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Salzburg Chorbuch W.b. XIV Magnificat Traditions in Post-Tridentine Salzburg

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Salzburg *Chorbuch W.b. XIV*

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The cultural, aesthetic, and political life of Salzburg waxed and waned during the sixteenth century as clerical leaders attempted to quell the rise of Protestant teachings and the subsequent civil unrest that arose from them. While the Salzburg archdiocese attempted to enforce many crucial reforms through its various provincial synods of the sixteenth century, much of its effort was in vain due to incompetent priests and theological resistance from its citizens, particularly in Salzburg's surrounding rural regions. Even after Salzburg's provincial synod of 1569, which used the Council of Trent's edicts as a model, Salzburg witnessed relatively little progress towards post-Tridentine reform.

This resistance to Catholic reform is also reflected in Salzburg's sixteenth-century musical development. Sacred music has always been an integral part of the fabric of Salzburg's musical and cultural identity, and, more importantly, it was greatly influenced by the prevailing artistic trends of the period.[1] By the mid-sixteenth century, as Salzburg witnessed a surge of Protestant theology in its surrounding rural regions, many of the archdiocese's provincial synods struggled to suppress the performance and dissemination of Protestant music. In an attempt to placate the disenfranchised populace and counter the influx of Protestant music, Salzburg's authorities finally permitted several prohibited songs within the Salzburg liturgy. This compromise is indicative of how Salzburg's dogmatic Catholic reforms often yielded to regional practices.[2]

It was not until the election of prince-Archbishop Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau in 1587 that Salzburg began to make significant progress towards a purely reformed Catholic state. Educated in Rome, Wolf Dietrich (1559–1617) possessed the much needed leadership and training to transform Salzburg into the "Northern Rome." Moreover, the young prince-Archbishop imported to Salzburg an aesthetic proclivity for all things Italian. Through the numerous musical dedications to Wolf Dietrich and with his hiring of several Italian musicians, Salzburg began to embrace the musical trends of Rome. However, a review of extant collections from the Cathedral's music inventory indicates

1 According to the surprisingly scarce amount of extant documentation concerning Salzburg's early sixteenth-century musical environments, much of what was performed in this Catholic stronghold was in the Franco-Flemish style. Scholars have recently identified the earliest extant manuscript originating from early sixteenth-century Salzburg during the archbishopric of Matthäus Lang von Wellenburg (1469–1540). This manuscript, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Mus. Ms. 510, contains three masses by Josquin and five by various Franco-Flemish composers, including La Rue, Mouton, Pipelare, and Silva. Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, "Das Salzburger Musikleben zur Zeit der Renaissance, des Humanismus und der Reformation," *Salzburger Musikgeschichte: vom Mittelalter bis ins 21. Jahrhundert* ed. Jürg Stenzl, Ernst Hintermaier, Gerhard Walterskirchen (Salzburg: Verlag Anton Pustet, 2005), 89–90.

2 Ibid., 111–112.

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that regional musical traits continued to thrive in the archdiocese.

This inconsistency between Italianate reforms and the presence of regional musical styles further aligns Salzburg with many of Europe's cultural centers. Over the past two decades, much attention has been afforded to the re-examination of the Council of Trent's role in musical reform. In his article "Trent Revisited," Craig Monson reinterprets decades of musicological studies pertaining to the Council of Trent. According to Monson, no single stylistic perspective can exhaustively illustrate musical trends during this period of religious fervor. Because of the strength of local traditions, musical styles conformed to regional customs, those customs defeating the goal of standardization sought by the Council of Trent.[3] Furthermore, current research on other significant Catholic centers, including Rome, Milan, Munich, and, most recently Dresden, has demonstrated that the local councils and, as in the case of Salzburg, provincial synods continued their influence over liturgical reforms based upon the traditions of each region.[4]

The overriding element uniting Rome, Milan, Munich, and Dresden was the strong Catholic tradition found in each city. Salzburg, an equally significantly bastion of Catholicism north of the Alps, was no exception. Extant documentation strongly suggests that the religious reforms imposed by Salzburg's prince-Archbishop Wolf Dietrich were modeled upon those already successfully implemented in post-Tridentine Rome. Nonetheless, remnants of Salzburg's local traditions and compositional stylistic traits continued despite Wolf Dietrich's reforms; a review of the archbishopric's musical inventory suggests a period of embracing new, Italianate styles while continuing the artistic traditions of Germanic courts, mainly Munich and Innsbruck. Through an examination of Salzburg's *chorbuch W.b. XIV*—a collection of eight Magnificats and two Marian antiphons dedicated to Wolf Dietrich in 1601 by Innsbruck composer Paul Sartorius (c. 1569–1609), and one of the earliest extant musical collections in the Archiv der Erzdiözese Salzburg stemming from Wolf Dietrich's tenure—this article will illustrate that the musical collection from this period was not at all revolutionary in style, but rather reflects the diocese's attempts to retain local traditions within a post-Tridentine aesthetic.

Salzburg's Balance Between Local Practices and Papal Reforms Prior to Wolf Dietrich's Archbishopric

The Salzburg archdiocese was, prior to its secularization in 1803 during the archbishopric of Hieronymus Graf von Colloredo, a principality of great political and religious power due to its sovereign, yet ecclesiastical

[3] Craig Monson, "The Council of Trent revisited," *Journal of the American Musicological Association* 55/1 (Spring 2002): 1–37.

[4] For more information regarding post-Tridentine musical reform in Munich, Milan, Rome, and Dresden, see David Crook, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats for Counter-Reformation Munich* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); Lewis Lockwood, *The Counter-Reformation and the Masses of Vincenzo Ruffo* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1970); Christine Suzanne Getz, *Music and Patronage in Milan, 1535–1550, and Vincenzo Ruffo's First Motet Book* (Ph.D. diss., University of North Texas, 1991); Robert Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and their Music in Early Modern Milan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966); Richard Sherr, "Competence and Incompetence in the Papal Choir in the Age of Palestrina" *Early Music* 22/4 (November 1994): 606–629; Noel O'Regan, "Victoria, Soto and the Spanish Archconfraternity of the Resurrection in Rome" *Early Music* 22/2 (May 1994): 279–295; O'Regan, *Intitutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome: Music at Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini 1550–1650* (London: Royal Musical Association, 1995); and Mary E. Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries: The Patronage of Italian Sacred Music in Seventeenth-Century Dresden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

identity. The reigning authority of the Salzburg archdiocese was, by title, ruler of both the secular and sacred realm in Western Austria.[5] Although the breadth of his temporal authority was vast, the prince-Archbishop of Salzburg's political influence began to erode in the early sixteenth century as civil unrest and religious dissent infiltrated the archdiocese.[6]

The Salzburg archdiocese was no longer able to remain complacent against this disintegration, and by the mid-sixteenth century it began to address issues of ecclesiastical reform. According to Salzburg historian Franz Ortner, these attempts were ill-fated. One reason for this, and one that would continue to vex the Salzburg archdiocese throughout the sixteenth century, was the lack of educated and suitable priests to carry out reform edicts (i.e. the *Regensburger Einung* and the reform movement of 1524). Nonetheless, Ortner does provide one compelling reason for Salzburg's continued diligence in attempting numerous reforms during the mid-sixteenth century, one that supports Monson's position of retaining regional identity during post-Tridentine Europe. He claims that these reforms were not solely a reaction to Luther's theology, but they also reflected Salzburg's desire to re-establish an "independent spiritual principality and political state for the Catholic Church," and that this desire is consistent with much of the church's ideology during the late sixteenth century.[7]

In spite of the aforementioned reform movements' intentions, Salzburg's surrounding provinces continued to become increasingly disenfranchised from the Roman Church as more people found solace in Luther's theology. Sacred songs became an effective mode of Protestant theological education, as only an estimated quarter of the population could read. These devotional songs quickly found favor with Salzburg's citizens as well, and although initially banned by Salzburg's clerics, the songs, as stated earlier, were later permitted within the Salzburg liturgy. By 1557, the singing of sanctioned vernacular songs, many of which were textually altered from their original theological context to conform to Catholic doctrine, was allowed both before and after sermons as an edification device.[8] As illustrated in the *libri agendorum* of 1575 (Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg, Rara 512 I), this practice was still ongoing during the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The sanctioned vernacular songs included in the 1575 *libri agendorum* were *Der Tag der ist so freudenreich, Ein Kind gevorn zu Bethlehem, Mitten unsers Lebens Zeit, Süßer Vater Herre Gott, Erstanden ist der heilig Christ, Christ fürt mit schallen, Der zart fronleichnam der ist gut, Das Vater unser in Gelangweiß*, and two of Martin Luther's chorales: *Christ ist erstanden and Komm heiliger Geist Herre Gott*.[9]

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[5] The prince-Archbishop was responsible for governing a vast territory encompassing much of Bavaria and Austria, including Regensburg, Freising, Passau, Brixen, Gurk, Chiemsee, Seckau, and Lavan.

[6] Gerhard Walterskirchen, "…dass einem Singen und Klingen wohl mochte vergehen: Musik in Salzburg zur Zeit der Gegenreformation," *Gegenreformation und Barock in Mitteleuropa in der Slowakei*. ed. Ladislav Kacic (Bratislava: Slovenska Akademia Vied, 1999), 81. For a more detailed analysis of Salzburg's political and religious history during the sixteenth century, see Franz Ortner, *Reformation, katholische Reform und Gegenreformation im Erzstift Salzburg* (Salzburg: Universitätsverlag Anton Pustet, 1981); and Franz Martin, *Salzburgs Fürsten in der Barockzeit, 1578 bis 1812* (Salzburg: Verlag das Bergland-Buch, 1966).

[7] Ortner, *Reformation, katholische Reform und Gegenreformation*, 87.

[8] Lindmayr-Brandl, "Das Salzburger Musikleben," 112.

[9] Stefan Engels, "Geistliche Musik Salzburgs im Mittelalter–Quellen und Repertoire," *Musica Sacra Mediaevalis: Geistliche Musik Salzburgs im Mittelalter* (St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag Erzabtei St. Ottilien, 1998), 28. According to Engels, the *libre agendorum* of 1575 is one of the few extant sources of liturgical singing in Salzburg immediately prior to Wolf Dietrich's reforms. Other popular songs sanctioned by the cathedral chapter, used primarily

Salzburg's Provincial Synods

Sanctioning certain vernacular devotional songs was not the archdiocese's only effort at quelling the spread of Protestant theology. The Salzburg archdiocese also conducted eight provincial synods between 1522 and 1576 in attempts to regain ecclesiastical control of its once formidable territory.[10] While reforms suggested by the early synods were unsuccessful due to inadequate leadership and uneducated priests, successful measures were finally implemented after the provincial synod of 1569.[11] This synod, which occurred only a few years after the final session of the Council of Trent, marked the beginning of reforms that would soon transform Salzburg into an ideal post-Tridentine ecclesiastic center.

While Salzburg adhered to many of Trent's rulings, the archdiocese did not implement the use of the Roman rite within its liturgy—a critical edict ordered by the Council in attempts to standardize the Church—until 1595. According to the Council's stipulations, a diocese was permitted to retain its local rites and practices if its liturgical origins could be traced back at least 200 years, or if the diocese received Papal approval, as in the case of the ducal church of Santa Barbara in Mantua.[12] Salzburg's local practices and rites were modeled after the liturgy of the Augustinian canons who had supplied the members of Salzburg's cathedral chapter since 1122, and, therefore, Salzburg's archdiocese was automatically allowed the option of retaining local practices.[13] Included in these rites was the veneration of local saints, including St. Rupert and Virgilius. Other local feasts included those honoring St. Afra of Salzburg, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, St. Cunegunde, St. Sigismund, St. Barbara, St. Catherine, St. Margaret, St. Thomas Becket, and St. Vincent.[14]

Just as Salzburg's liturgical identity was defined by many regional practices and traditions, its musical inventory also contained numerous collections from nearby cultural centers. One such center that greatly supplemented Salzburg's musical resources was Munich.[15] In 1570, Orlando di Lasso (c. 1530-1594), Munich's *Kapellmeister*, dedicated a collection of masses to prince-Archbishop Johann Jakob von Kuen-Belasy (1515–1586), and later in 1587 and 1589 he dedicated collections of Magnificats and Masses respectively to the archdiocese. Lasso also contributed generously to St. Peter's, Salzburg's Benedictine monastery, with four collections of motets. According to Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, Lasso's contribution to St. Peter's was so bountiful that its abbot requested that the "Munich court composer should be so kind as to desist from 'such mailings or donations' as the monastery [was] well supplied with such 'Missals and other musical pieces.'"[16]

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in pilgrimages and *confraternity* publications, included *Maria du bist der Gnaden voll and Jesus ist ein süßer Nam*. Walterskirchen, 84.

10 For an exhaustive account of Salzburg's most significant provincial synods, see Gerhard B. Winkler, *Nachtridentinische Synoden im Reich: Salzburger Provinzialkonzilien 1569, 1573, 1576* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1988).

11 Ornter, 89.

12 Jeffrey Kurtzman, *The Monteverdi Vespers of 1610: Music, Context, Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 56.

13 Walterskirchen, 85.

14 Stanley Boorman, "The Salzburg liturgy and single-impression music printing," *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles, and Contexts*, ed. John Kmetz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 235–236. Following the provincial synods of 1569 and 1573, prince-Archbishop Johann Jakob Kuen-Belasy published a *rituale* in 1575 wherein many traditional *Salzburger* rites were included. Hintermaier, et. al., *Katalog des liturgischen Buch- und Musikalienbestandes am Dom zu Salzburg: Teil 1, Die gedruckten und handschriftlichen liturgischen Bücher*, 4.

15 Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, 118.

16 "Münchner Hofkomponist möge von 'solchen Zusendungen oder Schenkungen' hinfort Abstand

Even though Salzburg received the musical resources for a well supported court and cathedral chapel from Munich and, as will be seen, Innsbruck, the quality of performance did not improve. In fact, complaints about the quality of singing and playing were quite frequent. In order to improve this and other musical concerns, Salzburg needed a charismatic and politically savvy leader with a sense of pomp and ceremony to invigorate an archdiocese in the midst of religious and political conflict. The Austrian archdiocese soon found these qualities in the young Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau. Using the ceremonial and aesthetic climate he experienced during his education in Rome as a guide, Wolf Dietrich provided Salzburg with necessary artistic patronage and leadership as the principality began to reform its liturgical and musical environment. Through his initiatives, both cultural and ecclesiastical, Salzburg soon earned its moniker as the Northern Rome.

Wolf Dietrich and Liturgical Reform in Salzburg

Wolf Dietrich, like many other sons of Germanic nobility, attended Rome's *Collegium Germanicum* and was fully immersed in the aesthetics of post-Tridentine Italy.[17] This seminary, a significant educational institution for the dissemination of Catholic reforms in German-speaking regions, trained numerous influential German Catholic reformers during the sixteenth century, and thus altered the development of Catholic cities north of Rome. As expected, the *Collegium Germanicum* was similarly effective in transmitting Italian musical styles into northern lands; many popular musicians and composers employed at the Collegium would later serve in the courts and chapels of Germany. The college was also synonymous with musical excellence, as can be seen through its *maestri di cappella* and the extensive list of musicians active there. Many Renaissance composers and early pioneers of the Baroque style, including Tomas Luis da Victoria, Agostino Agazzari, and Giacomo Carissimi, were associated with the college.[18]

Using his alma mater as a template, Wolf Dietrich sought to re-create the post-Tridentine fervor found at the *Collegium* in his new archdiocese. In order to accomplish this, Wolf Dietrich first introduced the Roman rite and reorganized Salzburg's cathedral and court musical infrastructure. Scholars have dated the beginning of this reform to the Good Friday ceremony of 1588, one year after his election as prince-Archbishop, when Wolf Dietrich addressed the cathedral chapter with his liturgical agenda. With this charge, recorded by the cathedral chapter, Salzburg began its gradual transition to the Roman rite.

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nehmen, da das Kloster 'mit dergleichen Missal und andern Musicalischen Stükhen' gut versorgt sei.'" Ibid., 117–118.

[17] For a detailed account of the *Collegium Germanicum* see Thomas Culley, S. J., *A documentary history of the liturgical music at the German College in Rome: 1573-1674* (Ph. D. diss., Harvard University, 1965); and Peter Schmidt, *Das Collegium Germanicum in Rom und die Germaniker: Zur Funktion eines römischen Ausländerseminars (1552–1914)* (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer Verlag, 1984).

[18] Thomas Culley, S. J., "The Influence of the German College in Rome on Music in German-Speaking Countries during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Analecta musicological Int.* XIX (1979) 2. The education and training of future priests was a major concern of the officials in attendance at the Council of Trent. Numerous seminaries were established in Rome to equip future church leaders with the theological and liturgical training essential in spreading post-Tridentine reforms. Soon-to-be clerics throughout Europe traveled to Rome to be educated at these seminaries, which usually were administered by the Jesuits. As the popularity of these institutions grew, seminaries, such as Saint-Sulpice in Paris, began to appear abroad. Joseph Bergin, "The Counter-Reformation Church and Its Bishops," *Past and Present*, 165 (November 1999): 54.

> There is much confusion in the execution of the divine services, therefore [Wolf Dietrich] desires to put the choir into a better and more correct order and to reform the Salzburg breviary and missal according to that of Rome. He intends to accomplish this gradually; then, when the rite of Rome becomes known, His Grace, the high prince, will have the reformed breviary and missal printed…so that the confusion and great disorder in the performance of divine services, which has spread in celebration, singing, reading and other church ceremonies to such a degree that neither the Salzburg nor the Roman custom is [being] observed, [will be corrected]—in short a new *reformatio ad usum Romanum* will be instituted.[19]

Given the current research documenting the reluctance to abandon local traditions in many prominent municipalities (i.e. Rome, Milan, Munich, and Dresden), it is not surprising that Salzburg did not adapt every component of Trent's liturgical decrees and, thus, retained vestiges of established celebrations and feasts.[20] Not even the dedicated Wolf Dietrich succeeded in abolishing all of Salzburg's local festivals, including the celebration of Salzburg's patron saint, Rupert. Nonetheless, Wolf Dietrich's leadership produced Salzburg's first Roman *Rituale* in 1614. In subsequent reformed *rituales*, as seen in the *rituale* of 1640 during Paris Lodron's archbishopric (1619–1653), few remnants from the old tradition still remained; only the *Ordo ponendi Ss. Corpus Domini in Sepulchrum* for Good Friday and the *Ordo recipiendi Ss. Corpus è Sepulchro in sancta nocte Paschae* for Holy Saturday, which contained the sacred vernacular songs *Christ ist erstanden* and *Ein kind geborn zu Bethlehem*, featured local liturgical items.[21]

Extant Music from Wolf Dietrich's Tenure

While Wolf Dietrich's reforms to Salzburg's cathedral infrastructure and liturgy were extensive and well documented, only three music manuscripts and prints from Wolf Dietrich's reign remain in the Cathedral archives.[22] The cause for this void, according to Ernst Hintermaier, was that the repertoire of the old cathedral was "replaced or exchanged in connection with the transition from the old to new cathedral."[23] Included among these

[19] "Es gehe confuse in Verrichtung des Gottesdienstes zue, weshalb er den Chor in eine bessere und richtigere Ordnung bringen und das Salzburgische Breviarium und Missale nach dem Römischen reformiren lassen und paulatim ins Werk richten, und wenn dann der römische Brauch etwas bekannt worden, wolle hochfürstliche Gnaden das reformirte Breviarium und Missale drucken lassen…, daß die Confusio und große Unordnung in Verrichtung des Gottesdienstes so mit Celebriren, Singen, Lesen und anderen Kirchenzeremonien dermaßen eingerissen, das weder der Salzburgische noch Römische Brauch observirt würde…kurz, es solle neue Reformatio ad usum Romanum eingerichtet werden." Ernst Hintermaier et al., *Katalog des liturgischen Buch- und Musikalienbestandes am Dom zu Salzburg: Teil 1, Die gedruckten und handschriftlichen liturgischen Bücher* (Salzburg: Universitätsverlag Anton Pustet, 1992), 3. While this official address marks the formal beginning of Wolf Dietrich's liturgical reforms as prince-Archbishop, Hermann Spies notes that Wolf Dietrich actually had suggested these reforms prior to his election in a chapter meeting dated 16 March 1583 where he stated that he wished "to reform the *Breviaria Salisburgensia* according to the Roman form." Ernst Hintermaier, "Die Kirchenmusik und Liturgie-Reform Wolf Dietrichs," *Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau: Gründer des Barocken Salzburg* (Salzburg: Universitätsverlag Anton Pustet, 1992): 296–302.

[20] Stefan Engels of Salzburg, interviewed by author, 22 June 2006.

[21] Hintermaier et al., *Katalog des liturgischen Buch- und Musikalienbestandes am Dom zu Salzburg: Teil 1, Die gedruckten und handschriftlichen liturgischen Bücher*, 4. Another regional practice retained was the recitation of the *Pater Noster* in the vernacular.

[22] A fourth manuscript from this period was identified by Karl Rosenthal; Karl August Rosenthal, "Zur Stilistik der Salzburg Kirchenmusik von 1600 bis 1730," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 17 (1930).

[23] Ernst Hintermaier of Salzburg, interviewed by author, 20 June 2006.

collections are two prints issued by the Munich printing firm Adam Berg containing works by Lasso from 1587 and 1589 (*W.b. N III, W.b. N IV*, respectively). These works illustrate Salzburg's affinity for the musical styles of Munich's court. A third collection, and the catalyst of this study, is *W.b. XIV*, a manuscript of eight Magnificats and two Marian motets by Paul Sartorius.[24]

1.	*Missa Quinque Vocum. Super dittes Magistresse*
2.	*Missa quinque vocum Amor donna*
3.	*Missa quinque vocum super Io son ferito ahi lasso*
4.	*Missa quinque vocum super Qual donna attende a gloriosa fama*
5.	*Missa quinque coum super In die tribulationis*
6.	*Missa Quinque Vocum Pro Defunctis*

Table 1: Contents of *W.b. N III: Orlando di Lasso/Messen*

An examination of the three collections preceding Wolf Dietrich's Salzburg tenure, along with W.b. XIV, suggests ties to the *Hofkapelle* of Munich and an aesthetic penchant for Lasso's imitation Magnificats and Masses.[25] The first print, *W.b. N III* (*Orlando di Lasso/ Messen*, Table 1), contains six Masses by Lasso, of which four—*Missa quinque vocum Amor donna*, *Missa quinque vocum super Io son ferito ahi lasso*, *Missa quinque vocum super Qual donna attende a gloriosa fama*, and *Missa quinque vocum super In die tribulationis*—are parodies of secular works.[26] According to the *Domkapitelprotokolle* of 1589, *W.b. N III* was presented to the cathedral chapter on 29 July of that year.[27]

Although included in late sixteenth-century *Hof* inventory lists, *W.b. N IV* (*Orlando di Lasso/ Magnificat-Vertonungen*) was not found until 1987 at the *Pfarrhof* St. Gilgen. This print (Table 2), given to the cathedral chapter on 21 September 1587, further ties Salzburg to the chapel of Munich as it contains thirteen of Lasso's imitation Magnificats. Albeit devoid of Magnificats for the fifth and sixth tone, *W.b. N IV* contains numerous Magnificats appropriate for various liturgical occasions in the remaining church tones.[28] In addition to containing works representative of Salzburg's musical repertoire during Wolf Dietrich's tenure, the prints *W.b. N III* and *W.b. N IV* illustrate the cultural exchange between Salzburg and the religiously active court of Munich. As will be seen with *W.b. XIV*, exchanges like this were also common between Salzburg and Innsbruck in the late sixteenth century.[29]

[24] Hintermaier et al., 16–17.

[25] *W.b. XIV* and *W.b.N IV* do not solely represent Salzburg's Magnificat collections. Other collections containing Magnificats acquired after Wolf Dietrich's archbishopric include *W.b. XII* (*Magnificat-Vertonungen von Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Hymnen und andere Officium-Sätze für Vesper und Komplet*), *W.b. XX* (*Stefano Bernardi: Magnificat-Vertonungen und Resposorien*), *W.b.N* (*Psalm- und Magnificat-Vertonungen*), and *W.b.N II* (*Christóbal Morales: Magnificat-Vertonungen*).

[26] Ibid., 98–99.

[27] Requisition accounts for both *W.b. N III* and *W.b.N IV* are well documented in the *Domkapitel-Protokoll* of the sixteenth century. Ernst Hintermaier, et. al., 98.

[28] Ibid., 99. Also included in W.b. N IV is a Magnificat in the *Peregrini toni*. This "hybrid" tone, not included in the eight church tones, and its treatment in Lasso's Magnificats is detailed in Crook, 134–141.

[29] This collaborative atmosphere between Munich and Salzburg was especially strong during the reign of Salzburg's prince-Archbishop Michael von Kuenburg (1514–1560), as both he and Munich's Albrecht V often visited each other's courts during the mid-sixteenth century. It is uncertain when Lasso first came into contact with the court at Salzburg. Hintermaier estimated that this introduction occurred no later than 1568 when prince-Archbishop Kuen-Belasy attended the wedding festivities of Munich's prince Maximilian between 20 February and 8 March 1568. Ibid., 30–31.

1.	*Magnificat Quatuor vocum. Primi toni, Si par Souhait*
2.	*Magnificat Quatuor vocum. Secundi toni, Il est iuor [!]*
3.	*Magnificat Sex vocum. Secundi toni, Quanto in milli anni il Ciel*
4.	*Magnificat Sex vocum. Primi toni, Dessus le marché*
5.	*Magnificat Sex vocum. Primi toni, Susanne vn Iour*
6.	*Magnificat Sex vocum. Peregrini toni, Deus in adiutorium*
7.	*Magnificat Sex vocum. Secundi toni, Ecco ch ['] io lasso il core*
8.	*Magnificat Sex vocum. Primi toni, Omnis enim homo*
9.	*Magnificat Sex vocum. Septimi toni, Amor eccor colle*
10.	*Magnificat Sex vocum. Quarti toni, Quando io lieta sperai*
11.	*Magnificat Quinque vocum. Octavi toni, Aria De vn sonetto*
12.	*Magnificat Quinque vocum. Tertii toni, Mort & fortune*
13.	*Magnificat Sex vocum. Secundi toni, Mais qui pour [r]oit ester celuj*

Table 2: Contents of *W.b. N IV: Orlando di Lasso/Magnificat-Vertonungen*

The remaining collection from Wolf Dietrich's tenure, *W.b. N V*, is a lost manuscript whose contents were identified by Karl Rosenthal in 1930. According to Rosenthal, *W.b. N V* (Table 3) is a manuscript by Tyrol composer Blasius Amon (1560–1590) that was once located in the Salzburg cathedral archive. Although this manuscript disappeared around 1945, its content, much like that *W.b. N III* and *W.b. N IV*, further illustrates Wolf Dietrich's embrace of the imitation masses and Magnificats currently popular in Munich with the inclusion of three parody works based on sacred and secular models. It is indeed unfortunate that Amon's manuscript is lost, as it may have provided further evidence of Salzburg's fascination with Italian styles, especially those cultivated in Venice. According to Anthony Carver, Amon, after studying in Venice, returned to Austria where he composed works "strongly influenced by Venetian music." Many of Amon's motets from 1590 make use of the cori spezzati technique and favor predominantly homophonic passages over strict imitation.[30] If Amon's masses found in W.b. N V featured the same stylistic traits as his remaining works, they would foreshadow the introduction of full-blown *cori spezzati* techniques in Salzburg.[31]

Wolf Dietrich as Fautor musicae

In addition to Wolf Dietrich's desire for quality music and elaborate ceremonies, his patronage of numerous influential composers established the prince-Archbishop as a *Fautor musicae* ("supporter of music"). Wolf Dietrich's status as a generous benefactor to musicians encouraged the immigration of numerous significant musicians to Salzburg. By the early 1590s, for example, many musicians from the Imperial court in Innsbruck "benefited financially from the patron-like nature of Salzburg's Metropolitan area," often at the protest of their former employer, Ferdinand II.[32]

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[30] Anthony F. Carver, "Ammon, Blasius" *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edition, ed. S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001) vol. 1, 511.

[31] Hintermaier et al., 99. Although not germane to the scope of this article, an examination of Wolf Dietrich's *maestri di cappella*, and their rather abrupt dismissals, illustrates both the prince-Archbishop's affinity to all things Italianate and his rather difficult personality.

[32] Hintermaier, "*Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau*—Fautor Musicae Ecclesiasticae," *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift*, XLII/7–8 (July–August, 1987): 355–361.

1.	*Missa super Ut re mi fa sol la la sol fa mi re ut*
2.	*Missa super Pour ung' pleisir*
3.	*Missa Surge propera*
4.	*Missa super Dixit Domino mulier Chananea*
5.	*Missa pro defunctis*

Table 3: Contents of *W.b.N V: Blasius Amon/Messen*

Wolf Dietrich's reputation as a *Fautor musicae* is documented through the number of dedications to him found in music prints and manuscripts of the period. During his reign, Wolf Dietrich received no fewer than eight dedicated collections of music, including *W.b. XIV*. These collections, either by Italian composers or German composers utilizing Italian styles, indentify the stylistic trends in post-Tridentine Salzburg, as many of the dedicated collections include the use of *cori spezzati*, basso continuo, and styles associated with late sixteenth-century Italian music (Table 4).

It is noteworthy that while these collections feature a number of different genres, ranging from unaccompanied cantus firmus Introits and Mass propers (Sale and Bonamicos, respectively) to concerted works (Stadlmayr), three collections are devoted to Magnificats (Flori, Sartorius, and Stadlmayr). Even within these three Marian collections, the compositional styles represented range from a cappella alternatim settings of Flori and Sartorius to the concerted imitation and *cori spezzati* Magnificats of Stadlmayr.[33]

[33] Ibid. Of the ten Magnificats contained in Stadlmayr's 1603 collection, seven are parodies based on madrigals by prominent composers of the Renaissance, including Marenzio, de Wert, and Vecchi. Although the majority of Stadlmayr's Magnificats are composed primarily in the austere Palestrina style, the final Magnificat features *cori spezzati*. An extensive study of Stadylmayr's complete Magnificat oeuvre, including his collection dedicated to Wolf Dietrich in 1603, can be found in Hilde H. Junkermann, *The Magnificats of Johann Stadlmayr* (Ph.D. diss., The Ohio State University, 1967).

1.	*Franz Sale: Patrocinium musices (7 August 1589)*
2.	*Tiburtio Massaino: Motectorum quinque vocum […] liver tertius (1590)*
3.	*Jakob Flori: Cantiones sacrae quinque vocum quas vulgo Motectas vocant quibus adjunctae sunt octo Magnificat secundum octo tonos […] tum omnivario instrumentorum concentui accommodate et singulari confectae industria (1599)*
4.	*Paul Sartorius: W.b. XIV (c. 1601)*
5.	*Agostino Agazzari: Sacrarum cantionum quae quinis, senix, septenis, octonisque vocibus concinuntur, liber primus (1 December 1602)*
6.	*Johann Stadlmayr: Sacrum Beatissimae Virginis Canticum (26 June 1603)*
7.	*Orazio Vecchi: Hymni qui per totum annum in Ecclesia Romana […] cum quatuor vocibus (31 August 1604)*
8.	*Leone Leoni: Sacrarum cantionum, liber primus, octo vocum, cum duplici partitura organi, et in tabula illarum ordo videtur (1608)*

Table 4: Dedications to Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau

Of the eight aforementioned dedications to Wolf Dietrich, Sartorius's collection—the most "local," regarding both stylistic traits and origination—is the only collection to have remained in the cathedral archive. Not surprisingly, *W.b. XIV* contains many standard Magnificat traditions typical of late sixteenth-century practice, such as those of Palestrina. However, *W.b. XIV* does retain a trademark of regional Magnificat traditions, mainly the usage of regional psalm tone formulae associated with Innsbruck and, moreover, Salzburg. Ultimately, this collection reflects an archdiocese in transition; one that embraced the reforms

ushered in by Wolf Dietrich while retaining local traditions.

Paul Sartorius

It is unfortunate that so little is known about Paul Sartorius and his music. As a German composer trained in Italy, Sartorius is among the many composers, like his colleague Hans Leo Hassler (1564–1612), who were responsible for importing late sixteenth-century musical styles north of the Alps. Nevertheless, scholars are indebted to the work of Franz Krautwurst, whose research has provided a more complete description of Sartorius's life and works. What little is known of him is found in Krautwurst's brief articles in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* and *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Sartorius was born Paul Schneider c. 1569 in Nuremberg, where he first studied composition with Leonhard Lechner (c. 1553–1606).[34] According to the preface of Sartorius's *Neue teutsche Liedlein* (1601), he then traveled to Italy to "study with some of the famous composers of the day."[35] During his sojourn in Italy, Sartorius was associated with Palestrina and his students, most notably Ruggiero Giovannelli, on whose motet *Jubilate Deo omnis terra* Sartorius composed a parody mass. By 1594, Sartorius assumed the post of organist at the *Hofkapelle* of Archduke Maximilian II, where he worked alongside Hassler. Sartorius, despite attempts for transfers, would remain in the Archduke's service until his death in 1609.[36]

The Magnificats of Chorbuch W.b. XIV

Sartorius dedicated his collection of eight Magnificats, an *Ave Maria*, and a *Salve Regina* (*W.b. XIV*) to Wolf Dietrich circa 1601. While not confirmed, it has been suggested that this manuscript was presented to Wolf Dietrich by Sartorius as an "application" for future employment in the prince-Archbishop's service. Around the time *W.b. XIV* was prepared, Wolf Dietrich wrote to Hassler, the court composer in Innsbruck, inquiring about a suitable *maestro di cappella*. It is highly plausible that Hassler recommended his colleague Sartorius for the position, and, further, that Sartorius presented the manuscript to Wolf Dietrich as early as 1601, perhaps in anticipation of receiving the appointment.[37] This belief is further supported by Sartorius's stereotypically Baroque dedication to Wolf Dietrich found on *W.b. XIV*'s first page.

> No less emphatically than elegantly, most praiseworthy and illustrious prince, it is said by a very famous poet: Music is chosen to praise the generosity of God. For in addition to numerous other reasons for which music was given to the human race, it is above all most compelling that—on the basis of well attested experience—music has been employed throughout the ages at sacred acts, and that the oracles of the gods have

[34] It was common for Germans influenced by sixteenth-century Italian trends to change their names to a more Italian or Latin form (i.e. Schneider to Sartorius). This trend is also seen with Wolf Dietrich's last *Kapellmeister* Pietro Bonamico (c. 1580–1625), who was born Peter Guetfreund. Josef-Horst Lederer, "Guetfreund, Peter" *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edition, ed. S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), vol. 10, 587.

[35] Franz Krautwurst, "Sartorius, Paul" The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 2nd edition, ed. S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), vol. 22, 308–309.

[36] Ibid.

[37] As noted previously, cultural exchanges were already commonplace between Salzburg and nearby Innsbruck during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Composers such as Stadylmayr and Massaini often moved freely from one court to the other. These two municipalities also established a tradition of exchanging musical instruments (i.e., *Pockschen Claviorganums*) and musical scores. Hintermaier, 355–361.

> been wonderfully handed down, preserved and disseminated through song as well as through written documents. But in order that I, with the gift of my talent imparted to me by divine grace, contribute to the promotion and elucidation of the praise of God and the spread of heavenly teachings, I thought, as I composed the songs of the most blessed Virgin Mary and Mother of God (generally called Magnificat) for six voices in the eight church tones, that I should prefer to dedicate these to Your Most Revered Eminence. I have known for a long time that Your Revered Eminence is filled with a burning zeal for music and is wonderfully delighted by it and that you, as a consequence of an innate benevolent affection for the more noble arts, support its lovers and performers most mercifully. In closing, I ask most zealously and with most subservient respect that your Most Revered Eminence might see fit to accept this, my attempt, such as it is, as well as my personal respects.[38]

The title page and original index to this 252-page, fifty-seven by forty-one cm manuscript are missing. The only remnant of an index was later written on the inside cover.[39] In addition to listing the works in *W.b. XIV*, this index identifies when and by whom it was cataloged. According to the index, Johannes Hupfauf cataloged the contents of *W.b. XIV* in 1876 and "edited" or, more specifically, added *musica ficta* to Sartorius's *Ave Maria*. The ink color and penmanship of the index is clearly identical to the accidentals found in Sartorius's *Ave Maria*, making it easy to distinguish between Sartorius's accidentals and those applied by Hupfauf, who did not follow the currently accepted practices associated with *musica ficta*.[40]

W.b. XIV itself was copied and assembled in Innsbruck by a scribe identified by Hintermaier as scribe "A." Its paper was produced by two separate Austrian sources: its watermarks, a *Reichsdoppeladler* in a heart formation with a "W" on its shield and a Serpent (or worm) with the initial S, are from the paper mills of Wattens in Tyrol, a region immediately outside Innsbruck with numerous paper mills (Illustration 1).[41] While these paper mills were

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[38] *REVERENDISSIMO AC ILLVSTRISSIMO PRINCIPI ET DOMINO, domino WOLFGANGO THEODORICO Archiepiscopo Salisburgensi sacrae Romanae Eccl(esi)ae legato nato (et)c D(omin)no suo clementissimo. Non minus praeclare quam eleganter Reverendissime et illustrissime princeps, à clarissimo poeta dicitur: musica munificu(m) nata sanare Deum. Nam in alios multiplices fines. propter quos generi humano data est musica o(m)n(iu)m praestantissimus e(st), ut diuinis laudib(us), atq(ue) propagationi Religionis seruiat. Sicut experientia teste, o(mn)ib(us) aetatibu(us) musicam in sacris ritib(us) adhibitam. oraculaq(ue) diuinit(us) tradita, cantu tanquam literis, conseruata et p(ro)pagata esse, certissime constat. Ut verò et ego illis ingenij mei donis, diuino mihi beneficio concessis, gloriam Dei ac p(ro)pagationem coelestis doctrinae prouehere et illustrare iuuarem. Canti cum beatissimae deipar(a)e virginis Mariae (vulgo magnificat dictum) musicis numeris sex [S. 2] vocum per octo tonos composui: quod tuae potissimum Reuerendissimae celsitudini dedica(n) dum esse duxi. Iampridem enim R(everendissimam) cel(situdinem) tuam studio musices ardente teneri, eàq (ue) mirifice delectari, et huius cultores ac artifices. pro innato erga humaniores disciplinas amore atq(ue) benevolentia, clementissime favere, mihi perspectissimum est. Quod super est, sum (m)a animi contentione subiectissimaq(ue) reuerentia oro, vt R(everendissimae) C(elsitudo) T(ua) hunc qualemcumque laborem meum benigno vultu accipiat, meq(ue) simper sibi com(m)endatum habeat. Reverendis(simae) et Illustris(simae) celsitudinis tuae humilimus Paul Sartorius serenissimi principis Maximiliani Archiducis Austriae (et)c Organista.* Hintermaier, et. al., *Katalog des liturgischen Buch- und Musikalienbestandes am Dom zu Salzburg: Teil 2, Die Musikhandschriften und Musikdrucke in Chorbuch-Notierung*, 69–70. Translated from Hintermaier's German translation by John Austin.

[39] "Partitura(m) invenies sub lit: O: S: / Ultimo. Salve Regina a 6. / Ave Maria a 6. – ebd. von Johannes Hupfauf: Aus diesem Buche entnahm ich im Jahre 1876 / – das auf Seite – befindliche Ave Maria / Joh. Peregrin." Hintermaier, 69.

[40] Although this article focuses on the regional Magnificat compositional styles found in *W.b. XIV*, it should not be overlooked that this collection also contains two Marian antiphons that follow standard sixteenth-century compositional expectations.

[41] Georg Eineder, *The Ancient Paper-Mills of*

two of the more prolific mills in Tyrol, having produced much material for collections in the Imperial Court of Innsbruck, W.b. XIV is the only source in the Salzburg cathedral archive that uses paper from these two manufacturers. The vast majority of paper used in the choir books from the latter's archive originated from the paper mills of Lengfeldener, a small area located in the North West region of Salzburg's surrounding rural province.[42]

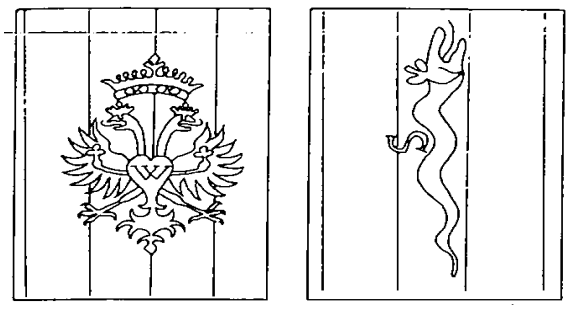


Illustration 1: Watermarks found in *W.b. XIV*[43]

The Magnificat and Psalm Tone Structure

By the seventeenth century, the Magnificat was the liturgical genre most frequently set polyphonically, apart from the Mass Ordinary.[44] While the rhetorical structure of Mary's canticle was standardized throughout its history—including its verse arrangement and division (Table 5), and its antiphonal nature—slight regional differences existed in the psalm tone structure, as is evidenced in the numerous surviving antiphoners and breviaries of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[45] In his 1921 study, *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien*, Peter Wagner outlined the tone formulae used in German-speaking regions during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and compared them to those in French and Italian sources. These tone formulae, now referenced in the current research as Mü 14745, differed slightly from the German tones identified in Carl-Heinz Illing's study, *Zur Technik der Magnificat-Komposition des 16. Jahrhunderts*, and illustrate the numerous regional differences in tone formulae during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, even within German-speaking regions.[46] Despite differing regional formulae, the basic components remain the same in all psalm tones, for every psalm tone contains four elements: an intonation (beginning), reciting tone (tenor or tuba),

the Former Austro-Hungarian Empire and Their Watermarks (Hilversum: Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae Historiam Illustrantia VIII, 1960), 98.

42 Ibid., 34–36.

43 Hintermaier et al., 148.

44 For more information on fifteenth and sixteenth-century Magnificats, see Carl-Heinrich Illing, "Zur Technik der Magnificat-Komposition des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Kieler Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft. III* (Wolfenbüttel: Georg Kallmeyer Verlag, 1936); Josef Meinholz, Untersuchungen zur Magnificat-Komposition des 15. Jahrhunderts (Ph.D. diss., Universität Köln, 1956); Winfried Kirsch, *Die Quellen der Mehrstimmigen Magnificat- und Te Dem-Vertonungen bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1966); Robert G. Luoma, "Aspects of Mode in Sixteenth-Century Magnificats" *The Musical Quarterly* LXII/3 (July 1976): 395–408; Gustave Reese, and "The Polyphonic Magnificat of the Renaissance as a Design in Tonal Centers" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 13/1 (1960): 68–78; David Eugene Crawford, *Vespers Polyphony at Modena's Cathedral in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century* (Ph. D. diss., University of Illinois, 1967); and Masakata Kanazawa, *Polyphonic Music for Vespers in the Fifteenth Century* (Ph. D. diss., Harvard University, 1966).

45 Steiner and Falconer, 509.

46 Peter Wagner, *Gregorianische Formenlehre*, vol. 3 of *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1921), 102–103.; Carl-Heinrich Illing, "Zur Technik der Magnificat-Komposition des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Kieler Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*. III (Wolfenbüttel: Georg Kallmeyer Verlag, 1936), 22.

vs. one	Magnificat/anima mea Dominum.
vs. two	Et exultavit spiritus meus/ in Deo salutari meo.
vs. three	Quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae/ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generationes.
vs. four	Quia fecit mihi magna qui potens est/et sanctum nomen ejus.
vs. five	Et misericordia ejus a progenie in progenies/timentibus eum
vs. six	Fecit potentiam in brachio suo/dispersit superbos mente cordis sui.
vs. seven	Deposuit potentes de sede/ et exaltavit humiles.
vs. eight	Esurientes implevit bonis/ et divites dimisit inanes.
vs. nine	Suscepit Israel puerum suum/ recordatus misericordiae suae.
vs. ten	Sicut locutus est ad patres nostros/ Abraham et semini ejus in saecula.
vs. eleven	Gloria Patri, et Filio/ et Spiritui Sancto.
vs. twelve	Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper/et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Table 5: Magnificat Verse Division Structure

mediation, and termination (Example 1).[47] As will be discussed, the intonation is often the melodic material used within the polyphonic verses.

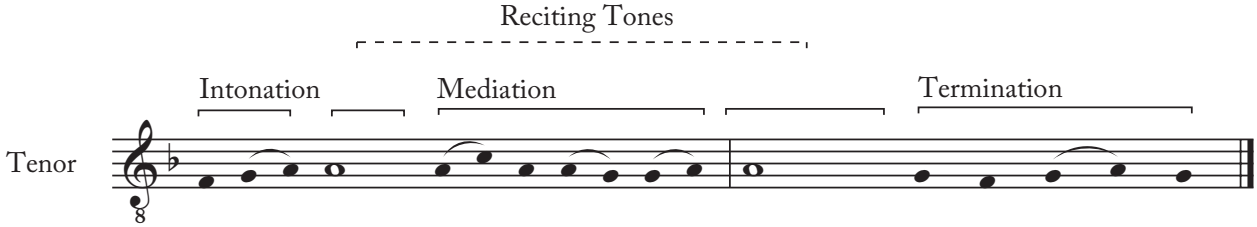
[47] Reese, 69.

Standard Sixteenth-Century Magnificat Traits of W.b. XIV: Tonal Ordering, Even-Numbered Verse Settings, Tone Transposition, Verse Division, and Psalm-Tone Usage

As is typical of sixteenth-century collections of this sort, *W.b. XIV* presents eight Magnificats, one for each tone and in successive order, thus making it applicable throughout the liturgical year. The Magnificats of *W.b. XIV* deviate from typical sixteenth-century Magnificats in their scoring. All of Sartorius's Magnificats are scored for six voices—predating the Magnificat compositional trends of the early seventeenth century—whereas most Magnificats of the sixteenth-century rarely utilize more than five voices. It is noteworthy that the lengths of each Magnificat in *W.b. XIV* are more or less equal. Only the final Magnificat, *Magnificat octavi toni*, is longer than its predecessors, thus providing an aesthetically fulfilling close to the entire collection.

While early sixteenth-century Magnificats featured either the even- or the odd-numbered verses in polyphony, by the end of the sixteenth century mostly the even-numbered verses were set polyphonically because, according to James Erb, this alternatim construct allowed for a more pleasing final verse.[48] By the early seventeenth century, a vast majority of the Magnificats featured settings of only the even-numbered verses in alternatim, and *W.b. XIV* is no exception. All of the Magnificats in *W.b.*

[48] James Erb, "Aspects of form in Orlando di Lasso's Magnificat settings," *Orlando di Lasso Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 3.



Example 1: Components of Psalm Tones

XIV begin polyphonically with verse two, "Et exsultavit spiritus meus/in Deo salutari meo."

The Magnificats of *W.b. XIV* also utilize a commonly employed transposition for tones one and two. Like Lasso and Palestrina, Sartorius transposed the verses of the Magnificat *primi toni* and *secundi toni* up a fourth and added one flat to the key signature. This transposition, already standard in the sixteenth century, is illustrated in Appendix A, where the tone transpositions used in sixteenth-century Magnificats are shown with those found in Franchinus Gafurius's *Practica musicae* (1496).[49]

The length of each Magnificat verse and its bipartite division also suggest the composer's familiarity with standard practices of his contemporaries, and with those of Lasso in particular. A comparison of the verse structures used by Lasso and Sartorius can be derived from the study of Erb's article "Aspects of Form in Lasso's Magnificat Settings."[50] In this essay, Erb identifies instances in which the lengths and the medial cadences of each verse in Lasso's Magnificats conform to the balanced proportion of syllables in the canticle's verses. Each verse of the Magnificat is divided textually into two sections, designated A and B for the purposes of discussion here. As can be seen in Table 6, which shows the number of syllables in each verse, the numbers between the A and B sections vary. Although an irregular proportion exists between the rhetorical divisions, a more equal balance is seen in the even-numbered verses, which were the ones most often set polyphonically during the sixteenth century. The only exception to this is found in verse four, where the A section contains twelve syllables and the B section contains only seven. In any case, the balanced syllabification of the even-numbered verses often led sixteenth-century composers to construct each verse in a bipartite form consisting of two musical sections of more-or-less equal length.

	A/B		A/B
vs. one	4/8	vs. two	10/9
vs. three	15/20	vs. four	12/7
vs. five	19/6	vs. six	12/12
vs. seven	10/8	vs. eight	10/10
vs. nine	11/11	vs. ten	11/13
vs. eleven	9/7	vs. twelve	14/11

Table 6: Total Number of Syllables in Each Verse of the Magnificat Canticle

Like Lasso, Sartorius adhered to this format with the Magnificats of *W.b. XIV* in that the settings of the even-numbered verses are closely balanced in musical length. Interestingly, the exception to this is seen almost exclusively in verse ten. Only in verse ten of the Magnificats *quarti toni*, *sexti toni*, and *octavi toni* is the ratio between the A and B section close to 1:1. The Magnificats in the remaining tones have a ratio that is closer to 1:2. This discrepancy in section lengths could have been because of the ritual actions accompanied by the Magnificat, such as the censing of the altar, which would have added considerable length to each Magnificat. In fact, Erb alludes to this varying liturgical component and its possible association with the comparative lengths of Lasso's and Palestrina's Magnificats. According to Erb, the time required for censing the altar accounts for the greater length of Palestrina's Magnificats as "each participant [at St. Peter's in Rome] was censed during the singing of the Magnificat, and since at solemn Vespers in so important a church there were many participants."[51] The lengths of Lasso's Magnificats, moreover, are quite inconsistent in comparison to those of Palestrina, which range from forty to over 200 measures in length in modern transcriptions.

[49] Franchinus Gafurius, *Practica musicae* (1496), ed. Irwin Young (Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).

[50] Erb, 1–19.

[51] Ibid., 5. See also Clive Wearing, "Orlandus Lassus (1532–1594) and the Munich Kapelle" *Early Music*, 10/2 (April 1982), 147–153.

Although Salzburg was an important ecclesiastic center, it did not employ the number of participants as did St. Peter's in Rome. In fact, the numbers of participants involved in the Vespers at the Salzburg Cathedral would have been similar to that of Munich's *Kapelle* and would have depended upon the solemnity of the particular feast or service celebrated. This varying number of participants would require Magnificats of differing lengths, similar to the varying lengths of Lasso's Magnificat oeuvre. Sartorius anticipated this need by composing eight Magnificats in slightly different lengths. The length of Magnificats in *W.b. XIV* range from 302 breves (*Magnificat secundi toni*) to 324 (*Magnificat quarti toni*). By presenting eight Magnificats of differing length, Sartorius insured *W.b. XIV*'s applicability for various occasions ranging from standard Vespers services to more solemn feasts.

Another similarity that the Magnificats of *W.b. XIV* share with those of late sixteenth-century Magnificats is the bipartite structure within each verse, primarily in terms of the alignment of structural medial cadences with textual divisions. Like all fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Magnificats, the beginning of each verse's B music aligns with the beginning of its B text. To further delineate the A and B sections, composers either wrote a caesura at the medial cadence, as seen in the early English Magnificats found in the Eton Choir book, or introduced new melodic material. While Sartorius does not insert an actual caesura indication at the medial cadence, he does, however, allude to this technique by either composing a definite harmonic cadence at the medial division—as found in *Magnificat primi toni*, verse 8, m. 12—or by composing a rest prior to the B text—for instance, *Magnificat tertii toni*, verse 10, m. 7 (Appendix B). Most typical of Lasso's divisions, and of those found in many other sixteenth-century Magnificats, is a medial cadence in which voices overlap, or "dove tail," into the new section and text, as seen in the sixth verse of Sartorius's *Magnificat primi toni*, mm. 16–18 (Appendix B). The majority of Sartorius's Magnificats follow this practice of musical and textual division.

However, the subdivisions of five verses of *W.b. XIV* do not coincide with each verse's medial cadence. Table 7 identifies verses in which new textual material is introduced well before the medial cadence. It is noteworthy that of the six occurrences of "misaligned" textual and musical cadences, all but one occur in verse two. It cannot be determined with authority whether this discrepancy was a scribal error or a compositional choice. In his work with Lasso's Magnificats, Erb identified identical situations in which text and music do not align at medial cadences. By reviewing multiple printed editions and manuscripts of the same Magnificat, Erb was able to successfully attribute such occurrences to scribal error.[52] Unfortunately, concordances to the Magnificats of *W.b. XIV* do not exist; thus scholars are unable to determine if these discrepancies are the composer's intentions or scribal error.

The majority of the polyphonic verses of *W.b. XIV* exhibit another traditional Magnificat technique, specifically borrowing the preceding psalm tones as melodic material. This practice of using the first three or four notes of the corresponding psalm tone intonation is derived from the fifteenth-century Magnificat practice of utilizing the complete psalm tone as a cantus firmus throughout the entire polyphonic verse. By quoting the first few notes of the psalm tone within the even-numbered verse's polyphonic texture, composers were able to create a cohesive element that further tied it to the appropriate tone. Although an appearance of a complete psalm tone as a cantus firmus was rarely used in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Magnificats, Sartorius concluded his collection

[52] Ibid., 14–15. This occurred most often in the posthumously published collections of Lasso by his son Rudolf di Lasso, for example Magnificat 16, verse 4 ("Magnificat Octavi Toni, Quinque Vocum…"). See Lasso, ed. Erb, *Sämtliche Werke, neue Reihe*, vol. 13.

of Magnificats, the *Magnificat octavi toni*, verse twelve, with an appearance of a complete psalm tone in the tenor voice.

Magnificat…	verse	Textual*	Musical*
secundi toni	2	15:10	17:8
tertii toni	2	15:12	17:10
quarti toni	2	9:18	13:14
sexti toni	2	12:15	15:12
sexti toni	12	11:22	13:19
octavi toni	2	14:12	17:9

Table 7: Verses Within *W.b. XIV* Whose Textual Structure Do Not Align With Medial Cadences
[* *length in breves*]

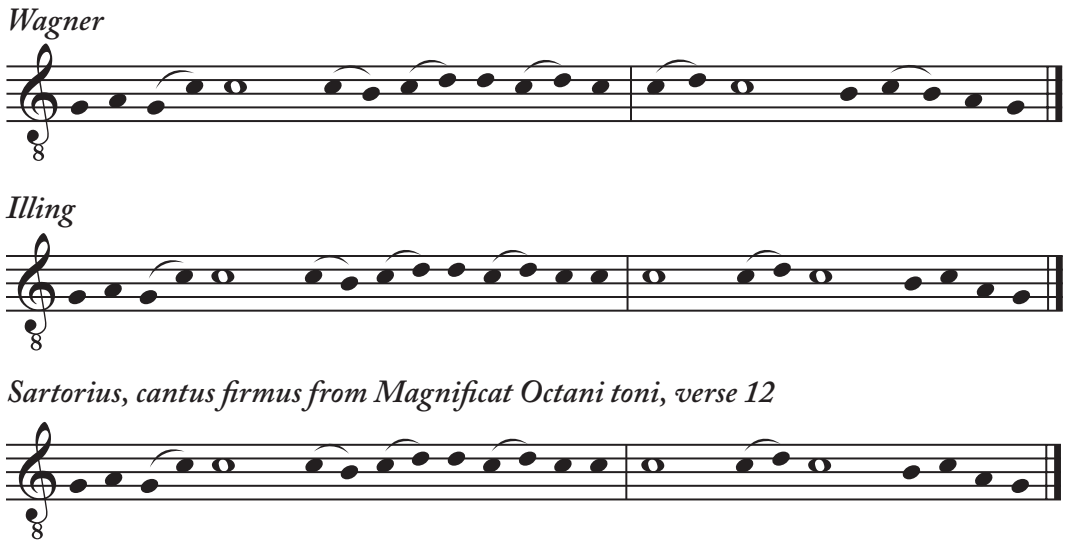
Sartorius did not, however, quote the appropriate psalm tone in every verse of *W.b. XIV*. Each of the Magnificats has at least one internal verse that does not share any melodic resemblance to the preceding psalm tone. Whereas the majority of verses in *W.b. XIV* use the first four notes of the corresponding psalm tone as imitative material, almost half of the verses were "freely composed" without reference to the psalm tone intonation. The number of these "freely treated" verses within a Magnificat range from one to as many as four, as can be seen in the *Magnificat primi toni* (verse eight), the *Magnificat octavi toni* (verse six), and the *Magnificat septimi toni* (verses four, six, eight, and ten). Even though all Magnificats feature the "free treatment" of at least one internal verse per Magnificat, they also adhere to the long-established convention of quoting the appropriate psalm tone's intonation in verses two and twelve, thus framing each Magnificat with references to the appropriate psalm tone. Only the *Magnificat secundi toni* and the *Magnificat quarti toni* do not quote the psalm tone in verse twelve (Table 8).

verse	2	4	6	8	10	12
Magnificat… *primi toni*				×		
secundi toni			×	×	×	×
tertii toni				×	×	
quarti toni			×	×	×	×
quinti toni				×	×	
sexti toni			×		×	
septimi toni		×	×	×	×	
octavi toni			×			

Table 8: *W. b. XIV* "Free treatment" verses

Interestingly, it is the conventional psalm tone usage within the polyphonic texture that led to the incorrect perception that many of the Magnificats of *W.b. XIV* feature passages borrowed directly from those of Palestrina, as the latter frequently utilized this practice in his Magnificats. In his article, Krautwurst observes that "Sartorius was, as a composer of sacred vocal works, very much up-to-date in his knowledge of Italian music." While this observation accurately reflects the Italianate character of Sartorius's style, Krautwurst's succeeding statements concerning *W.b. XIV* do not bear up under scrutiny of the manuscript. Krautwurst claims that "[Sartorius] was influenced less by Lassus or Hassler than he was by Palestrina," citing the eight six-voice Magnificats of *W.b. XIV* as evidence. In addition, he states that Sartorius, "made use not only of single motifs, but even here and there of whole passages taken from Magnificat settings by Palestrina."[53] Although on the surface many of these statements appear to be correct, Krautwurst does not view the Magnificats of *W.b. XIV* in the larger context of sixteenth-century conventions associated with the genre, specifically the use of psalm tones as either melodic material or as a cantus firmi. Sartorius's perceived "parody" of Palestrina's Magnificats in the beginning of each odd-numbered verse is actually Sartorius's reference to the associated psalm tone. This technique, of course, was not novel to the Magnificats of Palestrina and Sartorius, for it was used by other important sixteenth-century composers such as Lasso,

[53] Krautwurst, 308–309.



Example 2: Comparison of Psalm Tone Formulae: Tone Eight

Victoria, and Leonhard Lechner, Sartorius's first composition instructor (Appendix C).

Another of Krautwurst's statements pertaining to *W.b. XIV* also causes confusion. In the same article, Krautwurst claims that Sartorius "created the impression of a real eight-part double choir by the use of contrasting groups of four voices from the full choir."[54] Krautwurst may have come to this conclusion by noting the alternating groups of reduced textures within each verse. For example, in the *Magnificat sexti toni*, verse twelve, mm. 14–16, Sartorius reduces the texture from a six voice tutti to four voices (soprano I, soprano II, alto, and tenor I) with the introduction of the text, "saeculorum, Amen." This section is then "answered" by another grouping of three voices in mm. 16–18 (soprano II, tenor II, and bass) with the same text and with almost identical melodic and harmonic material (Appendix D). While this technique does appear to create the effect of *cori spezzati*, it is by no means novel to Sartorius and, by the late sixteenth-century, was a well-established compositional practice. The same technique is found in Palestrina's *Magnificat primi toni* for four voices (Liber Primus, verse twelve, mm. 14–19), Lasso's *Magnificat Octani toni* for four voices (verse six, mm. 1–4), and Hassler's *Missa super Dixit Maria* ("Gloria," mm. 22–25) (Appendix D).[55]

Regional Magnificat Traits of W.b. XIV: Psalm Tone Formulae

Albeit a rarity in late sixteenth-century Magnificats, the appearance of the entire psalm tone as a cantus firmus in *Magnificat octavi toni*, verse twelve, interestingly enough, aids in identifying *W.b. XIV*'s regional affinities — specifically the appropriate regional psalm tone formulae applicable in Innsbruck and Salzburg. By using Crook's method of comparing representative psalm tone formulae

[54] Ibid., 309.

[55] In fact, O'Regan recently identified similar occurrences of this technique in several masses composed in the 1560s by Palestrina and Giovanni Animuccia. Noel O'Regan, "Lay Devotion and Church Music Reform in Late 16th-century Rome: Influences on Palestrina in the 1560s," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Quebec City, 3 November 2007.

with those associated with the Magnificats of Lasso, an accurate identification of the formulae used in Innsbruck and, moreover, Salzburg can be ascertained. An analysis of the psalm tone references in *W.b. XIV*, as well as the psalm tone's complete appearance as a cantus firmus in verse twelve of the Magnificat octavi toni, demonstrates that the tone formulae used for *W.b. XIV* are identical to the German tone formulae identified by Illing, rather than those catalogued by Wagner.[56] These formulae were commonly used in both Salzburg and Innsbruck, thus explaining Sartorius's familiarity with them and their use at the Salzburg Cathedral. Moreover, the appearance of the complete psalm tone formulae in Magnificat octavi toni, verse twelve, aligns *W.b. XIV* with the local practices of Magnificats from other Germanic centers. Example 2 presents three psalm tone formulae for tone eight: the formulae outlined by Wagner, Illing, and the cantus firmus in Sartorius's Magnificat octavi toni, verse twelve.[57]

Conclusion

After reviewing the extant music stemming from Wolf Dietrich's archbishopric in light of both sixteenth-century compositional trends and evidence of the prince-Archbishop's massive liturgical reforms, *W.b. XIV* can be viewed as representative of Salzburg's dual post-Tridentine identity—a principality embracing post-Tridentine theological reforms and aesthetics while retaining few elements of its local traditions. Sartorius's understanding of contemporary practices associated with the composition of Magnificats—namely tonal ordering, even-numbered verse setting, tone transposition, verse division, and psalm tone references—is combined with local Magnificat practices—primarily the usage of regional psalm tone formulae both within the even-numbered polyphonic verses framework and for the monophonic odd-numbered verses. This duality may also explain why *W.b. XIV* is the only collection out of all eight dedications to Wolf Dietrich that has remained in the Cathedral's musical inventory. Even though Wolf Dietrich, through his charisma and political clout, transformed Salzburg into the Northern Rome, regional characteristics, both liturgical and musical, remained in the archdiocese for many decades. Finally, the presence of a regional stylistic trait within Sartorius's Magnificats supports Monson's position that in spite of Trent's overriding influence, no single standardized musical view of this period can be assumed.

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[56] As Peter Wagner, Carl-Heinrich Illing, and James Erb have shown, specific regional formulae were employed for the Magnificat tones in German-speaking territories. While Wagner's study identifies the tone formulae used north of the Alps, it does not accurately account for all German-speaking regions. Using the collections of Lasso, for example, Erb identified an unique set of psalm tones used in Bavaria during the height of its post-Tridentine reforms. Orlando di Lasso, ed. James Erb, *Sämtliche Werke, neue Reihe*, No. 13, XV; 9.

[57] Wagner, 102–103.; Illing, 22.

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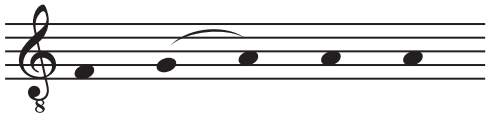
APPENDIX A
Tone One and Two Transposition

Tone 1

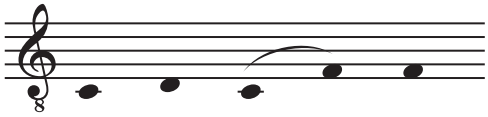
Gafori



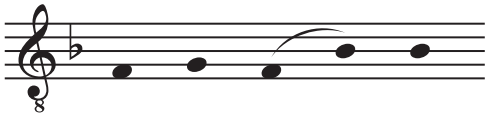
Sartorius

Tone 2

Gafori

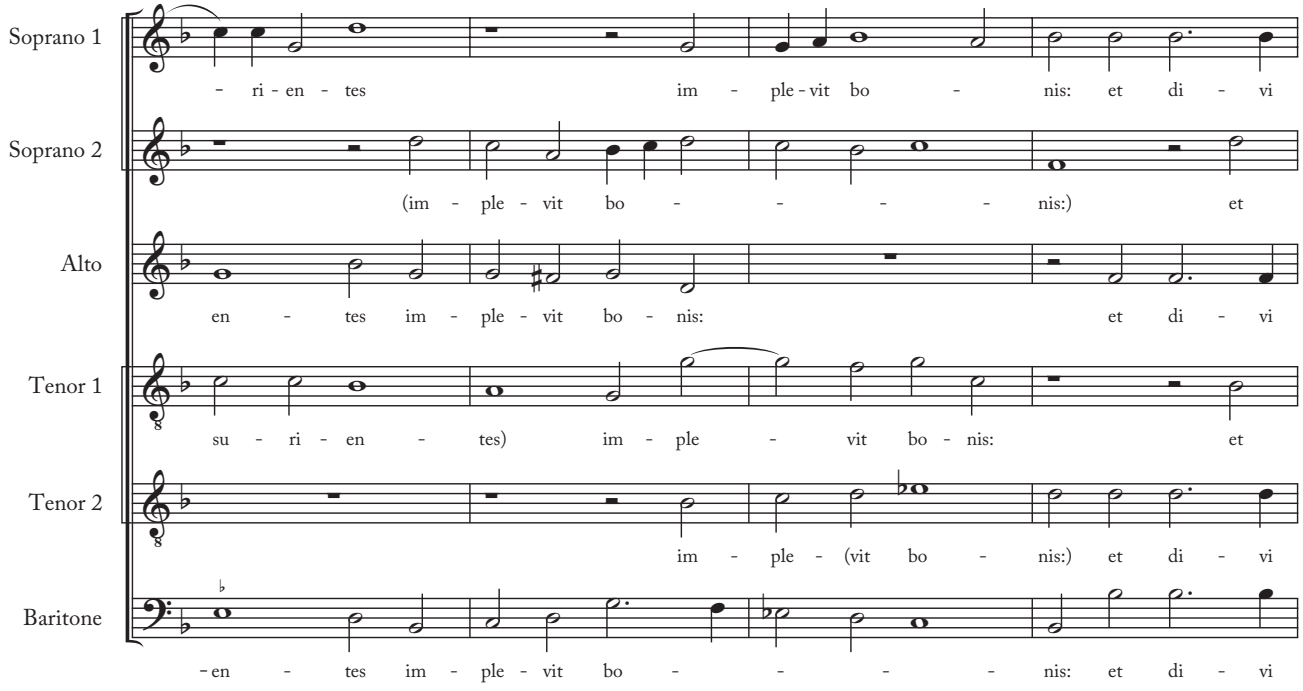


Sartorius

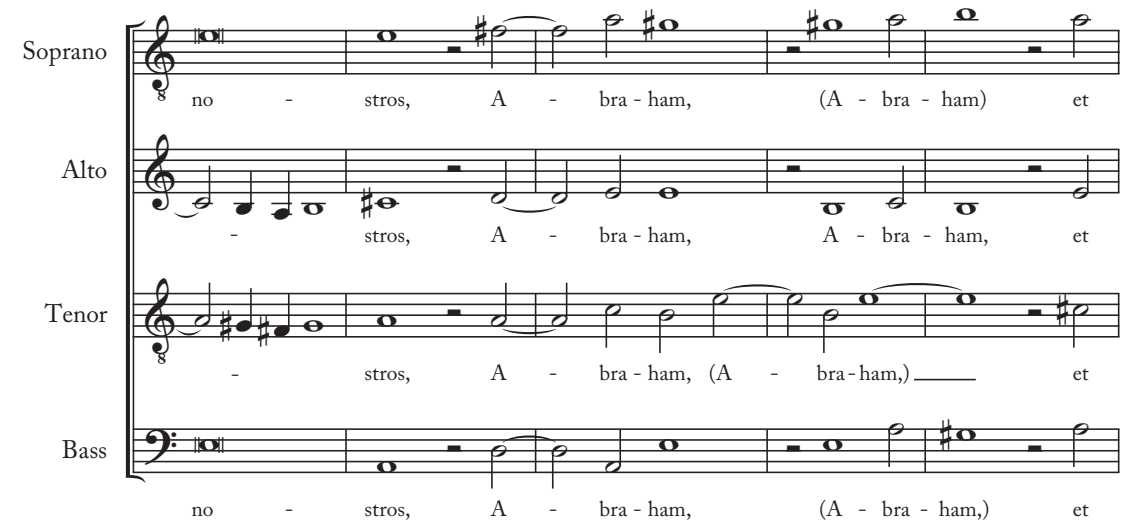


APPENDIX B
Examples of Textual/Musical Delineation in W.B. XIV

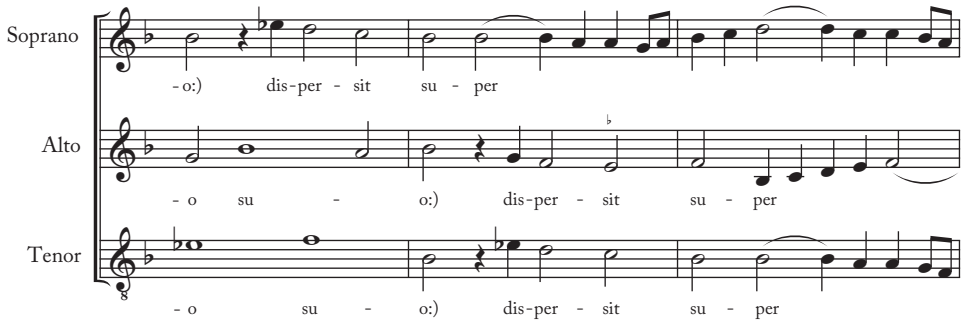
Magnificat primi toni, verse 8, mm. 9–12



Magnificat tertii toni, verse 10, mm. 6–10

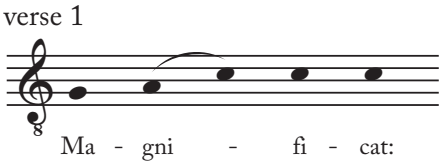


Magnificat primi toni, verse 6, mm. 16–18

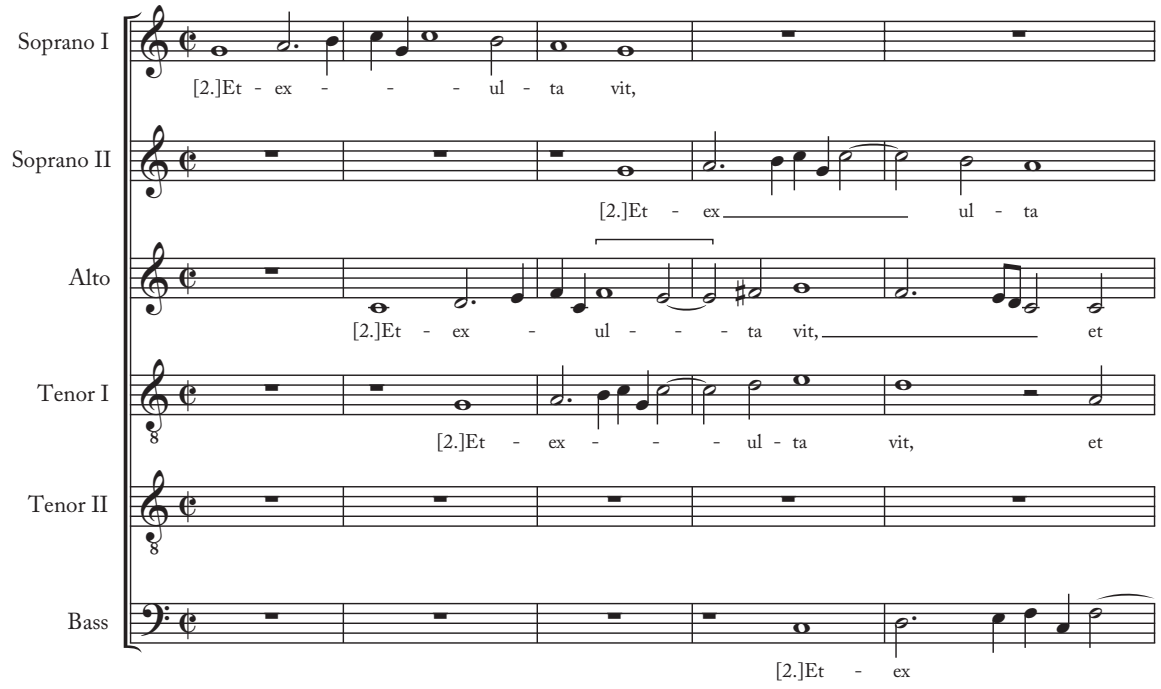


APPENDIX C
Psalm-Tone Three Incipit and its Use in Magnificats by Sartorius, Palestrina, Victoria, Lasso, and Lechner

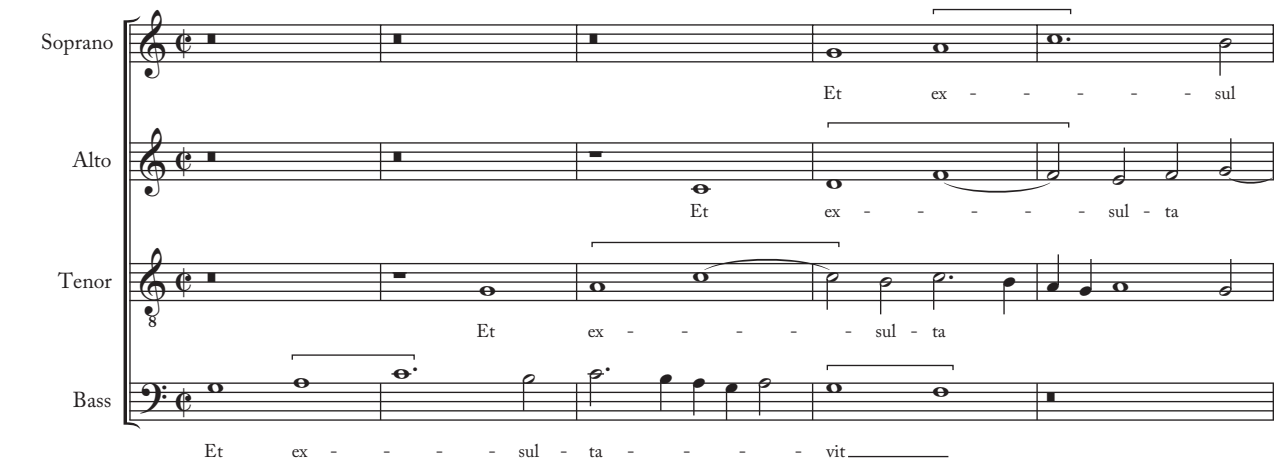
Psalm-tone, *Tertii toni*, verse 1, incipit



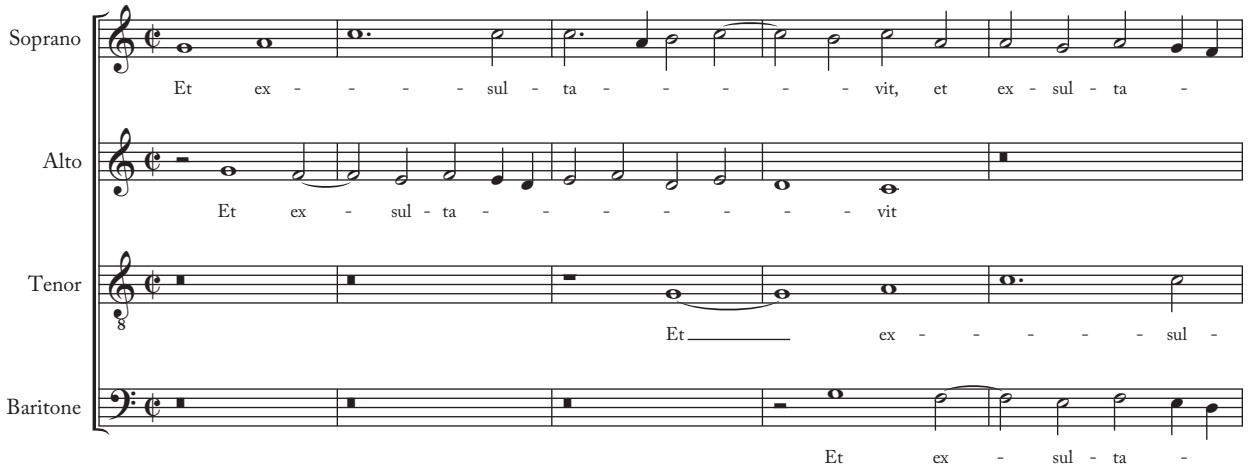
Sartorius, *Magnificat tertii toni* (1601), verse 2, mm. 1–5



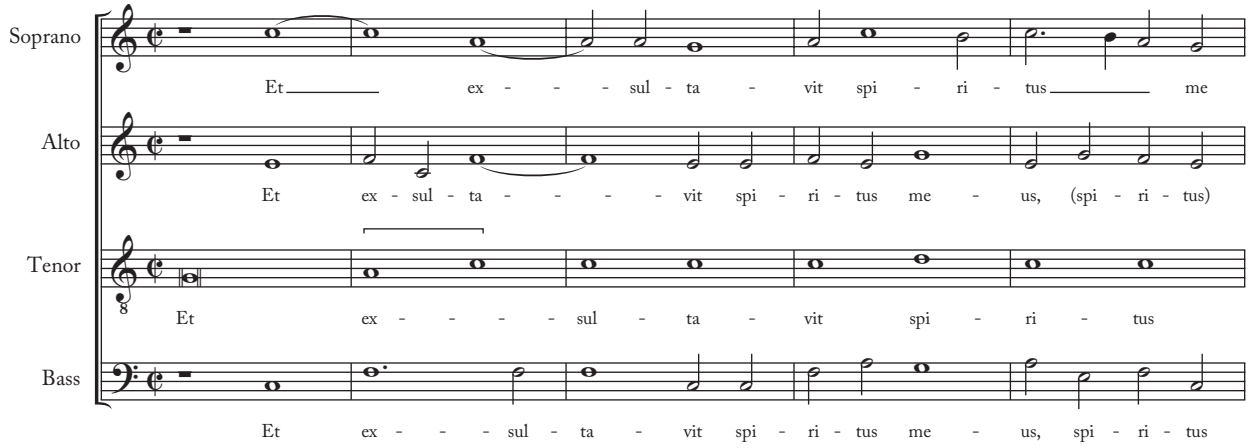
Palestrina, *Magnificat tertii toni (XI), Libro I* (1591), verse 2, mm. 1–5



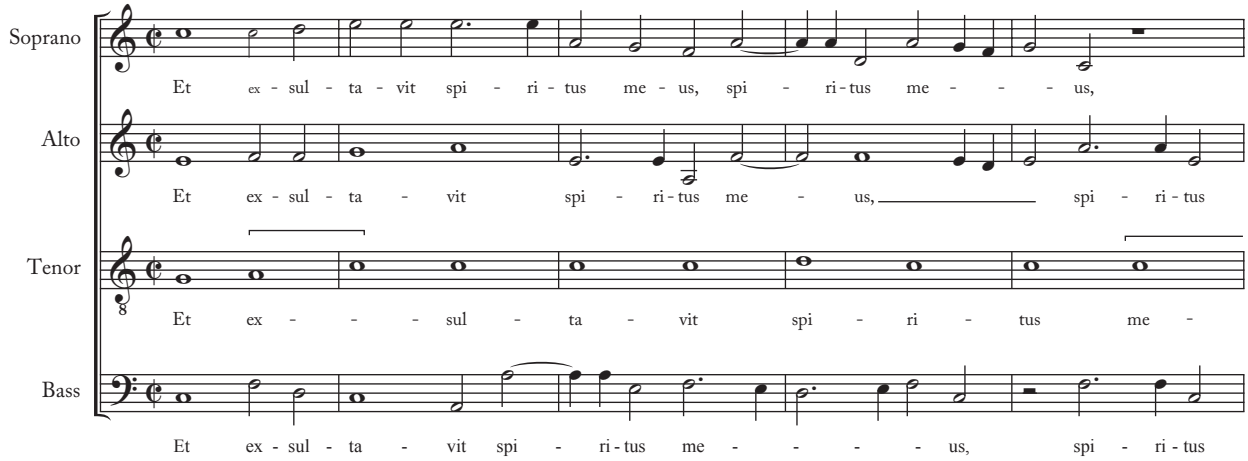
Victoria, *Magnificat tertii toni* (1581), verse 2, mm. 1–5



Lasso, *Magnificat tertii toni* (1619), verse 2, mm. 1–5

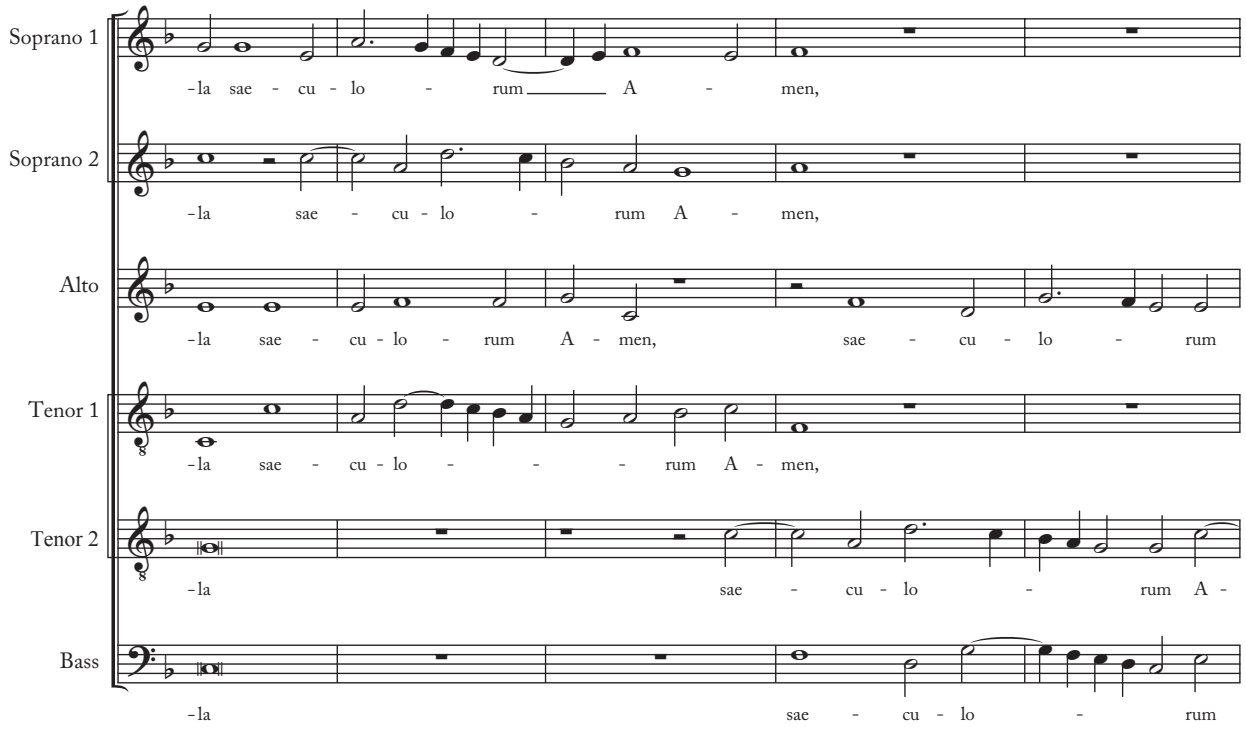


Lechner, *Magnificat tertii toni* (1578), verse 2, mm. 1–5



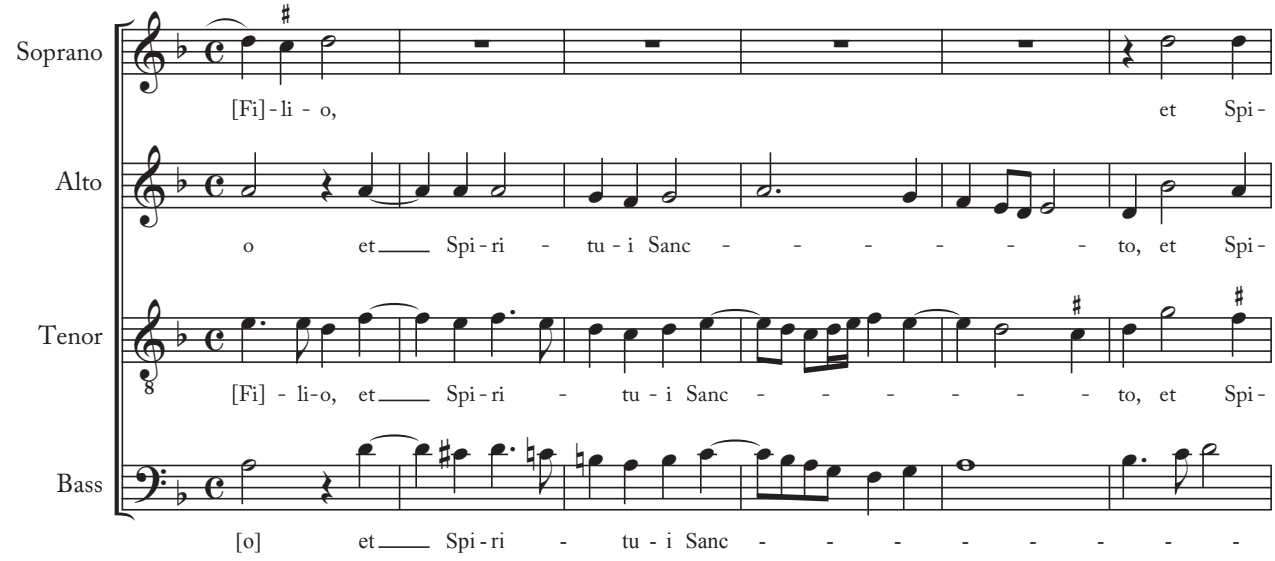
APPENDIX D
Reduced Textures in Sartorius, Palestrina, Lasso, and Hassler

Sartorius, *Magnificat sexti toni*, verse twelve, mm. 14–18

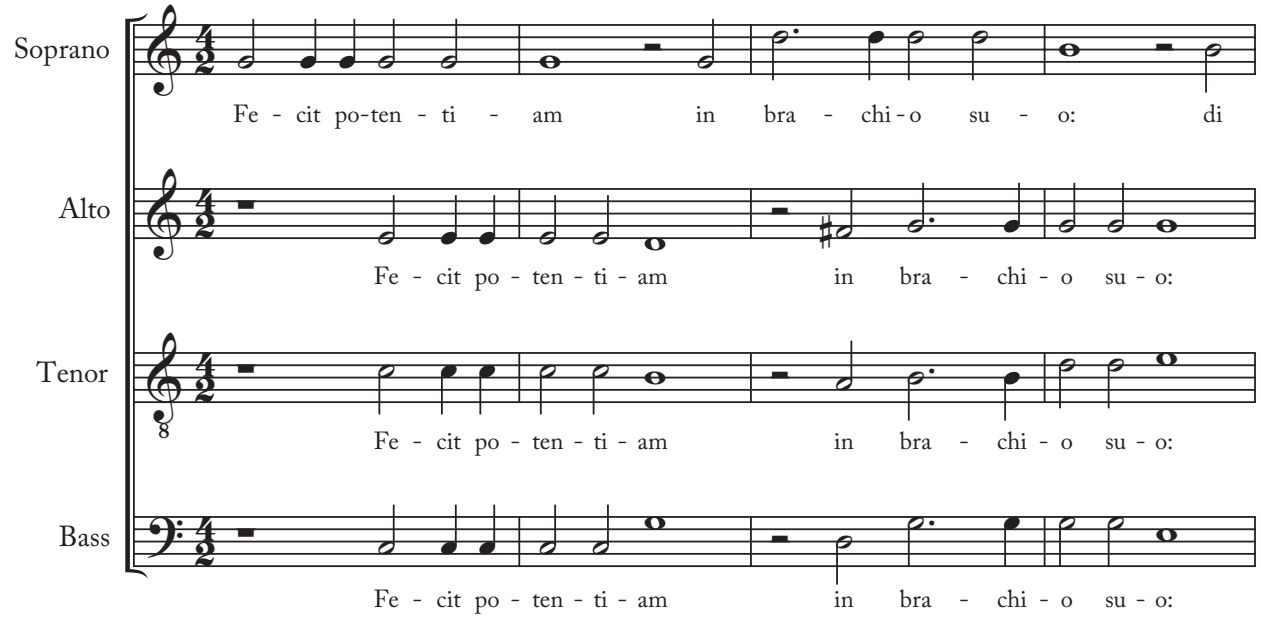


Palestrina, *Magnificat primi toni* for four voices (Liber Primus)

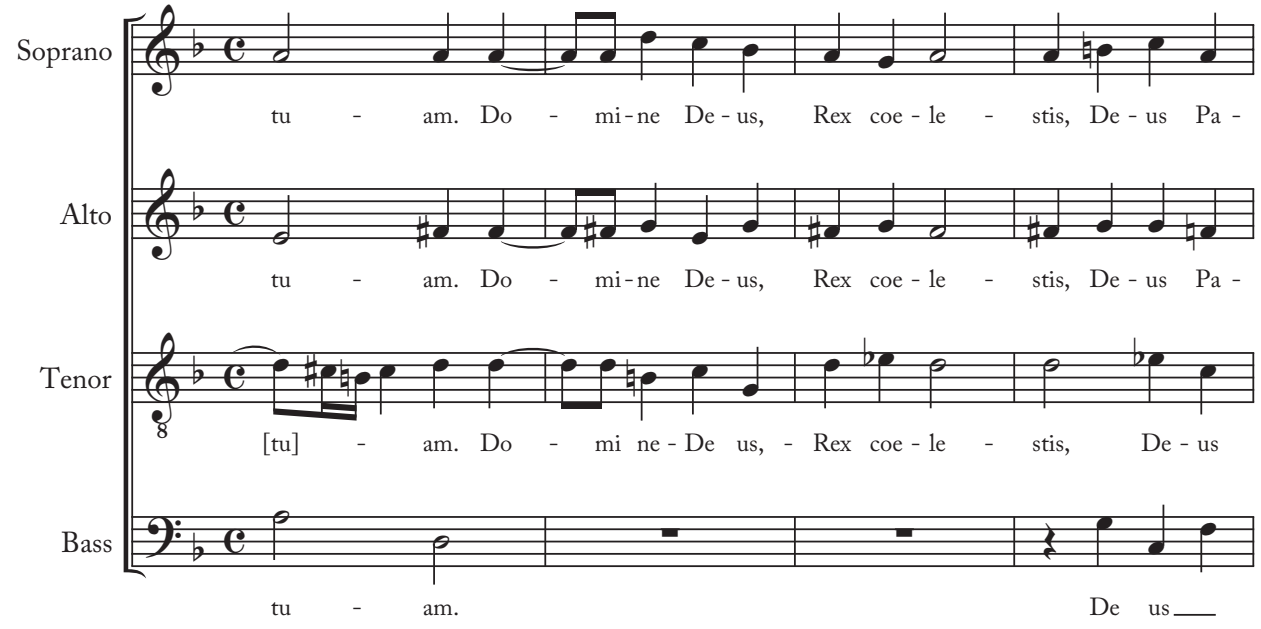
verse twelve, mm. 14–19



Lasso, *Magnificat Octani toni* for four voices, verse six, mm. 1–4



Hassler, *Missa super Dixit Maria*, "Gloria," mm. 21–24



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