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Pro laudatissima domo Austriaca: Music and Eucharistic Devotion at the Prague Court of Rudolf II (1576–1612)

Since the pioneering work of Anna Coreth first appeared some fifty years ago, her theory about the development of a form of religious devotion unique to the House of Austria—a *pietas austriaca*—has offered musicologists a productive vantage point from which to view sacred music at the courts of Habsburg emperors from Ferdinand II (r. 1619–1637) onwards.¹ The *pietas austriaca* thesis has had less impact on our understandings of musical activities at earlier courts, however. In the case of Rudolf II (r. 1576–1612), with whom this paper is concerned, scholars have focused primarily on the secular aspects of his court and his patronage. Despite the abundance of sacred music written by members of the Rudolfine chapel in Prague, its connections to the religious culture of the court and the city from which it arose remain relatively unexplored.²

¹ Anna Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca: Ursprung und Entwicklung barocker Frömmigkeit in Österreich* (Munich, 1959); second edition, 1982. For the English translation, see Anna Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca*, trans. William Bowman and Anna Maria Leitgeb (West Lafayette, 2004). I cite the English translation throughout. Musicological studies building on the *pietas austriaca* thesis include Steven Saunders, *Cross, Sword, and Lyre: Sacred Music at the Imperial Court of Ferdinand II of Habsburg (1619–1637)* (Oxford, 1995) and Andrew Weaver, 'Music in the Service of Counter-Reformation Politics: The Immaculate Conception at the Habsburg Court of Ferdinand III (1637–1657)', *Music and Letters*, 87 (2006), 361–378.

² An important contribution is Michael Silies, *Die Motetten des Philippe de Monte (1521–1603)* (Göttingen, 2009) which, while reliant on English- and German-language secondary literature, explores whether—and, if so, how—confession plays out in de Monte's motets (see especially 87–89 and 255–284). Robert Lindell's research in Vienna archives has shed considerable light on musical activity at Rudolf's court. See, for example, Robert Lindell, 'Music and Patronage at the Court of Rudolf II', in *Music of the German Renaissance*, ed. John Kmetz (Cambridge, 2006), 254–271. Carmelo Comberiati, *Late Renaissance Music at the Habsburg Court: Polyphonic Settings of the Mass Ordinary at the Court of Rudolf II, 1576–1612* (New York, 1987), is concerned primarily with analysis. Recent work by Czech scholars is indispensable for those wishing to explore musical activity in Renaissance Prague: see, for example, Petr Daněk, 'Rudolfinská Praha jako hudební centrum' [Rudolfine Prague as a Musical Centre], *Opus musicum*, 32 (2000), 15–25.

Rudolf tends to be depicted either as a misunderstood, melancholic figure dabbling in the occult or as a peace-loving patron of the arts and sciences.³ Often, his stance towards religion is extrapolated from his reluctance in later years to attend church services and processions, and from his signing of the 1609 Letter of Majesty, which granted freedom of worship to Bohemia's Protestants. It is not always noted that during his reign the Catholic church enjoyed a resurgence in Prague, albeit one that proceeded in fits and starts.⁴ Rather, the beginning of aggressive Habsburg Catholicism in Prague and in Bohemia is located in the person of Ferdinand II and in the event of the Battle of White Mountain (1620).⁵ For every villain, there must be a hero, and so Rudolf has been seen as presiding, like his father, over an age of religious tolerance, a period of enlightenment before the advent of an age known in Czech nationalist historiographies as the period of darkness (*těmno*).⁶

Like his more familiar successors, however, Rudolf was forced to arbitrate between Catholic and Protestant interests, all the while retaining the image of a distinctly Catholic ruler. In this paper, I propose that during Rudolf's reign, a nascent Habsburg *pietas* took shape around the figure of the Emperor in response to the religious situation in Bohemia, and I suggest that one manifestation of this *pietas* was sacred music written by imperial composers. Following Coreth, who identified *pietas eucharistica* as a mainstay of Habsburg devotional culture, I focus on eucharistic veneration. I devote

³ Peter Marshall's *The Theatre of the World: Alchemy, Astrology and Magic in Renaissance Prague* (London, 2006) is symptomatic of this trend. The seminal English-language study of religion and culture at Rudolf II's court remains Robert Evans, *Rudolf II and his World: A Study in Intellectual History, 1576–1612* (Oxford, 1973). Equally valuable, although unfortunately unavailable in English, is Josef Janáček, *Rudolf II. a jeho doba* [Rudolf II and his Age] (Prague, 1987). The literature on visual culture and image-making is too vast to list here, but two important studies are Karl Vocelka, *Die politische Propaganda Kaiser Rudolfs II. (1576–1612)* (Vienna, 1981) and Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister and City: The Art and Culture of Central Europe, 1450–1800* (Chicago, 1995).

⁴ James Palmitessa offers a necessary corrective to prevailing views that the Catholic church was relatively ineffectual in Rudolfine Prague in, among other studies, 'The Prague Uprising of 1611: Property, Politics, and Catholic Renewal in the Early Years of Habsburg Rule', *Central European History*, 31 (1998), 299–328.

⁵ On the Battle of White Mountain as a watershed moment in Czech history, see Victor Mamatey, 'The Battle of the White Mountain as Myth in Czech History', *East European Quarterly*, 15 (1981), 335–345 and Jiří Mikulec, *Pobělohorská rekatolizace v českých zemích* [Post-White Mountain Recatholicization in the Bohemian Lands] (Prague, 1992).

⁶ On *těmno*, see Howard Louthan, *Converting Bohemia: Force and Persuasion in the Catholic Reformation* (Cambridge and New York, 2009), 14–15 and 211–212.

the first part of this paper to an overview of the significance of eucharistic veneration and the associated feast of Corpus Christi in Rudolfiner Prague. I then turn my attention to a subset of eucharistic motets, specifically those setting the words spoken by Jesus at Capernaum, as told in John 6. In most cases, the composer's textual and musical decisions render the pieces doctrinally flexible—one might say 'neutral'—capable, in other words, of accommodating a range of understandings of Eucharist and Communion. As such, they reflect Rudolf's pragmatic stance with respect to Bohemia's confessional situation, demonstrating a degree of accommodation towards Utraquist beliefs while rejecting those of more radical sects. I argue, however, that one motet, *Ego sum panis vivus* by the imperial chapel master, Philippe de Monte (1521–1603), departs from this 'neutral' norm in its projection of a specifically Catholic understanding of the Eucharist, and I connect this departure to larger political and religious shifts in pre-White Mountain Bohemia.

Confessional lines were drawn differently, and less clearly, in late sixteenth-century Prague than elsewhere in the Holy Roman Empire. The majority of the population was Utraquist, following the teachings of Jan Hus (1372–1415) and communicating under both species (*sub utraque*) while retaining a good deal of their Catholic heritage in terms of liturgy and music.⁷ Prague also housed significant Lutheran and Bohemian Brethren communities, despite restrictions on their public worship.⁸ Catholics were found in large numbers only at the imperial court and among the Italian community of architects, masons, and merchants.⁹ Indeed, in the 1590s, Catholic (i.e. *sub una*) Communion was dispensed at just four churches or church-complexes out of the several dozen in Prague.¹⁰

⁷ On Utraquist liturgical practice, see Barry Graham, 'The Evolution of the Utraquist Mass, 1420–1620', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 92 (2006), 552–573, and David Holeton, 'The Evolution of the Czech Eucharistic Liturgy: A Textual Study', in Zdeněk David and David Holeton (eds.) *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice 1: Papers from the 18th World-Congress of the Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences, Brno, 1996* (Prague, 1996), 97–126. On polyphony in Utraquist services, see Jan Bat'a, 'Foliant Trubky z Rovin: Truchny Popis a Nastoleni Otazek' [The Folio of Trubky z Rovin: A Brief Overview and Some Questions], *Acta musicologica.cz: Revue pro hudební vědu*, 4 (2007). Available at <http://acta.musicologica.cz>. Accessed 10 September 2009.

⁸ Hilda Lietzmann, 'Die Deutsch-Lutherische Dreifaltigkeits-, die spätere Ordenskirche St. Maria de Victoria auf der Kleinen Seite zu Prag', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 40 (1977), 205–226, at 205.

⁹ Peter Rigetti, *Historische Nachricht [...] der Wellischen Congregation* (Prague, 1773).

¹⁰ The four institutions were St Vitus Cathedral, St Thomas, St James, and the churches at the Jesuit Clementinum.

What they lacked in numbers, Prague's Catholic churches made up for in the prestige of their congregations and in the quality of music performed on feast days. Contemporary accounts record the presence of resident and visiting diplomats and noble families, and reveal that imperial musicians did not remain in seclusion at St Vitus high up on Castle Hill.¹¹ Rather, they intervened in the soundscape of the city below, performing on occasions such as Corpus Christi at St Thomas in Malá Strana, or across the Vltava River at the Clementinum or St James.¹² In this way, Prague's few Catholic churches were able to compete with the lively tradition of Latin and Czech polyphony at local Utraquist churches.¹³

With so many sects on the scene, Utraquists were viewed by Rome not as heretics, but as schismatics—the least of many evils.¹⁴ Unlike Lutherans in Vienna, Prague's Utraquists had long been allowed to practice their religion openly and, in 1564, Archbishop Antonín Brus z Mohelnice (r. 1561–1580) had, with the backing of Rudolf's grandfather, Ferdinand I (r. 1558–1564), successfully lobbied Rome for permission to allow Communion *sub utraque*

¹¹ Pierre Bergeron, 'Voyages d'Allemagne et d'Italie, 28 juin 1600–26 décembre 1600'. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Manuscrits français No. 5562, fos. 126–130, contains the entries pertaining to Bergeron's visit to Prague. This material is quoted in large part in F.–G. Pariset, 'Pierre Bergeron à Prague (1600)', in *Relations Artistiques entre les Pays-Bas et l'Italie à la Renaissance: Études Dédiées à Suzanne Sulzberger* (Brussels, 1980), 185–198, and in Eliška Fučíková, *Tři francouzští kavalíři v rudolfinské Praze: Pierre Bergeron, Jacques Esprinchard, Francois de Bassompierre* [Three French Gentlemen in Rudolfine Prague: Pierre Bergeron, Jacques Esprinchard, Francois de Basompierre] (Prague, 1989).

¹² See, for example, fo. 189r of the Jesuit *Diarium* held in the library of the Premonstratensian Monastery at Strahov in Prague (Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově) under the shelf number DC III 20. It records two Corpus Christi processions for the year 1580: on June 8, we read: 'Eodem die Proces[s]io Corporis Christi (quae 2. Junij solenniter habita fuit) [magnificentius] repetita est, adhibitis etiam Tubicinibus Imperatorijs.' The following Sunday, we read: 'Processio quoq[ue] instituta per insulam Monasterio vicinam [...] Imperatorij Cantores [et] tubicines tum proces[s]ionem tum sacrum ipsum concentu suo exornabant'.

¹³ Zikmund Winter, 'O Bratřinách Literátských' [Concerning Literary Brotherhoods], in *Život Církevní v Čechách: Kulturně–historický z XV.–XVI. Století* [Church Life in Bohemia: a Cultural–Historical Picture from the 15th and 16th Centuries] (Prague, 1896), 971.

¹⁴ For a revisionist history of sixteenth-century Utraquism and a convincing argument in support of its continuing vitality, see Zdeněk David, *Finding the Middle Way: The Utraquists' Liberal Challenge to Rome and Luther* (Baltimore, 2003).

at Catholic churches within the Prague Archdiocese.¹⁵ Subsequent archbishops and the papal nuncios resident at the imperial court retained hope that Utraquists might yet be lured back to the fold.¹⁶ This resulted in a policy of limited accommodation towards local eucharistic traditions even after the Council of Trent had called for an end to such practices, and to striking departures from Tridentine practice even at the city's Catholic churches.¹⁷ On Corpus Christi, the most public and polarizing of feast days elsewhere in confessional Europe, Prague's Catholics and Utraquists aligned for a moment, each holding their own processions, with both groups advertising their beliefs in transubstantiation to the less visible communities of Lutherans, Bohemian Brethren, and Calvinists.

The arrival of the imperial court in Prague in 1583 threatened to tip the delicate balance of power in favour of the Catholic Church. Although notoriously ambivalent towards religion in later years, Rudolf had begun his reign an ardent Catholic: in 1578, for example—a year after banning Protestant worship in Vienna—he marched with his brothers through the city's streets in a Corpus Christi procession.¹⁸ No Emperor had done so in fifteen years. His zeal survived the move to Prague, and was formally recognized in 1585 by Philip II (1527–1598), who saw to it that Rudolf was awarded the Order of the Golden Fleece in a lavish ceremony held at Prague Castle.¹⁹ Rudolf subsequently renewed measures against the Bohemian Brethren (1602) and

¹⁵ The right to communicate in both kinds had been granted in the 1430s under the terms of the Compactata of Jihlava (Iglau). See Jaroslav Panek, 'Bohemia and Moravia in the Age of the Reformation', in Ole Peter Grell and Bob Scribner (eds.), *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation* (New York and Cambridge, 1996), 233.

¹⁶ Their dreams almost came to fruition when, in 1591, the administrator of the Utraquist Consistory converted to Catholicism; in 1593, he and some 50 former Utraquist priests were welcomed by the Pope in Rome. See Francis Dvornik, *The Slavs in European History and Civilization* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1962), 401.

¹⁷ If Bergeron is to be believed, Catholic priests in Prague were dispensing Communion in both kinds as late as 1600, relying on Pius IV's bull for authorization. See Fučíková, *Tři francouzští kavalíři v rudolfinské Praze*, 44–45, cited in Barry Graham, *Bohemian and Moravian Graduals, 1420–1620* (Turnhout, 2006), 44.

¹⁸ Letter from Georg Eder to Duke Albert of Bavaria, dated 30 May 1578; reprinted in Walter Stürminger, 'Der Milchkrieg zu Wien am Fronleichnamstag 1578', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 58 (1950), 614–624, at 620. Both are cited in Howard Louthan, *The Quest for Compromise: Peace-Makers in Counter-Reformation Vienna* (Cambridge and New York, 1997), 155.

¹⁹ Paul Zehentner von Zehentgrub, *Ordenliche [sic] Beschreibung, mit was stattlichen Zeremonien [...]* (Dillingen, 1587). See also the section entitled 'Rad zlatého rouna' [The Order of the Golden Fleece] in Janáček, *Rudolf II*, 255–268.

ordered the resumption of Corpus Christi processions throughout the Prague archdiocese. He remained circumspect, however, in his dealings with main-line Utraquists.

Catholic eucharistic devotion took on a political dimension each Thursday morning, when the recently-founded Corpus Christi Confraternity *in aula caesarea*—a brotherhood which included a number of courtiers and imperial musicians—met in St Thomas Church below Prague Castle to sing a solemn Mass in honour of the Blessed Sacrament.²⁰ This collective devotion was carried out with the specific goals of rooting out the errors of heretics (i.e. Brethren) and attracting schismatics (i.e. Utraquists) *ad gremium matris sanctae*. Moreover, the prayers were offered

pro sua M. Caesarea, Domino nostro clementissimo, proque laudatissima domo Austriaca, quo sub ipsius protectione in vera [et] orthodoxa religione quiete' dies peregrinationis nostrae transigere valeamus.²¹

(on behalf of his Imperial Majesty, our most merciful lord, and the most praiseworthy house of Austria, under whose protection may we have the power to finish our days of wandering in peace, following the true and orthodox religion).

With the installation of Zbyněk Berka z Dubé as Archbishop (r. 1592–1606), the Church moved away from its longstanding policy of toleration. Berka's campaign to regularize Catholic worship culminated in the 1605 Prague Synod, which promoted Tridentine eucharistic practice and called for the establishment of Corpus Christi confraternities following the model of the Prague brotherhood.²²

As the Catholic reform movement within the Prague archdiocese gained momentum, though, it lost the support of its most powerful temporal

²⁰ Jacobus Chimarraeus, *SACRVM / GAZOPHYLA—/CIVM / Laudabilis Confraternitatis Sa[cra]—/tissimi Corporis Christi in aula Caesarea* (Prague, 1588), 265–266. A second edition of the *gazophylacium* was printed in 1594; in this paper, I cite the 1588 print. The substantial relationships between the brotherhood and members of the imperial chapel are established in Robert Lindell, 'Relations between Musicians and Artists at the Court of Rudolf II', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, 85/86 (1989–1990), 79–88, at 86. For connections between specific motets, the *Sacrum gazophylacium*, and the brotherhood's musical activities, see Silies, *Die Motetten des Philippe de Monte*, 223–234.

²¹ Chimarraeus, *Sacrum gazophylacium*, 265–267.

²² Zbyněk Berka z Dubé, *SYNODVS / ARCHIDIOCESENA / PRAGENSIS, / Habita ab / IL-LVSTRIS. ET REVE—/RENDISS. DOMINO, D. SBIGNEO BERKA...* (Prague, 1605), 89. The relevant passage reads, 'In Ecclesijs Parochialibus, ubi fraternitas Corporis Christi erecta non est, erigatur infra tres menses proximos, [et] eas regulas, ac praescriptiones [sic] confratres obseruent, quae iussu nostro edentur.'

supporter, the Emperor. By 1601, Rudolf was congratulated when he took Communion and, by 1606, his brothers complained that 'His Majesty has [...] reached the stage of abandoning God entirely [...]. Not only does he refuse to attend any sermon, public service, procession, or the like, but he hates and curses all who participate in them [...].'²³

With the Emperor's faith wavering, Catholic apologists used Habsburg eucharistic piety as a means of justifying the dynasty's continuing possession of the imperial throne. Indeed, it is during Rudolf's reign that we see the earliest printed accounts of his predecessor and namesake, Rudolf I (r. 1273–1291), and his devotion to the Eucharist.²⁴

A representative example is found in a sermon given in Vienna by the Jesuit Georg Scherer (1540–1605) in defence of the Feast of Corpus Christi.²⁵ Scherer tells the story of Rudolf I giving his horse to a priest carrying the host, making an explicit connection between this early act of reverence and the participation of his descendant, Charles V (r. 1520–1556), in a Corpus Christi procession at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, despite the ridicule of heretics.

Das ist der Segen vber das Hauß Österreich den es biß auff den heutigen tag mit der that vnd werck erfahren und empfinden. Daher dise Ertzhertzogen jederzeit grosse andacht gegen disem Sacrament getragen / insonderheit zu dem Gottsleichnamfest vnd Umbgang [...].²⁶

²³ Statement of the Archdukes of Vienna (1606), quoted and translated in Evans, *Rudolf II and his World*, 84. The German original is given in Silies, *Die Motetten des Philippe de Monte*, 89.

²⁴ Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca*, 13–17.

²⁵ Georg Scherer, *Ein predig von Gotts=leichenambs Fest und umbgang./Geschehen zu Wienn in Österreich / durch Geor=gium Scherer Societatis IESV, am tag der Heyligen Dreifaltigkeit* (Ingolstadt, 1588). A good example from Prague is Georg Bartholdus Pontanus von Breitenberg [Jiří Barthold Pontanus z Breitenberga], *Serenissimae ac potentissimae Dominae Dominae Mariae, Rom. Imperatricis Ungaria ac Bohemia Regina & c. Laudatio funebris* (Prague, 1603) written upon the death of Rudolf's mother, Maria of Spain, in 1603. Pontanus dedicates the print to Philip II and to Maria's surviving children: the Emperor and his brothers. He recounts the story of Rudolf I, and makes an explicit connection with Habsburg temporal success (fo. Biii r [2]): 'Haec est illa benedicta Domus Austriaca, quae SS Ecclesiam Catholicam Romanum [et] Pontifices maximos miris modis defendit [et] conservavit [...]. Haec benedictissima familia innumeros sanctos habet in coelestibus, ex omni vitae genere. Haec augustissima familia 10. Imperatores, 2. Imperatrices 5. Reges Hyspaniae 3. Reginas Franciae, 2. Portugaliae, una[m] Daniae [...] protulit.'

²⁶ Ibid. fo. 14v.

(This is the blessing on the House of Austria, which it has experienced and sensed up to the present day in deeds and acts. For this reason these Archdukes have always borne great devotion toward this Sacrament, especially the Feast and Procession of Corpus Christi.)

Scherer dedicates the printed sermon to Rudolf's sister, Elisabeth of Austria (1554–1592), praising her piety and stating that God intends her to be a 'glänzender Spiegel' of the virtues of the House of Austria.²⁷ Although Rudolf is not mentioned, Scherer devotes a significant portion of the text to the story of King David who, even in the face of public ridicule, danced ecstatically in front of the Ark of the Covenant. If King David could celebrate with all manner of musical accompaniment the mere symbol and prefiguration of the Corpus Christi, Scherer asks, why should not Christians, indeed the Holy Roman Emperor, do the same for 'der Sache selbe'—the host itself?²⁸

At a time when Habsburg succession was uncertain, the failure of the Emperor to show sufficient reverence was thought to spell doom for the dynasty. The story of Rudolf I and the host thus does double duty, allowing Scherer to harness the prestige of the most powerful family in Europe and also to nudge the Emperor to return to the piety that had marked his early years on the throne. The implication in this and in similar sources is that if the Habsburgs fail in their divine duty, their temporal power will suffer.

In this atmosphere of uncertainty, the Feast of Corpus Christi became the site of competing religious, social, and political imperatives. For diplomats and courtiers, the privilege of carrying the baldachin in procession in or around the city's Catholic churches was a much-coveted means of asserting their place in the scheme of things—apparently worth coming to blows over, as happened in 1605, when the Florentine and Venetian ambassadors brawled over the matter at St James.²⁹ For Jesuits, determined to eradicate heresy, Corpus Christi offered an opportunity to promote 'correct' eucharistic veneration. They staged elaborate processions in the streets of Old Town (Staré Město), sometimes holding several in a single week.³⁰ In addition, Forty Hours' Devotions were introduced throughout the city.³¹ Jesuit

²⁷ Ibid. fo. 3r.

²⁸ Ibid. fo. 3v. The original reads: '*Hat David bey der Figur auff allerley Seitenspielen und Instrumenten spielen lassen / warumb solten wir das bey dem Figurato und bey der Sache selbe nicht thun mögen?*'

²⁹ Joseph Fischer, 'Blutige Excesse bei einer Prager Frohnleichnamsp procession im Jahre 1605', *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen*, 38 (1900), 413–416.

³⁰ See note 12 above.

³¹ Chimarrhaeus, *Sacrum gazophylacium*, 127.

chroniclers record the performance of polyphony and the participation of imperial trumpeters and drummers on these occasions.³²

Surviving sources do not tell us whether or not Rudolf took part personally in Corpus Christi processions in Prague. They do tell us, however, that eucharistic processions closely connected to his court took place regularly. On the first Thursday of every month, the Corpus Christi Confraternity, whose members prayed so diligently every week for the well-being of the Catholic Church, held processions in the vicinity of their church in Malá Strana.³³

The brotherhood was led by the Imperial Almoner, Jacobus Chimarraeus (1542–1614), and his *Sacrum gazophylacium*, a book of rules and prayers for the brotherhood, is unequivocal in its promotion of Tridentine devotional and liturgical ideals.³⁴ Members were encouraged towards more frequent Communion, for example, and were exempted from the monthly processions and weekly services only when imperial service prevented them from participating.³⁵ Most importantly, though, Chimarraeus devoted a lengthy section to justifying Catholic Communication *sub una* to Lutherans and Utraquists.³⁶ Drawing upon Scripture and patristic writings, he argued that while Jesus may have distributed bread and wine at the Last Supper, when he appeared to the disciples after his resurrection, he distributed bread alone to them.

Among the many eucharistic motets connected to composers in Prague are several setting the excerpts from John 6 (see appendix I), in which the multitudes appeal to Jesus for a sign, so that they may know to believe him. God gave their forefathers manna in the desert, they say, and they want just such a gift from Jesus. ‘Ego sum panis vivus’, he responds, ‘I am the living bread. Those who partake of this bread will enjoy everlasting life.’³⁷

³² See note 12 above.

³³ Chimarraeus, *Sacrum gazophylacium*, 267.

³⁴ See note 20 above. Another print detailing the aim and activities of the brotherhood is Georg Bartholdus Pontanus von Breitenberg, *Krafftbüchlein / Darin der Hochloblichsten vbertrefflichsten Brüderschaft des Fronleichnams JE–/SU CHRISTI / grund / krafft und regeln...angezeigt werden [...]* (n.p., 1590). Pontanus dedicates the print to Vilém Rožmberk (1535–1592), one of the most powerful noblemen in Bohemia, and an important supporter of the Catholic Church.

³⁵ Chimarraeus, *Sacrum gazophylacium*, 266.

³⁶ See the section entitled ‘De Sanctissimae Eucharistiae communione sub una specie tractatus per quam succinctus [et] dilucidus’ (ibid. 188ff).

³⁷ John 6.51f.

Depending on which portions of the chapter are selected and how they are set, the resulting motets come across as either relatively neutral encapsulations of Christ's role as Saviour, offering a way out of the world of mortality, or as summations of specifically Catholic notions about the presence of Christ's body in the transformed Communion wafer. I consider one instance of each here.

The first motet, *Caro mea vere est cibus / Hic est panis*, comes from De Monte's time in Vienna in the service of Rudolf's father, Maximilian II (r. 1564–1576), who was famously equivocal in matters of faith.³⁸ Unsurprisingly, it furnishes a clear example of those motets I have termed neutral. The text makes reference to both the body and blood, the bread and the wine, the 'both kinds' under dispute:

Prima pars

Caro mea vere est cibus,
et sanguis meus vere est potus:
qui manducat meam carnem,
et **bibet meum sanguinem**
in me manet, et ego in illo.
Sicut misit me vivens Pater
et ego vivo propter Patrem:
et qui manducat me,
et ipse vivet propter me.

My flesh is the true food,
And my blood is the true drink:
He who eats of my flesh
And **drinks of my blood**
Abides in me, and I in him.
As the living father sent me,
And I live by the Father:
So anyone that eats of me,
Also lives by me.

Secunda pars

Hic est panis,
qui de caelo descendit.
Non sicut manducaverunt
patres vestri manna, et mortui sunt
Qui manducat hunc panem
vivet in aeternum.
Alleluia.

This is the bread
that descended from heaven.
Unlike your fathers
who ate manna and died,
Anyone who eats of this bread will
live in eternity.
Alleluia.
(John 6.56–57,59)

De Monte's setting of this text is neutral to the extent that it is not deployed in the service of an obvious doctrinal point. He does not emphasize the bread over the wine, for instance. If anything, the phrase 'bibet meum sanguinem' receives more emphasis, with shorter note values, than

³⁸ *Caro mea vere est cibus / Hic est panis* is the seventh motet in de Monte's first collection of motets for five voices, *Sacrarum cantionum [...] liber primus* (Venice, 1572), and is available in modern edition in *Philippi de Monte Opera: New Complete Edition*, ed. René Lenaerts (Löwen, 1975—), A1: 43–49.

one might expect from the surrounding texture (see ex. 1).³⁹ This reference to Jesus' Blood is set with a more animated texture, with shorter note values, than other passages in the piece. Given the irenic inclinations of Rudolf's father, Maximilian, and his purported Lutheran sympathies, perhaps we could even hear in this motet signs of accommodation towards those wishing to communicate *sub utraque*. Most settings of eucharistic texts by Monte's Catholic colleagues in Prague are similarly neutral, unfolding in a series of points of imitation or, in polychoral settings, in a series of homophonic statements alternating between the choirs.⁴⁰

EXAMPLE 1. De Monte, *Caro mea vere est cibus / Hic est panis*,
bars 31–43

31

Cantus
po - tus: qui man - du - cat

Altus
po - tus: qui man - du - cat me - am car - nem, qui man - du - cat me -

Quintus
po - tus: qui man - du - cat me - am car - - - nem qui man du - cat

Tenore
po - tus: qui man du - cat me - am car - nem,

Bassus
qui man - du - cat me - am car - nem, qui man - du - cat me - am

³⁹ My musical examples are in all cases based on the respective transcriptions provided in *Philippi de Monte Opera: New Complete Edition*, ed. René Lenaerts (Leuven, 1975—).

⁴⁰ See, for example, the four-voice setting of *Ego sum panis vivus* by Tiburzio Massaino in *Sacrae cantiones [...] liber primus* (Venice, 1592), or the eight-voice setting of *Domine Iesus, in qua nocte tradebatur* by Jacobus Gallus in the third volume of his *Opus musicum* (Prague, 1587).

Ex. 1. *Continued*

35

me - am cor - - nem,
am car - - nem, et bi - bit me-um san - gui -
me - am car - - nem, et bi - bit me-am san-gui-nem me -
qui man - du-cat me-am car - nem, et bi -
car-nem, me - am car - nem, et bi - - bit me-um san -
40
et bi - - bit me-um san - gui - nem, in me ma -
nem, et bi - bit me - um san - gui-nem,
- um, san - gui - nem, in me ma -
- bit me - um san-gui - nem, in me ma -
- gui - nem, et bi - bit me-um san - gui-nem,

De Monte's seven-voice, double-choir setting of *Ego sum panis vivus* is something else entirely.⁴¹ The text, a responsory for the Feast of Corpus

⁴¹ Modern edition available in Philippi de Monte Opera: New Complete Edition, ed. René Lenaerts (Leuven, 1975–), A7: 33–37. Just when De Monte composed *Ego sum* is unclear, as it was not published during his lifetime. Stylistically and circumstantially, though, it must date from his Prague period, most probably from the late 1580s or the 1590s. It is found only in Abraham Schadaeus, *Promptuarium musicum* (Strasbourg, 1612) and in tablature in Warsaw (Biblioteka Naradowa, Ms 327, fo. 197v); see Silies, *Die Motetten des Philippe de Monte*, 120–121 and 597. Schadaeus, a Lutheran in Speyer, probably obtained it from his friend, the Catholic organist Caspar Vincentius (c.1580–1624), who

Christi, resonates with Chimarraeus' insistence on the sufficiency of bread alone for salvation. It falls into two sections, each beginning with the phrase 'Ego sum panis vivus':⁴²

[Respond]	[Respond]
Ego sum panis vivus.	I am the living bread.
Patres vestri manducaverunt manna	Your fathers ate manna
in deserto et mortui sunt	in the desert and died.
Hic est panis de caelo descendens:	This is the bread that descends from heaven.
Ut si quis ex ipso manducet,	[So] that anyone who eats of it,
non moriatur.	will not die.
[Verse]	[Verse]
Ego sum panis vivus	I am the living bread
Qui de caelo descendit:	That descended from heaven:
Si quis manducaverit ex hoc pane	He who eats of this bread
Vivet in aeternum.	Will live in eternity.
	(John 6.48–52)

De Monte maintains the built-in textual division while foregrounding the temporal distinction between the past of the Old Testament Israelites (lines 2–3), who ate manna, yet died, and the present of the world after Christ's resurrection, when the bread that comes down from heaven is Christ himself. He manipulates texture and pacing to project faith in the salvific power of the host and in Tridentine eucharistic practice unequivocally.

The part of the text dealing with the past is set with devastating efficiency (see ex. 2). Following a brief *exordium* on Jesus' statement 'Ego sum panis vivus', the lower choir sings 'Patres vestri manducaverunt manna in deserto', at which point both choirs combine to say, 'et mortui sunt'. Significantly, there is no cadential break after 'in deserto'; rather, in this G-mode (mode 8) piece, the two phrases are bound together via a cadence to G at the beginning of the next phrase. For the Israelites, death is inevitable.

provided the basso continuo part for all four volumes of the *Promptuarium*. Vincentius had been a choirboy in the imperial music chapel in Prague in the late 1590s. Notwithstanding my arguments about how this motet might have been heard in Prague—where Utraquists demanded the lay chalice and Brethren denied the Real Presence of Christ in the Host—its appearance in the 'Communion' section of an early seventeenth-century Lutheran motet collection compiled elsewhere in the Empire is not surprising.

⁴² For an understanding of this piece in the context of the other 53 surviving polyphonic responsory settings by de Monte, see *ibid.* 188–198.

EXAMPLE 2. De Monte, Ego sum panis vivus, bars 1–12

Cantus I
E - go sum pa - nis vi - vus.

Altus I
E - go sum pa - nis vi - vus.

Tenor I
E - go sum pa - nis vi - vus.

Cantus II
Pa - tres ve - stri

Altus II
Pa - tres ve - stri

Tenor II
Pa - tres ve - stri

Bassus
Pa - tres ve - stri

man - du - ca - ve - runt man - na in de - ser -

man - du - ca - ve - runt man - na in de -

man - du - ca - ve - runt man - na in de -

man - du - ca - ve - runt man - na in de -

Ex. 2. Continued

The musical score for Ex. 2 Continued consists of seven staves, likely representing different voices of a choir. The lyrics are Latin and are distributed across the staves as follows:

- Staff 1: et mor - tu - i sunt.
- Staff 2: et mor - tu - i sunt.
- Staff 3: et mor - tu - i sunt.
- Staff 4: to, et mor - tu - i sunt.
- Staff 5: ser - to, et mor - tu - i sunt.
- Staff 6: ser - to, et mor - tu - i sunt.
- Staff 7: ser - to, et mor - tu - i sunt.

The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, notes, rests, and slurs, indicating a complex polyphonic setting.

The remainder of the text is treated freely, with more repetition and greater variety in texture. And with good reason—this bread is a new bread: ‘This is the bread that came down from heaven, [so that] anyone who eats of it will not die’. De Monte underscores this message with a move to a new pitch centre: at the words ‘de caelo descendens’, the upper choir cadences on the fifth of the mode (D). In the subsequent phrase, the words ‘non moriatur’ are stated twice, first by the upper three voices, then more emphatically by six voices, which once again cadence on D. This cadence is intensified by a fleeting *mollis* sonority on *mo-ri-atur*: a descending B-flat-A gesture in the Bassus (bars 28–29) responds to ascending half-steps in the Altus I and Cantus II voices, driving the phrase towards the cadence. The subsequent major sonority on D leads directly into an expanded statement of the opening phrase (‘Ego sum panis vivus’). This time, the phrase continues, with the words ‘qui de caelo descendi’ cascading downwards through all seven voices (see ex. 3).

The piece closes with each choir stating separately the most important phrase of all, that ‘he who partakes of this new bread will dwell in eternity’, whereupon the individual voices break into exuberant melismas. This bread is not the same as the manna in the desert, the manna that was treasured in the Ark of the Covenant, the manna that King David danced before with such zeal. This is, to use Scherer’s words, ‘der Sache selbe’—the thing itself.

EXAMPLE 3. De Monte, *Ego sum panis vivus*, bars 12–30

12

Cantus I
Hic est pa - nis, hic est pa - nis de cae -

Altus I
Hic est pa - nis, hic est pa - nis de

Tenor I
Hic est pa - nis, hic est pa - nis de

Cantus II
Hic est pa - nis,

Altus II
Hic est pa - nis,

Tenor II
Hic est pa - nis,

Bassus
Hic est pa - nis,

18

lo de - scen - dens:

cae - lo de - scen - dens:

cae - lo de - scen - dens:

hic est pa - nis de

hic est pa - nis de cae -

hic est pa - nis de cae - lo

hic est pa - nis de cae - lo

Ex. 3. Continued

23

ut si quis ex i - - - pso man - du - -
ut si quis ex i - pso man - du - -
ut si quis ex i - pso man - du - -
cae - lo de - scen - dens:
lo de - scen - dens:
de - scen - dens:
de - scen - dens:

27

cet, non mo - ri - a - tur, non mo - ri - a - - - tur.
cet, non mo - ri - a - - - tur, non mo - ri - a - tur.
cet, non mo - ri - a - - - tur.
non mo - ri - a - - - tur.
non mo - ri - a - tur.
non mo - ri - a - tur.
non mo - ri - a - - -

In the tense confessional environment of Rudolfine Prague, changes in the rhetoric of devotion, whether expressed in text or in music, must have been cause for concern among the city's non-Catholics. De Monte's setting of *Ego sum panis vivus* marks just such a shift. With its celebration of Communion under one kind, it takes part in the ever more belligerent efforts of Prague's Catholics to distinguish themselves from the other confessions crowding the Bohemian religious scene. Like the weekly Masses held by the Imperial Corpus Christi brotherhood, its aim is to counter heretics who deny the salvific power of the host, while attracting schismatics such as the Utraquists, who continue to venerate the host. I would argue, as well, that coming as it does from a period when Habsburg succession in the region was uncertain, this motet reflects increasingly urgent attempts to depict the Emperor as possessing the much-lauded piety of the House of Austria.

In this paper, I have tried to demonstrate that a culture of *pietas* coalesced around the figure of the Emperor during the reign of Rudolf II. For those who authored the texts and the music in which this *pietas* took shape, Rudolf's own views and his actual behaviour were incidental. Ultimately, *pietas austriaca* during the Rudolfine period was the product of wishful thinking, a projection of ideals that devout Catholics like Scherer and Chimarraeus hoped for in an Emperor, rather than the celebration of a satisfactory reality.

Divorced from reality though this *pietas* may have been, for the citizens of Prague, Catholic and non-Catholic alike, it would have been perceptible—and it would have been perceptible in music such as de Monte's *Ego sum panis vivus*. Indeed, for Prague's inhabitants, their most tangible and regular encounter with imperial piety would have come via the performances of the imperial musicians in and around the city's Catholic churches. On Corpus Christi, and throughout the year at St Thomas, the sounds of imperial musicians singing eucharistic motets and the public demonstration of *pietas eucharistica* by the men and women of the Corpus Christi Confraternity would have projected solidarity to non-Catholics in Prague. In actions and in music, they sent forth an image of a society unified in adoration of the Body of Christ. At the head of this society, however absent and inconsistent in matters of faith he might have been, was the highest-ranking representative of the *laudatissima domus Austriaca*, the Holy Roman Emperor.

APPENDIX I

Selected Eucharistic Motets by Prague Composers

Title	Source
<i>Ave verum corpus</i>	Jacobus Gallus, <i>Opus Musicum</i> III (Prague, 1587)
<i>Caro mea vere est cibus</i>	Philippe de Monte, <i>Sacrarum cantionum cum quinque vocibus</i> [...] <i>liber primus</i> (Venice, 1572)
<i>Credidi propter quod locutus sum</i>	Gregorio Turini <i>Cantiones admodum devotae</i> (Venice, 1589)
<i>Dominus Jesus / Similiter et calicem</i>	Jacobus Gallus, <i>Opus Musicum</i> III (Prague, 1587)
<i>Ego sum panis vivus</i>	Tiburzio Massaino, <i>Liber primus cantionum ecclesiasticarum</i> (Prague, 1592)
	Philippe de Monte, in Abraham Schadaeus, <i>Promptuarium musicum</i> II (Strasbourg, 1612)
<i>Fratres ego enim accepi / O quam suavis</i>	Philippe de Monte, <i>Sacrarum cantionum cum sex vocibus</i> [...] <i>liber secundus</i> (Venice, 1587)
<i>Homo quidam fecit</i>	Jacobus Gallus, <i>Opus Musicum</i> III (Prague, 1587)
<i>In voce exsultationis</i>	Jacobus Gallus, <i>Opus Musicum</i> III (Prague, 1587)
<i>O quam suavis est</i>	Philippe de Monte, <i>Sacrarum cantionum cum quinque vocibus</i> [...] <i>liber septimus</i> (Venice, 1600)
<i>O salutaris hostia</i>	Jacobus Gallus, <i>Opus Musicum</i> III (Prague, 1587)
<i>O sacrum convivium</i>	Jacobus Gallus, <i>Opus Musicum</i> III (Prague, 1587), two settings
<i>Pange lingua gloriosi</i>	Carl Luython, <i>Selectissimarum sacrarum cantionum</i> [...] <i>fasciculus primus</i> (Prague, 1603)
<i>Verbum caro</i>	Jacobus Gallus, <i>Opus Musicum</i> III (Prague, 1587) Philippe de Monte, <i>Sacrarum cantionum cum quinque vocibus</i> [...] <i>liber septimus</i> (Venice, 1600)
<i>Vincenti dabo edere</i>	Franz Sale, <i>Sacrarum cantionum</i> [...] <i>liber primus</i> (Prague, 1592)
<i>Qui manducat meam carnem</i>	Jacobus Gallus, <i>Opus Musicum</i> III (Prague, 1587) Philippe de Monte, <i>Sacrarum cantionum</i> [...] <i>liber primus</i> (Venice, 1596)

