a certain mode of thinking, as the law clearly expects,[32] it is crucial to choose the right repertoire, appropriate both from an ethical and legal point of view, for "in this way, songs become laws."[33]

The great majority of the topics touched on above were taken up in the narratives of Renaissance authors in their quest for a revival of Greco-Roman philosophical thought, but also for recently rediscovered items of classical culture. Naturally, their creative adaptation to the needs of a humanistic civilization project expressed itself in certain distinctive characteristics and resulted in different local manifestations. That notwithstanding, one fundamental element in this current of ideas evinced universal applicability, fostered as it was by a common language of discourse and accepted ways of going about cultural communication. Since the original term for an educated man was μουσικός—a pupil of the Muses[34]—it follows that the business of state, the conduct of war, or the delivery of an oration might also be regarded as the subject of τέχνης μουσικοί in which he engaged.[35] These phenomena, particularly with respect to the Renaissance and humanism, need to be understood more generally as manifestations of culture practiced as a cultural game.[36] This agonistic character of art manifests itself clearly in the way institutions like schools, churches, cities, and states function.

The authors who participated in it certainly had many opportunities to observe how music accompanies this game. On the one hand, it was understood as a metaphor for social order or the harmony of the human soul and, on the other, as a phenomenon that can be perceived acoustically: compositions performed as part of teaching in school, of liturgical or secular celebrations. A significant portion of the repertoire associated with those occasions belongs to types of music that—in accordance with the assumptions of classical philosophers—focused on textual meaning and was subordinate to the word. There were, among others, Latin liturgical works updated for textual clarity, metrical compositions for pedagogical purposes, hymns in vernacular languages used in religious formation, types of secular music suitable for convivial relaxation, solo works with *basso continuo* useful in chamber music settings, and instrumental pieces freely reworked from vocal models. These

32 Plato, *Laws*, 1:110–113.
33 Plato, *Laws*, 2:40–41, 48–53.
34 Quintilian, *Institutionis oratoriae*, 1:62.
35 Burckhardt, *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, 3, 77, 278.
36 Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, 196–98.

genres define the period, universally accepted in music history, when humanistic attributes made their appearance.[37] The purpose of this book is in fact to provide an answer to the questions of how the Wratislavian humanists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries described this music and what function it actually assumed in their *imaginaria*.

2 Laurentius Corvinus

Laurentius Corvinus (Lorenz Rabe [*c.*1465–1527]), one of the first generation of Wratislavian humanists, is regarded as the most important representative of the early Renaissance in Silesia.[38] He was born in Środa Śląska (Neumarkt) and pursued his studies at the Kraków Academy. After graduating with a bachelor's and master's degree, he went on to teach there as a freelance teacher.[39] During his period in Kraków, he had the opportunity to make the acquaintance of Konrad Celtes (Konrad Pickel [1459–1508]) and become a member of his Sodalitas Litterarum Vistulana, whose members included Filippo Buonaccorsi (1437–1496) and Johann Sommerfeld the Elder (1457–1520).[40] It was Celtes and his literary initiatives inspired by neo-Platonic ideas that made the strongest impact on Corvinus's personality. Both Jan of Głogów (1445–1507) and Wojciech of Brudzewo (1445–1497) also exerted considerable influence on Corvinus's intellectual development. His acquaintance with them stimulated his mind, initially toward mathematics, geography, and astronomy.

The legacy of these interests can be seen in our Silesian author's first publication, the printing of which was brokered by his student, Heinrich Bebel (1472–1518).[41] In dedicating his *Cosmographia* (Cosmography) to students of the Kraków Academy, Corvinus recommended they entrust their quest for knowledge to "the sonorous lute of the Aonian goddess" and the companion of the Muses—Apollo. The work consists of a compilation of classical texts

37 Gerald Abraham, *The Age of Humanism: 1540–1630* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), xxii–xxiii.

38 Gustav Bauch, "Laurentius Corvinus, der Breslauer Stadtschreiber und Humanist: Sein Leben und seine Schriften," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthum Schlesiens* 17 (1883): 230–302, here 230.

39 Gernot Michael Müller, "Corvinus (Rabe) Laurentius," in *Deutscher Humanismus 1480–1520: Verfasserlexikon*, ed. Franz Joseph Worstbrock (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009), 1:496–505.

40 Henryk Barycz, "Corvinus Wawrzyniec," in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, ed. Helena d'Abancourt de Franqueville and Władysław Konopczyński (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1938), 4:96–98.

41 Laurentius Corvinus, *Cosmographia dans manuductionem in tabulas Ptholomei* [...] (Basel: Nicolaus Kessler, after 1496).

on the world and the customs of its inhabitants. Not much is to be found here on music save its evocation as a mythological counterpoint to the antiquifying description of the world. Accordingly, we encounter the legend of the origins of the walled city of Thebes, the stones for which Amphion drew after him by the power of his lyre's magical music. Corvinus's critical mind doubts the plausibility of this tale, for he does not bother corroborating the power of music's workings. In place of its persuasive role is an unassertive address by the city's founder in which he entreats builders to observe the laws. Thus the end result, according to Plato (*c.*427–347 BCE), is the same as would be achieved through the art of sound.[42] Musical connotations are to be found in the tale of the springs that flow from Mount Helicon: drinking from this source infused poets with the ability to compose songs. This myth deflects the barb of rational criticism by explaining—here, too, according to Plato—that divine inspiration experienced through the medium of sound is essential for poetic creativity.[43] Most of Corvinus's narrative, written in prose, comprises descriptions of the countries ringing the Mediterranean. Regions closest to his heart he extols in songs, proving thereby that he, too, had quenched his thirst at Pegasus's spring. In his first *carmen*, dedicated to Poland and Kraków, our poet calls up a picture of Helicon where lyre-playing Muses are gathered together with Apollo presiding over them.[44] The next song is given over to a description of Silesia and Wrocław, its vice-regal power symbolized by a thunderbolt struck from Jupiter's chariot.[45]

A more extensive compendium of Corvinus's poetic works is found in a textbook entitled *Carminum structura* (The structure of poems);[46] it, too, was published for Kraków students. The work's prologue acknowledges its debt to Marsilio Ficino's (1433–1499) philosophy, with which Corvinus became acquainted through contact with Celtes.[47] Just like the founder of the Florentine Academy, Corvinus acknowledges that poetic works arise from divine inspiration and reflect the harmony of the celestial spheres, their order being best conveyed, therefore, by the order of metrical schemes.[48] Poets, be they Greek

42 Corvinus, *Cosmographia*, c. D_4^r.

43 Corvinus, *Cosmographia*, c. D_4^v.

44 Corvinus, *Cosmographia*, c. C_5^v, *Ode sapphica endecasyllaba dicolos: tetrastrophos peonice, de Polonia et Cracovia*.

45 Corvinus, *Cosmographia*, c. C_6^r–$_7^r$, *Slesiae descriptio compendiosa*.

46 Laurentius Corvinus, *Carminum structura* [...] (Leipzig: Martin Landsberg, after July 20, 1496).

47 Grantley McDonald, "Laurentius Corvinus and the Flowering of Central European Humanism," *Terminus* 9, no. 1 (2007): 47–71, here 57.

48 Corvinus, *Carminum structura*, c. A_2^v–$_3^r$.

or Hebrew, are the progeny of the gods and are duly summoned to sing the liturgy.[49] The central part of the textbook is taken up with Corvinus's original poems, which serve as examples of prosody being presented. With each poem in a different metrical scheme, his book provides a valuable compendium of antique versification meters.[50]

The subject matter of these works makes plentiful reference to the audiosphere evoked by the author. For example, they go to the notion of *locus amoenus* (pleasant place), to which Corvinus sends his students to hear the murmur of the brook, soothing the weary mind and helping it to recover its vigor.[51] Praise of the quiet life, as opposed to the excessive busyness of travelers and novelty-seekers, is conveyed by contrasting the tumult of a storm with the shelter of one's home. Not for our author the fiery eruptions of Sicily's Mount Etna; he prefers the cozy warmth of the hearth, idling his time away in Terpsichore's domain, her lyre putting paid to the travails of everyday life.[52] The hexameter dedicated to Apollo is pervaded with musical *topoi*: the lyrical subject bids Phoebus abide by the Vistula with their string instruments, and there bestow upon the people of Sarmatia water from the Boeotian Muses' spring.[53]

That this request was indeed met becomes apparent in one of the verse strophes dedicated to Bacchus; he, too, is invited to Kraków, where the Muses already residing in Pallas's abode are accompanying Apollo's song on their instruments.[54] Corvinus's choice of poetry serves a didactic purpose. To assist students in committing the works to memory, melodies were chosen for the metrical feet. These can be found in his later publications. And so, each versification pattern came accompanied by a melody appropriate to it, duly labeled the same way as the ordering of metrical feet (*numerus*). Echoes of this didactic purpose can be detected in the names given to some of the metrical schemes,[55] but it is particularly in his songs where the melic attributes of Corvinus's poetry are most obvious.

Latin phrasebooks containing useful locutions and expressions were recommended and published by humanists for wide general use. Corvinus, too,

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49 Corvinus, *Carminum structura*, c. A_3^r.

50 Robert K. Zawadzki, *Wawrzyniec Korwin: Życie i twórczość renesansowego humanisty* (*studium, tekst łaciński, komentarz i przekład*) (Częstochowa: Wydawnictwo im. Stanisława Podobińskiego Akademii im. Jana Długosza, 2013), 147.

51 Corvinus, *Carminum structura*, c. B_2^v, *Hortatur studentes ut rura aliquando petant*.

52 Corvinus, *Carminum structura*, c. C_5^v–$_6^r$, *Laudat mediocrem statum et doctorum virorum quietam vitam*.

53 Corvinus, *Carminum structura*, c. $B_3^{r–v}$, *Ad Apollinem*.

54 Corvinus, *Carminum structura*, c. C_1^v–$_2^r$, *Ad Bacchum*.

55 Corvinus, *Carminum structura*, c. D_3^v, *De partenico dactilico alias chorisco*.

produced this sort of textbook when he was headmaster of St. Elizabeth's school, Wrocław. It also serves as an invaluable source of cultural history that captures this school's everyday routines. Music itself played a significant role in the life of that school, as can be seen in dialogues found in *Latinum ydeoma* (The Latin language). One such dialogue lets us in on a music rehearsal during which the cantor and headmaster are examining students' skills in performing polyphonic compositions. Despite having practiced it many times, and notwithstanding the relative straightforwardness of the piece's rhythm, melody, and harmony, the boys are still unable to perform it. Concerned that the performance will be an embarrassment both to the students and to him, the cantor attempts to get to grips with the unacceptable quality of the boys' singing. His efforts range from giving them notes on breathing and intonation to making demeaning observations about the sound of their voices.[56] When the boys explain that their voices are starting to break, the cantor gives their part to other lads. But they, too, find the part beyond them and are likewise larded by the cantor with humiliating comments.[57] Out of his depth, he orders birches be supplied to the warden; the exam concludes with the boys getting a flogging.

Corvinus's thumbnail sketch of a cantor is a far cry from the paragon of a pedagogue portrayed in the treatises of Juan Luis Vives (1493–1540) and Erasmus of Rotterdam (*c.*1466–1536). Rather, it is of a piece with the negative picture of church administrative personnel whose shortcomings are pilloried in *In Praise of Folly*. In contrast to the cantor is the figure of the headmaster. Since Corvinus was headmaster of a school at that time, we can read into this account some autobiographical elements, its typically humanistic self-fashioning style notwithstanding. The author's empathy with students is evident in the second dialogue that portrays students of the Wrocław school going off to a garden outside the city, there to drink from a murmuring stream and relax by its flowing waters. In doing so, they are heeding the advice Corvinus gives in one of his poems.[58] In the shade of the oak tree, they find their *locus amoenus*, and from sprigs of willow-wood they fashion not birches but shepherds' pipes.[59]

The students of St. Elizabeth's were also involved in more refined forms of *otium*. On Shrove Sunday, 1500, they presented Terence's (*c.*195/185–*c.*159? BCE) comedy *Eunuchus*, and two years later, Plautus's (*c.*254–184 BCE) *Aulularia*.[60]

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56 Laurentius Corvinus, *Latinum ydeoma* [...] (Wrocław: Konrad Baumgarten, 1503), c. B_4^v.

57 Corvinus, *Latinum ydeoma*, c. B_4^v–C_1^r.

58 See note 51.

59 Corvinus, *Latinum ydeoma*, c. C_3^r.

60 Gustav Bauch, *Geschichte des Breslauer Schulwesens vor der Zeit der Reformation* (Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, 1909), 235.

These productions organized by Corvinus are the earliest Latin stage performances yet recorded in German-speaking regions, predating even those of Celtes in Vienna. The Wrocław premieres took place in the town hall auditorium, which was later to become a frequent venue for such presentations.[61] Given the educational level of the students involved and the very nature of Latin school drama, it is highly likely that these productions entailed musical settings of some kind, and all the more so in view of this genre's connection with Greek dramas, the presentation of which involved dance, instrumentally accompanied songs, metrical odes, and choruses. In Renaissance Europe, and especially so in German-speaking centers, schools that kept up this tradition often incorporated these elements into their presentations. Performances of Celtes's and Johann Reuchlin's (1455–1522) comedies in Heidelberg, Nuremberg, and Vienna were accompanied by metrical choruses related in structure to compositions found in the anthology of Petrus Tritonius (Peter Treybenreif [1465–*c.*1525])—the publication of which was thanks to none other than Celtes himself.[62]

The repertoire contained in this collection was known in Kraków and Wrocław, where the fashion for musically reworking metrical odes was keenly imitated. Evidence of this popularity can be seen in the numerous sources that attest to its active and passive reception.[63] The metrical ode was made use of in the Kraków Academy's teaching program, and echoes of it can be detected, among other things, in one of the treatises of Jerzy Liban (Georg Weihrauch [1464–1546]), who enrolled in the academy in the autumn of 1494 (and therefore probably would have missed Corvinus, who had departed Kraków in May of that year[64]). In his textbook, Liban recalls exercises in setting classical verse meters to music as a way of making it easier for students to get to grips with the accentual and quantitative properties of Latin poetry.[65] He makes mention of four-voice settings of Boethius's (*c.*480–524 CE) and Horace's (65–8 BCE)

61 Barthel Stein, *Descripcio tocius Silesie et civitatis regie Vratislaviensis* […], ed. Hermann Markgraf (Breslau: E. Wohlfarth's Buchhandlung, 1902), 4.

62 Petrus Tritonius, *Melopoiae sive harmoniae tetracenticae super XXII genera carminum heroicorum elegiacorum lyricorum et ecclesiasticorum hymnorum* […] *secundum naturas et tempora syllabarum et pedum compositae et regulate ductu Chunradi Celtis foeliciter impresse* (Augsburg: Erhard Oeglin, 1507).

63 Ryszard J. Wieczorek, "Boezio e l'ode umanistica in Polonia," in *Sodalium Voces. Atti del XV Incontro Musicologico Italo-Polacco 8–15 ottobre 1983 "Tra Monodia e Polifonia dal Medioevo al Barocco"* (Bologna: Antiquae Musicae Italicae Studiosi, 1984), 85–100, here 86–96.

64 Müller, "Corvinus (Rabe) Laurentius," 496.

65 Jerzy Liban, *De accentuum ecclesiasticorum exquisita ratione* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1975), 113.

metrical odes, which, we can be sure, were similar to the pieces notated in the margins of textbooks used by students at the Kraków Academy.

These sorts of reworkings turn up in one of the copies of Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae* (On the consolation of philosophy),[66] which served as the basic text for Corvinus's lectures in Kraków, as it did for his treatise-cum-phrasebook *Latinum ydeoma*. Added to the epigram opening this work is the music of a four-voice composition in that very style.[67] Metrical odes by Tritonius were also subject to local adaptations: in one of the manuscripts,[68] we find a contrafact, *Iam satis terris nivis atque dire* (Now the land is covered with snow), with the Marian text *O parens salve superi tonantis* (Hail, o parent of a thunderer in heavens). The Sapphic ode *O Dei summi genitrix Maria* (Mary, mother of the highest God), attributed to Corvinus, could also be sung to one of the reworkings published in his teacher's collection.[69] The singing of this prayer began the school day at St. Elizabeth's.[70] If this sort of repertoire was indeed part and parcel of school classes, all the greater, therefore, the likelihood of encountering it in performance on stage at Wrocław town hall.

Four-voice arrangements of religious texts may well have been incorporated also in the musical fare of St. Elizabeth's church in view of the fact that students of the adjoining school participated in the preparation of the musical setting of those services. Moreover, the school's headmaster was responsible for music performed at several of the church's chantry altars.[71] In addition to his previously mentioned publication, Corvinus produced a textbook dedicated to classical models of refined language.[72] His *Hortulus elegantiarum* (The garden of elegance [1503]) provides a compendium of texts by Roman authors recommended to students wanting to perfect their Latin. His modest work is likened to a beautiful garden of flowers and fruits available to all who come in quest of the sheer delight that can be had during leisure time spent on the river studying Latin phrases.

Corvinus certainly was an advocate of frequenting a *locus amoenus*, and he took his own advice, at least when busying himself with humanistic

66 Wieczorek, "Boezio e l'ode umanistica in Polonia," 89.

67 Gniezno, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne, call no. M 200.

68 Plainsong treatise with polyphonic piece, late sixteenth century, Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, call no. 2616.

69 Elżbieta Zwolińska, "Melodie z rozprawy Wawrzyńca Korwina *Dialogus carmine & soluta oratione conflatus* i inne przykłady muzycznych komponentów humanistycznej sztuki wierszowania," in *Ars musica and Its Contexts in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, ed. Paweł Gancarczyk (Warsaw: Liber Pro Arte, 2016), 87–103, here 99–100.

70 See Bauch, *Geschichte des Breslauer Schulwesens vor der Zeit der Reformation*, 234.

71 Bauch, *Geschichte des Breslauer Schulwesens vor der Zeit der Reformation*, 104–6.

72 Laurentius Corvinus, *Hortulus elegantiarum* [...] (Wrocław: Konrad Baumgarten, 1503).

self-fashioning in his own works. His *Carmen elegiacum* (An elegiac song) published in 1503 is a notable case in point.[73] A succession of his distichs are annotated as to what didactic purpose they serve; this song is, itself, a reworking of his *De novem Musis* (On the nine Muses)[74] that makes reference to the poem *Ad Apollinem* (To Apollo).[75] The text of *Argumentum*, which precedes the song, summarizes the poem's plot: seeking refreshment by the river one sultry summer afternoon, Corvinus drifts into a reverie in which Apollo and the Nine Muses appear with their musical instruments. They enlighten him on the structure of the celestial spheres and on the motions of *harmonia coelestis* (heavenly harmony).[76]

Commentaries on *Carmen elegiacum*, suffused with musical connotations, reveal the author's neo-Platonic sensibility.[77] They derive from Corvinus's well-stocked musical *imaginarium*, in which mythological *topos* is linked with the notion of *furor poeticus* (poetic fury) and knowledge of instruments used in performance.[78] Music of the celestial spheres, as expounded by author, requires definition of concepts such as *melos* (melic pattern), *melodia* (melody), *sonus* (sound), *concentus* (composition), *harmonia* (harmony), and *symphonia* (consonance), all of which have to do with various sound phenomena.[79] This theory facilitates presentation of notions connecting literary creativity with the workings of the heavens on the soul. Music's efficacy in developing virtues, in awakening emotional reactions, and in bringing one inner peace is, according to Macrobius (370–430), proof that music is a language universally understood.[80]

The particular role of music is also underpinned by a theological tradition that describes heaven as a place of unbounded joy resonating to the strains of vocal and instrumental music. Corvinus presents definitions of liturgical music genres such as *hymnus* (hymn) and *psalmus* (psalm): the form of the first of these he explains using a metaphor taken from the concept of celestial spheres,[81] while the definition of the second derives from the etymology of the Latin version of the book of Psalms. Corvinus connects the biblical tradition used in the liturgy with the Christianized neo-Platonic concept that equates

73 Laurentius Corvinus, *Carmen elegiacum* […] *De Apolline et novem Musis* (Wrocław: Konrad Baumgarten, 1503).

74 McDonald, "Laurentius Corvinus and the Flowering," 60.

75 See note 53.

76 Corvinus, *Carmen elegiacum*, c. A_1^v.

77 Osias Schwarz, "De Laurentii Corvini studiis Platonicis," *Eos* 34 (1932/33): 131–66, here 137–39.

78 Corvinus, *Carmen elegiacum*, c. C_2^r.

79 Corvinus, *Carmen elegiacum*, c. D_1^v.

80 Corvinus, *Carmen elegiacum*, c. E_1^r.

81 Corvinus, *Carmen elegiacum*, c. E_1^v.

modus (mode) with *inspiratio* (inspiration). Since he attributes inspiration bestowed by the Muses to biblical authors, he finds models of metrical poetry in the canticles of the Old Testament; and literary genres in the Bible he recognizes from the Greek tradition.[82] But the cosmic order of our Silesian neo-Platonist is controlled by Phoebus, who directs the symphony of celestial bodies, the terrestrial manifestation of which is *musica instrumentalis* (sounding music).[83] This imaginative conception, moreover, would appear to anticipate the discovery made sometime later by Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543), whom he knew.[84]

Many of Corvinus's observations are devoted to presenting instrumental music. He describes this domain using everyday language with relatively few references to antique and biblical authors.[85] Distichs presenting the Muses one after another are again suffused with "musicological" annotations, some of them referring to individual musical attributes, others touching on musical aspects of their performance. The melo-declamatory character can be seen in the inspired work of Clio, patroness of poets who glorify heroic deeds. Euterpe is presented as a minstrel playing different sorts of wind instruments, which the author then proceeds to describe in terms of their construction, form, and mode of use.[86] Erato is presented with her lyre, which is described both in terms of its artistic and acoustic merits.[87] Terpsichore is symbolized by the lyre and her song by its metrical construction. These features are elicited from the author's erudite commentary and plentiful quotations from the writings of the church fathers confirming the inspired nature of biblical texts and their ethical worth. Metrical construction is revealed in Apollo's song that crowns the whole; it spurs Corvinus on to create poetic oeuvre inspired by Old Testament texts and to expound upon it to his students, too.

What better way to realize this endeavor could there be than with a university, and that is precisely what Wratislavian humanists of the time were demanding. Gregor Morenberg (1450–1518), secretary of Wrocław city council, saw himself as spokesman for the initiative. In support of it, he secured sympathetic responses from influential people; paperwork prosecuting the matter that has come down to us was authored by him.[88] From 1502, Corvinus concurrently held the position of city notary. Although there are no sources we can

82 Corvinus, *Carmen elegiacum*, c. E_1^v–$_2^r$.
83 Corvinus, *Carmen elegiacum*, c. E_2^r.
84 McDonald, "Laurentius Corvinus and the Flowering," 62.
85 Corvinus, *Carmen elegiacum*, c. $E_2^{r–v}$.
86 Corvinus, *Carmen elegiacum*, c. E_3^v–$_4^r$.
87 Corvinus, *Carmen elegiacum*, c. F_3^r.
88 Andrzej Grodzicki, "Z dziejów uniwersytetu wrocławskiego," *Prace Komisji Historii Nauki PAN* 9 (2009): 109–24, here 113–14.

turn to that attest to his involvement in this initiative, in view of his experience, requirements, and opinions, that likelihood cannot be dismissed. This hypothesis finds confirmation in the text of the foundation document that makes references to issues we know about from Corvinus's own writings.[89] The document, issued by the king of Bohemia–Hungary, Vladislaus II Jagiellon (1456–1516, r.1471–1516), starts with an appeal to the Plato Academy as the model for institutions promoting all kinds of liberal arts, among which music is also mentioned.[90] As is well known, the initiative was scuttled by professors at the Kraków Academy apprehensive that they might find themselves in competition with an academy in Wrocław.[91]

Perhaps as a consequence of these reversals, Corvinus decided to leave Wrocław and move to Toruń (Thorn), where he took up the position of town clerk. In Teophylact Simocatta's (*c.*560–*c.*630) letters, translated by Copernicus, we find traces of the connections that linked our Wratislavian humanist with the famous astronomer. Corvinus had the letters printed and included with them a song that makes mention of his Toruń friend.[92] Over the course of the following years, his literary output was reduced to mainly occasional works. One of his poems did appear in print—on the occasion of the marriage of Bona Sforza (1494–1557) to King Sigismund the Elder (1467–1548, r.1506–1548), which took place in Kraków in the spring of 1518.[93] As a member of the Wratislavian delegation, Corvinus took part in the poetic contest organized in honor of the couple. Leonard Cox ([Coxe] *c.*1495–*c.*1549), who was present at that celebration, recalls the poetic talent of Corvinus, whose songs truly were characterized by an Orphean ability.[94] Quite possibly, Cox still had in mind the musical talent of our Silesian author when penning the next paragraph of his account, which is devoted to music and performing musicians.[95]

The fact that music-making was always enthusiastically cultivated in humanist circles, and at Renaissance courts adds credence to this belief.

89 Bauch, *Geschichte des Breslauer Schulwesens vor der Zeit der Reformation*, 272.

90 Gustav Bauch, *Aktenstücke zur Geschichte des Breslauer Schulwesens im XVI. Jahrhundert* (Breslau: Graß, Barth & C., 1898), 6.

91 Bauch, *Geschichte des Breslauer Schulwesens vor der Zeit der Reformation*, 267–68.

92 Teophylact Simocatta, *Epistolae morales: Rurales et amatorie interpretatione latina* (Kraków: Jan Haller, 1509), c. A_2^v: *Carmen Laurentii Corvini regiae urbis Wratislaviae notarii quo valedicit Prutenos describitque quantum sibi voluptatis attulerint sequentes Theophilacti epistolae et quam dulcis sit a natali solo extorti in patriam reditus.*

93 Laurentius Corvinus, *Epithalamium* [...] *In nuptiis sacrae regiae Maiestatis Poloniae &c.* (Kraków: Hieronymus Vietor, 1518), c. A_3^v.

94 Leonard Cox, *De laudibus celeberrimae Cracoviensis Academiae* [...] (Kraków: Hieronymus Vietor, 1518), c. B_3^v.

95 Cox, *De laudibus celeberrimae Cracoviensis Academiae*, c. C_3^v–$_4^r$.

Bearing in mind Corvinus's poetical experience, his theoretical knowledge, and particularly the range of performance opportunities, it may well be that he was also an exponent of *cantus ad Orphicum lyram* (singing with an Orphean lyre). In the melo-declamatory epithalamium, Corvinus may have availed himself of melodic patterns that were known in humanist circles, which were added to metrical strophes of poetry according to precepts outlined in Liban's textbook.[96] One of the advocates of musicalizing Latin poetry was Celtes. His endeavors in this area resulted not only in polyphonic settings of metrical odes but also in monophonic melodic models that were recommended for use in academic teaching.[97]

Published in 1516, Corvinus's *Dialogus carmine* (A dialogue in poetry) attests to the fact that he, too, had assimilated the style of *musica more antiquo mensurata* (music measured in the antique fashion).[98] The *Dialogus* joins prose fragments with poetry, arranged in metrical measures. Ten of the preceding sixteen songs are printed melodies that have been rhythmicized according to a given quantitative pattern. They were certainly employed when performing the songs and were most probably adapted by Corvinus from a widely known teaching repertoire.[99] This hypothesis is borne out by concordances with monophonic melodies written in the margin of a copy of Boethius's treatise *De consolatione philosophiae*. That they are notated without clefs suggests that melodic contour held greater importance than precise pitch.[100] Both the form and content of this work were inspired by Boethius's treatise. The same can be said, too, of the dialogue encapsulating the neo-Platonic view of the world, which was the subject of lengthy discussion between Cor[vinus] and Mens, philosopher and Philosophy, while the Muses, participants in the conversation, adjudge the veracity of utterances revealed by Intellect.

The *prologus* (prologue) opens with a dramatized account that starts with Corvinus going off to Środa Śląska; he is overtaken by a storm that shakes apples off the tree. Gathering fruit from the ground puts him in mind of the fact he has no offspring. Mens, the Divine Mind appears to our melancholy author. Assisted by the Muses playing their instruments, she offers Corvinus

96 Jerzy Liban, *Pisma o muzyce*, ed. Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1984), 8–9.

97 Elżbieta Zwolińska, "Importation or Participation? Remarks on the Reception and Adaptation of the Genre *Musica more antiquo mensurata* in Sixteenth-Century Poland," *Musicology Today* 2 (2005): 49–58, here 51–52.

98 Laurentius Corvinus, *Dialogus carmine et soluta oratione conflatus* [...] (Leipzig: Valentin Schuman, 1516).

99 See note 66.

100 Zwolińska, "Melodie z rozprawy," 95–98.

her wisdom: at times, she speaks, at times, she sings, for, as Plato maintained, rhythm and harmony are able to penetrate to the depths of the soul, transforming it into something beautiful and good.[101] In the following songs, Mens reveals her secrets, explaining each one in turn in dialogue with Corvinus. In the first *carmen*, she expounds on the frailties of human nature; in the next one, Polyhymnia elucidates the nature of human affects; and in the following *carmen*, Thalia encourages him to devote himself to learning. There are relatively few references to musical *topoi* in the strict sense: classical *loci communes* can be found in the hexameter of Urania, which recalls melodies played on the lyre by her sister, echoing through the forest, heralding the birth of the Messiah. This last song elicits from Mens a learned explication, replete with passing references to music.

This account starts by presenting a depiction of God, his Word triumphant in the heavens, extolled by the Muses, gods, and poets. According to the neo-Platonists, music of the celestial spheres is the source of poetical inspiration. Old Testament authors, too, were granted this *furor poeticus*, for it is held that they composed psalms and canticles in metrical forms.[102] Mens beseeches Corvinus to render praise to God through texts written by other authors as well, and most particularly by St. Bonaventure (*c.*1217–1274), whose meditations on the passion Corvinus reworked into metrical songs. She entrusts Corvinus with her request that the meditations be published and made available to the students under his care.[103] In this way, our author both speaks to and advertises his own publishing initiative. In lending it support, backed by the authority of metaphysical revelation, he justifies the need for such an edition.

If we accept Mens as the *anima intellettiva* (intellectual aspect of the soul) author of the dialogue, we have a conceptual framework within which the self-fashioning described above finds its rationale. Corvinus's enthusiasm is encouraged by the voice of Intellect, who maintains it is crucial that a new liturgy be introduced and that it be perceived as logically coherent. Metrically set hymns will assist his students' religious formation, and their contents will bear his initiative good fruit. The proposed service will not be lengthy: it will be incorporated into the standard canonical hours.[104] Fundamental doubts arise, however, as to whether the Wrocław city council will lend its support to his initiative.[105] Mens prompts him with arguments drawn from Plato that will be hard to refute; she also spurs Corvinus into action by making clear to him that

101 Corvinus, *Dialogus carmine*, c. $A_5^{r–v}$.
102 Corvinus, *Dialogus carmine*, c. B_6^{v}–C_1^{r}.
103 Corvinus, *Dialogus carmine*, c. $C_1^{r–v}$.
104 Corvinus, *Dialogus carmine*, c. $C_2^{r–v}$.
105 Corvinus, *Dialogus carmine*, c. F_3^{r}.

bringing this initiative to fruition will assure him the spiritual offspring—no less important than physical—for which he has been yearning.

Corvinus's endeavors produced the hoped-for results: on January 11, 1517, the *Horae de passione Domini* (The Hours of the Passion of Our Lord) were sung for the first time in St. Elizabeth's church, Wrocław.[106] The service became a staple part of the city's musical life, notwithstanding the pervasiveness of the Reformation, which soon had the whole city under its sway. In 1521, Corvinus's Passion Hours, a reworking in classical meters of St. Bonaventure's office, appeared in print.[107] It is worth noting that here we find the Franciscan charism of the Seraphic Doctor, whose Augustinian meditations might well have appealed to our Silesian neo-Platonist.[108] Corvinus makes reference to them at the beginning of the publication, noting the Platonic recommendation to worship God prayerfully in many forms.[109] This observation adds credence both to the author's metrical paraphrases of hymns, on the one hand, and to collective performance of types of metrical poetry and prose on the other.

Corvinus emphasizes the ethical function of the anthology he is offering from the viewpoint of Plato's *Laws*, for he maintains its suitability not only as liturgy but also for developing civic virtue. The author also recapitulates his vision of Revelation presented in the *Dialogus carmine*; the line of argument he pursues confirms his acquaintance with the writings of Ficino.[110] The high-point of his presentation comes with observations on the Office, his explanation of its genesis and structure drawing on material from both literary and musical genres.[111] The phraseology used, "hymnos etiam veros et cantica ex saphicis pindaricis et jambicis carminibus" (actual hymns and songs too based on Pindaric, Sapphic, and iambic meters), repeats almost verbatim a segment of the title of the *Dialogus carmine*.[112] One can therefore assume that, here, too, the author of these collections envisaged their being performed musically. Moreover, in the foreword, one finds observations on the service's pastoral efficacy combining both ancient and biblical narrative form and content.[113]

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106 See note 442.

107 Laurentius Corvinus, *Cursus sancti Bonaventurae de passione domini* [...] (Wrocław: Adam Dyon, 1521).

108 Józef Budzyński, "Hymn saficki o św. Rochu Wawrzyńca Korwina Ślązaka (z początku XVI w.)," *Collectanea philologica* 6 (2003): 219–36, here 227–28.

109 Corvinus, *Cursus sancti Bonaventurae*, c. A_1^v.

110 Corvinus, *Cursus sancti Bonaventurae*, c. A_2^r.

111 Corvinus, *Cursus sancti Bonaventurae*, c. A_5^v.

112 See note 98.

113 Corvinus, *Cursus sancti Bonaventurae*, c. A_5^v–$_6^r$. The topic of Latin biblical paraphrases is systematically discussed by Angelika Modlińska-Piekarz, *Łacińska poezja biblijna na Śląsku w XVI i XVII wieku* (Lublin: Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski Jana Pawła II, 2018).

The publication was preceded by some notes on how to say the Office. Corvinus explains the times of day at which the cycle of hours is observed; in so doing, he is recommending a *modus orandi* (way of praying) to the student body of St. Elizabeth's school that had hitherto been associated primarily with monastic life. It is worth noting, nonetheless, in the context of the Reformation coming to Wrocław, that Corvinus himself participated for severing contact with monastic traditions.[114] His familiarity with these traditions is obvious from the fact that in certain hours the core standard liturgical texts are preserved, so that the meter of hymns differs according to the rank of the hour: for example, the major hours (*matutinum*, *laudes*, *vesperae*) use sapphic strophes, while the so-called minor hours use straightforward iambic meter.[115]

Metrical compositions appear at the high point of each of the hours. The conventional disposition of liturgical texts that make them up are as follows: *Matutinum*: opening dialogue (*preces*)—versicles and response, invitatory and verse with short doxology, hymn,[116] a number of psalm verses with antiphons, Lord's Prayer, *Iube domne*, blessing, readings, and great responsory, *Te Deum*. In the case of *laudes*, *vesperae*, and *completorium*: invitatory and (short) doxology, psalms, reading, hymn,[117] together with canticle verse, antiphons, *Benedicamus Domino*, and prayers for the dead. The composition of the four minor hours is more straightforward and comprises: invitatory and (short) doxology, hymn,[118] psalm verses, antiphon, reading with responsory, collect, and blessing.

If we assume the hymns cited were, in fact, performed vocally, then the musical motifs in them take on a particular meaning. Most of them, relatively speaking, can be found in Corvinus's paraphrased version of the *Te Deum*, its text suffused with *topoi* taken from Greek mythology and books of the Bible—no shortage there of poetico-musical genres well known to Corvinus. Given that context, the singling out of a stringed instrument is, indeed, quite remarkable.[119] By the same token, the presence of a different instrument refers not to musical practice contemporaneous with Corvinus but rather to

114 See note 123.

115 Budzyński, "Hymn saficki o św. Rochu," 225–26.

116 Corvinus, *Cursus sancti Bonaventurae*, c. B_2^v–$_3^v$: "Christe fecundi Patris aequa proles […]."

117 Corvinus, *Cursus sancti Bonaventurae*, [*Ad laudes*], c. B_5^v–$_6^r$: "Lucifer ponto veniens ab Indo […]"; [*Ad vesperas*], c. C_4^v–$_5^r$.

118 Corvinus, *Cursus sancti Bonaventurae*, [*Ad primam*], c. $B_7^{r–v}$: "Dum Phoebus aureas tulit […]"; [*Ad tertiam*], c. $B_8^{r–v}$: "Hunc dura cautes frigidi […]"; [*Ad sextam*], c. C_1^v–$_2^r$: "Qui rupe de durissima […]"; [*Ad nonam*], c. C_2^v–$_3^r$: "Quis non gemat mortalium […]."

119 Corvinus, *Cursus sancti Bonaventurae*, [*Ad Laudes*], c. B_4^v: "Te nostra Deum Musa canoris / Laudat fidibus: tequae fatetur / Coeli regem: terrae Dominum. / Cui dulcisonum fulgidus hymnum."

his musical *imaginarium*, formed as it was by mythological *topoi* and, quite possibly, by iconography, too. Entirely natural in the context of this genre are appeals in the narrative to intended users of the anthology, exhorting them to give praise to God through song.[120]

During the period in which Corvinus's canonical hours were being implemented in the liturgy, many changes were afoot in Wrocław as a consequence of the city's endorsement of the Reformation. The character it took on, with respect to music too, can be attributed in large measure to the influence of Philipp Melanchthon (Schwarzerdt [1497–1560]).[121] In one of the letters written by the *praeceptor Germaniae* (teacher of Germany) to Wrocław's elite assigning them a teacher highly thought of in Wittenberg, the addressee of the letter is referred to simply as *vir gravissimus* (most honorable man). Melanchthon praises the addressee for his commitment to the development of knowledge and education and asks that he continue with these endeavors. He also makes mention of the need to preserve upright forms of piety that are affronted by unseemly monastic mores.[122] As the abovementioned context makes clear, the recipient of Melanchthon's letter was, without doubt, Corvinus.

It may be that this letter led to Corvinus becoming involved in the conflict between the Observant Friars Minor and the city council, a dispute that resulted in the friars' expulsion from Wrocław in 1522.[123] One year later, Johann Hess (1490–1547) became the first Lutheran pastor appointed to St. Mary Magdalene's church. In 1524, he held a public disputation on the topic of the Reformation in which Corvinus took part; indeed, he concluded proceedings with an oration on the Word of God, the text of which was later published.[124] He presents the majesty of revelation as a humanistic *topos* of a golden age that will bring about a *renovatio studii* (renewal of study) and its spreading northward.[125] These concepts Corvinus connects with a dialectic of revitalized theology being revealed by the Heavenly Doctor (Martin Luther [1483–1546]), who appears as a Morning Star shining forth amid the angelic throng.[126]

120 Corvinus, *Cursus sancti Bonaventurae*, [*Ad tertiam*], c. B_8^v.

121 Tomasz Jeż, "Filipa Melanchtona myśl o muzyce i jej rola w kształtowaniu kultury muzycznej humanistycznego Wrocławia," *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* 65 (2021): 75–98.

122 Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider, ed., *Philippi Melanchthonis opera quae supersunt omnia* (Halle: A. Schwetschke, 1834), 1:283.

123 McDonald, "Laurentius Corvinus and the Flowering," 68.

124 Ambrosius Moiban, *Catechismi capita decem* [...] (Wittenberg: Johann Weiss, 1537), c. H_7^v–$_8^v$, *Lavrentii Corvini Novoforensis, Carmen, in quadam Theologica Disputatione ab ipso authore pronunciatum Wratislaviæ*.

125 Grantley McDonald, "Laurentius Corvinus and the Epicurean Luther," *Lutheran Quarterly* 22 (2008): 161–76.

126 Moiban, *Catechismi capita decem*, 1537, c. H_7^v.

Corvinus illustrates the Lutheran juxtaposition of law and grace using a *topos* borrowed from the Letter to the Hebrews (12:18–24—the Old Testament revelation of "trumpeting thunder"). He restricts his exegesis strictly to the musical counterpoint of his sonic metaphor—the sublime melodies of the angels reflecting the mellifluousness of the Gospels.[127]

Corvinus died in Wrocław on July 21, 1527, leaving behind a body of poetic work of great intellectual breadth and incontrovertible aesthetic worth. His endeavors, driven by humanistic ideals for the revitalization of poetry, education, philosophy, and theology, had an obvious musical aspect to them that revealed itself not only through the *topoi* he exploited but also in theoretical reflection and even in his expertise with respect to performance practice. An astute observer of reality, to be sure; but no less was Corvinus possessed of an expertly trained ear that served him well, as demonstrated in the poetic output that defines him best.

3 Andreas Winkler

It could be said of Andreas Winkler (1498–1575) that he typifies the next generation of Wratislavian humanists: from the printing house he established in that city came publications that best exemplify the distinctive features of the Renaissance in Silesia. But his was not the first printer's workshop in Wrocław: other master printers like Kaspar Elyan (*c.*1430–1486), Konrad Baumgarten (1470–1514), Adam Dyon (*c.*1490–1531/1534), and Kaspar Lybisch (d.1539) preceded him. Compared with their legacy, however, Winkler's output places him front and center in terms of years of commitment and number of publications, of having an established presence in the echelons of civic power, and of having consolidated the overall standing of publishers through a humanistically enlightened education program. Winkler's success can be attributed to well-planned publishing strategies and to his astute use of the latest technology.[128] By simultaneously associating his printing house with a town hall, school, and parish, he was able to broaden the symbiotic relationship—by a factor of four—between those three institutions and engineer a network of relationships that worked very much to Wrocław's advantage over the following centuries. Keenly aware of the demand and politically adroit in securing

127 Moiban, *Catechismi capita decem*, 1537, c. H_8^r.

128 Bronisław Kocowski, "Zarys dziejów drukarstwa na Dolnym Śląsku," *Sobótka* 3 (1948): 200–40, here 210–11.

privileges, Winkler succeeded in garnering an unprecedented position for his workshop both in and around the city and throughout the region.

Winkler was born in Winkel, Saxony, not far from Eisleben. After attending the parish school in Querfurt, he moved to Wrocław, where he continued his studies at St. Elizabeth's school. He began his university studies at Kraków in the autumn of 1517, attending lectures given by Jan of Sanok (d.1554) and Jakub of Iłża (1470–1526). Two years later, in the spring of 1519, he was awarded a bachelor's degree.[129] He went on to higher studies in Wittenberg but did not complete a master's degree. On returning to Wrocław in 1522, he began work as a teacher at Corpus Christi school.[130] Three years later, he assumed a similar position at St. Elizabeth's. Working in conjunction with the clerk of the city council, Johann Metzler (1494–1538), he produced Wrocław's first school ordinances (*Schulordnung*), which were ratified on September 25, 1528.[131] It is worth dwelling on this document not only because Winkler was responsible for introducing it but also because its provisions regularized cooperation between school and church during the very period that interests us with respect to music performance.

The ordinances brought schools under the city council's control by aligning their administration with the parent church. Until the Reformation, many churches had been under the patronage (*ius patronatus*) of religious foundations. The prime goal of education was the ethical formation of students while developing their command of Latin. The magister was in charge of the school and was responsible for students; he was assisted in the teaching program by graduates holding bachelor's degrees, by the *signator* (assistant-to-the-cantor), and by auditors.[132] Basic education was free; charges were only levied for supplementary lessons that went over material already taught and for any *ad hoc* educational assistance students needed. These lessons were given by so-called *Schreiber* (writers) or, more properly, the *Choralisten* (choralists), in reference to the musical duties assigned to them.[133] Their job was to perform music every day in the church under the direction of the *signator*.[134] As a member of the school's teaching staff, he was responsible for the students' musical

129 Marta Burbianka, "Andrzej Winkler: Drukarz wrocławski XVI wieku," *Roczniki biblioteczne* 4 (1960): 329–445, 636–38, here 343–46.

130 Gustav Bauch, *Geschichte des Breslauer Schulwesens in der Zeit der Reformation* (Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, 1911), 69.

131 Bauch, *Geschichte des Breslauer Schulwesens in der Zeit der Reformation*, 72–79.

132 Bauch, *Aktenstücke zur Geschichte*, 26.

133 See note 240.

134 Bauch, *Geschichte des Breslauer Schulwesens in der Zeit der Reformation*, 76–77.

development, for rehearsing their singing for services, and for supervising their performances.[135]

Ensuring that the above list of duties was duly carried out fell to Winkler, headmaster of St. Elizabeth's school and the incumbent for the next forty years. During his term of office, the school developed apace, as borne out by the growth in student numbers and classes and the complement of staff.[136] In 1562, the year the school moved into new premises, it was raised to the status of gymnasium, and, in keeping with that status, the position of headmaster at St. Elizabeth's was elevated to that of rector. Even before that development, the school had already come to Melanchthon's attention. Writing approvingly to Metzler on April 30, 1534, he noted the high standard of teaching at the school.[137] And since the person heading such a school, *de rigueur*, would hold a master's degree, Winkler re-enrolled at Wittenberg in the autumn of that year. This time, studying under Melanchthon, he successfully completed the degree. The encomium on Winkler's promotion was delivered by the *praeceptor Germaniae*, and his address accorded the distinction of being published.[138]

Thanks to the group of teachers Winkler gathered around him on his return to Wrocław, the quality of teaching at St. Elizabeth's was comparable to university standard.[139] While it is true that attempts during the 1530s to turn the school into a university ultimately proved unsuccessful, over the following decades, it nevertheless achieved the status of being one of the best gymnasia in all Silesia. Wrocław's next *Schulordnung*, which came into force a year after Winkler had stepped down as rector, eloquently attests to the inexorable development of St. Elizabeth's under his administration. In a sense, those regulations encapsulate the reforms carried out during the rectorship of the Saxon *magister*; and, as it turned out, these reforms had already left a mark on Petrus Vincentius (Peter Vitz [1519–1581]), Winkler's student and successor. The ordinances present very clearly a humanistic model of teaching, entailing the study of Latin based on canonical classical texts, lectures in theology based on biblical texts and commentaries, and instruction in music designed to prepare students for participating in the liturgy—and in recreation, too.[140]

Winkler's years as head of St. Elizabeth's were a period of personal and financial stability for him. On his marriage in 1528, he was provided with quarters

135 Bauch, *Aktenstücke zur Geschichte*, 29.

136 Burbianka, "Andrzej Winkler," 355–56.

137 *Philippi Melanchthonis opera quae supersunt omnia* (1837), 4:1024.

138 Philipp Melanchthon, *Oratio* [...] *dicta ab ipso cum decerneretur gradus magisterii D. Andreae Winclero.* [...] (Wittenberg: Josef Klug, 1535).

139 Burbianka, "Andrzej Winkler," 358.

140 See note 229.

within the church glebe.[141] Three years later, his family had grown to the extent that he needed more spacious accommodation.[142] His first wife bore him a son and two daughters, the first of whom, Elsa (d.1613), received a thorough education.[143] His second wife, Anna Seydel (dates unknown), bore him five daughters and two sons. Apollo (*fl.* 1536–1559), Winkler's eldest son, attended universities in Wittenberg and in Kraków, following which he pursued a career as a poet. The education of Andreas (*fl.* 1555–1584), his youngest son, took a similar course, and he, too, published literary works of his own. The epitaph on Winkler's death (June 27, 1575) highlights his involvement in the *artes liberales* and his long incumbency as rector of St. Elizabeth's gymnasium, its renown a tribute to his commitment.[144]

Of primary interest to us is Winkler's wide-ranging legacy as a master printer; in both a financial and practical sense, it brought him fame and fortune. The printing workshop he established in Wrocław busied itself mainly with meeting the needs associated with his teaching activities, and most of his publications were in response to the demands of education with a humanistic focus. And that, too, was the mission of his workshop, the management of which he assumed on December 23, 1538. Hitherto, the textbooks for studying Latin used to be published in Leipzig or Wittenberg, where Ambrosius Moiban's (1494–1554) catechism, for example, was compiled.[145] The demand for this sort of publication continued to grow. The city authorities provided Winkler with financial aid for setting up printeries, extended him exclusive rights, and guaranteed him a monopoly over the production of textbooks.[146] For a number of titles, he succeeded in obtaining an imperial charter; on January 30, 1546, he obtained from Wrocław city council an extension of the privilege that protected him from competition. Three years later, that charter was confirmed in perpetuity for his descendants.[147]

Among Winkler's early output we find Latin grammar primers suitable for first-year students in his school. For students in the *ordo infimus* (lowest class), he produced three editions of Aelius Donatus's (315–80) grammar

141 Bauch, *Aktenstücke zur Geschichte*, 31.

142 Bauch, *Geschichte des Breslauer Schulwesens in der Zeit der Reformation*, 80.

143 See note 166.

144 [Johann Ephraim Scheibel], *Geschichte der seit dreihundert Jahren in Breslau befindlichen Stadtbuchdruckerey, als ein Beitrag zur allgemeinen Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst* (Breslau: Grass und Barth, 1804), 17.

145 Moiban, *Catechismi capita decem*, 1537, see note 124.

146 Bauch, *Geschichte des Breslauer Schulwesens in der Zeit der Reformation*, 101–2.

147 Burbianka, "Andrzej Winkler," 363–66.

book.[148] In 1539, Winkler reprinted a similar textbook by Giulio Pomponio Leto (1428–1498) as well as Melanchthon's grammar book.[149] More extensive in content and examples are Metzler's and Bonaventura Rösler's (1500–1575) textbooks. For the study of Latin composition, there was Melanchthon's textbook, which, most importantly from the point of view of music, covered the topic of prosody. In its final chapter, the rules of stress and quantity are presented, together with a taxonomy of metrical feet and the classical versification schemes. Ten years later, Winkler published a second edition of this textbook, revised by Georg Fabricius (Goldschmidt [1516–1571]).[150]

School students in later years were prescribed textbooks on rhetoric for developing elegance of style—the models used were the Latin classics and the works of contemporary humanists. Handbooks of this kind start appearing after the publication in 1539 of a selection of the letters of Cicero (106–43 BCE), Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), Erasmus, Pliny the Younger (61–*c.*113), and Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494).[151] A thorough knowledge of Latin phraseology was essential to cultivating good style; the anthologies edited by Fabricius served this very purpose.[152] Allusions to music start appearing in the second edition of this publication, which includes a treatise by the author on prosody concluding with examples of the meters most frequently used: the elegiac distich, Asclepiad meter, iambic trimeter, phalecian, and Sapphic stanza.[153]

Another subject taught in Winkler's school was dialectics. To teach them reasoned argumentation, students would read, among other things, προγυμνάσματα (exercises) by the Greek sophists in translations by Rudolf Agricola (Huysman [1443–1485])[154]—a humanist skilled in musical composition as well. The ability to pursue a line of argument was particularly relevant for those wishing to go

148 Aelius Donatus, *De octo partibus orationis methodus* [...] (Wrocław: Andreas Winkler, 1545).

149 Philipp Melanchthon, *Syntaxis* [...], *emendata et aucta ab auctore* (Wrocław: Andreas Winkler, 1539).

150 Georg Fabricius, *Syntaxis olim a Philippo Melanchthone collecta, nunc locupletata, ut sit ad usum scholarum accommodatior: Cum praefatione Philippi Melanchthonis* [...] (Wrocław: Andreas Winkler, 1549).

151 For example, Andreas Winkler, ed., *Farrago selectarum epistolarum, ex Ciceronis, Longolii, Bembi, Erasmi, Plinii, Politiani epistolis* [...] (Wrocław: Andreas Winkler, 1539). Subsequent editions of this publication appeared in 1542, 1549, and 1552.

152 Georg Fabricius, ed., *Elegantiarum puerilium ex M. Tullii Ciceronis epistolis libri tres* [...] (Wrocław: Andreas Winkler, 1550).

153 Georg Fabricius, ed., *Elegantiae poeticae ex Ovidio, Tibullo, Propertio elegiacis* [...] (Wrocław: Andreas Winkler, 1551), c. H_6^v–$_8^r$.

154 Aphthonius of Antioch, *Progymnasmata*, trans. Rudolph Agricola (Wrocław: Andreas Winkler, 1540).

into law; it was also a recommended element in an overall humanistic education. For introducing students to the world of dialectics, there were textbooks by Theobald Gerlacher (1493–1554), Hieronymus Gürtler von Wildenberg (1464–1558) in Złotoryja (Goldberg), and Nikolaus Winmann (*c.*1510–*c.*1550) in Nysa (Neisse). The last-named author included in his book several instructional dialogues describing the educational and ethical formation that his school cultivated. In a number of these texts, we find observations on music and its role in the life of students at Silesian gymnasia.[155]

Winkler, too, published edifying readings for his students. One such tract is a re-edition of a treatise by Vives who, *d'après* Plato, compared the practice of virtue to the sound of a trumpet and the harmony of the human soul to music itself.[156] Other readings take the form of a guidebook on how to comport oneself in various day-to-day situations, with the occasional reference to music-making. In Winkler's reprints of *savoir-vivre* (good manners) manuals, music crops up in both positive and negative guises. An example of the first can be found in Erasmus's *Civilitas morum* (Book of Etiquette), where the art of sound is presented as one of the most desirable pastimes, and suitable too for exercising the intellect.[157] Connotations of a decidedly different kind are found in Friedrich Dedekind's (1524–1598) satire, *Grobianus*, and in the distichs of Michele de Vieri (1469–1487), who was of the view that musical performances are morally dubious.[158]

Publications of a theological nature were also put at the service of ethical formation. The first of these, edited by Moiban and dedicated to Hess's son, was intended for gymnasium students.[159] It contains two dialogues dealing with Gospel excerpts (Luke 2:41–52 and Matthew 2:13–18) on a topic that would have been well known to a young audience familiar with the two pastors' sermons. Consideration of the first dialogue involving the participants goes to the issue of ecclesiastical ceremonies, a topic of lively debate at the time. Moiban takes it up at greater length in another publication that he dedicated

155 Nikolaus Winmann, *Dialogi aliquot ad usum atque utilitatem Scholae Nissensis* [...] (Wrocław: Andreas Winkler, 1544), c. E_3^r–$_6^r$, *Hircius et Cirrinus: De ludendi genere colluquuntur*, c. F_1^r–$_3^r$, *Antronius et Boetius: De Scholae et Ludi vocabulis disserunt*.

156 Juan Luis Vives, *De ratione studii puerilis epistolae duae* [...] (Wrocław: Andreas Winkler, 1551), c. H_3^v.

157 Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Civilitas morum in succinctas quaestiones digesta, ac per Reinhardum Hadamarium locupletata* [...] (Wrocław: Andreas Winkler, 1541), c. C_8^v.

158 Michele di Vieri, *Disticha de moribus* [...] (Wrocław: Andreas Winkler, 1540), c. B_5^r, *Tutior est sibilus Basilici quam cantus puellae*.

159 Ambrosius Moiban, *Colloquia evangelica duo* [...] (Wrocław: Andreas Winkler, 1541).

to Johann Thiel (1485–1545), suffragan of Wrocław diocese.[160] The pastor of St. Elizabeth's takes a stand against abuses in the church hierarchy and against vacuous ceremonies. Curiously enough, the cutting edge of his criticism is not directed at matters to do with music performed in houses of worship, a point that inferentially confirms the conservative stance of Wrocław's Reformation elite regarding practices hallowed by tradition.

Among Winkler's publications in a theological vein, there is no shortage of religious works, such as the *Soliloquies* of St. Augustine (354–430), for example—a work that, in both form and content, would have appealed to Corvinus's Wratislavian students. The internal dialogue of the theologian from Hippo is made out to be a work born of cooperation with the Muses; King David's psalms, too, were inspired in like manner.[161] Winkler supplemented the edition of Augustine's prose works, distinguished as they are by their melic character, with Vives's daily prayers and meditations on the many and varied occurrences of everyday life. A similar purpose was to have been served by Johann Spangenberg's (1484–1550) edition of metrical paraphrases of Gospel excerpts for successive Sundays of the liturgical year. Published in Wittenberg, and reprinted by Winkler two years later, this tome by Spangenberg is topped off with hexameters stylized after a Roman *triumphus* (panegyric dedicated to the victorious ruler). The poem presents in musical staffage Christ the King in his majesty.[162] The presence of rubrics with the names of allegorical figures does suggest their dramatization in performance. One should bear in mind that Spangenberg was a musician, a music theorist, and the compiler of a hymnbook that was very highly regarded at the time.[163]

In the following years, Winkler's printing house in Wrocław issued a catechism edited by Moiban. The first two versions had originally appeared in Wittenberg; it was then published in Wrocław in 1544, where it underwent revision two years later.[164] Melanchthon's preface to the catechism draws attention to the importance of paying heed not only to matters of dogma but also to the

160 Ambrosius Moiban, *Epistola* [...] *De consecratione palmarum et aliis ceremoniis ecclesiasticis; Ad* [...] *Joannem episcopum Nicopoliensem et suffraganum Vratislaviensem* (Wrocław: Andreas Winkler, 1541).

161 Augustine of Hippo, *Soliloquia* [...]: *Ludovici Vivis precationes selectiores* [...] (Wrocław: Andreas Winkler, 1541), c. A_5^v.

162 Johann Spangenberg, *Evangelia Dominicalia in versiculos versa* [...] (Wrocław: Andreas Winkler, 1541), c. E_4^v–$_5^r$, *Triumphus Christi heroicus*. See Modlińska-Piekarz, *Łacińska poezja biblijna na Śląsku w XVI i XVII wieku*, 172.

163 Johann Spangenberg, *Cantiones ecclesiasticae latinae* [...] (Magdeburg: Michael Lotter, 1545).

164 Ambrosius Moiban, *Catechismi capita decem* [...] (Wrocław: Andreas Winkler, 1546). See note 145.

form in which they have been entrusted to the church: as unshakable articles of faith. The integral connection between form and content in the catechism was compared by the German reformer to the consonance that arises from the counterpoint between voices of a musical composition; where it is lacking, dissonance arises, and that, theologically speaking, may lead to confusion.[165] The format of the catechism proposed by Moiban includes systematic coverage of the main tenets of faith, the text of which he couched in the form of dramatized dialogues between students.[166] Next, the standard prayers for various occasions are given, as are the Latin songs from Corvinus's Office, discussed above.[167] Another reminder of the humanist tradition can be seen in the metrical paraphrase of Psalm 128, a parody of one of Martial's (*c.*38/41–*c.*102/104) famous *Epigrams*.[168] That this text was indeed used in a musical reworking finds confirmation in a piece by the little-known Paulus Buccenus (dates unknown), which has been preserved in one of the Wrocław music manuscripts.[169]

Literary works appearing in Winkler's publications may have been intended for musical arrangement in a similar fashion. In 1541, he published an anthology containing metrical paraphrases of the psalms of St. Paulinus of Nola (354–431).[170] One can easily imagine these works in the repertoire of St. Elizabeth's church: its repertoire, going back to Corvinus's time, had been incorporating humanistic refinements of the Latin verses of the Vulgate. And it is there, in the psalms, where musical associations are particularly obvious, for the psalms lent themselves more readily to musical reworking by dint of references in their original versions to musical subject matter.[171] In this publication of Winkler's, the lion's share of texts, by far, came from the pen of Georg von Logau (1495–1553): occasional poetry of various kinds dedicated to the powers-that-be, to nobles and to high officeholders in the church hierarchy.

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165 Moiban, *Catechismi capita decem* […], 1546, c. $A_6^{r–v}$.

166 In one of the dialogues (Moiban, *Catechismi capita decem* […], 1546, c. D_2^{r}–$_4^{r}$, *Colloquium VI. In quo quartum caput huius catechismi exponitur*), Winkler's daughter, Elsa, is debating with Johann Metzler's son, Kilian. Elsa's genethliac (poem dedicated to the newborn Christ) is mentioned in the next section of the catechism (c. G_7^{v}–H_3^{r}, *Oratiuncula Puellae, de Puero Iesu Christo, in Ludo literatio Wratislaviae dicta*).

167 Moiban, *Catechismi capita decem* […], 1546, c. H_3^{v}–$_8^{r}$.

168 Moiban, *Catechismi capita decem* […], 1546, c. $I_2^{r–v}$, *Psalmus CXXVIII ad imitationem Martialis. D. M. L.*

169 Partbooks from St. Elizabeth's church, late sixteenth century, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, call no. Slg Bohn MS mus. 15, no. 22.

170 Paulinus of Nola, *Tres psalmi primus, secundus et CXXXVI. in versus mystica interpraetatione adiecta luculentissime redacti* […] (Wrocław: Andreas Winkler, 1541). See Modlińska-Piekarz, *Łacińska poezja biblijna na Śląsku w XVI i XVII wieku*, 88.

171 Paulinus, *Tres psalmi*, c. A_4^{v}–B_2^{r}, *Super psalmo CXXXVI: De fluminibus Babylonis*, here B_1^{r}.

Among these epigrams, we also find compositions dedicated to Georg von Loxan (*c.*1491–1551), to whom the author owed the opportunity to study in Bologna, where he later made the acquaintance of Jacopo Sadoleto (1477–1547) and Bembo. Winkler expressed his gratitude by striking the conventional pose of being an aficionado of the Muses and of Polyhymnia, in particular. So highly did he esteem her art that he drew it to the attention of his patron's son, dedicating to him a separate poem on the topic of *harmonia coelestis* and *harmonia terrestris* (earthly harmony).[172] Logau was also experienced in active music-making and reminisces about it in a lyric poem addressed to Jan Zbąski (*c.*1497–1541).[173] Loxan made his acquaintance during his studies in Bologna, where they both gave themselves over to learning, to good times in the company of singers, and to conversation about their love life.[174] In addition, these young men had the opportunity of participating in performances of vocal-instrumental music.[175] The poem's author sums up the entirety of his departed friend's mortal span with the phrase "a life of music and celestial harmony."

Works appearing in Winkler's other publications might also have the potential to be realized musically, specifically the odes of Horace and early Christian authors.[176] These were most certainly part of the musical fare at St. Elizabeth's and its gymnasium. In that context, less likely would have been works of a panegyric nature dedicated to members of the nobility. Intended more for private reading than public performance, they were, indeed, composed according to classical models of metrical odes.[177] Most of Johann Lang's (1503–1567) songs from this collection are conceived of as acrostychic *carmina* containing the names and titles of members of the imperial family. Serving a similar purpose is poetry that appears in an earlier publication of Winkler's that contains a metrical paraphrase of excerpts from St. Mark's Gospel (16:15) arranged by Johannes Leander (d.1562).[178] The *topos* of music frequently crops up in the

172 Paulinus, *Tres psalmi*, c. F_2^{r-v}, *De Ferdinandi Loxani filio*.

173 See Szymon Starowolski, *Monumenta Sarmatarum, viam universae carnis ingressorum* [...] (Kraków: Franciszek Cezary's heirs, 1655), c. G_1^r.

174 Gustav Bauch, "Der humanistische Dichter George von Logau," *Jahresbericht der historischen Section der Schlesischen Geselleschaft für vaterländische Cultur* (1895): 5–33, here 10, 31.

175 Paulinus, *Tres psalmi, Ioannis Zbonski MUSICA*, c. H_3^{r-v}.

176 The publication format would appear to suggest this possibility. It is printed in a version inter-foliated with blank pages for notes: Horace, *Selectiores* [...] *operis odea ad formandos mores tum cognitu utiles, tum perquem iucundae* [...] (Wrocław: Andreas Winkler, 1542).

177 Johann Lang, *Carminum lyricorum liber* (Wrocław: Andreas Winkler, 1548). See Modlińska-Piekarz, *Łacińska poezja biblijna na Śląsku w XVI i XVII wieku*, 189.

178 Johannes Leander, *Declamatio in verba Christi, Euntes in mundum universum, praedicate* [...] (Wrocław: Andreas Winkler, 1545). See Modlińska-Piekarz, *Łacińska poezja biblijna na Śląsku w XVI i XVII wieku*, 189, 415–18.

text of this work, where it depicts the phenomenon of preaching the Good News conveyed with allusions of a confessional nature, as seen for instance in the works of Corvinus.

This humanist was the instigator of a return to a teaching method employing classical dramatic texts. Most often, they were presented and reworked with music. In German-speaking areas, Terence's comedies were popular; thanks to Melanchthon, they often found their way into recently published school regulations.[179] These plays were valued not only for their usefulness in shaping the character of the young but also for their exemplary quality in the use of the Latin language. The straightforwardness of Terence's style inclined Winkler to equip his edition of the comedies with Melanchthon's elucidations that describe the construction of successive plays, characterizing its cast, and providing information on the metrical schemes employed.[180] And with respect to this last topic, the pertinent parts, in performance, were most certainly realized musically. In stage directions found in one of the copies, it is possible to discern a notated melody running beneath a metrically structured text.[181]

Music, the subject as taught at the Gymnasium Elisabetanum, Wrocław, was indeed the very same music addressed in parts of the school regulations discussed earlier.[182] In the school, it was the *signator* who taught music; he was also responsible for music performed by students during the liturgy. During the years 1538–1544, this position had been held by Virgil Haug (*c.*1490–*c.*1555), previously numbered among the clergy at St. Jacob's church in Nysa.[183] In 1541, Winkler's printing house brought out Haug's music theory textbook. Organized in the conventional dialogue format, it was designed for his own students in Wrocław. Although very succinct, it covered quite a considerable range of topics.[184] In terms of format and title, it might appear there was some connection between Haug's textbook and Spangenberg's treatise.[185] In terms of substantive contents, however, the Wratislavian *signator*'s treatise is quite

179 Max Herrmann, "Terenz in Deutschland bis zum Ausgang des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft fuer deutsche Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte* 3, no. 1 (1893): 1–28, here 2–9.

180 Terence, *Comoediae: Iuxta doctissimorum virorum recognitionem quam diligentissime excusae* (Wrocław: Andreas Winkler, 1540).

181 Terence, *Comoediae sex, singulari, et accurato studio editae, praepositis singulis et comoediis, et scenis succinctis doctiss. virorum Philip. Melancht. et Ioachimi Camerarii argumentis* [...] (Wrocław: Andreas Winkler, 1550), c. Bb_3^v.

182 See note 131.

183 Bauch, *Geschichte des Breslauer Schulwesens in der Zeit der Reformation*, 80–81, 109–10.

184 Virgil Haug, *Erotemata musicae practicae ad captum puerilem formata* [...] (Wrocław: Andreas Winkler, 1541).

185 Johann Spangenberg, *Questiones musicae in usum scholae northusianae* [...] (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1536).

different from that of Spangenberg.[186] Four years after its initial print run, which quickly ran out, Haug's book was reprinted by Winkler, its text unaltered.[187]

In his introduction dedicated to the students, Haug recommends his students delve into music theory with the same diligence demanded of other liberal arts. And, in keeping with his humanistic outlook, it would appear he was already moving toward counting the art of sound as part of the *trivium* (rhetoric, grammar, and dialectic). This supposition finds some corroboration in passages of his foreword where he bestows peans on the rhetorical qualities of music's workings on human emotions and intellect, on its inherent connections with verbal texts as much as with one's personal ethical and aesthetic sensibilities. In all these ruminations, Platonian thought is unmistakable.[188] Haug writes even of music's dignity, which cannot be impugned by those who falsely assert that music is a domain unbecoming to honest, upright folk. He reiterates his viewpoint using the same *loci communes* from the works of Aristotle (384–322 BCE) and Quintilian (*c.*35–*c.*100).[189]

Haug's Renaissance orientation is confirmed by his wording of the very definition of music, by his statement of its purpose, and by the way it is performed and how it is categorized.[190] To be sure, appeals of this kind do not appear in subsequent chapters of his textbook, which are devoted to technical matters: solmization, clefs, the hexachords, pitch and pause notation, mensural rhythm, and the modal system. In the course of his description of intervals, Haug expresses a viewpoint not dissimilar from Aristoxenus's (*c.*375–*c.*335 BCE) concept of *aurium iudicio* (definition of music consonances according to the judgment of the ears); it also shows up in his definition of the perfect consonance, explaining the phenomenon of consonances with reference to the domain of *musica humana* (music of the man).[191] Particularly interesting is his excursus on the topic of *tactus* (pulse in music), in which he cites Josquin des Prez's (1450/1455–1521) setting of the psalm *In exitu Israel ex Aegypto* (When Israel came out of Egypt) as an example of variable mensuration.[192]

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186 Specifically, the Wrocław textbook omits treatment of musical accent, which Spangenberg described in his abovementioned treatise (c. E_3^v–$_6^r$) and covered more thoroughly in his textbook, Johann Spangenberg, *Prosodia in usum iuventutis northusianae* [...] (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1537), which also contains a reprint of Tritonius's edition of metric odes (c. Cc_2^r–$_6^r$: *Sequuntur harmoniae tetracenticae*).

187 Virgil Haug, *Erotemata musicae practicae ad captum puerilem formata* [...] (Wrocław: Andreas Winkler, 1545).

188 Haug, *Erotemata musicae practicae*, 1545, c. A_2^v.

189 Haug, *Erotemata musicae practicae*, 1545, c. A_2^v–$_3^r$.

190 Haug, *Erotemata musicae practicae*, 1545, c. $A_5^{r–v}$.

191 Haug, *Erotemata musicae practicae*, 1545, c. $F_1^{r–v}$.

192 Haug, *Erotemata musicae practicae*, 1545, c. G_7^v.

The legacy left to us from Winkler's printing house also includes textbooks on geography, a discipline that, in keeping with the tradition started by Corvinus, was often presented couched in poetic form.[193] A discrete group of publications are occasional tracts containing polemical writings of a confessional nature. The addressee of one of them was the bishop of Wrocław, Balthasar von Promnitz (1488–1562), to whom the pastor of St. Elizabeth's dedicated a congratulatory letter. The letter was in the form of an apologia for evangelical doctrine, and it came with a trove of suggestions on the organization of church and school life in Silesia.[194] The publication concludes with the letter Melanchthon had submitted to the bishop-elect in which the *praeceptor Germaniae* praises the unassertive disposition of the hierarchy and the solicitous care shown toward the diocese for which he, Promnitz, has responsibility. After also acknowledging appreciatively the bishop-elect's interest in the liberal arts, the letter is rounded off with tidings of peace, couched in the form of curiously rephrased liturgical text.[195] An anonymously authored metrical paraphrase of one of the psalms corresponds in form and content to these greetings.[196]

Among Winkler's remaining publications, it is worth mentioning those issued on the initiative of the Wrocław city council, having to do with protecting the citizenry against war, epidemics, and fire.[197] The council also had him print up protocols for engaging tradesmen from different professions and providing oversight of their work for civic institutions. But Winkler also published collections of advice on entirely different spheres of human activity, for example a handbook on angling edited by Jan Skála (Dubravius [1486–1553]), bishop of Olomouc and author of works on philology, history, and theology.[198] Striking a balance between *otium* and *negotium* (busyness), this publication adds a splash of color to the life of sixteenth-century humanists.

4 Petrus Vincentius

Born in Wrocław on March 1, 1519, Petrus Vincentius received his secondary education at the local school, St. Elizabeth's. He enrolled at the University of

193 Johannes Honter, *Rudimenta cosmographica cum vocabilus rerum, carmine hexametro, scripta* (Wrocław: Andreas Winkler, 1542).

194 Ambrosius Moiban, *Ad clariss. principem* […] *Baltasarem Episcopum Wratislaviensis Epistola Gratulatoria* (Wrocław: Andreas Winkler, 1541).

195 Moiban, *Ad clariss. principem*, c. O_3^r–$_5^r$.

196 Moiban, *Ad clariss. principem*, c. O_6^r–$_7^v$.

197 Burbianka, "Andrzej Winkler," 406–10.

198 Jan Skála, *De piscinis* (Wrocław: Andreas Winkler, 1612).

Wittenberg in 1538,[199] and there met Melanchthon, who secured him a teaching position at the Lorenzschule in Nuremberg. On completion of a master's degree and with the backing of Johannes Bugenhagen (1485–1558), he was appointed to a lectureship at the newly established university in Greifswald. For a number of years, he held the position of rector until, of his own volition, he took leave in order to work at Lübeck's gymnasium, the Katharineum, where he succeeded to the rectorship in 1552. Three years later, however, he moved back to Wittenberg, where, again with Melanchthon's support, he was appointed university professor of philology. In 1560, he became rector of that university. As Melanchthon's views, to which he subscribed, came ever more under suspicion in Wittenberg, Vincentius decided to take his leave of that city. He became the foundation rector of a new Latin school that was being established in Görlitz.

Shortly after the school's opening, Vincentius published *Schulordnung* drawn up for it,[200] which incorporated the received wisdom of the time on pedagogy. Although the Schola Augusta had not yet been raised to the status of gymnasium, its teaching syllabus met the criteria set for such schools.[201] However, Vincentius went back to Wrocław and in 1558 took up a teaching position there at the Gymnasium Elisabetanum and subsequently became rector. In 1570, at the request of the city council, he published school ordinances that over the following years brought about the codification of teaching methods that were introduced not only in that city but in regional centers too. Vincentius was held in high regard both during his lifetime and posthumously, as demonstrated by his textbooks, which continued in print for many years after his death on October 1, 1581.

Vincentius's pedagogical initiatives arise out of the tradition of *pietas litterata* (literate piety) that was cultivated in Protestant gymnasiums. We find evidence of this in his religious works that were inspired by the Melanchthonian values to which our Wratislavian pedagogue adhered throughout his life. On the first anniversary of his mentor's death, Vincentius wrote a foreword to Esaias Tribauer's (1530–1573) edition of Ecclesiasticus printed for catechistic purposes.[202] He praised the philological methodology employed by the author for its indebtedness to the Renaissance notion of *ad fontes* (to the sources).

199 Bauch, *Geschichte des Breslauer Schulwesens in der Zeit der Reformation*, 199–221.

200 Petrus Vincentius, ed., *Disciplina et doctrina Gymnasii Gorlicensis* […] (Görlitz: Ambrosius Fritsch, 1566).

201 Józef Budzyński, *Paideia humanistyczna, czyli wychowanie do kultury: Studium z dziejów klasycznej edukacji w gimnazjach XVI–XVIII wieku* (*na przykładzie Śląska*) (Częstochowa: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Częstochowie, 2003), 132.

202 Esaias Tribauer, *Das buch Jesus Syrach, nach ordnung der heubtartikel Christlicher lere, in Frage und Antwort gestellet* […] (Wittenberg: Johann Luft, 1561).

The breadth of his erudition as well as his poetic proficiency can be seen in the collection that appeared later of Georg Major's (1502–1574) homilies,[203] which included the extensive *Carmen de Natali Domini Nostri Jesu Christi* (Nativity Song of Our Lord Jesus Christ). And yet further evidence can be found in the elegy that precedes his collection of metrically set meditations.[204] Vincentius skillfully follows hallowed literary convention believing himself inspired by the same Muses who stirred Isaiah and David to their poetic endeavors.[205] He declares, moreover, that he believes himself to be a student of Muses and of piety, witness his Sapphic ode dedicated to St. Luke the Evangelist.[206]

A frequent theme in humanistic poetry is lauding the virtues of famous personages, particularly those familiar to, and highly regarded by, the authors themselves. For Vincentius, such a figure was Johannes Bugenhagen, an outstanding representative of the Reformation in Pomerania to whom he owed his university position in Greifswald. He repaid the debt of gratitude to him on assuming the position of dean at the University of Wittenberg on August 4, 1558. His occasional address in praise of Bugenhagen was subsequently printed with a dedication to Philip I, prince of Pomerania (1515–1560, r.1532–1560), who had settled an endowment on the university. In his biographical entry on Bugenhagen, Vincentius mentions the reformer's musical qualifications and the songs he composed,[207] which, as a university lecturer in Greifswald, Vincentius must have known.

At that time, Vincentius was already writing his own poetic works, two of which were added to a metrical paraphrase setting of Psalm 5 to mark the birth of Prince Barnim X the Younger (1549–1603).[208] It is unclear whether these works were performed with accompanying music and, by analogy, the same may be said of an occasional elegy that was published earlier.[209] This elegant publication was dedicated to Johann I Albrecht, prince of Mecklenburg

203 Georg Major, *Prima pars homeliarum in Evangelia Dominicalia et dies festos* [...] (Wittenberg: Johann Luft, 1563).

204 Vavřinec Špán, *Piarum meditarionum in annua domenicalia evangelia liber, elegiaco carmine scriptus* [...] *Cum elegia M. Petri Vincentii Vratislaviensis* (Schmalkalden: Michael Schmuck, 1574), c. A_2^r–$_3^v$.

205 Špán, *Piarum meditarionum*, c. A_2^v–A_3^r.

206 Petrus Vincentius, *De S. Luca Evangelista: Carmen Sapphicum* [...] (Wrocław: Johann Scharffenberg, 1577).

207 Petrus Vincentius, *Oratio de vita reverendi viri Domini Johannis Bugenhagii Pomerani* [...] (Wittenberg: Veit Kreutzer, 1558), c. B_1^v–$_2^r$.

208 Sigismund Schörkel, *Ad* [...] *Philippum I Ducem Pomeraniae* [...] *Psalmus V* (Lübeck: Johannes Balhorn, 1550), c. A_1^r, A_4^v. See Modlińska-Piekarz, *Łacińska poezja biblijna na Śląsku w XVI i XVII wieku*, 147.

209 Petrus Vincentius, *Vera nobilitas: Opusculum recens natum* [...] (Rostock: Ludwig Dietz, 1553).

(1525–1576, r.1552–1576), who during his stay in Lübeck was the guest of honor at a staging of Plautus's comedy presented by students of Vincentius's at the Katharineum.[210] The hypothesis as to possible musical performance of the elegy finds support in the frequent references to musical *topoi*, the melic character of the language, and also that it lent itself to stage adaptation, which rarely would have taken place without music.

That same year, Vincentius's extended elegiac distich appeared in print. He delivered it on the occasion of his assuming the position of rector of Lübeck's Katharineum on November 8, 1552. In keeping with humanistic custom, his written address adhered to the *laus urbis* (praise of the city) paradigm.[211] Vincentius presented the history of the Hanseatic capital drawing on Horatian and Virgilian models: the city's greatness and excellence of its laws are presented in an antiquifying staffage of comparisons with Rome; moments in the history of Lübeck (for example, the visit of Charles of Luxembourg [1316–1378, r.1346–1378]) he presents as if part of an urban soundscape.[212] References to musical symbolism also appear in the local school's apologia that rounds the poem off.[213] It would appear that some elements of musical *ornatus* that accompany significant civic celebrations of this kind served to rhetorically amplify this musical *topos*. A snapshot of how the event was staged can be seen in a woodcut by Elias Diebel (*fl.* 1552–1574) that was publicly presented on the occasion. Its depiction of a panorama of Lübeck drew praise from contemporaries no less than did Vincentius's poem.[214]

Vincentius's main sphere of interest, however, was textbooks. Noteworthy here are the editions of Melanchthon's epigrams that were issued a number of times by Wittenberg printing houses. Vincentius preceded these publications with a foreword in which he urged students to remain determined and focused on the subject of their studies. Wandering concentration diverting attention from studies he compared to the sound of the bell, which, according to Strabo's

210 Bauch, *Geschichte des Breslauer Schulwesens in der Zeit der Reformation*, 200. Vincentius had one of Plautus's comedies printed in Wrocław when he assumed the position of director of that city's academic high school, St. Elizabeth's: Titus Maccius Plautus, *Comoedia castissima, quae inscribitur Capteivei: Cum praefatione Petri Vincentii Vratisl.* (Wrocław: Crispin Scharffenberg, 1570).

211 Hartmut Freytag, *Lübeck im Stadtlob und Stadtporträt der frühen Neuzeit: Über das Gedicht des Petrus Vincentius und Elias Diebels Holzschnitt von 1552* ([Lübeck]: Europaeum Medicum Collegium, 1996), 22.

212 Petrus Vincentius, *De origine, incrementis, et laudibus inclytae urbis Lubecae* [...] (Rostock: Ludwig Dietz, 1552), c. B_3^v–$_4^r$.

213 Vincentius, *De origine, incrementis, et laudibus inclytae urbis Lubecae*, c. C_5^r.

214 Carolus G. Bretschneider, ed., *Philippi Melanchthonis opera quae supersunt omnia* (Halle: A. Schwetschke, 1846), 8:53–54.

(64/63 BCE–*c.*24 CE) anecdote, deprived the Icarian zither-player of his audience: on hearing the signal, off to the fair they ran immediately.[215] Erasmus's *De civilitate morum*, published for the students of the Schola Augusta, also assumed an important place in the canon of readings recommended by Vincentius. In his preface to that work, he enjoined teachers to conscientiously fulfill their obligations and discipline students, and in particular, to prevent them from wandering around town singing outside people's houses.[216]

Vincentius dedicated successive editions of Johann Biber's (d.1571) Latin–German dictionary to the students of Wrocław's gymnasia. Assuming that the catalog of terms translated from Latin is indicative of the conceptual world of intended recipients, it is worth looking more closely at those sections that pertain to music. Most terms of this kind are found in chapter 27 of the dictionary, "De opificibus aut artificibus" (On workers and artisans), which lists different methods of performing music, names of instruments, and the names of the players of these instruments.[217] Musical terminology is also found in chapter 28, "De templo, schola et rebus personisque ecclesiasticis" (On the church, the school and ecclesiastical matters and individuals), and chapter 30, "De matrimonio et affinitate" (On marriage and kinship), which include terms connected with dance.[218] Later editions of this dictionary[219] contain almost twice as many musical terms, which attests to the enrichment of students' musical *imaginarium* thanks to, among other things, the teaching initiatives taken by Vincentius himself.

In schools of this period, the prime purpose of teaching was to cultivate students' ability to express themselves correctly in Latin. That was the topic of a professorial address given by Vincentius on taking up his position at Wittenberg University on April 18, 1557. Even though the author of the address was, in fact, Melanchthon, who had entrusted it to Vincentius to deliver, we can safely assume Vincentius did share his mentor's views. School should be at the service of both state and church, Melanchthon averred, not just in the domain of classical languages but also of other arts essential to their functioning,

215 Philipp Melanchthon, *Epigrammatum libri sex recens editi studio et opera Petri Vincentii Vratislaviensi* [...] (Wittenberg: Johann Krafft, 1563), c. $*_2{}^r$–$_3{}^r$.

216 Erasmus of Rotterdam, *De civilitate morum puerilium libellus pro classibus inferioribus in Gymnasio Gorlicensi* [...]: *Cum praefatione Petri Vincentii Vratisl.* (Wrocław: Crispin Scharffenberg, 1569), c. $A_4{}^r$.

217 Johann Biber, *Nomenclatura phrasesque rerum communium ex variis probatisque Autoribus congestae in usum scholae Gorlicensis* [...] (Görlitz: Ambrosius Fritsch, 1568), c. $G_2{}^{r–v}$.

218 Biber, *Nomenclatura phrasesque rerum communium*, c. $G_6{}^v$.

219 Johann Biber, *Nomenclatura in usum scholae Gorlicensis* [...] (Görlitz: Ambrosius Fritsch, 1578).

including music. The true art of eloquence is something far more than just a taught technique of rhetorical persuasiveness; it is a gift from God that manifests itself in the motions of the soul, communicated through modulation of speech as befits the text.[220] The mechanistic model of how verbal melody works on the hearer, as defined here using musical concepts, was impossible to explain rationally. What the author had in mind, so he added, was an art form, which by linking intellect with nature, works in a way similar to the music of Orpheus, Amphion, or Homer. Vincentius's poem addressing the question of the presence of music in public forms of liturgy is of a piece with the foregoing themes that Melanchthon reflected on in his address and to which the poem was appended.

Vincentius returned to a similar subject matter in an address he gave in Görlitz on June 22, 1565, on taking up the headship of the Schola Augusta.[221] Following the line of argument pursued by his Wittenberg master in the speech just mentioned, he used an analogy to define the goals to which his school would also be committed. Accordingly, students' participation in the liturgy was justified by the artful use of a metaphor of neo-Platonic provenance.[222] A little farther on, he made reference to the *Credo*, endorsing the words of Melanchthon regarding the importance of singing praise to God in a form most appropriate to that purpose.[223] This theme appears both in Vincentius's writings and earlier when, as rector of Wittenberg University, he gave an address to his lecturers at the conclusion of Lent, 1561. He pointed out the need for committed engagement on the part of students in the most solemn devotions of the liturgical year.[224] Two months earlier, the rector issued an edict prohibiting students from organizing bacchanals—he had been scandalized by the music.[225]

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220 Petrus Vincentius, *Oratio* [...] *de cura recte loquendi, recitata in initio praelectionis Witebergae* (Wittenberg: Veit Kreutzer, 1557), c. A_4^{v}–$_5^{r}$.

221 Petrus Vincentius, *Orationes duae et epigrammata quaedam de initiis novae scolae* [...] *sumptu inclyti Senatus Gorlicensis extructae et instauratae* [...] (Görlitz: Ambrosius Fritsch, 1565), c. D_2^{r}–F_4^{v}, *Oratio de constituendo ministerio docendi in scolis die inaugurationis novae scolae in inclyta urbe Gorlicensi habita a Petro Vincentio, piae doctrinae professore, ac gymnasii novo rectore*.

222 Vincentius, *Orationes duae et epigrammata quaedam de initiis novae scolae*, c. $D_4^{r–v}$.

223 Vincentius, *Orationes duae et epigrammata quaedam de initiis novae scolae*, c. $D_6^{r–v}$.

224 *Scriptorum publice propositorum a gubernatoribus studiorum in Academia Witebergensi: Tomus quartus; Complectens annum 1559. et duos sequentes usque ad Festum Michaëlis* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau's Heirs, 1559), c. i_5^{r}, *Rector Academiae Witebergensis Petrus Vincentius Vratislaviensis artium humanitatis Magister et Professor publicus*.

225 *Scriptorum publice propositorum*, c. $f_6^{r–v}$, *Anno 1561 Prohibito Bachanaliorum Proposita publice in Academiae Witebergensi. Rector Academiae Witebergensis Petrus Vincentius Vratislaviensis artium liberalium Magister e Professor publicus*.

The document, *Disciplina et doctrina Gymnasii Gorlicensis* (Discipline and teaching of the Görlitz gymnasium), a systematic codification of the rules and regulations governing the school community, was presented by Vincentius in the ordinances of his Görlitz school. The first section of the document contains rules governing the functioning of the school, the goal of which is "esse praecipuam partem Ecclesiae Dei" (it should be a special arm of God's Church).[226] The primary obligation of students is, therefore, attendance at services and active participation in the liturgical singing that accompanies them. The next regulations concerned protocols for maintaining a tranquil atmosphere at school, a place befitting the Muses and a veritable temple to Apollo, their leader. To safeguard students against the danger of moral lapses, they were forbidden from frequenting inns and other morally dubious places. For the same reason, they were prohibited from wandering around town at night disturbing the peace with instrumental music—similarly, its private use also ought not to interfere with studies or with relaxation.[227]

In the second section of the ordinances, Vincentius presented a detailed syllabus of five *ordines*, corresponding to successive educational stages. Fifth class, the lowest, was devoted to the study of orthography, vocabulary, the rudiments of Latin grammar, and the central tenets of faith. In fourth class, students were acquainted with that aspect of grammar then termed etymology, using excerpts from Aesop's (*c.*620–564 BCE) fables and sayings from the Bible. In third class, which was dedicated to covering syntax, the principles of sentence structure were taught using passages from Roman, biblical, and contemporary authors. Second class was given over to putting into practice the principles of prosody, an understanding of which students gained through studying the poetry of Virgil (70–19 BCE) and Ovid (43 BCE–17/18 CE), the comedies of Plato and Terence, and Fabricius's textbook on poetics. The first class, the top year, is where graduands of the school, through the study of the writings of Greek and Roman poets and dramatists, earned qualifications in the areas of dialectics and the rudiments of the art of oratory, which they learned from reading the Roman and Greek poets and dramatists. Among the subjects taught in this final year, we find the rudiments of arithmetic and the theory of music. Classes in music performance were provided for students in the four highest years collectively; during that period, students in the lowest year learned to write. Students from poor families who displayed musical ability were permitted to go begging for alms (and busking) outside the houses of townsfolk. For

226 Vincentius, *Disciplina et Doctrina Gymnasii Gorlicensis*, c. B_1^r.

227 Vincentius, *Disciplina et Doctrina Gymnasii Gorlicensis*, c. C_3^v.

students in boarding schools, the day was topped off with psalm-singing and hymns.[228]

The regulations developed for the purposes of Görlitz's Schola Augusta were the starting point for Vincentius's *Schulordnung* for Wrocław's schools, which he published four years later.[229] Similarities between them go to both form and content: the method of grouping students into *ordines* and the prescribed syllabus are almost identical. Wrocław's school rules incorporate more detailed entries that derive from other ordinances. The document also contains quite a few connections with the *Schulordnung* of Winkler, his teacher. These ordinances had governed the running of Wratislavian schools for more than forty years.[230] The dynamic expansion of these schools, which led to their being accorded the status of gymnasium, required the introduction of reforms, the formulation of which was commissioned by the recently arrived teacher from Görlitz.

However, before the city council could entrust that undertaking to Vincentius, he was called upon to assume the position of teacher at the Gymnasium Elisabetanum and municipal inspector of schools; therewith, he was obliged to carry out his obligations conscientiously, complying among other things with the then obtaining governing ordinances of Winkler.[231] For this very reason, the school regulations approved a year later were published together with a signed directive from the Wrocław magistracy (May 21, 1570) confirming they were mandatory. It can be taken for granted that, in accord with the wishes of the issuing authority, the ordinances retained most of the stipulations in Winkler's directives. And that applies to regulations regarding music, which are fewer in number in Vincentius's *Schulordnung*. Many of them, to be sure, did not need to be spelled out again, save where some change or correction to existing practice was desired. With those circumstances in mind, we sharpen our focus on Vincentius's musical *imaginarium*, on new elements in contemporaneous discourse about the practice of music.

In the letter to the Wrocław city council that opens his publication, Vincentius outlines a vision of a school guided by the ideals of service to the church and a return to the sources of revelation. Core subjects taught are not just the study of biblical languages but all the other liberal arts that are just as much in the

228 Vincentius, *Disciplina et Doctrina Gymnasii Gorlicensis*, c. E_1^{r-v}.

229 Petrus Vincentius, *Der Stadt Bresslaw Schul Ordnung* [...] (Wrocław: Crispin Scharffenberg, 1570).

230 Bauch, *Geschichte des Breslauer Schulwesens in der Zeit der Reformation*, 203.

231 Gustav Bauch, "Petrus Vincentius, der Schöpfer des Görlitzer Gymnasiums und erste Breslauer Schulinspektor," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Deutsche Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte* 18, no. 4 (1908): 268–330, here 316.

service of knowing God as the study of languages.[232] Among the most useful arts, Vincentius singles out arithmetic, medicine, and law, but he no doubt had in mind other *artes liberales* as well, the names of which he lists in the lesson timetable that concludes the publication. As to the place of music, the author cites a letter from Luther himself, for whom music's didactic purpose is to be found in its usefulness to the whole church community. For Luther, singing and practice are seen as methods toward the formation of students.[233] The vital importance of encouraging music performance by students in the senior classes of gymnasia was just as clear to Vincentius. In his view, it served not only liturgical requirements but was also essential in the teaching process for maintaining students' relaxation.[234]

Music theory was one of the obligatory subjects taught in the highest class of the gymnasium. On the recommendation of the teacher, it took place on Mondays and Tuesdays in the first period of afternoon classes. During Vincentius's time, these classes were taken by the cantor of St. Elizabeth's church, Erasmus Radewald (*c.*1542–1593). On Wednesdays, at the same time, he taught arithmetic to students in the highest (first) class, and on Fridays and Saturdays, grammar to students in the second one.[235] The example given of subject allocation to this member of staff no doubt has to do with his personal qualifications. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that the close association we see between mathematics and music stemmed from the fact that both disciplines belong to the traditional model of the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy). However, the connections between music and prosody, taught as part of the grammar course, were premised on that domain common to both subjects, namely, rhetoric linking art with the *trivium*.

In addition to studying the theory of music, students in Wrocław's gymnasia also acquainted themselves with music-making, practicing repertoire for forthcoming church performances under the direction of the *succentor*, an assistant of the cantor. These topics were scheduled for third-class students who had Latin and German musical composition in their afternoon first period on Mondays and Tuesdays.[236] In keeping with the rationale of the school, as articulated above, all its students were obliged to participate in Sunday and feast day liturgies. These services involved students singing, observing appropriate behavior on the way to the church, and respectfully complying with the

232 Vincentius, *Der Stadt Bresslaw Schul Ordnung*, c. A_3^v.
233 Vincentius, *Der Stadt Bresslaw Schul Ordnung*, c. B_2^r.
234 Vincentius, *Der Stadt Bresslaw Schul Ordnung*, c. G_1^v.
235 Vincentius, *Der Stadt Bresslaw Schul Ordnung*, *Primus ordo*.
236 Vincentius, *Der Stadt Bresslaw Schul Ordnung*, *Tertius ordo*.

cantor's requests and that of his assistants when in choir.[237] In an appendix to the ordinances, there is a specific list of recommendations pertaining to the behavior of students (and teachers) at Wratislavian gymnasia. The contents, though, barely touch on the elements that go to creating the audiosphere of school, church, and town.[238] Its soundscape, first and foremost, would have been characterized by the spoken word of teachers and catechists, while the voices of the boys listening to them would have been heard only in reply to questions put to them by their teachers or when singing appropriate liturgical repertoire under supervision.

In performing this latter repertoire, a particularly important role was played by a group of *Choralisten* made up of the so-called *Schreiber*, that is, graduates who accepted payment for giving additional private lessons. In Vincentius's regulations, the involvement of members of this group was appreciably tightened up especially with respect to their teaching activities.[239] It was determined, for example, that *Schreiber* tutoring should not conflict with school classes and that they should take place before the beginning of classes to facilitate students' going back over the material before new parts of it were introduced. Therefore, *Choralisten* had to be granted time to fulfill their church duties, which were paid for out of municipal funds.[240] These regulations enabled better collaboration between school and church, and, in the process, consolidated the ongoing professionalization of this musical ensemble of *Choralisten*.[241]

In the description of the syllabus of studies, there are a number of topics indirectly connected with music. Describing the way to teach etymology, Vincentius emphasizes the importance in the learning process of consciously bringing to mind the characteristics peculiar to each one rather than mechanically repeating them over and over and sounding (metaphorically speaking) like cuckoo calls, squabbling parrots, or mindless recitational psalmody from nuns ignorant of Latin.[242] In the section on how to teach prosody, he recommends that metrical feet be explained not by using abstract written schemes but through examples drawn from literature that will enable students to retain them in their auditory memory, similar to the helpful mnemonic device—also

237 Vincentius, *Der Stadt Bresslaw Schul Ordnung, Praetor sive Leges Scholasticae*, c. H_4^r.

238 Vincentius, *Der Stadt Bresslaw Schul Ordnung*, c. I_1^r–$_3^v$.

239 Vincentius, *Der Stadt Bresslaw Schul Ordnung*, c. B_3^r–$_4^v$, *Ratificatio et decretum inclyti Senatus*.

240 Vincentius, *Der Stadt Bresslaw Schul Ordnung, Folget das Bedencken von der Privat stunden, wie dieselbe anzuordnen: Einem Erbarn Rath ubergeben, und approbieret*, c. H_2^v.

241 Bauch, *Geschichte des Breslauer Schulwesens in der Zeit der Reformation*, 375–80.

242 Vincentius, *Der Stadt Bresslaw Schul Ordnung*, c. D_2^r.

employed in Wrocław—of having melodies put to each metrical foot.[243] Vincentius draws attention to the importance of adjusting the duration of classroom teaching to the particular abilities of the student. He thereby confirms the intuitions of Vives, making reference to the outcomes of his studies by way of two very pertinent musical metaphors.[244]

What, then, was teaching practice and music performance like during Vincentius's time in the gymnasia for which he had responsibility? Replies to this question can be found in Wrocław publications of the time, including music theory textbooks and anthologies of German-language songs and Latin pieces used in teaching and in the liturgy. The first group starts with a re-edition of Heinrich Faber's (*c.*1500–1552) *Compendiolum musicae* (Little compendium of music), published by Crispin Scharffenberg (*c.*1520–1576).[245] This popular textbook replaced Haug's treatise, published in Wrocław in the 1540s,[246] which had also been reissued several times.[247] Faber's little book was produced in a compact, accessible format, slimmed down to the bare minimum. Three points are worth noting: first, his convincing justification of the utility of employing the most straightforward teaching methods. Second, the reference he makes to the Horatian category of *ars poetica* (the art of text composition) at the opening of the preface. And third, his articulation of the publication's purpose that rounds off the preface—for the benefit of state and church.[248]

For his part, Vincentius was at one with Faber's guidelines; the two had met during the course of his studies in Wittenberg. One could assume, therefore, that Vincentius had some familiarity with a similar music teaching methodology that his colleague had outlined in his treatise. Hints of Faber's textbook having been used in Wrocław are still to be found there. An inscription on the title page of a copy of the last edition of this publication, written in alongside one of the individuals in the woodcut depicting a school music lesson, reads as follows: "Imago Erasmi Wratissla[via]e Cantoris ad D. Elisabethae" (The picture of Erasmus, cantor of St. Elisabeth church in Wrocław).[249] Another treatise by Faber was known in Wrocław, one containing a more extended reflection on

243 See note 63.

244 Vincentius, *Der Stadt Bresslaw Schul Ordnung*, c. F_1^v.

245 Heinrich Faber, *Compendiolum musicae pro incipientibus* [...] (Wrocław: Crispin Scharffenberg, 1562).

246 See notes 184 and 187.

247 Heinrich Faber, *Compendiolum musicae pro incipientibus* [...] (Wrocław: Crispin Scharffenberg, 1568).

248 Faber, *Compendiolum musicae pro incipientibus*, 1568, c. A_2^v.

249 Heinrich Faber, *Compendiolum musicae pro incipientibus* [...] (Wrocław: Johann Scharffenberg, 1582).

the theory of music.[250] Just as the *Compendiolum musicae* was designed for junior classes of the gymnasium, so his *Ad musicam practicam introductio* (An introduction to practical music) was intended for Polyhymnia's more advanced students, and the more so given that it contains examples drawn from musical literature suitable for those studying the craft of composition. Faber was also the author of *Musica poetica* (Poetic music), a treatise in which we find him ruminating on another feature of the humanist tradition, namely the practice of improvisatory singing.[251] One can only surmise whether the arguments advanced were known in Wrocław during Vincentius's time. At a later period, though, Johannes Nucius (*c.*1560–1620) makes passing reference to them, and it was at the Gymnasium Augustum that he received his education.[252]

Vincentius's Wrocław students made use of a textbook, similar in contents to Faber's, written by Nikolaus Listen (Listenius [b.1510]). Scharffenberg reissued the treatise in 1573. In its preface, we find yet another reiteration of the same Platonic and Aristotelian arguments (as received by Renaissance adherents) in support of music education and affirmation of music's potential to be a persuasive agent in the sphere of human emotions and intellect.[253] The treatise starts with a definition of music that differentiates the domain of *musica poetica*, with its allusions to Aristides Quintilianus's (*fl.* late third or early fourth century CE) concept, from those of music theory and music performance.[254] The Renaissance understanding of music was surely understood in Wrocław; attesting to this fact are extant copies of Johann Thomas Freig's (1543–1583) textbooks have been preserved there. Noteworthy in particular is his *Paedagogus* (The pedagogue), containing the treatise *De musicae elementis primis* (On the first elements of music), in which we find examples of French chansons and Latin metrical odes.[255]

In keeping with the stipulations in Vincentius's ordinances, one of the duties of young people enrolled in Wrocław gymnasia was to sing the liturgical

250 Mention of this lost copy, dated 1568, is found in Emil Bohn, *Bibliographie der Musik-Druckwerke bis 1700 welche in der Stadtbibliothek, der Bibliothek des Akademischen Instituts für Kirchenmusik und in der Königlichen- und Universitätsbibliothek zu Breslau aufbewahrt werden* (Berlin: A. Cohn, 1883), 7.

251 Ernest T. Ferand, "'Sodaine and unexpected': Music in the Renaissance," *Musical Quarterly* 37, no. 1 (1951): 10–27, here 16–19.

252 Rudolf Starke, "Johannes Nux (Nucius oder Nucis)," *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 36 (1904): 195–209.

253 Nikolaus Listen, *Musica* [...]. *Ab autore denuo recognita, multisque nobis regulis et exemplis adaucta* (Wrocław: Crispin Scharffenberg, 1573), c. A_2^v–$_3^r$.

254 Listen, *Musica*, c. A_4^v–$_5^r$.

255 Johann Thomas Freig, *Paedagogus: Hoc est, libellus ostendens qua ratione prima artium initia pueris quam facillime tradi possint* (Basel: Sebastian Henricpetri, 1582), c. k_7^r–o_4^r.

repertoire under the direction of the *succentor*. Just as pre-Reformation printed missals provided the plainchant performed in Wrocław's churches throughout the sixteenth century,[256] so it was printed hymnbooks published in this city and elsewhere that popularized the corpus of vernacular songs performed during the liturgy. By Vincentius's time, Dyon's 1525 hymnbook was probably little used,[257] having been largely superseded by Valentin Triller's (1493–1573) publication that came out in 1555[258] and was reissued four years later in Wrocław. This hymnbook contains not only monophonic songs for liturgical use but also metrical psalm paraphrases and polyphonic settings that remained in use for the next half-century.[259] Judging from their compositional setting, these works may have been intended for performance by singers trained in one of Silesia's church schools.[260]

During Vincentius's time, Scharffenberg's printing house published two hymnbook editions; both would doubtless have been known to our Wratislavian pedagogue, who, in his capacity as municipal inspector of schools, worked in conjunction with the so-called *cognitores* who exercised "preventative" censorship over books published in Wrocław.[261] One of these publications, intended for the Polish-speaking evangelical reformed community of Greater Poland, contains twelve three- and four-voice hymns composed in the metrical schemes conventional for that genre.[262] The second of these publications contains 170 song texts, of which almost half are set monophonically.[263] The body of works and its distinctive organization indicate the edition is a reprint of *enchiridia*, popular at that time, that were published by Valentin Bapst (d.1556)

256 See Hans-Adolf Sander, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des lutherischen Gottesdienstes und der Kirchenmusik in Breslau: Die lateinischen Haupt- und Nebengottesdienste im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Breslau: Verlag Priebatschs Buchhandlung, 1937), 1–47.

257 Adam Dyon, ed., *Ayn gesang Buchlien geystlicher gesenge* […] (Wrocław: Adam Dyon, 1525).

258 Valentin Triller, *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein aus Göttlicher schrifft, von den fürnemsten Festen des Jares* […] (Wrocław: Crispin Scharffenberg, 1555).

259 Antonio Chemotti, *The Hymnbook of Valentin Triller (Wrocław 1555): Musical Past and Regionalism in Early Modern Silesia* (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2020), 71–73.

260 Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller, *Untersuchungen zu Musikpflege und Musikunterricht an den deutschen Lateinschulen vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis um 1600* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1969), 614–27.

261 Marta Burbianka, *Produkcja typograficzna Scharffenbergów we Wrocławiu* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1968), 85.

262 Stanislaus Bornbach, *Summa nabożeństwa i powinowactwa chrześcijańskiego* […] (Wrocław: Crispin Scharffenberg, 1573).

263 Anna Mańko-Matysiak, *Schlesische Gesangbücher 1525–1741: Eine hymnologische Quellenstudie* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2006), 95–114.

and Johann Eichorn (1524–1583). One can detect traces of humanistic inspiration in the rhetorical stance adopted by the author of the preface—in it, he pays obeisance to the anonymous authority of *ein gelerter Mann* (an erudite man).[264]

In the complex of Latin compositions printed in Wrocław, the occasional works are of particular interest. Wedding celebrations of leading members of the city's elite, the marriage of Esaias Heidenreich (1532–1589) and Martha Jessensky (dates unknown), for example,[265] are the usual reason for such compositions. The wedding of this pair occasioned an epithalamion in their honor, set to music by Simon Lyra (1546–1601), the then *signator* at St. Elizabeth's.[266] Similarly, compositions of this type were written by Gregor Lange (*c.*1540–1587), another composer known in Wrocław, who had previously worked as a cantor in Frankfurt an der Oder,[267] where a number of his epithalamia were printed. During the 1580s, however, he lived in Wrocław; there, too, he had his compositions published.[268] Pieces of that kind used to attract texts with conventional rhetorical phraseology drawing on excerpts from *The Song of Songs*.[269] The wedding of Johannes Buttner (dates unknown) and Marina Rehdiger (dates unknown) was the occasion for one such piece, an epithalamion by a composer also known in Wrocław, Johann Knöfel (*c.*1530–*c.*1617).[270]

Vincentius also honored this wedding with the epithalamion paraphrasing of Psalm 128, which imitates Martial's well-known *Epigrams* that were popular at that time.[271] The coincidence between the aforementioned sources cannot but raise the question as to whether vocal performance of this lyric poem may

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264 *Geistliche lieder, D. Mart. Luth. und anderer frommen Christen, nach Ordnung der Jarzeit, mit Collecten und Gebeten* (Wrocław: Crispin Scharffenberg, 1577), c. A_2^r, *Vorrede an den Christlichen Leser*.

265 Simon Lyra, *In nuptias* [...] *Esaiae Heidenreichii* [...] *et* [...] *Marthae* [...] *Iessinski* [...] *Cantio sex vocum composita* [...] (Wrocław: Johann Scharffenberg, 1580).

266 Allen Scott, "Simon Lyra and the Lutheran Liturgy in the Second Half-Century of the Reformation in Breslau," *Muzyka* 65, no. 1 (2020): 3–18.

267 Rudolf Starke, "Hieronymus Gregorius Langius Havelbergensis," *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 31 (1899): 101–10, 113–23.

268 See, e.g., Gregor Lange, *Nuptiis nobilitate generis* [...] *Henrici Schmidt* [...] *et pudicissimae Virginis Catharinae* [...] *à Tarnaw* [...] *Cantio gratulatoria* [...] (Wrocław: Johann Scharffenberg, 1583).

269 Gregor Lange, *Επίθαλαμίον μέλος* [...] *Iohanni Hennmanno* [...] *ac* [...] *Mariae, ex Uttmannorum familia prognatae* [...] (Wrocław: Johann Scharffenberg, 1586).

270 Barbara Wiermann, "Die Musikaliensammlungen und Musikpflege im Umkreis der St. Elisabethkirche Breslau in kirchliches und bürgerliches Musikleben im Kontrast," *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 30 (2008): 93–109, here 104.

271 Hieronymus Michael, *Epithalamion nobilitate generis* [...] *Iohanni Butnero, et Marinae Rhedigerae* [...] (Wrocław: Crispin Scharffenberg, 1573), c. A_1^v, *Epigramma Nuptiale. Ex Psal: CXXIIX*.

also have been possible. Making the hypothesis all the more tantalizing is the fact that Vincentius wrote these sorts of epithalamia throughout his life, and that a number of those texts include obvious allusions to musical *topoi*. Just such an epithalamion text can be found in the lyric poem dedicated to Tilemann Stella (1525–1589) and Helena Rotermund (dates unknown).[272] Analogous ways of depicting musical content can be seen in Vincentius's epithalamia that were published in Wittenberg, Görlitz, and Wrocław, whence comes the greatest number of his works of this kind. One of these lyrics presents a dialogue of wedding guests encouraging one another to dance; the wording brilliantly evokes the soundscape of an urban middle-class wedding.[273]

5 Lorenz Scholz

One of the most interesting representatives of Silesian humanism in the latter part of the sixteenth century is Lorenz Scholz (1552–1599). Born in Wrocław, he was a ward of the Gymnasium Elisabetanum during the incumbency of Vincentius. He pursued his tertiary studies in Wittenberg (1572–76) and Padua, at which university he was the representative of *natio Germanica* (students originating from the German-speaking countries).[274] There he attended the lectures of Girolamo Mercuriale (1530–1606) and Girolamo Capivaccio (1523–1589); he also made the acquaintance of the then professor of botany and director of the university's botanical garden, Melchior Wieland (Guilandinus [1520–1589]).[275] And it was Guilandinus who encouraged Scholz to set up his own botanical garden, inscribing the latter's family register with a quotation from Pliny the Elder's (23/24–79 CE) *Naturalis historia* (Natural history).[276] On September 14, 1578, he enrolled in the University of Siena; he also attended the lectures of Giulio Cesare Aranzio (1530–1589) in Bologna,

272 Petrus Vincentius, *Epithalamion in nuptiis D. Tilemanni Stellae* [...] *et* [...] *Helenae Rotermunds* [...] (Rostock: Ludwig Dietz, 1554), c. B_2^v.

273 *Epithalamia honestissimis sponsis* [...] *Georgio Seidelio* [...] *et* [...] *Catharinae* [...] *Heidenreichii* [...] *scripta ab amicis* (Wrocław: Johann Scharffenberg, 1578), c. $A_2^{r–v}$, *Ευφημία γαμιή: Novo et magistro et sponso, Dn. Georgio Seidelio: Scripta A Petro Vincentio Seniore R.*

274 Claudia Zonta, *Schlesische Studenten an italienischen Universitäten: Eine prosopographische Studie zur frühneuzeitlichen Bildungsgeschichte* (Stuttgart: Historisches Institut der Universtät Stuttgart, 2004), 393.

275 Christiane Lauterbach, *Der erzählte Garten des Laurentius Scholz: Bürgerliche Gartenkultur des Späthumanismus in Breslau* (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 2018), 36–37.

276 Ferdinand Julius Cohn, *Dr. Laurentius Scholz von Rosenau, ein Arzt und Botaniker der Renaissance* (Dresden: n.p., 1890), 109–29, 117–18.

where he made the acquaintance of the professor of natural sciences Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605).

In that same year, Scholz embarked on his *Wanderjahre* in the company of his Wrocław friends Nicolaus III Rehdiger (1551–1616), Johann Matthäus Wacker (1550–1619), and Martin Schilling (dates unknown). Their travel itinerary wended its way through Venice, Padua, Ferrara, Bologna, Rome, Naples, Capua, Pozzuoli, Cumae, Florence, and Milan. In these cities, the young men had plenty of opportunities to acquaint themselves with architecture and visual arts but also with botanical and landscape gardens. Scholz went on with Schilling from Milan to Basel; from there, he went on to Valence to earn his doctorate in philosophy and medical sciences. Thereafter, he returned to Wrocław and married Sara Goldschmidt (dates unknown), the niece of Silesian religious reformer, Hess. Thanks to that union, the young doctor joined the ranks of Silesia's cultural elite. His private practice as a doctor earned him great esteem. In recognition of this service, the imperial physician, Johannes Crato von Crafftheim (1519–1585), permitted him to use his own family's crest and motto: "Fac officium, Deus providebit" (Do your job, God will provide). Some years later, Scholz received a patent of nobility with the family name, von Rosenau.

In 1587, with a view to supplying medical plants for his practice, Scholz created his own botanical garden in Wrocław. Providing, in addition, leisure and amusement for invited guests, this garden also turned out to be an original example of Renaissance landscaping. Although the Hortus Scholzianus operated for only twelve years in the manner its founder intended, it is acclaimed as the most famous garden in the city's history and one of the most researched phenomena of Silesian humanism from the 1590s,[277] its presence being felt in the liberal arts and in music. Such was the Renaissance narrative accompanying the promotion of the garden that its fame exceeded the recognition accorded the founder's medical career. He died of tuberculosis on April 22, 1599.[278]

Scholz's humanistic leanings are apparent in the poems dedicated to him. From them, we learn that during his studies in Wittenberg he worked at cultivating his literary abilities, as can be seen in the *propempticon* (farewell poem) he penned, in which he recounts his fun-filled youth under the sign of

277 Piotr Oszczanowski, "Wrocławski ogród Laurentiusa Scholtza St. (1552–1599): Sceneria spotkań elity intelektualnej końca XVI wieku," in *Śląska Republika Uczonych*, ed. Marek Hałub and Anna Mańko-Matysiak (Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza ATUT, 2004), 1:98–145, here 100–1.

278 Martin Hanke, *Vitae Silesiorum eruditorum*, 1500–1620, Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, call no. Akc. 1949/614, fols. 225^{v}–226^{r}.

the Muses.[279] In his later years, our Wrocław physician rarely sought inspiration from Euterpe. Only one poem has come down to us, and it is dedicated to Balthasar Exner (1576–1624), who had recently been accorded the title of poet laureate. In this short epigram, Scholz presents himself as a *poliater*.[280] This expression can be translated as "a doctor of many specialties" with the connotation of *archiater* (chief physician to the emperor), the expression commonly used by his mentor, Johannes Crato. The latter was leader of an informal group of Wratislavian humanists who, in terms of confessional doctrine, were close to Calvinism.[281] They conducted correspondence with followers of the Erasmian tradition such as Melanchthon, Théodore de Bèze (1519–1605), Charles de l'Écluse (1526–1609), and Justus Lipsius (Joost Lips [1547–1606]). In Wrocław, the leading figures of this movement were Vincentius, Siegfried Rybisch (1530–1584), András Dudith (1533–1589), Jakob Monau (1546–1603) and his brother Peter (1551–1588).[282]

Scholz, too, moved in these circles, as is evident from one of the volumes of his papers containing copies of letters to him on medical issues written by Jakob Monau, Dudith, and Crato.[283] Medical instructions and prescriptions from this last-mentioned author take up a substantial part of Scholz's manuscripts,[284] the contents of which formed the basis of a collection he compiled. In addition to having inherited Crafftheim's writings, Scholz also published the medical writings of another Wrocław doctor, Peter Monau.[285] The motivation inspiring his editorial work was the need to compile an exhaustive compendium of the medical knowledge of this Silesian *archiater*. Indeed, his preface to this publication urges readers to share hitherto unnoted medical opinions of Crato's that ought to be put at the service of the common good and

279 Lorenz Scholz, *Ἐυχή προπεμπτική* [...] *D. Simoni Lang Wratislaviensi discessuro ex inclyta Vitebergensium Academia* [...] (Wittenberg: Johannes Crato, 1574).

280 Balthasar Exner, *Anchora utriusque vitae* [...] (Hanau: Clemens Schleich, 1619), c. D_5^r, *Laurent. Scholzius a Rosenaw Phil. & Med. Doctor, Poliater Vratisl.*

281 Stanisław Tync, "Z życia patrycjatu wrocławskiego w dobie renesansu," *Sobótka* 8 (1953): 69–123, here 114–15.

282 Kazimiera Maleczyńska, *Recepcja książki francuskiej we Wrocławiu w XVI w.* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1968), 45–46.

283 Lorenz Scholz, *Epistolae medicinales, consilia et alia medica*, 1584–85, Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, call no. M 1039.

284 See, e.g., Lorenz Scholz, *Collectanea medica*, 1576–1600, Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, call no. M 1464.

285 Lorenz Scholz, ed., *Consiliorum et epistolarum medicinalium Io. Cratonis a Kraftheim, Archiatri Caesarei, liber primus* [...] (Frankfurt am Main: Andreas Wechel's Heirs, 1595).

its ongoing collective memory.[286] That Scholz's appeal was heeded is clear, as the print run of the compendium's first edition was soon exhausted; volumes with similar contents went on appearing[287] and being supplemented and reissued with similar contents many years after the death of the Wrocław *poliater*.

Scholz also published the papers of many other doctors of his time. Material for the publications he sourced from manuscript collections of individual specialists' opinions, drawn from particular fields of expertise,[288] and from anthologies of the wisdom of various authors organized around given subject areas.[289] From the first group of manuscripts mentioned appeared publications written by his Italian teachers: Aranzio's treatise on human fertility, for one, but Capivaccio's publications also deserve noting. Moreover, one of these works, the textbook on urology, was covered by a ten-year imperial exclusive-rights privilege on both published and forthcoming editions from this Wrocław *poliater*. A second work, a treatise of broader scope rooted in the humanistic paradigm of universal knowledge, championed the quest for a method common to all the sciences.[290] A similar viewpoint is evident in the treatise of Giovanni Paolo Pernumia (dates unknown), with whom Scholz became acquainted during his studies in Padua.

A collection of medical opinions gathered by Scholz from the beginning of his scholarly career provides the basis for a set of anthologies.[291] Initially, this handwritten collection was to be for his private use; however, as it grew in size, he realized that it ought to be made generally available for use in the widest sense. Humanistic awareness of the social usefulness of knowledge led him to organize it according to the classical medical taxonomies and to dedicate his book to Wrocław city council. It being barely a year since the epidemic of 1588

286 Lorenz Scholz, ed., *Io. Cratonis a Kraftheim,* […] *consiliorum et epistolarum medicinalium liber* […] (Frankfurt am Main: Andreas Wechel's Heirs, 1591), c. $(:)_3^r$, c. $(:)_4$.

287 Lorenz Scholz, ed., *Consiliorum et epistolarum medicinalium Ioh. Cratonis a Kraftheim, Archiatri Caesarei* […] *liber quintus* (Frankfurt am Main: Andreas Wechel's Heirs, 1594).

288 Lorenz Scholz, *De morbis mulieribus lectiones extraordinariae D. Hieronymi Capovaccii a*[nn]*o. 1569 habitae*, Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, call no. M 1473.

289 Lorenz Scholz, *Anthidotarium medicamentorum et simplicium et usitatorum compositorum quae internis et exetrnis corporis affectibus accomodantur: Ex multis optimisque autoribus collectum et digestum*, second half of the sixteenth century, Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, call no. M 1016.

290 Girolamo Capivaccio, *Opusculum de doctrinarum differentiis sive de Methodis* […]. *Cum praefatione D. Laurentii Scholtzij, Medici Vratisl* (Frankfurt am Main: Johann Feyerabend, 1594).

291 The first edition appeared under the title Lorenz Scholz, ed., *Aphorismorum medicinalium* […] *sectiones octo* (Wrocław: Crispin Scharffenberg's Heirs, 1589); subsequent editions continued to appear until 1626.

had been contained, Scholz had no need to convince the councilors that assisting doctors should be a political priority for them. Nonetheless, he bolstered his arguments citing Orpheus and Plato as authorities.[292] In a more professional vein are the editions he published later in Frankfurt am Main: a collection of the letters of twenty-eight doctors[293] and a compendium of medical opinions compiled in a similar manner.[294]

From the publications referred to above, we start to glimpse features of the Wrocław *poliater*'s idealistic outlook. His initiatives were directed toward amassing the richest possible holdings of knowledge, which he deemed to be for the public good. Apart from that, he published no book of his own. He did, however, ensure that his name appeared in every edition, for he saw himself as the author who chose the contents and furnished them with names—of the individuals from whom they were sourced. In this respect, one can see elements of a Renaissance *Weltanschauung* informed by the ideals *hinc omnia* (therefore all-embracing), *laus vitae* (praise of life) but no less also by *exegi monumentum* (I erected a monument); after all, the name of the editor continues to appear on reprint editions published many years after his death. Scholz's editorial achievement was characterized by its aspiration for unbounded access to knowledge, usefulness to the community, professionalization of education, universalization of learning and recourse to the traditions of the art of memory that constituted part and parcel of the working method of many sixteenth-century humanists.[295]

Before applying the above observations to Scholz's conception of the garden, we should first look into his library[296] and take note of the number of volumes there, which will add depth to our reconstruction of his *imaginarium*. One of them is a statute of the University of Padua that describes the custom of holding a procession with music on the feast day of St. Thomas Aquinas (1224/1225–1274),[297] a ceremony in which Scholz participated as part of his duties. Hints of his involvement in the musical life of early modern universities

292 Scholz, *Aphorismorum medicinalium*, c. $A_2^{r–v}$.

293 Lorenz Scholz, ed., *Epistoraum philosophicarum: medicinalium, ac chymicarum à summis nostrae Aetatis philosophis ac medicis exaratarum, volumen* [...] (Frankfurt am Main: Andreas Wechel's Heirs, 1598).

294 Lorenz Scholz, ed., *Consiliorum medicinalium, conscriptorum a praestantiss: atque exercitatiss. nostrorum temporum medicis: Liber singularis* [...] (Frankfurt am Main: Andreas Wechel's Heirs, 1598).

295 Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: Routledge, 1966), 106.

296 Kazimiera Maleczyńska, "Z dziejów zainteresowań czytelniczych w renesansowym Wrocławiu," *Roczniki biblioteczne* 21, nos. 1–2 (1977): 141–60, here 147–48, 154–57.

297 *Statuta Almae Universitatis D. Artistarum et Medicorum Patavini Gymnasii denuo correcta, et emendata* [...] (Padova: Innocenzo Olmo, 1570), c. $K_2^{r–v}$.

can also be found in a tome containing Terence's comedies, copiously annotated with marginalia in German.[298] Among books on religious topics that he had inherited from his wife's grandfather, one print has a title apposite to the subject matter at hand and contains a couple of songs with music notation.[299] There is also a curious polemical publication, its author defending the practice of singing the *Salve Regina* (Hail, holy Queen) antiphon.[300] We can take it as given that Scholz often had the opportunity to acquaint himself with this sort of subject matter, not only as a reader of these publications but also as an active participant in religious life and as a frequent guest in Crato's home. The liveliness of his humanistic imagination was also stimulated by collections of poetry, some of which were on musical topics.[301] One such work deals with an actual piece of music that made such a strong impression on him he decided to pen a poem, its subject matter making literary allusions to the lyrics of the song he had overheard.[302] The composition's author is presumed to have been Johann Wesalius (d.1582), kapellmeister to Johann Georg, the elector of Brandenburg (1525–1598), during the years 1577–1582.[303]

Scholz's library contained academic textbooks and publications ranging from philosophy and history to law and astronomy. Medical books[304] and publications on the art of gardening, however, made up the biggest collection by far. This latter field of interest included titles by Charles Estienne (1504–1564)[305] and Conrad Gessner (1516–1565)[306] that no doubt proved invaluable when Scholz was setting up his botanical garden in Wrocław. His was not the first of its kind in the city environs: there had been similar such gardens sometime earlier, for

298 Terence, *Comoediae cum directorio vocabulorum sententiarum glossa interlineari artis comice comentariis Donato Guidone Ascensio* (Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 1496).

299 Paul Schedel, *Novus hortulus animae: New Gerthlein der Seele* […] (Leipzig: Nickel Schmidt, 1527), c. N_5^r, *Ein andechtigt und gar fruchtbar liedlen von dem leyden Christi Jesu unsers Herrn 1527*.

300 Urban Walter, *Schutzrede des Christlichen Gesangs Salve Regina, widder einen Sendtbrief D. Urbani Rhegii* […] (Leipzig: Nikolaus Wolrab, 1538).

301 Paul Estienne, ed., *Epigrammata latina, ex anthologia Graecorum petita* […] (Lyon: François Le Preux, 1593), c. A_6^v, *Ex titulo In minas. Musici, aut ut alii volunt, Platonis*; c. A_7^v, *Ex titulo In tibicines et saltatores*.

302 Georg Tilenus, *Epigrammata* (Görlitz: Ambrosius Fritsch, 1588), c. $A_6^{r–v}$, *In cantionem, Veni in hortum &c. a Ioanne Wezelio Musico aulae Berlinensis compositam*.

303 Curt Sachs, *Musik und Oper am kurbrandenburgischen Hof* (Berlin: Julius Bard, 1910), 31–39, 136–37.

304 Maleczyńska, "Z dziejów zainteresowań czytelniczych," 155–56.

305 Charles Estienne, *De re hortensi libellus* […] (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1545).

306 Conrad Gessner, *De omni rerum fossilium genere, gemmis, lapidibus, metallis, et huiusmodi, libri aliquot* […] (Zürich: Jacob Gessner, 1565).

example, at the priory of the Premonstratensians in Ołbin (Elbing),[307] in the neighboring monastery of Our Lady on the Sand, at St. Elizabeth's church,[308] and in cathedral canons' quarters on Ostrów Tumski.[309] The direct forerunners, though, of Scholz's garden were the Renaissance gardens of Wratislavian burghers Heinrich Rybisch (1485–1544),[310] Johann Woyssel (1544–1586), and his sons.[311]

Humanists' gardens were not just for the purpose of reveling in the natural world; they were also a means of immersing oneself more deeply in the surrounding world.[312] These gardens afforded different ways of spending *otium negotiosum*: delving into botany and alchemy but also dabbling in the oratorical arts and music. Such was the latent power of the rhetorical arts cultivated there, the garden became a topic of conversation, of description, and of the imagination. That the garden needed to be represented through the medium of words has to do with the fact that the culture of the Renaissance was, to a large extent, verbal in character, and the word—especially when preserved in printed form—served to reify collective memory.[313] That accounts for why Erasmus's description of the ideal garden comes straight out of a library, and the same no doubt applies in the case of Scholz's garden.[314]

Renaissance culture also verbalized itself through acts of artistic communication in which word and music were conjoined. The fleeting nature of performances that were associated with the practice of extemporization accounts for garden activities of this type being less frequently documented and usually via some literary or visual medium of communication. Music was not a mere attribute of verbal and visual depictions of gardens; it was a genuine component of the culture they were nurturing, and, as such, it became a structural element

307 Samuel Benjamin Klose, *Darstellung der inneren Verhältnisse der Stadt Breslau vom Jahre 1458 bis zum Jahre 1526* (Breslau: Josef Max & Komp., 1847), 287, 297.

308 Alwin Schultz, "Topographie Breslaus im 15. und 16. Jh," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Altertum Schlesiens* 10, no. 2 (1871): 239–93, here 255, 265.

309 Dorota Nespiak, "Najstarsze ogrody botaniczne Wrocławia," *Wiadomości botaniczne* 35, nos. 3–4 (1991): 99–102, here 100.

310 Wojciech Brzezowski and Marzanna Jagiełło, *Ogrody na Śląsku* (Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej, 2014), 1:110–13.

311 August Wilhelm Eduard Theodor Henschel, "Zur Geschichte der Gärten Breslau's in dem 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts," *Jahresbericht der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Kultur* 29 (1851): 137–41, here 137.

312 Małgorzata Szafrańska, "Ogrody humanistów," in *Ogród: Forma—symbol—marzenie. 18 grudnia 1998–28 lutego 1999*, ed. Tomasz Mikocki and Małgorzata Szafrańska (Warsaw: Zamek Królewski w Warszawie, 1999), 81–90.

313 Pomian, *Historia: Nauka wobec pamięci*, 165–67.

314 Brzezowski and Jagiełło, *Ogrody na Śląsku*, 1:132.

of the *hortus imaginativus* (the imagined garden).[315] The art of music also became an important part of the iconographic program of Renaissance gardens: many of the statues placed there depicted figures of Muses and Nymphs singing to instrumental accompaniment. Also presented was the figure of Pan playing the syrinx, or of Orpheus taming an animal. These figures were often placed in special grottos, symbolizing the unity of life in all its forms; *musica mundana* (the music of the world) gave expression to that power that unites all earthly matter.[316]

The garden Scholz established in the late 1580s, behind St. Christopher's church in Wrocław, embodies the constitutive elements of the Renaissance garden outlined above. His prime source of inspiration appears to have been the medical garden in Padua, as indicated by the motto, borrowed from Guilandinus, atop of the printed catalog of plants found in Hortus Scholzianus.[317] During the course of his studies, Scholz would certainly have had the opportunity to inspect Bologna University's botanical garden and marvel at gardens in cities he visited in Italy, France, and the Holy Roman Empire. He was familiar with the gardens described in Gessner's publications[318] and with those highlighted in the dialogues of Erasmus.[319]

More to the point, however, for the purpose of our study are the ideological filiations, the programmatic significations that provide the rationale for the elements that constitute his garden. Scholz's garden is connected, moreover, with the Renaissance conception of a garden as a symbolic landscape, a conception that *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Poliphilus' Strife of Love in a Dream) grafted onto the common stock of humanistic culture.[320] This hypothesis—in need of further research—is suggested by numerous analogies the Wrocław garden makes to depictions preserved in an Italian publication, in addition to the fact

315 Zofia Dobrzańska-Fabiańska, "Ogród jako metafora muzyki: Znaczenie 'Hortulus musicus' jako tytułu szesnasto- i siedemnastowiecznych druków muzycznych," in *Muzyka w ogrodzie: Ogród w muzyce*, ed. Sławomira Żerańska-Kominek (Gdańsk: Słowo/obraz terytoria, 2010), 191.

316 Małgorzata Szafrańska, "Muzyka w grocie: O pewnym renesansowym koncepcie," *Ruch muzyczny* 19 (1986): 3–6.

317 Lorenz Scholz, *Catalogus arborum, fruticum, ac plantarum* [...] (Wrocław: Georg Baumann the Younger, 1594), c. A_1^v.

318 Conrad Gessner, *Horti Germaniae* [...] *liber nunc primum editus* (Strasbourg: Josias Rihelius, 1561), c. 237^v–238^r.

319 Krzysztof Eysymontt, "Ogród Laurentiusa Scholza we Wrocławiu i jego europejskie parantele," *Biuletyn historii sztuki* 51, no. 1 (1989): 3–12.

320 Szafrańska, "Ogrody humanistów," 81, 91–92.

that Crato himself was in direct contact with the sons of Aldo Manuzio (1449–1515), who published this item.[321]

Scholz's garden was made up of several sectors serving a variety of functions. First was the cultivation of flowers, so selected as to ensure there would be blooms all year round. Second came plants with medicinal properties; third, the growing of exotic shrubs and vegetables from various parts of the world; and fourth, fruit trees gathered from nearby geographical latitudes as well as brought from afar. The idea motivating Scholz was to gather together in his hometown a collection of plants as widely varied as possible that might prove useful to his visitors.[322] Among the beneficiaries he had in mind and for whom he published a catalog of plants were his friends interested in botany. It mentions his son, Lorenz Scholz the Younger (dates unknown), to whom he dedicated a herbarium painted by Georg Freiberger (dates unknown). Both forms of documentation, the product of Scholz's own industry, reflect the humanistic character of the initiatives he undertook for his circle of similarly inclined beneficiaries: his neighbors, friends, and members of his family.

Georg Hayer's (1559–1614) copperplate engraving was yet another medium through which the Hortus Scholzianus became immortalized. It captures the whole garden in perspective and is dedicated primarily to those who did not have the opportunity to see it with their own eyes.[323] The engraving was made so that the garden would live on in the memory of generations to come; it was also intended to secure financial support for the venture.[324] Hayer outlines the arrangement and appearance of particular parts of the garden and presents the buildings and constructions situated within the grounds. The contents and conceptual program are described by Andreas Calagius (1549–1609), who took it upon himself to attempt a literary presentation of this garden.[325] Both descriptions complement one another, and, in conjunction with Scholz's catalog of plants, they constitute a credible source for learning about this exceptional cultural phenomenon. Scholz's desire was to reveal the conceptual program that inspired its creation, so that the garden could be imagined by recipients of both descriptions and truly comprehended by them as well.

The garden's geometrical division into four segments, symbolically suggestive of the four continents and four seasons, underpins the core idea of

321 Tync, "Z życia patrycjatu wrocławskiego," 102.

322 Scholz, *Catalogus arborum*, c. A_2^r.

323 Georg Hayer, *Horti Scholziani chalcographica delineatio quam Laurentius Scholzius* [...] *faciendum curavit* (Wrocław: Georg Hayer, 1598).

324 Scholz, *Catalogus arborum*, c. $A_2^{r–v}$.

325 Andreas Calagius, *Hortus doct. Laurentii Scholzii medici et philosophi quem ille colit Vratislaviae* [...] *celebratus carmine* (Wrocław: Georg Baumann the Elder, 1592).

gathering together plants from all over the world. The constant regeneration of vegetation from ever-flowering plants is tended by the Nine Muses, competing for the winner's laurel with songs to instrumental accompaniment. First place goes to Calliope, who splendidly paraphrases the motto that Scholz picked up in Padua.[326] The scene presented by Calagius exhibits obvious traits of dramatic work and may well have been performed theatrically in a manner similar to the author's later works.[327] An octagonal bower was located in the central section of the garden, where it functioned as a dining room and recreational area. The pictures there on mythological subjects serve the same purpose as the musical instruments, at the disposal of guests, with names evoking antique associations.[328] In the building located on the perimeter of the garden, there is a cycle of paintings depicting the inhabitants of different countries in the world and the wild animals and plants that live there.

The theme of these presentations complemented the ideological message of the whole garden, showing the diversity of our world and the comprehensiveness of this, its local manifestation. Among the subjects on display in the grounds of Hortus Scholzianus, one could also find some referring to the central theme of this representation. The *topos* of triumph over death, of its snares released, is illustrated by one of the gallery paintings that depicts Orpheus singing a song full of pathos. As is well known, this topic was readily taken up in musico-theatrical works of the time. In a central position of this sector, there was, indeed, a statue incorporated into the fountain, of Flora symbolizing the rebirth of Nature. The goddess was patroness of the festivity Scholz used to hold in his own garden, which he called Floralia Wratislaviensia (Wratislavian feast of Flora) by way of reference to the Romans' spring rites. For the purpose of these celebrations, Scholz published a special garden code of behavior.

The contents refer to codes of etiquette that were displayed at the entry to Italian gardens, such as the botanical garden in Padua.[329] Its first section comprises *leges hortenses* (by-laws of the garden) in which the rationale for the garden's existence are laid out: for the pleasure, relaxation, and intellectual benefit of visiting guests.[330] Hortus Scholzianus was to be a place for the exchange of ideas and also a space for the cultivation of Renaissance *hilaritas* (cheerfulness). On occasions, *floralia* took place there that were specially intended for this purpose, and the behavior code for them was set down as

326 Calagius, *Hortus doct. Laurentii Scholzii*, c. A_2^r.

327 Bauch, *Geschichte des Breslauer Schulwesens in der Zeit der Reformation*, 160.

328 Calagius, *Hortus doct. Laurentii Scholzii*, c. B_4^r.

329 *In Laurentii Scholzii medici Wratisl. Hortum epigrammata amicorum* (Wrocław: Georg Baumann the Elder, 1594), *Leges hortenses*, c. G_4^r.

330 *In Laurentii Scholzii medici Wratisl. Hortum epigrammata amicorum*, c. G_4^r.

leges convivales (rules of conviviality). These celebrations were to be filled with educated conversation and musical performances, all for the purpose of maintaining high spirits.[331] Conversations were to be interspersed with toasts raised in honor of Apollo and his Muses, among others. At the conclusion, revelers were free to delight in the birds singing in the aviary or—if they fell silent—in the vocal and instrumental music.[332] Musical instruments made available in the garden bower were designed to meet this eventuality.

If Scholz's invited guests were the performers of that music, we could well imagine an area of his garden being filled with the sound of repertoire for aficionados of vocal and instrumental music. Some of the revelers may even have been professionally trained in those skills. And bearing in mind that the ability to play music was widespread among the elite of this time, that likelihood is all the greater. Although at the present time we do not have sources that would enable us to reconstruct repertoire performed during *floralia*, we can, nonetheless, present the culture of these performances by availing ourselves of another medium of the historical uncovering of Hortus Scholzianus, namely the poetic pictures of that garden, the existence of which we owe to its founder. When putting together his life's work, Scholz took pains to ensure it was provided with a suitable narrative—in that domain of literary discourse common to humanists. In order to immortalize his garden, he asked his acquaintances and friends to describe it in poetry. He directed his appeal not only to those who had had the opportunity to see it with their own eyes but also to those with whom he corresponded, members of his network of epistolary contacts.[333]

Scholz published a selection of the verse contributions he received. In so doing, he turned his garden into a literary rarity—the recounted garden—which, by setting in train collective memory, brought about a lasting presence for itself in the cultural tradition of Wrocław.[334] The fifty-two poems that appeared in Scholz's self-published anthology were contributed by his friends, doctors, teachers, lawyers, and theologians. Amazed delight was also expressed by poets, Salomon Frenzel von Friedenthal (1564–1605) included, who announced that Hortus Scholzianus has brought Italy to Wrocław;[335] Valens Acidalius (Valtin Havekenthal [1567–1595]), for his part, regarded the joyous strains of clapping and dancing emanating from Scholz's garden as a praiseworthy investment. Musical references appearing in other poetry most often emerge from the

331 *In Laurentii Scholzii medici Wratisl. Hortum epigrammata amicorum*, c. H_2^r.

332 *In Laurentii Scholzii medici Wratisl. Hortum epigrammata amicorum*, c. H_3^r.

333 L[eonhard] Kurtzmann, "Laurentius Scholz und der erste botanische Garten in Breslau 1588–1599," *Rübezahl: Neue Folge der schlesischen Provinzial-Blätter* 5 (1866): 457–60.

334 Lauterbach, *Der erzählte Garten des Laurentius Scholz*, 11.

335 *In Laurentii Scholzii medici Wratisl. Hortum epigrammata amicorum*, c. D_2^v.

classic group of attributes associated with Apollo and his Muses. Occasionally, though, the music depicted in these lines breaches the bounds of metaphoric function to refer directly to actual performance practice.[336] Some of the works collected even reflect a certain similarity to musicalized types of melic poetry: for example, the poetry of Kaspar Pridmann (*c.*1535–1598), or the dramatized setting of Jeremias Gessner's (d.1625) dialogue.[337]

Similar characteristics can be seen in the poetry sent to Scholz that did not find its way into the abovementioned publication, being copied instead into the collection of items to do with the garden.[338] This manuscript also contains replies to letters that were addressed to Scholz in response to his request for a commemorative poem on his garden. His correspondence on this matter extended to some notable individuals such as Lipsius, Kaspar Peucer (1525–1602), and Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598).[339] Correspondence with Montano was conducted on his behalf by Jakob Monau through Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598) as an intermediary; in addition, Scholz also had access to him through Crato, to whom the Flemish geographer had at one time presented his *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (The globe theater).[340] In point of fact, the epistolary correspondence that Wratislavian physicians pursued was on an international scale, and Scholz exploited this to good advantage in pursuit of his garden project. In one such letter dealing with the Wrocław garden, the author, Johann Hermann (dates unknown), thanks Scholz for the *convivium musicum* (musical feast) they had shared, most probably in the grounds of the garden.[341]

The recipient of one of the toasts offered to participants in the Wrocław symposium that took place in Hortus Scholzianus was the *genius loci* (presiding genius).[342] Enough wine was consumed there in his honor that the *locus amoenus* established by Scholz gave great joy to visiting guests—for quite some time, at least. After his death, the garden came into the possession

336 *In Laurentii Scholzii medici Wratisl. Hortum epigrammata amicorum*, c. C_4^v.

337 *In Laurentii Scholzii medici Wratisl. Hortum epigrammata amicorum*, c. B_4^v, *Florae Deae et Palladis Colloquium de praesenti Horto*.

338 The collection of various texts concerning Lorenz Scholz's garden, 1592–1597, Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, call no. R 2177, fol. 88^r–102^v: *In Laurentii Scholzii Medici Vratisl. Hortum Epigrammata Amicorum Anno Salutis* MDXCV, fols. 191^r–193^v: *Anagrammata*.

339 The collection of various texts concerning Lorenz Scholz's garden, 1592–1597, fols. 2^r–6^r.

340 Enrique Morales, "Otras tres cartas de Benito Arias Montano a Abraham Ortels: Edición crítica y traducción a español," *Humanistica Lovaniensia: Journal of Neo-Latin Studies* 53 (2004): 219–49, here 224.

341 The collection of various texts concerning Lorenz Scholz's garden, 1592–97, Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, call no. R 2177, fol. 4^r.

342 *In Laurentii Scholzii medici Wratisl. Hortum epigrammata amicorum*, c. H_2^v.

of Peter Kalenberg (dates unknown), whose wife inherited it from him, and Jacob Krause (dates unknown) after her.[343] The garden lost its medical function after 1670, when Wolfgang Schaarschmidt (1636–1706) became the owner. Hortus Scholzianus was made over into a baroque garden of surprises with unexpected water features, statues, and inscriptions.[344] Scholz's ideological program was replaced by an eclectic collection of less refined material. The function of buildings changed, and music that used to be performed by educated physicians was replaced by dance-song tunes emitted by mechanical gadgets in the garden. Scholz's garden lived on in the culture as a *hortus imaginativus* thanks to the efforts of its founder. To this day, you can still pay it a visit—through a virtual *imaginarium*.

6 Nicolaus Pol

The chronicler Nicolaus Pol (1564–1632) was another Wratislavian captivated by the humanistic passion for amassing knowledge. When it comes to the history of his hometown, the amount of information he managed to amass is truly impressive. Pol attended the St. Mary Magdalene gymnasium. On completion of his schooling in 1583, he pursued theological studies in Wittenberg, where he took a master's degree and found employment as a lecturer.[345] In 1593, he was provisioned to an ecclesiastical benefice at the Church of the Redeemer in Wrocław and became a teacher at the Elisabetanum.[346] During the following two years, he served as deacon of the St. Bernardino's church. In 1596, he was selected for the corresponding position at St. Mary Magdalene's, where, some years later, he became archdeacon, which he remained until his death on February 16, 1632.

Pol combined his professional activities with his passion for gathering historical sources, about events that took place in Wrocław, in particular, but also about goings on in other Silesian towns. Contemporary history was his main interest; while he did collect information about earlier centuries, very

343 Henschel, "Zur Geschichte der Gärten Breslau's," 141.

344 Brzezowski and Jagiełło, *Ogrody na Śląsku*, 1:176–81.

345 Siegismund Justus Ehrhardt, *Presbyterologie des Evangelischen Schlesiens, Ersten Theils Erster Haupt = Abschnitt, welcher die Protestantische Kirchen- und Prediger-Geschichte der Haupt-Stadt und des Fürstenthums Breslau, wie auch des Namslauer Kreißes in sich fasset* […] (Legnica: Johann Gottfried Pappäsche, 1780), 1:337–38.

346 Hieronymus Scholtz, *Martini Hankii Vratislavienses eruditionis propagatores: Id est; Vratislaviensium scholarum praesides, inspectores, rectores, professores, praeceptores tabulis chronologicis comprehensi* […] (Wrocław: Wilhelm Gottlieb Korn, 1767), 19.

rarely was there anything of substance about periods farther into the past. A similar stratification obtains with respect to his fields of interest: humanistic, biographical accounts of particular individuals were at the core. Social history was of less interest to him, and institutional history only rarely claimed his attention. Information-gathering, collating whatever came his way, be it in manuscript or printed sources, was a passion he pursued throughout his life. As to subject matter, he remained steadfastly objective, rarely venturing any evaluation or interpretation.

He categorized some of his publications on the basis of the purpose for which they were intended, as indicated in the subject title. To this group belong two similarly bound volumes,[347] published during his lifetime[348] but known from earlier manuscript versions. He sourced the bulk of his information from manuscripts researched by later historians, such as Friedrich Wilhelm von Sommersberg (1698–1756). Publication of Pol's chronicles was undertaken by Johann Gustav Gottlieb Büsching (1783–1829) and Johann Gottlieb Kunisch (1789–1852); they were issued in five volumes.[349] This edition, which became an important point of reference for many later works dedicated to the history of Wrocław, proved to be of profound significance for Silesians' sense of identity. That impact had much to do with the way the chronicles were made available, as occasional publications.

For his own works, Pol presented topics in various ways. The first of his publications—*Hemerologion silesiacum vratislaviense* (The Silesian Wratislavian diary)—is in the form of a perpetual calendar on the pages of which is information about historical events that took place on a given day of the year. The remainder of each page is left blank so users can annotate it as they wish. Setting out history in this way makes it possible to observe the temporal coincidences of biblical, historical, and contemporary occurrences. Using the publication developed the ability to make sense of historical facts, as well as the capacity to explain them and pass on that understanding to succeeding generations. The contents of the calendar comprise historical events: births and deaths of important people; elections, coronations, and visitations of rulers; the marking of political events; climatic and meteorological phenomena; and

347 *Historia caloris insolitis*, *Historia pluviarum* and *Historia ventorum*; the current location of these items is unknown.

348 Nicolaus Pol, *Historia nivalis: Denckwürdiger, grosser, tieffer, ungewöhnlicher Schnee* […] (Brzeg: Johann Eyering's heirs, 1624); Nicolaus Pol, *Historia Incendiorum. Historischer Brand- und Fewerspiegel* […] (Wrocław: Georg Baumann the Younger, 1629).

349 Nicolaus Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau von Nikolaus Pol*, ed. Johann Gustav Büsching and Johann Gustav Gottlieb Kunisch, vols. 1–5 (Breslau: Graß und Barth 1813–1824).

construction disasters and freaks of nature, together with news of a criminal or otherwise sensational nature.

Historia nivalis (A history of snowfalls) displays similar "media-savvy" qualities, couched as it is in a conventional framework of tales recounted to the household by the paterfamilias.[350] This edition opens with an erudite disquisition by Pol that draws on the fields of religion, culture, and theology to make connections with the central theme of the book, things meteorological. The main part of the publication is made up of a chronological overview, replete with the publisher's source references, of the occurrence of blizzards. Pol's second published work devoted to natural phenomena—*Historia incendiorum* (A history of fires)—was put together in a similar way. As with the previous book, this one too starts with a lecture on the properties of fire; it fairly bristles with quotations from authors antique and biblical.[351] At the start of the publication are lists of geographical and personal names that appear in the body of the book. This latter work has a list of conflagrations drawn from either historical records or those kept by the author himself.

The content of the volumes published by Büsching and Kunisch comes from Pol's copious manuscript archives. They contain the section of his collections that is currently available, and that will serve as the primary source for our piecing together his musical *imaginarium*. First of all, the material entails observations on specific individuals whom he regards as prime movers in recorded history. In the way he sketches the history of a town, region, country, or continent, Pol, after Protagoras's (490–*c.*420 BCE) dictum, treats man as the measure of all things. Information on the topic of music appears in jottings referring to the life of leaders, representatives of social elites, townsfolk, and, of course, people in various musical roles.

Into the first group falls information on Prince Bolko II of Ziębice (Münsterberg [*c.*1300–1341]) singing the responsory *Tribularer si nescirem misericordias tuas* (I would be troubled were I ignorant of your mercy) on his deathbed.[352] As for Vladislaus II Jagiellon (1456–1516, r.1471–1516), his daily musical routine was singing the antiphon *Da pacem, Domine, in diebus nostris* (Grant us peace in our days, O Lord).[353] Konrad IV, prince of Oleśnica (1380/1390–1447), is portrayed by Pol as an accomplished musician, composer of songs,

350 Pol, *Historia nivalis*, c. A_2^v–B_3^v.

351 Pol, *Historia incendiorum*, c. X_2^r–XX_3^r.

352 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 1:113–14.

353 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 2:159, 204.

and lover of beautiful harmonies.[354] Baron Wilhelm von Kurzbach of Milicz-Żmigród-Prusice (Militsch-Trachenberg-Prausnitz [1525–1567]) made a living composing religious songs.[355] It is curious, however, that there is no mention of musical involvement among the biographical data in the chronicles of Silesia's ecclesiastical hierarchy. That might be because it was not the primary focus of their pastoral work. Similarly, no such information is found in necrologies of Wratislavian teachers, scholars, or printers, even though they played a fundamentally important role in musical culture. Quite simply, it is not what they are remembered for.

There is, however, a small group of people, noted by Pol, who were directly connected with music: composers, some of them hitherto unknown, come first. Passing reference is made to one such composer, Michael Hirschfelder (*c.*1540–1602), whose identity is mentioned in a description of the astronomical clock he constructed in the church steeple in Żory (Sorau).[356] Mention is also made of composers then active in Wrocław: Gregor Lange[357] and Thomas Fritsch (1563–1619).[358] The necrology of Balthasar Dittenborn (d.1601), abbot of the Canons Regular at the Sand church, mentions some musical activity, but no further details are given.[359]

A more substantial group is made up of people who were involved in various facets of music. The lion's share of attention Pol gives to cantors, and among them, to those whose position involved actual music-making, although that might not necessarily be why they are remembered. On three occasions, Pol refers to Oswald Winckler von Straubing (d.1517), cantor of Holy Cross collegiate church in Wrocław. His dispute with Bishop Johann IV Roth (1426–1506) is mentioned twice, but only in the third reference is he identified as having initiated the practice in St. Mary Magdalene's church of singing the *Horae de Beata Virgine* (Hours of the Blessed Virgin). Corroboration of this fact is found in a quotation from his epitaph included in the necrology.[360]

Most of the biographical information on Wratislavian cantors that Pol provides dates from his own lifetime. Mentioned therefore are Stanislas Weinrich (d.1569), cantor of St. Mary Magdalene's, and his son, Martin (1548–1609), a

354 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 1:157.
355 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 4:50.
356 Pol, *Historia incendiorum*, c. Aa_4^v.
357 Nicolaus Pol, *Hemerologion Silesiacum Vratislaviense* [...] (Leipzig: Abraham Lamberg, 1612), 164 (May 1, 1587).
358 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:77 (June 29, 1609).
359 Pol, *Hemerologion*, 276 (July 20, 1601).
360 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 3:2–3 (July 1, 1517).

colleague of Pol's from the church gymnasium.[361] He notes changes in cantors in his own parish: the death of Georg Scholz (1542–1610), his successor, Simon Besler (1583–1633),[362] and following him, Andreas von Hoeckelshoven (1595–1631).[363] Pol documents analogous cantorial changes at St. Elizabeth's: Erasmus Radewald, Simon Lyra,[364] Michael Strigel (1568–1615),[365] and Gottfried Wagner (1583–1643).[366] The succession of cantors at St. Bernadino's also gets a mention: Samuel Besler (1574–1625)[367] and, from Poznań, Abraham Cuchlio (Ursinus [*fl.* 1595–1620]).[368]

Pol introduces us to singers, usually in the context of an incident. For example, he recalls the imprisonment of *Choralisten* who, on one occasion, had broken down the gate to the Sand bridge in an attempt to reach the river island of Ostrów Tumski.[369] *Choralisten* often fell prey to epidemics: having to sing at funerals left them more readily exposed to infections. In the plague year of 1568, that indeed is how virtually all these singers of the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the Sand, Wrocław, met their fate.[370] *Choralisten* singing a requiem in Zielona Góra (Grünberg) met a tragic end when the wall of the parish church toppled down on them.[371] Pol knew the parish *Choralisten* of St. Mary Magdalene's personally. While he was recording in his notes his having taken up the position of deacon, one of the singers came to mind,[372] as did another when he was recounting the installation of an ecclesiastic at St. Barbara's church.[373] He also jotted down the name of two *signatores*, one of them meriting a mention because his life came to a tragic end.[374]

Pol took an interest in stories that we would today call sensational. Accordingly, we learn from his chronicles about the damage done to the home of Georg Schnabel, organist at St. Elizabeth's (*fl.* 1527–1534), when the church steeple came crashing down.[375] We learn about the organ builder who left a

361 Pol, *Hemerologion*, 130 (April 7, 1576).
362 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:87 (August 23, 1610).
363 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:184 (November 18, 1619).
364 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 4:161 (January 7, 1593).
365 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:5–6 (February 25, 1601).
366 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:125 (January 15, 1615).
367 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:25 (April 18, 1605).
368 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:219 (December 11, 1620).
369 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 2:179 (January 6, 1503).
370 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 4:55 (July 2, 1568).
371 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 4:112 (October 4, 1582).
372 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 4:170 (January 22, 1594).
373 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:24 (December 21, 1604).
374 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 3:129 (November 1, 1545).
375 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 3:58–59 (February 24, 1529).

signed card secreted into the boss of the spire at St. Mary Magdalene's.[376] We learn about the thief who tried to exit the church down a rope he found in the organ;[377] about the murdered mother of the organist at the Dominicans' St. Adalbert's church in Wrocław;[378] about the child of the organist at St. Elizabeth's who died tragically;[379] and about the final moments of the organist at the church of the Holy Spirit—he forgot to check the temperature of his bath before jumping in.[380] Pol was obviously fascinated by criminal stories in which, every now and again, musical points of interest pop up. For example, the servants heading off to a dance who accidentally set the house on fire;[381] the wine merchant who hanged himself at his own wedding while the dancing was under way;[382] or the church musician at St. Vincent's who stabbed the cook.[383]

The next group of sources comprises observations about various historical events. Into this group fall accounts of cataclysms fraught with consequences for musical culture, the most common example being fires that destroy church instruments. The document providing informative details on this topic starts with an account of the fire caused by lightning that destroyed the organ in St. Elizabeth's, Wrocław, in 1497.[384] Similar occurrences took place a few years later in a parish church in Bystrzyca Kłodzka (Habelschwerdt),[385] in the church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Głogów (Glogau),[386] and St. Bernardino's in Wrocław.[387]

Epidemics cast a pall over the musical life of Silesian cities. Prohibitions were issued against organized recreation that involved dancing as this was conducive to spreading illness.[388] Similar restrictions were imposed during famines; published restrictions also included the punishments that disobedience would incur.[389] Such restrictions, however, were not imposed during plagues, for, in this case, the wrath of God was deemed to be an adequate

376 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 4:41 (September 4, 1564).
377 Pol, *Hemerologion*, 180 (May 14, 1531).
378 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 3:105 (March 21, 1539).
379 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 3:119 (April 29, 1542).
380 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 4:50 (January 11, 1567).
381 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 3:137 (August 29, 1547).
382 Pol, *Hemerologion*, 232 (June 20, 1553).
383 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 4:154 (April 1, 1590).
384 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 2:171 (July 8, 1497).
385 Pol, *Historia incendiorum*, c. S_4^r (August 24, 1505).
386 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 3:144 (August 11, 1548).
387 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:91 (June 28, 1628).
388 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 4:56 (July 2, 1568).
389 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 4:65 (September 10, 1571).

punishment. In keeping with that stance, the exequies, both sung and silent, were observed on the hour, every hour.[390] After the epidemic had exhausted itself, a solemn *Te Deum* was celebrated. At High Mass, it was sung in Latin before the sermon, with *alternatim* organ, and in German after the sermon, in unaccompanied plainchant.[391] Music also appears in descriptions of celebrations marking the promulgation of election results and the installation of leaders. In his accounts, Pol employs the rather conventional phraseology that he used, for example, in describing the joy of Wratislavians at the choice of Maximillian II Habsburg (1527–1576, r.1564–1576) as king of Poland.[392] His earlier description of the celebrations on this monarch's assuming the Bohemian crown is more extended.[393] Yet more detail, though, fills out Pol's account of the holiday that marked Matthias II Habsburg's (1557–1619, r.1612–1619) coronation as Holy Roman emperor. On this occasion, the *Te Deum* was performed twice. Pol also noted, in addition to the usual *Pauken und Trompeten* (timpani and trumpets), the presence of an organist playing the positive, and instrumentalists on shawms, sackbuts, and cornetts.[394] Analogous festivities for the installation of Friedrich V Wittelsbach (1596–1632, r.1619–1620) would probably have looked much the same, but Pol's description of them is perfunctory.[395]

Most extensively reported on were visitations by the powers-that-be who came to Wrocław to receive feudal tribute.[396] Those celebrations involved sumptuous *ornatus*, and musical fare played its part. Drawing on earlier sources, the account Pol gives of the soundscape is rather thin. A case in point is the description of Matthias Corvinus's (1443–1490) visitation: music resounded from the St. John's cathedral as he made his entry into the city; after he had received the tribute due to him, dancing organized in his honor took place.[397] The visitation of Maximillian II received more generous coverage. Pol's description notes the presence of kettledrummers and trumpeters in addition to instrumental music being performed in various parts of the city.[398] Similar details are forthcoming in the account of Rudolph II's (1552–1612, r.1576–1612) visitation. Pol's description provides greater detail of these celebrations with

390 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 4:123 (Summer 1585).
391 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:119 (January 19, 1614).
392 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 4:78 (December 19, 1575).
393 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 3:142 (April 13, 1549).
394 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:110 (June 29, 1612).
395 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:182 (October 13, 1619).
396 Krystyn Matwijowski, *Uroczystości, obchody i widowiska w barokowym Wrocławiu* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1969), 26–34.
397 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 2:75–77 (May 26–June 5, 1469).
398 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 4:29–36 (November 10–December 27, 1563).

lots of comments on the triumphal gate that had been erected for the occasion. And his descriptions marry with the depiction of the event captured in Johann Twenger's (1543–1603) woodcut.[399] The presence of instrumentalists, too, was noted by our chronicler—but not the instruments they were playing.[400]

More information can be found in accounts of visitations that he witnessed personally. The triumphal gate erected in honor of Matthias II Habsburg's visitation to Wrocław in the autumn of 1611 is described in detail by Pol. He notes the musicians positioned in the gallery and the instruments they are playing.[401] This description, too, accords with the corresponding engraving in which these instruments are clearly visible.[402] The ensemble of musicians on cornetts, shawms, and sackbuts was most likely playing a ten-part work by Nicolaus Zangius (*c.*1570–1618) scored for just such an ensemble.[403] Burnishing the background sound during the celebration were the tympanists and trumpeters in the retinues of princes who had come to pay tribute; for each of them, Pol provides an exact tally of musicians.[404] Musicians were also to be seen at the St. Nicolaus Gate and up in the galleries of St. Elizabeth's and in the town hall tower.[405] The streets of the city, filled with *Choralisten* singing under their cantors' direction, resounded to the sound of music as did the cathedral. In addition to trumpets and drums, Pol could hear strains of a polyphonic setting of the *Te Deum*.[406] He could also remember the visitation of Friedrich V Wittelsbach, who sojourned in Wrocław through the winter of 1620. Music accompanied the monarch's entry to the city and his passage through the triumphal gate.[407] As described above, the king was greeted by musicians disposed around the main gateways to the city, positioned up in the galleries of St. Elizabeth's and at the aforementioned triumphal gate.[408] Further celebrations were organized inside St. Elizabeth's: a podium was erected on which the positive organ and one group of musicians were positioned; a second group was situated in the

399 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 4:87–88 (May 24–June 6, 1577).
400 Johann Twenger, *Effigies portae augustae Rudolpho II* […] *Wratislaviae in primum ipsius ingressum aedificatae* […] (Wrocław: Johann Twenger, 1577).
401 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:97 (September 16, 1611).
402 Georg Hayer, *Effigies arcus triumphalis, Matthiae II.* […] *Wratislaviam* […] *ingredienti* […] (Wrocław: Georg Hayer, 1613).
403 Vladimír Maňas, *Nicolaus Zangius: Hudebník přelomu 16. a 17. století. Na stopě neznámému* (Olomouc: Masaryk University Press, 2020), 37–38.
404 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:99–102 (September 18, 1611).
405 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:103 (September 18, 1611).
406 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:104.
407 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:186–88 (February 4, 1620).
408 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:193 (February 23, 1621).

chancel between the positive and the main organ.[409] This spatial disposition of the musicians was undoubtedly designed for the performance of polychoral pieces: the *Te Deum*[410] and a setting for four choirs of Psalm 103.[411] The banquet held in honor of the king and his guests was also accompanied by "wolbestellte Musica" (well-ordered music).[412]

In view of the pro-Bohemian sympathies of the citizens of Wrocław, Ferdinand II Habsburg (1567–1637, r.1619–1637), who was crowned the following year, never visited the city to receive tribute in person. In his stead, he dispatched Johann Georg I (1585–1656), elector of Saxony, as his commissary. The atmosphere of political disapprobation engendered by that visit accounts for Pol's very terse coverage. On matters musical, only a vocal-instrumental arrangement of the *Te Deum* (its scoring as described previously), performed within the walls of St. Elizabeth's, was considered worthy of mention.[413] From other sources, however, we know that during the period the Saxon elector was sojourning in Wrocław with his cappella, it is highly likely they performed two works by their kapellmeister—Heinrich Schütz (1585–1672).[414]

Musical performances also accompanied the visits of church dignitaries. The visit of papal nuncio Marco Barbo (1420–1491) was marked by a procession with singing.[415] Secular visitors to Wrocław were entertained with tournaments, feasting, and dancing—such was the fare provided for Matthias Corvinus over the course of his sojourn, during which he received an emissary from the Neapolitan court of Beatrice of Aragon (1457–1508), and later hosted her wedding.[416] Joachim II Hohenzollern (1505–1571), when passing through following his wedding to Hedwig Jagiellon (1513–1573), was received in a similar fashion.[417] On the occasion of regal nuptials, entertainment featuring dancing was organized; religious services, though, did have their place, too, in deference

409 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:193 (February 23, 1621).

410 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:195 (February 23, 1621).

411 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:196 (February 23, 1621).

412 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:199–200 (February 27, 1620).

413 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:231 (November 3, 1621).

414 One of these works was specially chosen for the occasion: a twelve-voice composition by Schütz with the incipit *En novus Elysiis succedit sedibus hospes* (Behold, a new host accedes to the throne of the Elysium). A print of this piece was known to have existed at one time in Breslau (Bohn, *Bibliographie der Musik-Druckwerke*, 391, call no. Mus. 686 1). Schütz's concerto *Teutoniam dudum belli* may also have been performed on the same occasion. See Remigiusz Pośpiech, "Breslau als Zentrum der Musikkultur Schlesiens im 17. Jahrhundert," *Schütz Jahrbuch* 32 (2010): 7–17, here 10.

415 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 2:89 (November 21, 1472).

416 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 2:112 (December 23, 1476).

417 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 3:80–81 (August 18, 1535).

to political optics. And hence, the nuptials of King Casimir IV Jagiellon (1427–1492, r.1447–1492) and Elizabeth of Austria (1454–1492) were feted in Wrocław with the singing of the *Te Deum* in churches.[418]

Pol recorded the use of a different sort of music for funeral ceremonies. After the death of Elizabeth Habsburg, her father came to Wrocław and participated in sung vespers in the chapel of the royal castle.[419] On the death of Ferdinand I (1503–1564, r.1531–1564), a period of mourning was announced during which the playing of stringed instruments was prohibited.[420] The official response to the death of Maximillian II was similar: polyphonic music, organ and dance music were prohibited.[421] Even greater restrictions were announced on the death of Rudolph II: nothing but the hush of funeral music was to be heard on the Oder up until Easter.[422] Pol provided a detailed account of the ceremonies that took place on the death of the king's advisor, Melchior von Rottwitz (d.1606), in which the chronicler himself probably participated. Twenty trumpeters and tympanists, attired in funeral garb, processed through the streets. Their playing provided accompaniment for the songs sung by students of the gymnasium.[423]

Music was also performed on important political occasions. When signing of the royal letters patent was announced in Wrocław in 1609, the *Te Deum* resounded in the city's Lutheran churches. From the steeple of St. Elizabeth's, one could hear sackbuts and positive organ.[424] Promulgation of the Act of Peace that resulted in the division of the Duchy of Legnica–Brzeg (Liegnitz–Brieg) was celebrated in a similar fashion, as was the formation of the confederation between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Bohemian Estates on the eve of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648)[425] and victory over the Ottoman armies.[426] The sound of pipes and drums could be heard in conjunction with Hussite units passing through Paczków (Patschkau), or with Hungarian mercenaries pillaging Byczyna (Pitschen), or with the arrival in Wrocław of soldiers from different states and dominions of the empire who had been taking part in campaigns against the Ottoman Turks.[427]

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418 Pol, *Hemerologion*, 313 (August 10, 1453).
419 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 3:131 (April 12, 1546).
420 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 4:41 (August 6, 1564).
421 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 4:83 (October 28, 1576).
422 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:108 (January 20, 1612).
423 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:35 (December 29, 1606).
424 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:80 (October 11, 1609).
425 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:116–17 (May 10, 1613); 5:185–86 (January 26, 1620).
426 Pol, *Hemerologion*, 426 (November 13, 1588).
427 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 2:61 (June 15, 1467).

The performance of music was also noted on the occasion of the blessing of the Gymnasium Elisabetanum building. After a solemn liturgy in St. Elizabeth's, students processed to their school singing and playing shawms.[428] More detailed is Pol's account of the inauguration of the Gymnasium Illustre in Brzeg: amid the colorfully assembled procession, his eye is caught by the twelve ecclesiastics singing (*alternatim*?) with thirteen musicians on wind instruments.[429] His attention is arrested by two folk customs associated with the coming of spring: the tradition of jumping into the river—accompanied by the playing of drums and trumpets[430]—and the Morena festivities—celebrated with the singing of a special song every fourth Sunday during Lent, alluding thereby to the time of year when Mieszko I (922/945–992, r.960–992) ordered the destruction of effigies of pagan gods throughout his realm.[431]

The third of Pol's areas of interest is defined by references to his primary field of engagement—liturgy. The deacon of St. Mary Magdalene's measured time not only according to the lunar calendar's cycle of days, months, and years but also according to the rhythm of liturgical events that punctuate that cycle. It follows that capturing this information required historical accounts, which he presented in the context of music performances taking place in churches. Moreover, they constituted a defining element of his musical *imaginarium*. On one occasion, for example, he recorded the duel taking place when Hans Rechenberger (dates unknown), fearing for his life, hid in the sacristy of St. Elizabeth's, at the very time the *Salve Regina* was being sung.[432] Similar salvific connotations are evoked by the story of the massacre carried out by the Hussites on the townsfolk of Lubań (Lauban). Students fled before them to the church, whereupon they started singing that same antiphon.[433]

Pol culled information about liturgical singing from a description of the vicissitudes that surrounded the expulsion of the Franciscan Observants from Wrocław. The language of these accounts brings to mind legal proceedings. Details of the chain of events, however, are recounted in the context of the canonical hours being sung in the friary; indeed, occasionally, even the antiphons being sung are identified by incipit.[434] The Premonstratensian canons' move from Ołbin to St. Vincent's church is presented in a similar way. Previously, they had been chanting the canonical hours in the church of

428 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 4:22 (January 29, 1562).
429 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 4:58–59 (August 10, 1569).
430 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 3:142 (March 10, 1549).
431 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 1:3 (March 7, 965).
432 Pol, *Hemerologion*, 128 (April 5, 1511).
433 Pol, *Historia Incendiorum*, c. U_1^r (May 16, 1427).
434 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 3:19–25 (June 19–20, 1522).

Saints Peter and Paul.[435] After the Reformation, observance of the canonical hours in Wrocław continued in a piecemeal fashion. In both main churches of the city, vespers continued to be said; that service became the occasion for christening children.[436] For Pol, vespers remained a fixture of his work-a-day week; after all, it served as the reminder to make observations of curious meteorological phenomena.[437]

Pol included in his chronicles the most important liturgical reforms, including their ramifications on the practice of liturgical music. The earliest reference on that topic concerns Bishop Żyrosław I's (d.1120) introduction of the Kraków diocese chant into the Wrocław liturgy.[438] Subsequent reforms of the liturgical chant were carried out by Bishop Walter of Malonne (d.1169), an adherent of the French Gallican chant tradition.[439] Under Bishop Piotr II Nowak (d.1456), the custom of singing the *Tenebrae* was introduced, for which indulgences were granted.[440] Later, Bishop Johann IV Roth, whom Pol presents as a learned man with many European humanist acquaintances, recommended forgoing polyphonic music in the liturgy and returning to the traditional Gregorian chant.[441]

On the eve of the Reformation, Wrocław's main churches introduced new offices—*Horae de Beata Virgine* at St. Mary Magdalene's and the *Horae de passione Domini* at St. Elizabeth's.[442] After 1525, the German-language version of the Ordinary of the Mass was introduced first in Brzeg and then in Wrocław.[443] Ferdinand I's decree, which mandated continued use of existing liturgical rubrics, served to extend the life of the Latin repertoire.[444] The order of service of the Divine Office did undergo incremental change; the reform that Moiban introduced was an important stage in that process. In the document that Pol cites, we find rubrics referring to a so-called Office without Communicants in which the order of service is indicated by chants identified by their incipits.[445]

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435 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 3:65 (January 14, 1530).

436 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 4:20 (November 9, 1561); Pol, *Hemerologion*, 304 (August 12, 1599).

437 Pol, *Hemerologion*, 131 (April 8, 1548).

438 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 1:19 (November 11, 1091).

439 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 1:37 (1158).

440 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 2:10 (December 20, 1455).

441 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 2:135 (January 19, 1482).

442 Pol, *Hemerologion*, 185 (May 17, 1516).

443 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 3:42 (January 7, 1526).

444 Tomasz Jeż, "Łacińska twórczość muzyczna w ewangelickim Wrocławiu: Problem trwałości tradycji w czasach przemian konfesyjnych," *Barok: Historia—literatura—sztuka* 11, no. 2 (2004): 185–205.

445 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 3:102–3 (1538).

Over time, the order of the Mass was supplemented by vernacular-language songs published in hymnbooks.[446]

Pol passed comment on liturgical chant only in the context of solemn feast days of the church. Accordingly, he recalls the singing that took place at Mass on the occasion of the installation of Bishop Johann V Thurzo (1464/1466–1520),[447] the consecration of the Chapel of the Holy Trinity,[448] the music celebrating the consecration of the castle chapel in Żory,[449] and the inauguration of the Protestant church in Żmigród that was founded by Adam von Schaffgotsch (1542–1601).[450] As a Lutheran deacon, he even takes note of the music accompanying the reconsecration of St. Dorothy's, the former Franciscan church in Wrocław;[451] however, he made sure to mention the manner in which that city marked the centenary of the Reformation. Celebrations started with vespers in polyphony, followed by Mass performed in a similar fashion; during Mass, the *Te Deum* was sung, as were a number of additional vocal works with organ accompaniment.[452]

Details in Pol's accounts of Silesian organs most often have to do with reconditioning the instruments. In the case of St. Elizabeth's, there are two instances of this: the recollections of the incumbent organists and of organ builders.[453] In the same church, half a century later, a new instrument was installed.[454] In the case of St. Mary Magdalene's, our chronicler records the construction of an organ by Hirschfelder and Martin Scheufler (dates unknown); some ten years later, though, it had to undergo alteration.[455] In that year, the organ in St. Bernardino's was reconditioned; a few years later, a new instrument was installed there.[456] Regarding the organ in St. Barbara's, Pol describes its internal panels being decorated with paintings that also hid the instrument's frontal elevation. While this was being attended to, the chime clock located in the church steeple was replaced.[457]

Enhancing the city's audiosphere were the sounds emanating from St. Barbara's: steeple bells chiming the hours and melodies soaring aloft from

446 Pol, *Hemerologion*, 437 (November 24, 1583).
447 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 2:186–87 (March 25, 1506).
448 Pol, *Hemerologion*, 379 (October 7, 1586).
449 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 4:167 (July 11, 1593).
450 Pol, *Hemerologion*, 113 (March 25, 1597).
451 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:125 (February 6, 1615).
452 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:138 (November 12, 1617).
453 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 2:200 (February 18, 1514).
454 Pol, *Hemerologion*, 426 (November 13, 1569).
455 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 4:177 (1595); 4:185 (September 10, 1597).
456 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:89 (December 25, 1610).
457 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:81 (December 4, 1609).

its carillon. Pol quotes a news item about the bell at his parish church that peals the start and finish of every day throughout the year.[458] In December 1614, it was determined which hours would be sounded in both of Wrocław's main churches—the bells of these churches pealed not only in the morning but also after the sermon at High Mass on Sundays.[459] In 1550, a carillon clock was installed on the southern façade of Wrocław's town hall. On the hour, it played the hymn melody *Veni Creator Spiritus*, or the *Magnificat* canticle, and on the half-hour it played a song, *Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich* (Graciously grant us peace).[460]

For a city under threat of invasion by the Turks, this last hymn had special significance in its musical culture. When the litany for peace was being sung in places of worship, the pealing of the city's church bells was an exhortation to sing this hymn.[461] This custom was taken up later by both the church of the Holy Spirit and St. Bernardino's, where the ringing of their *Türkenglocken* (Turkish bells) likewise obliged the citizenry to abandon work and sing the litany in church or in private prayer.[462] A similar practice was reintroduced a quarter of a century later in response to incursions by the Ottoman armies: bells were required to be rung every day in all the city's churches, and new forms of prayer were observed. The latter entailed the singing of Psalm 79, the choral *Nimm von uns, Lieber Herr* (Take away from us, Lord), in addition to other songs *pro pace* (for peace). These observances were accompanied by punitive sanctions and the obligation to refrain from dancing.[463]

Pol reflects on a number of musical works that were performed on various sorts of occasions. One such work, sung around Silesia, is a ballad about the tragic death of Ladislaus V the Posthumous (1440–1457, r.1440–1457).[464] Other songs that Pol quotes arose out of confessional antagonisms. Their structure suggests they were contrafacts sung to popular religious melodies. The first of these is a satire on soldiers from the armies of the Duchy of Nysa who were billeted in the homes of townsfolk in Opava (Troppau).[465] More songs came about during the unrest that was occasioned by the polonization

458 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 3:90 (March 24, 1537).
459 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:124 (1614).
460 Pol, *Hemerologion*, 381 (October 9, 1550).
461 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 3:91 (June 11, 1537).
462 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 4:48–49 (June 18, 1566).
463 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 4:167–68 (October 17, 1593).
464 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 2:13–14.
465 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:40–44 (1607).

of the Dominican priory in Wrocław.[466] Efforts to have Czesław Odrowąż (1175/1180–1242) beatified unsettled Pol, for he found these types of Catholic observances incomprehensible.[467] At the end of 1608, the Dominicans' customs provoked disturbances that led to the profanation of their church by townsfolk and the destruction of the organ and liturgical manuscripts.[468] The course of these events is mentioned in the texts of two songs that Pol quotes in full text; one presents the whole story from the Catholic perspective; the other from the Protestant perspective.[469]

Pol's musical *imaginarium* shows itself to be rich and varied. We should keep in mind, however, that the picture he conjures up for us is based solely on printed sources. The information therein, in comparison with what is available in the manuscript version, is much reduced. Evidence of the extent of this reductive editing can be seen in the copy of the *Hemerologion* that was used by Johann David Raschke (1676–1760). This historian annotated Pol's publication with footnotes that supplemented some of the author's observations by drawing on unpublished material. One of these footnotes, for example, refers to observations that Pol made regarding the brotherhood that Nicolaus Goldberg (dates unknown) founded at St. Mary Magdalene's. In the textual comments printed in the calendar, there is barely a mention of the brotherhood's members or its founder;[470] in his footnotes, however, Raschke provides the full text of the brotherhood's foundation charter, including details of the musical repertoire set down for the daily cycle of the liturgical year.[471] That information is taken from a manuscript version of the *Hemerologion*, which was still extant at the beginning of the eighteenth century and contained far more extensive source material than the version chosen for publication. This fortuitous accident cannot but make one wonder how many analogous sources might be lost to us, and with them, how much information on musical culture was lost, too? The phenomenon of contents being deleted because they were not considered worth printing also shows up the degree of disparity between the actuality of Pol's *imaginarium* and the lesser representation of it, which is the published version that future generations have to use.

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466 Lucjan Niedziela, "Polonizacja klasztoru dominikańskiego we Wrocławiu w latach 1606–1608," *Śląski kwartalnik historyczny Sobótka* 28, no. 4 (1973): 441–51.

467 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:36 (January 5, 1607).

468 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:65–70 (December 25, 1608).

469 Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, 5:71–73.

470 Pol, *Hemerologion*, 478 (December 31, 1442).

471 Nicolaus Pol, *Hemerologion*, owned by Johann D. Raschke, Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Gabinet Śląsko-Łużycki, call no. 80014, 478.

7 Nicolaus Henel

An even more erudite compendium of knowledge was compiled by Nicolaus Henel (1582–1656)—poet, lawyer, and chronicler; today, he is mostly thought of as a "regionalist," a champion of Silesian identity. He was born in Prudnik (Neustadt), where he began his studies under Caspar Neander (1580–1636).[472] His secondary education continued in Opava and then at Wrocław's Gymnasium Elisabetanum. In 1599, he enrolled at Leipzig University, but the following year he transferred to Jena in order to pursue legal studies. On his return to Silesia, he found employment in Strzeszów (Striese) as a tutor to the sons of Nicolaus III Rehdiger. He shared their *Wanderjahre* (1609–1612), traveling with them around cities and towns in Germanic countries, France, and Italy. He took the opportunity afforded by their stay in Orleans to successfully defend his doctoral degree in law. At the University of Padua, he was elected delegate representative of the *natio Germanica*.[473] On his return to Silesia, Henel launched his legal practice in Ząbkowice (Frankenstein), before transferring it to Wrocław, where he achieved the position of city trustee. A succession of honors and titles bestowed on Henel attest to his growing prestige: in 1642, he became an imperial advisor and received a patent of nobility, joining the ranks of hereditary Bohemian aristocracy with the family name and coat of arms of "von Hennenfeld." In 1653, the imperial title of Count Palatine was bestowed on him. He died on July 23, 1656, leaving behind him a huge number of manuscripts.

Henel's literary output encompasses geographic, historical, legal, and poetic writings; relatively little of it, however, was published during his lifetime. Best known today are his *Breslographia* (Description of Wrocław) and *Silesiographia* (Description of Silesia), which appeared in 1613;[474] Henel continued to add to them for the rest of his life in a series of manuscript redactions.[475] A similar

472 For the fullest version of Henel's biography, replete with details of sources, see Hermann Markgraf, "Nikolaus Henel's von Hennenfeld (1582–1656) Leben und Schriften," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthum Schlesiens* 25 (1891): 1–41.

473 Christian Gottlieb Jachmann, *Leben Henels von Hennenfeld, Beyträge zur Juristischen Litteratur in Schlesien herausgegeben von Christian Gottlieb Jachmann* (Breslau: Johann Friedrich Korn d. Ä., 1782), 4–40, here 13.

474 Nicolaus Henel, *Breslographia hoc est Vratislaviae Silesiorum metropoleos nobilissimae delineatio brevissima* […] (Frankfurt am Main: Johann Bringer, 1613); Henel, *Silesiographia, hoc est Silesiae delineatio brevis et succincta* […] (Frankfurt am Main: Johann Bringer, 1613).

475 For a detailed description of manuscript copies of Henel's works, see Wojciech Mrozowicz, "Handschriften von und über Nicolaus Henel von Hennenfeld in der Universitätsbibliothek Breslau," in *Die oberschlesische Literaturlandschaft im 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. Gerhard Kosellek (Bielefeld: Austhesis, 2001), 269–315. Information on music

state of affairs obtains with respect to his *Silesia togata* (Silesia in togas), Henel's *opus magnum* that had to wait for Michael Joseph Fibiger's (1657–1712) backing to find its way into print.[476] The aforementioned tomes share a narrative style and common conceptual program; they draw their inspiration from the words of Melanchthon that preceded the Goldberg School catechism of Valentin Trotzendorf (Friedland [1490–1556]). The *praeceptor Germaniae* proposed undertaking a comprehensive description of Silesia that would embrace not only the region's geography and history but also its culture and inhabitants.

In *Silesiographia*, Henel describes his homeland as a *patria* and *respublica*;[477] he emphasizes the identity and rights of the community that inhabits it. In later chapters, he describes the physical location and the political division of Silesia, its natural riches, hydrography, fauna, and flora; he also covers cities and towns, their history, and administrative and legal structures. And in keeping with the conventions of humanistic narratives, his disquisition is enhanced by poetic quotations designed to add depth and breadth to the contents. The descriptions he offers make few references to the soundscape, probably because the majority of his observations are devoted to spatial phenomena; far fewer of them pertain to phenomena that only reveal themselves with the passage of time. His observations on music therefore take the form of asides on the culinary mores of Wratislavians[478] or on the talents of the townsfolk of Paczków.[479] The imagination of our "Silesianographer" also takes note of conventual ways of presenting the acquisition of knowledge (and metaphors) that go to the ethical formation of the inhabitants and the competent running of their republic.[480]

More substantial evidence of Henel's musical *imaginarium* is his *Breslographia*, not only in the printed edition but also in the manuscript copies that were made of it. We get an inkling of this from Hayer's copperplate engraving that precedes the frontispiece to the printed edition. Inscribed under the panorama of Wrocław is: "Da pacem Domine in

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can be found in the following two copies of *Silesiographia*: the copy in the Martin Hanke collection (Nicolaus Henel, *Silesiographia renovata ad annum 1637 continuata*), Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, call no. R 569; and the copy in the Christian Ezechiel collection (Nicolaus Henel, *Silesiographia*), Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, call no. B 1869. It can also be found in *Breslographia*—the copy in the Christian F. Paritius collection (Nicolaus Henel, *Breslographia renovata*), Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, call no. R 2741a.

476 Nicolaus Henel, *Silesio-graphia renovata, necessariis scholis, observationibus et indice aucta* (Wrocław: Christian Bauch, 1624).

477 Henel, *Silesiographia*, c. $X_2^{r–v}$.

478 Henel, *Silesiographia*, 26.

479 Henel, *Silesiographia renovata ad annum 1637 continuata*, fol. 83^{v}.

480 Henel, *Silesiographia*, 78.

diebus nostris quia non est alius qui pugnet pro nobis nisi tu Deus noster" (Grant us peace in our days, O Lord, for none but Thou, O God, fighteth for us.) This is the opening to the antiphone known in its German version as *Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich*, a melody that could have been heard resounding from Wrocław's town hall carillon any day of the week since the mid-sixteenth century.[481] This musically suggestive snapshot of the city soundscape announces a veritable *laus urbis*, an apologia for the city in keeping with the finest humanistic models. In Henel's *imaginarium*, the features of Wrocław that first spring to mind are visual: Silesia's sun, province's crown, and even the flower of Europe (metaphors all from Acidalius's poem). His is a description of the city crafted primarily from visually derived data: churches, towers, gates, buildings, bridges, squares, and streets. The manner of their presentation, however, is often accompanied by observations drawing attention to the music that brings those spaces to life.

Henel heard music in the liturgy being sung in churches, a practice he observed in St. John's cathedral, where the office was said by thirty-four canons.[482] One of the priests officiated as cantor, as happened in the collegiate church of the Holy Cross. The full complement of its chapter, however, numbered only half that of St. John's.[483] The description of St. Elizabeth's is enlivened by the account of the building disaster in the summer of 1649 that saw the destruction of its organ. At the time that update was being written, the parish church was without its instrument, although work on its reconstruction was already underway.[484] In the description of St. Mary Magdalene's, Henel makes mention of a new organ—the best in Silesia, he avers—being installed in the chancel of the church; he does voice reservations, however, as to whether funds raised for its construction might not have been more prudently invested. These remarks are of a piece both with his opinion on the excessively exuberant—as he saw them—musical practices in that church and his criticism of the repertoire performed there, its style suggestive of dance and theatrical music inappropriate for a sacral space.[485]

The statements above make clear that music played a fundamentally important role in Henel's *imaginarium*, shaped as it was by a sensibility characteristic of reformed evangelicals of the time. However, the scope of his interests extended to Catholic churches as well. When describing one of them, the

481 See note 460.
482 Henel, *Breslographia*, 12.
483 Henel, *Breslographia renovata*, the copy from the collection of Christian F. Paritius, 27.
484 Henel, *Breslographia renovata*, the copy from the collection of Christian F. Paritius, 33–35.
485 Henel, *Breslographia renovata*, the copy from the collection of Christian F. Paritius, 39.

church of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the Sand, he observed that the music performed in his acquaintance's church was completely different from the music one hears in other churches around the city.[486] Only a person relatively conversant with musical styles and afforded the opportunity to compare performance practices in a number of places could have formed such an opinion. In his descriptions of students participating in religious services, he makes no mention of gymnasia; instead, he chooses to focus on St. Jerome's hospital, where a group of *Choralisten* used to perform at the public funerals provided for residents of the city.[487]

Observations on music turn up more frequently in the chapters of *Breslographia* devoted to city leaders. Music formed a part of the ceremonies at which visiting kings would be paid due obeisance. For example, Henel mentions the visitation of Ferdinand I Habsburg in 1527; music accompanied his entry into the city and the *Te Deum* was sung in the cathedral.[488] The manner in which the visit of Matthias II Habsburg is presented is probably modeled after Pol's account:[489] it notes the performance of instrumental music accompanying the emperor's entry, the works played as he passed through the triumphal gate, and the vocal-instrumental *Te Deum* in the cathedral.[490] Henel, himself, witnessed the visit of Friedrich V Wittelsbach; he mentions the music emanating from the triumphal gate erected to welcome the king and the performance of an Ambrosian hymn in St. Elizabeth's, where, on this occasion, that item was part of the religious ceremony.[491]

The musicians taking part would have availed themselves of the services of Wrocław's luthiers, whose names Henel included in the list he drew up of professions pursued in the city.[492] It is curious that he does not provide information about music when describing personnel in the city's churches and schools, the very places where one finds cantors and *signatores*, *Choralisten*, and instrumentalists. This omission may be explained by the disquisition that concludes the published version of *Breslographia*, in which the author's chosen narrative mode becomes apparent. It constitutes not so much a description of every manifestation of culture as an outline of them, allowing the reader, on the basis of what is sketched in part, to make sense of the world as a whole, as

486 Henel, *Breslographia renovata*, the copy from the collection of Christian F. Paritius, 54.
487 Henel, *Breslographia renovata*, the copy from the collection of Christian F. Paritius, 71.
488 Henel, *Breslographia renovata*, the copy from the collection of Christian F. Paritius, 231.
489 See note 401.
490 Henel, *Breslographia*, 61–62.
491 Henel, *Breslographia renovata*, the copy from the collection of Christian F. Paritius, 270.
492 Henel, *Breslographia renovata*, the copy from the collection of Christian F. Paritius, 360.

here presented.[493] A sense of the comprehensiveness of the picture conveyed can be gathered from the registers attached here and there of items that have been cataloged under the apt motto: *hinc omnia*.[494]

Henel's redaction of the manuscript autograph of *Silesia togata*—his heftiest work—contains biographical entries on over six hundred distinguished individuals who were active in Silesia. He aspired to portray the region as a humanistic republic of scholars, that is to say, of those whom he considered to be distinguished by dint of educational achievement. For that reason, at various places in a selected number of entries, one finds the conventional ingredients that convey a picture of the educational process. Indispensable, naturally, is the participation of Apollo and the Muses, and hence, μουσῖκή. However, we are primarily concerned here with music as it animates the lives of the individuals presented. That information is to be found in barely a dozen or so biographical entries by Henel. It could be simply that he was not particularly interested in the art of sound. Worth noting, however, is the curious fact that the entries in question are on individuals who, in the literature on the subject, have hitherto not been associated with musical culture.

In the entry on Przecław of Pogorzela (1299–1376), for example, Henel makes observations on the liturgical repertoire sung by the mansionaries' college that the bishop funded.[495] Henel also passes comment on the musical patronage of his own superior, Heinrich Wenzel von Podiebrad (1592–1639), whom he lauds as a lover of music, a man cognizant of the potency of its workings on human affects.[496] Matters musical also crop up in *Silesia togata* in the entries on pedagogues—their precursor, Jan of Głogów, being a case in point. He possessed one of the copies of Johannes de Muris's (1295/1300–1360) *Musica speculativa* (Speculative music) and was an advocate of the *quadrivium* as originally constituted: grammar, music, canon law, and history.[497] In a biographical entry on Laurentius Corvinus, one of Jan of Głogów's students, Henel notes having heard his Passion Office being sung in St. Elizabeth's.[498] Successive generations of pedagogues are represented by Rösler, who conducted classes in

493 Henel, *Breslographia*, 76.

494 Henel, *Breslographia*, 78–79.

495 Nicolaus Henel, *Silesia togata*, the copy from the collection of Christian Ezechiel, sixteenth/seventeenth century, Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, call no. 1716, c. 11.

496 Henel, *Silesia togata*, the copy from the collection of Christian Ezechiel, sixteenth/seventeenth century, 228.

497 Nicolaus Henel, *Silesia togata*, the copy from the collection of Samuel Benjamin Klose, eighteenth century, Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, call no. Akc. 1949/1283, fol. 202$^{r–v}$. The reference here is to the textbook: Jan of Głogów, *Computus chirometralis* (Kraków: Jan Haller, 1507).

498 Henel, *Silesia togata*, the copy from the collection of Samuel Benjamin Klose, eighteenth century, fol. 204^{r}.

calligraphy in Wrocław gymnasia. The high point of this entry is a quotation illustrating a don's sense of humor. In his letter to members of an otherwise unknown musicians' guild, Rösler invites them to a feast livened up with collective music-making.[499]

An illustration of a different form of domestic music-making is found in the entry on Valentin Senftleben (1574–1627), director of the Latin school in Bolesławiec (Bunzlau), who passed his final days in Jawor (Jauer). In the church there, Henel heard a musical performance of the *Nunc dimittis servum tuum Domine* (Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace). This *completorium* (last hour of the divine office) canticle was performed a second time, together with Lodovico Grossi da Viadana's (1560–1627) motet *O dulcis amor Jesu* (O sweet Jesus, my love), in the presence of the dying teacher.[500] Henel noted the latter work's composer, correctly naming the genre and quoting the text almost in its entirety. His account is polished off with a copy of Senftleben's epitaph, which had been written by Martin Opitz (1597–1639), a former student of his school in Bolesławiec. Opitz was a key figure in the reception of the Italian poetry that underpinned German-language culture, particularly in Silesia.[501]

This outstanding poet, moreover, had translated the Geneva Psalter, although the rendering of it into German by Ambrosius Lobwasser (1515–1585), a scholar from Königsberg, was the translation in common use.[502] One of the re-editions of this last-named publication was preceded by a preface written by his son, Fabian Lobwasser (dates unknown). In it, reference is made to the Silesian lawyer Andreas Fabricius (dates unknown).[503] Information on this point is provided by Henel from that very source, which, on the one hand, indicates his familiarity with the publication and its repertoire, and, on the other, corroborates its having been used within lawyerly circles.[504] Musical references crop up in the biographical entries on other Silesian lawyers included in *Silesia togata*. They can be found, for example, in the entry on Bartholomäus Reusner (1565–1629). He was able to combine professional life with music-making and

499 Henel, *Silesia togata*, the copy from the collection of Samuel Benjamin Klose, eighteenth century, fol. 211r.

500 Henel, *Silesia togata*, the copy from the collection of Samuel Benjamin Klose, eighteenth century, fol. 289v.

501 See Martin Opitz, *Judith* (Wrocław: Georg Baumann the Younger, 1635).

502 Ambrosius Lobwasser, *Der Psalter deß Königlichen Propheten Davids, in deutsche reymen verstendiglich und deutlich gebracht* […] (Leipzig: Johann Steinman, 1573).

503 In the Wrocław holdings, there are several re-editions of this publication that used to belong to the library of St. Mary Magdalene's. They do not, however, contain the preface by Fabian Lobwasser.

504 Henel, *Silesia togata*, the copy from the collection of Samuel Benjamin Klose, eighteenth century, fol. 102v.

collecting musical instruments.[505] Abraham Gast (1574–1621) shared similar interests: he combined *negotium* of everyday life with *otium* spent in the world of poetry and music.[506]

Henel does not overlook the musicians among well-educated Silesians. He provides comments on Thomas Stolzer (*c.*1480–1526), kapellmeister at the royal court in Buda (Ofen).[507] In the entry on Franz Besler (d.1584), rector of the Gymnasium Illustre in Brzeg, Henel notes that his sons, Samuel and Simon, held positions as cantors in Wrocław churches.[508] Most expansive is the entry on Matthäus Apelt (Apelles) von Löwenstern (1594–1648). Henel portrays him as a cantor in Głubczyce (Leobschütz) and, in this context, quotes Aristotle on the rhetorical characteristics of the art of sound.[509] Henel also passes comment on Apelt's working as kapellmeister at the court of Heinrich Wenzel von Podiebrad.[510] In Henel's eyes, this music position held by Apelt was but a prelude to the administrative positions he filled in the chanceries of the prince. In Henel's eyes, only the latter functions assured high esteem; responsibilities of this kind earned Apelt the prestigious distinction of imperial advisor. It also accounts for why Henel makes no mention of the compositional activities of Apelt (including metrical odes and choruses for Opitz's *Judith*). Works of this kind do, in fact, merit a mention in the account given of the composer's last years: as repertoire that helped him put up with illness.[511]

Henel was also the author of a number of strictly historical works in which, from time to time, traces of his *imaginarium* make an appearance. In his *Annales Silesiae* (Annals of Silesia)—known today only in an abbreviated later edition[512]—observations clearly taken from Pol's works are quoted but

505 Henel, *Silesia togata*, the copy from the collection of Christian Ezechiel, sixteenth/seventeenth century, 714.

506 Henel, *Silesia togata*, the copy from the collection of Samuel Benjamin Klose, eighteenth century, fol. 268^{r}.

507 Henel, *Silesia togata*, the copy from the collection of Samuel Benjamin Klose, eighteenth century, fol. 342^{r}.

508 Henel, *Silesia togata*, the copy from the collection of Samuel Benjamin Klose, eighteenth century, fol. 311^{v}.

509 Henel, *Silesia togata*, the copy from the collection of Samuel Benjamin Klose, eighteenth century, fol. 298^{v}.

510 Henel, *Silesia togata*, the copy from the collection of Samuel Benjamin Klose, eighteenth century, fol. 299^{r}.

511 Henel, *Silesia togata*, the copy from the collection of Samuel Benjamin Klose, eighteenth century, fol. 300^{v}.

512 Nicolaus Henel, "[…] Annales Silesiae ab origine gentis ad obitum usque D. Imper. Rudolphi II. Ex codice ipsius Autoris manu scripto editi: et observationibus necessariis instructi," in *Silesiacarum rerum scriptores aliquot adhuc inediti: Quibus historia ab origine gentis ad obitum usque D. Imperatoris Rudolphi II.* […], ed. Friedrich Wilhelm von Sommersberg (Leipzig: Michael Hubert, 1730), 197–484.

are not given in full. The paring down also carries over to the musical contexts that are of interest to us. In Pol's version, they were delivered expressly, whereas in Henel's version, they are couched in words not directly referring to music.[513] Henel also passes over information about the musical roles of the very individuals he had singled out for mention. A case in point is Oswald Winckler; he is introduced to us as a canon of Holy Cross collegiate church and pastor at St. Mary Magdalene's.[514] As to the duties of cantor, mention is made exclusively about people who filled the role as ecclesiastics, having no necessary connection with practical music.[515]

In the chronicle that Henel compiled, we do find several entries directly relating to the performance of music. He makes mention of the custom of singing on a Sunday the *Laetare* song that accompanies the drowning of Morena,[516] the funereal music following the death of Bolesław I Chrobry (967–1025, r.992–1025),[517] the liturgical reform introduced by Walter of Malonne,[518] the works sung in the cathedral on the visitation of Matthias Corvinus,[519] the dancing at the wedding of Hans von Oppersdorff (1514–1584) and Christina von Zedlitz (dates unknown),[520] the prohibition on that sort of entertainment introduced in the face of the Turkish threat,[521] and the celebratory performance of the *Te Deum* during Rudolph II's visitation.[522] While it is obvious that the excerpts Henel collected rarely touch on musical performances, there is no gainsaying the value of having collected them given their emblematic importance.

The similarities with Henel's musical *imaginarium* can been seen in the chronicle of the Duchy of Ziębice that he compiled.[523] The motivation underlying this undertaking was a rhetorical exercise in *imaginatio loci* (the imagination

513 Henel, "Annales Silesiae," 223.
514 Henel, "Annales Silesiae," 389.
515 Henel, "Annales Silesiae," 362.
516 Henel, "Annales Silesiae," 200–1.
517 Henel, "Annales Silesiae," 215.
518 Henel, "Annales Silesiae," 233.
519 Henel, "Annales Silesiae," 349.
520 Henel, "Annales Silesiae," 417.
521 Henel, "Annales Silesiae," 426.
522 Henel, "Annales Silesiae," 437.
523 Nicolaus Henel, *Chronica oder Landes Beschreibung, Deß Mönsterbergischen Fürstenthumbs undt Franckensteinischen Weichbildes*, 1682, Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, call no. IV F 143. This work was published as Nicolaus Henel, "Excerpta ex [...] Chronico Ducatus Monsterbergensis et territorii Francosteinensis autographo, notis et observationibus necessariis aucta," in *Silesiacarum rerum scriptores aliquot adhuc inediti, accedunt codicis Silesiae diplomatici specimen, et diplomatarium Bohemo-Silesiacum, quibus ut historia ab origine gentis usque ad imperium Augustissimi ac Invictissimi Caroli VI. Rom. Imp.* [...] *illustretur et confirmetur* [...], ed. Friedrich Wilhelm von Sommersberg (Leipzig: Michael Hubert, 1729), 114–256.

of the place), useful in describing the cultural landscape in which he lived and worked.[524] That landscape also included musical events familiar to him from Pol's chronicle. On this occasion, however, its contents were not reduced as Henel was not under pressure to be as concise as possible in presenting the topics. Accordingly, our chronicler quotes in its entirety the anecdote about Prince Bolko II staring death in the face while singing the responsory *Tribularer si nescirem*.[525] He recalls King Vladislaus II Jagiellon's custom of singing the antiphon *Da pacem Domine*[526] and mentions the fanfares that marked the declaration of peace that was jointly signed by Matthias Corvinus and Vladislaus II Jagiellon.[527]

Henel's *Chronicon episcoporum vratislaviensium* (Chronicle of the Wratislavian bishops) is the third of his purely historical works. In large measure, it is a copy of Jan Długosz's (1415–1480) identically named book, duly supplemented with biographical entries on later bishops up to the time of Charles Ferdinand Vasa (1613–1655).[528] It has to be said, though, Henel's topic was by no means a commonplace interest for an evangelical pastor during the Thirty Years' War. Perhaps he regarded this information as essential to understanding his own heritage. Also noteworthy is the entry on Charles I Habsburg (1590–1624) that Henel added. The hierarch is portrayed as a keen angler who devoted the bulk of his spare time to listening to music, on which he expended a substantial part of his fortune.[529] The entry on the next bishop is curious in its own way, too. Charles Ferdinand Vasa inherited from his predecessor a famous cappella replete with Italian musicians. In addition to these, he also employed the composer and instrumentalist Marcin Mielczewski (d.1651), among others—but none of them draws comment from Henel.[530]

524 Henel, "Excerpta ex [...] Chronico Ducatus Monsterbergensis," 121.

525 Henel, "Excerpta ex [...] Chronico Ducatus Monsterbergensis," 159. See note 352.

526 Henel, "Excerpta ex [...] Chronico Ducatus Monsterbergensis," 218. See note 353.

527 Henel, "Excerpta ex [...] Chronico Ducatus Monsterbergensis," 207.

528 This work is based on *Breve chronicon episcoporum ecclesiæ Smogrovien: sive Ritzinensis, quæ iam Wratislaviensis nuncupatur; Anno Domini MDCIX*, 1609, Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, call no. IV F 241, a manuscript copy of which was in Henel's own library. Material that he added was included in book 8 of *Silesio-graphia renovata*, and it was also published separately as: Nicolaus Henel, "[...] Series episcoporum Wratislaviensium ex variis auctoribus et collatis inter se tam cusis quam msstis congesta nunc ex codixe ipsius auctoris manuscripto edita et observationibus ac additionibus necessariis instructa," in *Silesiorum rei historicae et genealogicae accessiones* [...], ed. Friedrich Wilhelm von Sommersberg (Leipzig: Michael Hubert, 1732), 2–28.

529 Henel, "Series episcoporum Wratislaviensium," 26.

530 Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "Patronat muzyczny biskupów wrocławskich Karola Habsburga i Karola Ferdynanda Wazy (1608–1655)," in *Tradycje śląskiej kultury muzycznej*,

By training and profession, Henel was a lawyer, and he also contributed four published works to this area of expertise. As the title of one of his works attests, his field of professional engagement was for him also true *otium*.[531] We find two observations that confirm music's presence on Henel's farthest cognitive horizon: the first concerns the Roman custom of crowning with a laurel wreath not only poets but also musicians, gymnasts, and equestrians.[532] The second observation has to do with a libelous lampoon that circulated in Rome following the election of Pope Sixtus V (1521–1590, r.1585–1590). It was written in a code that made sense only to those conversant with music solmization.[533]

Musical threads can also be found in Henel's literary works. He wrote poetry on religious topics, for example, metrical paraphrases of hymns and biblical verses that were popular in humanistic circles.[534] His true passion, however, was writing epigrams. One of these he dedicated to Caspar Cunradi (1571–1633), whom he portrays as Silesia's most outstanding poet. The lyrical subject of this poem exhorts one town after another in the region to pay tribute to their local poets (the deep admiration often expressed in the form of musical tropes), and the prime recipient of the poem is to be revered by the region's most important city, Wrocław—pearl of Silesia.[535] In the poem offered to Samuel Besler, he is depicted as the author of pious hymns.[536] It would appear, however, that this notion of him derives from Henel's obvious familiarity with Besler's passion offices.[537]

Musical contexts can also be found in poems dedicated to Henel; they fill out the image of his *imaginarium* that has been pieced together here. The Muses who inspire his imagination appear, for example, in the versified

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ed. Anna Granat-Janki et al. (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Akademii Muzycznej im. Karola Lipińskiego, 2020), 15:25–42.

531 Nicolaus Henel, *Otium Wratislaviense, hoc est variarum observationum ac commentationum liber* […] (Jena: Johann Nisius, 1658), c. $a_5^{r–v}$.

532 Henel, *Otium Wratislaviense*, cap. 13. *De poetis laureatis nonnulla*, 96.

533 Henel, *Otium Wratislaviense*, cap. 34. *Veritas libelli famosi an auctorem reddat a condemnatione immunem? Hujusmodi item libelli cur vulgo dicantur Pasquilli?*, 273.

534 Nicolaus Henel, *Carmen eucharisticum die suo natali tertio et septuagesimo* […] (Wrocław: Gottfried Gründer, 1654). See Modlińska-Piekarz, *Łacińska poezja biblijna na Śląsku w XVI i XVII wieku*, 90–112.

535 Nicolaus Henel, *Egpirammatum* [sic] *quae vel animi caussa et ultro, vel amicorum etiam rogatu aliquando fecit. Liber I* […] (Oleśnica: Johann Bössemesser, 1615), c. B_5^r, *De poëtis Silesiae celebrioribus*.

536 Nicolaus Henel, *Epigrammatum liber II: Ad* […] *Georgium Rudolphum, ducem Silesiae Lignicensem, ac Brigensem* […] (Brzeg: Kaspar Siegfried, 1615), c. $C_2^{r–v}$, *In cantiones sacras Samuele Beslero ludimoderatore*.

537 Samuel Besler, *Hymnorum et threnodiarum Sanctae Crucis* […] (Wrocław: Georg Baumann the Younger, 1611).

encomia offered to him on his birthday jubilee. The author of one of them is Christoph Köler (Colerus [1602–1658]). He brings his laudation to a conclusion with a Sapphic song that draws connections with Henel's coat-of-arms and is set using the conventional musical *topoi*.[538] It returns in the dirges written after his death, in which not only the Muses but Apollo himself all weep over our geographer's departure.[539] This is attested to in the poems of Daniel Sartorius (1612–1671) (Wrocław collector of musical publications)[540] and Johann Balthasar Karg (cantor at St. Elizabeth's [*fl.* 1643–1686]).[541] We see emerging in the poetic works touched on above a picture of a multifaceted individual, a man whose expertise, dispositions, and interests in law, history, poetry, and music, whose *imaginarium*, is the embodiment of Jan of Głogów's definition of *quadrivium*.[542]

8 Epilogue

The musical picture of early modern Silesian culture running through narratives by some of its leading representatives reveals itself to be uncommonly varied and surprisingly rich. The writings of each of the chosen authors enable us to reconstruct their *imaginaria*, which concern the art of sound, too. These individual worlds of images, representations, and ideas contain within themselves quite a number of distinctive features that, time and again, coalesce into a unique constellation. The narratives we have explored also reveal many points of similarity that could be taken as manifestations of but one collective *imaginarium*. What has been passed down to us, preserved as cultural artefacts, are our representatives' collective images and ideas. For them the medium of preservation most privileged is printed texts, for they accord authors the assurance that their images, representations, and ideas are being faithfully transmitted, and thus accord readers the assurance that past modes of thought are being authentically reconstructed.[543] Accordingly, the subject of the history

538 Christoph Köler, *Acclamatio* […] *Dn. Nicolao Henelio* […] *sexagesimum nonum natalem* (Wrocław: Georg Baumann the Younger, 1650), c. $4^{r–v}$, *Gallicinium ad Silesiam.*

539 *Ehren = Gedächtnüß* […] *Nicolai Henelii von Hennenfeld* […] *Von etlichen* […] *Clienten* […] *auffgerichtet* (Wrocław: Gottfried Gründer, 1656).

540 Tomasz Jeż, *Danielis Sartorii musicalia wratislaviensia* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Sub Lupa, 2017), 17–28.

541 *Qui vita et scriptis coluit cum Sleside Breslam, Henelium flent cum Sleside Bresla suum.* […] *Dn. Nicolaus Henelius* […] *epicedia* (Wrocław: Gottfried Gründer, 1656), c. $B_4^{r–v}$.

542 See note 487.

543 Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory*, trans. Steven Rendall and Elizabeth Claman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 2.

of imagination, when understood this way, is memory; for the researcher, that is the privileged object of the hermeneutical approach.[544] Memory sustained through writing is, therefore, the key element to an author's identity and to the very thing that humanistic narratives, in particular, emphasize most clearly.[545]

Narratives in the texts cited arise out of clearly articulated inspirational ideas that derive from the Horatian paradigm central to humanism: *exegi monumentum*. The writings of our Wratislavian humanists were created as evidence of culture commemorated; they constituted a type of collaboratively constructed memory palace. We are not talking here about a metaphor for one of the ancient mnemonic devices but about a consciously cultivated narrative, permeating a community's collective memory of people, works, and events that it held to be important.[546] When reading the texts quoted, it is hard not to observe how often, through the connections drawn between *loci* and corresponding *imagines*, the memory framework of their authors can be seen. In this instance, though, it has to do with places and images either actually observed or, at least, cited from an eyewitness account. The events recounted in the sources correspond to the specific *imagines agentes* (acting images) that Cicero also recommended: once presented, they are forever lodged in the recipient's memory.[547] This comes about because they provoke the appropriate affects, which is undoubtedly connected with the fact that memory was maintained to be a gift of Mnemosyne, Titaness mother of the Muses.[548] Early modern humanists were aware of this fact, as were their Wratislavian contemporaries, after all, these most important figures of their *imaginaria* were Apollo's companions who supported cultivation of the arts of every kind. How, then, did they present the musical aspect of their images, representations, and ideas? What were the traits common to narratives that made references to the art of sound? What sort of strategies and techniques predominate in their descriptions? What were the main topical areas chosen for representation? To what purpose their accounts?

First and foremost, the narratives cited in this book go to the Renaissance aspiration to self-fashioning. The texts came about for the purpose of presenting authors' portraits of themselves and of the societies they represent.

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544 Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, trans. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 5–7.

545 Pomian, *Historia: Nauka wobec pamięci*, 162–67.

546 Lorenzetti, *Musica e identità nobiliare*, 25.

547 Cicero, *De oratore I, II*, ed. Eric Herbert Warmington (London: William Heinemann, 1957), 470–1.

548 Immanuel Bekker, ed., *Platonis dialogi graece et latine*, part 2 (Berlin: Georg Andreas Reimerr, 1817), *Theatetus*, 1:281 (191d).

This self-portrait, be it individual or collective, was created for the purpose of making manifest the identity of the personalities presented and preserving their achievements in the memory of future generations. A common feature of these narratives is the concentration not so much on the subject presented as on how it is described; they can consequently be regarded as phenomena of a tradition that was still being cultivated. Viewed in that way, culture presents itself as a premeditated projection of authors' impressions and imaginations, a verbalized objectification of their collective memory.[549] On the other hand, descriptions of music performance that are discussed in this book focus on effects produced and its sensuous appeal to listeners. For that matter, this natural order of things might be a reference to Aquinas's observations on memory that derive from Aristotle's conception.[550] According to Aquinas, memory is the sensitive part of the soul (to which imagination belongs), and *sensibilia* (sensible things) are more readily memorizable than *intelligibilia* (intelligible ideas).[551] That may explain why music often seems to be incidental to the account: its purpose being to stir the imagination as mnemonic *imagines agentes*.

The descriptions by Wratislavian humanists that have come down to us go to many spheres of human activity, and, as such, they are inspired by the Renaissance motto *hinc omnia*. In these truly global accounts of the audile stratum, the visual perspective is obviously the dominant one. It is a point that takes us back not only to Cicero's observation regarding the particular usefulness of the sense of vision in the way memory works,[552] but also to the very nature of *imagines*, namely, their being more closely associated with the visual than the auditory world. Might that not be the reason why their writings provide relatively little concrete evidence of the type sought by traditional musicologists eager to learn from observations about *Pauken und Trompeten*, about who the musicians were, what works they were playing, and who were the composers? In order to be able to reconstruct indirectly a soundscape of a bygone age, relying on source material of that kind, one has to come to terms with the difficulties of presenting audile phenomena on a purely spatial plane. By their very nature, these phenomena take place in time;[553] and more

549 Pomian, *Historia: Nauka wobec pamięci*, 165.

550 Yates, *Art of Memory*, 69.

551 Thomas Aquinas, *Sentencia libri De sensu et sensato cuius secundus tractatus est De memoria et reminiscentia*, cura et studio Fratrum Praedicatorum (Rome: Commissio Leonina, 1985), 3.

552 Cicero, *De oratore*, 468–9.

553 Roman Ingarden, *The Work of Music and the Problem of Its Identity*, ed. Jean G. Harrell, trans. Adam Czerniawski (London: Macmillan Press, 1986), 15–23.

often therefore do we also find them in diachronic presentations or in literary texts that similarly unfold in a sequential manner.

The fact that, to a large extent, a musical work endures in circulation through oral transmission also contributes to its being given short shrift when mentioned in the usual written sources of the period (manuscript or printed). Musical information culled from such sources cannot be expected to register its presence in full measure because of the inherent limitations of the medium of transmission.[554] Iconographic representations included in publications and manuscripts give music a somewhat better chance of being noticed. It turns out, however, that in terms of information presented, the conventions used in these sources prove to be not particularly useful. Once again, they reflect more the imaginative world of the graphic artist than a credible professional picture of musical performance.[555] On the obverse of the woodcut depicting the triumphal gate erected for Rudolph II's visitation to Wrocław, we see the musicians in the gallery (in addition to the official guests passing through the gate). On the reverse side, these individuals are missing—perhaps to draw attention to a static image, the special architectural features.[556] For the purpose of musicological discussion, the obverse obviously holds greater interest, even if we grant it can be no more informative than a silent still shot from an unmade movie.

Another concomitant of the state of affairs outlined above is the obvious reduction in music-related topics found in material conveying similar subject matter. Noting the stratagems that authors in this field used to employ makes it possible to interpolate them into quite a number of places on the basis of concordances in transmissions. These sorts of reconstructions are made possible by a "memory jog" not mentioned in the contents of a given source, or filling out the description of a particular space using details of music that once did, in fact, reverberate there. The extent to which contents have been reduced is considerable, particularly when we remind ourselves, for example, of the works of Schütz—mentioned but not described—that were performed in St. Elizabeth's for Johann Georg I's state visit to Wrocław.[557] Then again, observations on musical performances can turn up in quite unexpected places. An example of

554 Patricia Shehan Campbell, "Orality, Literacy, and Music's Creative Potential: A Comparative Approach," *Bulletin of the Council for Research in Music Education* 101 (1989): 30–40.

555 Ann Buckley, "Music Iconography and the Semiotics of Visual Representation," *Music in Art* 23, nos. 1–2 (1998): 5–10.

556 Support for this viewpoint can be inferred from a reproduction of the woodcut published in a contemporary catalogue: only the reverse side is shown. See Piotr Oszczanowski and Jan Gromadzki, *Theatrum vitae et mortis: Grafika, rysunek i malarstwo książkowe na Śląsku w latach ok. 1550–ok. 1650* (Wrocław: Muzeum Historyczne, 1995), no. 74, 33–34.

557 See note 414.

this is the account of the last moments in the life of Senftleben, which were filled with the music of Viadana.[558] The particularity of the description and the wealth of acoustic detail provided are made possible by the close temporal proximity between the narrator and the event. The closer to the present the actual experience, the more reliable auditory memory is. Events known from chronicle accounts, by their very nature, have to be considered inferior. A similar grading in terms of musical contents can be seen when we make comparisons between observations coming from an area geographically closest to Wrocław, or from other cities in the region, or from centers located in neighboring countries, or from places yet farther distant.

The nature of the accounts is influenced by the methods authors use to arrange their subject matter. In most cases, the subjects were collated on the basis of the availability of sources. The store of information therein had been deliberately reduced and previously made use of. In encyclopedic compendia, compiled in reliance on those sources, it is hard to imagine that the proportion of knowledge would vary that much at all. And yet, occasionally, the authors in this study carried out a transformation of the received tradition, enriching it in terms of subject matter with *imagines agentes* of a particularly attractive kind. They focused on atypical events outside the norm, often not bothering to describe aspects that would have been obvious to their readership or matters of quotidian ordinariness (for example, liturgical routines). Mindful of their readers' attention, they occasionally imbued their texts with the qualities of media journalism and, every now and again, even livened it up with a touch of sensationalism. On the other hand, they strove to be objective in their accounts, avoiding interpretations that would get them embroiled in any political, confessional, or social discourse. Given the variety of narratives collected, when considered as a whole, one cannot gainsay them historical representativeness, both convincing and credible.

Noteworthy in the narratives studied is the variety of textual types employed, encompassing every conceivable kind of poetic genre (epigrams, epithalamia, epicedia, epitaph, genethliac, metric hymns, odes and paraphrases of biblical texts, propemptica, in addition to libretti for theatrical productions), different kinds of prose (biographies, dialogues, diaries, textbooks, handbooks, letter-writing, Latin phrasebooks, obituaries, and polemical tracts), prosimetra (hymnbooks, catechisms, compendia of medical knowledge and of natural sciences, astronomical treatises, geographical, meteorological, poetic, and theological treatises, and occasional panegyrics), plus appendices to publications,

558 See note 501.

catalogs, dictionaries, tables of contents, and registers. Compounding the confusion pervading this amassed body of data is the reduction of content, originally from private archives, destined for publication. Further compounding the confusion are the manuscripts, and the multiple copies and reissues thereof, that supplement the already published volumes.

The wealth of available narrative forms also stems from the fact that among the authors, we find a poet, a publisher, a teacher, a physician, a historian, and a geographer. Each of them, we should remember, could be given a number of other descriptive titles in recognition of their Renaissance intellectual erudition, their multiple interests, and the dissimilarity of their chosen narrative styles. This wealth of available perspectives makes possible a multifaceted take on events, encompassing issues biographical and historical, school and church, civic and state, historical and geographical, legal and customary. Their diverse perspectives stem from the way *universum* is represented, defined as *respublica* or *patria*. The first of these terms is explained as a κόσμος (whole universe), in which order is maintained by wise laws; the second term defines the οικυμένη (the world of mankind) that their families inhabit. The music of the Silesian republic is perceived first in the metaphysical domain of *harmonia coelestis*, akin to the Word of God as a medium for disseminating matters of doctrine. This theological way of presenting music naturally has implications with respect to regulations pertaining to liturgical music and, more broadly, to music performance in matters regarding religious formation and pastoral care.

A related domain of music presentations is connected to the presence of music in the philosophical reflections of our authors, who developed the thoughts of past masters, the ancients who emphasized the role of music in achieving harmony of the soul and its influence also in the sphere of human affects. Qualities peculiar to the world of sound, while perceived in the domains of both the *quadrivium* and the *trivium*, are especially present in fields of creative endeavor, those under the patronage of the daughters of Mnemosyne. We are dealing here not only with metaphorical ways of presenting individual *artes liberales* but also with different forms of artistic involvement being connected in actuality with the musical representation of them. In the first of the domains cited here, the profuse use of the music *topoi* is particularly striking in representations of the acquisition and accumulation of publicly accessible repositories of knowledge. Striking, too, is the universal presence of these themes in a remarkable abundance of literary creativity. Noteworthy in the second domain are the melic aspects of poetic works encompassing literary genres of all kinds, particularly those based on metrical structures and functionally designed to be realized in performance.

Described just as often in this context and in conformance with this convention is the domain covering performances that have an inherently sonic character. Accordingly, the subject focus of our authors' interest is events involving music: liturgy, school lessons, civic and state celebrations, and relaxation time. Also occasionally noted in these contexts are music performance genres involving instruments and ensembles. In the vast majority of accounts, the center of attention is man: the musician performing the music, the patron who commissioned the music, those for whom the performance is directly intended, and those who catch it inadvertently. Anthropocentricity, that Renaissance touchstone, predominates too in the coverage of totally prosaic occurrences in the area of education and educational reform, in the area of music administration, and even in background detail accompanying descriptions of customs and everyday experiences. Information presented in the context of time measured through cyclical performances of music constitutes yet another different domain. The gamut of possible viewpoints is extended by observations about repertoire that could be heard in the city's audiosphere: texts sung during confessional unrest, sounds from a newly installed organ, tolling of prayer bells calling for peace, or excerpts of familiar songs resonating from carillons.

The final group of observations goes to the purpose served by these amassed narratives and, indirectly, to the *imaginaria* that define the form those accounts have taken. Music encountered in the metaphysical domain might predispose one to experience the order of creation and achieve inner harmony. In terms of spiritual values, it helped biblically oriented religious formation. In the context of the Reformation, then in train, music served to shore up confessional awareness. Its purpose was the moral improvement of the individual and the cultivation of civic virtues. The art of sound was a help in school teaching and was used as a medium for inculcating moral awareness. It became an important medium of social affirmation. Musical repertoire, compiled for the purpose of achieving comprehensive knowledge of the world, was regarded as an important component of human life. Music stirred the imaginative faculty and enriched the cityscape that would be passed on to future generations. It functioned as a component in memory exercises and was used in developing the capacity to expound history. Music's social pragmatism also included a unifying role, important when out-of-the-ordinary phenomena presented themselves. It served the everyday life of human beings and societies, it played a role not only in promoting the approved model of savoir-vivre but also in the experience of *voluptas* (pleasure). Since it was such an important ingredient of *imaginarium*, music became a key element of social cohesion and of the identity of Silesia's humanists studied in this book.

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