

Introduction

HANDL'S MOTETS PRESERVED IN MANUSCRIPT

MOST of Iacobus Handl's compositional output survives in the form of authorized printed music from the Prague workshop of Georgius Nigrinus (Jiří Černý). The composer himself supervised the printing process, and it was he who most probably made corrections before the final printing. Recent research has tended to show that Handl was assisted by his brother Georg Handl, who was employed in Nigrinus's workshop in the mid-1590s.¹ Since no handwritten testimony by Handl has ever been discovered, and none of his compositions have survived in an authorized manuscript, let alone an autograph, our closest approach to the composer remains through his printed works.

Leaving aside his published works, Handl's compositions form part of manuscript anthologies from the late sixteenth and especially the early seventeenth centuries. These anthologies frequently feature individual compositions from Handl's printed volumes, mostly motets. The manuscripts, as far as their provenance can be determined, usually belonged to the music libraries of churches, municipal and educational institutions, and sometimes to private collectors. Since there are reliable contemporaneous editions of Handl's music, the manuscript copies are to be considered secondary sources. However, these sources provide valuable insights into the reception and popularity of individual compositions, reveal the interests and needs of the musical institutions of the time and answer questions

about the dissemination of music, social networks and cultural relations between individuals and institutions during the late sixteenth and especially the early seventeenth centuries. Schools can be considered particularly vibrant environments for all kinds of cultural exchange. Institutions such as the Gymnasium poeticum in Regensburg, Bavaria, or the Princely and Provincial School in Grimma, Saxony, had extensive music collections.² There, many generations of students were introduced to the latest musical repertoire and received a thorough theoretical and practical musical education. At the end of their studies, they took the music with them to their home towns or to other places of settlement.

In particular, the handwritten anthologies contain at least fifty other compositions that bear his name but were never officially published by Handl. None of the works that survive only in manuscript can be attributed to Handl with any degree of certainty. Very little is known about the circumstances of their creation and distribution, and it is not known how these compositions came to be included in manuscript sources.

Despite extensive biographical research, the locations where Handl resided during his life remain obscure. In places where it is certain that he spent portions of his life, such as the monasteries of Lower Austria, Moravia and Bohemia, no musical sources from this period have survived. Josip Mantuani attributes the frequent appearance of Handl's compositions in Wrocław (Breslau) manuscripts to the composer's presence in the city. Although it is certain that Handl visited

1. On this, see Marc Desmet, "Typographicum robor fractum": Jacob Handl's Relationship with the Printing Press", *De musica disserenda* 3, no. 2 (2007): 11–24.

2. Stefan Menzel, *Pforta, St. Afra, St. Augustin und die Transformation der mitteldeutschen Musiklandschaft (1543–1620)*, Heidelberg Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft 1 (Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Publishing, 2023).

Wrocław,³ no details are available regarding the duration of his stay or the purpose of his travels to the city. The music collections of Wrocław's churches, especially St Elizabeth's and St Mary Magdalene's, are exceptionally rich. Therefore, the frequent appearance of Handl's works in these collections does not depend necessarily on the composer's personal presence in the Silesian capital.⁴

The contents of the music manuscripts found in extensive and significant music collections can be explored via the printed catalogues of specific libraries, through dedicated studies and, notably, through the Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM) online database. While the continuous cataloguing of music sources in RISM has enhanced opportunities for studying the identification and dissemination of compositions, in-depth comparisons of the music content remain somewhat restricted.

A typical example is the double-choir motet *Magne Deus rex noster*, which was known until now exclusively from a single manuscript source (D-B, Ms. mus. Bohn 30B). However, the opportunity to explore musical incipits within the RISM database led to the exciting revelation of a further three manuscript copies, all of which remain anonymous and feature a different text: "Fide Deo et vide". The comparison of the incipits also revealed Felice Anerio as the true author of the motet *Iam de somno in quo*, HK 518.⁵ Until now, this was thought to be a possible composition by Handl. In the future, the swift advance of digital tools and the ever-expanding array of sources in the RISM will undoubtedly pave the way for new and more intricate understandings of such compositions. At the same time, previously undiscovered and overlooked compositions may come to light.

3. Tomasz Jeż, "Twórczość Jacoba Handl w źródłach proveniencji śląskiej", *Muzyka* 49, no. 4 (2004): 27–66; Jeż, "The Motets of Jacob Handl in Inter-Confessional Silesian Liturgical Practice", *De musica disserenda* 3, no. 2 (2007): 35–46; Marc Desmet, "Jacob Handl Gallus i Śląsk: między danymi biograficznymi a kwestiami stylokrtycznymi", *Muzyka* 53, no. 4 (2008): 39–66.

4. For a general overview of the vibrant music scene in Wrocław at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Remigiusz Pośpiech, "Breslau als Zentrum der Musikkultur Schlesiens im 17. Jahrhundert", *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 32 (2010): 7–16.

5. The abbreviation HK ("Handls Katalog") refers to the ordinal number of the composition in question in the

THE AUTHORSHIP

Any composition that survives only in manuscript raises questions of authenticity. The possibilities of establishing authorship with certainty are rather limited. Each source has its own history of transmission, and different sources may attribute the same motet to different composers. However, the question of authorship also arises in the case of compositions for which no other composer is named in the sources. In order to at least narrow down these questions, the first step is to analyse and evaluate the stylistic features, compositional techniques and other structural elements of the chosen composition. A second step could then be to shed as much light as possible on the background of the transmission.

Handl is rightly regarded as a master of polychoral music. His double-choir motets, in particular, were extremely popular throughout Europe until at least the mid-seventeenth century. In fact, they were among his most popular and widely performed works. Of all the composers who devoted themselves to polychoral music in Italy or north of the Alps in the second half of the sixteenth century, Handl's compositional approach presents the most uniform picture. In his multi-choir compositions, he mostly used syllabic declamation with the aim of rendering the text as acoustically intelligible as possible. He consistently used a block-like sequence of individual homophonic sections, alternating them with clear and sharp transitions without creating long overlaps between the two choirs. The tutti sections are always relatively short. The motets included in the present edition generally adhere closely to these principles, deviating, possibly, only in the case of the motet *Expecta Dominum*, where a full-voice structure, less typical of the composer, is dominant.

Handl is acknowledged to be a master in the use of various vocal registers and clef combinations. However, the reasons behind the often-

thematic catalogue. Marko Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus: Werk – Überlieferung – Rezeption*, Wiener Forum für ältere Musikgeschichte 5 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2012). Ordinal numbers up to 490 are identical to those in Edo Škulj's 1992 catalogue: Škulj, *Gallusov katalog* (Ljubljana: Družina, 1992). The designation HK is also used for Handl's works in the online International Inventory of Musical Sources (RISM).

-unconventional clef arrangements in his compositions have not yet been thoroughly explored. For instance, the motet *Magne Deus rex noster* (G2, C2, C3, F3) uses the same clef combination as Handl's motets *Quid admiramini* (HK 46), *Dum vagus huc illuc* (HK 267) and *Nympha refer* (HK 268). Similarly, the motet *In tribulatione mea* (C1, C1, C3, C4; C3, C4, F4, F4) displays the same clef combination as Handl's eight-part motet *Adiuro vos, filiae Ierusalem* (HK 248). While the use of rare clef combinations is a distinctive feature of Handl's compositional style, such arrangements are not exclusive to the extent of being absent in the works of other composers.

While Handl's structural and compositional traits are generally discernible, they do not serve as conclusive criteria for establishing authorship. These characteristics are derived from analyses of the composer's oeuvre as a whole and may not account for occasional deviations. Such criteria can neither confirm nor exclude authenticity when a composition is considered in isolation. Although exceptions in the stylistic and compositional approaches of published works unequivocally confirm Handl's authorship (e.g., the motet *Mirabile mysterium*, HK 70, with its extreme chromaticism), deviations and idiosyncrasies in manuscripts naturally raise suspicion. While musical analysis can provide a partial response to the question of authorship, it is not the sole nor an infallible, criterion. Even in instances where compositions exhibit all the stylistic and structural characteristics typical of the composer, it remains plausible to consider authors who shared a stylistic affinity with Handl or those deliberately imitating his musical language.

Assuming that these are indeed motets by Handl, the question then arises: why did the composer omit them from his published works? Plausible suggestions abound regarding the reasons behind his choice. It seems improbable that all of these pieces are of inferior quality, dismissed by the composer as unworthy of publication. Some of them may have been written after the *Opus musicum* was printed; but they might also be occasional works, commissioned from the composer for special occasions. This interpretation has particular merit in the context of the three-movement motet *Vidit Jacob in somnis scalam*, suggesting its potential association with the consecration of a specific church. The motet's biblical text aligns aptly with such an occasion,

allowing for the envisioning of a solemn performance enhanced by musical instruments. The transcription of the work in the tablature book of the Benedictine Abbey of Neresheim in Baden-Württemberg (D-Rtt, F.K. Musik 23) seems particularly revealing in this regard. Only the first and third movements are included, but the middle four-part section in imitative contrapuntal style is missing, leaving us to surmise that the organist accompanied only the two eight-part movements on the organ.

The study of sources and their transmission is essential, even if it does not always establish authorship. However, one of the indisputable criteria for determining authorship is the exclusion of misattribution by locating the composition in question in an authorized publication by a particular composer. For example, the eight-part motet *Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius* is attributed to Handl in at least three manuscript sources,⁶ while the same motet appears both as an anonymous work and under the names of other composers.⁷ Michael Praetorius, for instance, attributed it to Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina in his 1607 edition of *Musarum Sioniarium*.⁸ But the actual author of the motet is undoubtedly Ruggero Giovannelli, who published it in Rome in 1593 in the first book of his collection *Sacrum modulationum*.⁹ This finding obviates the possible authorship of Handl; however, similar problems are not always as easy to solve.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, works disseminated solely through copies frequently became sources of confusion. In these instances, details about the true author were easily obscured throughout the extensive processes of distribution and copying. The scant and cursory

6. D-Dl, Mus.Gl.5, no. 157; D-Dl, Mus.Gri.49, no. 197; and D-SCHM, Tab. 1, no. 138.

7. Handl's name is crossed out in the manuscript D-Dl, Mus.Gri.49, no. 197, and replaced by "Lucas Marent[io]". RISM A/II: 211003993.

8. No. 39 in the printed collection of Michael Praetorius, *Musarum Sioniar: Motectae et Psalmi latini Michaëlis Praetory C. apud Sereniss. principem Henricum Julium Ducem Brunsv. & Lunæb., Chori Musici Magistri, IV. V. VI. VII. VIII. IX. X. XII. XVI. vocum, Choro & Organis accommodatae. I. PARS* (Nürnberg: Abrahamus Wagenmannus, 1607). RISM B/I: 1607⁶.

9. No. 14 in Ruggero Giovannelli, *Sacrarum modulationum, quas vulgo motecta appellant, quae quinis, & octonis vocibus concinuntur, liber primus* (Rome: Francesco Coattino, 1593). RISM A/I: G 2446.

references to the composer's name, often altogether absent, indicate that for owners of manuscripts the priority resided in the music itself rather than in its attribution.

References to the composers, especially in the copies, were always fraught with errors and ambiguity. In some cases, misattributions could result from the simple confusion between a manuscript and a printed composition. Handl, for example, included the eight-part motet *Quem vidistis pastores* (HK 44) in the first part of his *Opus musicum*. In this case, it seems plausible that the scribe Cornelius Freund, when copying the motet in the two manuscript collections now preserved in Zwickau, was guided by the text and simply confused the two versions. A similar error might also be the factor underlying the attribution of the motet *Hodie natus est salvator mundi*. There are two other motets with similar beginnings in Handl's *Opus musicum* collection: namely, the eight-part motet *Hodie nobis coelorum rex* (HK 43) and the six-part motet *Hodie Christus natus est* (HK 62).

This motet is attributed by several sources to Christopher (Christophorus) Clavius (1538–1612), a Jesuit from Bamberg in Bavaria. Clavius was a brilliant astronomer and mathematician who worked at the Collegio Romano from 1565. The reform of the Julian calendar, which he led, was one of his most significant achievements. Although several compositions appear in the sources under his name,¹⁰ nothing further is known about his compositional and musical activities. Clavius was educated in Coimbra, Portugal, from the mid-1550s onwards, after which he lived only in Italy. It is particularly interesting to note that the sources of his alleged compositions have survived mainly in Central Europe and especially in German-speaking countries. While Horst Atteln expresses strong doubts about Clavius's compositional activity,¹¹ Bernhold Schmid argues convincingly in favour of this composer. The abundance of compositions bearing Clavius's name cautions against hastily dismissing the attribu-

tions as mere errors. It becomes a challenge to justify so many independent "misattributions" to an individual seemingly uninvolved in the musical domain. According to Schmid, these compositions most likely found their way to Germany from Italy, possibly through connections with Jesuit educational establishments.¹² It is worth noting that a scholar of Clavius's standing must have possessed a profound understanding not only of arithmetic, geometry and astronomy – all components of the quadrivium – but also of its fourth discipline, music.

Attributing *Hodie natus est salvator mundi* to Handl might be interpreted as a deliberate attempt to enhance the motet's prestige by associating it with a more renowned musician. Conversely, a misattribution might also stem from an inadvertent confusion of authors, perhaps due to structural similarities in the composition. Given the geographical distance between the two composers, investigating the parallels further is warranted. This is especially crucial since *Hodie natus est salvator mundi* is not the sole composition found in the sources under both Clavius's and Handl's names.¹³

The structure of the motet *Hodie natus est salvator mundi* does not, however, argue decisively against Handl's authorship, while Clavius's style remains elusive on account of the sporadic and widely scattered nature of his works. Moreover, while it should not be assumed that Clavius was affiliated with or influenced by the Roman School, it is worth noting that the structure of the motet bears little resemblance to the double-choir compositions typical of Roman composers such as Palestrina during that period. For example, Roman composers used imitative-contrapuntal part-writing in the antiphonally presented sections of the two choirs, which is not the case in the motet.¹⁴ Adding weight to Clavius's claim, manuscript sources more frequently attribute the composition to him than to Handl.

12. Bernhold Schmid, "Ein fälschlich Lasso zugeschriebenes 'Salve Regina' à 2 in der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg: Vorlage und Autorschaft", *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 67, nos. 1–2 (2017): 266–271.

13. E.g., the six-part motet *Dilectus meo mihi*, HK 508.

14. Klaus-Ulrich Düwell, "Studien zur Kompositionstechnik der Mehrchörigkeit im 16. Jahrhundert: Dargestellt an Werken von Lasso, Palestrina, Victoria, Handl und Giovanni Gabrieli" (PhD diss., Universität Köln, 1963).

10. The work most widely disseminated under Clavius's name is undoubtedly the six-voice motet *Domine Jesu Christe non sum dignus*.

11. Horst Atteln, "Clavius, Christophorus", in *MGG Online*, edited by Laurenz Lütteken, accessed 6 June 2023, <https://www-1mgg-2online-1com-1004790k30056.han.onb.ac.at/mgg/stable/21035>.

The motet *In tribulatione mea* presents a similar problem of uncertain authorship. In at least three manuscript sources the composition appears without any name.¹⁵ Most of the major manuscript sources list Annibale Stabile (c. 1540–1595);¹⁶ a few sources attribute it to Handl;¹⁷ and the Helmstedt manuscript bears the name “Albert Anon.” in the bass, while the abbreviation “H. A.” appears in the soprano. The abbreviation “H. A.” is interpreted by the RISM-database as an abbreviation for the composer Heinrich Albert (1604–1651).¹⁸ However, it is safe to rule out Albert as the author of the motet on account of his age. By the time most copies of *In tribulatione mea* were completed he had not yet established himself as a composer. Furthermore, Albert is better known for his arias and German songs than for his Latin motets.

The question of authorship for *In tribulatione mea* appears to have intrigued copyists and musicians as far back as the seventeenth century. The tablature book from the town church of St Nicholas in Schmölln, Germany, transcribes the motet with the original name “Hanibal Stabilis”, along with the later addition of “Jacob[us] Händell”, probably inscribed by a different hand.¹⁹

Annibale Stabile was probably born in Naples. From 1575 he directed the musical chapels at the Basilica of St John Lateran, the Collegio Germanico in the Vatican and finally the Basilica of Our Lady of the Snows (Santa Maria Maggiore) in Rome. At the start of 1595 Stabile journeyed to Poland to serve at the court of King Sigismund III but died only two months later. Stabile is said to have been a pupil of Palestrina, and his compositional style is indeed close to Palestrina's, although his contrapuntal writing is less complex than that of his supposed teacher.²⁰ He made frequent use of polychoral techniques in his motets.

15. D-B, Mus.ms. 40039; D-KMs, I 928, no. I/42; D-SLk, M5, no. 111.

16. D-Dl, Mus.Gri.2,6; D-Dl, Mus.Gri.50 and D-Rp, A.R. 728–732.

17. D-BSstb, M644, no. 45 (RISM A/II: 1001005662); D-MÜG, Mus.ant.16, no. 42 (RISM A/II: 230001651).

18. D-W, Cod. Guelf. 337 Mus. Hdschr., no. 5 (RISM A/II: 451511535).

19. D-SCHM, Tab. 1, no. 50.

20. Ruth I. DeFord, “Stabile, Annibale”, in *Grove Music Online*, accessed 6 June 2023, <https://doi-10rg-1al-kz8qk30055.han.onb.ac.at/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.26492>.

Several decades ago, Ruth Lightbourne studied *In tribulatione mea* and, following a preliminary analysis of Stabile's style, raised substantial doubts about its authenticity. Lightbourne presents several arguments against Stabile's authorship, citing unusual direct chromatic progressions; the use of the Italian Sixth chord at three points in the first part of the motet;²¹ the juxtaposition of high and low choirs; the lack of harmonic independence between the two choirs at the end of the first part; and the extended compass of the bass vocal line (down to E).²² It is important to note, however, that Lightbourne's research on, and transcription of, the motet rely solely on the manuscript D-B, Mus. ms. 40039, which neither provides the composer's name nor features a complete version in comparison with other manuscript sources.

TYPES OF MANUSCRIPT SOURCE

The compositions presented in this volume were originally transcribed in the two primary notational styles: vocal parts and tablature, specifically utilizing German organ tablature. The recurring challenge with music in partbooks is the frequent loss of individual parts, making complete manuscript collections from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries a rarity. While one might consider replacing missing parts from alternative sources to complete the composition, such an approach is often unsuitable, particularly when transcriptions vary in detail from source to source.

Tablature addresses this issue by consolidating all voices in a single source, yet this notational system introduces several idiomatic peculiarities that render the reconstruction of vocal parts difficult, if not impossible.²³ The new German organ

21. The Italian Sixth chord, or Altered (Augmented) Sixth chord, in Baroque music occurs usually on the sixth scale degree of the minor scale and has an augmented sixth (e.g., A flat–C–F sharp) which, as a leading note, leads the chord to resolve to the fifth scale degree, the dominant.

22. Ruth Lightbourne, “Annibale Stabile: A Man of No Little Reputation Among the Masters of Music; The Sacred Music” (PhD diss., University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand, 1994), 1:222.

23. On this issue Marina Toffetti, *Introduzione alla filologia musicale: Con un'antologia di letture* (Rome: Società Editrice di Musicologia, 2022), 9–10.

tablature, in particular, eschews staves and specific musical symbols for notes, opting instead for the sequential presentation of note names as letters, representing successive absolute pitches. Above these letters are rhythm-denoting signs – essentially, stems lacking corresponding note heads – while the same signs, where the pitch is not given via letters, denote rests.

The octave position of the pitches is indicated by horizontal straight lines inserted between the letter and the rhythm sign, where one line denotes the “one-stroke” octave and two lines indicate the “two-stroke” one. The notes of the “small” octave immediately below Middle C are not marked separately, whereas those of the “great” octave that follows are written in capital letters.²⁴ Music in duple or quadruple metre is divided up by short vertical lines spaced a breve apart, while semi-breve divisions are shown by blank spaces. German organ tablature distinguishes chromatically altered pitches clearly, but, except for the notes B and B flat, always presents them as sharpened (e.g., D sharp, *Dis*) rather than flattened (e.g., E flat, *Es*) forms. Sharps are represented visually by the addition of an ornamental loop to the end of the letter. Tablature, therefore, does not allow a free choice to introduce (or not) chromatically altered notes according to the rules of *musica ficta*. Instead, the pitches are indicated precisely and definitively.

One of the difficulties with transcribing vocal parts from tablature is the absence of lyrics. At best, the words are written in basic form under the lowest voice. The tablature is also characterized by frequent interference with the part-writing, especially in the case of part-crossing. It was not uncommon for longer note values to be shortened; for pauses to be omitted; for the music to be simplified and compressed in various ways; and for other interventions to be made – all of which can be explained by the fact that the tablature was most often used for performance on keyboard instruments, either to accompany singing or for solo playing.

24. Actually, the transitions between octaves are not necessarily between the notes B and C, but often between the notes B flat and B. The note B may therefore belong already to the next octave above. In this edition, pitches are named in octave groups ranging from C to B. Octaves are signified in accordance with the so-called Helmholtz system, which names the C two octaves below middle C great C, then c, c¹ (for middle C), c² and so forth.

The motet *Expecta Dominum* presented a particular challenge for this edition. It survives in a single source: a transcription in the tablature book of the Cistercian Abbey of Pelplin in Poland (PL-PE, Ms. 308). In the absence of any reference material, it is a challenge to resolve the inconsistencies and obvious errors. Clearly, the copyist interfered with the musical texture when transcribing the motet from one notational system to another.

It is generally difficult to determine which surviving source comes closest to the composer's intention. Even the identification of similarities between manuscript sources from different repositories, using philological methods of source criticism and analysis of the extant records, is limited in scope, mainly because of the fragmentary nature of the sources. The date of creation of an individual manuscript is itself a broad concept, since manuscript anthologies were often compiled over several years or even decades, frequently changing hands and places of use, and circulating for several generations.

Most sources give different readings. Discrepancies are often observable, even when the same composition is included in several anthologies originating from the same place. There is more than one such example: the motet *Hodie natus est salvator mundi*, for example, has been copied into at least three manuscripts from the former library of the Ritterakademie in Legnica (Liegnitz)²⁵ and into three manuscripts previously housed at the Lutheran Church of St Aegidius in Bártfa (Bartfeld, Bardejov).²⁶ Another example is the motet *Vidit Jacob in somnis scalam*, which forms part of four different sets of partbooks from Bártfa. One might anticipate that copies of a particular work in manuscripts originating from the same location would provide nearly identical or only minimally varying readings. However, contrary to this expectation, these sources frequently exhibit differences in various details. If manuscripts within a single collection do not consistently

25. Ms. 18, no. 132; Ms. 46, no. 3; and Ms. 53, no. 25. Ernst Pfudel, “Die Musik-Handschriften der Königl. Ritter-Akademie zu Liegnitz”, in *Musik-Handschriften auf öffentlichen Bibliotheken*, edited by Robert Eitner, Beilage zu den Monatsheften für Musikgeschichte 1 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1886), 7, 16 and 37.

26. See the descriptions of sources for the motets *Hodie natus est salvator mundi* (no. 1) and *Vidit Jacob in somnis scalam* (no. 5).

document the same version, this divergence may become even more pronounced when one compares manuscripts from different collections.

TEXTS AND LITURGICAL USE OF MOTETS

The motets in this edition are organized according to the liturgical calendar, aligning with the seasons of the church year, as closely as can be determined.²⁷ The initial section presents two motets for the Christmas season – *Hodie natus est salvator mundi* and *Quem vidistis pastores*. The text of *In tribulatione mea* may be associated with Lent, while *Magne Deus rex noster* is probably intended for Palm Sunday (*Dominica de passionis*), given the mention of Christ the King. The purpose of *Vidit Jacob in somnis scalam* appears evident: it is intended for the consecration of a particular church. However, the positioning of the motet *Expecta Dominum* within the church year cycle is unclear, a state compounded by the absence of vocal parts and the challenge posed by a reconstruction from tablature, which is further exacerbated by the source's unreliability. Consequently, this motet is placed at the end of the edition.

Hodie natus est salvator mundi

Over the centuries several texts with the opening words “Hodie natus” have been in use for the Christmas season in the liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church. In the liturgical sources, especially those used within the Divine Office, various textual variants exist, of which, for example, the antiphons *Hodie natus est nobis rex*, *Hodie natus est Christus*, *Hodie Christus natus est*, *Hodie natus est salvator noster*, and the responsory *Hodie natus est dominus Jesus* are the most widely disseminated. The most commonly encountered among them are the antiphons *Hodie natus est nobis rex*, *Hodie natus est Christus*, *Hodie Christus natus est*, *Hodie natus est salvator noster*, and also the responsory *Hodie natus est dominus Jesus*. However, the text of the motet *Hodie natus est*

salvator mundi is not found among the liturgical chants for the Divine Office or the Proper of the Mass.²⁸ It seems to be a unique textual composition, perhaps created for a special occasion. The text is an adaptation of the responsory at Matins on the Feast of the Nativity of Mary (8 September): *Hodie nata* (or *Hodie concepta*) *est beata virgo Maria*. The opening words are replaced by the beginning of a trope, which reads: “Hodie natus est salvator mundi cantemus illi voce pre-celsa ovantes”. These opening words could also be taken from the antiphon *Angelus ad pastores ait*.²⁹ Whatever the case may be, the beginning is based in some way on the biblical verse from the Gospel of Luke (Lk 2:11): “Quia natus est vobis hodie salvator qui est Christus Dominus in civitate David”. Understandably, there are no other polyphonic settings of this text.

*Hodie natus est salvator mundi ex Maria
virgine,
per quem salus mundi credentibus apparuit.
Cuius vita gloriosa lumen dedit seculo.
Alleluia.*

Quem vidistis pastores

The text of the motet *Quem vidistis pastores* is the antiphon at Lauds for Christmas or the text of the third responsory for the Matins on Christmas Day, to which only the word “Alleluia” is added at the end. The text is based on the account of the birth of Christ in the second chapter of the Gospel of Luke. It was widely disseminated through a number of polyphonic settings, including eight-part motets by Andrea Gabrieli, Melchior Vulpius and Costanzo Porta (as the second part of the motet *Verbum caro factum est*). Six-part settings were composed by Tomás Luis de Victoria and Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (as the second part of the motet *O magnum mysterium*), among others. Orlando di Lasso's famous setting is for five voices. Handl also contributed a further eight-part motet with a longer text containing two verses of the responsory (“Dicite quidam vidistis” and “Natus est nobis hodie”), which was

27. The author would like to thank Dr Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl, Research Associate at the Commission for the Compilation of the Corpus of the Latin Church Fathers (CSEL) of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna, for detailed advice on the Latin texts.

28. See Cantus Index, <https://www.cantusindex.org/>.

29. The text reads as follows: “Angelus ad pastores ait annuntio vobis gaudium magnum quia natus est nobis hodie salvator mundi alleluia.”

included in the first book of his printed collection *Opus musicum*.³⁰

*Quem vidistis, pastores, dicite.
Annuntiate nobis, in terris quis apparuit?
Natum vidimus et chorus angelorum
collaudantes Dominum.
Alleluia.*

In tribulatione mea – Propterea confitebor

The first part of this motet's text is taken verbatim from Psalm 17:7, while the second derives from Psalms 17:50 and 58:17.³¹ The word "Alleluia" was added at the end of both stanzas. Handl also composed a five-part motet with the same text (HK 109); this, however, contains only verse 7 of Psalm 17. He placed it at the end of the first book of his *Opus musicum* (no. 93), concluding with motets for Lent. The liturgical use of the handwritten version of *In tribulatione mea*, however, remains unclear.

PRIMA PARS

*In tribulatione mea invocavi Dominum,
et ad Deum meum clamavi,
et exaudivit de templo suo vocem meam,
et clamor meus in conspectu Domini
introivit in aures eius.
Alleluia.*

SECUNDA PARS

*Propterea confitebor tibi inter gentes, Domine,
et canam fortitudinem tuam,
quia factus es susceptor meus, et refugium
meum,
in die tribulationis meae.
Alleluia.*

Magne Deus rex noster – Cum inimici nostri

As things stand, no liturgical or biblical source has been uncovered for the text of *Magne Deus rex noster*. This motet is the sole known con-

text for the text, and it is plausible that the occasional verses were crafted concurrently with the composition or expressly for it. The emphasis in the text is on God as refuge for the faithful. The supplicants address him, seeking guidance and pledging to glorify him. The later part of the poem delves into the fate of enemies whom God will consign to hell. Particularly evident in the second version of the motet's text is the inference that the enemies are heretics. While there is a suggestion that this is a type of Counter-Reformation motet, such an assertion appears flimsy, primarily on account of an ignorance of the historical context of its composition. Furthermore, both text versions of the motet are preserved exclusively in sources originating from a Protestant milieu. With no external clues to unravel the intended audience of the prayer, the mystery of its destination persists. Despite the non-biblical origin of the lyrics, certain passages echo strikingly the language of the Psalms, evidently drawing inspiration from them:

- in several Psalms, "refugium (meum)" refers to God: for example, in Psalm 45:2: "Deus noster refugium et virtus" ("Our God is our refuge and strength");
- "aspice nos" in Psalm 83:10: "Protector noster aspice Deus et respice in faciem christi tui" ("O God, behold our shield, And look upon the face of Your anointed");
- "tunc vox et omnis lingua semper sonabit laudem tuam et magnitudinem canet": Psalm 70:8: "impleatur os meum laude tua tota die magnitudine tuam" ("Let my mouth be filled with Your praise [And with Your glory] all day long");
- "Cum inimici nostri properate dicunt [...]": Psalm 70:10: "quia dixerunt inimici mei" ("For my enemies speak against me");
- "turbabis eos": Psalm 82:16: "[...] et in ira tua turbabis eos" ("[...] And frighten them with Your storm");
- "in infernum praecipitabis": Psalm 30:18: "Domine non confundar quoniam invocavi te erubescant impii et deducantur in infernum" ("Do not let me be ashamed, O Lord, for I have called upon You; Let the wicked be ashamed; Let them be silent in the grave");
- "et tu in sempiternum glorificaberis in sanctis tuis": 2 Thess 1:10: "cum venerit glorificari in sanctis suis et admirabilis fieri in omnibus qui

30. OM 1/28, HK 44; cf. Iacobus Gallus, *Opus musicum* 1/2: *De nativitate, circumcissione et epiphania Domini*, edited by Edo Škulj, *Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae* 6 (Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 1987), 7–15.

31. The indication of the psalm number and verse refers to the Latin Bible (*Biblia Sacra Vulgata*).

crediderunt [...]” (“[...] when He comes, on that Day, to be glorified in His saints and to be admired among all those who believe [...]”); the passage from the Apostle Paul’s Second Letter to the Thessalonians speaks of suffering and God’s righteous judgement, which matches the motet’s text.

PRIMA PARS

*Magne Deus, rex noster, refugiumque nostrum,
aspice nos et rege nos,
tunc vox et omnis lingua semper sonabit
laudem tuam
et magnitudinem canet.*

SECUNDA PARS

*Cum inimici nostri properate dicunt perdemus
istos,
auxiliator Deus turbabis eos et in infernum
praecipitabis,
et tu in sempiternum glorificaberis in sanctis
tuis.*

This motet exists in two versions: one with the text “Magne Deus rex noster”, found in a unique source, and another version featuring different lyrics. It is important to note that the second text is not a mere variant of the original *Magne Deus rex noster* motet; rather, it seems less refined and resembles a report confirming the fulfilment of what the first version sought. The part of the text reading “turbati sunt [...] quoniam vehementer iratus est eis Deus” again recalls Psalm 82:16: “[...] et in ira tua turbabis eos” (“[...] and frighten them with Your storm”). Above the text of the last verse in the first stanza (“quoniam vehementer iratus est eis Deus”) in the manuscript D-Dl, Mus.Gri.50, no. 95, a variant of the verse is given in a different and smaller script. In all extant parts this reads: “quoniam de caelo perterrefasti sunt”.³²

PRIMA PARS

*Fide Deo et vide, nam inimici mei timuerunt
turbati sunt in trepidatione retrocesserunt
quoniam vehementer iratus est eis Deus.
(quoniam de caelo perterrefasti sunt.)*

32. This should be “perterrefasti”. “Perterrefasti” is certainly an error, as this verb form was not used.

SECUNDA PARS

*Cum inimici nostri properate dicunt tenete eum
auxiliator Deus turbabis³³ eos et in infernum
praecipitabit
et tunc adiutor Deus glorificabitur in sanctis
suis.*

Vidit Jacob in somnis scalam – Dilataberis ab oriente – Cumque evigilasset

The text of the motet *Vidit Jacob in somnis scalam* is biblical and, with a few minor changes, quotes verses from the Old Testament book of Genesis (28:12–17). It tells the well-known story of Jacob, who, in a dream, sees a ladder or staircase that connects earth to heaven. On this ladder, Jacob witnesses God’s angels ascending and descending, with the Lord himself at the top, introducing himself as the God of Abraham and Isaac and renewing his promises to the earth and its descendants. Upon waking, Jacob calls the place where his dream occurred Beth-El: the House of God or the Gate of Heaven.

The text begins in the Vulgate with “Viditque in somnis scalam”, which is changed in the first part of the motet to “Vidit Jacob in somnis scalam”. The second part of the motet begins in the middle of verse 14, and its text is slightly altered in some sources (including the version published here). The Vulgate has “dilataberis ad occidentem et orientem septentrionem et meridiem”. The change in the third part of the motet (verses 16 and 17) is insignificant when compared with the biblical version, which reads “Cumque evigilasset Jacob de somno, ait” in the Vulgate.

The text is employed liturgically as a responsory during Vespers on the Feast of the Dedication of the Church (*In dedicatione ecclesiae*). However, it takes on there a modified form distinct from the original biblical text that features a reorganized sequence of verses. Most notably, the setting of the single verse “Terribilis est locus iste” enjoys greater popularity and recognition than

33. The first predicate (“turbabis”) is in the second person singular, while the other two, “praecipitabit” and “glorificabitur”, are in the third person. The second person singular is not a grammatical error (God is addressed personally). But having all the verbs in the third person, i.e., “turbabit”, would be more appropriate. In the first-mentioned version, all the verbs are in the second person singular.

the setting of the entire biblical account of Jacob's dream. *Vidit Jacob in somnis scalam* stands out as the sole known polyphonic setting of this particular textual version, with strong signs that the verses were intentionally arranged to suit the musical setting.

PRIMA PARS

*Vidit Jacob in somnis scalam stantem super terram,
et cacumen illius tangens coelum:
Angelos quoque Dei ascendentes et descendentes per eam,
et Dominum innixum scalae dicentem sibi:
Ego sum Dominus Deus Abraham patris tui, et Deus Isaac.
Terram, in qua dormis, tibi dabo et semini tuo.
Eritque semen tuum quasi pulvis terrae.*

SECUNDA PARS

*Dilataberis ab oriente ad occidentem, et septentrionem, et meridiem:
et benedicentur in te et in semine tuo cunctae tribus terrae.
Et ero custos tuus quocumque perrexeris, et reducam te in terram hanc,
nec dimittam nisi complevero universa quae dixi.*

TERTIA PARS

*Cumque evigilasset de somno Jacob ait:
Vere Dominus est in loco isto, et ego nesciebam.
Pavensque, quam terribilis est, inquit, locus iste,
non est hic aliud nisi domus Dei, et porta coeli.*

Expecta Dominum

The motet *Expecta Dominum* is set to verse 34 of Psalm 36 and reads in the Latin Vulgate: "Expecta Dominum et custodi viam eius et exaltabit te ut hereditate capias terram cum perierint peccatores videbis". The Psalm addresses the seeming prosperity of the wicked, cautioning that one need not be disheartened by it, since God's response to wrongdoing is assured. Most notably, the source employs the personal pronoun before the verb *capias* ("tu capias"), without any specific contextual meaning. Additionally, the infinitive form of the verb *perire* is used instead of the verb form *perierint* (third person plural, subjunctive

perfect or future II). In the Latin Bible the verb *videre* (here "videbis") initiates a new clause with a dependent clause beginning with *cum*. However, in the motet the verb *videbis* is associated with this *cum* clause, altering the meaning of the sentence ("when you see sinners perish"). It remains uncertain whether this alteration occurred during the setting and was intentional, or if "perire" is a mere error. Given that the motet is preserved in a unique source where the words are provided only in their basic form, determining the original intent is impossible. Despite this ambiguity, both versions of the lyrics maintain syntactical coherence and are perfectly comprehensible. There are no other known polyphonic settings of this verse, and the motet's liturgical use remains undetermined.

*Expecta Dominum et custodi viam eius
et exaltabit te ut hereditate [tu] capias terram
cum perire peccatores videbis.*

Excluded Eight-Part Motets

The present edition does not include the eight-part motets which are recorded in manuscript sources under the name of Handl, but which survive only in fragments and are difficult to reconstruct. The motets that are clearly the work of other composers are also excluded from this edition.

COR MEUM ET CARO MEA, HK 217. This composition is mentioned by Josip Mantuani in a manuscript from the library of the Ritterakademie in Legnica, Ms. 58 (today PL-Wn, Mus. 2101, PL-WRu, 30201 Muz).³⁴ This supposedly unique work is none other than the second part (*Secunda pars*) of the well-known motet *Quam dilecta tabernacula tua* from the third volume of the *Opus musicum* (HK 217). Since the voices of the first choir are missing from the manuscript, while the voices of the second choir begin only in the second verse ("Cor meum"), Mantuani considered this a new composition.

34. Josef Mantuani, "Bibliographie der Werke von Gallus", in Jacob Handl (Gallus), *Opus musicum. Motettenwerk für das ganze Kirchenjahr. II. Teil: Vom Sonntag Septuagesima bis zur Karwoche (mit Ausschluß der Lamentationen)*, edited by Emil Bezecny and Josef Mantuani, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* 12/1 (Vienna: Artaria; Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1905), xv.

DUM TE BLANDA MOVENT, HK 510. This motet is included in the tablature book D-B, Ms. mus. Bohn 20, no. 323, and is fragmentary.³⁵ The notation extends over two pages of the open book, with the right-hand side of the manuscript missing. In addition, only the outer voices (cantus and bassus) of the two choirs are notated, reducing the eight parts to four. No text is added, but judging by the title appearing under the headings (“Dum te blanda movent doctæ discrimina vocis, & studia, & Musas”), this is not even a true motet, but probably one of the few unpublished *moralia* by Handl.

FACTUM EST SILENTIUM IN COELO, HK 512. Only three parts of the composition survive under Handl’s name in the manuscript D-ZGsm, Zörbig 59 e, f, g. This is most likely a case of misattribution.

IAM DE SOMNO IN QUO TAM, HK 518. This motet survives under Handl’s name in the manuscript S-VX, Mus.Ms 2c, e, in two of its eight parts (A I and B I).³⁶ It is in fact a work by the composer Felice Anerio (c. 1560–1614), published in 1585 in

his collection *Madrigali spirituali di Felice Anerio maestro di cappella del Collegio degli Inglesi in Roma a cinque voci. Libro primo*.³⁷ The composition appears at the end of the printed collection under the description “mottetto in eco”. The collection was reprinted two years later by the Venetian printer Giacomo Vincenti (1587). In northern Europe the motet became widely known via the anthology *Continuatio cantionum sacrarum*, edited by Friedrich Lindner and published by Katharina Gerlach in Nürnberg.³⁸

LAUDEM CANTEMUS DOMINO, HK 524. The only known copy of this work exists in the manuscript S-VX, Mus.Ms 2c-e in three parts (A I, T I and B I).³⁹ No reconstruction is possible.

VERBUM CARO FACTUM EST, HK 54. This motet is mentioned by Josip Mantuani either as a unique work by Handl or as an eight-part reworking of Handl’s ten-part motet in the Zwickau manuscript.⁴⁰ The source in fact transmits a literal copy of Handl’s ten-part motet of that name published in the *Opus musicum* (HK 54).

35. Mantuani, “Bibliographie der Werke von Gallus”, xv.

36. RISM A/II: 1900013061.

37. RISM A/I: A 1083; AA 1083.

38. RISM B/I: 1588².

39. RISM A/II: 190013063.

40. Mantuani, “Bibliographie der Werke von Gallus”, xvi.