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Music by the Gabrielis in the Levoča and Bardejov Collections

The Levoča and Bardejov Music Collections represent the most extensive and invaluable primary sources of musical repertoire, production, and life in seventeenth-century urban communities on the territories of the Kingdom of Hungary, which after the 1541 Ottoman occupation of Buda and the kingdom's subsequent dissolution became part of the Habsburg Monarchy and was renamed Royal Hungary; this territory corresponds to present-day Slovakia. All other musical collections founded in the many church choirs of this region's centres were, over the centuries, either destroyed or scattered.[1] Both preserved collections have their origins in the Spiš (Zips) and Šariš (Scharosch) regions of eastern Slovakia, which belonged to the economically most developed areas of Royal Hungary. These regions were dominated by a German-speaking population concentrated in towns where music productions were organised under the patronage of local municipal patricians. While the music collection from the Lutheran parish church of St. Egidius in Bardejov (Bartfeld, Bártfa) was sold shortly before World War I by a local Catholic Church to the National

[1] Only period inventories of the music collections have been preserved until today. See more in: Jana Kalinayová et al., *Musikinventare und das Repertoire der mehrstimmigen Musik in der Slowakei im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum-Hudobné múzeum, 1994).

Museum (and later moved to the National Library) in Budapest,[2] the Levoča Music Collection is preserved until today in its place of origin. The collection is in the private possession of the local Lutheran Church in Levoča (Leutschau) and has been deposited in its church choir together with the parish library. The collection comprises sheet music materials prepared by musicians from Levoča and the smaller surrounding towns as well as music materials imported from abroad during the seventeenth century. It was assembled in the Levoča Lutheran church in the late nineteenth century.[3]

Although the works of Andrea Gabrieli and Giovanni Gabrieli do not represent a significant proportion of the abundant collections, their inclusion in the repertoire raises questions not only about the sources and dissemination of the Gabrielis' music into church choirs in Spiš and Šariš musical centres, but also about the manner and intensity of its reception in this new environment. The answer to these questions is not simple, due to the uncertain origin of the sources containing Andrea and Giovanni Gabrielis' works, as well as their relation to the musical surroundings in which they have been preserved.

Research into these issues must begin with an examination of six organ tablature books, among the most significant and valuable items of the Levoča Music Collection.[4] They incorporate a repertoire selection of late sixteenth- and

[2] Ms. Mus Bártfa. The subject catalogue of this collection was published by Róbert Árpád Murányi, *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Musiksammlung von Bartfeld (Bártfa)* (Bonn: Schröder, 1991) (Deutsche Musik im Osten 2). On the history of the collection see *ibid.*: VII.

[3] The history of this collection was outlined by Marta Hulková, "Rukopisné hlasové zošity Levočskej zbierky hudobnín" [The handwritten part-books of the Levoča music collection], *Slovenská hudba* 21/2 (1995): 203–207.

[4] The Levoča Music Collection includes musical prints in part-books, handwritten part-books, and organ tablatures. With regard to its nature, the collection has been of decades-long interest to domestic and foreign music historians, as Antonín Hořejš, Dobroslav Orel, Viera Šedivá, Richard Rybarič, Ingeborg Šišková, Ladislav Mokrý, Ladislav Burlas, František Matúš, Marta Hulková, Róbert Árpád Murányi, Ilona Ferenczi, Kornel Bárdos, Jana Kalinayová-Bartová, Jana Petöczová, Klaus-Peter Koch, Cleveland Johnson, Kateřina Maýrová, Elżbieta Wojnowska, Aleksandra Patalas, Ladislav Kačic, Elena Kmeťová, Michal Hottmar, Peter Martinček, Anna Hamadová-Kňažíková, Jerry Cain, and Jeffery Kite-Powell. Amongst them, Antonín Hořejš and Marta Hulková deserve special mention. Hořejš published the first extensive study on the manuscript parts, especially the organ tablatures ("Levočské tabulatúrne sborníky" [The Levoča tablature books], in: Ladislav Burlas, *Hudba na Slovensku v XVII. storočí* (Bratislava: Slovenská akadémia vied, 1954): 96–154, while Hulková, in her PhD dissertation ("Levočská zbierka hudobnín" [The Levoča music collection], 2 vols., Comenius University, Faculty of Arts, Bratislava 1985), prepared a subject catalogue of the entire collection, which has been a significant tool for subsequent investigators, although the catalogue remains in manuscript form. However, Hulková

early seventeenth-century sacred polyphonic music mostly written by Italian and German composers, but a portion of the compositions was created by domestic musicians active in the first half of the seventeenth century. Each of the six tablature books is a unique, primary source of knowledge on the preferred repertoire of Spiš church choirs, and choirs in other regions where the tablature books were further enriched with additional intabulations. Each tablature book has its own specific history connected with the musical and cultural environment of the Spiš region, but also with other music centres in Central-Eastern Europe, in particular Silesia and Transylvania. This is also why the tablature books belong, particularly in the last two decades, to the best-examined primary sources preserved in the Levoča Music Collection. In the wake of new research, discussions are led amongst Slovak music historians focusing on the verification of previous knowledge on the tablatures' provenance and their copyists; the discussions have also raised questions about the adequacy of their nomenclature.[5]

The six Levoča tablatures[6] were compiled by several identified and unknown copyists in the first half of the seventeenth century. Marta Hulková, in her

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wrote several articles about the collection where she describes particular items from this extensive material. See: Marta Hulková, "Orgel- und Tabulaturbücher der Musikaliensammlung von Levoča (17. Jhrh.)", *Musica* 18 (1985): 57–79; Hulková, "Rukopisné hlasové zošity Levočskej zbierky hudobnín": 203–227; Marta Hulková, "Die Musikaliensammlungen von Bartfeld (Bardejov) und Leutschau (Levoča): Übereinstimmungen und Unterschiede (16. und 17. Jahrhundert)", *Musicologica Istropolitana* 2 (Bratislava: Stimul, 2003): 51–113; Marta Hulková, "Musikalische Handschriften aus der Wendezeit des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in der Musikaliensammlung von Levoča (Leutschau/Löcse)", in: *The Musical Heritage of the Jagiellonian Era,* eds. P. Gancarczyk, A. Leszczyńska (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN, Uniwersytet Warszawski, Biblioteka Narodowa, 2012): 253–267; Marta Hulková, "Stredoeurópske súvislosti šiestich rukopisných organových tabulatúrnych zborníkov z čias reformácie pochádzajúcich z územia Spiša" [Central-European interconnections among six organ tablature collections from the Reformation period from the area of Spiš], *Musicologica Istropolitana* X–XI (Bratislava: Stimul, 2013): 187–225; English version: Marta Hulková, "Central European connections between the six organ tablature manuscripts in the Levoča (Leutschau/Lőcse) music collection dating to the time of the reformation in Spiš", *Studia musicologica* 56/1 (2015): 3–37.

[5] See more in: Marta Hulková, "Levočská zbierka hudobnín (16.–17. storočie) ako viacgeneračná bádateľská úloha" [The Levoča music collection (16th and 17th centuries) as a multi-generational research task], in *Hudobné pramene — kultúrne dedičstvo Slovenska* [Musical sources: Slovakia's cultural heritage] (Bratislava: Slovenská muzikologická asociácia a Slovenské národné múzeum – Hudobné múzeum, 2011): 235–244, on-line access: http://www.snm.sk/swift_data/source/hudobne_muzeum/pdf_dokumenty/Hudobne_pramene_2011_Komplet.pdf.

[6] The collection of six tablature books comprises: 1. *The Tablature Book of Caspar Plotz*, SK-Le 13990a (1 A); 2. *The Tablature Book of Johann Plotz*, SK-Le 13990b (2 A); 3. *The*

recently published study,[7] provided a detailed description and useful overview of the intabulations' origins, development, and contributions of various copyists; the study also summarises previous research, its wants and future prospects. For this reason, we shall concentrate on key information relevant to the subject of this study.

Only three of the tablature books have intavolations of Gabrielis' works. The oldest one, the *Tablature Book of Caspar Plotz,* will be the most relevant here, as it shows its copyists' particular interest in the music of Giovanni Gabrieli. In comparison with other organ tablature books prepared later, this manuscript is unique in its inclusion of a greater number of Italian works from the last third of the sixteenth and the first decade of the seventeenth century, composed in the late-Renaissance polyphonic and polychoral styles. Amongst the 152 pieces, Giovanni Gabrieli's compositions represent the largest number of works by one composer. In one section, 29 compositions by Giovanni are transcribed one after another in a careful *ductus*, as if from one source at a specific time. So far, all attempts to identify the person with such profound interest in Giovanni Gabrieli's music have failed; however, music historians have made significant efforts to shed light on the origins of this book and its copyist, formulating several hypotheses.[8] Two copyists contributed to the *Tablature Book of Caspar Plotz*; approximately the first half of the intabulations, with almost all (28) of Giovanni Gabrieli's compositions come from the first copyist; the second copyist continued until the end of the book.[9] The copyists used two different transcription methods. Some pieces are transcribed with all parts into a "block" score, indicating how the choirs were to be divided and when they should perform together, while others are intabulated in "mixed" score, which does not visually

Tablature Book of Ján Šimbracký/Johann Schimrack I, SK-Le 13992 (3 A); 4. *The Tablature Book of Ján Šimbracký/Johann Schimrack II*, SK-Le 13993 (4 A); 5. *The Tablature Book of Samuel Marckfelner I*, SK-Le 13991 (6 A); 6. *The Tablature Book of Samuel Marckfelner II*, SK-Le 13994 (5 A). The commonly used titles of the tablatures assigned by Slovak music historians do not always bear the name of the principal copyist, but are based on a feature in the source content. For example, the *Tablature Books of Ján Šimbracký/Johann Schimrack* contain the major part of this Spiš musician's and composer's *oeuvre*, but he was not its copyist himself. Those identified include two Levoča musicians: Johann Plotz and Samuel Marckfelner.

[7] Hulková, "Stredoeurópske súvislosti".

[8] Survey of these hypotheses see in Hulková, "Stredoeurópske súvislosti", 195–200.

[9] However, he also transcribed (together with the first copyist) some works into the first part of the tablature (including one work by Gabrieli), or inscribed them later in the empty spaces.

differentiate the choirs. "Block" and "mixed" scores were the main methods of intabulation, also in other tablature books from the Levoča music collection. In contrast, the intabulations of the *Tablature Book of Caspar Plotz* are all textless.

The inscription "*Caspar Plotz 1603*" on the tablature's first folio, probably written by the first copyist, led the investigators to confer to this source the title *Tablature Book of Caspar Plotz*. The second tablature book is closely connected to the first, as it also has both copyists' handwriting, although a third copyist contributed to the intabulation. By comparing his *ductus* with other Levoča sources, Hulková[10] identified this copyist as Johann Plotz, hence naming the second tablature book the *Tablature Book of Johann Plotz*. This source does not contain any transcription of Gabrielis' music, but it is important for considerations about Caspar Plotz's identity and relations of both tablature books to the Levoča cultural centre. As several archive documents confirm, Johann Plotz was directly connected with Levoča's musical life, since from 1641 to 1648 he held the post of organist at St. Jacob's Lutheran parish church. Around the mid-seventeenth century, Plotz was a common surname in the region of Slovakia, and persons bearing it included other musicians, such as the organist Georg Plotz, active in the German Lutheran parish church of Kežmarok (Käsmark) near Levoča (1639–1648) and Prešov (Eperies) in the Šariš region (1650–1661). That Caspar and Johann Plotz were father and son has been a long-standing idea supporting the assumption of a Levoča origin for both Plotz's tablature books. However, the lack of archival documents from Levoča to support it, together with new investigations of a rediscovered tablature of Silesian provenance, Mus. MS 40056, held formerly in Berlin's *Preussische Staatsbibliothek* and now in the *Jagiellońska Library* in Cracow, have challenged this assumption. The notes in this document indicate that Johann and Caspar Plotz were active in Brzeg (Brieg), where Caspar was organist in the local parish church.[11]

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[10] Hulková, "Levočská zbierka hudobnín": 67.

[11] See more in: Peter Klaus Koch, "Das Klaviertabulaturbuch von Caspar und Johannes Plotz. Bemerkungen zu Samuel Scheidt anhand der wieder aufgefundenen Handschrift Mus. Ms. 40056 der ehemaligen Preussischen Staatsbibliothek Berlin", in: *Beiträge zur musikalischen Quellenforschung*, ed. Ingeborg Stein (Bad Köstritz: Forschungs- und Gedenkstätte Heinrich-Schütz-Haus, 1991): 229–243; Cleveland Johnson, *In the Trenches with Johann and Caspar Plotz: A Rediscovered Gebrauchstabulatur from the Scheidt Circle* (DePauw University, 2001), retrieved: June 20, 2015, available online: http://acad.depauw.edu/~cjohnson/PLOTZ/INDEX.HTML. Johnson believes that "the signatures at the conclusion of the manuscript leave little room to doubt the authorship of this source".

Relations between the Brzeg organists Caspar Plotz and Johann Plotz[12] remain unknown, as does the question of whether Johann Plotz from Brzeg and the Levoča organist were one and the same person who brought both tablature books to Levoča. Differences are noted when comparing the ductus in Plotz's tablature from Brzeg to the ductus of the three copyists in the two Plotzs' tablatures from Levoča. The most discernible is the ductus of the Levoča organist, Johann Plotz, which makes dubious the assumption about both Johanns being one person.[13] The note "*Das buch hab ich gekauft umb 27 8c 1598 am Michael*" on the endpaper of the *Tablature Book of Caspar Plotz*'s back binding indicates that it was in the possession of several people. The *status quo* of current research no longer supports the Levoča origin of the *Tablature Book of Caspar Plotz*, instead assuming that the source was probably brought there by the Levoča organist Johann Plotz, who may have been related to the Plotzs of Brzeg. Hulková already pointed to a likely Silesian origin of both Plotzs' tablature books and supported her assumption with transcriptions of works by Silesian composers, distributed scantily over other parts of Europe.[14] However, in Silesia the name Plotz was a common one in the musical context. The list of admitted students to the Maria-Magdalena Gymnasium in Wrocław (Breslau) in May 1619 also contains the name of a certain Johann Plotz, the son of a city turner named Christoph. Considering the time reference, this name can indeed match the student age of Johann Plotz, the Levoča organist.[15]

The origin of the *Tablature Book of Caspar Plotz* along with the routes of the sheet music distribution and impact of the compositions on musical practice in new contexts are classical issues also pertinent in research into the remainder of the Levoča and Bardejov Music Collections, particularly those items lacking details about time, location, possession, or intabulation. The same issues also apply to most transcriptions of works by the Gabrielis. Despite the great number of sheet music prints brought into musical centres on the territories of today's Slovakia in the late sixteenth and in the seventeenth century, the

[12] German historians have supposed that they were brothers.

[13] Cf. Hulková's view in "Stredoeurópske súvislosti", 196.

[14] Compositions by Silesian composers, such as Thomas Fritschius, Georg Lange, and Johann Knöfel, *ibid.*: 199.

[15] Wrocław, Archiwum Państwowe [State Archive], *Akta Miasta Wrocławia*, shelf mark 5175/olim P 141,1: *Aufnahmebücher (Matricularie) des Mariae Magdalenae Gymnasium 1617–1666*, 36, No. 371.

Gabrielis' original prints were most likely not among them.[16] Their compositions were disseminated only through the anthologies of German editors that served local musicians as a source of dissemination through further copies of the compositions.

The following list of works by the Gabrielis in the Levoča and Bardejov Music Collections provides evidence about several specific characteristics regarding the dissemination and inclusion of Gabrielis' music in the repertoire of Spiš and Šariš musical centres.

Andrea Gabrieli	**Levoča Music Collection***	**Bardejov Music Collection****	**Printed sources RISM B/I; RISM A/I G 86**
Deus, Deus meus, respice in me 10 v.		Ms. Mus. Bártfa 1/170/170	1587[16]
Expurgate vetus fermentum 8 v.		Ms. Mus. Bártfa 1/6/6	1587[16], 1613[1]
Exurgat Deus et dissipentur 8 v.		Ms. Mus. Bártfa 1/96/96	1587[16], 1613[1], 1617[1], 1617[24]
		Ms. Mus. Bártfa 21/17/1605	1587[16], 1613[1],1617[1], 1617[24]
Jubilate Deo, omnis terra, servite 8 v.		Ms. Mus. Bártfa 1/183/183	1587[16], 1613[1], 1617[1], 1617[24]
Quem vidistis pastores 8 v.	13991 (6 A)/145/1079		1587[16], 1613[1], 1618[1]
5 compositions	1 tablature	5 tablatures	

Giovanni Gabrieli	**Levoča Music Collection***	**Bardejov Music Collection****	**Printed sources RISM B/I; RISM A/I G 86**
Angelus ad pastores ait 12 v.	5161/6 /1135		1587[16], 1613[1]
Angelus Domini descendit de coelo 8 v.	13990a (1 A)/38/39		1597
Beata est virgo Maria 6 v.	13990a (1 A)/30/31		1597
Beati immaculati in via 8 v.	A 74/22/2350		1597, 1613[1], 1617[24]

[16] Kalinayová, *Musikinventare*: 196–208.

Beati omnes qui timent Dominum 8 v.	13990a (1 A)/37/38		1597, 1600[2], 1613[1], 1617[1], 1617[24]
	14003 (64–65 A) /113/1831		1597, 1600[2], 1613[1], 1617[1], 1617[24]
Benedixisti Domine terram 7 v.	13990a (1 A)/32/33		1597
Cantate Domino 6 v.	A 74/32/2360		1597, 1612[3], 1613[1], 1617[24]
Deus qui beatum Marcum 10 v.	13990a (1 A)/49/50		1597
Domine, exaudi orationem meam 8 v.	13990a (1 A)/34/35	Ms. Mus. Bártfa 1/164/164	1597
Domine, exaudi orationem meam 10 v.	13990a (1 A)/47/48		1597, 1600[2], 1613[1], 1617[24]
Ego sum qui sum 8 v.	13990a (1 A)/43/44		1597, 1612[3]
Exaudi, Deus, orationem meam 7 v.		Ms. Mus. Bártfa 21/31/1620	1597, 1598[2], 1601[2], 1613[1], 1617[24]
Exultate iusti in Domino 8 v.	13990a (1 A)/41/42	Ms. Mus. Bártfa 1/56/56	1597, 1613[1], 1617[24]
		Ms. Mus. Bártfa 16–5/232/926	1597, 1613[1], 1617[24]
		Ms. Mus. Bártfa 16–5/288/985	1597, 1613[1], 1617[24]
		Ms. Mus. Bártfa 21/16/1604	1597, 1613[1], 1617[24]
Hoc tegitur 8 v.	13990a (1 A)/42/43		1597, 1617[1], 1617[24]
Hodie Christus natus est 10 v.	13990a (1 A)/55/56		1597, 1618[1]
Hodie completi sunt 7 v.	13990a (1 A)/57/58		1600[2], 1613[1]
	14003 (64–65 A) /117/ 1835		1600[2], 1613[1]
Iam non dicam vos servos 8 v.	13990a (1 A)/36/37	Ms. Mus. Bártfa 1/34/34	1597, 1621[2]
		Ms. Mus. Bártfa 7/34/484	1597, 1621[2]

In te Domine speravi 8 v.	13990a (1 A)/44/45		1597, 1621[2]
Iubilate Deo, omnis terra 8 v.		Ms. Mus. Bártfa 21/7/1595	1597, 1598[2], 1601[2], 1613[1], 1617[24], 1621[2]
Iubilate Deo omnis terra (Iubilate omens) 15 v.	13990a (1 A)/61/62		1597
Iudica me, Domine 10 v.	13990a (1 A)/52/53		1597
Laudate nomen Domini 8 v.	13990a (1 A)/35/36		1597, 1621[2], 1617[1], 1617[24]
Magnificat anima mea Dominum 8 v.	13990a (1 A)/45/46		1597, 1617[1], 1617[24]
Magnificat anima mea Dominum 12 v.	13990a (1 A)/58/59		1597
Maria virgo regia 10 v.	13990a (1 A)/48/49		1597, 1600[2], 1613[1]
Miserere mei Deus 6 v.	13990a (1 A)/31/32		1597, 1600[2], 1611[1]
Misericordias Domini 8 v.	A 74/19/2347		1597, 1613[1], 1617[24]
Nunc dimittis servum tuum 14 v.	13990a (1 A)/60/61		1597
O Domine Jesu Christe 8 v.	13994 (5 A)/ [145]/821	Ms. Mus. Bártfa 21/29/1618	1597, 1598[2], 1601[2], 1613[1], 1617[24]
	14001 (59–61 A)/138/1626		1597, 1598[2], 1601[2], 1613[1], 1617[24]
O Jesu mi dulcissime 8 v.	13990a (1 A)/39/40		1597, 1611[1]
Quis est iste qui venit 10 v.	13990a (1 A)/54/55		1597
Regina coeli laetare 12 v.	13990a (1 A)/59/60		1597
Sancta et immaculata 8 v.	13990a (1 A)/40/41	Ms. Mus. Bártfa 21/23/1616	1597, 1600[2], 1613[2]
Sancta Maria succure miseris 7 v.	13990a (1 A)/33/34		1597, 1600[2], 1617[1]
Surrexit pastor bonus 10 v.	13990a (1 A)/50/51		1597
Uns ist geboren fein Kindelein 8 v.	13997 (56–58 A) /66/1383		1587[16]

Virtute magna operatus est coram 12 v.	13990a (1 A)/56/57		1597
37 compositions	40 tablatures	11 tablatures	

Legend for the second and third columns: shelf mark (new shelf mark, if existent) / composition number in the original source [non-indicated composition number] / composition number in the subject catalogue:

* Subject catalogue in Hulková, "Levočská zbierka hudobnín" 2., 146–147.

** Subject catalogue Murányi, *Thematisches Verzeichnis,*191–192.

1. Almost all intabulated compositions were published in anthologies by German and Silesian editors, including the 4-volume *Sacrae Symphoniae* edited by Caspar Hasler (1598, 1600, 1601, 1613), 2-volume *Florilegium musicum* edited by Eberhard Bodenschatz (1618, 1620–1621), and 4-volume *Promptuarium musicum* edited by Abraham Schadaeus (1611, 1612, 1613) and Caspar Vincentius (1617). Schadaeus' complete printed anthology was probably available in the Spiš region, because one incomplete copy is preserved in the Levoča Music Collection. Generally, the Levoča and Bardejov Music Collections' repertoires reveal a relatively large number of concordances with the German and Silesian anthologies; hence, the latter may also be a direct source of the Gabrielis' transcriptions. From this viewpoint, compositions by Giovanni Gabrieli transcribed in the *Tablature Book of Caspar Plotz* represent an exception. We can assume that the compositions must have been copied directly from the printed volume of Giovanni Gabrieli's *Sacrae Symphoniae* collection from 1597[17], because the order of the compositions is the same as in the printed version, and some of the copied works were published only in this collection, e.g. *Angelus Domini descendit de coelo*, *Benedixisti Domine terram*, *Deus qui beatum Marcum*, *Iudica me, Domine***.** The existence of the first volume of *Sacrae Symphoniae* as the intabulations' primary source also supports the idea of a foreign provenance of the *Tablature Book of Caspar Plotz*. This tablature may have also been used by musicians in the new social environment where it was brought, but because of the works' textless intabulations, musicians would also need another source for performance.

2. With the exception of the *Tablature Book of Caspar Plotz*, other music sources — whether tablature or part-books preserved in the Levoča and

[17] Only composition No. 57, *Hodie completi sunt 7 v.*, was not published in the first volume of *Sacrae Symphoniae*, but the work was inscribed by the second copyist in the blank space.

Bardejov Music Collections — do not exhibit a significant interest in music by the Gabrielis, although musicians sometimes reached for their motets or sacred concertos for the purposes of transcription. The reason for this smaller interest is probably associated with musicians serving mostly at the Lutheran Church, and their tendency to focus on works by Lutheran composers set not only to Latin, but also German sacred and liturgical texts. However, also the selection of sacred works by the Gabrielis was practically limited to the repertoire published in the 1587 *Concerti* collection and the first volume of the 1597 *Sacrae Symphoniae* collection. The majority of compositions included in these collections were republished in the above-mentioned anthologies. Madrigals, instrumental-polyphonic, and polychoral canzonas, as well as organ pieces, which represent a significant proportion of the Gabrielis' *oeuvre*, seem to have been unknown to Spiš and Šariš musicians.

3. A comparison of works by the Gabrielis transcribed in the Levoča Music Collection with those in the Bardejov Music Collection does not reveal many concordances, although Hulková found a considerably large number of concordances between the collections[18].

4. Unlike the Spiš musical centre with minimal interest in transcribing Andrea Gabrieli's pieces, Bardejov musicians showed more balanced predilections and even appreciation for the sacred works of both the younger and the older Gabrieli. In the Levoča Music Collection, Andrea Gabrieli's *oeuvre* is represented by a single composition: a transcription of *Quem vidistis pastores*, one of his best-known Christmas motets for two choirs. This piece was transcribed in the *Tablature Book of Samuel Marckfelner II* by an unknown copyist, and has the call number 13994 (5 A).

Investigations into the practical impact and reception of works by Venetian masters in the practices of the Spiš-Šariš music centres is probably the most interesting research task. No transcriptions of Gabrielis' compositions are accompanied by notes about performance places or dates, and secondary sources (e.g. town accounting books and chronicles) also reveal nothing. Therefore, it can be assumed that musicians did not copy compositions routinely, but were guided by practical needs; i.e. they wanted the transcribed music to be performed on appropriate occasions. The issue of unknown copyists and social environments

[18] Hulková, "Die Musikaliensammlungen", 110–111.

for which the transcriptions were made relates not only to the *Tablature Book of Caspar Plotz*, but also to other primary sources with transcriptions of compositions by Andrea Gabrieli and Giovanni Gabrieli. The tablatures or part-books containing their works were created progressively by several copyists adding further transcriptions. The books were owned by individuals active in various places, and changed their content over this time until acquiring the currently preserved state. Due to the extensive migration of musicians and frequent exchanges of sheet music materials between seemingly distant musical centres, investigations into the sources of the transcriptions, as well as into the social environments where they were used, are hardly possible without the help of secondary information from this time. The German-speaking population of the Upper Hungarian towns was in close contact with Saxon and Silesian communities; they shared the same language, cultural traditions, and beginning in the mid-sixteenth century, also the Lutheran confession. Many Spiš intellectuals, later becoming priests, rectors, and cantors, received secondary or university education in German schools[19], and vice versa, the renowned Spiš lyceums also attracted German and Silesian students. *Ungarischer Simplicissimus*, an autobiographical novel by Daniel Speer, the Silesian composer, musician and writer, provides an authentic testimony to frequent musical contacts with Silesian cultural centres, Wrocław in particular. However, it seems that the exchanges extended eastward beyond the Spiš and Šariš regions to Transylvanian towns with their numerous Saxon inhabitants. The Levoča and Bardejov Music Collections include some transcriptions of works by composers active in Transylvania.[20] This can be related to the temporary stays of some Spiš musicians in Transylvania, or migration of musicians, organ builders, and sheet music between these regions, which have already been revealed.[21] Studies on the two tablature books

[19] For example the musician families of Piláriks and Kleschs, see more in: Jana Kalinayová, "Hudobné aktivity spišských evanjelikov v Nemecku v 17. storočí" [The musical activities of Spiš lutherans in Germany in the seventeenth century], *Musicologica Slovaca et Europaea* 19 (1994): 53–62.

[20] For example Johannes Thesselius. See more in: Peter Király, "Johannes Thesselius, der Kapellmeister von Gabriel Bethlen", *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 21 (1993/1994): 19–31.

[21] For example musicians Johannes Kájoni and Gabriel Reilich, as well as organ builder Johannes Vest. See more in the following studies: Saviana Damiandi and Agnes Papp, "Introduction" to the source edition *Codex Caioni saeculi XVII. Musicalia Danubiana* series, 14a–c (Bucharest 1993); Hans Peter Türk, "Introduction" to the source edition *Gabriel Reilich Padure spiritual-muzikala de flori si trandafiri Carte de cintece / Gabriel Reilich Geistlich=Musicalischer Blum=und Rosen=wald. Generalbass-Lieder* (Bucureşti: Editura Muzicală,

of Samuel Marckfelner, Levoča organist from 1648 to 1674, have also suggested contacts between Spiš and Transylvanian musical centres.[22] *The Tablature Book of Samuel Marckfelner II* (call No. 13994, 5 A) contains several notations which confirm young Marckfelner's stays in Braşov (Kronstadt) in 1643 and Sighişoara (Schässburg) in 1648, before he was appointed to the post of Levoča town organist. So far, attempts to discover the origins of both tablatures have failed, as have those of identifying the core repertoire's copyist, including transcriptions of Andrea Gabrieli's *Quem vidistis pastores*, a Christmas motet (in 13991), and *O Domine Jesu Christe* by Giovanni Gabrieli, a motet for two choirs (in 13994). However, annotations found on the binding of manuscript 13994 during its recent restoration support the older hypothesis that this tablature book may have originated in Transylvania.[23] During Marckfelner's stays in Braşov, the town lyceum's library contained a large number of printed sheet music, which served the needs of the cantor and to organise music productions in the German parish church, the so-called Black Church. The Gabrielis' 1587 *Concerti* and Giovanni Gabrieli's first volume of his *Sacrae Symphoniae* were also among the musical prints.[24]

Two other sources in the Levoča Music Collection with inscriptions of Giovanni Gabrieli's compositions in incomplete part-books — 14001 (59–61 A, *O Domine Jesu Christe*) and 14003 (64–65 A, *Hodie completi sunt*) — are also

1984); Jana Kalinayová-Bartová, "Ján Vest a najväčší organ v Uhorsku" [Johann Vest and the largest organ in the kingdom of Hungary], in: *Príspevky k vývoju hudobnej kultúry na Slovensku,* ed. Ľudomir Chalupka (Bratislava: Stimul, 2009): 55–68; Jana Kalinayová-Bartová, "Medzi Spišom a Sedmohradskom. K interregionálnym hudobnokultúrnym kontaktom v strednej Európe na príklade neznámeho prameňa zo 17. storočia" [Between Spiš and Transylvania. On interregional connections in the seventeenth century with special reference to an unknown source], *Musicologica Istropolitana* 10–11 (2013): 227–259.

[22] František Matúš, "Samuel Marckfelner. Príspevok k poznaniu života a diela levočského organistu, hudobného skladateľa a senátora" [Samuel Marckfelner. Contribution to the knowledge on the life and work of Levoča organist, composer and senator], *Z minulosti Spiša* 9-10 (2002): 137–149.

[23] The hypothesis of the Transylvanian origin of the two *Tablature Books of Samuel Marckfelner* was posed previously by Richard Rybarič, but some scholars also considered a Spiš origin of these sources. The note "Paulus Schubartt: Cibiniensis: Anno 162(?)4. Die 20." was found on the binding of the manuscript with call No. 13994. Paul Schubart is mentioned in several documents as an organist in the Transylvanian town Bistrita (Bistritz / Nösen), where he was active since 1664. See more in: Péter Királyi, "Wenig beachtete und unbekannte Quellen für Tasteninstrumente aus Oberungarn und Siebenbürgen", *Slovenská hudba* 27 (1996), Nos. 3–4: 379.

[24] Julius Gross, "Zur ältesten Geschichte der Kronstädter Gymnasialbibliothek", *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, *Neue Folge* 21 (1887): 653.

amongst the primary sources whose provenance, copyists' origins, and initial transcription dates are subject to assumptions and hypotheses. Based on the fact that some transcriptions were made on paper from the Spiš paper mill, and considering the high number of concordances with the Bardejov music collection, Hulková presumes a Spiš origin of at least some parts of both items.[25]

The collection with call number A 74[26], which includes transcriptions of as many as three motets by Giovanni Gabrieli (*Cantate Domino, Misericordias Domini*, and *Beati immaculati)*, all originally published in the first volume of *Sacrae Symphoniae*, is interesting for its untraditional way of transcribing repertoire, which goes beyond the practices used in other manuscript sources of the Levoča and Bardejov Music Collections. Their 73 polyphonic and polychoral works, written in the late-Renaissance Italian and German style, are transcribed as scores, rather than organ tablatures or part-books. Even here, we do not know the origin of the scores and their copyist, but the collection's title page annotations point to its connection with the mid-seventeenth-century Levoča centre.[27]

The item with call number 13997 (56 A – 58 A) comprises three part-books and contains a transcription of a single piece by Giovanni Gabrieli that deserves special mention. The composition with number 66 is *Uns ist geborn ein feines Kindelein* (Fig. 1), a *contrafactum* of *Lieto godea sedendo*, Giovanni Gabrieli's madrigal published in the 1587 *Concerti*. The madrigal as a *contrafactum* with several different texts was popular in German Lutheran cantorates,[28] but as a Christmas motet *contrafactum* it was usually accompanied by another text with the incipit *Ein Kindlein fein ist uns geboren*. In the extensive manuscript of polychoral sacred music kept at the archive of the Lutheran cantorate in Mügeln, this version is listed under number 41 and the name of Nikolaus Rost (Nicolaus Rosthius, Fig. 2).[29]

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[25] Hulková, "Rukopisné hlasové zošity": 211–212.

[26] Jana Petöczová, "Polychorická hudba v Levočskom rukopisnom zborníku sign. 74 A" [Polychoral music in the Levoča miscellany collection sign. 74a], *Hudební věda* 25 (1988): 226–227.

[27] *Ibid.*: 216.

[28] The contrafacta include: *"Ein Kindlein fein", "Fröhlich zu sein", "Heilig ist Gott", "Auxilium promisit Deus", "Quam pulchra es amica mea".*

[29] Mügeln, Evangelisch-lutherisches Pfarramt St. Johanni, Kantoreiarchiv, Mus. Ant. 16/1–6, RISM ID No.: 230001650.

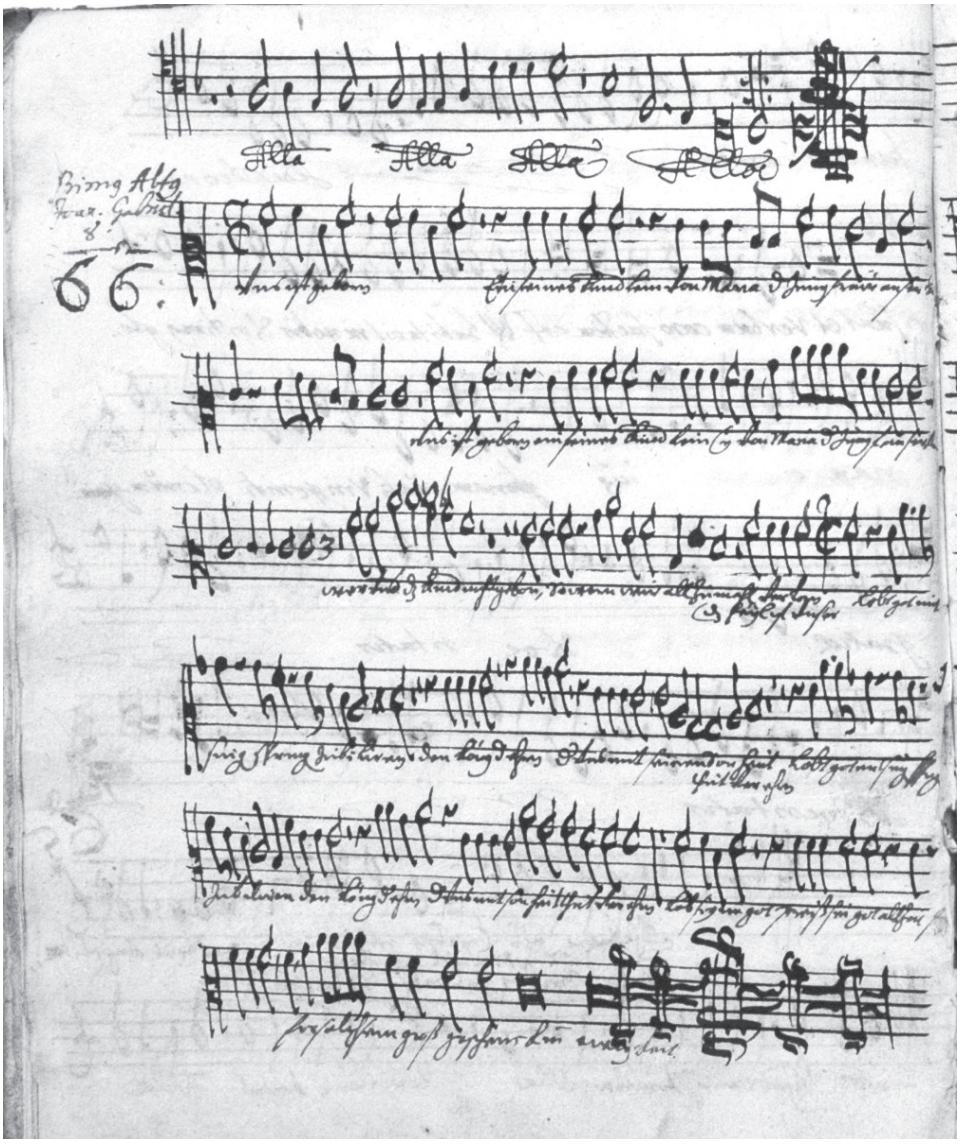


Figure 1. *Uns ist geborn ein feines Kindelein*, *Altus primus* part.
Levoča, Lutheran parish church archive, 13997 (56 A), f. 40v

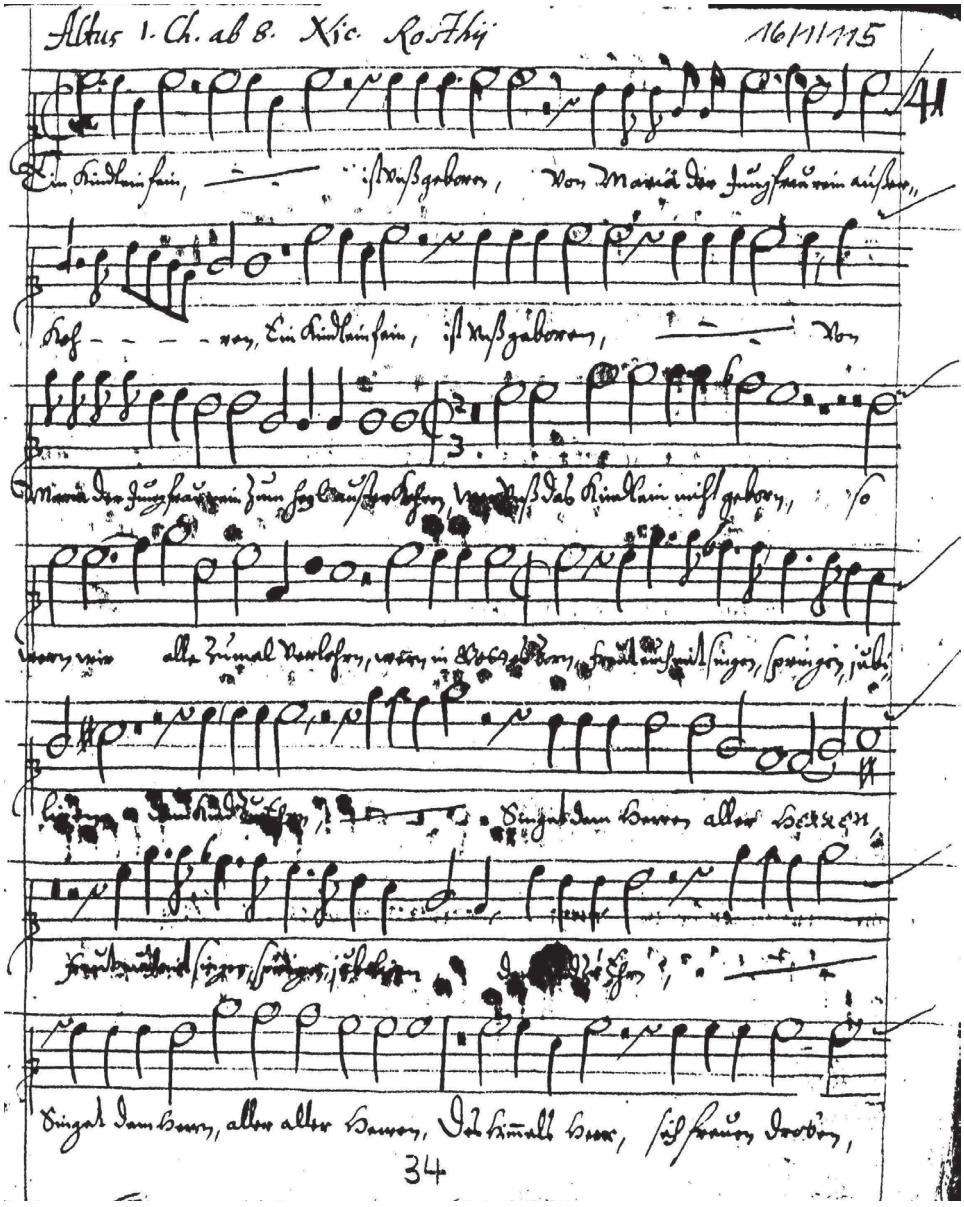
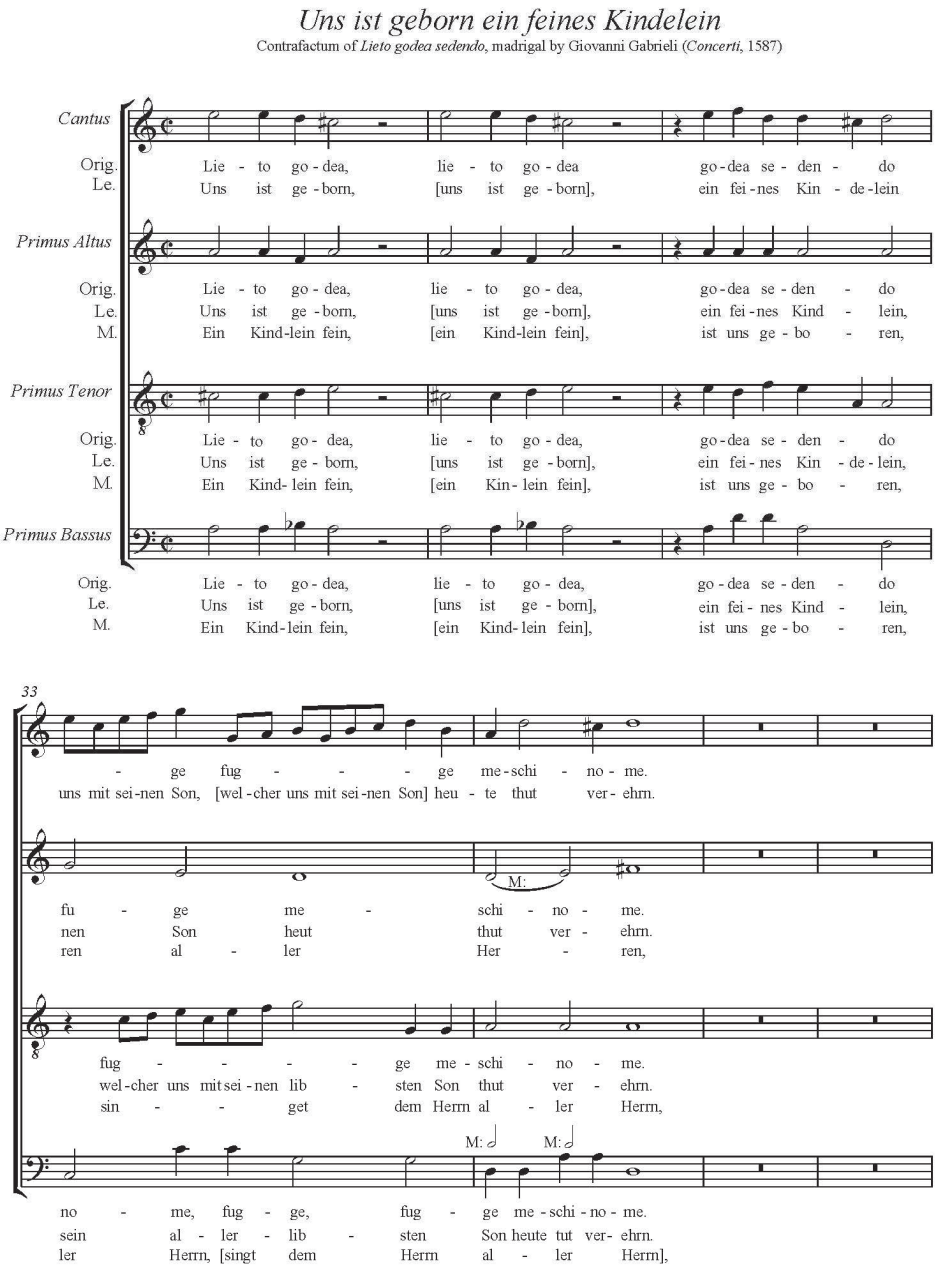


Figure 2. *Ein Kindlein fein ist uns geboren,* part for *Altus primus*.
Mügeln, Evangelisch-lutherisches Pfarramt St. Johanni, Kantoreiarchiv,
Mus. Ant. 16/1, f. 115r

Apart from the word order, the first four verses of both versions are almost identical. They rephrase the Christmas hymn *Der Tag der ist so freudenreich*, which Martin Luther published in his *Geistliche Lieder* (1533, 1545). However, the subsequent verses are different.

Text to the Levoča version	**Text to the Mügeln version**
Uns ist geborn ein feines Kindelein, von Maria der Jungfrau von auserkorn	Ein Kindlein fein ist uns geboren, von Maria der Jungfrau rein zum heyl von ausserkohren,
wer uns das Kindlein nicht geborn so wern/weren wir alle Zumahl verlorn, das Heyl ist unser Lobt got mit singen, springen, jubiliren den Köng der ehrn, welcher uns mit seinen Son heute thut verehrn. Lobt got mit singen, springen, jubilieren, den Köng der ehrn, welcher/der uns mit sein allerlibsten Son heute thut verehrn lob sey ein Got, preiss sey Got alle Zeit sei fur solch sein gross geschencken Ewigkeit.	wer uns das Kindlein nicht geborn so wern wir alle Zumal verlohrn, wern/und in Gottes Zorn. Freut euch mit singen, springen, jubiliren dem Kind zu Ehrn, singet dem Herrn aller Herrn freut euch mit singen, springen, jubilieren dem Kind zu Ehrn, singet/singt dem Herrn, aller Herren, des Himmels Herr, sich freuen droben, die Engel singen, all und thun Gott loben.

Both texts were created through the centonization and rephrasing of several biblical and hymnal text sources, which were slightly varied according to the needs of the original's syllabic structure. This contrafactum procedure allowed a better adaptation of the new text to the original music. With the same goal in sight, several rhythmic changes in regards to the original were made in both versions. The scoring of the Levoča manuscript, however, simplifies its texture by changing the original coloratura passages to more syllabic ones (see musical example). Although both versions contain such problematic moments in prosody, Rost's version in the manuscript from Mügeln follows the original madrigal's musical direction to a greater extent.



Three versions of madrigal *Lieto godea sedendo*: the original Gabrieli version, the Levoča manuscript version (Le), and the Mügeln manuscript version (M), mm. 1–3 and 33–36

However, the Levoča source entry is incomplete. Three part-books (*Cantus*, *Tenor*, *Quinta vox*) record four voices (*Quinta vox* includes *Primus Altus* and *Primus Tenor*). Voices for the second choir have not been preserved. The origin of this manuscript is also unknown, and is subject to various assumptions. The studies undertaken to-date suggest its connections to Silesia and Germany, but the manuscript's partial Spiš-Šariš provenance cannot be ruled out, as a further piece (No. 131 *Dixit Deus non est bonus*) was inscribed by another writer with the annotation "Cantor Leutschoviensis".[30] Either way, this inscription serves as evidence of a rare local version of a Gabrieli madrigal contrafactum.

Argumentation problems for proving the real impact of transcribed works by the Gabrielis on Spiš region's musical production is thus not significantly associated with transcriptions included in the Bardejov Music Collection due to 13 compositions having been transcribed by Zachariáš Zarewutius (1605–1667), who served as organist at St. Egidius parish church in Bardejov (1624–1667), and was a well-known composer of polyphonic and polychoral music in his centre. By transcribing Gabrielis' works, Zarewutius showed quite strong interest in the music of both Venetian masters at a time when other musical centres in present-day Slovakia (especially in the western regions, with Bratislava [Pressburg] as centre) were turning towards more modern kinds of concertato-style compositions, and when, in the Spiš regions, the northern Italian polychoral style music was represented by works of German and Silesian Lutheran composers, rather than Italian ones. The greatest number of Gabrieli intabulations, made by Zachariáš Zarewutius, are included in the part-books of Ms. Mus Bártfa 1 (Fig. 3) and Ms. Mus. Bártfa 21, which are considered to originate from Zarewutius.[31] Based on Zarewutius' notes, these sources date back to the 1660s.[32] It is very likely that Zarewutius also used the anthologies of German and Silesian editors as sources for his transcriptions.

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[30] Hulková, "Musikalische Handschriften": 263.

[31] See Murányi, "Thematisches Verzeichnis", XXI, XXVII, but after comparing the writers' *ductus* in Ms. Mus. 16–5 we suppose that part of this item was also transcribed by Zarewutius (including Giovanni Gabrieli's double choir motet *Exultate iusti in Domino* No. 232).

[32] *Ibid.*
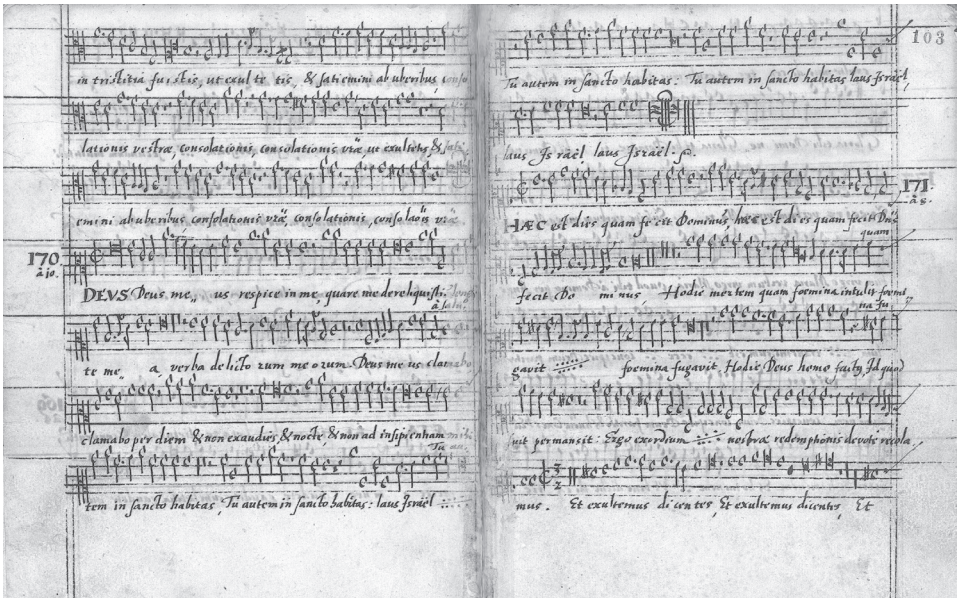


Figure 3. Andrea Gabrieli's motet *Deus, Deus meus, respice in me*
transcribed by Zacharias Zarewutius.
Budapest, Széchényi National Library,
Music Department, Ms. Mus Bártfa 1/ C, f. 102v–103r[33]

Based on the presented facts, we can conclude that musicians from Spiš-Šariš towns had limited opportunities to come into contact with the works of prominent Venetian organists, and even those possibilities were approached selectively. Access to music by the Gabrielis was limited by the needs of Lutheran liturgical practice; thus musicians used only the composers' sacred works. Another limitation was that the sources on which the transcriptions were based consisted mainly of anthologies of Italian compositions selected by publishers from beyond the Alps. Therefore, the content of these anthologies has determined the range of music for selection and transcription. Still, such anthologies did not catch into their net Giovanni Gabrieli's more progressive polychoral style, presented in the second volume of his *Sacrae Symphoniae*, which was probably unknown to Spiš-Šariš musicians. It seems that the early seventeenth-century Upper-Hungarian musicians did not favour as intensely the Venetian

[33] I express my gratitude to Balazs Mikusi, head of the Music Department at Széchényi National Library in Budapest, for providing the copy and granting the permission to publish it.

composers as their German counterparts. In general, the number of transcribed compositions by the Gabrielis is not very large, but the significant fact is that among the several known intavolators of the music preserved in the Levoča and Bardejov Collections, the Bardejov organist and composer Zachariáš Zarewutius showed particular interest in Gabrielis' music. Perhaps one reason for the reserved attitude of other local musicians was the great number of compositions by German imitators of the Venetian style (e.g. works by Aichinger, Erbach, Dulicius, Gumpelzheimer, and especially Hans Leo Hassler, as well as Hieronymus and Michael Praetorius), contemporaneously disseminated in many prints and transcriptions not only in the church choirs of the Spiš and Šariš musical centres, but also in the centres on the territories of today's Slovakia. Works by Hassler and Praetorius formed part of the repertoire at Lutheran cantorates until the last third of the seventeenth century. However, from the 1630s, this repertoire was enriched by more modern kinds of polychoral and concertato-style compositions, although they were still mediated by music of transalpine provenance. The Levoča Music Collection also includes a transcription of Giovanni Gabrieli's 12-part motet *Angelus ad Pastores ait*, bound to a printed copy of Schüzt's *Psalmen Davids* (call No. 5161). An inserted transcription of Gabrieli's composition in a copy of Schütz's works generates a symbolic example of those cross-country musical-cultural influences.[34]

[34] This text was written in partial fulfillment of the projects VEGA 1/0850/14–17 and VEGA 1/0699/16–19.

Summary

Current research into the adoption of Andrea Gabrieli's and Giovanni Gabrieli's oeuvres in former Upper-Hungarian music centres (situated mainly in the Spiš and Šariš regions of present-day Slovakia) is based on examinations of the music sources that have been preserved in two extensive music collections: the Levoča Music Collection and the Bardejov Music Collection. They demonstrate the importance of the late 16th- and early 17th-century anthologies, compiled by German editors, in the dissemination of Gabrielis' compositions — and Italian music in general — into the Spiš-Šariš regions. Anthologies had become the main source of transcriptions and further spreading of both authors' pieces. On the other hand, in its content they were a source of limitation for further choice options. Among the known local composers, the most significant interest in Gabrielis' works had been recognized by the Bardejov organist Zachariáš Zarewutius in his transcription of 13 units. Further transcriptions of Gabrielis' pieces have survived in the manuscripts of unknown origin. The time of their creation and the names of intavolators are also unclear or unknown. The study therefore contains also information on the current research proceedings in these questions and hypothetical thoughts on the genesis and possible sources of these transcriptions as well as the routes of their transferring and their connections to the musical life of the Spiš-Šariš centres. Special attention is dedicated to the local version of the *contrafactum* of *Lieto godea sedendo* madrigal by Giovanni Gabrieli.

Keywords: Levoča Music Collection, Bardejov Music Collection, organ tablatures, *contrafactum*