

JANA KALINAYOVÁ-BARTOVÁ  
Comenius University, Bratislava

## ITALIAN MUSIC IN THE REPERTOIRE OF BRATISLAVIAN MUSICAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY\*

The free royal town of Posonium (Pressburg, Prešporok, Pozsony, today's Bratislava) played a significant role as a musical centre in the development of musical culture in the territory of present-day Slovakia. From the beginning of the seventeenth century, new streams of Italian music were accepted and the town of Posonium became the gateway for its dissemination into other nearby musical centres in addition to the more distant central-eastern areas of this territory.

The town was one of the most important political, social and cultural centres in the Kingdom of Hungary due to its fortuitous location on the banks of the River Danube and at the cross-roads of trade routes which dated back to the Middle Ages. The collegiate chapter and priory, whose seat dated back to the twelfth century, also became the 'place of authentication' (*locus credibilis*) – a special legal institution peculiar only to the legal system of the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>1</sup> The town's location took on greater significance in 1536 when, due to the occupation of the central sections of the kingdom, it was proclaimed the capital of Hungary (Buda fell to the Turks in 1541) and when the supreme administrative institutions – the seats of the Hungarian Parliament, the Hungarian Chamber and the Vice-regency Council – were moved there. At the same time, Bratislava became the coronation town of the Hungarian monarchs and eventually of the Austrian emperors when the Habsburg family assumed the hereditary rights to the crown. The influx of the population was related to the town's new position. Rich families of land officials from the Hungarian aristocracy and of townsmen estates engaged in trade, crafts moved in and the population grew to 9000 in the seventeenth century. Bratislava became a shelter for refugees pushed to the north by the Turkish armies, and for refugees from the west: Protestant exiles from Czech territories also settled here after the defeat of the non-Catholic estates at the Battle of White Mountain (Bílá hora, 1620). Within the town itself, the German nationality prevailed, followed by Slavic ethnic groups (Slovaks, Czechs, Moravians and Croats) who were also represented in relatively high numbers and finally the Hungarian population which constituted the third largest group (approximately in the ratio of 3:2:1).<sup>2</sup> A large portion of the population adopted the teachings of Martin Luther in the sixteenth century and this number grew further with the arrival of Protestant exiles.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> At first, the *loci credibili* fulfilled the role of notary offices and later also the role of courts. They existed in the Hungarian legal system up to 1874.

<sup>2</sup> DARINA LEHOTSKÁ - JÚLIUS BARTL - VLADIMÍR HORVÁTH, *Dejiny Bratislavy* [The history of Bratislava], Bratislava, Obzor, 1982, pp. 110-113.

<sup>3</sup> The penetration and gradual adopting of the Lutheran religion by the population in the sixteenth century is described in detail by JOSEF SCHRÖDL, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchengemeinde A.B. zu Pozsony-Pressburg. I. Teil*, Pozsony, Evangelische Kirchengemeinde A.B., 1906, pp. 20-64.

The population was divided into several groups under two religious denominations – Catholics and Lutherans. In the first half of the seventeenth century, the patriciate and townsmen were predominantly Lutherans. The arrival of the Jesuits and the orders of St. Ursula and St. Claire together with the Catholic Church hierarchy strengthened the Catholic part of the population.

All of the aforementioned social aspirations, such as the enhancement of the social position of town, the increasing population, the strengthening of the representatives of the high-born aristocracy and the growing influence of the Lutheran movement, also had a direct impact on the town's cultural and musical life. The organization of the musical life was based on the model that had been formed in the Middle Ages, but new elements which found their way into it, gradually modified this model. However, in the seventeenth century, the town council still remained the main organizer and financial supporter of musical productions and musicians. In spite of the increasing importance of the town as a political and economic centre, the rich nobility including the Hungarian king, did not establish permanent residences here which would have created a place for stable court musical representations.<sup>4</sup> Musical production was for that reason connected mainly with religious occasions and churches.

However, aside from the St. Martin's parish church, hitherto the main centre for musical life, new musical centres began to form in the seventeenth century. They originated either in churches or renovated or newly formed order houses, as well as churches built in Bratislava in the seventeenth century by Protestant church societies. The growth of musical patronage, expressed in the establishment of various foundations for the support of music in a certain musical centre, was another sign. Although this form of support had existed here from the Middle Ages, it became in the seventeenth century a significant element in terms of the regularity and quality of the musical productions. This was particularly relevant to the Catholic musical centres where the patrons belonged predominantly to the nobility.<sup>5</sup> This trend was related to the re-Catholicization and the post-Tridentine efforts to restore the respect and position of the Catholic Church and liturgy through music in an environment which was under threat from Protestantism. Eventually, the orientation of the musical repertoire was transformed when the work of trans-Alpine composers (Franco-Flemish composers and composers who composed in the Franco-Flemish style) was replaced by the modern music of the early Baroque Italian style. In this respect, the musical centres of Bratislava, regardless of denomination, were greatly inspired by the existing musical model in Vienna which was situated only 60 kilometers to the west. Since the reign of Ferdinand II, Italian music had gained enormous importance at the imperial court and Italian musicians were represented in great numbers in the imperial court orchestra as singers, instrumentalists and chapel masters.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> FREDERIK FEDERMAYER, *Šľachta uhorskej metropoly v pomoháčskom období* [Nobility in Hungarian capital in post-Mohacs period], «Forum historiae», 2010/2, pp. 1-13, online version: [http://www.forumhistoriae.sk/main/texty\\_2\\_2010/federmayer.pdf](http://www.forumhistoriae.sk/main/texty_2_2010/federmayer.pdf).

<sup>5</sup> The archbishops Peter Pázmány, Emericus Losy, canon Michael Veresmárty, provost Sigismund Zongor belonged to the most generous donors.

<sup>6</sup> HERBERT SEIFERT, *1619-1705 «Die Kaiserlichen Hofkapellen»: Italienisches Barock in Wien*, in *Musica Imperialis. 500 Jahre Hofmusikkapelle in Wien. 1498-1998*, ed. Günther Brosche, Tutzing, Schneider, 1998, pp. 43-82.

The imperial court chapel accompanied the emperor's court during coronations and other visits to the town (the Hungarian parliament sessions in particular) to ensure the musical framework of religious and secular festivities and ceremonies; thus, thanks to these visits, Bratislava musicians were able to become acquainted with the new trends in Vienna's musical life and to incorporate them into their own musical environment.<sup>7</sup> The nobility in Bratislava had also the opportunity to attend the performances of the imperial court opera.<sup>8</sup> The records in the preserved documents show various contacts with Vienna. For example, Viennese organ builders came not only to build new organs but also to do major repairs on old ones; sheet music was also purchased in Vienna, and there were Viennese musicians who came to Bratislava, although there are often no records of their previous place of work.

During the seventeenth century, several new centres for the cultivation of music were established which extended the existing musical-cultural organism. Some of them fully developed their activities in the eighteenth century. The Jesuits settled in town after 1630 when a residence was built for them from the fund of Archbishop Pázmány and the Jesuit College was founded. The Jesuits cultivated music within the framework of drama school performances and processions on the occasion of saint days. For example, the torch parade on St. John the Baptist's Day became a local tradition.<sup>9</sup> At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the activities of the nuns of the order of St. Claire, which had moved to Bratislava from Buda, were also renewed. They also worked with music, especially choral singing.<sup>10</sup> The nuns of the order of St. Ursula had come to Bratislava in 1672 from monasteries in Cologne, Vienna and Liège to educate the daughters of aristocratic and townsmen families. The monastery became an important musical centre in the eighteenth century when several talented female musicians, who were also active as composers, worked here. The relatively extensive collection of music was the product of their activities.<sup>11</sup> The Franciscans of the Province of St. Mary were also active in town. However, the Province went through a crisis, particularly

<sup>7</sup> The study of LADISLAV KAČIC, *Musik zur Zeit der Pressburger Krönungsfeierlichkeiten (1563-1830)*, «Musicologica Istropolitana», II, 2003, pp. 31-50, records the performances of the imperial Hofkapelle in Bratislava at coronations. See also RICHARD RYBARIČ, *Hudba bratislavských korunovácií* [Music of Bratislava coronations], «Musicologica Slovaca», XV, 1990, pp. 11-36.

<sup>8</sup> The earliest known recording dates back to 1649 when Ferdinand IV stayed in the town two months, but there is a doubt whether the opera *I Trionfi d'Amore* with music by G. F. Sances was here really performed. See HERBERT SEIFERT, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof im 17. Jahrhundert*, Tutzing, Schneider, 1985, pp. 39-40. Other preserved reports are scarce. *Ibidem*, pp. 99-100, 136, 188, 371, 425, 440, 523.

<sup>9</sup> ISTVÁN KILIÁN, *Neue Daten über die Schauspielpraxis der Jesuiten in Bratislava*, in «Aurora Musas nutrit»: *Die Jesuiten und die Kultur Mitteleuropas im 16.-18. Jahrhundert: acta conventus, Bratislaviae 26.-29. Septembris 2007*, eds. Ladislav Kačic - Svorad Zavarský, Bratislava, Slavistický ústav Jána Stanislava SAV - Teologická fakulta Trnavskej univerzity, 2008, pp. 148-149.

<sup>10</sup> KLÁRA MÉSZÁROSOVÁ, *Klarissen und Musik nach historischen Quellen aus dem Pressburger und Tyrnauer Kloster*, in «Plaude turba paupercula» - *Franziskaner Geist in Musik, Literatur und Kunst*, Konferenzbericht: Bratislava, 4.-6. Oktober 2004, ed. Ladislav Kačic, Bratislava, Slavistický ústav Jána Stanislava SAV, 2005, pp. 163-175.

<sup>11</sup> The collection is deposited at the Musical Museum of the Slovak National Museum in Bratislava. The most recent publication regarding the activities of the Ursuline nuns is LENKA ANTALOVÁ, *Hudobná kultúra uršulínok v Bratislave v 18. a 19. storočí* [The musical culture of the Ursuline convent in Bratislava in the 18th and 19th centuries], Bratislava, Universitas Comeniana, Facultas Philosophica, 2011.

in the first half of the seventeenth century, in which they focused on the reform of monastery life, its principal functions and pastoral duties. Consequently the Bratislava convent was unable to meet the demands of the cultivation of figural music<sup>12</sup> until the end of the seventeenth century. Two institutions – the Catholic parish and the chapter church of St. Martin's and the German Lutheran parish church of the Holiest Trinity – held crucial positions in the musical life of the town in the seventeenth century and enjoyed the best conditions for adopting new musical impulses.

Figure 1. Bratislava, St. Martin's parish and chapter church

Copperplate by M. Engelbrecht after the drawing of Friedrich Bernhard Werner, 1735

(Bratislava, City Gallery; reproduction in Juraj Žáry - Anton Bagin - Ivan Rusina - Eva Toranová, *Der Martinsdom in Bratislava*, Bratislava, Tatran, 1990, p. 7)



St. Martin's Cathedral was built in late Gothic style in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries on the site of an older church (see figure 1).<sup>13</sup> It was consecrated in 1452 and

<sup>12</sup> Older idea that the collection of late Renaissance music prints from the end of the sixteenth century preserved in Bratislava monastery is the proof of the period cultivation of figural music with Franciscans, was questioned by LADISLAV KAČIC, *Pestovali bratislavskí františkáni v 17. storočí polyfóniu?* [Did the Franciscans of Bratislava cultivate polyphony in the 17th century?], in «*Hudobný život Bratislavy od stredoveku po barok*». *Muzikologická konferencia BHS* [The musical life of Bratislava from the Middle Ages up to Baroque. BMF Musicological conference], ed. Katarína Horváthová, Bratislava, MDKO, 1989 (Hudobné tradície a ich tvorcovia, 18), pp. 105-114.

<sup>13</sup> JURAJ ŽÁRY - ANTON BAGIN - IVAN RUSINA - EVA TORANOVÁ, *Der Martinsdom in Bratislava*, Bratislava, Tatran, 1990, pp. 21-76.

served as the church of three institutions – the priory, the chapter and the town parish.<sup>14</sup> From 1563 to 1830 the coronations of the Hungarian kings (eleven) and queens (eight) were held here.<sup>15</sup> Most of them (nine) took place in the seventeenth century.

Although the musical component of the ceremonial mass for the coronation ceremony was performed by imperial court musicians, traces of the effect of the participation of the imperial Hofkapelle can also be observed in the periods after the 'pomp and circumstances' of the coronation ceremonies had diminished. With similar pomp and accompanied by the sound of trumpets and tympani, the elections of the town council were organized annually on St. George's Day which culminated with the parade and ceremony at St. Martin's parish church.<sup>16</sup>

The masses held in St. Martin's church and their musical component were the result of the cooperation between the chapter and the town. From the middle of the sixteenth century, the salaries for the cathedral organist and cantor were regularly paid by the town treasury. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries other musicians – trumpet players or other instrumentalists and soloists – were paid from the resources of the town and the chapter.<sup>17</sup> The town also occasionally provided finances for purchasing music and building a new organ.<sup>18</sup> Despite the age-old tradition of fulfilling a significant function in the religious and social life of the seventeenth century, the parish church underwent a period of crisis. This was caused by religious tension in the town which weakened the position of the church. For a certain period of time (1619-1621), it even fell into the hands of the Lutherans. Although the town council, which at the beginning of the seventeenth century was of Lutheran denomination, met the agreed upon fundamental duties towards the parish church regarding music, it seems that the results were insufficient. Several critical reports from canonical visits testify to this.<sup>19</sup>

Therefore, the Catholic aristocracy and church hierarchy, beginning with Peter Pázmány, Archbishop of Esztergom, took over the initiative in supporting music at St. Martin's church. Shortly after visiting the chapter in 1629, he established the fund whereby profits would have also contributed to the music in the church.<sup>20</sup> When in 1642 a Jesuit seminary was created, thanks to the foundation of Archbishop Emericus Losy, the

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>15</sup> ŠTEFAN HOLČÍK, *Korunovačné slávnosti Bratislava 1563-1830* [Bratislava coronation ceremonies 1563-1830], Bratislava, Tatran, 1986.

<sup>16</sup> MATEJ BEL, *Bratislava Mateja Bela: výber z diela Notitia Hungariae novae historico-geographica* [Bratislava of Matej Bel: Selection from the work Notitia Hungariae Novae Historico-Geographica], ed. Ján Tibenský, Bratislava, Obzor, 1984, p. 264.

<sup>17</sup> ZDENKO NOVÁČEK, *Hudba v Bratislave* [Music in Bratislava], Bratislava, Opus, 1978, pp. 13-14, 29-31; Bratislava, Slovenský národný archív (hereinafter SK-BRsa), *Súkromný archív Bratislavskej kapituly*, Djurajdin Elenchus, pp. 485-523.

<sup>18</sup> For example, the organ that served in the cathedral in the seventeenth century was built from town money in 1587 and 1588 by Vienna master Leopold Sunderspies. NOVÁČEK, *Hudba v Bratislave*, p. 13.

<sup>19</sup> The most comprehensive is the visitation of Georgius Szelepcheny (Pohronec-Slepčiansky, Archbishop of Esztergom under the cantorship of Georgius Borsziczky (Boršický) of 1673, which orders the strengthening of the musical personnel of the choir. SK-BRsa, *Súkromný archív Bratislavskej kapituly*, Capsa K, Fasc. 1, no. 1.A.1.

<sup>20</sup> NOVÁČEK, *Hudba v Bratislave*, p. 16.

cultivation of music in the St. Martin church experienced a reinforcement in the personnel in choir singing and possibly also in figural music. The Losy foundation expected the students to participate in the singing of ceremonial masses and vespers on Sundays and holidays and in their leisure time to relax under the leadership of the cantor by singing choir and figural music and when possible instrumental music.<sup>21</sup>

In the seventeenth century and in the first half of the eighteenth century, several foundations and testamentary legacies were established and part of these finances was designated for the promotion of music and musicians. Other foundations were involved in the maintenance of old and new altars and chapels, where vespers and litanies *cum figurali musica* were probably sung on designated holidays and occasionally during the entire Octave period. Special attention was paid to the chapels of St. Anna, St. John the Merciful and St. John Nepomucky and the Altar of Corpus Christi, where the *Confraternitas Corporis Christi* was founded in 1727.<sup>22</sup>

Two inventories of music from non-surviving collections document the music that could have been performed in the church during the period of time in question. The first list was compiled in 1616.<sup>23</sup> It mentions musical prints and several manuscripts with music of various origins and styles. The work of Orlando di Lasso is most represented. Four of the five titles of his motets and lamentations were of Nuremberg and Munich editions. This fact can be related to the contacts of Bratislava's Pálffy nobleman family with the Fugger family (Nicolaus Pálffy, captain of Bratislava's castle, married Maria Fugger). The circle of musicians at the imperial court of Rudolph II is also represented by the Prague edition of Franz Sales and manuscripts of compositions of Philippe de Monte, as well as the wider Austrian and Southern German circle of composers working in Vienna, Salzburg and Munich. Several of these composers, such as Blasius Amon, Georgius Victorinus, Jacobus Flori, Hans Leo Hassler and Christian Erbach, all studied in Italy and brought the elements of the Italian style to the trans-Alpine musical milieu. According to the inventory, the Italian composers were represented in the collection by the Venetian authors' editions, as were, for example, the double-choir motets of Giovanni Croce<sup>24</sup> and Pellegrino Valla.<sup>25</sup> This is important to note as at that time, in other music centres in Slovakia, Italian music was only known through anthologies. The content of the inventory indicates new trends in the repertoire which began to replace the Franco-Flemish tradition with modern Italian music in a polychoral and *concertato* style. It is not known how the music became the property of the chapter and who was responsible for creating this collection. It is possible that the church choir received at least a part of it as a donation.

The music catalogue from 1700 compiled by the cantor (*director chori*) Johann Riez provides an opportunity to compare how the church musical repertoire had changed over

<sup>21</sup> SK-BRsa, *Súkromný archív Bratislavskej kapituly*, Capsa F, Fasc. 6, no. 147.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, Djurajdin elenchus, pp. 485-518.

<sup>23</sup> JANA KALINAYOVÁ, *Katalog der Musikalien des St. Martinsdoms in Bratislava aus dem Jahre 1616*, in *Musikinventare und das Repertoire der mehrstimmigen Musik in der Slowakei im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. Jana Kalinayová, Bratislava, Slowakisches Nationalmuseum - Musikmuseum, 1995, pp. 29-32.

<sup>24</sup> *Motetti a otto voci*, 1594.

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almost a century. This document is more extensive, but in comparison with the older inventory it contains mostly manuscripts.<sup>26</sup> The authors are in most cases not recorded, but there is often a specification of scoring of particular works. Franco-Flemish polyphony was replaced by music in *concertato* style for large vocal-instrumental ensembles or small ensembles with soloist voices often accompanied by a pair of violins. The inclusion of instrumental sonatas in music with a liturgical function is another sign of the newer trends, which were probably related to the Austrian liturgical practice whereby the mass Graduale was substituted by the sonata.<sup>27</sup> In particular, the names of musicians from the Austrian imperial court appear among sporadically indicated authors: imperial chapel masters Antonio Bertali, Giovanni Valentini, Giovanni Felice Sances and the Innsbruck court *maestro di cappella* Johann Stadlmayr, whose work in the circle of influence of Vienna was well-known by the end of the century, circulated together with migrating musicians. Indeed, nothing has been preserved from this collection. The sources of the copies can only be surmised. Several titles of compositions are identical to the compositions preserved in the collection of Bishop Carolus Liechtenstein-Castelcorno in Kroměříž (Cremsier).<sup>28</sup> Musicians from the chapel of Liechtenstein-Castelcorno, who in the last third of the seventeenth century performed in the St. Martin church,<sup>29</sup> could have intermediated these compositions. The inventory also records several anonymous large-scale masses and motets which had to be created for extraordinary ceremonies. The title, *Missa coronationis* for 8 vocal and 19 instrumental voices, itself designates the ceremonial occasion for which it was composed. It is identical to the mass under the name of Giovanni Valentini preserved in the collection of Kroměříž, but the compositions differ in the number of voices. It is questionable if at the time there existed the necessary conditions for the interpretation of such large-scale compositions for the cathedral and if, on the contrary, they were not rather a contribution to the collection of music inherited from the visits of the imperial court ensemble. Another possible source of the copies could also have been a substantial collection of music formed around the choir of a Lutheran church, which became the center for the cultivation of modern music in *stile concertato*, and which in terms of musical historiography could probably have even exceeded the importance of the position of the St. Martin's church. However, we do not have documents regarding any official cooperation between St. Martin's church and the Lutheran parish church. It seems that the musical life of these centres developed separately

<sup>26</sup> JANA KALINAYOVÁ, *Katalog der Musikalien des St. Martinsdoms in Bratislava aus dem Jahre 1700*, in *Musikinventare und das Repertoire der mehrstimmigen Musik in der Slowakei im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. Jana Kalinayová, Bratislava, Slowakisches Nationalmuseum - Musikmuseum, 1995, pp. 154-166.

<sup>27</sup> RYBARIČ, *Hudba bratislavských korunovácií*, p. 33.

<sup>28</sup> For example, the masses of Bertali *Missa Angeli Custodis*, *Missa Lachrymarum*, *Missa Nihil*, *Missa Pacis*. See JIŘÍ SEHNAL - JITŘENKA PEŠKOVÁ, *Caroli de Liechtenstein-Castelcorno episcopi Olomucensis operum artis musicae collectio Cremsirii reservata*, 2 vols., Praha, Národní knihovna ČR - Supraphon, 1998, I, nos. 28, 36, 42, 47.

<sup>29</sup> Ondrej Volner, who came from Kroměříž, was the organist of St. Martin's church for three years (1674-1677). Trumpet players and timpanist borrowed from Kroměříž for the coronation of Joseph I in 1687 could also transmit certain compositions. JIŘÍ SEHNAL, *Ze života hudebníků kroměřížské biskupské kapely v 17. století* [Life storied of musicians of the Kroměříž Bishop's chapel in the 17th century], «Hudobnovedné štúdie», VII, 1966, pp. 122-133.

and only the town trumpet players, as employees of the town paid by the town treasury for performing in both churches, created a link between these two competing rather than cooperating musical centres.

The church of the Holy Trinity was built by Lutherans of German descent from 1636 to 1638 on the land next to the town hall despite a ban from the emperor.<sup>30</sup> The history of the church is dramatic and also had an impact on the cultivation of music. It forcefully changed its owner several times; in 1672, at the culmination of the re-Catholisation, it was seized from the Lutherans and allocated to the Jesuits, who consecrated the church to the Holy Saviour. The Jesuits had to leave the church twice – in 1773 after Joseph II cancelled the order and in the 1950s, when the Communist authorities cancelled all religious orders. They returned to the church after the change of regime in 1989.

The most significant period in the musical history of the cathedral was the period in which it belonged to the Lutherans, i.e. from 1638 to 1672. Authenticated evidences regarding the interior of the church and the importance of the music in the service were preserved in period records by Josua Wegelin, the first preacher (*Domus Domini renovata* and *Sermo dedicationis*)<sup>31</sup> and Reimund Rimand, alias Daniel Wilhelm Möller, a polymath and native of Bratislava (*Presburger Kirchen- und Schulen-Verlust*).<sup>32</sup> The title pages of these prints depict the building, in the Wegelin publication as yet without a tower (see figure 2), which the Lutherans were not allowed to build. Möller's record also depicts the Lutheran Latin grammar school and the church for the Slovak and Hungarian Lutherans, which were built from 1656 to 1657. In the records we can read that the new church looks like the cathedral in Ulm.<sup>33</sup> It is light and beautiful, tastefully decorated with biblical figures and painted in gold and with pleasant paintings on the organ's gallery. In the spirit of Lutheran architecture, the church also had two side galleries which were removed by the Jesuits after taking over the church.

<sup>30</sup> ANDREJ FILIPEK, *Jezuitský kostol v Bratislave* [The Jesuit church in Bratislava], Trnava, Dobrá kniha, 2010, p. 15.

<sup>31</sup> [JOSUA WEGELIN], *Domvs Domini Renovata SSae. Trinitati Dedicata, Et Evangelicorum more Inaugurata Posonium Hungarorum!:* Vor dem Heiligen Weihnacht Fest als man zehlete nach den ersten Weihnacht tagen Tausent Secshundert acht vnd dreyssig Jahr Das Pressburgische Gottes-Hauss der Evangelischen Teutschen Kirchen vnd Gemein daselbst in der Hauptstadt dess Königreichs NiederHungarn von grundt auffernewerk zu der H. Dreyfaltigkeit genennet vnd Nahmen dess Herren der Evangelische Weise nach bezogen, [Levoča?], 1640; *Sermo dedicationis, An vnd Einzugs Predigt, In Dem erneuerten Hause Gottes der Evangelischen Kirchen zu Pressburg Gehalten Von M. Josua Wegelin, derselben Kirchen damals Pfarern, wie auch deren vnd der benachbarten Kirchen Seniorn [...]*, [Levoča?], 1640; Bratislava, Evanjelický a.v. archív [Archive of Evangelical Church in Bratislava], V. teol. 132.

<sup>32</sup> [DANIEL WILHELM MÖLLER], *Pressburger Kirchen- und Schul-Verlust: Das ist Warheits-gegründete Anzeig, Wie Und auff was Weise zu Pressburg In der Nider-Ungrischen Haupt-Stadt einer daselbst sich befindenen Unkatolischen Gemeinde anfangs Kirchen- und Schul-Possess. disputirlich gemacht und endlich nach mehr als halb-jähriger Action, mit gewehrter Hand ab-und eingenommen worden Männiglich zu beständiger Nachricht und warhafftem Unterricht in öffentlichen Druck gegeben, Von Reinmundo Rimando, s.l., 1673; Bratislava, Evanjelický a.v. archív, M 99714.*

<sup>33</sup> According to more recent research, Hans Stoss of Augsburg was the builder of this church and the Lutheran *Prediktkirche* of Augsburg was its model. FILIPEK, *Jezuitský kostol v Bratislave*, p. 17.

Figure 2. Bratislava, Lutheran church of the Holy Trinity  
Josua Wegelin, *Domus Domini renovata*, [Levoča?], 1640, title page (copperplate)



Wegelin's records provide a detailed description of the course of the ceremonial service on the occasion of the church's consecration, during which figural and instrumental music, choral chant and spiritual songs were performed. The German church community, which included a large number of town patricians and rich townsmen, created a relatively solid economic background for the universal support of figural music. It paid the cantor and financed the purchase of music and musical instruments, repairs and other professional musicians such as a bass viola player or soloist singers.<sup>34</sup> The church community paid for the organ player's accommodation, but as with the town trumpet players who performed when necessary in both churches, he received his salary from the town treasury. However, the principal interpretation body was composed of the students from the Latin grammar school. Their participation in musical productions at ceremonial services was a natural part of musical life organization, typical in Lutheran communities throughout the entire country. The account books of the church community regarding the payment of bonuses for music rehearsals and performances prove that students performed at services.

<sup>34</sup> Bratislava, Ústredná knižnica SAV (hereinafter SK-BRI), *Archív evanjelickej a.v. cirkvi - Kirchen Rechnungen von 1620 bis 1629; Kirchen Rechnungen von 1633 bis 1649; Kirchen Rechnungen von 1650 bis 1659, Kirchen Rechnungen von 1660 bis 1669*, without shelf mark. The bass viola player is presented in the account books of the church community as a permanently paid employee from the late 1620s and in the 1630s. Information from account books were partially published by RICHARD RYBARIČ, *Z dejín viachlasnej hudby v Bratislave v 17. storočí* [From the history of polyphonic music in Bratislava in the 17th century], «Bratislava», VIII-IX, 1976, pp. 137-162.

Three preserved inventories of music from 1651<sup>35</sup>, 1652<sup>36</sup> and 1657<sup>37</sup>, according to which a collection of music prints and manuscripts was gradually added to the church choir and whose extent was without parallel in all of Hungary, provides evidence of the level and nature of the artistic music cultivated in the church. However, nothing save its inventories of 138 printed titles and another 130 manuscript compositions which prove the existence of this collection, have been preserved. Three cantors who were fully responsible for the artistic level of the music, i.e. the selection, rehearsals and performances of the compositions, deserve the greatest credit. The content of the collection is a certain reflection of the knowledge and artistic demands of the musicians who held this position. Jakob Sebald Ludwig (1638-1651), Samuel Capricornus (1651-1657) and Johann Kusser the Elder (1657-1672) worked in the choir management over three decades. Jakob Sebald Ludwig, a native of Nuremberg, had already shown interest not only in the typical repertoire of German Lutheran choirs – *Polyhymnia caduceatrix* by Michael Praetorius, *Psalmen Davids* by Heinrich Schütz, *Cantiones sacrae* by Samuel Scheidt, *Sacrorum concentuum [...] liber primus* by Adam Gumpelzheimer, *Cantionum sacrarum pars prima* and *secunda* by Melchior Vulpus and the musical anthology *Promptuarium musicum* collected by Abraham Schadaeus (RISM I/B 1611<sup>1</sup>, 1612<sup>3</sup>, 1613<sup>2</sup>) – but also in the works of northern Italian musicians who composed in more modern forms of *concertato* style. A more recent anthology *Geistlicher Concerten und Harmonien* of the Silesian editor Ambrosius Profius (RISM I/B 1641<sup>2</sup>, 1641<sup>3</sup>, 1642<sup>4</sup> and 1646<sup>4</sup>), contributed to the popularizing of this style in the Lutheran communities and was even present in the choir of this church. But 40 titles from the production of Venetian printing-offices, particularly from the printing works of Giacomo and Alessandro Vincenti, containing masses, motets, psalms, *Magnificats*, small-scale spiritual *concerti* and several titles with sonatas and canzonas were included in the collection before 1651. The work of Alessandro Grandi,<sup>38</sup> one of the *stile moderno* pioneers in spiritual music, was represented by up to eight prints. The works of Ignazio Donati,<sup>39</sup> Tarquinio Merula<sup>40</sup> and Orazio Tarditi<sup>41</sup> were also represented with several titles by each of them. Three volumes of Viadana's *Concerti ecclesiastici* (1602, 1607 and 1609) were also included. In addition to works of well-known and influential composers, the collection features a large number of titles by authors who were known at the time but did not achieve a wide response to their work.

<sup>35</sup> IVANA KORBAČKOVÁ, *Inventarverzeichnis der Musikalien und der Musikinstrumente der Evangelischen Kirche in Bratislava aus dem Jahre 1651*, in *Musikinventare und das Repertoire der mehrstimmigen Musik in der Slowakei im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. Jana Kalinayová, Bratislava, Slowakisches Nationalmuseum - Musikmuseum, 1995, pp. 39-54.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 55-56.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 57-71.

<sup>38</sup> All published by Vincenti in Venice: *Il secondo libro de motetti, a due, tre, e quattro voci*, 1613; *Il quarto libro de motetti a due, tre, quattro, et sette voci*, 1616; *Motetti a una, et due voci, con sinfonia*, 1621; *Motetti a una, due et quattro voci [...] libro secondo*, 1625; *Motetti a una, et due voci [...] libro terzo*, 1629; *Salmi a otto brevi, con il primo choro concertato*, 1629; *Messa e salmi concertati*, 1630; *Il sesto libro de motetti a due, et quattro voci*, 1630.

<sup>39</sup> *Concerti ecclesiastici, opera quarta*, 1618; *Concerti ecclesiastici, opera quinta*, 1618; *Salmi boscarecci concertati a sei voci*, 1623; *Madre de quatordecim figli [...] Il secondo libro de motetti*, 1629; *Li vecchiarrelli et peregrini concerti*, 1636.

<sup>40</sup> *Messe, salmi [...] concertati*, 1639; *Arpa Davidica*, 1640; *Pegaso, opera musicale*, 1640.

<sup>41</sup> *Messa e salmi concertati a quattro voci [...] opera decimaquinta*, 1640; *Messe a cinque voci concertate*, 1648.

They include, for example Giovanni Francesco Capello's motets for dramatic texts,<sup>42</sup> concertante masses, psalms and motets for a few voices and basso continuo by Berardo Viadana (= Berardo Marchesi da Viadana),<sup>43</sup> Pietro Pace,<sup>44</sup> Ercole Porta,<sup>45</sup> Antonio Dalla Tavola,<sup>46</sup> and Antonio Croci<sup>47</sup>. Part of the printed music represented the work of Italian and Austrian composers from the circle of the imperial court – Johann Stadlmayr, Giovanni Valentini, Stefano Bernardi and Christoph Strauss.

The trend to prefer Italian repertoire is even more distinctly manifested during the cantorship of Samuel Capricornus. Capricornus arrived in Bratislava after working briefly at a school in Reutlingen and an equally brief and heretofore insufficiently documented stay in Vienna. However, his interest in the work of Italian artists could have been inspired by the musical milieu of his student days, namely in Sopron (Oedenburg)<sup>48</sup> and Wrocław (Breslau).<sup>49</sup> In all three inventories Capricornus clearly stated which works he had added (see figure 3) and so we know that in 1651 and 1652 he extended the collection almost exclusively by adding the works of Italian authors.<sup>50</sup> Musical prints that he obtained shortly after taking up this position belonged to the most recent music-publishing production from the period between 1645-1651. In 1651, he added another three titles by Orazio Tarditi to the collection;<sup>51</sup> but heretofore unrepresented artists were also added. They included Claudio Monteverdi with his posthumous published collection of 1650,<sup>52</sup> Antonio Rigatti<sup>53</sup> and his student Francesco Lucio,<sup>54</sup> works by Alessandro Della Ciaja,<sup>55</sup> Chiara Margarita Cozzolani,<sup>56</sup>

<sup>42</sup> *Motetti in dialogo [...] opera quinta*, 1613.

<sup>43</sup> *Primavera ecclesiastica adorna di sacri fiori musicali*, 1616; *Motetti a quattro, a cinque voci et a sei voci, con il basso continuo per sonar nell'organo*, 1619.

<sup>44</sup> *Il quinto libro de motetti a una, due, tre, quattro, cinque voci*, 1615.

<sup>45</sup> *Concerti*, 1619.

<sup>46</sup> *Messe a tre, quattro, cinque, sei, sette & otto voci [...], opera prima*, 1634.

<sup>47</sup> *Messa, e salmi concertati [...], opera terza*, 1633.

<sup>48</sup> KORNEL BÁRDOS, *Sopron zenéje a 16.-18. században* [Musik in Sopron from the 16th to the 18th century], Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984.

<sup>49</sup> According to the recent research of Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska Capricornus was in 1644 student at Maria-Magdalena Gymnasium in Wrocław (see Wrocław, Archiwum Państwowe [State Archive], *Akta Miasta Wrocławia*, shelf mark 5175 / olim P 141,1: *Aufnahmebücher (Matricularie) des Mariae Magdalena Gymnasium 1617-1666*, p. 281). In the large musical collections preserved from this town there are several musical prints, which are listed also in the inventories of musical collection of Lutheran church in Bratislava. See EMIL BOHN, *Bibliographie der Musikdruckwerke bis 1700, welche in der Stadtbibliothek, der Bibliothek des Akademischen Instituts für Kirchenmusik und der Königlichen und Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Breslau aufbewahrt werden*, Berlin, Commissions-Verlag von Albert Cohn, 1883.

<sup>50</sup> See transcription of the documents by Ivana Korbačková in *Musikinventare und das Repertoire der mehrstimmigen Musik*, pp. 39-71.

<sup>51</sup> All published in Venice: *Messe a cinque voci concertate [...] con alcuni salmi [...], opera vigesima settima*, 1648; *Salmi a otto voci [...], opera vigesima ottava*, 1649; *Messe a tre e a quattro in concerto, libro terzo*, op.30, 1650.

<sup>52</sup> *Messa a 4. con salmi [...] concertati*, 1650.

<sup>53</sup> *Messa e salmi a tre voci, con due violini [...], libro secondo*, 1648.

<sup>54</sup> *Motetti concertati a doi, e tre voci [...], opera prima*, 1650.

<sup>55</sup> *Lamentationi sagre e motetti ad una voce con basso continuo [...], opera seconda*, 1650.

<sup>56</sup> *Salmi a otto voci concertati et due Magnificat a otto con un Laudate pueri a 4. voci & doi violini*, 1650.

Angelini Romano,<sup>57</sup> Francesco Maria Melvi,<sup>58</sup> and Giovanni Battista Chinelli<sup>59</sup> with collections of motets and masses in the popular small-scale form of solo voices often accompanied by two obbligato violins.

In the following year, with the exception of Heinrich Schütz's third volume of *Symphoniae sacrae*, all other prints acquired by Capricornus contained Italian works. With the exception of the three titles by the Sicilian composer Mario Capuana,<sup>60</sup> which were printed in Venice by A. Vincenti, he acquired a series of anthologies by the Roman editors Florido de Sylvestris<sup>61</sup> and Antonio Poggioli.<sup>62</sup> This is a remarkable fact, as musical prints published in Rome and by the Roman circle of composers were rarely found in the choirs of both Lutheran and Catholic churches in the region of Slovakia compared with the strongly represented northern Italian musical production. Such a selection could be related to his admiration of the work of Giacomo Carissimi, to which he confessed in his memorial addressed to Eberhard III, Duke of Württemberg in Stuttgart as 'maestro di cappella' to the local court ensemble.<sup>63</sup> He stated that he had sent his works to Carissimi for assessment through Doctor Zillinger and that Carissimi had evaluated them favorably, recommending them for publication and even going on to perform them at the church of Saint Apollinare.<sup>64</sup> Aside the foundation of such claims to success, Doctor Zillinger was in fact, at the time, a citizen of Bratislava<sup>65</sup> and may have been a mediator in the purchasing of music from Rome. As such, the question of just how the music for the collection was acquired presents itself.

There is relatively little information regarding how the music for the choir of the Lutheran church was acquired. An item in the account records of 1650 indicates that a relatively large sum of money was paid to Sigmund Wascher in Vienna for forwarding

<sup>57</sup> *Concerti a due, tre, quattro e cinque alcuni con doi violini*, 1650.

<sup>58</sup> *Cantiones sacrae binis, ternis, quaternis & quinis vocibus concinnendae*, 1650.

<sup>59</sup> *Missarum [...] 3, 4, 5, vocum, cum ripienis, et duobus violinis ad libitum [...] cum basso continuo ad organum, liber secundus*, 1651.

<sup>60</sup> All published by Vincenti in Venice: *Missa octo vocibus duobus alternatibus choris ad organum [...]*, 1645; *Messa di defonti, e compieta a quattro voci [...]*, *opera terza*, 1649; *Messa e motetti a quattro e cinque voci [...]*, *opera quinta*, 1650.

<sup>61</sup> *R. Floridus canonicus de Sylvestris a Barbarano has alteras sacras in unum ab ipso collecta suavissimis modulis ab excellentissimis auctoribus concinnatas binis, ternis, quaternis vocibus [...]*, *Romae expensis Antonii Poggioli, ex thypographia Ludovici Grignani* (RISM B/I 1645<sup>2</sup>); *Floridus modulorum hortus ab excellentissimi musices auctoribus binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus modulatus [...]*, *Romae, Apud Andream Pheum* (RISM B/I 1647<sup>2</sup>); *R. Floridus canonicus de Sylvestris a Barbarano Florida verba a celeberrimis musices auctoribus binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus [...]*, *Romae, apud G. B. Roblettum* (RISM B/I 1648<sup>1</sup>); *R. Floridus canonicus de Sylvestris a Barbarano cantiones alias sacras [...]*, *Romae, ex thyp. L. Grignani* (RISM B/I 1649<sup>2</sup>); *Floridus canonicus de Sylvestris [...] sacras cantiones [...]* *Pars secunda, Romae, V. Mascardi* (RISM B/I 1652<sup>1</sup>).

<sup>62</sup> *Scelta di motetti de diversi autori a 2, 3, 4 e 5 voci da potersi cantare in diverse feste del'anno, raccolti da Antonio Poggioli, Roma, per L. Grignani ad istanza di Antonio Poggioli* (RISM B/I 1647<sup>1</sup>).

<sup>63</sup> Text of the memorial was published by JOSEF SITTARD, *Samuel Capricornus contra Philipp Friedrich Böddecker*, «Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft», III, 1901-1902, pp. 87-128.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 112.

<sup>65</sup> RICHARD RYBARIČ, *Judicium Salomonis - Samuel Capricornus a Giacomo Carissimi*, «Musicologica Slovaca», III, 1971, pp. 161-179.

some Italian music works.<sup>66</sup> It was a rare order of a large amount of music under the cantorship of Jakob Sebald Ludwig. Occasionally music was purchased separately.<sup>67</sup> However, we must also consider the donations of the members of the church community, even if they are not recorded in the archive documents.

Music from the collection served not only Bratislava Lutherans. Cantors from neighboring musical centres (Modra, for example) borrowed them and through the network of Protestant church choirs, migrating musicians, students and preachers, they could distribute the music to the eastern part of Slovakia (Spiš Region). The account files of the town of Levoča which indicate a payment for «*musikalische Sachen*» from Bratislava, is proof of the above.<sup>68</sup> A more recent part of manuscripts from the second half of the seventeenth century preserved in the Levoča music collection, shows similar tendencies in the repertoire which were sooner manifested in Bratislava, although the work of Italian artists is not so distinctly represented.<sup>69</sup> However, detecting the origin and routes of the distribution of music is often both time-consuming and fruitless due to the lack of relevant documents.

In the course of the seventeenth century, Bratislava, with its most significant musical centres – the German Lutheran church and St. Martin's Cathedral –, held a unique position within the territory of Slovakia in terms of possibilities of accepting impulses from the period's modern music. However, not all impulses took root. For example, the aristocracy with its seat in Bratislava did not follow the Austrian, Moravian and Czech aristocracy in supporting the cultivation of musical-dramatic forms such as opera and oratorio. Modern musical tendencies spread themselves out at the level of sacred music applicable religious services. However here, musicians working in Bratislava, in particular cantors of the Lutheran church, showed excellent orientation in musical production and purposefulness in building a local repertoire in the spirit of progressive musical trends.

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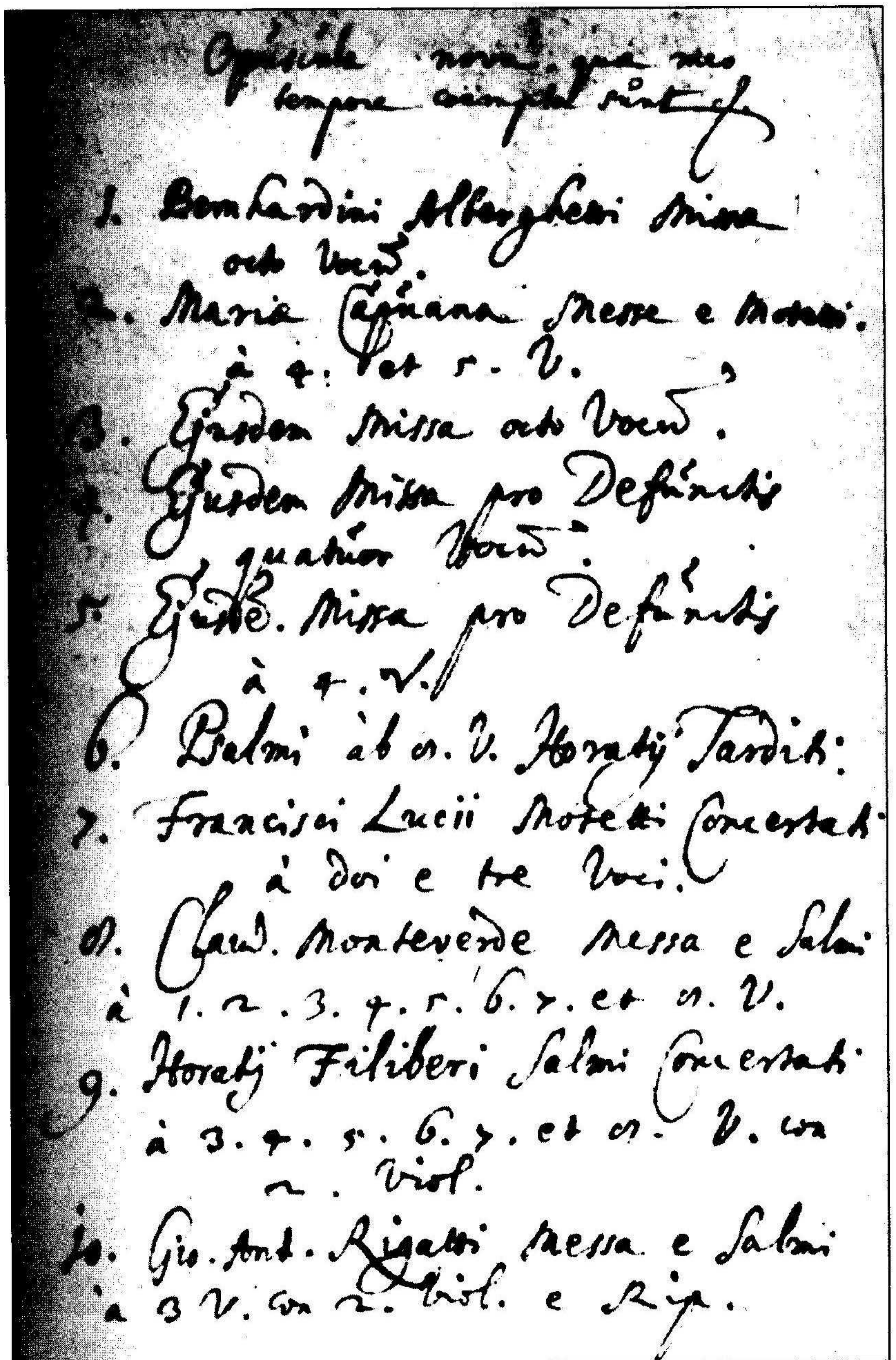
<sup>66</sup> The sum of 50 florins, 5 groshs and 6 denars was paid. SK-BRl, *Archív evanjelickej a.v. cirkvi, Kirchen Rechnungen von 1650 bis 1659*, without shelf mark. See also RYBARIČ, *Z dejín viachlasnej hudby v Bratislave v 17. storočí*, p. 151.

<sup>67</sup> In 1628 based on the recommendation of school inspector Selecky *Opus motettarum ab 8 vocibus* was purchased from Adam Gumpelzheimer. SK-BRl, *Archív evanjelickej a.v. cirkvi, Kirchen Rechnungen von 1620 bis 1629*, without shelf mark.

<sup>68</sup> PAVOL NIEDERLAND, *Záznamy o hudobnom živote v Levoči* [Records of musical life in Levoča], Levoča, Štátny archív, branch Spišská Nová Ves, manuscript without shelf mark, p. 68.

<sup>69</sup> MARTA HULKOVÁ, *Die Musikaliensammlungen von Bartfeld (Bardejov) und Leutschau (Levoča): Übereinstimmungen und Unterschiede (16. und 17. Jahrhundert)*, «*Musicologica Istropolitana*», II, 2003, pp. 51-113.

Figure 3. Musical inventory from 1657, cc. 14-15  
with records of the prints obtained by S. Capricornus



18. Floridi Canonici de Sylvestris  
florida Verba & celeberrimas Musicas  
Historias, binis, ternis, quaternisq; Voicib;  
subtilissimis modis coniuncta.
19. Eiusdem Cantiones sacra binis, ternis  
quaternisq; Voicib;.
20. Eiusdem floridis modulorum partes  
1. 2. 3. et 4.
21. Eiusdem Sacrarum Cantionum binis, ternis,  
quaternisq; Voicibus, pars prima.
22. Eiusdem Sacrarum Cantionum binis, ternis,  
quaternisq; Voicib;, pars secunda f.
23. Selecta di Notetti de diversi Eccelliss.  
"fissimi Autori, A. 2. 3. quatuor & cinque Vo.  
da Giovanni Poggioli. f.
24. Eiusdem Selecta di Notetti ut supra.

## ABSTRACT

As the seat of the supreme regional institutions of Hungary and the coronation town of the Hungarian monarchs in the seventeenth century, Bratislava (at the time Pressburg, Posonium) was not only one of the most significant centres of political and social life, but also for culture and music in Hungary. The essay analyzes the musical life and repertoire of the city's two most important musical institutions – the coronation Cathedral of St. Martin's and the Holiest Trinity Lutheran church. Both churches became locations for the performance of modern music in *stile concertato* and the channel from which new musical trends spread to other centres throughout the territory of today's Slovakia. The activities of the choirmasters of the Lutheran church (Jakob Sebald Ludwig, Samuel Capricornus, Johann Kusser) in obtaining musical publications with an Italian repertoire and the building of the collection of musical publications whose size was beyond comparison in Hungary are particularly noteworthy.

Come sede delle massime istituzioni regionali dell'Ungheria e città deputata alle cerimonie di incoronazione dei monarchi durante il secolo XVII, Bratislava (in quel tempo chiamata Pressburg o Posonium) non era soltanto uno dei centri ungheresi più significativi per la politica e la vita sociale, ma anche per la cultura e la musica. Questo studio analizza la vita musicale e il repertorio delle due maggiori istituzioni musicali cittadine: la cattedrale di San Martino, dove avvenivano le incoronazioni, e la chiesa luterana della Santissima Trinità. Entrambe le chiese divennero luoghi deputati per le esecuzioni di musica moderna in *stile concertato* e il canale attraverso il quale nuove tendenze musicali si diffusero in altri centri attraverso il territorio dell'attuale Slovacchia. Di particolare rilievo appaiono l'attività dei maestri di coro della chiesa luterana (Jakob Sebald Ludwig, Samuel Capricornus, Johann Kusser) nel procurarsi libri di musica con repertorio italiano e la creazione di una collezione di pubblicazioni musicali la cui dimensione non aveva paragone in Ungheria.