



The Merit of Czech Musicians for the Revival of the Musical Heritage of Jacobus Handl Gallus in Slovenia¹

Jernej Weiss

Univerza v Ljubljani / Univerza v Mariboru

University of Ljubljana / University of Maribor

This paper highlights a hitherto overlooked segment of the activities of Czech musicians in Slovenia: the contribution of Czech musicians to the revival of the musical heritage of the Carniolan composer Jacobus Handl Gallus, with particular reference to two concert events on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the composer's birth. These two concerts bear witness to the close relations between Slovenia's two central music associations at that time: Glasbena matica and the Cecilian Society in Ljubljana. The second concert, in which the choir of Glasbena matica also took part, generated major attention in the public and triggered the renaissance of Gallus's music in Slovenia.

The first researchers of Gallus in Slovenia

Although Josip Mantuani² made by far the greatest contribution to instigating the study of Gallus in Slovenia, there were several musicians before

1 This article is the result of the project "Influx of Musicians to the Slovene Lands during the Long Nineteenth Century – Their Impact and Integration" (J6–9386) financed by the Slovenian Research Agency (ARRS).

2 Josip Mantuani (1860–1933), a member of the board of the Glasbena matica, studied law and philosophy in Vienna, where he received his doctorate in art history and archaeology in 1894. He researched Gallus's life and work and helped prepare his concert in 1892. In 1893 Mantuani joined the Vienna Court Library, in 1898 he became head of the music collection and, together with Emil Bezcený, published the first edition of Gallus's motets, *Opus musicum*. In 1909 he returned to Ljubljana and worked as director of the National Museum until 1924. He taught art history at the Universi-

him who succeeded in illuminating certain sections of Gallus's work from motets, masses, and *moralia*. One of the first to draw attention to the importance of Gallus as one of the giants of late Renaissance music was Kamilo Mašek, a descendant of a Czech family of musicians active in Slovenia. As the son of the great musicians Gašpar and Amalija Mašek, two other important Czech musical migrants to Slovenia,³ their only child Kamilo was born with a musical education. Mašek not only succeeded in raising the level of musical creation in Slovenia with his songs, which, as Manica Špendal writes, are “*clearly superior in terms of expression and artistic value*”⁴ to those of his contemporaries working in Slovenia, but it is also thanks to him that the memory of Gallus's legacy was revived for the first time. Only a year before his untimely death, Kamilo Mašek published two short articles about Gallus. In them, he presented some biographical sketches from the life of the “*berühmter Kirchen-Tondichter*” Jacobus Gallus in *Cäcilija*, Slovenia's first music magazine.⁵ Since the magazine was primarily intended for “*Landorganisten Schullehrer*,” the compositions by Gallus are understandably missing.⁶

Despite the initial enthusiasm, Mašek's 1857 contribution did not elicit any significant creative response from Slovenian cultural institutions. This was probably also due to the fact that society life in this country was still in its infancy in the mid-19th century in Slovenia and there was therefore a lack of quality vocal ensembles capable of performing such a demanding repertoire as that of Gallus. It was not until the beginning of the 1860s that reading rooms were set up in all the larger towns in Slovenia, following the

ty of Ljubljana for a few years and at the music conservatory from 1920. He has published widely on art history, archaeology, and history of music. In 1917 and 1918 he was president of Glasbena matica and on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Society he prepared an extensive historical exhibition on the *Development of music among Slovenes* in the Narodni dom. At the time, he received a state award for his work with Glasbena matica. Nataša Cigoj Krstulović, *Zgodovina, spomin, dediščina: ljubljanska Glasbena matica do konca druge svetovne vojne* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2015), 102.

3 Jernej Weiss, *Češki glasbeniki v 19. in na začetku 20. stoletja na Slovenskem* (Maribor: Litera and University of Maribor, 2012), 107–8.

4 Manica Špendal, “Značilnosti samospevov Kamila Maška,” *Muzikološki zbornik* 12 (1976): 49, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-D8BQKJSU>.

5 Kamilo Mašek, “Biografische Skizzen berühmter Kirchen-Tondichter. I. Jacobus Gallus,” *Cäcilia* 1, no. 5 (1858): 34, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-WDX-M3C3J>.

6 *Cäcilia*. Musikalische Monatshefte für Landorganisten Schullehrer und Bedförderer der Tonkunst auf dem Lande. Ibid.

Czech model. They were centres of cultural and thus also musical life for Slovenes, the main purpose of which was to awaken the Slovenian national sense through culture. The founding of later musical societies, such as the Drama Society (1867) and above all Glasbena matica Ljubljana (1872), initiated a gradual professionalisation of Slovenian musical life.

Thus, more than 30 years passed before interest in Gallus was revived in Slovenia. Vojteh Valenta, one of the most important promoters of society life in the second half of the 19th century in Slovenia, certainly contributed to this. He was a member of the founding board of the Drama Society as well as a member of the “Founding Board” of Glasbena matica, and after the founding of Glasbena matica he acted as its first secretary and was thus one of the main persons responsible for its versatile activities. It was he who made some further encyclopaedic observations in his paper *Nekoliko črtic o Jakopu Gallusu*,⁷ published in 1888 in the newspaper *Ljubljanski zvon*. Valenta summarised some references to him in foreign literature in the paper and concluded by saying, “that is all for now, but I would like to try to find out more about this very important composer and fellow countryman”.⁸

Later that year, he turned to another Czech musician for information about the composer: Jan Václav Lego, the central initiator of Czech-Slovene cultural contacts during that period. Lego was working in the Czech capital at the time, where Gallus had ended his rich life three centuries earlier as cantor of St. John’s Church in Breg. So it was Lego who provided Valenta with some valuable information about Gallus.⁹ In preparation for the 300th anniversary of the composer’s death, Gallus’s obituary with all his poems, among other things, was published for the first time in Slovenia in *Cerkveni glasbenik*, the newsletter of the Cecilian Society in Ljubljana,¹⁰ with which Valenta made an important contribution to knowledge about the composer’s life. Research by the then secretary of Glasbena matica then stimulated further efforts to bring Gallus’s compositions to the concert stage, largely due to the founding of the Glasbena matica choir in the autumn of 1891 un-

7 Vojteh Valenta, “Nekoliko črtic o Jakopu Gallusu,” *Ljubljanski zvon* 8, no. 7 (1888): 445–7, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-EoCDBWS5>.

8 *Ibid.*, 447.

9 Jernej Weiss, *Čeští hudebníci ve Slovinsku v 19. a na začátku 20. století* (Praha: KLP – Koniasch Latin Press, 2021), 71–5. Jan Lego, “Pismo Vojtehu Valenti,” July 28, 1888. Glasbena zbirka NUK, Glasbena matica, Personalalia, Lego Jan, Personalalia Glasbene matice, Korespondenca z Glasbeno matico.

10 Vojteh Valenta, “Drobtinice o Jakobu Gallusu,” *Cerkveni glasbenik* 14, no. 4 (1891): 27–9, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-9TASE1VH>.

der the direction of Matej Hubad. The latter came to Ljubljana in the same year and became the choir conductor and artistic director of Glasbena matica, and it was Hubad who set the wider framework of Glasbena matica's creative activity. As a kind of *spiritus agens* of activities of Glasbena matica at the time, he also edited the society's publications and taught theory, choral and solo singing at the society's music school. Both the founding of the choir and the arrival of Hubad in Ljubljana coincided with the 300th anniversary of Gallus's death.

Both Glasbena matica and the Cecilian Society in Ljubljana were involved in the preparation and performance of two key events of the jubilee that were significant for the revival of Gallus's legacy at the end of the 19th century, i. e. the performance of Gallus's festive mass *Elisabeth Zachariae* in the Ljubljana Cathedral in July 1891 and the famous concert of Gallus's works in the Redutna dvorana hall a year later. The most important link between the two societies was another Czech musician working in Slovenia, Anton Foerster, the composer of the first Slovenian national opera *Gorenjski slavček*. It is less well known that, as Mantuani writes, it was Foerster who is said to have "poisoned" him with Gallus,¹¹ when he sang the motet *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus* under Foerster's direction in the IV Grammar School. In the year of the 300th anniversary of Gallus's death, Mantuani appeared for the first time in *Cerkveni glasbenik* journal and reported on the three-year search for Gallus's footprints. During this time, Mantuani searched not only the archives in Vienna, Bohemia and Moravia, but also numerous archives, especially across the German lands. He focused mainly on the Protestant cities of northern Europe, where Gallus's music was very popular in the 17th century. In his extensive report, he then listed in detail what he had found on this journey and where.¹² Thus, according to Edo Škulj, one of the greatest experts on Gallus's life and work, Mantuani's contribution still forms the basis for all subsequent Gallusologists, as he already published the main part of his previous research findings on Gallus in his paper in *Cerkveni glasbenik*.¹³

11 Josip Mantuani, "Jakob Gallus," *Cerkveni glasbenik* 14, no. 7 (1891): 49, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-4PFNLGOK>.

12 Ibid. Josip Mantuani, "Jakob Gallus," *Cerkveni glasbenik* 14, no. 8–9 (1891): 57–65, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-M3PQMRYE>.

13 Edo Škulj, *Clare vir. Ob 450-letnici rojstva Iacobusa Gallusa* (Ljubljana: Družina and Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU, 2000), 440.

Missa super Elisabeth Zachariae in Ljubljana Cathedral on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of Gallus's death

The 300th anniversary of Gallus's death was commemorated in Ljubljana Cathedral with a celebratory performance of Gallus's *Missa super Elisabeth Zachariae*, the sixth mass from the composer's opus of masses *Selectiores quaedam missae*. The Board of Glasbena matica planned the celebration of the important Gallus anniversary with two concerts of sacred and secular music together with the Cecilian Society or its most active member, Anton Foerster. On 12 July 1891, as regens chori of the Ljubljana Cathedral, he prepared its performance in the Cathedral Church of St. Nicholas in Ljubljana with the Cathedral choir. He was helped in the transcription of the mass by Karel Hoffmeister, another outstanding Czech musician active in Slovenia, later a member of the Czech Trio and a rector of the Prague Conservatory, who at the time was teaching piano at the central music school in Ljubljana. Interestingly, the report on the event states that it was a "hitherto unknown,"¹⁴ newly discovered Gallus mass in the Lyceum library, which shows that knowledge of Gallus was still quite scant in this country in the early 1890s. This is mainly due to the fact that Gallus's masses were not yet available in modern transcription and were therefore practically unknown. Of course, many years before that we find numerous copies of Gallus's masses scattered all over Europe, especially in present-day Germany, in Wrocław, in the Parisian archives and also in Slovenia. Gallus is mentioned, for example, in a list of musical records in the archives of the Ljubljana Cathedral commissioned by the Bishop of Ljubljana, Tomaž Hren, at the beginning of the 17th century.

After the concert, *Cerkveni glasbenik* published a report by Janez Gnjezda, who as secretary at the time was among the most deserving of the Cecilia Society's work. In it Gnjezda, the later president of the Cecilian Society, describes the concert quite briefly. What makes Gnjezda's report even more interesting is the summary of a kind of audit report he gives later in his article. This was written by the aforementioned Karel Hoffmeister and is one of the first articles of its kind in Slovenia. In it, Hoffmeister shows the stylistic complexity of Gallus's *Elisabeth Zachariae* mass and goes into more detail about the special features of the score.¹⁵ The Mass is based on the six-part motet of the same name by Gallus, which the composer wrote for the

14 Janez Gnjezda, "Jakoba Gallus-a maša 'Elisabeth Zachariae,'" *Cerkveni glasbenik* 14, no. 7 (1891): 53, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-4PFNLGOK>.

15 *Ibid.*, 54–5.

feast of St John the Baptist and published in 1590 in the fourth book of his *Opus musicum*. Incidentally, as Marko Motnik shows, Gallus's model was the basis for many other compositions.¹⁶ The parody mass *Elisabeth Zachariae* performed in the concert is one of the earliest compositions by Gallus, as already pointed out by Paul Pisk in his Gallus research, who defended his dissertation entitled *Das Parodieverfahren in den Messen des Jacobus Gallus* in 1917 as a student of Guido Adler in Vienna. At the turn of the 20th century, Pisk's research, along with that of Mantuani, certainly contributed the most to a more comprehensive understanding of Gallus's work.

Concert with motets and *moralia* by Gallus, organised by Glasbena matica

If the ecclesiastical celebration was held in the actual year of the anniversary of Gallus's death, i. e. 1891, the "civil" celebration organised by Glasbena matica was postponed to the following year. A year after the release of Gallus's motet *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus* in the *Cerkveni glasbenik* journal and seven years before the release of the first part of the Bezecný-Mantuani edition of Gallus's motets, to which Mantuani also contributed the introduction and which was published as part of the famous Adler collection *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, the Glasbena matica choir, conducted by Hubad, performed a solo concert of compositions by Gallus. On 9 June 1892, the Slovenian public was first made aware of the importance of Gallus's work when three of his motets and three secular madrigals (*moralia*) were performed. In addition to Gallus's most famous motet, *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus*, the motets *Laus et perennis gloria* and *Ave Maria* were performed, as well as three *moralia*: *Diversos diversa iuvant*, *Multum deliro* and *Musica noster amor*. The choir had to repeat the last one due to the enthusiasm of the audience. As the choir of Glasbena matica was not yet complete, substitutes from the school choir were used. The concert also featured a few piano pieces by the Czech pianist Karel Hoffmeister, who has already been mentioned several times.

In 1890, the Board of Glasbena matica turned to the first Slovenian Gallusologist, Josip Mantuani, who was then a doctoral student in art history and archaeology at the University of Vienna after studying law and philosophy and musical studies with Joseph Böhm and Anton Bruckner,

16 Marko Motnik, "The reception of the motet *Elisabeth Zachariae* by Jacobus Handl-Gallus in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," *De musica disserenda* 11, no. 1/2 (2015): 87–106, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-2R4MU2OI>.

to organise the concert. Thus, the Board of Glasbena matica asked Mantuani in a letter for “*all the notes of [his] work*”¹⁷, but Mantuani refused the request because it had not been completed at that time. Mantuani wrote: “*If they want to be known as musicians, we must first know them, or at least know that they exist.*”¹⁸ He also suggested to the Board that they perform the six already mentioned shorter compositions by Gallus, and asked them to “*kindly oblige the illustrious Board to put up with me until the autumn, when I return from Germany and bring Gallus’s Madrigals with me.*”¹⁹ He added: “*There are few who know that Gallus also wrote Madrigals.*”²⁰ Gallus famously called his madrigals *moralia*, not *madrigalia* – for the title was intended to emphasise that they were Latin madrigals without secular elements, “*not in the least licentious, fearing the shadow of obscenity.*”²¹ Writing madrigals, as we know from the example of Gallus’s better-known contemporary Palestrina, could be a dangerous business. That knowledge of Gallus must have been limited at the beginning of the 1890s is also shown by a letter from Glasbena matica to *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien*, in which the board of Matica asks the famous Viennese institution for “*some Gallus opus from its archive.*”²² This was followed by a letter from Vienna mentioning some of Gallus’s works kept there and a referral to Mantuani.²³

The above-mentioned letter from Mantuani is important because it shows that the idea of organising a celebration for the 300th anniversary of Gallus’s death actually came from him. He himself writes that it was “*voiced by him five years ago.*”²⁴ In addition to selecting the repertoire, Mantuani also transcribed the sheet music for the Matica concert in “*modern clefs*”²⁵, a notation that is transparent and understandable today, and gave an introductory presentation by the composer. In his presentation, Mantu-

17 Josip Mantuani, “Pismo odboru Glasbene matice,” July 8, 1890. Musical collection NUK, GALLUS, J., Kronika, Arhive of Glasbena matica.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 Edo Škulj, ed., *Gallusovi predgovori in drugi dokumenti* (Ljubljana: Družina, 1991), 90.

22 Odbor Glasbene matice, “Dopis Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde,” April 24, 1890. Musical collection NUK, GALLUS, J., Kronika, Arhive of Glasbena matica.

23 Direction der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Wien, “Dopis odboru Glasbene matice,” April 29, 1890, no. 119. Musical collection NUK, GALLUS, J., Kronika, Arhive of Glasbena matica.

24 Josip Mantuani, “Pismo odboru Glasbene matice,” July 8, 1890.

25 Ibid.

ani summarised the content of a lecture he had given in Vienna on 25 November 1891, in which he pointed out the importance of Gallus's compositions in Central Europe. His speech was then published in full in *Cerkveni glasbenik*,²⁶ the journal that popularised Gallus. On the occasion of this historic event, *Slovenski narod* and *Slovenec* published more extensive pieces about the composer for the first time, and an exhibition of Gallus's printed works was also organised.

Although the Redutna dvorana hall, which was used for the meetings of the Provincial Committee of the Duchy of Carniola and subsequently made available to Glasbena matica free of charge,²⁷ was not completely filled, the historical concert was very well received by the public and thus considerably increased the level of awareness of the Carniolan fellow countryman. At the same time, this event was the catalyst for the beginning of a comprehensive research and performance-related consideration of Gallus in Slovenia. The concert was a great success and was also well received abroad, as evidenced not only by the many positive reviews but also by the telegrams received from abroad to the Glasbena matica Board. Among them is a telegram from Ivan Navratil, the then president of the Slovenian club in Vienna.²⁸ So it seems that with these two concert events Ljubljana overtook the Habsburg capital as far as Gallus was concerned, for what Mantuani had already called for came to pass: "*It would be an honour for us to be able to say that we have done more than the musical Vienna.*"²⁹

Hugolin Sattner then published a detailed account of the event in *Cerkveni glasbenik*, in which he wrote, among other things:

The concert took place on the 9th of this month at 8 p.m. in the Redutna dvorana hall. On the façade hung the image of Gallus, painted by our fellow countryman, academician Josip Germ. Some of the works were also exhibited in the Menzural script, as could be read in Slovenec. The hall was not full, but there was an excellent, musically educated audience; especially many priests were there, from prelates to theologians, everyone was represented. It occurred

26 Josip Mantuani, "Govor," *Cerkveni glasbenik* 15, no. 7–8 (1892): 56–60, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-HMCARY30>.

27 Deželni odbor Vojvodine Kranjske, "Pismo slavnemu odboru Glasbene matice Ljubljana," May 24, 1892, no. 4675. Musical collection NUK, GALLUS, J., Kronika, Arhive of Glasbena matica.

28 Ivan Navratil, "Telegram Slovenskega kluba na Dunaju," June 9, 1892. Musical collection NUK, GALLUS, J., Kronika, Arhive of Glasbena matica.

29 Josip Mantuani, "Pismo odboru Glasbene matice," July 8, 1890.

*to me: But there was a ground where unity was possible; the different elements sat together, conversed amicably and were enthusiastic about one sublime thing – music.*³⁰

Sattner's report indicates in an undertone the different views that could be discerned between the basic ideological orientations of the two leading musical societies in Slovenia at the time, apart from the Philharmonic Society of Ljubljana: Glasbena matica and the Cecilian Society of Ljubljana. At least in part, such divisions seem to be the result of an increasingly pronounced separation of minds in this country: in 1890, the Clerical Party was founded here, and a year later the Liberal Party. However, the close mutual cooperation in the preparation of the aforementioned events clearly shows that the ideological differences mentioned by Dragotin Cvetko, for example,³¹ were by no means decisive, at least for the concert events. Thus, in the now fundamental music history literature, Cvetko cites the founding of the Cecilian Society in 1877 as the reason for the decline in membership at Glasbena matica, a claim already refuted by Nataša Cigoj Krstulović in the most thorough treatise to date on the workings of Glasbena matica.³²

It is true that the controversy over Cecilianism was at its height in this country in the 1880s and early 1890s, but among the key members of Glasbena matica we find almost all core members of the Cecilian Society. The founders of Glasbena matica include Anton Foerster, the musical director of the Cecilian Society, and the outstanding composer of vocal and instrumental music, Father Hugolin Sattner, who blessed the premises of Glasbena matica when it moved into the Society's house, and later Stanko Premrl, France Kimovec and others. The membership lists of Glasbena matica incidentally also include the then Bishop of Gorizia, Jakob Missia, who joined the Society in 1886 to settle some earlier disputes. It is also a fact that the compositions by Foerster, Sattner and Premrl were frequently performed by the Glasbena matica Choir and published by the Glasbena matica publishing house.

The numerous examples of diverse mutual cooperation on a purely practical level, including the common struggle for Gallus, thus challenge another rather persistent concept of somewhat recent Slovenian music his-

30 Hugolin Sattner, "Gallusov koncert," *Cerkveni glasbenik* 15, no. 6 (1892): 46, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-7TDQQA9Y>.

31 Dragotin Cvetko, "Ljubljanska Glasbena Matica in njen pomen," *Kronika: časopis za slovensko krajevno zgodovino* 2, no. 1 (1954): 37–8, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-ET5MQAP5>.

32 Cigoj Krstulović, *Zgodovina, spomin, dediščina*, 40–1.

toriography, namely the polarisation of society activities in Slovenia. Although this polarisation is often portrayed mainly in the older music history literature,³³ practical examples, on the contrary, show close links both in performance and other areas. Czech musicians, with their good musical and technical skills and their prevailing cosmopolitanism, were the link between the two societies. Despite the many stumbles of the champions of one side and the other, let us only remember the confrontation with Foerster in Alešovec's *Brenclj* in 1880,³⁴ they were strangers to radical struggle for one side or the other. In the aforementioned article, Foerster was called a foreigner who does not support Slovenian music, which is of course nonsense of the first order. At least 16 of the best Slovenian authors were, as the article says, unemployed, unlike the Czech Foerster. Interestingly, it was the priests and monks of the Cecilian Society who reacted most strongly to these completely unfounded, almost xenophobic statements and sent him a letter of support in January of the same year. Among them was Jakob Aljaž, who, as a student of Foerster, was of the opinion that this criticism was primarily aimed at denigrating Foerster on a personal level.

Thus Foerster, Hoffmeister, and many other Czech musicians active in Slovenia, together with some of the most prominent Slovenian intellectuals, undoubtedly including Josip Mantuani, managed to cross the Rubicon of Slovenia's obvious social-ideological division. Moreover, through their self-sacrificing work, they contributed significantly to the qualitative improvement of the activities of almost all music associations in Slovenia and thus to the gradual professionalisation of musical life. Moreover, by reviving Gallus's heritage, they also succeeded in raising awareness of the tradition and continuity of artistic music in Slovenia.

33 Dragotin Cvetko, *Slovenska glasba v evropskem prostoru* (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica Ljubljana, 1991), 335.

34 Jakob Alešovec, "Razloček med Försterjem in Riharjem na šenklaškem koku," *Brenclj* 12, no. 1 (1880): 6, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-FUIVII5Y>; Jakob Alešovec, "Pesem šenklaškega šomaštra," *Brenclj* 12, no. 2 (1880): 5, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-SXRMUSJS>.

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