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**Transferring the Gabrielis to the north.
On the reception of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli
in seventeenth-century Scandinavia**

In recent years, historical musicology has been marked by a strong turn towards studies in reception. This growing interest in reception certainly has much to offer. It offers widened and productive perspectives on musical cultures and its audiences as it moves the attention from the individuality of artistic creation to the communality of general musicking. Articulated more radically as a theory of reception aesthetics, it successfully negotiates some known pitfalls of scholarly attempts at defining musical meaning, steering free of essentialism, intentionalism, and blinkered formalism.

Exercised more specifically as a study of the transmission and dissemination of music and musical cultures over wider regions, transnationally and transculturally, it offers a possibility to understand important historical processes and transformations in music history. The project includes tracking the cultural transfer of styles, repertoires, tastes, and knowledge across Europe and globally, by closely reconstructing and interpreting the movement of people, music, instruments and books. The more specific study of musical-cultural transfer is also of concern not only to musicology. It is relevant for the general study of cultural history and the ways in which music functioned as an important mediator for transnational and transcultural encounters, and by extension, a tool in the long-term processes of European and global integration. Conducted

with a theoretical and methodological awareness of such larger perspectives, these studies have the promising potential of mapping out and interpreting important interactions and developments in a global perspective.

Nonetheless, there is a risk involved in the dissemination-reception turn. This risk is unleashed in cases where reception and dissemination studies are restricted to sheer data accumulation, an indiscriminate tracking and recording of sources and routes of dissemination. It is reinforced by the fact that this type of research is practically endless, more precisely with remote secondary and tertiary music reception and when all sources are considered equally important. Simultaneously, research of this type is easily executed, especially today, with new technical tools available, such as online catalogues, digitized images, and databases.

From this perspective, I perceive a need not only to gather, present and interpret new data in music reception and dissemination, but also to continuously incorporate into this presentation theoretical and methodological considerations relevant for a given project. This text is such an attempt: it will present reception cases of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli's music in the Scandinavian countries in the early modern period, but will also use them to discuss some problems in reception studies that I find important.

Dissemination or appropriation? Some terminological considerations

Initial considerations are the concepts used for describing different processes of cultural transfer and interchange in European history, perspectives that are arguably somewhat undertheorized within historical musicology, especially in comparison to disciplines such as cultural anthropology and ethnomusicology.

Three basic categories of metaphors for describing such processes seem to exist. The first can be described as a passive "sender-receiver" model; the second is relatively neutral in its description of relations between participants; finally, the third group of metaphors tends to stress the alleged receiver's agency, describing it as an act of appropriation.

The "sender-receiver model" can involve terms such as reception and dissemination. It is based on a dual relation where one party is sending or giving, i.e. an active party, and the other is receiving, thus being passive. Dissemination is defined in the Merriam-Webster dictionary "to cause (something, such as information) to go to many people" and etymologically derives from the

act of sowing seeds.¹ It thus implies that the party or location from which the material is disseminated is the active agent, one *causing* something, whereas the recipient is passive, being affected by that action.

The concept of (stylistic) “influence”, can also be assigned to the same category.² It lacks an obvious counterpart that answers to the pair: disseminator-recipient, at least not in music historiography, other than perhaps the passive form, “being influenced”; however, the Merriam-Webster Thesaurus suggests among other terms “affected” and “formed”, which seem appropriate in this context. The Thesaurus also suggests “helplessness” and “impotence” as antonyms of influence — although obviously not particularly relevant to music historiography, they still indicate something important about the subtext involved in the notion of stylistic influence. The concept of influence indicates a lack of power or potency of one kind or another.

Thus, the historical agents in the sender-receiver model can be associated with some closely related dichotomies. Apart from the active-passive relation, there is also the stronger relation of the *dominant* versus the *submissive*. This in turn relates to center-periphery dichotomies and notions of cultural hegemony. The centers in this context are cultural spaces of various kinds: political or administrative — e.g. city versus countryside; social hierarchy — e.g. upper versus lower classes; or, perhaps more commonly, geographical-cultural centers. In a case relevant for this study and volume, we have the notion of Italy as a dominant musical-cultural center during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, with Northern and Eastern Europe understood as (allegedly) peripheral, and in some sense submissive and receiving regions.

The middle category, which I termed neutral metaphors, can be assigned some concepts from social theory, such as *transfer* and *exchange*. Originally, these terms were borrowed from economic science. The term “transfer” simply refers to the transmission of cultural material from one cultural space to another, whereas the term “exchange” articulates the supposed interactivity and the (pseudo-)dialogic nature of cultural meetings or encounters.

In the third and final category of concepts, we find metaphors stressing the alleged recipients’ activity. Examples of terms which such connotations

¹ Merriam-Webster Online: *Dictionary and Thesaurus*, <<http://www.merriam-webster.com>> [retrieved August 2017].

² Leonard B. MEYER made a similar point in his *Style and music: theory, history, and ideology* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1989): 142–52.

are *adaptation*, *imitation* and *emulation*. These are concepts derived from classical rhetoric theory, and were applied to music already in the early modern period. Moreover, one can point to *appropriation* and *cultural translation*, terms developed within and borrowed from more recent cultural theory and postcolonial studies. In contrast to the sender-receiver model, these concepts instead stress processes of reception and transfer where the alleged recipients are actually the active and productive agents.

For such processes, cultural historian Peter Burke has used the expression “creative reception”, to stress precisely the active and inventive role of the recipients³. Such processes also tend to involve what Burke has termed a “double movement of reception”: firstly de-contextualization, dislocation or appropriation (neutralizing, so to speak, the appropriated, unfamiliar material); secondly the “re-contextualization, relocation or domestication”, adapting it for local use.

It is interesting to consider to what extent the third category, stressing reception as an active, driving and creative activity — fundamentally, as an act of appropriation and utility — may more accurately describe the schemas behind the processes of reception and dissemination of music, as well as of musical style, taste and knowledge.

With these considerations, I shall thus move to an empirical case: the reception — or rather, appropriation? — of music by Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli in seventeenth-century Scandinavia. I will begin by presenting the source materials and their contexts, focusing on Sweden. I will then conclude the discussion with a short comparison between the Swedish case and that of Denmark, and refer back to theory in an attempt to evaluate the possibility of nuancing and deepening the scholarly discussions of the transcultural processes of interchange considered in this volume, through expanded and more conscientious use and terminology.

Music by the Gabrielis preserved at Swedish libraries

An initial and important question is the institutional context and the prerequisites for acquiring and performing music by the two Gabrielis in the Swedish kingdom during the period under scrutiny, i.e., from around 1550 to 1650. In

³ Peter BURKE, *The European Renaissance: centres and peripheries* (Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, 1998): 1–17.

this time, Sweden was still a comparatively peripheral and insignificant state with a small population, a relatively undeveloped economy, and modest aspirations to grand-scale cultural representations. This would change after the Thirty Years' War, not least with the high ambitions for a court of high cultural and intellectual standards during the rule of Queen Christina. However, up to the 1640s, resources and ambitions were comparatively modest.

There were basically three kinds of institutions that could support performances of more advanced polyphonic music: the Royal court, Uppsala University with the Uppsala Cathedral (seat of the Archbishopric), and the major diocesan towns with their cathedral schools⁴. In close vicinity to the Royal castle of Stockholm was also the German congregation and the church of St Gertrude, the "German church". It was supported by aristocrats and rich merchants of German descent, stood in close connection with the Royal family, and entertained music on a high level. Finally, there was a number of aristocrats who entertained private chapels, but during the period in question, those tended to be moderately sized. It is in collections originating from these spheres that we can find manuscripts and prints containing music by Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli.

The material in Swedish libraries can be divided into three groups: 1) Venetian printed collections containing music exclusively by Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli; 2) anthologies of Italian music, containing a number of pieces by either of the Gabriellis, and 3) manuscripts containing their music.

Musical prints in Swedish collections with music by the Gabriellis

Of the first group, the individual prints with music by the Andrea and/or Giovanni Gabrieli, there are only two items preserved in Swedish collections. The 1582 reprint of Andrea Gabrieli's *Libro primo de madrigali a tre voci* is found at the Uppsala University Library (S-Uu)⁵. Moreover, there is a copy of the 1615 *Symphoniae sacrae [...] liber secundus* in the Music and Theatre Library in Stockholm (formerly the Library of the Royal Music Academy: S-Skma)⁶.

⁴ For an overview of the conditions in Sweden at this time, see: *Musiken i Sverige. 1, Från forntid till stormaktstidensslut* [Music in Sweden. 1: Prehistory to the end of Sweden's period as a great power], eds. Leif Jonsson, Ann-Marie Nilsson and Greger Andersson (Stockholm: Fischer & Co, 1994).

⁵ RISM A/I G 69. S-Uu, UVMTR 189.

⁶ RISM A/I G 87.

Both items are fragments; of the 1582 print in Uppsala, only the soprano part-book remains, and of the 1615 print in Stockholm only parts six to eight.

Much larger is the number of anthologies containing music by either Andrea or Giovanni, and in many cases both. Overall, we find twenty-three such anthologies in Swedish collections, in some cases with several copies in separate libraries. Taken together, these anthologies comprise 136 compositions by the two Gabriellis, 66 by Andrea, and 70 by Giovanni.

Ten of these twenty-three anthologies were printed in Nürnberg, either by Katherina Gerlach, or by her son-in-law, Johannes Kauffman. The compilers of these volumes were Friedrich Lindner, Kasper Hassler and Georg Gruber: all persons of great importance for the introduction of Venetian polychoral music north of the Alps. Six collections were printed by Pierre Phalèse in Antwerp, an additional one by his daughters Madeleine and Marie, and three printed in Strasbourg by Kieffer and Bertram. Finally, we have three important German anthologies compiled by Erhard Bodenschatz, Kantor at Schulpforta, and printed in Leipzig by Abraham Lamberg⁷. The two very earliest prints, from 1566 and 1568, are the only instances of printed anthologies from Venice and Italy at Swedish libraries containing music by the two Gabriellis — the rest of the printed anthologies were produced north of the Alps.

Table 1. Printed anthologies at Swedish libraries containing music by Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli

RISM B/I	Title	Compiler	City and printer	AG	GG	Library	Prov.
1566 ³	<i>Il desiderio secondo libro de madrigali</i>	G. Bonagionta	Venice, Scotto	2	–	S-Skma, S-Sk	
1568 ⁶	<i>Liber quintus & ultimus</i>	P. Ioanelli	Venice, Gardano	2	–	S-Uu	Mainz
1583 ²	<i>Harminiae miscellae cantionum sacrarum</i>	L. Lechner	Nürnberg, Gerlach	2	–	S-V	
1583 ¹⁴	<i>Harmonia celeste</i>	A. Pervernage	Antwerp, Phalèse, Bellère	1	–	S-Uu	Mainz?

⁷ For an overview of German music printing at this period, see Susan LEWIS HAMMOND, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). Data in the Table is otherwise taken from RISM A/I and from *Grove Music Online*.

1583 ¹⁵	<i>Musica divina di XIX autori</i>	P. Phalèse	Antwerp, Phalèse, Bellère	1	–	S-Uu	Mainz?
1585 ¹⁹	<i>Symphonia angelica</i>	H. Waelrant	Antwerp, Phalèse, Bellère	4	–	S-Uu	Mainz
1588 ²	<i>Continuatio cantionum sacrarum</i>	F. Lindner	Nürnberg, Gerlach	17	2	S-Uu	Mainz
1588 ¹⁶	<i>Musica divina di XIX autori</i> = 1583 ¹⁵	P. Phalèse	Antwerp, Phalèse, Bellère	1	–	S-Uu	Mainz
1588 ²¹	<i>Gemma musicalis</i>	F. Lindner	Nürnberg, Gerlach	7	3	S-Uu	Mainz
1589 ⁸	<i>Liber secundus Gemmae musicalis</i>	F. Lindner	Nürnberg, Gerlach	11	1	S-Uu	Mainz
1590 ⁵	<i>Corollarium cantionum sacrarum</i>	F. Lindner	Nürnberg, Gerlach	7	–	S-Skma	
1591 ⁸	<i>Il lauro verde madrigali a sei voci</i>	P. Phalèse	Antwerp, Phalèse, Bellère	–	1	S-Skma, S-Uu	S-Uu: Mainz
1591 ¹⁰	<i>Melodia olympica</i>	P. Philips	Antwerp, Phalèse, Bellère	1	–	S-Uu	Mainz
1600 ²	<i>Sacrarum symphoni-iarum continuatio</i>	J. Kauffmann	Nürnberg, Kauffmann	–	9	S-Skma, S-Uu	S-Uu: Mainz
1601 ²	<i>Sacrae symphoniae</i> = 1598 ²	K. Hassler	Nürnberg	–	14	S-Skma, S-Uu	S-Uu: Mainz
1603 ¹	<i>Florilegium selectissimarum cantionum</i>	E. Bodenschatz	Leipzig, Lamberg,	3	2	S-V	
1612 ³	<i>Promptuarii musici</i>	A. Schadaeus, C. Vincentius	Strasbourg, Kieffer	–	3	S-Skma, S-Uu	
1613 ²	<i>Promptuarii musici [...] pars tertia</i>	A. Schadaeus	Strasbourg, Kieffer,	–	2	S-Skma, S-Uu	
1615 ²	<i>Reliquiae sacrarum concentuum</i>	G. Gruber	Nürnberg, Kauffmann	–	19	S-K	
1617 ¹	<i>Promptuarii musici [...] pars quarta</i>	C. Vincentius	Strasbourg, Bertram	2	7	S-Skma, S-Uu	
1618 ¹	<i>Florilegium portense</i>	E. Bodenschatz	Leipzig, Lamberg, Closemann	3	3	S-Skma, S-Ö	

1621 ²	<i>Florilegii Musici Portensis [...] Pars altera</i>	E. Bodenschatz	Leipzig, Lamberg	–	3	S-Skma	
1624 ¹⁶	<i>Erster Theil lieblicher, zwelscher Madrigalen</i>	V. Diezel	Nürnberg, Halbmayer	1	1	S-Uu	
1634 ⁶	<i>Musica divina</i> =1583 ¹⁵	P. Phalèse	Antwerp, “Heridi di Phalèse”	1	–	S-N	

These thirty printed anthologies are preserved at seven different libraries in Sweden, four of which only hold a single print each. Two libraries keep the absolute majority of these printed anthologies: Uppsala University Library, with sixteen anthologies, and the present-day Music and Theatre Library in Stockholm, holding ten.

In contrast to the major part of the holdings of seventeenth century music in Uppsala, the Gabrieli prints and manuscripts at the Uppsala University Library are not part of the famous Düben Collection. That collection holds music from the royal court of a later period, around 1645–1726⁸. Also, little suggests that these particular prints should be associated with the musical activities at the university or the cathedral. Uppsala University was practically closed down around the mid-sixteenth century. Being a stronghold of Catholic theology, and having been the principal seminar institution for Catholic priests, it was considered a threat to the Lutheran reformation. Not until the 1620s did King Gustavus Adolphus restore the academy as an orthodox Lutheran university.⁹

Instead, there is strong evidence that a large part of this material came to Uppsala as booties of war during the Thirty Years’ War. Owing to research by Åke Davidsson, the provenance of these prints is relatively well clarified.¹⁰

⁸ For a recent study concerning the demarcation of the Düben Collection and its prints, see Maria SCHILDT, *Gustav Düben at Work: Musical Repertory and Practice of Swedish Court Musicians, 1663–1690* (PhD diss., Uppsala University, 2014). A recently compiled list of the prints that can be incorporated into the Düben Collection is found on the website of the *Düben collection database catalogue*, eds. Lars Berglund et al.: <http://www2.musik.uu.se/duben/Duben.php>.

⁹ Claes ANNERSTEDT, *Uppsala universitets historia* [The history of Uppsala University], vol 1, 1477–1654 (Uppsala: W. Schulz, 1877).

¹⁰ An inventory of war booties in Swedish libraries is presented in Otto WALDE, *Stormaktstidens litterära krigsbyten* [Literature of the great times], 2 vols. (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1916–1920); Åke DAVIDSSON presented studies in the provenance of musical sources belonging to Uppsala University in his articles “The Origin of the Collections of Old Music in

There are two main provenances of such booties from this period concerning musical prints: the Jesuit College of Braunsberg (Braniewo), plundered in 1626, and the electoral city of Mainz, plundered in 1631 and 1635. The systematic plundering of rich libraries on the continent during the war was a deliberate strategy of Gustavus Adolphus, who donated a major part of the booty to Uppsala University.

Twelve out of the sixteen anthologies in Uppsala with music by the two Gabriellis can be identified with relative certitude as booties of war from Mainz.¹¹ These sources do not show any obvious traces of having been used for music-making, neither in Uppsala nor in Mainz.¹²

The ten anthology volumes from the Music and Theatre Library in Stockholm (S-Skma) present a different picture. They belong to the collection of the German Church of St. Gertrude, which was donated to the Royal Academy of Music by the congregation in 1874. The German Church was an important church, frequented by the aristocracy and wealthy merchants of German descent in the city. It also functioned, at least periodically, as a location for royal church services, and strong historical connections existed between the German church and the royal court musicians¹³. In contrast to the booties of war in Uppsala, these volumes were purchased by the congregation and used for performances in daily services. Many user signs left in these prints confirm their use for practical music making: corrections or clarifications of accidentals, clarifications of the number of rest bars, crossed-out misprinted bars, corrections of notes, etc. Especially the 1615 copy of Giovanni Gabrieli's *Symphoniae sacrae* in Stockholm is abundant in such inscriptions by the musicians.

Most of the remaining anthology volumes found in Table 1 are single items found at municipal libraries, in Växjö, Västerås, Örebro and Norrköping. Växjö and Västerås had important Gymnasiums, and Örebro, an old Latin

Swedish Libraries", *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* 49 (1962): 109–124, and "Kring uppsalakademiens förvärv av musikalier på 1600-talet" [Acquisitions of music at Uppsala University in the 17th century], *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* 56 (1969): 66–107, where he was able to connect owner inscriptions in the material with particular institutions on the continent that were plundered by the Swedes.

¹¹ I would like to thank Dr. Kia Hedell, music librarian at Uppsala University Library, who provided me with help in preparing a list of the booties of war in the music collection.

¹² Davidsson made the same observation, see footnote 10.

¹³ Kia HEDELL, *Musiklivet vid de svenska Vasahoven, med fokus på Erik XIV:s hov 1560–68* [Music life at the Vasa courts in Sweden with the court of King Erik XIV (1560–1568) as focal point] (Uppsala: Uppsala Univ. Library, 2001): 179–230.

school. Those music collections derive in material from the school music at these institutions.¹⁴

The large share of German and Flemish anthologies by editors such as Katarine Gerlach and Pierre Phalèse is typical for the dissemination of Italian music to northern Europe in this period. Italian music travelled to Sweden mainly through the mediation of German and Flemish printers and anthologists. This is true for the entire seventeenth century, also during Gustav Düben's tenure as *Kapellmeister* (1663–1690).¹⁵ The only exceptions to this were extraordinary occasions when musicians in Sweden were in direct contact with Italian musicians, such as in connection with Queen Christina's recruitment of an Italian music ensemble to her court in 1652–54.¹⁶

Manuscripts in Swedish collections with music by the Gabrielis

The RISM A/II catalogue currently lists twelve works preserved in manuscripts by the two Gabrielis at Swedish libraries: three by Andrea and nine by Giovanni.¹⁷ Single additional sources may surface in the future, but nothing suggests that there should exist a large number of unidentified manuscripts.¹⁸ As we can see from Table 2a-b, all manuscripts have printed concordances, and were most likely copied from prints, or from manuscripts originally copied from prints.

Table 2a: Manuscript sources at Swedish libraries with music by Andrea Gabrieli

Title	Library	Printed concordances
<i>Expurgate vetus fermentum</i>	S-VX	1587 ¹⁶ , 1588 ²
<i>I'vo piangendo i miei passati tempi</i>	S-Skma	1562 ⁶ , 1589 ⁸
<i>Eructavit cor meum</i>	S-K	1587 ¹⁶ , 1588 ² , 1613 ²

¹⁴ The provenance of the Norrköping print is not clear, but presumably, it belonged to the De Geer family, and came to the library as part of the collection from the castle of Finspång.

¹⁵ SCHILDT, *Gustav Düben at Work*.

¹⁶ Lars BERGLUND and Maria SCHILDT, *Italian music at the Swedish royal court of queen Christina*, forthcoming.

¹⁷ RISM Online, <<https://opac.rism.info>>.

¹⁸ The cataloguing for RISM in Sweden was completed already in the 1960s.

Table 2b: Manuscript sources at Swedish libraries with music by Giovanni Gabrieli

Title	Library	Printed concordances
<i>Beati omnes</i>	S-Uu	1597 (=GG 86), 1600 ² , 1617 ¹
<i>Benedicam Domino</i> *	S-Uu	1597, 1598 ² (=1601 ²), 1603 ¹ , [1617 ²⁴]**
<i>Domine, Dominus noster</i>	S-Uu	1597, 1598 ² , [1617 ²⁴]
<i>Hoc tegitur sacro</i> ***	S-Uu	1597, 1617 ¹
<i>Laudate nomen Domini</i>	S-Uu	1597, 1617 ¹ , 1621 ²
<i>Domine, Deus meus</i>	S-Skma	1615 ²
<i>Auxilium promisit Deus</i>	S-VX	1587 (contrafactus)
<i>Ego rogabo patrem</i>	S-VX	1590 ⁴ , 1600 ²
<i>Hodie completi sunt dies Pentecostes</i>	S-VX	1600 ²

* In the printed version, the incipit is “Benedicam Dominum”; the two different readings of Ps. 33 derive from Jerome’s two translation of the Psaltar, from the Septuaginta (from Greek) and from the Hebrew Psaltar respectively; the dative form Domino is found in the latter.

** RISM B/I 1617²⁴, *Nova musices organicae tabulatura* (Basel) contains organ intavolations.

*** Catalogued as *Hoc tegitur Christus*.

The five compositions by Giovanni Gabrieli found in manuscript in Uppsala and originally derived from the 1597 *Symphoniae Sacrae* are particularly interesting, because their provenance is unusually well-documented. In contrast to the booties of war from Mainz, these copies originate from local music-making in Sweden. They should not be associated with the Düben Collection and the court musicians in Stockholm, but with the musical activities at Uppsala University, the *chorus musicus* at the university, and the closely connected cathedral music.¹⁹

The manuscripts in question are bound together with a musical print, Hieronymus Praetorius *Cantiones novae officiosae* (Hamburg, 1625). They are bound into the end of the printed part books, together with music by Melchior Vulpus and Tiburtio Massaino.²⁰ These manuscript parts were copied by students at the university, who fortunately put their signatures to the parts. We find signatures of ten students in the manuscripts. Two have dated their copies to 1653 and 1655. These students are listed in the matriculation register of the university.²¹ They were all enrolled between 1653 and 1658, thus we

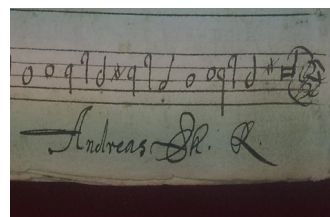
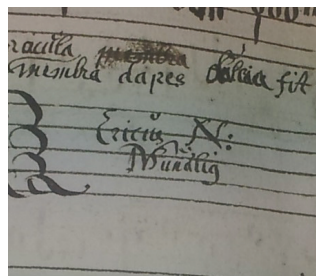
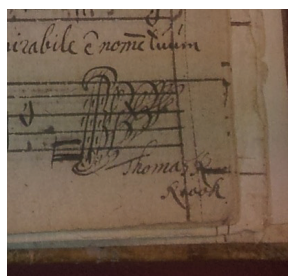
¹⁹ Bengt KYHLBERG, *Musiken i Uppsala under stormaktstiden, 1, 1620–1660* [Music at Uppsala during Sweden’s period as a great power] (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1974): 428–48.

²⁰ S-Uu, UVMTR 376–82.

²¹ DAVIDSSON, see footnote 10; KYHLBERG, see footnote 20.



Manuscript parts in S-Uu, UVMTR 376–382, copied by Uppsala University students.
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Details of signatures by the students (Thomas Matthias Krook,
Erichus Nicolai Munelius and Andreas Petri Ek)

can assume that the parts were copied around 1655. The copied text could be that of a presently lost copy of the 1597 *Symphoniae sacrae*, but a German or Flemish print is more likely, such as the 1617 *Promptuarii musici* compiled by Caspar Vincentius and printed in Strasbourg by Bertram, an anthology found both in Uppsala and at S-Skma in Stockholm.

We find four works in manuscripts at Växjö Library, in the Episcopal see of the Diocese of Växjö in the province of Småland. Its seventeenth-century holdings date back to the library of Växjö Gymnasium. This school was founded as a gymnasium by Queen Christina in 1643, but had a history as a cathedral school going back to the pre-Reformation period. Like most similar educational institutions, music-making between the school boys was part of school activities, including the singing of *musica figuralis*, and the Gabrieli sources from Växjö most likely reflect those activities²². They are included in an incomplete set of part-books, containing thirty-eight works by German and Italian composers (as well as one Danish) from the same generation as Giovanni Gabrieli. One piece, *Auxilium promisit Deus*, is a unique *contrafactum* of the widely disseminated madrigal *Lieto godea sedendo*, originally from the 1587 *Concerti*.²³ The text of the Italian madrigal has been replaced with a sacred Latin one, but the music is identical.

Although such conclusions must always be made somewhat tentatively, the column of Table 2a–b showing the printed concordances of these compositions gives some indication as to the originals of the manuscripts. A major part of the twelve works disseminated in manuscript have concordances in printed anthologies issued by German printers. A comparison with Table 1 furthermore shows that in several cases, these prints are still extant at the same library as the manuscripts (e.g. 1600² and 1617¹). This suggests that also the manuscript dissemination of music by the two Gabrielis — meagre as it is — seems to have been mediated through printed anthologies from German and Flemish printers.

²² Magnus GUSTAFSSON, “Vid dess toner trädde dansen med borgarnas hustrur, döttrar och tjänstepigor. Något om musiklivet i Växjö i äldre tid” [To these tones danced the citizens’ wives, daughters, and maids: On the music scene in Växjö in olden days], in *Från Sigfridsmässa till The Ark: musiken i Växjö* [From the Mass for St. Sigfrid to The Ark], eds. Magnus Gustafsson, Boel Lindberg (Växjö: Musik i Syd, 2010): 269–89.

²³ Richard CHARTERIS, “Newly Discovered Works by Giovanni Gabrieli”, *Music and Letters* 68/4 (1987), 343–63: 360. The manuscript is S-VX, Mus. Ms 2c-e; only the alto, tenor and bass from the second choir is preserved.

As we have seen from the foregoing survey, the attempt to trace the reception of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli in seventeenth-century Sweden gives a relatively scattered picture. There is evidence that their music has been copied for performance at, for example, the German church in Stockholm, the university at Uppsala, and the Gymnasium in Växjö. In some cases, there even are found user signs possibly suggesting repeat performances. Compared to the more general source situation, music by the two Gabrielis seems to lack any prominent place in the repertoire at Swedish institutions. Rather, their music blends in as a relatively insignificant part of a large and mixed repertoire, still mainly consisting of German composers from the same generation. It is also clear that the dissemination of their music to Sweden to a large extent was mediated via Germany. In that process, compilers such as Friedrich Lindner in Nürnberg played an important role as mediators and propagators.

Sweden vs. Denmark: a brief comparison

It is interesting in this context to make a comparison between the two Scandinavian countries that existed at this time: Sweden, which in this period also encompassed present-day Finland — until 1809 an integral part of Sweden as the “eastern half of the realm” — and Denmark, which at this time also comprised Norway and Iceland.

It has already been stressed that Sweden played a modest role in the political life of Europe during the period discussed here. This changed with Swedish entrance into the Thirty Years’ War and the ensuing military and political success, where the Swedish kingdom managed to establish itself as a great European power. This eventually led to increased ambitions concerning cultural representation and patronage, especially during Queen Christina’s regime, from the mid-1640s until her abdication in 1654.

Denmark, on the other hand, was on the European cultural map much earlier. The remarkably long reign of Christian IV (1588–1648) marked a prosperous time for music, when musicians such as John Dowland, William Brade, and Heinrich Schütz were engaged at the court.²⁴

²⁴ Angul HAMMERICH, *Musiken ved Christian den fjerdes hof: et bidrag til dansk musikhistorie* [The music of Christian IV court: a contribution to Danish music history] (Kjøbenhavn: Hansen, 1892); NIELS KRABBE, *Traek af musiklivet i Damark på Christian IVs tid* [Aspects of music life in Denmark at the time of Christian IV] (København: Engstrøm & Sødring, 1988).

Of particular interest in the present context are the King's stipends for a number of Danish musicians to study in Venice with Giovanni Gabrieli in the years 1599–1609. The first group to travel consisted of five musicians, including Melchior Borchgrevinck, Hans Nielsen, and Mogens Pedersøn.²⁵ According to the account books, they were given 515 daler for their costs of living, and a golden chain worth 500 daler as a gift to Gabrieli. Another group of three, Hans Nielsen, Hans Brachrogge, and Niels Mortensen Kolding, went to Gabrieli in 1602–04, and Mogens Pedersøn returned again in 1605–09, bringing with him a letter of recommendation addressed to Gabrieli and signed by the King.²⁶

The outcome of these stays was substantial. Pedersøn and Nielsen issued collections of their own madrigals in Venice, one by Nielsen in 1606 and possibly two by Pedersøn, one in 1608 and a lost (or never printed) one in 1611.²⁷ The works were apparently composed under Gabrieli's supervision. Moreover, Borchgrevinck issued two collections of Italian madrigals in Copenhagen in 1605 and 1606, including works by himself.²⁸ After his return to Copenhagen, Borchgrevinck was appointed leader of court music, and both Pedersøn and Nielsen held different positions at the court. These homecoming Gabrieli pupils must arguably have been of great importance in mediating up-to-date knowledge and current taste, compositional techniques, and performance practices in Venice to their Danish colleagues and apprentices.

These direct contacts between Giovanni Gabrieli and the Danish court and court musicians notwithstanding, the amount of music by the two Gabrielis in Danish collections and libraries is quite small. According to the RISM catalogue, there are only six manuscript sources with music by Andrea (2) and Giovanni (4). All belong to the Herlufsholm Collection, originating from the Herlufsholm School, a Latin school founded in 1565 by a Danish nobleman, Herluf Trolle. They are thus similar to the material from the Latin schools of e.g. Växjö and Västerås in Sweden.²⁹ Otherwise, there are no documented Gabrieli manuscripts or prints preserved in Denmark. Still, this situation arguably

²⁵ KRABBE, *Treak ad musiklivet*: 43.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Of his *libro secondo* only manuscript copies in England remains; John BERGSAGEL, "Pedersøn, Mogens", in *Grove Music Online* [retrieved August 2014].

²⁸ John BERGSAGEL, "Borchgrevinck, Melchior", in *Grove Music Online* [retrieved August 2014].

²⁹ RISM Online, <<https://opac.rism.info>>.

results from a different situation concerning the “afterlife” and preservation of musical material, in comparison to Sweden. It does not necessarily reflect the actual activity regarding the acquisition and production of prints and manuscripts in Denmark during this period.

This briefly outlined comparison nevertheless points to almost diametrical schemes between the neighboring Scandinavian countries in regard to the acquisition and reception of music by the two Gabrielis. In Denmark, we can trace direct, personal contacts between Giovanni Gabrieli and Danish musicians — not only impersonal dissemination and transfer, but direct, personal interchange and encounters, to use some of the concepts we have referred to in the introduction. The apprenticeship of the Danes in Venice represents the ideal conditions for knowledge exchange: educational interaction and dialogue; i.e., “pseudo field-work” conditions, to put it anachronistically, being on location in Venice’s musical life, watching, listening, exchanging views and opinions, participating in conversations and practical demonstrations.

The Danish case also substantially demonstrates an unequivocally *active* involvement of the alleged recipients. Gabrieli’s music — as well as his views on music and his knowledge — was not simply disseminated to Denmark and passively received. The Danish musicians physically and actively travelled there, seeking out contact and involvement. These observations may appear banal, but they are worth acknowledging, as they exemplify the complexity and diversity of processes of dissemination and reception.

In contrast to the Danish King’s and his musicians’ active, go-there-and-get-it approach, the reception of music by the two Gabrielis in Sweden seems much more passive, distanced, and mediated. As we have observed, it did not result from direct contacts with Venice, but was largely mediated through German and Flemish compilers and printers. One might ask to what degree the acquisition of their music was in fact the result of active choice. In most cases, the music came as a part of ready-made selections and compilations.

Moreover, nothing suggests that music by Andrea or Giovanni Gabrieli was studied or imitated by composer musicians in Sweden. In sharp contrast to the Danish situation, it seems to have had no such impact.

But even in the case of apparently unintentional, passive reception, there are many elements of the opposite, i.e., active agency. This is perhaps most obvious in the literal cases of appropriation involving plundered booties of war from various libraries of Mainz in 1631 and 1635, although selection and

scrutiny were hardly considered in this context. However, active agency is also relevant for the purchase of prints. At some point, someone actively acquired those printed volumes, choosing them from a possible selection of other articles. The copying out of manuscripts for performance, deliberately selecting and rejecting of particular works from different possibilities in the anthologies are also instances of active appropriation and adaptation rather than passive dissemination or reception. Even more clearly so is the fabrication of contrafacta, as in the case of *Auxilium promisit Deus* in Växjö. Such an adaptation is a clear case of what Peter Burke has termed “creative reception”, with its double movement of dislocation and appropriation, then re-contextualization and domestication, in this particular case, a typical transformation of an Italian secular erotic madrigal into a church piece suitable for Lutheran services sung by schoolboys at a Latin school.

Even more obvious is the element of creative reception if we do consider aspects of performance practices and performance traditions, even if such reflections can only be highly speculative. Although no historical traces of such practice exist, it is rather obvious that the performance of a Gabrieli concerto in Sweden at this time — either at a Latin school, at Uppsala University, or at the German church before the royal family — is not a case of simple and straightforward transfer or dissemination of music from Venice to Sweden. The differences, which are the singing and performance traditions, the long distance from the music’s original contexts, and a total lack of direct contact with that context, suggest that we could categorize these performances into the most radically detached and dislocated possible forms of appropriation or creative reception, designated in the cultural sciences with terms such as “creolization”, “hybridization” or “cultural translation”.³⁰

The array of different musical practices and activities that commonly enter under such designations as “dissemination” and “reception” is vast and complex. I have tried to argue that such processes of transfer never have a passive recipient, but are always marked by agency: buying (or stealing) musical prints, moving them to a new geographical location, selecting particular pieces and copying them into manuscripts, singing from those copies; adapting the musical works for new needs by changing the text or rearranging the music in

³⁰ See Peter BURKE, *Cultural hybridity* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009).

various ways; possibly even using the compositions as a model for new ones — a practice that does not seem to have occurred in Sweden in the particular Gabrieli case, but which was an important part of the Danish musician's encounter with Giovanni Gabrieli in Venice; all of the above, I would argue, are better described as acts of appropriation, rather than reception.

The discussion of various concepts and distinctions between theoretical concepts undertaken here might seem like terminological hairsplitting. ("Could not this time and effort have been spent on scrutinizing more empirical cases?") However, it is my conviction that a more nuanced and developed theoretical apparatus for grasping the kind of complexity in all instances of transcultural interchange could be very useful and would open possibilities for presenting more in-depth and sophisticated interpretations of musical dissemination and reception. It is not the terminological apparatus that is too complex — the complexity lies in the historical material subject to interpretation.

Summary

Music by Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli did not have a prominent place in Sweden during the early modern period and a substantial part of the music by them preserved in Swedish libraries arrived as booties of war during the Thirty Years' War and was never in practical use. There is performance material in manuscripts connected with the German Church in Stockholm, Uppsala University and some of the cathedral city gymnasias, with parts mostly copied from German or Flemish anthologies of Italian music. The situation in Sweden differs radically from Denmark, where there was a much more active reception, with Danish composers traveling to study for Giovanni Gabrieli. Still, it is argued that the kind of peripheral and mediated dissemination revealed in Swedish Gabrieli sources should not be mistaken for passive reception, but was rather marked by a different degrees of agency.

Keywords: Andrea Gabrieli, Giovanni Gabrieli, reception, seventeenth century, Sweden, music collections