

Music Preferred:

Essays in Musicology, Cultural History and Analysis in Honour of Harry White

Edited by Lorraine Byrne Bodley

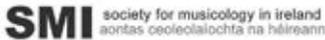
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Lorraine Byrne Bodley

Dublin, April 2018

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Shane McMahan is a musicologist and historian. He received his PhD from University College Dublin, with a dissertation titled ‘The Fabric of Time: Richard Wagner and the Antinomies of Modernity’, which was supervised by Harry White and funded by the Irish Research Council. He is a Research Associate of the UCD Humanities Institute, where his work, drawing on the perspectives and methodologies of the anthropology and sociology of religion, explores the sacred paradigms and religious narratives underpinning secular 19th-century music.

Michael Murphy has lectured in the Department of Music, Mary Immaculate College, Limerick since 2001. He co-edited *Musical Constructions of Nationalism* with Harry White (Cork University Press, 2001), *Music in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Irish Musical Studies vol. 9) with Jan Smaczny (Four Courts Press, 2007), and *Documents of Irish Music History* (Irish Musical Studies vol. 12) with Maria McHale and Kerry Houston (Four Courts Press, 2018). He was involved in editing and contributing to the *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland* (ed. Harry White and Barra Boydell (UCD Press, 2013)). Since its inception in 2003, he has been a member of the Council of the Society for Musicology in Ireland, and has acted as its Hon. Treasurer and Membership Secretary (2003–2006), and Hon Secretary (2006–2009). He is a member of the editorial board of the *Journal of the Society for Musicology in Ireland*, and has broadcast many music documentaries on RTÉ lyric fm.

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Gearóid Ó hAllmhuráin, MA (UCC), HDE (Trinity College Dublin), MBA (IUA), PhD (QUB) is an anthropologist and ethnomusicologist who specializes in the study in Irish traditional music and folklife. Author of *Flowing Tides: History and Memory in an Irish Soundscape* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), *A Short History of Irish Traditional Music* (Dublin: O'Brien Press, 2017), *A Pocket History of Irish Traditional Music* (Dublin: O'Brien Press, 1998/2003), as well as chapters, articles and academic papers on Irish music and cultural history, his work has

been featured on PBS, CBC, RTÉ, BBC and TF1. Formerly Jefferson Smurfit Professor of Irish Studies and Professor of Music at the University of Missouri-St. Louis, he is the inaugural holder of the bilingual Johnson Chair in Quebec and Canadian Irish Studies at Concordia University, Montreal. Funded by the Quebec government, his research focuses on Irish cultural memory and soundscape studies. An award winning professional musician, his recordings include: *Traditional Music from Clare and Beyond* (1996), *Tracin': Traditional Music from the West of Ireland* (1999) and *The Independence Suite: Traditional Music from Ireland, Scotland and Cape Breton* (2004).

John O'Flynn is Associate Professor of Music at Dublin City University. He previously lectured at Mary Immaculate College, University of Limerick and at St Patrick's College, Drumcondra where he was Head of Music, 2008–2016. He is recipient of research fellowships from The Irish Research Council (2008), *An Foras Feasa* (2011) and St Patrick's College (2015). A Council Member of the Society for Musicology in Ireland, he is also founding chair of the Society for Music Education in Ireland. Publications include *The Irishness of Irish Music* (Ashgate, 2009), *Music and Identity in Ireland and Beyond* (Ashgate, 2014, co-edited with Dr. Mark Fitzgerald) and numerous journal articles, book chapters and encyclopaedia entries. In 2015–16 he was principal investigator for *Mapping Popular Music in Dublin*, an applied research project externally funded by Fáilte Ireland (Irish Tourism). He is currently completing the monograph *Music, the moving image, and Ireland* for publication by Routledge.

Adrian Scahill is a lecturer in Irish traditional music and ethnomusicology in the Department of Music, Maynooth University. A graduate of Maynooth, he undertook doctoral research with Professor Harry White at University College Dublin, and after receiving his doctorate returned to Maynooth as a lecturer. He was subject editor for traditional music for *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland* (2013), and has published on a broad range of topics within traditional music.

Jan Smaczny recently retired as the Sir Hamilton Harty Professor of Music at Queen's University, Belfast, and is now Emeritus Professor of Music. He has published widely on many aspects of Czech music and his books include studies of the repertoire of the Prague Provisional Theatre and Dvořák's B-minor Cello Concerto; jointly edited volumes comprise *Music in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* and *Exploring the B-minor Mass*. He was a founding member of the committee that established the Society for Musicology in Ireland of which he was also a two-term president. More recently he has served as a vice-president of the Royal Musical Association.

Gerry Smyth is Professor of Irish Cultural History at Liverpool John Moores University. Several of his books focus on aspects of Irish musical history, including *Noisy Island* (2005), *Music and Irish Cultural History* (2009), and *Celtic Tiger Blues* (2015). At the time of writing Professor Smyth is researching a study of music in the life and literature of James Joyce, and recording an album of settings of the lyrics of W. B. Yeats.

Glenn Stanley, Professor of Music at the University of Connecticut, has published extensively on German music, musical life, and thought from the eighteenth through the twentieth century with special emphasis on Beethoven. He has also written extensively on Mozart, Mendelssohn, and Wagner. He contributed articles on historiography and German music criticism to the *New Grove Dictionary* and edited the *Cambridge Companion to Beethoven*. Recent publications include essays on the performance and reception history of *Fidelio*, Schubert's "Unfinished" Symphony, and Wagner's Faust Overture and Wagner's engagement with Goethe's literary work. He is a co-editor of *Beethoven in Context* for Cambridge University Press (forthcoming 2019). Stanley has written program notes and lectured for Carnegie Hall and Lincoln Center. Stanley organized international conferences on Beethoven at UConn (1993) and at Carnegie Hall (1996). In 1997 he was Fulbright Senior Scholar at the Humboldt University in Berlin and in 2010–2011 he was a guest professor at the Free University, Berlin.

Ruth Stanley is a BMus graduate of CIT Cork School of Music (2000). She was awarded an MA from Mary Immaculate College, Limerick (2003) and a PhD from Queen's University Belfast (2011). Ruth's research is concerned with musical culture in twentieth-century Ireland and Northern Ireland, especially pertaining to broadcasting and issues of identity. Her publications include contributions to *The Encyclopedia of Music in Ireland*, edited by Harry White and Barra Boydell, and *Music and Identity in Ireland and Beyond*, edited by Mark Fitzgerald and John O'Flynn. She was a recipient of funding from the Irish Research Council's New Foundations Scheme (2016). A member of the Society for Musicology in Ireland, she currently serves as Honorary Membership Secretary on the SMI Council. Ruth lectures in piano at CIT Cork School of Music and is a Grade Examiner with the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music.

Stanislav Tuksar is a Professor Emeritus of the University of Zagreb. He was awarded a BA in philosophy, English and violoncello, MA and PhD in musicology, all at the University of Zagreb where he taught musicology since 1993. He also made advanced studies at the Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne (1974–76) and was Research Fellow at Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung in West

Berlin (1986–88). He has participated in c. 130 scholarly symposia in Croatia and abroad, and lectured at 24 universities worldwide. As author, editor and translator, he has published 26 books and authored c. 230 articles. Since 2000 he has been Editor-in-Chief of the *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*; he is member (past and present) of the editorial boards of the journals: *Acta musicologica* (Basle), *Current Musicology* (New York), *South African Journal of Musicology* (Durban); *Arti musices* (Zagreb); *De musica disserenda* (Ljubljana); *Kroatologija* (Zagreb). He was co-founder (1992), Secretary (1992–1997) and President (2001–2006, 2013–2018) of the Croatian Musicological Society in Zagreb, and he is full member of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (since 2012). His main research areas are musico-cultural aspects and aesthetics of music in the 16th–19th century period. His main works are *Hrvatski renesansni teoretičari glazbe* (1978; English translation: *Croatian Renaissance Music Theorists*, 1980); *Hrvatska glazbena terminologija u razdoblju baroka* (Croatian Music Terminology of the Baroque Era, 1992) and *Kratka povijest hrvatske glazbe* (Short History of Croatian Music, 2000).

Lorenz Welker was born 1953 in Munich. After completing a degree in medicine in Munich he studied musicology at the universities of Basle and Zürich. After working for two years at the MPI of Psychiatry, he was an assistant teacher at the Schola Cantorum of Basle and at Basle University while completing his M.D. at Zürich (1988). In 1990 he joined the department of musicology at Heidelberg and took the doctorate in musicology at Basle in 1992, with a dissertation on Renaissance performing practice, and the Habilitation in 1993 with a study on late medieval music. He was appointed professor at the University of Erlangen in 1994 and became professor at Munich University in 1996. His main areas of expertise are the late Middle Ages; performing practice and instrumental music of the Renaissance and Baroque periods. He was awarded the Henry E. Sigerist prize in 1988 and the Dent Medal in 1994.

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Patrick Zuk is Associate Professor of Music at the University of Durham and a specialist in Russian music and cultural history. He is co-editor (with Marina Frolova-Walker) of a volume of essays *Russian Music Since 1917: Reappraisal and Rediscovery*, published in 2017 by Oxford University Press in conjunction with the British Academy. He is currently working on a study of the Soviet composer Nikolay Myaskovsky, and has recently been awarded funding by the Wellcome Trust for a research project examining the role played by personal and collective traumatic experience in shaping the styles and aesthetic outlooks of musical modernism.

FOREWORD

GERARD GILLEN

My connections with Harry White go back to his pre-birth, as it were, as in my early teenage years I was organist for the boy's choir directed by his late father, Frank, at the Oblate Church in Inchicore in south-west Dublin. I remember well his father announcing to me that their firstborn were soon to arrive in the form of twins, thus heralding the birth of Harry and his brother John in July, 1958. About a dozen years later I noted with pleasure that the twins had been awarded music scholarships to the newly founded Schola Cantorum of St Finian's College, Mullingar, where they came under the benign and sensitive tutelage of Father Frank MacNamara, whom Harry generously acknowledges as a prime influence on his future development, musically and intellectually.

While it is hardly necessary to do so, it is worth reciting Harry White's formidable litany of academic honours and achievements, and concomitant list of publications. Suffice to say that in the subjects he covers with magisterial authority, ranging from music in Imperial Austria, through a history of Anglo-American musicology since 1945, to authoritative monographs on the cultural history of music in Ireland, he has richly earned the description of him in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2001) as "the leading Irish musicologist of his generation". But Harry White is not just a most distinguished musicologist, he is in the fullest sense of the term, the "complete" man of letters, as he is also a dramatist, a novelist and a poet of no mean accomplishment. While a graduate student at the University of Toronto in 1984 he won the University's gold medal for poetry, and in 2012 he published his first collection of poetry, entitled *Polite Forms*. Thus in Harry White we have a formidable combination of first-rate, widely-encompassing musical scholarship mediated to us through the prism of a highly creative imagination, which gives to Harry's scholarly writings a literary patina which makes him a delight to read and to experience in "live performance".

However (to return to musicology), there are three very important achievements of Harry White which I would like to draw attention to at this seminal moment in his stellar career: (i) his founding of the musicological journal series *Irish Musical Studies*; (ii) his establishment of the Society for Musicology in Ireland (of which he was the founding president); and (iii) his crucial input into the gestation, birth, and delivery of the *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, which was published in October 2013; thus was born the largest research project in music to be undertaken in Ireland to date. Readers can be assured that without Harry's

drive, persistence and initiative, and the input of his own considerable intellectual and critical vigour and rigour, none of these three enormously important developments for Irish musical scholarship and its reputation both at home and abroad, would have happened.

In a curious way Harry White brings to mind one of his predecessors as Professor of Music at UCD over a century ago, and one of my predecessors as Professor at Maynooth, the German priest and scholar, Heinrich Beverunge (1862–1923), who in his day was a mover and shaker of formidable influence and achievement, just as Harry is today. White is a gifted pedagogue, a forceful, illuminating and prolific writer on many of the musical educational issues of the day, and an internationally acknowledged authoritative scholar. And so I think it is no accident, as it were, that Harry White has had a long-term fascination with Beverunge and his work, and gave expression to this in a very thoughtful essay on the writings of Beverunge written in collaboration with Frank Lawrence some 25 years ago in the second volume of *Irish Musical Studies* (*Music and the Church*, 1993).

Harry White, like Beverunge 100 years ago, is passionately concerned with music education in Ireland. In Beverunge's case he was particularly exercised by the lack of opportunities for the training of church musicians in Ireland which resulted in the importation of a number of German and Belgian organists to fill the various new cathedral *Kantor* positions as they became vacant. He felt that the only remedy, if Irish musicians were to fill these positions with professional competence, was for the church to set up a special school in Ireland dedicated to their training. However, it was not to be until 1970, some 47 years after the death of Beverunge, that that proposal received partial implementation with the establishment of the Schola Cantorum at St Finian's College, Mullingar. And among the first cohort of students admitted to the new Schola was a young 13-year-old Harry White. So this 1970 establishment, founded in a sense at the historical instigation of Beverunge, was to give Harry White his crucially important early musical education.

It's a great personal and professional pleasure and honour to pay tribute to my distinguished colleague, close friend, and former student, Professor Harry White, on the presentation to him of this *Festschrift* volume to mark his 60th birthday. *Ad multos annos!*

PART SIX:
MUSIC HISTORIES WORLDWIDE



Harry White, Stanislav Tuksar and Ivano Cavallini, Warsaw 2016



Harry White and Ivano Cavallini, Warsaw May 2016

A COUNTER-REFORMATION REACTION TO THE
SLOVENIAN AND CROATIAN PROTESTANTISM:
THE SYMBOL OF ST. ATHANASIUS IN A CREED OF
1624

IVANO CAVALLINI

Considering the long-lasting cultural connections between Slovenia, Croatia and Italy, in particular via the Adriatic sea during the Venetian administration of Istria and Dalmatia, the categories of subordination, adaptation and autonomy, routinely employed by twentieth-century music historiography, present a set of issues still to be adequately addressed. Until the cold war, these categories were often defined by a fluid and fluctuating national point of view, and for this reason it seems to me more adequate to the present topic to tackle the relationship between the two coastal areas within the alternative framework of the categories of cosmopolitan and domestic music, and in the context of their social, religious and aesthetic functions.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, professional music was imported from Italy or composed *in loco* either by Italian, or Slovenian and Croatian composers, who were employed as chapel masters in the towns of the Eastern littoral and Inner Austria. Even though it is almost impossible to quote examples of either the complete subordination or the complete autonomy of composers, the aforementioned categories are always lying in wait as long as they are not viewed in the context of the wider net of experience. Sometimes, supranational models are the basis for the unpredictable development of original scores which show less reliance on primary sources. This stickier web enables musicology either to recognize the meeting point of different patterns, or the overlap of diverse strata of two or more combined traditions. In this regard, some examples demonstrate not only a dissemination of cosmopolitan art music from Italy to Slovenia and Croatia, but also a process of recreation on the basis of the language and mentality of the audience. Frequently the shape of works can be similar, yet it is equally evident that different musical meanings are the effect of social habits.

From this viewpoint any classification becomes ephemeral when dealing with widely disseminated music that should be considered only in term of its functions. Considering the case of the Slovenian Protestants, whose music involved either simple hymns in their national language or refined polyphony written by German, Flemish and Italian composers, is the first step on the way to constructing the cultural identity of a people. On the one hand, the role played by the Croatian reformers in Istria, who translated the Slovenian sacred books into different

Slavic languages and alphabets, provoked a clash with the Roman Church. On the other hand, after the collapse of Lutheranism it achieved a secondary effect of great importance, which was the right to officiate the Catholic liturgy according to the Croatian version of the Old Church Slavonic language written in Glagolitic or Latin script, with the wider intention of protecting the borders from the penetration of Protestant, Orthodox and Islamic faiths. In fact, from the parishes of mid-Dalmatia to Istria, Glagolitic plainchant survived as an oral tradition, while some fragments of liturgical drama with music, known as *prikazanje*, have been recovered. This is the case of *Prikazanje od muke Spasitelja našega* (The Passion of Our Redeemer, 1556) from the North Adriatic area (which may have been written in the Franciscan monastery of Novi Vinodolski). The music of this mystery play reflects both the influences of Gregorian chant and local tradition, and, most importantly, there is no doubt that the verses were set to singing or acting.¹ Therefore, this kind of plainchant still survives in form of popular diaphony in some places of the Kvarner gulf, like the island of Krk.²

Two issues need to be raised about such a topic. Firstly, although the success of the Counter-Reformation prevented the spread of musical culture launched by Protestantism in sixteenth-century Slovenia, the new religious movement at least gave it a characteristic imprint. Secondly, the struggle for the new religion in the southern part of the Hapsburg territories differed in one essential aspect from the similar struggle, which took place in a large part of Germany – a phenomenon which also involved musical culture. The Hapsburgs remained faithful to Roman Catholicism, whereas the nobility, as a follower of the new faith and thus in opposition to the sovereign, was neither willing nor able to relinquish the support of the Protestant movement in Germany. However, in spite of these unstimulating conditions, musical culture still received some impulse. As shown by Andrej Rijavec in his pioneering book on the music of Protestants in Slovenia, on the one hand “the Catholic Church of Ljubljana could neither keep up its own professional instrumentalists nor rely on the town musicians. On the other hand, these were employed by the town government, which had a Protestant majority and so performed at Protestant services in the church of the town hospital”.³

It is my pleasure to acknowledge Dr. Shane McMahon’s comments and suggestions on an earlier draft of this essay.

- 1 Vinko Žganec: “Pjevanje u hrvatskoj glagoljaškoj liturgiji” [Plainchant in Croatian Glagolitic Liturgy], in: *Sveta Cecilija* 40 (1970), pp. 16–19, Salvatore Perillo: *Le sacre rappresentazioni croate*. Bari: Quaderni degli Annali della Facoltà di Lingue e Letterature Straniere dell’Università degli Studi di Bari, 1975.
- 2 Ennio Stipčević: *Renaissance Music and Culture in Croatia*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2015, pp. 105–108, Jerko Bezić: “Approaches to the People’s Musical Life in Dalmatia (Croatia) in the Past and Present”, in: *Narodna Umjetnosti* 33 (1996), pp. 75–88.
- 3 Andrej Rijavec: *Glasbeno delo na Slovenskem v obdobju protestantizma* [Music in Slovenia in the Protestant Era]. Ljubljana: Slovenska Matica, 1967, pp. 215–227, here p. 217.

As attested by the visitations of the Patriarchate of Aquileia in 1581 and 1593, Protestantism had spread not only among the nobility and the burghers, but also among the peasantry. The best proof of this trend is the first Slovene *Catechismus* (1550), published by Primož Trubar (1508–1585), the founder of the Slovenian Reformation. The notable gap in the musical life of the Protestants was filled once more by Trubar with *Eni psalmi*. This hymn-book of 1567, containing thirty-five songs, was so popular that it was republished several times between 1574 and 1595.⁴

The utilitarian bias in the regions without political support, like Venetian and Hapsburg Istria, was the first but unique step of the musical culture of local Protestants. They were never able to rise to the level of the musical achievement of those countries where the movement was born and flourished. This was also a result of the efforts of the Roman Church to protect Croats and Italians from the ideological advances of the Slovenian Protestants. Nevertheless, in the mid-sixteenth century the activity of Protestants coming from Germany to Istria was noteworthy. According to the Peace of Augsburg, signed on 25 September 1555, the Imperial Diet legalized the co-existence of Catholicism and Lutheranism, which allowed the princes to select their state religion. The religion chosen by the prince was made obligatory for his subjects, and those who adhered to the other church would have to sell their property and migrate to a territory where their denomination was recognized. Only the free imperial cities, which had lost their religious homogeneity a few years earlier, were exceptions to the rule known as *cuius regio eius religio*. In these centres Lutherans and Catholics were free to exercise their own faith as they wished. One year later, in 1556, the *Ausschuslandtag* of Vienna granted relative freedom to the Lutheran nobility of Austria, where the Roman Inquisition did not have jurisdiction.⁵

Some details on this phenomenon in Istria are necessary. The peninsula was administrated both by Venice, which was under the religious jurisdiction of the Roman Church, and by the Hapsburg archdukes, who, in contrast, admitted Protestants. However, the boundaries of the dioceses did not coincide with the state borders and the ambiguous policy of Austria was only occasionally completely favourable to the evangelicals. Less favourable was their situation in the Vene-

4 *Eni Psalmi, ta celi Catechismus, inu tih vegshih Gody, stare inu Noue kerszhanske Peisni, od P. Truberia, S. Krelia, inu od drugih sloshene, druguzh popravlene inu pobulshane. Der gantz Catechismus, etlich Psalm Christliche Gesäng, die man auff den fürnembsten Festen singet, in der Windischen (Slovenian) Sprach zum andern corrigirt unnd gemechret.* Tübingen: Morhart, 1567.

5 Silvano Cavazza: "Bonomo, Vergerio, Trubar: propaganda protestante per terre di frontiera", in: "La gloria del Signore". *La riforma protestante nell'Italia nord-orientale*, ed. Gianfranco Hofer. Mariano del Friuli: Edizioni della Laguna, 2006, pp. 91–158: 141–142, Idem, "Libri luterani verso il Friuli: Vergerio, Trubar, Flacio", in: *Venezia e il Friuli: la fede e la repressione del dissenso*, ed. Giuliana Ancona and Dario Visintin, Montereale Valcellina: Circolo Culturale Menocchio, 2013, pp. 31–55.

tian coastal shores. Influenced by Trubar, the bishop of Koper, Pier Paolo Vergerio Jr. (1498–1565) fled to Tübingen. Baldo Lupetina (1503–1556) from Labin, his nephew Matija Vlačić/Flaccius Illyricus (1520–1575), editor and co-author of the famous *Centuriae Magdeburgenses* (1569–1574), and then Giambattista Goineo (c 1515–after 1579) from Piran were persecuted by Catholics.⁶ Stjepan Konzul (1521–after 1579) a *glagoljaš* (Glagolitic priest) in Buzet, was also active in Pazin, the core of Istrian Protestantism. He sought refuge first in Ljubljana and later in Regensburg, acting as a *kantor* and organist, and he spent the end of his life in Eisenstadt, at the border of Hungary, working as a preacher for the Croats. Together with Anton Dalmatin (?–1579) Konzul translated at least six books into Italian not only for the inhabitants settled in the Venetian side of Istria, but also for wider dissemination in Italy. Under the mentorship of Trubar, the two aforementioned reformers printed a large number of prayer books, psalms, gospels, catechisms and, last but not least, the Old and New Testaments. In the *Windische, Crabatische und Cirulitsche Thruckeray* (the Slovenian, Croatian and Cyrillic Printing House) of Urach, a city nearby Tübingen in the Duchy of Württemberg, they worked as translators using the alphabets of Istria, Dalmatia, Bosnia and Serbia, translating Slovenian and Italian into Latin script, German into Gothic script, Croatian into Glagolitic, Cyrillic and Latin scripts.⁷ This undertaking was carried out with the financial support of Baron Hans Ungnad von Sonneg, who for many years was the captain of Varaždin in North-east Croatia and then the founder of the aforementioned “South Slavic Bible Institute” of Urach.

According to recent research on the Slavic Reformation, between 1561 and 1565, Konzul and Dalmatin, with the help of other colleagues, translated and transliterated fourteen books into Croatian with Glagolitic script, eight or nine into Cyrillic, six into Croatian with Latin script, four into Slovenian, six into Italian and one into German. Given that Urach press was responsible for printing more than 30,000 copies, it is reasonable to affirm that Trubar and Ungnad’s

6 Silvano Cavazza: “Umanesimo e riforma in Istria: Giovanni Battista Goineo e i gruppi eterodossi di Pirano”, in: *L’umanesimo in Istria*, ed. Vittore Branca and Sante Graciotti. Florence: Olschki, 1983, pp. 91–117.

7 For instance: *Register und summarischer [...] aller der Windischen [Slovenian] Bücher, die von Primo Trubero [Primož Trubar] bis auff diss 1561 [...] in der Crabatischen Sprach mit zweyerley Crabatischen Geschrifften, nämlich, mit Glagolla [Glagolitic] und Cirulitza [Cyrillic], werde getdruckt (dise Sprach und Buchstaben, brauchen auch die Turcken)* (Tübingen, 1561); *Ena molitov [a prayer] [...] Oratione de persecutati e forusciti per lo Evangelio* (Tübingen, 1555); *Artikuli ili deli prave krstianske Vere, is Svetoga Pisma [...] sada vnove is Latinskoga, Nemskoga i Kraiskoga jazika va Hrvacki verno stimačeni. Po Antonu Dalmatinu i Stipanu Istrianu* (Articles or Parts of the Authentic Christian Faith from the Saint Scrolls [...] now Faithfully Translated into Croatian by Antun Dalmatin and Stipan [Konzul] from Latin, German, and Slovenian Languages) [...] *auss dem Latein und Teütsch in die Crabatische Sprach verdolmetscht, und mit Glagolischen Buchstaben getruckt* (Urach, 1562). Oliver K. Olson: “Mathias Flacius and the ‘Bible Institute’ in Urach”, in: *Kairos. Evangelical Journal of Theology* 2 (2008), pp. 181–188.

aim was to cover not only the regions of Inner Austria (present-day Slovenia and Croatia), but also the Balkans as far as the Black sea.⁸

As the bookseller Ambros Frölich from Vienna wrote in a letter to Ungnad (16 June 1561), the transliteration into Cyrillic could open new prospects for the spread of Lutheranism in Eastern Europe, particularly in Russia and the European domains of the Ottoman Empire: “Es wer guet, das der catechismus in der ziruliza vertollmetscht wer. Dieselb, wie ich gewisslich erinndert, geet durch Littaw, Keyssen, Moscovitern, Moldaw, Walachia, Sirfei, Dalmatien, Constantinopl vnd auch an des turkhischen khaiserhoff wurd mit gottes hilff vnd segen vill guets schaffen”.⁹

A central undertaking of the Protestant effort was the Slovenian translation of the Bible by Jurij Dalmatin, printed in Wittenberg in 1584. Unfortunately, after the closure of the Institute in 1565, following the death of Ungnad in 1564, Dalmatin and Konzul could no longer work in Urach.

At the end of the sixteenth century, when the nobility was obliged by the Archdukes of Inner Austria to embrace the Catholic faith, Protestantism gradually disappeared from the provinces of present-day Slovenia and Istria. The sovereign decree of 1598 enjoined Protestant teachers and preachers to leave the country. This provision may be also considered a result of the Jesuits' engagement in restoring Catholicism, for which they obtained the consent of the Archduke Karl and Ferdinand, the future emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. The Jesuits were charged with creating a *cordon sanitaire* of schools and colleges at the Austrian fringes from the Alps to the sea: in Graz (1574), the residence of archduchy, and then in Ljubljana (1597), Klagenfurt (1604), Gorizia (1618), Rijeka (school 1627, college 1633), and the port of Trieste, where the first settlement of two Jesuits from Bohemia dates back to 1619.¹⁰ Further, with the aim of educating young priests and spreading Catholicism in Dalmatia and Bosnia, the Jesuits established a Collegium Illyricum (Illyricum means South Slavic) in Loreto, an Italian town close to Dalmatia.

In the territories of the Hapsburg crown one of the most feared threats was the arrival and circulation of Protestant books via Villach, a city completely devoted to Luther, and Venice in which the German community was very active. In this regard, the dissemination of books from Tübingen and nearby Urach to Vienna, Ljubljana, the region of Friuli, Trieste and Rijeka, is noteworthy. From Württemberg numerous books were sent through Salzburg to Villach, and from Villach to

8 Alojz Jembrih: “Od uspjeha do izjave ‘Viel falsch’ o Uraškom Novom Zavjetu (1562/63)” [From the Success to Declaration of ‘Viel falsch’ on Urach’s New Testament (1562/63)], in: *Prilozi* 63–64 (2006), pp. 35–67, here p. 37.

9 Ivan Kostrenčić: *Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der protestantischen Literatur der Südslawen in den Jahren 1559–1565*. Wien: Carl Gerold’s Sohn, 1874, p. 39.

10 *I gesuiti e gli Asburgo. Presenza della Compagnia di Gesù nell’area meridionale dell’Impero Asburgico nei secoli XVII–XVIII*. ed. Sergio Galimberti and Mariano Malý, Trieste: LINT, 1995.

Italy; another safe route included Ročinj's itinerary through the Isonzo-river valley (in Slovenian Soča) to the county of Gorizia, and through the Wurzen pass via the high Sava river to Ljubljana. In this context the trading of Protestant books for thirty years by Nikolaus Buchler is extraordinary. Married to the daughter of Agostino Sereni, a follower of Vergerio Jr., and already in contact with Konzul during the years 1553–1554, Buchler delivered thousand copies of reformers' works from Villach. As an example, of the Croatian Catechism in Latin script, printed in four hundred copies, he received three hundred and thirty.¹¹

After the Council of Trent, during his visitation to Dalmatia and Istria in 1579–1580, the bishop Agostino Valier detected a series of dangerous contacts between Catholics and Protestants. Some groups of Protestants were still in the cities of Labin, Vodnjan, and Pula.¹² Despite trials held in some parts of Istria, aiming to eradicate the reformation and any other non-Roman liturgy, Croatian people were still devoted to the Glagolitic traditions. To avoid misunderstanding, it should be pointed out that since the middle-ages Croatian priests of Istria, the Kvarner gulf and part of Dalmatia were free to hold religious services in Glagolitic. On the other hand, before Luther and Trubar, in some German and Slovenian lands the sole use of Latin was required. Besides, not all the Istrian *glagoljaši* became Protestants. At the Council of Udine in 1596, bishop Francesco Barbaro was able to remove the Aquileian rite, which was judged to be a schismatic liturgy; in contrast, the bishop of Poreč, Cesare de Nores, was a supporter of Glagolism and he persuaded the participants to tolerate the use of the Old Slavonic liturgy within the frame of Catholicism.¹³ This is the reason why the Propaganda Fide Officium was charged by the Roman Curia to prepare revised copies of sacred books in *slavica lingua* (Slavic language), superseding any obstacle to reaching a definitive conversion of Slavic/Croatian people. The Mass book, the Ritual and the Liturgy of hours were later corrected and printed both in Latin and in Glagolitic scripts, e.g. the *Missale romanum slavonico* (1631), *Rituale romanum slavonico* (1648), *Ritus celebrandi ex latina in illyricum linguam* (1592), *Breviarium romanum slavonico [...] editum illyrica lingua* (1640).

After these general considerations, I would like to address one specific issue concerning the activity of the chapel master Gabriello Puliti, and his relationship

11 Cavazza: "Bonomo, Vergerio, Trubar", pp. 151–153; on this book cf. the Afterword of Alojz Jembrih ("Dodatak pretisku"), enclosed in the facsimile of *Katechismus*, ed. Anton Dalmatin and Stipan Istriani [Konzul], Tübingen (i. e., Urach), 1564, pp. 21–22.

12 Antonio Miculian: "La controriforma in Istria", in: *Prispevki z mednarodne konference Peter Pavel Vergerij ml. Polemični mislec v Evropi 16. stoletja ob 500-letnici rojstva/Contributi dal convegno internazionale Pier Paolo Vergerio il giovane un polemista attraverso l'Europa del Cinquecento nel V centenario della nascita. Acta Histriae* 8 (1999), pp. 215–230, here 221–222.

13 Giuseppe Trebbi: "Il Concilio provinciale aquileiese del 1596 e la liturgia slava nell'Istria", in: *Prispevki*, pp. 191–200.

with the Counter-Reformation in Istria and also the nearby Trieste and Krajnska region (Carniola).

From 1604 until his death in 1644, the Italian Gabriello Puliti spent most part of his life working as an organist and chapel master in Trieste (now in Italy), Koper (now in Slovenia), Labin and Pula (both now in Croatia). Puliti was an authoritative and prolific composer of early baroque monody in Trieste and Istria. He published at least thirtysix works of sacred and secular music and he was also highly regarded in present-day Slovenia and, perhaps also in Poland.¹⁴ Together with the first opera *Euridice* of Giulio Caccini (second edition, 1615), four titles of his own work are recorded in the catalogue of the Ljubljana Cathedral, written around 1624–1628, during the period of the patronage of bishop Tomaž Hren.¹⁵ Further, the Alto part-book of the second book of masses (1624), and two part-books of five-voices psalms *Vespertina psalmodia* (1618), are kept in the Archives of Wawel Cathedral in Cracow (Poland).¹⁶ Furthermore, five of Puliti's printed collections were originally housed in Fugger's library in Augsburg, before being transferred to Vienna, where they were catalogued in 1655 by the imperial librarian Matteo Mauchter.¹⁷ Today only *Ghirlanda odorifera* (1612) can still be found in the National library of Vienna.¹⁸

In the turbulent years of the Counter-Reformation, when a great number of Istrian monks and priests were accused of apostasy, Puliti, as a Franciscan, was compelled to dedicate some of his works to the most feared inquisitors and superiors.¹⁹ In 1614 he addressed his four-voice *Psalmodia vespertina* to Jakob Reinprecht,

14 Ivano Cavallini: "Puliti, Gabriello", in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani, 85 (2016), pp. 672–675.

15 See the items «Madrigalia Gabrielis Puliti a 5 Vocum», «Fantasie Gabrielis Puliti a 2», «Lunario Harmonico Gabrielis Puliti a 3», «Missae Gabrielis Puliti cum Parti[tura] a 4», all quoted in the *Inventarium librorum musicalium*, cf. Janez Höfler: *Glasbena umetnost pozne renesanse in baroka na Slovenskem* [Art Music of the Late Renaissance and Baroque in Slovenia]. Ljubljana: Partizanska knjiga, 1978, pp. 134–177, here pp. 134–156.

16 Marta Pielech: "Do repertuaru kapel wawelskih. Starodruki muzyczne zachowane w archiwum Katedry Wawelskiej" [On the Repertoire of Wawel Chapel. Ancient Printed Music Kept in the Archives of Wawel Cathedral], in: *Muzyka* 46/2 (2001), p. 75.

17 *Catalogus bibliothecae Fuggerianae* (Bibl. Pal. Vind. Cod. 12579 [Suppl. 363]). The recorded works are: «Psalmi Vesperarum | Puliti | in VI. libr.»; «Gabrielis de Pulitis Vesperae 4. et 5. vocum in lib. VIII.», «Gabriele Puliti Ghirlanda. 1^o», «F. Gabrielis de Pulitis sacri concentus. 1.2.3. vocibus», «Lunario Armonico perpetuo à 3. di Gabrielis Puliti»; cf. Metoda Kokole: "Early Sacred Monody and Its Journey from the Eastern Shores to the Adriatic to the Austrian Lands North of the Alps", in *Italian Music in Central-Eastern Europe: around Mikołaj Zieleński's Offertoria and Communiones (1611)*, ed. Tomasz Jeż, Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarminska, Marina Toffetti, Venice: Fondazione Levi, 2015, pp. 295–323, here pp. 303–304.

18 Gabriello Puliti: *Ghirlanda odorifera di vari fior tessuta, cioè mascherate a tre voci*. Venice: Vincenti, 1612 (RISM 5650), ed. Ivano Cavallini, Ljubljana: Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti, 2004 (*series Monumenta Artis Musicae Sloveniae*, 46).

19 Metoda Kokole: "Servitore affetionatissimo Fra' Gabriello Puliti and the Dedicatees of his Published Music Works (1600–1635)", in: *De Musica Disserenda* 3/2 (2007), pp. 107–134.

abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Stična, and a fervent Counter-Reformer of the Carniola region (Krajska region in present-day Slovenia), which enclosed the Pazin county of Inner Istria, where the reformer Stjepan Konzul worked.²⁰ The subtitle of the collection of psalms specifies that it was composed “iuxta ritum Sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae”, and the author remembers the friendship of the dedicatee with the bishop of Trieste Ursino de Bertis. De Bertis, who served as a secretary of the Archduke Karl Hapsburg, contributed to the banishment of the indigenous Aquileian rite and its related books after the Council of Udine. In 1618 Puliti dedicated one motet of his solo-voice book *Pungenti dardi spirituali* (namely, *Stella splendida et mattutina*),²¹ and in 1620 one of his motets *Sacri accenti* (namely, *O quam pulchra est virginum*) to Gregorio Dionigi da Cagli, a Franciscan appointed “Grand Inquisitor” of Istria in 1616.²² Consequently it is necessary to outline the role of Franciscan order, which was involved in the Dalmatian Province of St. Jerome, with the aim of reaffirming the Catholic faith in Istria. From 1559 to 1806, the monastery of Koper hosted a tribunal of inquisition, under the control of Roman Holy Office so as to avoid any interference of local church.²³

From a stylistic perspective, the book *Sacri accenti* represents the composer’s complete adherence to modern monody, after tentative steps taken in *Sacri concentus unis, binis, ternisque vocibus* (1614),²⁴ and *Pungenti dardi spirituali a una voce sola* (1618). A glance at the publication dates of *Lilia convallium* and *Sacri accenti* – respectively the third and fourth books of monody printed in 1620 – leads us to believe that the author split a set of scores into two parts to honour two eminent figures in Koper: the signature of *Lilia convallium* is dated 20 February, and *Sacri accenti* is marked 24 February 1620.²⁵

The first work is dedicated to Barnaba Brati (also known as Bruti), a descendant of an ancient Albanian family of Durrës (It. Durazzo), who served for seventeen years as a dragoman at the Venetian embassy in Istanbul. His father,

20 Gabriello Puliti: *Psalmodia vespertina omnium solemnitatium totius anni iuxta ritum Sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae quatuor vocibus paribus concinenda*. Venice: Vincenti, 1614 (RISM P 5651).

21 Gabriello Puliti: *Pungenti dardi spirituali a una voce sola*. Venice: Vincenti, 1618 (RISM P 5654), ed. Metoda Kokole, Ljubljana: Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti, 2001 (*series Monumenta Artis Musicae Sloveniae*, 40).

22 Gabriello Puliti: *Sacri accenti libro quarto delli concerti a una voce*. Venice: Vincenti, 1620 (RISM P 5656), ed. Metoda Kokole, Ljubljana: Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti, 2002 (*series Monumenta Artis Musicae Sloveniae*, 42).

23 Ljudevit Maračič: *Franjevci konventualci u Istri* [Conventual Franciscans in Istria]. Pazin: Istarsko Književno Društvo, 1992, pp. 34–35.

24 Gabriello Puliti: *Sacri concentus unis, binis, ternisque vocibus*. Venice: Vincenti, 1614 (RISM P 5652), ed. Metoda Kokole, Ljubljana: Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti, 2001 (*series Monumenta Artis Musicae Sloveniae*, 40).

25 Gabriello Puliti: *Lilia convallium Beatae Mariae Virginis. Libro terzo delli concerti a una voce*. Venice: Vincenti, 1620 (RISM P 5655) ed. Metoda Kokole, Ljubljana: Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti, 2002 (*series Monumenta Artis Musicae Sloveniae*, 42).

Giacomo, was appointed “capitano delli schiavi”, namely the captain of the Slav-ic militia, a kind of magistrature over the Slovene, Croatian and Vlach inhabitants, who originally settled in Rašpor fortress, and from 1511 onwards in Buzet. The second book is dedicated to Pietro Pola, an administrator and playwright of Koper. In recognition of his merits Pola received a knighthood from Duke Antonio Priuli on 5 September 1618; almost a year later, on 19 August 1619, the “doge” knighted Brati. It is likely that Puliti was charged by a local to edit both books and to use the same sentence: “dedicati al molto illustre signor il Signor Cavaliere Barnabà Brati”, “dedicati al molto illustre signor il Signor Cavaliere Pietro Pola”.²⁶

Even though *Sacri accenti* falls under the auspices of political patronage, from another perspective it is a work in praise of the Catholic church of Koper and in particular the Franciscan order. To this end, Puliti composed three motets in honour of St. Francis, St. Ursula, and St. Nazarius. Aiming to celebrate the protector of minors, the friar uses the antiphon *Salve, sancte Pater*, which is a part of St. Francis’s liturgy. The text of the so-called *transitus*, set to music also by Orazio Vecchi in 1590,²⁷ is a prayer to the saint, who allows minors to ascend to heaven: “Salve, sancte Pater,/patriæ lux, forma Minorum:/virtutis speculum, recti via, regula morum;/carnis ab exilio, duc nos ad regna polorum” (“Hail holy Father/light of our homeland, form of minors;/mirror of virtue, right way, and rule of conduct;/lead us from exile of the flesh to the kingdom of heaven”).

As a pictorial metaphor, the music shows the difficulty in maintaining a spiritual life, which is the key to the kingdom of heaven. The figure is depicted by interruptions to the melodic flow, whose range falls within an octave. In other words, the first note of each group of four notes shapes a complete scale, and the vocal line, characterized by the rhythm of dotted quaver and semiquaver, mirrors the poetic content of the verse “ad regna polorum”.²⁸

The piece for St. Francis, the antiphon for St. Ursula, commissioned by the aforementioned Dionigi da Cagli, falls into the category of virtuoso singing. *O quam pulchra est virginum*, written in honour of the protector of Koper, emphasizes the key words “pugnavit” and “triumphat”, thus evoking the martyrdom of the virgin and other maidens captured by the barbarians.²⁹

26 Pietro Stancovich: *Biografia degli uomini distinti dell’Istria*. vol. II, Trieste: Marenigh, 1829, pp. 230–233; Metoda Kokole: “Servitore affezionatissimo Fra’ Gabriello Puliti’ and the Dedictees of his Published Music Works (1600–1635)”.

27 *Motecta Horatii Vechii mutinensis, canonicus corigiensis quaternis, quinis, senis, & octonis vocibus. Nunc Primum in lucem edita. Serenissimo Principi Guglielmo, Palatino, Rheni Comiti, & utriusque Bavariae Duci. & c. Dicata*. Venice: Gardano, 1590 (RISM V 1005): motet number 31 of this collection.

28 Puliti: *Sacri accenti*, pp. 35–36.

29 *Ibidem*, pp. 45–46.

Proceeding to a more detailed consideration of the political imprint on the music for St. Nazarius, it is worth remembering that its verses are taken from the antiphon for the feast of St. Geminian. Furthermore, according to plainchant tradition, the embellishments are confined to the adjective “noster” whereas the music for the term “protector” – like the key words *Deus*, *Maria*, *Virgo*, *Jesus* – is featured in a simple syllabic rhythm.

A second issue, which cannot be ignored, involves the request to Nazarius for the protection of Koper, enunciated with a stationary melody for the verse “*Egida per te tuta ab hoste vivat*”.³⁰ On the contrary the plea for peace, “*perpetua pax letetur*”, is emphasized by a tripola in virtuoso style. In this case, the unusual term “*Egida*” for Koper is immediately noticeable in lieu of the more common Latin *Iustinopolis*, *Capris* or *Caput Histriae*. “*Egida*” is a toponym adopted by Girolamo Muzio to entitle his unfinished poem of 1572 on the mythological origins of Koper.³¹ Probably, the Latin lemma *Aegis* is grasped from the Greek *αἰγίς -ιδος* or more likely from *αἰξ αἰγός*, meaning goat, and goat is in turn an allusion to *Capris*, the other name for Koper (It. *Capodistria*). The protective *Aegis* – as employed by Homer in his *Iliad* – is an epithet of Amalthea’s skin, or that of her goat taken by Zeus in honour of her when she died – a trope which is found and varied in other similar legends. On the one hand the term is translatable as goat (*Capris-Koper*), on the other hand it literally means “under the aegis” of Nazarius. The choice of *Egida*, a word in which two meanings co-exist, is not a coincidence. Actually, it reaffirms the strong ties established by Puliti with the municipality of Koper and with Istrian Church hierarchy. As already quoted, the verses for St. Nazarius are the same as the Tuscan composer used in his earlier five-voice motet to St. Geminian, printed in the book *Sacrae Modulationes* (1600) when he was appointed “*magister chori*” in Pontremoli.³²

In short, the poems for Francis, Ursula and Nazarius, indicate a political choice that precedes the liturgical function. The glory of Franciscans, in tracing a correct approach to the religion, is emphasized by the first motet. The sacrifice of Ursula is the subject of the second motet, whose topic was appreciated by the inquisitor Dionigi, who was engaged in an ongoing campaign against heretics. Fi-

30 Ibidem, “*In festo Sancti Nazarii Protectoris Nostris*”, pp. 47–48.

31 Cf. Nives Zudič Antonič and Kristjan Knez: *Storia e antologia della letteratura italiana di Capodistria, Isola e Pirano*. Capodistria – Koper: Edizioni Unione Italiana Založnik Italijanska Unija, 2014, p. 107, and *L’Egida del signor Girolamo Muzio Giustinopolitano*, ed. Giovanni Quarantotto, Trieste: Hermannstorfer, 1913.

32 See the text: “*Protector noster Geminiane, /qui in te confitentibus semper ades, /respice Appuam tibi devotam, /per te tuta ab hoste vivat, /perpetua pace letetur/et vitam denique consequatur aeternam*”. Cf. Gabriello Puliti: *Sacrae Modulationes*. Parma: Viotti, 1600 (RISM 5646) ed. Nikola Lovrinič, Ljubljana: Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti, 2006 (*series Monumenta Artis Musicae Sloveniae*, 50).

nally, the paean for peace addressed to St. Nazarius, the other protector of Koper, is enunciated in the third motet.

Even the edition of the *Secondo libro delle messe a quattro voci* (1624) must be taken into account as a case study of the influence of the Counter-Reformation.³³ This book consists of two four-part masses, both with a continuo part-book in the form of *basso seguente*, respectively entitled *Messa concertata* and *Messa da choro*. The first is a motto mass and the second an imitation mass on the madrigal *Là ver l'aurora* (Petrarch: *Canzoniere*, 239), enclosed in Palestrina's *Primo libro di madrigali a quattro voci* (1555, RISM P 752). Instead of a *cantus firmus*, the head motif of *Messa concertata* is written down by Puliti and it appears in each movement sustaining the structure of the polyphony, as it is evident in the following *incipitarium*:

Kyrie:	Tenore	<i>f g a b flat c'</i>
Gloria:	Basso	<i>the same from bar two</i>
Credo:	Tenore	<i>c' b flat a g f</i>
Sanctus:	Tenore	<i>f g a b flat c'</i>
Agnus Dei:	Tenore	<i>a g f e d</i>

The motif recurs not only at the beginning of each of the five mass movements, but also within the Credo, where it is repeated as a separate monody before each verse on the words "Haec est fides catholica". This sentence is drawn from the creed of St. Athanasius of Alexandria (fourth century). The so-called Symbol of Athanasius, well-known by Orthodox, Catholic and Lutheran churches, is one of the three ecumenical creeds placed at the beginning of the *Book of Concord* (1580), the collection of doctrinal statements of the Lutheran Church. Its last line contains the words Puliti uses as a *memento* in his creed: "Haec est fides catholica, quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit" ("This is the Catholic faith; which except a man believe truly and firmly, he cannot be saved"). In antiquity, the Symbol was associated with the creed and it became a hymn within the Ambrosian rite. Since the sixth century, the Athanasian creed has been the first Christian statement of belief focusing on the Trinitarian dogma, in which the equality of the three persons of the Trinity is explicitly stated. Today, it is used in the Western Church once a year on Trinity Sunday.

Puliti's creed is unusual in other respects as well. As a simple descending or ascending one-voice melody, the head motif on the Symbol of Athanasius is con-

33 Gabriello Puliti: *Il secondo libro delle messe a quattro voci una concertata e l'altra da choro, con il basso continuo per sonar nell'organo*. Venice: Vincenti, 1624 (RISM 5658). Cf. the Introductory word of Ennio Stipčević in Gabriello Puliti, *Il secondo libro delle messe (1624)*, ed. Ennio Stipčević, Ljubljana: Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti, 2006 (*series Monumenta Artis Musicae Sloveniae*, 48).

ceived as a refrain that alternates the verses of the creed featured in chordal blocks or contrapuntal passages. Only at the end, as a logical conclusion of the narrative, the voices come together homophonically in joyful triple mensuration. The layout below gives the antiphonal shape of the music, in which the words of St. Athanasius appear eleven times as monody (on the left side), while most verses of the prayer are in polyphony (on the right side).

head-motif, monody		four-voice polyphony
Haec est fides catholica	Tenore	Credo
Id.	Alto	Credo
Id.	Canto	Credo in unum Deum etc.
Id.	Tenore	Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine etc.
Id.	Canto	Et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto etc.
Id.	Tenore	Crucifixus etiam pro nobis etc.
Id.	Alto	Et resurrexit etc.
Id.	Tenore-Basso	Et in Spiritum sanctum, Dominum etc.
Id.	Alto	Et unam sanctam catholicam etc
Id.	Tenore	Confiteor unum baptisma etc.
Id	Canto	Et vitam venturi saeculi amen
Id	C.A.T.B.	Amen

Gabriello Puliti, Credo from *Messa concertata* (1624) for four voices with Bc (canto, alto, tenore, basso, basso per l'organo)

This is an unusual kind of tribute to the Catholic profession of faith, both before and after the Council of Trent, that together with other interpolations was definitively prohibited by diocesan synods held in several bishoprics. Even though it was normal to add some Marian tropes to the *Gloria* from the time of Johannes Ciconia and Guillaume Dufay, or to the *Kyrie* in the sixteenth-century masses of Cristobal de Morales, the Counter-Reformation prohibited the insertion of unofficial lines in the *Credo*, and declared contrapuntal imitation unacceptable, with the aim of emphasizing the dogmatic value of the *Professio fidei* “Credo in unum Deum”.

Why did Puliti insert a ‘trope’ to his creed? Was he perhaps charged by any prominent figure of the Catholic Church of the littoral? Neither the mass dedicatee, nor other documents help us to clarify who induced the friar to do this. In my opinion, it is beyond doubt that it was not a free choice. Nevertheless, any answer can only take the form of a hypothesis, because there is nothing except the name of Francesco Corelio that links the dedicatory letter of *Messa concertata* to some renowned local Counter-Reformer.

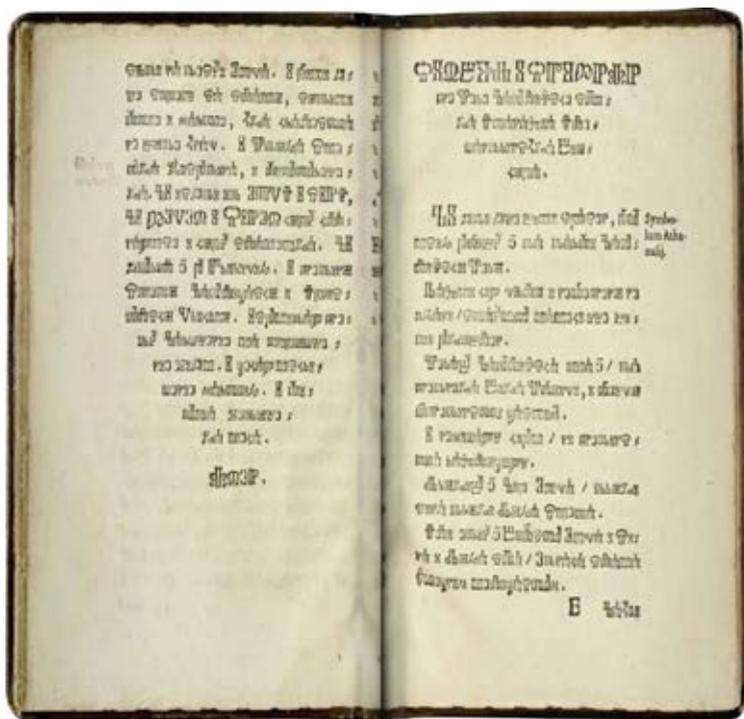


Figure 1: Symbol of Athanasius in Glagolitic script (Catechismus 1561)

A Croatian translation of the Athanasian Symbol can be retraced in a Catechism, published in Latin script by the aforementioned reformers Stjepan Konzul and Anton Dalmatin in Urach (1564). They had already adapted the same Catechism to the Glagolitic and Cyrillic scripts in 1561, containing the Athanasian Symbol, along the lines of the Slovenian version by Trubar (1550).³⁴

The text of 1564 is the final result of a fruitful comparison between the original Latin version and the others in Slavic languages. Its importance is also outlined on the title page written in the Latin alphabet: *Katehismus. Iedna malahna kniga v'koi yeszu vele potribni i koristni nauczi i artikuli prave ksrtianske vere s kratkim tlmatsenyem [...]. I ta prava vera od stana Bosyega, ili bitya u svetoy Trojczy, od svetoga Atanasia [...]. sada najprvo iz mnozih yazik v'harvaczki iztumatsena* (Catechism. A little book in which there are necessary and useful precepts and articles of the authentic Christian faith with short comments [...]. And the authentic faith in God's existence, or his existence in the Holy Trinity, of St. Athanasius [...] now, accord-

34 Original copies of both Glagolitic, Cyrillic and Latin versions are digitalized, cf. <http://idb.ub.uni-tuebingen.de/diglit/172/0005>; <http://idb.ub.unituebingen.de/diglit/172/0004>; <https://books.google.it/books/about/Katehismus.html>

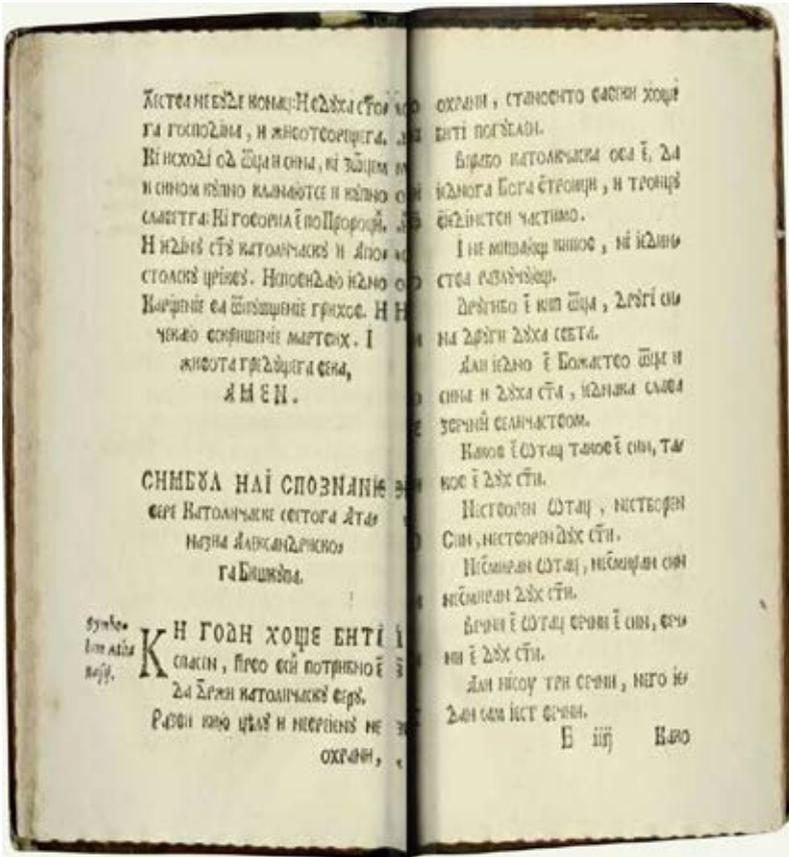


Figure 2: Symbol of Athanasius in Cyrillic script (Catechismus 1561)

ing to several languages, for the first time explained [translated] into Croatian).³⁵ This book was printed in four hundred copies, three hundred and thirty of which were sent to Villach to the aforementioned bookseller Nikolaus Buchler.³⁶

The three editions of the Catechism, each of them written in different alphabets and printed from 1561 to 1564, and the controversy that arose in 1561 between Trubar and Konzul regarding the earlier Glagolitic version, are even today an open problem from a linguistic viewpoint. First of all, it would be wrong to treat the Glagolitic, Cyrillic and Latin versions as literal translations in Old Church Slavonic, Serbian and Croatian languages, respectively, because these are transliterations from the Croatian. Obviously, it is not matter of a simple change of script. The phonetics linked to different alphabets, and the lexical and mor-

35 Anton Dalmatin and Stipan Istrian [Stjepan Konzul] (eds.): *Katechismus. Tübingen (i.e. Urach), 1564.*

36 Jembrih: "Dodatak pretisku", pp. 21–22.

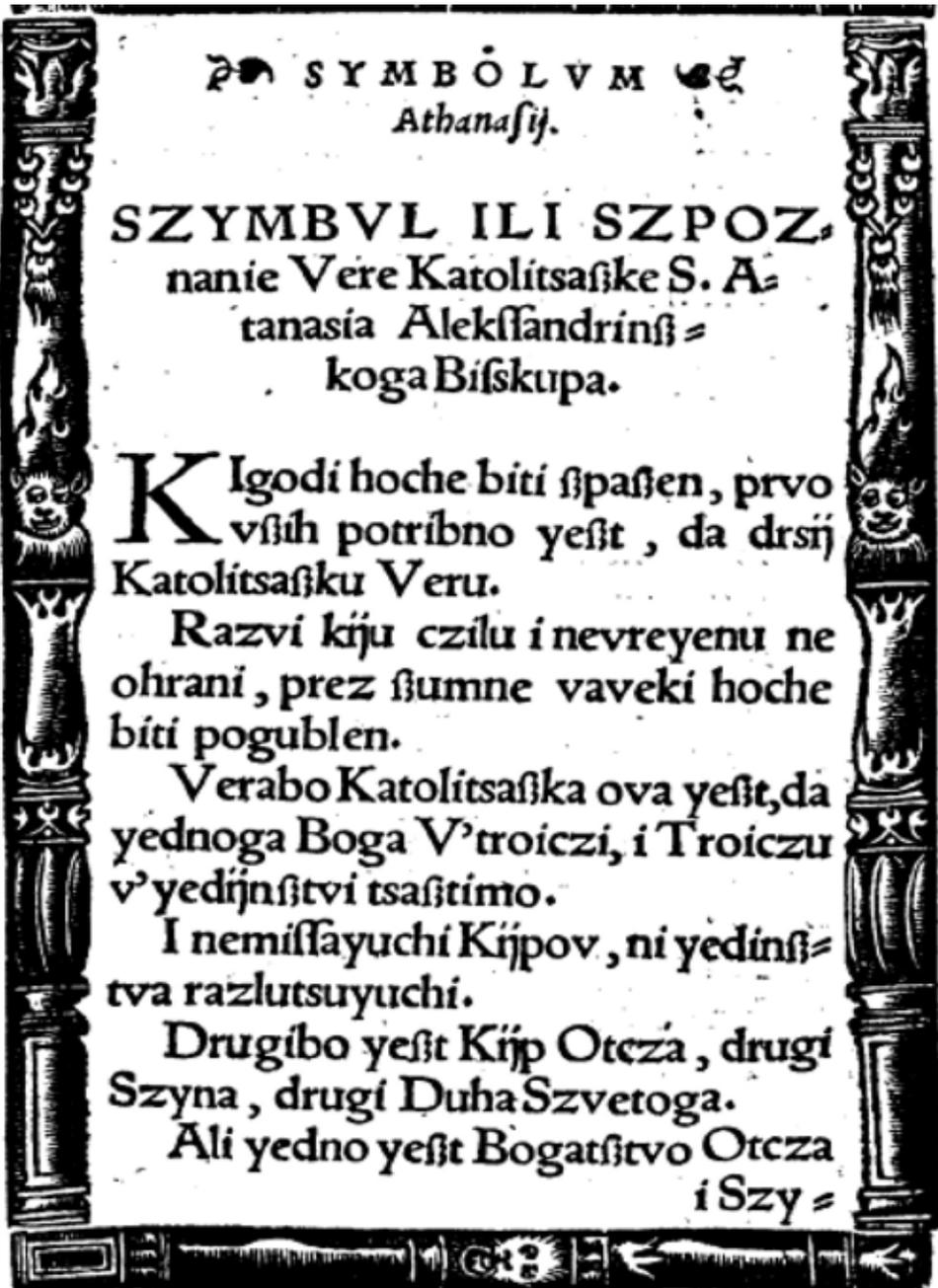


Figure 3: Symbol of Athanasius in Latin script (Catechismus 1564)

phological choices of the two reformers do imply some different outcomes among these books.³⁷ Meanwhile, with the help of collaborators from Istria and Quarner gulf (Juraj Cvečić, Matija Žvičić, Ivan Fabijanić, Ivan Lamella from Pazin, Vinko Vrnković and Matija Pomazanić from Beram, Frano Hlej from Gračišće, Juraj Juričić from Vinodol, Leonard Merčerić from Cres), the two reformers had prepared a Glagolitic version of the Old and New Testament in Urach, with Croatian (in Latin script) and German titles: *Prvi del Novoga testamta, va tom jesu svi četiri evanđelisti i dijanje Apustolsko, iz mnozih jazikov, v općeni sadašnji i razumni hrvacki jazik, po Antunu Dalmatinu i Stipanu Istranu, s pomoću drugih bratov, sada prvo verno stlmačen. Die erste halb Theil des neuen Testamentes, darinn sein die vier Evangelisten, und der Apostel Geschichte, jetzt zu ersten mal in die crobatische Sprach verdolmetscht, und mit glagolitischen Buchstaben gedruckt. V Tubingi, leta od Kristova rojstva (1562), Drugi del Novoga testamta v kom se zadrže Apustolske Epistole, po ordinu kako broj na drugoj strani ove harte kaže. Der andere halb Theil des neuen Testaments, jetzt zum ersten in die crobatische Sprach verdolmetscht, und mit glagolitischen Buchstaben gedruckt (1563). The language of the Glagolitic Bible is akin to the original sources. As testified by the foreword, the editors made a comparison among the best translations in Latin, Italian, German and Slovenian: “Začeli jesmo Novi testament iz najbollega latinskoga, vlaščkoga (i. e., Italian), nemškoga i kranjskoga tlačenja u hrvacki jezik tlačiti” (“We are beginning the translation of the New Testament into the Croatian language from the best versions in the Latin, Italian, German and Slovenian languages”).³⁸*

Very different is the issue of the quoted third edition of the Catechism (1564). This work in Latin script is addressed both to the young and to the common people, “za mlade i priposti lyudi”, as written on the title page. The resolution to publish it in Latin script was probably due to the meagre success of the two previous versions. It repeats the attempt to create a new kind of popular language as happened with the Bible. The language of the *Katehismus* is a supra-dialectal koinè as well, or rather a mixture of language systems. Its *čakavjan* underground

37 Gordana Čupković: “Jezik odlomka reformacijskoga glagoljskog katekizma 1561 i glagoljaška književna tradicija” [The Language of a Part of the Reformation Glagolitic Catechism from 1561 and the Glagolitic Literary Tradition], in: *Čakavska rič* 38 (2010), pp. 209–226.

38 Jembrih: “Od uspjeha do izjave”, p. 58. The two works are available both in reprint and in modern transliteration from the Glagolitic into Latin script; (reprint) *Novi testament 1562/1563*. Zagreb: Teološki fakultet “Matija Vlačić Ilirik”, 2007; (transliteration) *Novi testament I dio, 1562. Latinički prijepis glagoljskog izvornika* [The New Testament, First Book of 1562. Transliteration into Latin from the Original Glagolitic Script], ed. Vesna Badurina Stipčević et al., Zagreb: Adventističko teološko visoko učilište Maruševec, Filozofski fakultet, Školska knjiga, 2013; *Novi testament. II dio. 1563. Latinički prijepis glagoljskog izvornika* [The New Testament, Second Book of 1563. Transliteration into Latin from the Original Glagolitic Script], ed. Vesna Badurina Stipčević et al., Zagreb: Adventističko teološko visoko učilište Maruševec, Filozofski fakultet, Školska knjiga, 2015.

is intermingled with lemmas and other elements drawn from Old Slavonic and Slovenian languages, without any relationship to any particular dialect of Istria. The blend of diverse linguistic strata emphasizes the aim of spreading Protestantism throughout all the Croatian lands, and in particular in the regions where Glagolitic and Cyrillic alphabets were unknown, like in the Northern Croatian territories. At the same time, Catechism enhanced the danger for the Roman Church of losing these lands, which were considered the *antemurale christianitatis* against Turkish invasions. To this extent, it is necessary to specify the important role played by the language also for the Roman Church.

After the Council of Trent, an important Croatian Catechism was edited by the Spanish Jesuit Diego Ledesma, with the help of an unknown translator (*Dottrina christiana. Composta per il P. D. Lesdesma della Compagnia di Gesù, et tradotta di lingua italiana in lingua schiava* [Slavic language] *per un padre della medesima Compagnia*, 1578).³⁹ Written in the local štokavjan of Dubrovnik, this book was required by the government of the Adriatic Republic through the offices of bishop Vincenzo Porticus. Apart from the untraceable copy of Catechism after the visitation of bishop Agostino Valier in the 1580s, another meaningful version in ikavjan-štokavjan is due to the effort of Aleksandar Komulović (*Nauch charstianschi za slovingnschi narod u vlastiti iazich. Dottrina christiana per la nazione illirica nella propria lingua*, 1582).⁴⁰ The book of the future Vatican ambassador from Split has the same structure as Pietro Canisius *Summa doctrinae christianae per quaestiones catecheticas* (1571).⁴¹ Probably, it was written for the visit to Bosnia by the bishop Augustin Kvincije (It. *Quinti*) from Korčula. Its language is the ikavjan-štokavjan, a variant spoken by all the inhabitants of this region submitted to the Ottomans along with Catholic Croatian people of Herzegovina. After his very successful work as a diplomat in Transylvania, Moldova, Poland and Russia, Komulović translated and edited a new Catechism based on the version of Roberto Bellarmino's *Dottrina christiana breve perché si possa imparare a mente* (1597).⁴² On the title page Komulović emphasizes the source of his inspiration: *Nauch charstyanschi chratach. Sloxen po naredenyu Svetoga oca papa Clemente VIII. Po posttavonamu ocu Roberto Bellarminu popu od druxbe Isusove sada prisvitlomu gospodinu chardinalu S. R. C. Istumacen po ocu Alexandru Choyazmulovichia popu iste druxbe u yazich slovinschi* (A short Christian Learning. Composed according to the order of the Holy Father, pope Clemens VIII, by the esteemed father Roberto Bellarmino, Jesuit priest and now his eminence, the cardinal of the S. R. C. Translated into Slavic [Croatian] language by Father Aleksandar Komulović of the same

39 Printed in Venice by Bonifacio Zanetti. Cf. Tonči Trstenjak: "Hrvatski katekizmi u razdoblju tridentiske obnove" [Croatian Catechisms During the Sixteenth-century Tridentine Renewal], in: *Obnovljeni Život. Časopis za Filozofiju i Religijske Znanosti*, 69/3 (2014), pp. 339–352.

40 Printed in Rome by Francesco Zanetti.

41 Printed in Dillingen by Sebald Mayer.

42 Printed in Rome by Zanetti.

order, 1603).⁴³ On this occasion, the translator used another kind of language, the čakavjan-štokavjan of Dalmatia and partly of Istria.

Another question must be raised about the use of expression “Croatian language” on the title pages of the three Protestants Catechisms (“v’harvaczki”), and vice versa the use of Slavic language (“lingua schiava”, “yazich slovinski”) in the Catholic Catechisms.⁴⁴ This is paradoxical when we consider that Protestant books were conceived for all Slavs of the Balkan regions, not only for the Croats, whereas any Catholic Catechism was written in favour of the inhabitants of Dubrovnik, Bosnia, and Dalmatia. The failure of reformers’ utopia in spreading the new religion in a supranational Croatian language was due to the lack of Lutheran preachers in a dangerous terrain under the control of Orthodox, Catholics and Islamic faiths. On the contrary, the success of Roman Church was the result of a concrete policy in spite of linguistic and cultural diversities.⁴⁵

In addition to this linguistic difference, a comparison of different ways in spreading the Christian faith by Protestants and Catholics in Croatia, and of course in Slovenia, reaffirms two irreconcilable viewpoints of human nature. A self-sufficient reading of Holy books represents a significant stepping stone, which led Konzul and Dalmatin to edit the same invented supranational Croatian Catechism in three alphabets. The diverse kinds of Croatian language in the Catholic area are not in contrast with the idea of supremacy of Latin for sacred books, which had to be explained only by clergymen. In other words, all Protestants had the right to learn in the vernacular the principles of the Christian faith. On the contrary the Roman Catholic church granted a limited opportunity to understand the Christian faith through the vernacular without denying the essential function of Latin; it was considered a mistake to place at the same level the use of Latin books and the catholic catechisms for Bosnian, Dalmatian and Istrian people. Only in the 1630s, the Roman Curia began to print sacred books in Glagolitic alphabet for priests of Istria, but not for all Croats or Slovenes.

As has been said, perhaps Puliti was forced to insert the “Haec est fides catholica” by an important figure of the Roman Church, or the dedicatee Francesco Corelio *utriusque legis doctor* (i. e., doctor of both laws, canon and civil), whose work in favour of the Counter-Reformation still remains unknown. Lutherans

43 Printed in Rome by Zanetti.

44 Alojz Jembrih: *Stipan Konzul i “Biblijski zavod” u Urachu. Rasprave i građa o hrvatskoj književnoj produkciji u Urachu (1561.–1565.) i Regensburgu. Prilog povijesti hrvatskoga jezika i književnosti protestantizma* [Stipan Konzul and the “Biblical Institute” in Urach. Questions and Works about the Croatian Books Production of Urach (1561–1565) and Regensburg. A Contribution to the History of the Croatian Language and to the Literature of Protestantism]. Zagreb: Teološki Fakultet Matija Vlačić Ilirik, 2007, pp. 256–263.

45 Slobodan Prosperov Novak: *Slaveni u renesansi* [Slavs in the Renaissance]. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 2009, pp. 659–661, and pp. 793–795.

believed in the self-sufficient reading of the text via the Holy Spirit, refusing both the authority of the Pope and the Church hierarchy. Probably, the ‘trope’ is given as a reaction to the ‘incorrect approach’ of the Croatian followers of Luther in Istria and Croatia proper. With regard to the Athanasian Symbol, accepted by Christianity, the words “Haec est fides catholica” must be interpreted only in a narrow sense, i. e., as “universal faith”. This is the etymology both of the Greek term *katholikos* and the Latin *catholicus*. Nevertheless, during the Council of Trent the Roman Church misappropriated the word catholic and appointed itself as the one and only Catholic Church.

In other words, Puliti’s mass is an example of cosmopolitan polyphony deprived of its own autonomy. Charged with a new meaning through the words of St. Athanasius, that is, the supremacy of the Roman Church transformed into Catholic (i. e., universal), the *Credo* functions as a warning for heretics. Probably, the fear of a new censorship led the Franciscan to avow submission to the Vatican’s policy through this contradictory manipulation of the *Professio fidei*. His aim was to reaffirm the Roman Church’s power over the multilingual society of rebellious Italian, Slovenian, and Croatian Protestants, who were settled from Styria to the coastal area.

Obviously, it is not easy to produce evidence for this hypothesis. Unfortunately, this kind of creed is a unique specimen within the context of sacred repertoire published by Istrian and Dalmatian composers during the first half of the seventeenth century. Furthermore, through the agency of the Athanasian Symbol, other disciplines, more popular than polyphony, were engaged to protect the tenets of Catholicism. One thinks, for example, of the Italian preacher Francesco Panigarola (1548–1594), whose homiletic eloquence was useful to explain the ‘mistakes’ of Calvin. In his book *Lettoni sopra i dogmi* (1582) he remarks that penance is of no value for Christians without a concrete penalty before death, thus justifying the traditional selling of indulgences.⁴⁶ This petty factionalism is associated with St. Athanasius’ words, which reappear also in Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia*. The second edition of this famous book, printed in 1603,⁴⁷ introduces the figure of Faith, depicted as a young woman in a white tunic with a helmet on her head, a heart topped by a candle in her right hand, and the stone of the Old Testament in her left. As Ripa says, the helmet represents the need for intellect to prevent

46 Francesco Panigarola: *Lettoni sopra dogmi fatte [...] alla presenza e per comandamento del serenissimo Carlo Emanuele di Savoia l'anno MDLXXXII in Torino. Nelle quali, da lui dette calviniche, come si confondi la maggior parte della dottrina di Gio. Calvino. E con che ordine si faccia, dopo la lettera si dimostrerà.* Venezia: Dusinelli, 1584 (second ed.), pp. 172v–173r.

47 Cesare Ripa: *Iconologia ovvero descrizione di diverse imagini cavate dall'antichità et di propria inventione, trovate et dichiarate [...]. Di nuovo rivista et [...] ampliata di 400 et più imagini [...]. Opera non meno utile che necessaria a poeti, pittori, scultori et altri per rappresentare le virtù, viti, affetti, et passioni umane.* Rome: Lepido Facii, 1603, pp. 150–151.

the sophistry of heretics, and the heart designates sentiment as the unique tool to gain true faith.

Finally, from a social point of view, the revolt of miners in Süd Tyrol led by Michael Gaysmair (1525), the German peasants war against feudal oppression, the evangelical society of the Anabaptist movement and the revolt of Croatian and Slovenian peasants headed by Matija Gubec (1573), represented for the Roman Curia and the Hapsburgs the danger arising from a literal reading of the Gospel. Frightened by these events, the Archdukes and the nobility in Inner Austria, through the policy of the Catholic clergy, restored the earlier order over the dissatisfied burghers and poor peasants.

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