Midway through his commentaries on Psalm 32 (33), *Exultate iusti in Domino*, Saint Augustine reflects on the meaning of *jubilare* (to jubilate). After addressing the Psalm’s opening call for the sounds of kitharas and harps, he lingers on the instruction “*psallite in jubilo*.” “What does it mean to sing in jubilation?” he asks. It is clear

Versions of this article were presented at the Medieval-Renaissance Music Conference (Nottingham, UK, 8–11 July 2012), at Tulane University (2014), and at New York University (2015) for Professor Michael Beckerman’s lively seminar on Czech music. I am deeply grateful to Margarethe Adams, Jan Bat’a, Sebastian Bolz, Geoff Chew, David Crook, Barbara Eichner, Shawn Keener, Robert Kendrick, Christian Leitmeir, Rob Wegman, and this journal’s anonymous readers for their suggestions, and to Leofranc Holford-Strevens for his assistance with the Latin translations. I also wish to thank Kirstin Dougan and David Butler at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign for their valuable assistance.

1 The relevant passage comes from the *concio prima* on Psalm 32 (33). Aurelius Augustinus, *Opera* 8 (Paris, 1586), 82–87, at 85 (hereafter Augustine, *Opera*). This edition of Augustine’s Psalm exegeses (typically referred to as *Enarrationes in Psalmos*), edited by Louvain theologians, was one of several issued in the sixteenth century. These include Johann Amerbach’s edition (Basel, 1489) and the version that appeared in the *Opera omnia* edited by Desiderius Erasmus (Basel, 1528 and 1529).

2 The wording given here (from the St. Jerome Vulgate) differs from that in some sixteenth-century Augustine editions. In the Louvain edition, for example, Psalm 32:3 reads “bene cantate ei in iubilatione” (Augustine, *Opera*, 82).

3 “*Quid est in iubilatone canere*?” Ibid., 85.
enough from the psalm itself that joyful devotion must be expressed musically; less obvious is how it ought to be expressed and what it should sound like. Showing no signs of the anxiety that permeates his famous disquisition on liturgical music in the *Confessions*, Augustine takes “jubilation” to mean ecstatic utterance. Both here and in a similar passage in his commentary on *Jubilate Deo universa terra* (Psalm 99 [100]), he describes “a sort of sound of joy without words,” echoing pre-Christian writers who used the term *jubilus* to evoke song that escaped the limitations of language. In Augustine’s formulation, *jubilus* refers to texted song whose words dissolve into the pure sound of improvised melody, or to passages of this type in between songs. This semantic breakdown is a sign, he says, “that the heart labors with what it cannot utter.”

Many scholars who have sifted through these passages have found welcome grist for their discussions of textless music. Mark Evan Bonds, for instance, has argued that Augustine’s allusion to musical ineffability presages Romantic discourses on the “purely musical.” Others have searched the commentaries for insights into medieval uses of *jubilus* to describe melismatic passages in plainchant, including the term’s later and more limited application to the extended final syllable of the Alleluia. These passages have also been taken up by scholars interested in the voice and the body: Bruce Holsinger examines them for evidence of Augustine’s “pleasure in the pure embodied experience of singing,” for example, while Philip Weller and Emma Dillon have worked through them in their studies of medieval vocality and the signification of sound.

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5 In Latin (Augustine, *Opera*, 455), the passage reads “inter can[a]tica quae verbis enunciat, inserunt voces quasdam sine verbis in elatione exulta[n]tis animi, [et] haec vocatur jubilation.”


For all of this, Augustine’s attention to which bodies jubilated—who, in other words, was prone to musical abandon—has received little comment beyond references to the way his writings cast singing as natural and embodied. Yet like Hilary of Poitiers, in his earlier *Tractatus super Psalmos*, this is precisely where Augustine begins when he sets out to explain what it means to jubilate in song. In terms that call to mind the Parable of the Vineyard (Matthew 20), Augustine invites his readers to imagine sounds with distinctly earthy roots:

Think of those who sing at harvest or in the vineyard or at some other arduous work, the way they express their rapture by beginning with songs set to words, and then are filled with such joy that they cannot express it in words, and turn from the syllables of the words and proceed to the sound of jubilation.

In this early and foundational explication of the term, then, the *jubilus* is the (necessarily) embodied musical exultation of ordinary people.

This crucial component of Augustine’s commentary helps make sense of a curious collection of Latin polyphony issued in Imperial Prague in 1587 with the unusual title “*Popularis anni jubilus*” (*Jubilus* of the People’s Year; fig. 1). This collection comprises eleven motets by Carolus Luython (ca. 1557–1620), a Flemish member of the Habsburg Imperial chapel, which had moved from Vienna to Prague in 1583 when Holy Roman Emperor and King of Bohemia Rudolf II (d. 1612) made the city his capital. Appointed in 1566 as a choirboy in Maximilian II’s chapel, Luython spent time in Italy when his voice changed; in 1576 he returned north to take a position as...

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10 Holsinger, *Music, Body, and Desire*, 68, describes a move in Augustine’s writings toward “experiential corporeality” from the “spiritual idealization” to which he had earlier been committed. Augustine gradually “comes to terms with the music of the flesh” (p. 72). See also John Poirier, *The Tongues of Angels: The Concept of Angelic Languages in Classical Jewish and Christian Texts* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 135–41.


12 McKinnon, “Jubilus.”

13 Single-composer prints of non-liturgical or paraliturgical Latin polyphony were typically given generic titles such as “*Liber... motetarum*” or “*Liber... sacrarum cantionum*.” Figure 1 reproduced with permission from Wrocław University Library (Biblioteka Uniwersytecka; PL-WRu), shelf no. 50594.

14 Rudolf moved his court to Prague both to appease the Bohemian Estates, who wanted their king to live in his kingdom, and to put the court at a safe distance from the Ottomans, to whose incursions Vienna was vulnerable.
organist. Well-established at the Imperial court by the mid-1580s, Luython dedicated his *Popularis anni jubilus* to an elite patron: the Emperor’s brother and governor in Austria, Archduke Ernst (1553–95), who in 1587 was a serious contender for the elective Polish throne. Luython advertises his Imperial credentials on the title page, describing himself as a servant of the “most exalted house of Austria.” Nonetheless, the collection is not so

15 *Popularis anni jubilus* was preceded by Luython’s *Il primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: Gardano, 1582), dedicated to Hans Fugger (1531–98), a music-loving scion of the illustrious Augsburg banking dynasty. In 1603 Luython succeeded Imperial chapel-master Philippe de Monte as “court composer”; see Albert Smijers, “Die kaiserliche Hofmusik-Kapelle von 1543 bis 1619.” *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 6 (1919): 139–86, at 149. During this period Michael Praetorius met Luython and heard his enharmonic keyboard (*clavicymbalum universale sive perfectum*). See Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum II: De organographia* (Wolfenbüttel, 1619), 634.

16 A recurring error in the Luython literature conflates the Habsburg Archduke Ernst, addressed in Luython’s dedication as “serenissimum principem Ernestum Archiducem Austriæ,” with Ernst of Bavaria, who became Prince-Archbishop-Elector of Cologne in 1583.

rarified as it may at first appear: as Luython explains in the dedication, it celebrates those feasts that “the people” (*populus*) commemorated with particular joy, and with characteristic rituals and feasting.\(^\text{18}\)

Preserved in two incomplete sets (in Regensburg and Wrocław), the print seems on the surface to be nothing more than an interesting curio from a famously esoteric court.\(^\text{19}\) I argue that its ordered sequence of motets in fact re-presents the sonic and bodily performances—the jubilation—associated with lay celebrations of the major feasts of the church year. Aimed at, and speaking for, the fractious religious confessions that lived and worshiped side by side in Central Europe, it gives a compelling account of a shared festal calendar in a place where time itself had become controversial. The print is a window opening onto bustling streets and carefully tended fields: its noisy texts and polyphonic settings let the sound in, capturing aspects of early modern experience long thought irretrievable.

In his 1923 study of Luython’s motet output, Albert Smijers identified the author of the *Popularis anni jubilus* texts as the Prague cathedral canon (later Provost) Georgius Bartholdus Pontanus à Braitenberg (ca. 1550–1614 or 1616).\(^\text{20}\) A native of Most (Brůx), about 80 km northwest of Prague, Pontanus was a prolific hagiographer, historian, and poet whose central role in Catholic renewal efforts in Central Europe is only now coming to light.\(^\text{21}\) On the surface, this set of texts does not appear to reflect Pontanus’s religious zeal. Indeed, bearing in mind the dissipated calls to “drink to the dregs” (“fluat usque ad feces”) and eat to excess, it is easy to see why Smijers deemed the collection “thoroughly

\(^{18}\) The relevant passage reads: “[H]as Cantiones Popularis anni Iubilus intitulatas (quod illis statis anni diebus, omnis populus in singularem laetitiam, animique exultationem, certis quibusdam caeremoniis aut symposijs sese convertat).”

\(^{19}\) RISM L3116. In Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Prosksche Musikabteilung (D-Rp), only the sexta vox survives; S, T, B, 5, and 6 survive at Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka (see note 13 above). Digitizations of the Wrocław partbooks are accessible at the “Manuscriptorium” database hosted by the National Library of the Czech Republic (http://www.manuscriptorium.com).

\(^{20}\) Albert Smijers, “Karl Luython als Motetten-Komponist,” *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis* 11 (1923): 1–95, at 21–22; Gottfried Dlabacz, *Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexikon für Böhmen*, s.v. “Luyton, Karl.” Pontanus published in Czech as Jiří Bartold z Breitenberku; it is often under this name (with such variants as Breitenberga or Braitenberg), rather than the Latin or German spellings (Praitenberg, Breitenberg), that his works are catalogued.

secular.”22 More recently, Nicholas Johnson—with an eye to the dedication date, 2 January 1587—has followed Smijers in concluding that the collection as a whole “celebrates the new year.”23 Citing references to the sun and moon and an allusion in one motet to the star Sirius, Johnson searches the print for evidence of astrological and mystical symbolism related to the “hermetic” outlook associated with the Rudolfine court.24 He ultimately finds little evidence in Luython’s musical settings for such esoteric impulses.

To make sense of this print we must shift focus from the proclivities of Luython’s famous patrons to those of the lesser-known author of the texts, and search less for the esoteric than for the obvious and commonplace. As the profusion of sixteenth-century editions and reprints reminds us, Augustine’s commentaries were standard fare for any cleric—to say nothing of a bibliophile like Pontanus.25 Indeed, in a portrait executed around 1600, the canon’s embrace of his books is almost literal (fig. 2).26 That he amassed a sizeable personal library is evident from the number of books bearing his ownership markings that still survive in Bohemian and Moravian collections. Among these are editions of Augustine’s writings.27

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22 See in particular the third motet (Tympana dent sonitum / Coniugio addicti socii / Chare sodalis ave). Smijers, “Karl Luython als Motetten-Komponist,” 22, omits these pieces from his study, describing them as “durchaus weltliche Oden.”
24 Johnson’s argument (“Musica Caelestia,” 159–81) relies on sources somewhat tenuously related to the figures who created Populares anni jubilus. The Rudolfine court has not always been described with the sensitivity to the larger humanist context that informs Evans, Rudolf II and His World; Karl Völkel, Rudolf II. und seine Zeit (Vienna: Böhla, 1985); and Josef Janáˇcek, Rudolf II. a jeho doba (Prague: Svoboda, 1987). Among the studies to be approached with caution is Peter Marshall, The Magic Circle of Rudolf II (New York: Walker and Company, 2006), which uncritically repeats the complaints of the Emperor’s contemporary critics, and the Romantic mythologizing epitomized by Franz Grillparzer’s play, Ein Bruderzwist im Hause Habsburg (1848).
26 Portrait reproduced with permission from the Austrian National Library, Inventory no. PORT_00094034, accessible at http://www.bildarchivaustria.at.
27 Around 100 prints and 75 incunabula once owned by Pontanus are now in the holdings of Prague Cathedral and the Prague Castle Administration. Prague’s Strahov Monastery owns a copy of Quattuor divi Augustini Libri de Doctrina Christiana (Leipzig: Melchior Lotter, 1515) that once belonged to Pontanus (Shelf No. VD16 A 4195). Extant music books that can be traced to Pontanus’s library include Philippe de Monte’s Liber priamus . . . missarum (Antwerp: Plantin, 1587), in the Prague Cathedral chapter library, and Jacobus Handl’s four-volume Opus musicum (Prague: Nigrinus, 1586–90), in the National Library of the Czech Republic (Shelf No. 59 G 6539). Pontanus’s characteristic handwritten
FIGURE 2. Georgius Bartholdus Pontanus à Braitenberg (age 52, ca. 1602)
Given Pontanus's authorship of the texts and the connection Augustine asserts between jubilation and rejoicing laborers, Luython’s unusual print merits further study. Could *Popularis anni jubilus* be exactly what it claims to be—not an exercise in hermetic esotericism but an attempt to reproduce in polyphony the devotional exultation of ordinary people? If so, what would its musical representations tell us about the lay devotional practices that had long been essential complements to the liturgy?\(^{28}\) What purposes would this rarefied collection have served for the erudite few who could both afford and desire it?

Revisiting the collection with Augustine in mind reveals a motet cycle adumbrating those unofficial practices described as falling into the categories of “traditional religion” (Eamon Duffy) or “folklorized ritual” (Robert Scribner).\(^{29}\) The sun, moon, and stars turn out to be markers of the year’s unfolding; farmers and laborers were attuned to their movements. By contrast, classicizing references speak to what Peter Burke has called the “amphibious” minority of early modern Europeans: those learned elites “who had access to the great tradition [i.e., popular tradition] but participated in the little tradition [i.e., learned tradition] as a second culture.”\(^{30}\) These amphibious elites were the most likely market for such a collection: they were in England for the “street cries” of Thomas Ravenscroft’s *Melismata* (London, 1611) and in Italy for the caricatures that populate Orazio Vecchi’s *Le Veglie di Siena* (Venice, 1604). Organized at once by the agricultural year and the overlapping liturgical year, Luython’s cycle re-presents the sights and sounds of lay devotion for an elite audience.\(^{31}\) In singing it, Central European burghers and nobles could recreate in their houses the raucous sounds that rang through their streets.

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\(^{28}\) On the challenges of interpreting primary sources documenting popular traditions, see Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 3rd ed. (Farnham, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), particularly chapter 3.

\(^{29}\) See Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); and Robert W. Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London: Hambledon Press, 1987). Duffy (p. 3) describes a “shared repertoire of symbols, prayers, and beliefs which crossed and bridged even the gulf between literate and illiterate.” It is this “shared repertoire” to which Luython refers in his preface when he mentions those “certain ceremonies and festivities” beloved by the “populus.”

\(^{30}\) Burke, *Popular Culture*, 55–56. Burke notes the cultural mobility that accompanied social privilege, writing that for “bi-cultural” elites, “the great tradition was serious, the little tradition was play” (p. 56).

\(^{31}\) The distinction between popular and elite culture helps account for the choice of Latin polyphony for the *Popularis anni jubilus*. Still, many devotional practices were shared by peasants, burghers, and nobles. Carl Watkins’s notion of “local religious culture” is a useful corrective to the elite-popular binary as applied to devotional practices. See Carl Watkins, “‘Folklore’ and ‘Popular Religion’ in Britain during the Middle Ages,” *Folklore* 115 (2004): 140–50.
and fields at Carnival, Midsummer, and Martinmas. It allowed them to reenact what they as well as their unlettered compatriots experienced in body and soul—satiety, inebriation, jubilation. Responding not just to Augustine, but also to the passages in the Bible calling on believers to toil in the Lord’s vineyard, *Popularis anni jubilus* cast its singers as laborers and gave them their song.

What follows is a series of passes over *Popularis anni jubilus* that exposes its many layers, from the learned sonic and textual surface to the practices and beliefs that lie beneath. Attending to the collection’s humanist veneer while excavating the strata below exposes a fertile area of common ground among the diverse *populus*—Germans and Czechs, Catholics and Protestants—who labored and sang in Bohemia and Austria in the decades leading up to the outbreak of the Thirty Years War. To be sure, these fragmentary motets, written by Catholics, are only partial witnesses; nonetheless, they testify to the existence of practices largely undocumented in Central Europe until the nineteenth century. As such, they offer a rich (and arguably essential) context for such familiar pieces as Orlandus Lassus’s earthy celebration of the St. Martin’s goose, *Audite nova*, and the multitude of *Resonet in laudibus* settings that coaxed the infant Jesus to sleep in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Central Europe.

Music created and performed in the multi-lingual and multi-confessional Bohemian kingdom has typically been sorted into the discrete and retrospectively defined categories of Czech and German music—a legacy, as Bruno Nettl and Geoff Chew have pointed out, of the region’s tortured twentieth-century history. These categories do not easily accommodate the music manuscripts and prints that circulated in early modern Bohemia. The Rudolfine period witnessed as broad a range of genres and styles as could be hoped for in late sixteenth-century Europe: Masses, Latin and vernacular motets, lieder, chansons,

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32 I use “humanist” to describe Bohemian educational culture, especially at Prague’s Charles University, ca. 1550–1620. In this multi-lingual environment, the study of classical texts was emphasized; a rich tradition of neo-Latin poetry developed among local writers. See Lucie Storchová, *Bohemian School Humanism and its Editorial Practices (ca. 1550–1610)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014).


villancicos, madrigals, troped Czech and Latin plainchant, and Czech and German hymns. Areas of influence and overlap are further occluded by the top-down patronage models usually deployed to explain music written by Habsburg composers. For sacred music written before the Habsburg victory at White Mountain (1620), the labels “Protestant” and “Catholic” often stand in for “Czech” and “German,” and the Latin polyphony of Catholic composers is understood narrowly as a projection of the interests and inclinations of a foreign and presumably hermetic court. As a collaboration between a court composer and a native Bohemian cleric, *Popularis anni jubilus* illuminates aspects of the Central European musical past obscured by these seemingly insoluble residues of nationalist historiographies.

Approached without the constraints imposed by a priori categories of nation, confession, or patronage, Luython’s motet collection sheds new light on the impact of religious reform on local religious culture in the post-Tridentine era. In the late sixteenth century, reform-minded Catholics and Protestants alike took a dim view of non-official, lay devotional practices. Efforts at standardization and reform would have profound consequences for Bohemia in the seventeenth century, when a program of re-Catholicization was violently instituted. In treating non-official celebrations empathetically, *Popularis anni jubilus* made a case for their legitimacy just as Rome and Wittenberg threatened to sweep them away. Pontanus’s texts celebrated traditions beloved across the confessional spectrum, in terms legible and acceptable to those with the power to preserve them. Packaged in the medium of vocal polyphony, his words promoted the value of these shared celebrations to the market of nobles and burghers, whose support was essential to the success of his cause.

**Sonic Artifacts**

*Popularis anni jubilus* comprises eleven six-voice motets (CCAATB) ranging from one to three *partes* (table 1). Only Luython’s name appears on

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36. Elite protection was crucial to the survival of these practices. See Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Knopf, 1987), 183–84, on the necessity of convincing ruling classes of the “moral innocence, if not wholesomeness” of popular celebrations in seventeenth-century Holland in order to preserve them.

37. That the collection comprises eleven motets and not twenty-one (as might be assumed from the index, which gives no indications about the grouping of *partes*) is confirmed by the pieces themselves, which are labeled “prima pars,” “secunda pars,” etc.
# TABLE 1.

*Popularis anni jubilus*, contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Latin Incipit</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Tonal Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Annuus exactis defluxit mensibus orbis</td>
<td>1. The annual circle has run down, the months are completed</td>
<td>C1 ♭ D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Morbus edax fugiet</td>
<td>2. Consuming illness will flee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Officiis socii iam nunc insistite vestris</td>
<td>3. O companions, now stand to your tasks</td>
<td>C1 ♭ G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rex ego praecipio quisquis sua munia caret</td>
<td>4. I, the King, instruct: let every man see to his duties</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rex noster vivat, bibat &amp; rebibat</td>
<td>5. May our King live, drink, and drink again</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Tympana dent sonitum</td>
<td>6. Let the drums sound</td>
<td>C1 ♭ D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coniugio addicti socii</td>
<td>7. O companions bound in marriage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chare sodalis ave</td>
<td>8. Hail, dear companion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Extulimus mortem</td>
<td>9. We have borne out death for burial</td>
<td>C1 ♭ G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Diffuge tristis Hyems</td>
<td>10. Flee, O gloomy Winter</td>
<td>C1 ♭ A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tu friges: ardes</td>
<td>11. You freeze: you burn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Plaudite Christicola, Christi memorate triumphum</td>
<td>12. Applaud, O Christians, recount Christ’s triumph</td>
<td>C1 ♭ F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Et vos ruricolae vitulos adducite pingues</td>
<td>13. And you, O farmers, bring the fat calves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Annua Iohannis Baptistae festa recurrant</td>
<td>14. The annual celebrations of John the Baptist return</td>
<td>C1 ♭ G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Crabrones volitant</td>
<td>15. Hornets fly</td>
<td>C1 ♭ D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>Inferias facimus Ganzae</td>
<td>16. We perform obsequies for the Goose</td>
<td>C1 ♭ G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Haec est illa dies</td>
<td>17. Today is that day</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Beatus ecce Nicolaus advenit</td>
<td>18. Behold, blessed Nicholas comes</td>
<td>C1 ♭ G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ad templum lectum Nicolaum ducte</td>
<td>19. Lead the chosen one, Nicholas, to the churches</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>Salve beate infantule</td>
<td>20. Hail, O blessed Infant</td>
<td>C1 ♭ F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mater refundit canticum</td>
<td>21. The Mother returns the song</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the title page; it is he who signed the dedication. The texts are not set elsewhere; indeed the print contains no clues as to the identity of the author or his motivations in composing these pieces. Written—one might say overwritten—in dense neo-Latin, their imagery is puzzling: buzzing insects (VIII. *Crabrones volitant*) and garrulous geese (IX. *Inferias facimus Ganzae*) keep company with the Christ child (XI. *Salve beate infantule*) and farmers celebrating the resurrection on their way to market (VI. *Plaudite Christicolae*). References to noisy Bacchantes (*Tympana dent sonitum*) and the sea-nymph Galatea (*Officiis socii*) are the marks of a humanist who knows his Ovid. Yet these learned teasers and the glosses of Virgil in the opening motet (*Annuus exactis*) only add to the sense that the collection is a whimsical patchwork of celebratory *topoi* in erudite terms.

Considering the unconventional nature of the texts, overtly sacred themes are surprising: religious motet texts were typically drawn from the liturgy (e.g., Matins Responsories) or cobbled together from a combination of Biblical and liturgical texts. Meanwhile, secular motets—with the exception of occasional pieces written for political events or to honor individuals—had been superseded by vernacular genres. For his part, Luython refers to these pieces simply as “songs” (*cantiones*). His use of Latin texts in a nominally populist print can be explained partly as an attempt to reach out to Prague’s diverse learned inhabitants—Czech burghers, German merchants, and Austrian nobles, but also Italian stonemasons, Spanish diplomats, and Flemish musicians—in a language they could all understand. At the same time, the Bohemian Reformation,

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38 Bacchus parades through *Tympana dent sonitum* (“Bache pater liba, Bachi renovamus honores”), while the reference to Galatea is found in the preceding motet, *Tres sancte reges* (“Hoc anno pulchram reginam ceu Galatheam connubio societ”). The resonances with Ovid’s *Fasti*, widely printed in the sixteenth century, with several extant copies in Prague, are unmistakable. See for example the festivities described in Ovid, *Fasti* III (17 March: The *Liberalia*).

39 The opening line, “Annuus exactis mensibus orbis,” resembles the opening of Aeneas’s address to the Trojans (*Aeneid* 5.46) inaugurating games marking the passing of one year since his father’s death (“Annuus exactis completur mensibus orbis”).

carried out a century earlier than Luther by followers of Jan Hus (1369–1415), had helped shape a market that reached far beyond Prague: by disrupting the infrastructure for providing polyphony in church services, the movement contributed to the widespread participation of the lettered laity in liturgical musical performance. The subsequent emergence of musically skilled “literary brotherhoods” not only at Prague’s dozens of churches, but also in towns all over Bohemia, meant that the market for Latin polyphony was especially large.41

It is telling in this regard that in 1589 and 1590, the prolific and successful composer Jacobus Handl (Gallus) issued three volumes of four-voice polyphony in a new genre he called moralia, at the same Prague printing house that issued Populāris anni jubilus; a fourth volume, containing settings for five, six, and eight voices, was issued posthumously in Nuremberg in 1596.42 Some texts came from classical sources; more recent aphorisms were probably drawn from the moralizing anthology Carmina proverbialia, first printed in Basel in 1576. In his preface to the first volume, Handl explains his choice to set texts in Latin, not only the “queen of languages” but also one that was “at home everywhere,” to allow his friends to enjoy something of the riches available to Italians and Germans. The Italians fairly swim in their villanelle, he writes, but their delights elude those without knowledge of such foreign languages.43

With Handl’s slightly later prints in mind, we might take Luython’s assertion in the dedication that his pieces represent a “new kind of singing” (novum cantandi genus) to refer narrowly to his decision to set Latin

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texts using the shorter note values and abundant word-painting more
typical of madrigals than motets. The phrase might also be taken as
a marketing ploy aimed at purchasers on the lookout for the new—
although in that case one would expect it to appear on the title page.
Indeed, read in light of the print’s unusual title, Luython’s claim to novelty
serves an important rhetorical function: it further connects the collection
to the psalms and, by extension, Augustine’s commentaries. Where Psalm
97:1 (Cantate Domino canticum novum) calls on the devout to “sing unto the
Lord a new song,” Luython claims to offer purchasers a “new way of
singing.”45 As it happens, the melismas on words associated with joyful
music-making (e.g., “laetitiam,” “Alleluia”) are entirely conventional in
the world of the late sixteenth-century motet, even if they are also exuber-
ant responses to Augustine’s paens to the jubilus.

Like Handl’s moralia, Luython’s motets bring together sacred and
secular sounds, exploring the extremes of literary register.46 Words and
music evoke a sound world whose bounds are capacious enough to
include the harmonious and heavenly as well as the cacophonous and
earthbound. A few examples illustrate their noisy universe and the
heights and depths that characterize their literary style.

In Crabrones volitant (no. VIII) hornets buzz and “every kind of fly
makes a horrible hissing,” afflicting men and beasts alike.47 Inferias faci-
mus Ganzae (no. IX), a song of praise for a goose about to be slaughtered,
moves from lighthearted onomatopoeia to tales of ancient Rome. Goose
honks are celebrated as the sounds of the valiant geese of Juno Moneta,
who noisily warned of a Gallic attack on the Capitoline Hill while the
local dogs remained silent.48

Hinc tibi laetificans Ganzula surget honor.
Ganzula mox hilaris, ga ga gi ga ga: Roma fugavit Gallos.

44 The tactus is slower than in most madrigals (C, i.e. tempus imperfectum diminitum,
rather than C). See Praetorius, Syntagma musicum III, quoted in George Houle, “Meter and
Tempo,” in A Performer’s Guide to Seventeenth-Century Music, ed. Stewart Carter and Jeffery T.
Handl’s moralia, which he himself describes as madrigal substitutes, use C.
45 See also Psalm 149 (150), which begins “Cantate domino canticum novum.”
46 Following Robert Markus, I invoke the sacred and secular not as oppositional ca-
tegories in the familiar Durkheimian binarism, but rather in a tripartite formulation of
sacred (Christian), secular (civic), and profane (pagan). See Robert Markus, Christianity
and the Secular (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006).
47 “Crabrones volitans et murmura multa susurrant, / Omne genus muscae sibila dira facit, Margretae vermes vocant, hominemque pecus affligunt.”
48 R. Joy Littlewood, A Commentary on Ovid: Fasti Book VI (Oxford and New York:
Oxford University Press, 2006), 57. See also Virgil, Aeneid 8.655–56, which reads: “Atque hic
auratis volitans argenteus anser / porticus Gallos in limine adesse canebat.”
Henceforth unto you, O Goose, rejoicing, honor will arise. The cheerful goose, ga ga gi ga ga routed the Gauls from Rome.

The venerable source for “Ganza” or “Ganzula”—used instead of the more frequently encountered “anser”—is Pliny, who notes in his *Natural History* that it (i.e., Gans) is the name Germans give to the fine white geese in their lands.49

Similar humanist display inflects the opening of *Tympana dent sonitum* (no. III), a three-section motet describing Carnivalesque revels. The piece opens by summoning the sounds of archaic instruments that would not be out of place in the Psalms:

*Tympana dent sonitum, repetant iterata bacillo*  
tuba, sistra, cytharae, huc et cheles.50

Let the drums give a sound, let them repeat it, struck again with the stick, let the trumpet, rattles, citharae, and lyres come here.

Introduced with noisy erudition, a parade of gluttons then exults in jubilation of the basest sort: they hurl Bacchic cries back and forth antiphonally, the upper voices responding to the lower voices’ directives (ex. 1).51

Drunken revelry abounds. It is in this motet that the phrase “drink to the dregs” (“fluat usque ad feces”), noted above, rings out. The singers soon feel the consequences of indulgence. Calling to mind Lassus’s alcohol-drenched setting of the word “ebrietas” in *Luxuriosa res vinum* (a setting of Proverbs 20:1), they dizzily report that their heads are spinning like wheels:52

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49 Pliny, *Natural History* 10.53, asserts that Germany has the best geese—small and white—and that this prized German goose is called “ganta” (“Candidi ibi, verum minores; gantae vocantur”). Because of the obvious connection between the Czech word for “goose” (husa) and the martyred Jan Hus, the goose became a charged symbol in Bohemia; the German “Gans” and its Latin forms acquired no such connotations.

50 Pontanus, *Mantissa*, 4, gives a less awkward text: “Tympana dent sonitum, repetant iterata bacillo / Sistra, Cheles, Cytharae.” It is unclear which modern instruments these terms would have evoked for Luython; “sistra” may have suggested castanets or tambourines, “cithara” a lira da braccio, and “chelis” (properly “chelys,” a tortoiseshell lyre) a lute or viol.

51 In all of the musical examples, the mensuration is C.

Text and translation:

[Text in Latin]

Dicite Io rursus Io iterum Io.

Say, “Io!” Repeat, “Io!” Once again, “Io!”

"The altus, listed as extant in the print edition of RISM, is now presumed lost (see the updated entry at https://opac.rism.info/search?id=00000990038738). It nonetheless survives in the sexta vox partbook of the anthology Musicalischer Zeitvertreiber, das ist Allerley seltzame lecherliche Vapores und Humores...von mehrerley fürtrifflichen Musicis...componirt... (Nuremberg, 1609)."
Now I have worn out my head, as the wheel runs.
Only barely shall I be able to steer my feet.
Stay, O foot, stay, O my foot, stay; do not slip, my foot.
Undiluted wine gives vim and vigor.

Luython’s setting intensifies the disorientation (ex. 2). The tenor and sexta vox engage in off-kilter imitation on the words “Sta pes, sta mi pes, sta, ne labere mi pes,” begging their unsteady feet not to trip. Below them the bassus stands resolutely in place, its repeated Fs a heavy, drink-addled response to the rest of the body.

Order returns a few pages later in Plaudite Christicolae (no. VI). Their feet steady once more, the singers call for Easter celebrations: at their behest the word Alleluia, the symbol of jubilation liturgically silenced during the penitential period of Lent, returns to the lips of the faithful:53

Plaudite Christicolae, Christi memorate triumphum,
Christus surrexit, Pascha revexit54 ovans.
Pascha redit, vicit Christus, date cantica laeta,
Iubila dant coeli, iubila terra refert.55

Applaud, O Christians, recount the triumph of Christ,
Christ is risen, he has victoriously brought back Easter.
Easter returns, Christ has conquered, give forth joyful songs.
The heavens offer up jubilation, the earth echoes the jubilation.

Conuenient volucres, pariter suauissima cantant,
Et repetit cantus quicquid ubique viget.
Dicite: Surrexit Christus, dat pascha sonorum
Pascha hoc dulcisono concelebrate melo.
Alleluia, alleluia.

53 Luython does not quote Easter plainchants, despite the opportunity presented by the invocation of the “Alleluia” and the words “Surrexit Christus.” This is surprising given his use of quotation elsewhere: four Masses in his Liber primus missarum (Prague, 1609) are quodlibets, and his setting of the hymn Königin der Himmel in his 1604 Liber primus...sacrarum cantionum quotes the refrain (“Freu dich, Maria!”) as reproduced in contemporary hymnals.
54 Pontanus, Mantissa, 5, gives “reduxit.”
55 Ibid. Pontanus gives “Iubila dent coeli iubila terra sonet.”
Example 2. Disorientation and inebriation in *Tympana dent sonitum*, mm. 71–87

Text and translation:

Ebibit egregie nec gutta remansit
praestitit amicorum vices.
Iam satis exhausi in gyrum caput ut
rota currit.
Vix potero gressus flectere.
Sta pes, sta mi pes, ne labere mi pes.

He drank up admirably, not even a drop remained at the bottom,
he discharged his friends’ parts.
Now I have worn out my head, as the wheel runs,
Only barely shall I be able to steer my feet.
Stay, O foot, stay, O my foot, stay; do not slip, my foot.

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EXAMPLE 2. (Continued)

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cur·rit vix po·te·ro gres·sus flec·te·re
cur·rit vix po·te·ro gres·sus flec·te·re
cur·rit vix po·te·ro gres·sus flec·te·re
Sta pes sta
Sta pes sta mi pes
Sta pes sta
Sta pes sta
mi pes sta mi pes ne la·be·re mi pes,
sta mi pes ne la·be·re mi pes,
mi pes sta mi pes ne la·be·re mi pes,
```
The birds gather, they too sing with sweetness,
And whatsoever everywhere flourishes, repeats the songs.
Say: Christ has risen, He gives us a sounding Easter.
Celebrate this Easter together, with sweet-sounding melody.
Alleluia, alleluia.

If the prima pars evokes psalms such as Jubilate Deo omnis terra in describing a world in which even the birds exult in song, the secunda pars recalls Augustine’s association of jubilation with laborers. The singers address farmers (“vos ruricolae”) and, as Augustine instructs, they emulate bucolic jubilation, singing melismatic Alleluias in the markets and through the fields:

Et vos ruricolae vitulos adducite pingues.
Ova date et lardum caseolosque bonos.

And you, farmers, bring the fat calves,
Offer eggs and bacon, and good little cheeses.

... Et cum ruricolis, cum quavis gente fidelis,
Per fora, per campos aedimus usque melos:
Alleluia, Alleluia.

And with the farmers, with whichever faithful people,
Through the markets, through the fields, at every point we utter the song:
Alleluia, Alleluia.

In the closing motet, Salve beate infantule (no. XI), Luython uses different musical styles to contrast the divine sounds of the heavens rejoicing at Jesus’s birth with the humble sounds of parents soothing their child. The first section describes a unique scene: the voices tell the moon to rise and honor the child, and direct the sun to “rise tomorrow...[and] applaud the newborn with your daylight.”56 High above, inhabiting the elevated stylistic register of liturgical polyphony, archangels fill the heavens with extraordinary sounds (ex. 3): the opening melisma in the line “Cantant beati archangeli” passes from voice to voice, throwing into relief their proclamation (mm. 21–22) “You alone are King.”

The secunda pars stresses the scene’s normalcy by referring to familial relationships and evoking an entirely different sound world. The miracle is that the Savior is an ordinary child, his mother an ordinary mother, the sounds ordinary sounds bearing witness to Jesus’s humanity. “The

56 “Iam luna surge in gaudio. / Hic vertitur presepio / ...Exurge cras sol lucide, / Applaudite nato cum die.”
Text and translation:
Infans optime; O noble infant;
Cantant beati Archangeli. The blessed archangels sing.
Tu solus es Rex omnium. “You alone are King of all men.”
Respondet omnis caelecis. All heaven responds.

EXAMPLE 3. Celestial jubilation in Salve beate infantule, mm. 15–24
mother” (Mary) sings a lullaby and kisses her child, while “the father” (Joseph) soothes him with a rattle and bells:

Mater refundit canticum
Et dulce miscet suavium
The mother restarts the song
And sweetly mingles her kiss
Crepundiis ludit pater,
Et suavibus campanulis.

The father plays with the rattle
And with the sweet bells.

Departing from the F-mode environment of the angels’ jubilation and the Virgin’s lullaby, Luython contrasts the sharp (F#) sounds of Joseph’s rattles with the flat (mollis; E♭) sounds of his “sweet bells” (ex. 4). The words “Sing with me to the little one” call upon the most ordinary of spectators and listeners to join in with their own voices, the sense of exhortation intensified by the dotted rhythms and syncopations of Luython’s setting (ex. 5). 57 Both partes end with identical settings of a puzzling word: “Bruneya.” 58 Set syllabically and repeated once in each instance, this word does not occur in contemporary Latin, Czech, or German dictionaries. As we shall see, “Bruneya” is a tantalizing artifact of unofficial lay practices, illustrative of both the challenges and rewards of digging through this peculiar collection.

57 “Cantate mecum parvulo / Cum gaudio cum iubilo, / in hoc salus presepio.”
58 The end of the first half reads: “Respondet omnis caelicus, / Tibi sit omnis gloria / Bruneya, Bruneya.” The second half concludes: “Cantate mecum parvulo, / Cum gaudio cum iubilo / in hoc salus presepio, Bruneya, Bruneya.” Primitiae sacrae poëseos gives only the first half but divides it in two; each section ends with “Brunelia, Brunelia.”
Text and translation:
Crepundis ludit pater, et suavibus campanulis.
The father plays with the rattles, and with the sweet bells.
Signs of the Seasons

How are we to make sense of this seemingly arbitrary assortment of noisy motets? Turning from *Salve beate infantule* to the beginning of the collection, we find that the opening lines of *Annuus exactis* (no. 1) position the motet as a notch on a perpetually revolving wheel: “The annual circle has
Example 5. Earthly jubilation in *Salve beate infantule*, mm. 51–58, with “Bruneya”

Text and translation:

Cantate mecum parvulo, cum gaudio, cum jubilo.
In hoc salus presepio, Bruneya, Bruneya.

Sing with me to the little one, with praise, with joy.
In this manger is salvation, Bruneya, Bruneya.
run down, the months are completed." 59 Janus-faced, the motet looks back on the past while gazing toward the future, which offers "favorable omens" and the hope of deliverance from winter’s hardships. 60 The

59 "Annuus exactis defluxit mensibus orbis."
60 "Et venit auspicio prospere novus." See also the lines “Iam dabit aethereus meliorem infantulus auram, / Solamen miseris, praesidium[q]ue bonis. / Iam dabit
annual wheel turns and the New Year enters on the breath of an infant; a pleasant breeze that promises warm weather and good fortune brings “solace to the wretched and protection to the good.” Here the collection wraps around on itself: the infant who exhales good omens and prosperity in \textit{Annuus exactis} is the “blessed infant” who lies in the manger in \textit{Salve beate infantule}. Moreover, the reddening dawn sky at the beginning of the collection responds to the order given to the sun in \textit{Salve beate infantule} (no. XI) to “rise tomorrow” to honor the King.

These allusions to an infant savior whose arrival heralds an age of prosperity resonate with passages in Virgil’s Fourth Eclogue describing an infant understood by Christian exegetes as the Christ child. Similarly, the text repeats the prophecies of Psalm 71 (72):4, whose new king “shall judge the poor of the people . . . shall save the children of the needy, and shall break in pieces the oppressor.” In the motet, as in the psalm, the new ruler brings peace and justice to the world, vanquishing enemies and alleviating suffering.

Juxtapositions of Christian imagery, seasonal symbolism, and calls to rejoice were characteristic of medieval “annus novus” pieces and vernacular New Year hymns. They are signs of the interlocking calendrical cycles that organized time in pre-Enlightenment Europe: the liturgical year and the agricultural year, the Jewish lunar year and the Roman solar year.

Moving through the collection while looking for markers of the movement of its interlocking cycles—changing seasons, the major holidays in the \textit{sanctorale} and \textit{temporale}—demystifies the motets’ imagery and reveals the rationale behind their ordering. Beginning at the beginning, the New Year celebrated in \textit{Annuus exactis} is, liturgically, the Feast of the Circumcision. This is followed by the arrival of “three holy kings” in \textit{Officiis socii} (no. II) on the eve of 6 January: Epiphany or “twelfth night,” falling twelve days after Christmas. Drums and rattles in \textit{Tympana dent sonitum} (no. III) signal the arrival of Bacchus, whose company of drunken gluttons evokes the pre-Lenten feasting of Carnival.

\begin{quote}
optatos truculento ex hoste triumphos, / Pax erit et virtus et bene iuncta salus. / Pascua laeta dabit pecori, vim montibus auri, / Quicquid [et] ex omni parte petijsse libet."
\end{quote}

Such sentiments were common to New Year’s pieces, going back to the Middle Ages (e.g., “Anni novi rediit novitas” from the \textit{Carmina burana}).

\begin{quote}
“Solamen miseris, praesidiumq[ue] bonis.”
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
61 “Solamen miseris, praesidium[que] bonis.”
64 “Tres sancti reges, hodie sua vota dederunt.”
The next two motets, *Extulimus mortem* (no. IV) and *Diffuge triste hyems* (no. V), are harder to pin down. Both refer to the arrival of warm weather; in the first, the singers carry out a corpse—Death itself—and dispose of it under “great waves.” This is not a passing to be mourned: the corpse is terrifying, and as it disappears into the depths a maiden, summery and beautiful, appears along with violets. The back-and-forth accusations (“Phoebus renews me” and “Phoebus flees from me”: “You burn” and “You freeze”) that follow in *Diffuge triste hyems*, supported musically via an incipient double-choir texture, suggest a dialogue between Winter and Summer.

Setting these works aside for the moment as “post-winter” pieces, we can connect the next motet, *Plaudite Christicolae* (no. VI), to Easter. Farmers are instructed to take their fattened calves to market, for Lent is over and it is time for indulgence. The sounds, too, are celebratory: as noted above, this motet calls on Christians to celebrate the Resurrection by singing “Alleluia.” The natural sounds that run through the motet underscore its seasonal placement. The birdsong that prefures human rejoicing in the *prima pars* is an aural sign of springtime and probably a reference to the loquacious nightingale. Indeed Pliny reports that the nightingale sings “continuously when the buds are bursting”; as Elizabeth Eva Leach has noted, early Christian writers took it to be an “Easter bird.” Another sonic marker of the seasons is the cuckoo’s silence in *Annua Johannis Baptistae festa recurrunt* (no. VII), which commemorates the Nativity of John the Baptist (June 24), celebrated close to the summer solstice. Appearing halfway through the collection, the text’s reference to the returning feast recalls the turning wheel of the opening motet.

The buzzing hornets, murmuring flies, and angry drones that torment animals and humans in *Crabrones volitant* (no. VIII) are signs that summer has arrived. Indeed the text describes oppressive heat and advises rest in advance of the harvest. Worms join the fray, summoning “Margareta,” presumably Margaret of Antioch, the patron saint of farmers, whose feast day fell during the hottest time of the year (20 July). We

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65 “Extulimus mortem, vastis submersibus undis, / Horrida mors oculis.”
66 “Formosae aestatis prolem tempusque serenum / Cum violis ferimus.”
67 “Me Phoebus recolit” and “Me Phoebus refugit”; “Tu friges” and “Ardes.”
68 This passage recalls the scene of Phoebus enthroned, flanked by the seasons, in Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 2.27–30: “Verque novum stabat cinctum florente corona, / stabat nuda Aestas et spicea serta gerebat, / stabat et Autumnus calcatis sordidus uvis / et glacialis Hiems canos hirsuta capillos.”
70 “Insanit fucus, carlo igneus urit et angit.”
71 “Libera mens curis et vacet ingenium.”
have already encountered the honking geese of *Inferias facimus Ganzae* (no. IX): they march to their deaths or, to borrow the text’s euphemistic turn of phrase, “go singing to Inachia.” No saint appears, but seasonal clues come in the *prima pars*, where “noble must” (grape juice) turns into wine and the anserine sounds “ga ga gi gi ga” announce the frost. Taken together with mentions of roast goose, these references situate us on Saint Martin’s Day (11 November). On this day, before the onset of forty days of Advent fasting, the “St. Martin’s goose” (Martinsgans or Svatomartinská husa) was the centerpiece of feasts in Austria and Bohemia, as indeed it was all over Europe. Traditionally Martinmas was also a time when new wine was cellared. The last two motets refer to occasions still later in the year: *Beatus ecce Nicolaus advenit* (no. X) to the Feast of Saint Nicholas (6 December, Mikuláš), and *Salve beate infantule* (no. XI) to Christmas.

Uncovering the Cycle

The connections proposed here between pieces in the collection and specific feasts can be confirmed by *Mantissa, vel Appendix...* (Frankfurt, 1595), a poetry miscellany by Georgius Pontanus of Breitenberg, provost of Prague’s cathedral chapter. By this point in his career, Pontanus was Imperial poet laureatus, and had written several collections of poetry and prose honoring local saints and promoting Catholic worship. His efforts to preserve local sanctoral and liturgical history led him to prepare for print the synodal decrees of Prague’s first archbishop; these would culminate in a monumental history of his homeland’s saints, *Bohemia pia* (Frankfurt, 1608).

Pontanus’s *Mantissa* brings together his as yet unpublished poems. He includes all the texts set by Luython except *Salve beate infantule*, in

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72 “Sic laeta et moriens ivit ad Inachiam.” The reference here may be to Argos, the land of heroes, the homeland for which the Argonauts long.

73 “Cum nobila musto / prodierit vinum, victima grata cades.” See Georg Forster, *Frische Teutsche Liedlein*, vol. 2 (Amberg, 1540) for a representative example of St. Martin’s songs: “Den besten Vogel” praises the goose’s clear voice. In the nineteenth century, Karel Erben, ed., *Prostonárodní české písné a říkadla* (Prague: Jaroslav Pospíšil, 1864), 94, recorded “Svatý Martin přijíždí na bílé koni” (Saint Martin rides in on a white horse) among the folk sayings he collected. Goose-related St. Martin sayings include one that echoes Pontanus’s references to the singing, noble goose (ibid.): “O svatém Martíně / husa nejpěknější zpívá” (About Saint Martin / the goose sings most beautifully).

74 These popular traditions were practiced all over Europe, despite efforts to censure them. See, for example, Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, 183.

75 In the 1888–89 edition of the Belgian *Biographie nationale*, s.v. “Luython, (Charles),” by Paul Bergmans as well as in other nineteenth-century sources on Luython, the date and place of publication are given as Frankfurt, 1595. As there is no other record of the *Popularis anni jubilus* having been reprinted, it appears that the music print was confused with Pontanus’s *Mantissa*. Indeed, Becker, *Die Tonwerke des XVI, und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, column 256, gives...
versions that suggest Luython had treated the poems freely, prioritizing musical phrasing over meter and in some cases sense. Pontanus gives the *Popularis anni jubilus* texts pride of place and singles them out in his dedication. Addressing Adam Weißkopf, auxiliary bishop of Breslau (r. 1577–1605) and an important figure in the Central European Counter-Reformation, Pontanus writes:

In hac autem sunt ea: principio, quae (sub nomine *Popularis anni jubilus*) à nobili clarissimo[ue] Carolo Luyton, Organista Caesareo ante paucos annos suavissima melodia exornata prodierunt.

In this [collection] there are, moreover: first, those which (under the name *Popularis anni jubilus*) were issued a few years ago adorned with most sweet melodies, by the noble and most renowned Carolus Luython, Imperial Organist.

Pontanus places explanatory rubrics at the head of each of the motet texts. These confirm their festal associations, clarifying the significance of the few that remain mysterious. From the rubrics we learn, for example, that *Extulimus mortem* is connected to the fourth Sunday of Lent (Laetare Sunday; fig. 3), a day of hope and respite from Lenten discipline. Pontanus’s labeling of *Diffuge tristis Hyems* as a “Duellum” between Summer and Winter suggests the arrival of spring, commonly celebrated on the vernal equinox (20 March). The rubric “De Canicularibus” for *Crabrones volitant* locates the sweltering heat and swarming insects in the “Dog Days,” held since antiquity to be the hottest days of the year. The reference to “blazing Sirius” is therefore not astrological, as might assumed when adopting the usual “mystical” interpretation of Rudolfine creative products. Rather, it straightforwardly places the motet between 5 July and 14 August, when Sirius, the “dog star,” was ascending. Salve beate infantule, the sole text from *Popularis anni jubilus* that is not included in the *Mantissa*, had actually appeared several years earlier in a context that leaves no questions about its festal connections: Joseph sings the

the following entry for a quarto print: “Popularis anni Jubilus, seu mantissa, a Georgio Bartholdo Pontono e Breitenberg scripta, et a...Carolo Luyton...ante paucos annos suavissima exornata”; this repeats the information Pontanus gives in the *Mantissa*. The 1595 date, and Frankfurt as place of publication, are also given in V. J. Novotný, “Nová data o Karlu Luytonově, skladatelí při dvoře Rudolfa II. v Praze,” *Dalibor* 34 (1899): 261–63, at 262.

76 The opening lines of *Tympana dent sonitum*, for example, appear as a distich at the head of a Bacchanalian dialogue, but Luython interpolates “tuba” and “huc et” against the meter.

77 The nickname stems from Sirius’s association with the constellation Canis Major (Greater Dog).

78 This and *Inferias facimus Ganzae* are, however, reprinted as nos. 26 and 27, respectively, in *Musicalischer Zeitvertreiber / das ist. / Allerley seltzame lecher/liche Vapores und Humores, ehr/liche Collation und Schlafftruncksbossen, Quod/libet, Judenschul und andere kurzweilige Liedlein* (Nuremberg, 1609). See Smijers, “Karl Luython,” 39.
prima pars in a Nativity play Pontanus issued along with two other plays in Primitiae sacrae poëseos (Munich, 1589).  

The Mantissa rubrics and the Primitiae play bring a series of liturgico-agricultural feast days into focus (table 2). Thus the motets form a cycle that moves from January to December, passing from winter’s deprivation to the abundance of summer and autumn, and concluding with the light of Christ illuminating the dark days of winter. The cycle marks the passage of time in terms that sometimes diverge considerably from those of

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79 On the Feast of St. George (23 April), Pontanus’s namesake, Pontanus dedicated this collection to Sebastian II von Baden (1553–1608), then abbot of Louka Premonastratensian Abbey (Klosterbruck), at Znojmo (Znaim).
TABLE 2. Liturgico-agricultural cycle embedded in *Popularis anni jubilus*

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<th>Motet No.</th>
<th>Pontanus’s Rubric</th>
<th>Occasion</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>I</td>
<td>De novo anno</td>
<td>New Year</td>
<td>1 January</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>De tribus regibus dialogismus</td>
<td>Epiphany</td>
<td>eve of 6 January</td>
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<td>III</td>
<td>Dialogus de Bacchanalibus</td>
<td>Carnival</td>
<td>pre-Lent (movable)</td>
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<td>IV</td>
<td>De mortis effigie Dominica Laetare</td>
<td>Laetare Sunday</td>
<td>fourth Sunday of Lent (movable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Duellum Aestatis et Hyemis(^a)</td>
<td>Arrival of Spring</td>
<td>20 March (vernal equinox)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>De tempore Paschali</td>
<td>Easter</td>
<td>first Sunday after the full moon after the vernal equinox (movable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>De Die S. Iohannis</td>
<td>Nativity of John the Baptist</td>
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<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>De canicularibus</td>
<td>Dog Days</td>
<td>5 July–14 August</td>
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<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>De ansere Martiniano</td>
<td>St. Martin</td>
<td>11 November</td>
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<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>De S[ancto] Nicolao</td>
<td>St. Nicholas</td>
<td>6 December</td>
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<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>[De Nativitate . . . ]</td>
<td>Christmas</td>
<td>25 December</td>
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\(^a\)The text for the *Duellum* (Pontanus, *Mantissa*, 14) is the only one that does not conform to the order of the cycle as given in *Popularis anni jubilus*. Pontanus apparently wished to pair it with a poem for a friend, Benedictus Zinkius, “De Hyemis adventu ad Benedictum Zinkium.” Unlike the more generic texts of the *Jubilus* print, this personalized poem makes reference to such local features as the abundant waters of the Moldau (Vltava): “Nuper ut ad pontis Multavae fluminis amplem.”
the liturgy; elsewhere—particularly at Easter and Christmas—it reiterates the language of associated liturgical texts. The linked agricultural and liturgical calendars are overlaid with what Simon Schama calls a “dietary and domestic calendar,” whose high feast days were literally days of feasting. The motets move between celebrating abundance after the annual harvest and slaughter and imagining plenty during wintry periods of want. Such patterns recur locally, too, motivated by the liturgical cycle’s movement from feasting to fasting and back to feasting in both spring (Carnival-Lent-Easter) and autumn (Saint Martin’s Day-Advent-Christmas).

The thematization of time’s passage at the outset (Annuus exactis) and the collection’s projection of the coordinated movement of linked liturgical and agricultural cycles mask controversies about this most fundamental aspect of human experience. Popularis anni jubilus was issued at a moment when, as a result of astronomical discoveries, the different cycles measuring the year’s passage had become disengaged from one another. The paths of the stars themselves had changed; old and new cosmologies collided. Reflecting something of the spirit of compromise that characterized Imperial Prague, Rudolf II’s instrument-maker Jost Bürgi devised an astronomical clock that could accommodate both the old Ptolemaic and new Copernican systems.

If these reimaginings of celestial movements had limited reach among Central Europeans, other changes were more disruptive. In 1584 the Emperor imposed the new Gregorian calendar on the Bohemian Kingdom. As in the Holy Roman Empire, non-Catholics—the majority of Bohemia’s population—resisted. By 1588 the kingdom’s towns were out of sync with its capital, Prague—and the Catholic territories of the Holy Roman Empire—by fully ten days. The year’s beginning was doubly out of sync: in the Julian calendar as reckoned in the sixteenth century, the

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80 Schama, Embarrassment of Riches, 183.
81 Duffy, The Stripping of the Altars, 46-50, reminds us that there was no distinction between “sacred time” and “secular time” in the early modern period: all time was sacred because all actions were carried out under the eyes of God. This view contrasts with Jacques Le Goff’s distinctions between peasant, merchant, and church time, and his association of modernity with the movement from church to merchant time. See Jacques Le Goff, Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).
83 Russell J. Barber and Frances Berdan, The Emperor’s Mirror: Understanding Cultures through Primary Sources (Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 1998), 86. In the solution the Jesuit Christopher Clavius devised to correct the “drift” of feast days with respect to the seasons, the Julian calendar was advanced by ten days such that 5–14 October disappeared. The change was adopted in January 1584 in Bohemia.
Annunciation (25 March) typically marked the beginning of the year, while in the Gregorian calendar, the Roman date of 1 January (kalends) was reinstated, if not universally adopted. Meanwhile, the beginning of the liturgical year continued to be located at the beginning of Advent; thus Handl’s Opus musicum motet cycle (Prague, 1586–90) opens with polyphony for Advent. By beginning their cycle on 1 January, Pontanus and Luython skirted controversy, emphasizing the collection’s connections to classical models. While 1 January was indeed the beginning of the year according to the new calculation, it is also where Ovid’s Fasti—the sine qua non of poetry celebrating feasting and revelry—begins.

Traditional Religion and Popular Devotion

Even acknowledging that these heterogeneous calendars were unmoored from each other by the sixteenth century, the notion of overlapping cycles is useful in showing how the fundamental oppositions of light and darkness, heat and coldness, abundance and deprivation are connected in some instances to the liturgy and in others to devotional practices and lay beliefs. Indeed the motets in Popularis anni jubilus describe popular devotional practices whose sole traces in the early modern period occur in critiques by theologians or proscriptions by ecclesiastical authorities. Serious treatments of such practices resurfaced only in the nineteenth century, when a nationalist interest in folk culture led Bohemian historians and folklorists, both Czech- and German-speaking, to initiate projects detailing (and valorizing) such practices and beliefs.

To avoid slippage between “the people” as understood by nationalist historians and “the people” invoked by Pontanus and Luython, I use “popular devotion” to describe a variety of “traditional religion.” The term describes customs, passed from generation to generation, that coincided with the official liturgy, pre-Christian practices, or lay devotions.

84 New Year’s Day varied geographically before the calendrical reform and continued to vary long afterward. Indeed, with the exception of England and its dependencies (1752), nowhere in Europe did the adoption of the Gregorian calendar coincide with the adoption of 1 January as New Year’s Day. For a summary of the different New Year’s Days, see ibid., 87, table 3.

85 Among the many such projects are Otto von Reinsberg-Düringfeld, Fest-Kalender aus Böhmen: Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniß des Volkslebens und Volksglaubens in Böhmen (Prague: J. L. Kober, 1862); and Čeněk Zíbrt, Staročeské výroční obyčeje, pověry, slavnosti a zábavy prostorádíní pokud o nich vypravují písemné památky az po nás věk: Přísplevok ke kulturním dějinám Českým (Prague: J. R. Vilímek, 1889).

86 Understanding “popular devotion” as a variety of “traditional religion” facilitates a richer engagement with early modern religious practices than does a focus on identity that is narrowly and anachronistically defined by language and ethnicity. Burke, Popular Culture, 47, speaks usefully of “varieties of popular culture.” See also Carol Symes, A Common Stage: Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 209.
encouraged by Catholic Counter-Reformers. Later associated with peasants, “traditional” festivals were events at which Bohemia’s burghers, elites, and lower classes mingled—particularly in the towns and villages outside of Prague, where the nobility had estates and employed the very laborers whose sounds are transformed in this anthology.

When the sun rises on the New Year in Annuus exactis (no. I), darkness retreats and spring awakens.87 Among the resonances with the 1 January liturgy is the opening line of the antiphon Haec est clara dies (This is the bright day). The “new light” is Christ, whose arrival was presaged by John the Baptist. John was honored on (or just after) the summer solstice, the longest day of the year; light played an important role in his celebrations. Hailed as a light-bearer (lucifer) because the days grew in length until his Nativity, his light thereafter diminished with the shortening days to prepare for the arrival of the true light, Christ. Pontanus’s Annua Iohannis Baptistae (no. VII) rehearses a number of these tropes:88

Arvaque89 flammifluis facibus lustrate, beatus
Lucifer, et lucis praeuius ipse fuit.
Voluit vel rotulas: quia Christus crescere debet,
Praecursor minui fitq[ue] dies breuior.
And light up the fields with flaming torches; he was
the blessed light-bearer, and precursor to the light itself,
Or turn the wheels, because Christ must grow in strength,
And the precursor diminish, and the day becomes shorter.

Perhaps the most familiar of these references is the directive to “turn the wheels.” This invokes a tradition recorded all over Europe in which men and boys lit wheels of straw on fire and sent them rolling down hills, into rivers and streams. Pontanus’s text emphasizes the didactic role of such acts, which celebrated John’s role as light-bearer but also clarified that the light itself was Christ. The conventional theme of Christ as light recurs in the closing lines of the motet preceding Salve beate infantule, which describes Saint Nicholas as returning annually “with the light.”90

Pontanus also peppers the Saint John motet with spiritual and moralizing rationales for traditional practices connected to Midsummer. He clarifies, for example, that wreaths woven of certain plants protect the

87 “Ad tenebras tenebrae infaustas infausta sub umbras. / Emergit rutilans ammodo prosperitas.”
89 Pontanus, Mantissa, 6, gives “armaque,” which is certainly wrong.
90 “Et cu[m] redibit luce vobis annua, / Maiora longe conferet.”
honor of maidens, and instructs boys to collect bones to burn, because
their immolation destroys fleshly impurities.91 Such justifications and
references to the sacred are buried more deeply in Officiis socii (no. II) and
Tympana dent sonitum (no. III), which invoke the revelries of carnival
season.92 The carnivalesque is manifest both in their unhinged calls for
fleshly indulgence and their overturning of the usual social order. There
are four kings, for example, in Officiis socii: three holy kings who arrive to
make offerings and a new king who not yet selected but “whom this year
consigns to a better position.” The three kings are obviously the Magi,
whose arrival was celebrated at Epiphany.

But who is the new king, who is “good” and “worthy of his many
names” and who “decrees that the tables be loaded” with food and
drink? He is repeatedly hailed and invited to drink in each of the motet’s
three sections (“May our king live, may he drink, and drink again”).93
In the third section he is promised a spouse—“a queen beautiful like
Galatea.”94 Like the Martin’s goose, this jolly figure is an artifact of lay
devotional practices. Newly elevated to the position and presiding over
a merry domestic scene, he is the “Bean King” who gaily lifts up his cup
in Jacob Jordaens’s famous series of paintings from the 1640s (fig. 4).95
Bohemians, too, participated in this tradition, whereby the man who
found a bean in his Epiphany cake became king for a day and took a wife.

I have already noted the noisy public demonstrations preserved in
Tympana dent sonitum, where “the glutton, the gourmand, the cook, the
jest, the whole drunken crowd . . . assemble” in Bacchus’s honor. They call
on each other to “tear into pieces” all the meat they can find, proudly
announcing that they will leave no scraps behind.96 Drinking, they stage
games, spectacles, and dances. These elements persisted in the pre-Lenten
carnival festivities recorded by Czech historians in the nineteenth century
as part of their nationalist project to celebrate folk traditions.

The terrifying effigy of death drowned in Extulimus mortem also has
roots in folk traditions peculiar to Bohemia. “Harmful to tender things,
hateful to couples,” Death is escorted out by the flowery “offspring of
summer and good weather.”97 The effigy is almost certainly the Slavic

91 “Floribus illius nectite serta sacris . . . / Vos pueri lignum legite ossa, immunde
incendite cuncta.”
92 Epiphany marked the beginning of the season. Shrove Tuesday (i.e., Mardi Gras),
the day before Ash Wednesday, marked the end.
93 “Rex noster vivat, bibat & rebibat, bibat acer.”
94 “Hoc anno pulchram reginam ceu Galatheam / connubio societ.”
95 Holdings of the Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium.
96 “Quae caro lixa vel assa placet discerpite frustim / Omnia nos capimus.”
97 Jacob Grimm proposed that the drowning of effigies of winter was a Slavic custom;
certainly the tradition was widespread in nineteenth-century Bohemia and continues today
in Slavic Europe. See Grimm, Teutonic Mythology, trans. James Stallybrass, vol. 2 (London:
George Bell and Sons, 1883), 770–74.
Figure 4. Jacob Jordaens, *The King Drinks* (ca. 1640)
goddess Morana, a holdover from the pagan past who symbolized death and infertility. Each spring on the fourth Sunday of Lent, straw effigies of Morana were marched across town by young girls and drowned. A song found in Bohemian sources as early as the seventeenth century refers explicitly to this tradition in its opening lines:

Smrt nesem z města  
Léto do města.  

We carry death out of the city,  
[And bring] summer to the city.

In other places the drowned figure was Bacchus: he and his ravenous appetites had no place in Lent. His appeals to the flesh were to be displaced or destroyed by the promise of eternal life that beckoned to the soul at Easter.

Diffuge tristis hyems, the war of words between Summer and Winter that follows Extulimus mortem, represents the lowbrow battles between the seasons held in Central European villages on the vernal equinox. It alludes in strikingly human terms to the dangers of each season: Summer notes how many wretched die in winter, while Winter retorts that summer is the time of diseases. These themes of health and illness recur throughout the collection. The second half of Annuus exactis, for instance, begins with a look ahead to a time when “consuming sickness will flee [and] healthy bodies will rejoice.” In Crabrones volitant, laborers are counseled to avoid work in the stifling summer heat. Returning to the duellum, we find that it ends with Winter’s capitulation and the arrival of birds, whose songs as noted above form part of the universal rejoicing resounding on earth and in the heavens at Easter.

Saint Nicholas (Mikuláš) inspires Beatus ecce Nicolaus, an unequivocally celebratory text that hints at the centrality of his feast to the youngest


100 “Morbus edax fugiet, gaudebunt corpora sana”; and “Otia pro tali sunt medicina die.”
members of the *populus*. The text addresses children directly at the outset, calling on them to celebrate the arrival of the beloved bishop and describing traditions of gift-giving associated with his feast even today:

Beatus ecce Nicolaus advenit,
Gaudete chari infantuli.
Praeclara vobis advehit munuscula
Si perstitistis sobrii.
De more lectum mane dum scrutamini,
Gaudete chari infantuli.
Vestes recentes, poma, nummi subiacent,
Et virgulae, libelluli,
Et serta torques, et metallum multiplex,
Haec Nicolaus attulit.

Behold, Blessed Nicholas arrives.
Rejoice, dear little children,
He brings splendid little presents to you
If you have remained good.
While in the morning you carefully search the bed in the usual way,
Rejoice, dear little children.
Fresh clothes, apples, money, lie beneath,
And twigs, little books,
And also wreaths, necklaces, and all manner of metal:
These Nicholas has brought.

The *secunda pars* clarifies the sacral significance by hinting at a procession of the bishop through the town to church, where choirs sing his praises. The piece concludes with a reminder that Nicholas’s arrival in advance of Jesus’s birth is a harbinger of far greater and more lasting gifts than the shiny baubles that delight children.101

I return now to the curious word that appears in the Christmas motet *Salve beate infantule*. Spelled “Bruneya” in the *Popularis* and “Bruneia” in the abbreviated text in the *Primitiae sacrae poëseos*, it has no clear referent in Latin, Czech, or German. Yet its meaning must have been so obvious that no explanation was necessary. Fortunately, Christmas traditions in this period are well documented in Central Europe, in particular because the Jesuits focused intensely on this feast in seeking to draw people back to the Catholic Church.102 Contemporary documents suggest that “Bruneya” is

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101 “Et cum redibit luce vobis annua, Maiora longè conferet.”
one of several “nonsense words” connected to Kindlwiegen or Kolébani Jezška, a practice popular in Austria, south Germany, and Bohemia until the nineteenth century. At Christmas, priests and lay people tied ribbons to a specially built cradle and rocked an effigy of the infant Jesus that lay inside (fig. 5).

Crib devotions can be traced back to the middle ages. Writing at the turn of the fifteenth century, a priest at the Benedictine monastery of Břevnov just outside of Prague described in his list of Christmas customs (consuetudines) the practice of scattering straw inside churches to

103 For an overview of Czech Nativity traditions, see Milan Zábranský, Jan Roda et al., Putování za betlém České republiky (Prague: Grada, 2014).
105 Pontanus does not mention more elite demonstrations such as the sepulchrum Domini devotions that the Habsburgs attended during Holy Week. For one such devotion in 1577, see Johannes Schmidl, Historiae Societatis Jesu Provinciae Bohemiae, vol. 1 (Prague: Typis Universitatis Carolo Ferdinandeae, 1747), 394: “In Templo nostro ad Sepulchrum Domini gloriosum inviserunt Imperatoris Rudolphi Fratres & Sorores Archiduces, magna devotione, & validó ad totum populum Austriacae pietatis exempló.”
transform the space into the stable in which the newborn Jesus slept.\textsuperscript{106} By the 1580s, when Luython wrote \textit{Salve beate infantule}, this and other regional crib-themed traditions coexisted with an Italian import: the nativity scene (\textit{presepio}).\textsuperscript{107} Musical crib devotions subsequently thrived, especially in the form of the Austro-Bohemian \textit{pastorella}.\textsuperscript{108}

The laity sang lullabies as they rocked the infant in their \textit{Kindlwiegen} devotions, telling the doll to “go to sleep, little baby” (\textit{Souse Ninne}, often collapsed to “Susani,” as in the Christmas carol \textit{Vom Himmel hoch, O Engel, kommst}) and to “hush, hush” (\textit{eia, eia; eija, eija; or eya, eya}). “Eia” and related words show up most frequently in Central Europe as part of the widespread \textit{Resonet in laudibus} tradition.\textsuperscript{109} Known in German as \textit{Joseph lieber Joseph mein}, the tune circulated in Czech as well, with the words “Hajej můj andílku” or “hajej můj synačko,” where “eia” becomes “hajej.”\textsuperscript{110} A seventeenth-century Austrian sermon collection organized thematically around the search for spiritual rest (“die geistliche Schlaff-sucht”) hints at how nonsense words such as “eia” could give rise to neologisms.\textsuperscript{111} One sermon describes the act of lulling a child to sleep by rocking and singing to it:

\begin{quote}
Bald hutschen sie es mit der Wiegen hin und her / singen ihnen offtmal zu: schlaff mein Kindlein schlaff: Schlaff dahin in guter Ruh

\textit{Suseija} / \textit{prutteija} biß es auf den
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{106} The relevant portion of the commentary, by one “Presbyter Alsso,” is transcribed in Hermann Usener, \textit{Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen}, vol. 2 (Bonn: Max Cohen, 1889), 65–68, with further commentary by Jan z Holešová (Johann von Holleschau) at 69–74.

\textsuperscript{107} The earliest \textit{presepio} was erected in 1562 in the Prague Jesuit College; see \textit{Historia fundationis Collegii Pragnesis} (Prague, Narodní knihovna České republiky, ms. I.A.1), fol. 57v (76): “Praesepe postea Christo Nascenti Decembri mense, tum novitiate inventionis (id ante eam diem boemi non viderant) tum simulation rerum et Personarum proxime ad veritatem accedentium, mirum in modum dicitur placuisse.” See also fol. 64v (88), which reads: “Praesepe summio in altari Christo infantii proximè ad veritatem exstructum, maximam hominum omnis generis et Religionis multituidinem ad spectandum attraxit”; and Schmidt, \textit{Historiae Societatis Jesu}, 169.


\textsuperscript{109} Ameln, “\textit{Resonet in laudibus},” 601.

\textsuperscript{110} Chew, “The Pastorella”; and Tomáš Slavický, “\textit{Ecce nomen Domini—Haja Púpaia—Hajej muñ Andílku}: Další příspěvek k historii jednoho putovního motivu,” \textit{Hudební Věta} 43 (2006): 379–81. The many other folk songs in which “eia” or its equivalents appear include “Eia beia, Wiegenstroh / schlät mein Kind, so bin ich froh,” and “Eia popeia, schlief lieber als du.” The version “Eia popeia, mein Bub, juchhu” famously appears in Marie’s lullaby from Berg’s \textit{Wozzeck} (following Georg Buchner’s \textit{Woyzeck}). The word lingers in German “baby talk”: the expression “in die Heija gehen” means “to go to bed.”

\textsuperscript{111} Amand von Graz, \textit{Fasten-Banckets der Christlichen Seelen: Erste Auffracht von der Geistlichen Schlaff-sucht} (Salzburg, 1691), 134. The relevant sermon is “Von der Heuchlerey / durch welche als ein liebliches Zusingen vill in die Geistliche Schlaff-sucht eingeschlaßfert / und darin erhalten warden.”
lind gerichten Polster / darch die Milch befriedigt / stillschweyget / ...und ruhwig dahin schlafft.

Soon they rock the child, with the cradle, to and fro, singing to [the child] again and again: “Sleep, my little child, sleep: Go to sleep, in peaceful rest, Sleep, and close your little eyes, Suseija / prutteija” until it is silent on the softly made pillow, soothed by milk, and falls asleep.

“Bruneya” could well have arisen in just such a fashion. Indeed, a sixteenth-century Krippenspiel from Passau includes the words “eia eia sus-eija bruneija”.112

Joseph, Joseph, wo ist das newgborne Kindelein?
Zu Bethlehem, da ligt es in dem Krippelein
Eija Eija Eija Suseija Bruneija
So schlaff mein liebes Kindelein Suseija.

“Joseph, Joseph, where is the newborn child?”
“In Bethlehem, he lies in the little crib.”
Eija Eija Eija Suseija Bruneija
So sleep, my darling child. Suseija.

Like Salve beate infantule, Inferias facimus Ganzae participates in an extensive and variegated sonic tradition.113 In this case, goose honks take center stage. The Central European circulation of St. Martin songs containing such onomatopoeia has been masterfully traced by Paweł Gancarczyk in his study of the fifteenth-century motet Presulem ephebeatum by Petrus Wilhelm de Grudencz.114 Presulem ephebeatum illustrates some of the wordplay the Martin’s goose inspired: the word “rogans” is set as a hocket, such that the syllable “-gans” (goose) emerges from the texture and passes back and forth among the voices.115

The best known sixteenth-century St. Martin’s piece is Lassus’s six-voice Audite nova (1573). Setting a macaronic text, it gives a sense of what Luython and Pontanus had in mind when they wrote their own goose

113 On the origins and early examples of music connected to St. Martin, see Yossi Maurey, Medieval Music, Legend, and the Cult of St. Martin: The Local Foundations of a Universal Saint (Cambridge, UK, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014). Sixteenth-century St. Martin’s pieces include Georg Forster’s Sanct Marten wöllen loben wir, Melchior Franck’s In illo tempore sedebat Dominus Martinus, o ho!, and Was haben doch di Gänz gethan by the South German composer Erasmus Widmann.
115 Ibid., 137–38. Gancarczyk credits Martin Horyna with pointing out the clever use of Latin homonyms to project the word “gans.”
piece (ex. 6). Lassus casts the command “Listen to the news!” in Latin, in carefully controlled polyphony; the phrase concludes with a suspension-rich cadence that is followed by a double bar. The news itself comes crudely and quickly—and in German: “There was a farmer from Donkey-Church [Eselskirche] and he had a fat goose, a gyri-gyri-goo-goose.” The singers abandon the elevated tone and independent part-writing of the first phrase to anticipate in breathless homophonic patter, with “gyri-gyri” set in rapid-fire fusae, the feasting and imbibing typical of St. Martin’s Day.

Like Luython and Pontanus, Lassus is here targeting a market of literati who regularly navigated the space between high and low culture, formalized liturgy and non-official devotional practices, and motet-style polyphony and frottola-like homorhythm. With the promulgation of the Tridentine decrees (instituted in Bohemia in 1605), regional liturgies
and practices were threatened. Unofficial practices already viewed with suspicion by Lutherans and Calvinists came under increasing scrutiny from reform-minded bishops. Sophisticated little pieces such as those in *Popularis anni jubilus* sang out in their defense, joining apologia penned by theologians and preachers.

The “ga-ga-gans” who honks merrily in *Audite nova* and *Inferias facimus Ganzae* also calls out in the woodcut of St. Martin that appears at the beginning of *Von der Martins Gans* (Thierhaupten, 1596), a sermon by the ardent Counter-Reformer Melchior de Fabris that offers spiritual explanations for St. Martin’s goose traditions (fig. 6).116 Fabris turns to Luke 12:35–40, a Gospel pericope for the Feast of St. Martin, reminding the reader that

Further on, Fabris engages in a humanist recuperation of unofficial devotional practices that makes explicit what Pontanus only hints at. Fabris observes that for Pliny and other classical writers, the goose was an emblem of vigilance.118 Thus, he says, the goose captured the spirit of the day’s figure 6.


118 See especially fol. 13v, on the topic “Warumb man auff Sant Martins tag die Gans esse / wo das herkommen / unnd was darbey zübetrachten.”
gospel and was an ideal model for the Christian entering Advent, burning the light of belief and ready to spread the good news of Christ’s arrival.119

A politics of accommodation is manifest in the collaboration between Pontanus and Luython. This stance is perhaps not surprising given that Bohemia had never subscribed to the “cuius regio, eius religio” policy instituted in the Holy Roman Empire at the Peace of Augsburg (1555), whereby the religion of a ruler dictated the religion of his subjects. In Bohemia both Catholics and Utraquists (followers of Hus) had been guaranteed the right to worship freely in a set of fifteenth-century agreements that were renewed in perpetuity in the early years of the sixteenth century. Moreover, Utraquists, largely coincident with the Czech-speaking majority of Bohemia’s population, were conservative liturgically, building on and expanding the Catholic liturgy rather than paring it down in the manner of later Protestants. And so Pontanus’s polemics were designed to advocate for those traditions that the Bohemian populus loved. It is striking in this regard that there is no mention of the Feast of Corpus Christi, a point of heated disagreement between Catholics and Utraquists. Moreover, even though the Popularis anni jubilus is dedicated to a Habsburg archduke, there is no mention of traditions, such as the sepulchrum Domini, that were becoming an important public demonstration of Habsburg piety.

Pontanus’s preface to his Mantissa gives a sense of his larger concerns about the state of poetry and, by extension, the state of preaching. He laments in the strongest of terms the neglect of these arts, particularly among theologians, in a corrupt age. He directs readers to the preface to his Primitiae sacrae poëseos, where he lists classical poets and a handful of more recent figures (e.g., Aeneas Sylvius, Boccaccio, and Ludovicus Caelius) he considered worthy models. In the Mantissa he lists all the prints he had authored to that point, including a verse history of his home town (Brüx/Most), a vita for the Blessed Hroznata, and a handbook for the Imperial Corpus Christi Brotherhood; these demonstrate that he was doing his best to remedy the problem.

Luython’s motet cycle has been hiding in plain sight all along. Why was it so hard to see? There are deep-seated historiographical reasons for the continuing tendency to focus on court culture and assume a considerable degree of hermeticism, both literal and metaphorical, when it comes to the cultural products and institutions of Habsburg Central Europe in the early modern period. The involvement of musical monarchs such as Leopold I in the activities of their composers has colored our understanding of previous Habsburg rulers. The availability in Austria of the

119 Ibid., 7; and Drascek, “‘...eure Lampen sollen brennen,’” 20.
kinds of archival documents that in Bohemia were lost or dispersed during the Thirty Years War and in post-World War II centralizations has also shaped the discourse: music written in Prague has been relegated to the peripheries of a *Mitteleuropa* with Vienna at the center. One particularly familiar example of such marginalizing is Ludwig Ritter von Köchel’s *Die Kaiserliche Hofmusik-kapelle in Wien von 1543 bis 1867*. Reading it one might be forgiven for assuming that even the Rudolfine Imperial court—resident in Prague for almost thirty years—was based in Vienna.

These problems are exacerbated by the appeal of the patronage model in accounting for cultural products connected to the Rudolfine court. The foundational work of Thomas DaCosta Kaufman and Robert Evans on Rudolfine visual and intellectual cultures has powerfully shaped interpretations of music written by Imperial composers. The presence of so colorful a patron has meant that “Imperial representation” can seem to be the only lens through which to view music by court composers. Yet although the Emperor took a personal interest in his artists, gem-cutters, and clockmakers, there is no evidence he did the same with his musicians. Furthermore, Imperial composers cultivated networks that ranged beyond the court into the city and kingdom around it: uncertain of regular pay, these composers left Castle Hill and cultivated relationships with Bohemia’s humanist poets and clerics. Prague’s leading composers—Philippe de Monte and Handl, for example—were more likely to dedicate their prints to noblemen, diplomats, courtiers, or members of the local ecclesiastical hierarchy than to the Emperor. And their market was a diverse mix of noble and burgher populations, of foreign musicians and indigenous members of literary brotherhoods.

The musical practices of people living under Habsburg rule have been studied separately from those of the courts, and very much in the shadow of the brutal seventeenth-century re-catholicization of Habsburg lands and the eighteenth-century centralization and Germanization of bureaucracy. In Bohemia, nineteenth-century nationalist movements and twentieth-century political imperatives generated histories describing the years before the 1620 defeat of Protestant rebels in the Battle of White Mountain as a golden age of specifically Czech song. A dusty

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122 The most influential twentieth-century Czech musicologist was the polemical and powerful Zdeněk Nejedly; see, for example, his *Dějiny pěředhusitského zpěvu v Čechách* [A
isolationism, in other words, has long separated traditions that were very much intertwined. It lingers despite recent path-breaking work by Czech scholars tracing the influence of court culture on Bohemian composers. To the extent that these two cultures are understood to interact, the traffic is usually assumed to be one-way.

Pontanus’s motet texts are part of his larger effort to “preserve the local character of worship” in the face of Tridentine reforms, which discouraged or eliminated certain lay practices and local liturgical accretions.\textsuperscript{123} Taken together, sources from Rudolfine Prague reveal that it was Pontanus, a native son, more than aggressive papal legates or the powerful Spanish contingent at court—and certainly more than the Emperor—who engaged with musicians, shaped religious practice, and gave voice to Catholic ideology in the lead-up to the Thirty Years War. Yet because his relationship with the Emperor was at best indirect, and because he was a Czech who was Catholic, he has been left out of the story.

Ultimately, Pontanus’s classical references can be understood as essential elements in a characteristically humanist strategy to recuperate lay devotional practices and their unruly sounds by connecting them to their antecedents in classical Greece and Rome and filtering them through Augustine: Ovid’s \textit{Fasti} set to music and made over for the Holy Roman Empire. In Luython, Pontanus found a partner who could cast these texts in an idiom that transformed them into the “new song” called for in scripture.

Several recent studies have highlighted the need for a more synthetic music history of Central Europe. Gancarczyk’s account of the circulation and reworking of \textit{Presulem ephebeatum} in Poland, Bohemia, and the German lands makes a strong case for a polyphonic Central European musical identity.\textsuperscript{124} Reinhard Strohm has situated late-medieval Bohemian song production in the context of similar “national” flowerings throughout Christian Europe, making a case for Bohemia’s connectedness to broader European spiritual trends.\textsuperscript{125} And Marie-Elizabeth Ducreux has called for a decentering of \textit{Pietas Austriaca}, the dominant model for understanding Habsburg sacred culture, to take into account the

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\textsuperscript{123} For an analogous figure in Italy, see Simon Ditchfield, \textit{Liturgy, Sanctity, and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular} (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

\textsuperscript{124} Gancarczyk, “\textit{Presulem Ephebeatum}.”

interaction of Habsburg piety with local traditions in regions beyond the hereditary lands (Erbländer).

This study responds to Ducreux’s call by reorienting the discourse around individuals—not the Emperor, but the clerics and composers who read Augustine, the commoners who drowned Winter on Laetare Sunday, and the humanists who jubilated polyphonically with extended melismas—straining to hear the echoes of their shared religious and musical performances.

ABSTRACT

In 1587 the Flemish composer Carolus Luython, employed by Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II, published an unusual motet collection in Prague. Titled *Popularis anni jubilus*, the collection describes the sounds and rituals beloved by Central European peasants, recasting them as the ecstatic songs of rustic laborers (jubilus) famously celebrated by Saint Augustine in his Psalm commentaries. Highlighting the composer’s collaboration with the Czech cleric who wrote the motet texts, this study serves as a corrective to the interpretative frameworks that have broadly shaped discourses on Central European musical and religious practices in the early modern period.

To make sense of the print’s raucous parade of drunken revelers, mythological figures, honking geese, and the Christ child, this analysis sets aside the hermetic lens typically used to account for the cultural products of the Rudolfine court and turns instead to contemporary theological tracts and writings by Augustine and Ovid that were foundational to the literary worlds of Renaissance humanists. Doing so brings into focus an ordered sequence of motets that offers some of the earliest and most vivid documentation in Central Europe of lay practices associated with the major feasts of the church year, from the bonfires on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist to the drowning of winter on Laetare Sunday. At the same time, this study shows the extent to which such “folk” traditions, parsed along national lines since the nineteenth century, had in fact long occupied common ground in the diverse territories of Habsburg Central Europe.

Keywords: motet, popular devotion, sacred/secular binary, Habsburg Europe, Prague, music historiography