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**POTI GLASBENIH ROKOPISOV IN TISKOV
V NOVOVEŠKI EVROPI**

**ITINERARIES OF MUSICAL
MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTS
IN MODERN EUROPE**

uredila / edited by
Metoda Kokole, Michael Talbot

Ta tematski zvezek je izšel pod okriljem projekta GLASBENE MIGRACIJE V ZGODNJEM NOVEM VEKU: NA SOTOČJU EVROPSKEGA VZHODA, ZAHODA IN JUGA v okviru evropskega raziskovalnega programa HERA – »Kulturna srečanja«.

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PREDGOVOR

Migracije so prav v trenutku nastajanja tega besedila osrednja tema pogovorov in zanimanja v Evropi. Pa vendar so premiki v prostoru in času stalno aktualen aspekt življenja in vplivajo na potek zgodovine človeštva, pretekle in tudi sodobne. Migracije so tudi osrednja tema trenutnega evropskega raziskovalnega projekta, ki ga financira Evropska komisija za humanistiko v evropskem raziskovalnem prostoru v okviru svojega programa »Kulturna srečanja«. Projekt, v katerem sodelujejo partnerske skupine iz Hrvaške, Slovenije, Poljske in Nemčije, vodi hrvaška muzikologinja Vjera Katalinić, njegov uradni naslov pa se glasi *Glasbene migracije v zgodnjem novem veku: na stičišču evropskega vzhoda, zahoda in juga* (= HERA MusMig). Njegov namen so raziskave glasbenih migracij v 17. in 18. stoletju v najširšem pomenu, ki vključuje vse, čemur bi lahko rekli glasbena »infrastruktura«: od oseb do predmetov in idej.

Eden od omenjenih aspektov se torej nanaša na migracije fizičnih predmetov, glasbenih rokopisov in tiskov – ti vsebujejo vrsto informacij, ki so v preteklosti lahko doživele uporabo v novem (včasih nepričakovanem) okolju ali pa so v njem le čakale na ponovno odkritje. Prav ta redek vidik je bil že leta 2012 izbran za osrednjo temo mednarodnega muzikološkega simpozija, ki ga redno organizira Muzikološki inštitut Znanstvenoraziskovalnega centra SAZU v okviru dela v raziskovalnem programu »Raziskave slovenske glasbene preteklosti« pod vodstvom Jurija Snoja, avtorja spodaj navedenega razmišljanja o *Poteh glasbenih rokopisov in tiskov v novoveški Evropi* – to je postalo tudi uradno besedilo simpozija, ki je potekal oktobra 2014 v Ljubljani v sodelovanju z Univerzo Jean Monnet iz Saint-Étienne v Franciji in pod okriljem projekta HERA MusMig.

S tem, ko se je začela zapisovati, je glasba lahko premoščala tako prostorske kakor časovne omejitve. Vsako glasbeno delo, ki je dobilo fiksno obliko v notnem zapisu, je moglo preživeti svoj čas in prenesti ga je bilo mogoče v druga okolja, ki so zapisano razumela in interpretirala v skladu s časom, krajem in kontekstom njegove uporabe. S porastom prepisovanja in tiska je glasba začela krožiti v različnih območjih, kar je vodilo do oblikovanja značilnih poti, po katerih so se glasbena dela širila, nazadnje pa privedlo tudi do vzpostavitve vseevropskega glasbenega trga. Evropske biblioteke so polne rokopisnih in tiskanih glasbenih knjig, v katerih najdemo vidne sledi pogosto dolgih in zapletenih poti, ki so jih prepotovale, preden so prispele do svoje današnje lokacije. Domala vsaka glasbena knjiga ima svojo usodo, bodisi tipično bodisi nenavadno, in ob vsaki se je mogoče vprašati, kje je nastala, zakaj, komu je bila namenjena, kje je

bila dejansko v rabi, kdo jo je kdaj pridobil in zakaj, ter po kateri poti je prišla na svojo sedanjo lokacijo.

Sam simpozij je bil seveda skupinski dosežek številnih muzikologov, ki so na več načinov sodelovali v pripravah in izvedbi ter ne nazadnje srečanju dali vsebino in plodno vzdušje. Prvi del so opravili predvsem člani organizacijskega odbora, zlasti kolegi z Muzikološkega inštituta (Jurij Snoj, Metoda Kokole, Katarina Šter, Klemen Grabnar) skupaj z Marcom Desmetom, ki je zastopal partnersko ustanovo, in naš najzvestejši in dragocen podpornik Michael Talbot, zaslužni profesor Univerze v Liverpoolu. Za drugi del pa so seveda s svojimi referati poskrbeli aktivni udeleženci muzikologi, večinoma v mednarodnem prostoru uveljavljeni profesorji in raziskovalci iz desetih evropskih držav: Slovenije, Hrvaške, Italije, Avstrije, Češke, Poljske, Francije, Nizozemske, Švedske in Velike Britanije.

Na simpoziju ni bila prisotna le vodja projekta HERA MusMig Vjera Katalinić, temveč je imelo srečanje tudi čast, da se ga je udeležil trenutni predsednik Mednarodnega muzikološkega društva Dinko Fabris, ki je udeležence uvodoma posebej pozdravil in v nadaljevanju predstavil tudi svoj zanimivi referat o zgodnjih partiturah polifone glasbe v Italiji 17. stoletja na primerih Gesualda in Molinara. Avtor žal zaradi svojih številnih zadolžitev v času po simpoziju ni uspel pravočasno dokončati besedila za natis v pričujoči knjigi skupaj z vsemi drugimi besedili, predstavljenimi na srečanju. A veseli smo, da bo tudi besedilo Dinka Fabrisa kljub vsemu izšlo v eni od prihodnjih števil revije *De musica disserenda*.

Vrstni red besedil v tem zvezku ne sledi izvornemu simpozijemskemu programu. Izjema je prispevek Iaina Fenlona, ki je imel tudi na simpoziju uvodno predavanje. Prve tri razprave govorijo o luteranskih zbirkah (Paweł Gancarczyk, Jan Baťa in Lars Berglund), naslednji dve se posvečata širjenju del Jacobusa Handla - Gallusa (Marc Desmet in Marko Motnik), medtem ko se naslednja večja skupina avtorjev (Ivano Cavallini, Michael Talbot, Tomasz Jeż, Marc Niubo, Rudolf Rasch in Vjera Katalinić) ukvarja s posamičnimi primeri, ki so grobo urejeni po kronološkem redu obravnavanega gradiva. Zbornik zaokrožuje vrsta poglavij iz tekočih raziskav slovenske nacionalne glasbene dediščine, prav tako urejenih po kronološkem zaporedju obravnavanih vsebin, ki so jih prispevali Klemen Grabnar, Radovan Škrjanc, Darja Koter, Vesna Venišnik in Maruša Zupančič.

Knjiga, ki je sedaj pred nami, svoj obstoj in vsebino seveda v prvi vrsti dolguje svojim številnim avtorjem, v malo manjši meri pa tudi nevidnim, a nujnim prispevkom številnih anonimnih recenzentov besedil, ki so prav tako pripomogli h kakovosti končnega izdelka, in ne nazadnje tudi najinemu uredniškemu pomočniku Klemnu Grabnarju. Levji delež dela in odgovornosti je prevzel moj sourednik Michael Talbot, ki se mu v teh zadnjih vrsticah iskreno zahvaljujem za vse, kar je naredil, da je ta zvezek spisan v kar se da lepi angleščini in sedaj predstavlja vreden prispevek k potekajočim svetovnim raziskavam glasbenih migracij v zgodnjem novem veku.

Metoda Kokole
Ljubljana, september 2015

FOREWORD

Migrations are at the time of writing the dominant theme of conversation and concern in Europe. To move in space and time is, however, an ever-present aspect of life, affecting the whole course of human history, past as well as present. The idea of migration also stands at the core of the current European research project financed by the European Commission for Humanities in the European Research Area within its programme “Cultural Encounters.” This project, which involves partner groups from Croatia, Slovenia, Poland and Germany, is led by Vjera Katalinić from Croatia and bears the official name of *Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age: The Meeting of European East, West and South* (= HERA MusMig). Its object is to study musical migrations during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in their broadest sense encompassing everything that we could call musical “infrastructure:” from persons to artefacts and even ideas.

So one aspect of musical migrations relates to physical items, which include musical manuscripts and prints, which contain within themselves a stock of information that may possibly be made use of in a new (and sometimes unexpected) environment or be safely preserved there until its rediscovery. This rarely studied aspect was chosen, back in 2012, to become the focus of an international musicological conference organized by the Institute of Musicology at the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts within its research programme “Researches in the History of Music in Slovenia,” directed by Jurij Snoj, who is the author of the following thoughts on *Itineraries of Musical Manuscripts and Prints in Modern Europe*, which became an official text of this conference, held in Ljubljana in October 2014 in partnership with the Jean Monnet University of Saint-Étienne in France and within the ambit of the HERA MusMig project.

Ever since Western music began being written down, it has been able to overcome the barriers of time and space. Any piece of music, given fixed form by notation, has been able to outlive its time and travel to other environments, which have understood and interpreted it in ways specific to the time, place and context of use. In parallel with the rise of copying and printing, music began to circulate over wider areas, which led to the creation of typical pathways by which musical works were disseminated, and eventually to a pan-European music market. Libraries abound in musical sources, handwritten or printed, that bear the visible signs of journeys – often long and tortuous – that they have made in order to reach their present location. Books containing music also have their histories, either generic or specific: any one of them may throw up questions about its

place of origin, its purpose, its destination, its use (or non-use), its ownership (and the reasons behind it), and, finally, the route by which it reached its present location.

The conference was, naturally, a collaborative venture by many scholars, who contributed in various ways to its preparation and smooth running as well as providing its essential content and animating spirit. The first pair of tasks fell primarily to the members of its organizing committee: notably colleagues from the Institute of Musicology (Jurij Snoj, Metoda Kokole, Katarina Šter, Klemen Grabnar), plus Marc Desmet, representing the co-organizing institution, and our most loyal and precious supporter Michael Talbot, Emeritus Professor at the University of Liverpool. The second pair of tasks was performed by the readers of the papers, who were musicologists, mostly well known, from ten different European countries: Slovenia, Croatia, Italy, Austria, the Czech Republic, Poland, France, the Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

The conference was not only attended by the leader of the HERA MusMig project, Vjera Katalinić, but also had the honour of acting as host to the current president of the International Musicological Society, Dinko Fabris, who gave a short welcoming address, which was later followed by his very interesting research paper on “Early scores of polyphonic music in seventeenth-century Italy: Gesualdo and Molinaro.” On account of the author’s numerous commitments in the period following the conference, he was unfortunately unable to complete the preparation of his text in time to have it published in the present volume together with all the other papers read to the conference. However, I am pleased to say that we will be able to publish Dinko Fabris’s article in a future volume of *De musica disserenda*.

The order of the articles in this volume does not follow that of the original conference programme, with the exception of an introductory contribution by Iain Fenlon, which was originally delivered as the conference’s keynote address. The three succeeding articles, by Paweł Gancarczyk, Jan Baťa and Lars Berglund, are concerned with Lutheran collections; next, articles by Marc Desmet and Marko Motnik examine the dissemination of works by Iacobus Handl-Gallus, while a large following group, by Ivano Cavallini, Michael Talbot, Tomasz Jeż, Marc Niubo, Rudolf Rasch and Vjera Katalinić, is made up of case studies dealing with various topics roughly ordered according to the chronology of the materials discussed. The volume ends with a series of articles presenting current Slovenian research into the subjects indicated by the respective titles, their authors being Klemen Grabnar, Radovan Škrjanc, Darja Koter, Vesna Venišnik and Maruša Zupančič.

The volume now in front of you obviously owes most to its several authors, but a small, invisible but indispensable contribution towards the final result was made by the numerous anonymous reviewers for the articles and our editorial assistant Klemen Grabnar. The lion’s share of labour and responsibility fell, however, to my fellow editor Michael Talbot, to whom I dedicate my final lines with many thanks for all he has done to make this volume as presentable in English as possible, and a worthwhile contribution to the ongoing continent-wide investigations into musical migrations in early modern Europe.

Metoda Kokole
Ljubljana, September 2015

MANUSCRIPT, PRINT AND THE MARKET FOR MUSIC IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

IAIN FENLON

University of Cambridge

Izyleček: Prispevek se posveča spreminjajočim se težiščem dveh večjih aspektov širitve glasbenih virov v zgodnjem novem veku – med razširjanjem v rokopisih in tiskih na eni strani ter med geografskimi »središči« in »obrobji« na drugi. Procesi so prikazani na primeru širitve moteta Aspice Domine Jacqueta iz Mantove. V središču dinamike obeh procesov sledimo razvoju rastočega trga za tiskane glasbene knjige, ki so ga stimulirali tako tehnološki izumi kot pomembne spremembe odnosa družbe do same glasbene umetnosti, spremembe, ki so se same promovirale skozi medij tiska.

Ključne besede: geografija knjige, zgodnji novi vek, glasbeni rokopisi, glasbeni tiski, Aspice Domine Jacqueta iz Mantove.

Abstract: The shifting tensions between two major features of the dissemination of music in the early modern era – between manuscript and printed transmission on the one hand, and between “centre” and “periphery” on the other – are explored in this paper via the example of the dissemination of the motet Aspice Domine by Jacquet of Mantua. Central to the dynamics of both is the evolution of an expanding market for printed books of music, a process stimulated by technological innovation as well as by significant changes in societal attitudes towards the art of music itself – changes that were themselves promoted through the medium of print.

Keywords: geography of the book, early modern era, music manuscripts, music prints, itineraries, Jacquet of Mantua's Aspice Domine.

In their seminal account of the initial impact of printing Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin devote an entire chapter to what they describe as “the geography of the book.” Their discussion begins once the technology had been invented, when Gutenberg’s first apprentices and the workmen who learned from them had already inaugurated the long process by which the printing press and its first operatives gradually moved across the whole of Europe and then beyond, to Asia and South America. This chapter in their book is strategically placed after consideration of the introduction of paper to Europe, the development of the necessary techniques and the network of crafts which linked those involved in the process of authorship and printing. Having established these parameters, the authors lay out the dynamics of the geography of the book through examination of the involvement of influential figures and institutions and the crucial role of economic investment in creating a stable environment in which printing and publishing could flourish.

Beginning with the enormous demand for printed liturgical books for use in cathedrals and collegiate churches, and later encompassing devotional texts of all kinds for private buyers, the needs of the church were a significant factor in the growth of the market. From an early date presses were also set up in places where lawyers gathered, while in university towns books were needed for teachers and scholars. In order to make a profit, printers also began from an early date to cater for a popular market with cheap books of all kinds produced in smaller formats.¹

Liturgical books with notation, theoretical texts and, later still, books of music fit well into the pattern which Febvre and Martin describe, forming three quite distinctive sectors of the trade. Between 1476 and 1500 liturgical books with music were produced by some sixty-six printers working in twenty-five European towns and cities.² Mensural music is also found in a small number of fifteenth-century printed books; the earliest, Francesco Nizer's *Grammatica* (Venice: Theodor of Würzburg, 1480), contains sections on metre, rhythm and harmony, the last of which is equipped with notation consisting of four lines of notes with a clef but without staves, printed by type. A decade or so later Michel de Toulouse, working in Paris, printed two pages of mensural notation using rather badly-cast type in his edition of the anonymous *L'art et instruction de bien danser* (n.d., ca.1496), and in 1499 Johann Emerich of Speyer included a mensural Credo, also printed by type, in his *Graduale*. Yet another incunabulum, the *Historia Baetica* (Rome: Eucharius Silber, 1493), written by the Papal Secretary Carolo Verardi, actually includes an anonymous polyphonic Italian song for four voices printed by poorly-cut woodblocks and arranged on facing pages in traditional choirbook format. The first collection of printed polyphony, Petrucci's *Odhecaton A* of 1501, was sufficiently successful in commercial terms to encourage the re-issue of the book, and during the next decade Petrucci went on to print more than forty editions of chansons, *frottole*, Masses, motets, *laude* and intabulations for lute.³

By the middle of the sixteenth century not only music itself, but also treatises, textbooks, instruction manuals and tutors were being produced in their hundreds and sometimes thousands to cater for the growing audience for music in the larger urban centres of Italy, France and, some decades later, the areas served by the presses of Susato and Phalèse in northern Europe.⁴ In terms of the geographical distribution of this phenomenon it is perhaps useful to think of a centre roughly speaking bounded by Paris and Lyons to the west, Nuremberg and Frankfurt to the east, Antwerp to the north and Rome to the South, together with a periphery where the impact of printing was sporadic and much slower. In London local printing made little difference to established traditions of transmission until the late 1580s, and even then it continued to co-exist with manuscript

¹ Febvre and Martin, *L'Apparition du livre*, chap. 6.

² The standard bibliography of fifteenth-century books containing music notation is Meyer-Baer, *Liturgical Music Incunabula*, now superseded for books printed in Italy by Duggan, *Italian Music Incunabula*.

³ See Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci*.

⁴ For a general treatment of music printing and publishing in the period, see Fenlon, "Music, Print and Society in Sixteenth-Century Europe," and the secondary literature cited there.

forms, rather than replacing them, to a much greater degree than anywhere within the central area of production. A small number of music books were printed in some of the larger towns and cities of the Iberian peninsula, but, as in England, Poland and other places distant from the main phenomenon, manuscript traditions continued and a great deal of music was imported. By making copies of music available in such quantity, and throughout such a widespread geographical area, the press made a powerful impact on musical culture in general.

In practice, the “geography of the book” which emerges from the pages of *L’Apparition du livre* incorporates a wide range of interconnected networks. At a local level it is concerned with the bringing together, in a particular locale, of regular supplies of paper, the necessary print technology and skilled workers to produce the book. Interwoven with these considerations are questions of economic, political, intellectual and cultural history, tied together in a grand historical narrative which relates the success of print shops to more general developments. The case which Febvre and Martin outline demonstrates quite how powerfully geography is involved in the production, distribution and consumption of print, and how that makes a difference to the ways in which books and their histories should be understood. It is not surprising that there are also limitations to their enquiry. For Febvre and Martin, the centre of interest was the spread of a new technology applied to the printed book by the printers, apprentices and journeymen who worked the presses. They have comparatively little to say about aspects of cultural history that have come to occupy book historians in recent decades, such as the relationship of print culture to questions of literacy, the transmission and dissemination of individual texts, patterns of reading and book ownership, the propagandistic uses of print and the relationship of print to orality and popular culture.⁵

Although the profound impact of Gutenberg’s invention upon all fields of knowledge, learning and information is generally agreed, the impact was neither as immediate nor as wholesale as is sometimes claimed. In this context, the sense of gradual change which Febvre and Martin outline is to be preferred to the dramatic impact of a print revolution argued by Elizabeth Eisenstein in her complex and controversial account.⁶ Nonetheless, while Febvre and Martin convincingly argue for a more gentle evolutionary process, they also neglect the fact that throughout the sixteenth century, and into those that followed, some categories of text continued to circulate in manuscript rather than print, while others were transmitted in both forms. This phenomenon is particularly familiar to musicologists concerned with the early modern period, when some repertoires circulated in manuscript before reaching print, while others circulated almost exclusively in manuscript form.

The tension between print and scribal copies relates not merely to the philological task of constructing stemmata and establishing a text but also to the challenges involved in reconstructing the itineraries of books: the routes along which they travelled and the possibilities of textual connections between them. This also means realizing that oral, scribal and printed forms were all part of the equation, both as elements of the history of communication across space and as evidence of local practice. As such, consideration of

⁵ Ogborn and Withers, *Geographies of the Book*, 4–5.

⁶ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*.

the geographies of books of music, both printed and manuscript, serves to highlight the importance of place and the technologies of production and to show how issues of scale, whether related to local meaning, national frames of reference or questions of trans-national reception, must all be taken into account. The transmission history of one of the most frequently copied and printed works of the entire sixteenth century, Jacquet of Mantua's motet *Aspice Domine*, illustrates the argument in a particularly striking manner.

This piece is an early work.⁷ On account of its text, which is based on the *Lamentations of Jeremiah*, it seems likely that it was written as a commentary on the condition of Rome following the sack of the city at the hands of the imperial troops in 1527. As such, it belongs to a particular genre of musical compositions, comparatively new at the time, whose texts provide commentaries on Italian social and political conditions. The words run as follows:

Aspice Domine quia facta est desolata civitas plena divitiis: sedet in tristia domina gentium: non est qui consoletur eam, nisi tu Deus noster.

See, Lord, the city once full of riches is deserted; in sadness she sits, once a queen among the nations: there is none to console her, except you, our God.

The medium of print provided access to Jacquet's motet at a comparatively early date. It was printed for the first time in the *Motetti del Fiore secundus liber*, a collection of twenty-four motets printed by Jacques Moderne in Lyons, a city whose musical life was significantly sustained by the community of Florentine *fuorusciti*, refugees from the Medici regime in Florence.⁸ Although Moderne's collection was published in 1532, *Aspice Domine* entered wide currency in print only with its appearance in a collection of the composer's five-voice motets, the *Motecta [...] liber primus*, printed in Venice by Girolamo Scotto in 1539.⁹ This formed the basis of three later editions brought out both by Scotto and his main competitor in the Venetian trade, Antonio Gardano, between 1540 and 1553.

Leaving aside these printed sources, *Aspice Domine* also circulated in a number of early sixteenth-century manuscripts. Among them are two sets of partbooks compiled in the 1530s, the first of which is known in the secondary literature as the Vallicelliana partbooks.¹⁰ Copied in Florence about 1530–1532 by the scribe of a number of sources in a central complex of related Florentine manuscripts, they were written for a member of the Pucci family and were bound in Rome.¹¹ These features help to explain the mixture of Florentine and Roman repertoires which the books contain.

The second is a set of five partbooks now in Treviso, where they seem to have been since the end of the sixteenth century; they too date from about 1530.¹² The strong presence

⁷ For a modern edition see Jackson and Nugent, *Jacquet of Mantua*, 48–54.

⁸ Pogue, *Jacques Moderne*, 127–130; Dobbins, *Music in Renaissance Lyons*, 1–7.

⁹ Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice*, 232–235.

¹⁰ Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana MS S1 35–40 (*olim* S. Borr. E. II. 55–60). See Lowinsky, "Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Manuscript," 173–232, reprinted in Lowinsky, *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance*, 2:433–482.

¹¹ For the identification of Moro as the copyist and Roberto di Antonio Pucci as the recipient, see Fenlon and Haar, *Italian Madrigal*, 128–129.

¹² Treviso, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 36; see *Census Catalogue*, 251.

of music by composers connected to Ferrara suggests that the manuscripts were copied in a Ferrarese ambience if not in the city itself.

To this picture can be added two partbooks from an original set of five now in the private library of the Massimo family in Rome, where they have always been. These books are not so well known and were not taken into account by the editors of Jacquet's complete works. But they contain six motets by the composer, including *Aspice Domine*. The name "Antonius Maximus" (Antonio Massimo), a sixteenth-century member of the family, is stamped on the contemporary covers of both books, and the bindings themselves seem very close in style to those of the Vallicelliana partbooks. The scribe has been identified as Johannes Ochon, who worked in Rome, and whose hand can be identified in a number of Vatican manuscripts.¹³ There seems little doubt that the Massimo partbooks are Roman in origin, and that they are characteristic of partbooks containing domestic music for Florentine and Roman aristocratic households, of which a number from the period survive; on account of their contents they must date from about 1532–1534.¹⁴

From this picture a clear pattern emerges. On the basis of the pattern of manuscript transmission, it would seem that shortly after its composition *Aspice Domine* was known in Roman and Florentine circles. But then we encounter a curiosity. A fourth set of manuscript sources, slightly later in date, known as the Peterhouse partbooks after the Cambridge college where they are now kept, were compiled not in Central or North Italy, nor even in one of the urban centres lying along one of the major trade routes crossing the Alps, but somewhere in England. This is unusual (it is uncommon to find new Italian repertory of the 1530s in circulation so far north at so early a date), also in terms of survival; the Peterhouse partbooks are remarkable for having escaped destruction during the mid-century political and religious upheavals brought about by Henry VIII's dispute with Rome.

In January 1550 an Act of Parliament was promulgated in London "for the defacing of images and the bringing in of books of old Service in the Church;" the effect was felt in every community in the land. By the end of the reign of Edward VI in 1553 the altars had been taken down and the Mass abolished, while liturgical books of all kinds had been surrendered to the King's commissioners, along with vestments, chalices and church ornaments.¹⁵ From both the historical documentation as well as the handful of sources that have survived, it is clear that a great deal of polyphony was lost in this savage bout of iconoclasm. In this context the Peterhouse partbooks are a remarkable survival. One of their most intriguing features is the inclusion of *Aspice Domine*. Although there are certainly other instances of Catholic liturgical music being transmitted to England during the period of Henry VIII, in most cases the sources in question are high-quality court manuscripts that were copied, decorated and in some cases illuminated abroad for presentation to Henry himself; as such, they have more to do with gift exchange and international diplomacy than with practical musical activity.¹⁶ Since comparison of the readings offered

¹³ *Census-Catalogue*, 115.

¹⁴ Rome, Palazzo Massimo, Cod. VI. C. 6 23–24; see the brief description in Lippmann, "Musikhandschriften und-Drucke," 254–295.

¹⁵ Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, chap. 14.

¹⁶ Dumitrescu, *Early Tudor Court*.

in all these early printed and manuscript sources suggests that the Peterhouse version is not in the direct line of descent from any of them, it would seem that it was taken from a manuscript source which no longer survives.

All this suggests that by the 1530s, by which time Jacquet was firmly established in the service of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga in Mantua, a small corpus of five-voice motets, including *Aspice Domine*, was in circulation not only in northern Italy, in contexts associated with the courts of Mantua and Ferrara as well as in Rome and Florence, but even further afield. As this example reminds us, a common feature of the composition and dissemination of new music in Italy in this period is that it circulated in manuscript, often in sources copied for elite patrons, before it reached print. This was particularly true for pieces written around 1530, a time when the still fledgling Italian music printing and publishing trade, substantially concentrated in Rome and already fragile, was adversely affected by the Sack of 1527 and did not recover for some years.¹⁷ This may help to explain why Jacquet's motet was printed for the first time in Lyons, since the important trade route which linked Lyons and Florence, based on common commercial interests in banking and textiles, also provided a conduit for music and musicians. This was further stimulated by the presence of members of a number of prominent Florentine banking families in Lyons, which brought wealth to the city and energy to its cultural life. The initial reception history of *Aspice Domine* reflects these geographical realities. Or, to put it another way, the availability of music (and by extension individual pieces, styles, forms and even manners of performance), should be regarded not as an aesthetic category but as a historical fact based on social, political and economic systems.

It is instructive to return to the beginning of what can be recovered of the early transmission history in print of *Aspice Domine*. Moderne operated in a highly competitive market, and as a result he had to diversify his output. His books range from luxurious folio volumes, primarily directed at church institutions, to the handy octavo editions largely produced for sale at the book fairs, such as the long series of chanson volumes clearly destined for a largely French domestic and amateur public. Evidently, he also competed in the international book market with considerable success, and copies of his editions travelled to Italy, Spain and Portugal as well as to German-speaking areas. The visibility of his titles in the pan-European book trade may partly be explained by the economic benefits brought about by operating from Lyons, where the growth of the book trade during the first half of the sixteenth century was spectacular. By 1545 there were twenty-nine bookshops and sixty-five printing houses at work in the city.¹⁸

Yet while financial capital was central to the development of the printing and publishing trade in sixteenth-century Lyons, arguably the single most important factor was its geographical position. Situated at the crossroads of one of the busiest trade routes in Western Europe, the city was conveniently connected with the major conurbations of Germany and the Swiss Confederation to the east and those of the Italian peninsula across the Alps to the south. In addition, proximity to the Loire provided easy access to the Atlantic and to the sea routes that connected Nantes to the ports of the Cantabrian

¹⁷ Fenlon, *Music, Print and Culture*, 38–46.

¹⁸ Gascon, *Grand commerce et vie urbaine*, 1:307.

coast.¹⁹ From Nantes bales of books from Lyon were transported by sea to Bilbao and then overland.²⁰ Bilbao was connected in turn to an internal road system which linked it to Valladolid, Burgos, Medina del Campo (the site of the most important Spanish book fair) and the university town of Salamanca.

In addition, Nantes was an important port on the north-south sea route which connected Bilbao with Bruges in Flanders and Antwerp in Brabant, the two most important commercial entrepôts of northern Europe. It was there that Spanish and Portuguese merchants were involved in a lively trade between northern Europe and Spain, which, in addition to dealing in merchandise produced locally, also transported goods of all kinds, including books from Venice, Lyons and Paris.²¹ The route from the English Channel down to the Atlantic then continued to Cadiz, the most important Spanish port for trade with the colonies in the Americas.²² Yet while some books from Lyons reached Medina del Campo via Nantes, others were transported down the Rhône to the Mediterranean and then on to Barcelona and Valencia, the two most important ports on the eastern seaboard.

How did these economic realities affect Moderne's commercial decisions about how to market the books that he published? Beginning with the *Liber decem missarum* of 1532, he printed choirbooks throughout his career, and it was these in particular that found favour in the Iberian market. Printed choirbooks were used throughout Catholic Europe, but in Spain they continued to have a particularly prominent functional role in the enactment of the liturgy after the Council of Trent in large part because of the preservation of the Spanish *coro* in Spanish collegiate churches and cathedrals despite the emphasis placed upon increased accessibility to, and visibility of, the central sacral area in the Council's decrees.²³

By the middle of the sixteenth century music printing had expanded the European market for polyphony, and printer-publishers in a number of major cities were producing music in some quantity. This expansion of the market was encouraged by the adoption of single-impression printing, which allowed each sheet to be passed through the press only once. Inaugurated by Pierre Attaignant in Paris in 1528, by the end of the 1530s the technology had been taken up by both Antonio Gardano and Girolamo Scotto in Venice. Inevitably, this had a profound effect on both the concept and the reality of music collecting as it was understood and practised by bibliophiles, professional musicians and cultivated amateurs, whether in institutional or private contexts. The accumulation of music texts, usually for the purposes of assembling a repertory of pieces for performance, was hardly new. But now, to a greater extent than ever before, it was possible for cathedrals and churches, monasteries, confraternities, academies, universities, courts, aristocratic households and members of the merchant and professional classes to acquire substantial

¹⁹ Lapeyre, *Une famille de marchands*, 170–179. See also the discussion of printer-publishers and their factors operating in Medina del Campo, 567–573.

²⁰ Mano González, *Mercadores e impresores de libros*, 200–204.

²¹ Exports from Antwerp to the Iberian peninsula in 1553 included four clavichords, fifteen harpsichords, eight lutes, sixty-one monochords, seven organs and quantities of books; see Goris, *Étude sur les colonies marchandes*, 295–306.

²² Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure*, 42–47 and 48–83.

²³ Fenlon, "Printed Polyphonic Choirbooks."

collections of music for the purposes of performance or study. The example *par excellence* is that of Hernando Colón, son of the legendary Genoese explorer Cristoforo Colombo, the “discoverer” of America, who assembled a library of 15,370 volumes, making this the largest collection of the time. From both the few books that survive in Seville and his meticulous records, it is clear that Colón owned a copy of nearly every French and Italian book of music known to have been published before 1535, including a considerable number that have not survived in even a single copy. Many of these were acquired not only from booksellers and agents all over Europe but were also bought personally in the course of four extended book-hunting trips to Italy and Northern Europe.²⁴

The example of Italy, and above all the operations of Gardano and Scotto, established the music book in the commerce of the trade in a way that was without precedent. During the second half of the sixteenth century music printers proliferated throughout Europe, taking their workshop practices, distribution methods and the format and design of their books from the examples of the early practitioners. Symptomatic of the vitality of the trade, and of the wide geographical spread of its operations, is the appearance of catalogues, beginning with that of Georg Willer advertising the Frankfurt book fairs. This method of distribution affected individual buyers only at one remove, since the fairs were populated by printer-publishers and booksellers rather than private buyers. The earliest surviving bookseller’s catalogue, issued by Angelo Gardano in 1591, lists 345 items (mostly sacred and secular vocal music), and was presumably a means of advertising stock to individual customers as well as to bookshops both in Italy and elsewhere.²⁵ The effectiveness of the system can be deduced from some of the surviving libraries of the time. The earliest editions in Georg Knoff’s library in Danzig, a major port of the Hanseatic League with connections to Venice by sea, date from the 1570s, but most of them were published between 1580 and the early 1600s. Altogether, Knoff bought 267 titles, the lion’s share of which comprises books of Italian madrigals printed in Venice by Gardano.²⁶

Although Venice remained at the centre of the music printing and publishing industry throughout the sixteenth and well into the seventeenth century, just as it remained dominant in the book trade in general, the music that was published there could sometimes be transmitted in indirect ways. Traditional commercial patterns could profoundly affect musical taste, as is clear from the familiar example of English enthusiasm for the Italian madrigal at the end of the century: a taste substantially created by the astute entrepreneurship of Thomas Morley.²⁷ Many of the versions copied into English manuscripts from the 1560s onwards, after the accession of Elizabeth I had secured both greater stability in the country and a more cosmopolitan cultural outlook, were taken from northern printed sources (particularly the anthologies produced by Phalèse in Antwerp) rather than from Venetian editions.²⁸ In music, as in contemporary architecture, the English taste for the

²⁴ Chapman, “Printed Collections of Music,” 34–84.

²⁵ Mischiati, *Indici, cataloghi e avvisi*, 83–92.

²⁶ Morell, “Georg Knoff,” 103–126.

²⁷ Kerman, *Elizabethan Madrigal*.

²⁸ For Phalèse, see Vanhulst, *Catalogue des éditions*.

Italianate was acquired at a distance, already sifted to accommodate the preferences of Antwerp merchants and consequently rather wary of progressive stylistic trends.

The gradual widening of the market in the course of the sixteenth century is reflected in the growth of amateur repertoires, both vocal and instrumental, as well as in the expanding market for basic theory books and other manuals, the earliest of which had also been produced in Venice in the 1530s. By the middle years of the sixteenth century many men of substance and even a good many of more modest means owned a sizeable general library; as inventories and booklists show, from this date onwards it was increasingly the norm for members of the professional classes to own books, as did also a large proportion of chemists, barber-surgeons and others in trade lower down the social scale. In view of the rather specialized character of musical literacy it is unlikely that the ownership of music penetrated as far as did that of books of history and law. Nevertheless, it is clear that both the size and nature of the public for music changed dramatically from the middle of the century. In this sense, the subsequent history of the impact of music printing can be considered in relation to developments in Italy and to the imitation of those developments elsewhere, not only in terms of book production and design but often also in respect of much of the repertory that was printed. Nonetheless, to discuss books of music only in terms of these features is to conduct a limited enquiry, to see only one part of the historical jigsaw. Consideration of the entire process of production, dissemination and consumption necessarily involves contextualization and is unavoidably geographical in the quest to establish what we take books to be and to do.

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ROKOPISI, TISKI IN GLASBENI TRG V ZGODNJENOVAVEŠKI EVROPI

Povzetek

V drugi polovici 15. stoletja se je razmnoževanje pisnih besedil vseh vrst začelo seliti s kopistove mize v tiskarske delavnice in s tem se je njihova dostopnost dramatično povečala. Do sredine 16. stoletja je bilo izdanih na stotine, če ne celo na tisoče, ne le glasbenih knjig, temveč tudi teoretičnih spisov, priročnikov, navodil in učbenikov, s katerimi so tiskarji zalagali hitro rastoče glasbeno občinstvo v večjih evropskih mestnih središčih. Izhajajoč iz temeljnih raziskav o pomenu in širjenju tiskanih knjig od izuma tiska dalje in na podlagi tam izdelanega modela t. i. geografije knjige, kot jo definirata Lucien Febvre in Henri-Jean Martin, avtor v razpravo vključuje nekoliko poseben način širjenja glasbenih del, ki so glede na svojo vlogo, najsi bo liturgična, reprezentativna, razvedrilna ali druga, deloma krožila še vedno tudi v rokopisnih prepisih in tudi v obeh oblikah: rokopisni in tiskani. Razlogi so razvejani in kompleksni in segajo ne le v področje same proizvodnje in distribucije knjig, temveč je pri njih treba upoštevati še vrsto drugih vplivov, kot so gospodarski tokovi, trenutna politika ter seveda intelektualno in kulturno ozadje. Pri ugotavljanju poti, ki so jih opravila glasbena dela, najsi v rokopisni ali množičnejši in širše dostopni tiskani obliki, je treba skupaj obravnavati vse oblike, od ustnega izročila do posebnih prepisov in velikih tiskanih naklad in jih osmisлити tako v širšem evropskem prostoru kot tudi mikro lokalni klimi posameznih središč, kjer se je glasba prepisovala in tiskala. Osrednji del je posvečen analizi kompleksnega, a nazornega primera poti raznih oblik moteta *Aspice Domine* Jacqueta iz Mantove v tridesetih letih 16. stoletja. Skozi ves čas zgodnjega novega veka so nekateri glasbeni repertoarji, ne glede na to, ali so bili ustvarjeni v večjih središčih ali pa v takih, ki jih imamo za obrobnejša, še vedno pogosteje krožili v rokopisih kot v tiskih. Prispevek se zato posveča spreminjajočim se težiščem teh dveh večjih aspektov širitve glasbenih virov v obravnavanem času, med razširjanjem v rokopisih in tiskih na eni strani ter med »središči« in »obrobji« na drugi. V središču dinamike obeh pa sledimo razvoju rastočega trga za tiskane glasbene knjige, procesu, ki so ga stimulirali tako tehnološki izumi kot pomembne spremembe odnosa družbe do same glasbene umetnosti, spremembe, ki so se same promovirale skozi medij tiska. Glasbene knjige so seveda samo en košček v veliki zgodovinski sestavljaniki in da ga razumemo pravilno, je treba upoštevati celoto v vsej njeni zapletenosti in kompleksnosti.

GEORG KNOFF'S COLLECTION IN GDAŃSK REMARKS ON COLLECTING AND DISSEMINATING PRINTED MUSIC

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Izvilleček: *Georg Knoff, patricij iz mesta Gdansk, je proti koncu 16. stoletja ustvaril zbirko 267 glasbenih tiskov večinoma beneškega izvora. Avtor te razprave predvideva, da je Knoff glasbene tiske pridobil po poti neposrednih stikov z Benetkami. Zbirka očitno ni bila namenjena izvajanju glasbe, temveč bolj izrazu Knoffovega družbenega položaja.*

Abstract: *Georg Knoff, a patrician from Gdańsk, amassed towards the end of the sixteenth century a collection of 267 music prints, the majority of them originating from Venice. The author puts forward the hypothesis that Knoff obtained the editions by making use of direct contacts with Italy. The aim of the collection was not so much to provide repertory for performance as to emphasize Knoff's social status.*

Ključne besede: *glasbeno tiskarstvo, zbirke, 16. stoletje, Gdansk, Benetke, Georg Knoff.*

Keywords: *music printing, collections, sixteenth century, Gdańsk, Venice, Georg Knoff.*

The development of printing meant that the sixteenth century witnessed the arrival on the market of a significant number of music publications that could be obtained relatively easily at a reasonable price. This aided the creation of music collections not only by court or church ensembles but also by members of the middle class.¹ As early as the beginning of the sixteenth century Ferdinand Columbus, during his travels in Europe, purchased a variety of prints, which included editions from such printing firms as Petrucci, Antico, Attaignant and Moderne.² His collection – numbering 172 music editions – was merely a harbinger of a phenomenon that reached its peak during the last decades of the sixteenth century. German patricians such as Hans Jakob Fugger, Johann Georg von Werdenstein and Hans Heinrich Herwart each collected a few hundred music prints from printing houses throughout the whole of Europe. Against this background the collection of the Gdańsk patrician Georg Knoff (d. 1605), numbering 267 prints from the period 1568–1601, appears particularly interesting. What makes it unusual is the fact that Italian editions

¹ See Bernstein, "Buyers and Collectors," 21–34.

² Chapman, "Printed Collections of Polyphonic Music," 34–84.

represent an exceptionally large portion of the collection, and the majority of these prints contain madrigalian repertory.

In 1615 Knoff's collection passed to the library of the Municipal Senate of Gdańsk, and a significant part of it has been preserved up to the present day at the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences (Polska Akademia Nauk, Biblioteka Gdańska).³ It attracted the attention of Karl-Günther Hartmann,⁴ whose work was followed by a detailed study by Martin Morell.⁵ Numerous scholars researching the history of music in the second half of the sixteenth century refer to the contents of the collection – which include over a dozen prints that have not survived anywhere else. Despite this, the collection continues to raise many questions. In particular, we have no clear understanding of the reasons why Knoff should have collected such a large number of prints, the majority of which contain works that might appear to be alien and incomprehensible in Royal Prussia. Another question relates to the routes by which Italian music prints found their way to Gdańsk, a city that culturally and geographically was much closer to printing centres located in the Netherlands or in Germany. In this article I attempt to answer these questions, taking Knoff's collection as a "case study" illustrating some aspects of collection building and the distribution of music prints in the sixteenth century.

As already mentioned, Georg Knoff's collection comprises 267 music prints.⁶ Most of them are bound into larger sets of multiple partbooks combined under a common call number. Among the twenty-six original sets four are regarded as lost. In the majority of cases a single call number refers to ten to twelve separate publications. Two sets are anomalous in this respect: Ee2173² includes four editions, while Ee1856 contains only one edition: the *Newe Lieder* of Johannes Eccard (Königsberg: Georg Osterberger, 1589). As many as 219 editions (82% of the collection) come from Italian printers, the majority featuring secular repertory: alongside "serious" madrigals for five or six voices we find lighter forms (*madrigaletti*, *canzonette*, *canzoni alla napolitana*). Characteristically, with only a few exceptions, these are Venetian prints, primarily from the printing shop of Angelo Gardano (143 items), and to a lesser extent from Scotto (thirty-eight items) as well as Ricciardo Amadino and Giacomo Vincenti (thirty-two items). German prints constitute as little as thirteen per cent, and Flemish ones four per cent, of the collection. There are three Prussian prints, but French, Czech and English editions are totally absent. We are thus dealing with a collection having a clearly Italian orientation, and this to a degree not normally encountered north of the Alps. To cite one example: in the collection of Johann Georg von Werdenstein, almost double the size of Knoff's, Venetian editions constitute only thirty-nine per cent,⁷ a small proportion by comparison with the latter.

In order to appreciate the reasons why collection-building occurred on such a colossal scale in the sixteenth century one needs to look at its economic foundations. Music

³ I thank Agnieszka Kubiak from the Musicological Department of the Library for her assistance in my research in Gdańsk.

⁴ Hartmann, "Musikwissenschaftliches," 390–394.

⁵ Morell, "Georg Knoff," 103–126.

⁶ The contents of the collection are listed in *ibid.*, 118–124.

⁷ Charteris, *Johann Georg von Werdenstein*, 23–25.

prints were most often published in the form of partbooks in quarto format, each book containing between twelve and twenty folios. This was probably an optimal solution from the economic point of view, since such small editions would be likely to gain a wider market than large and expensive volumes. According to the inventory of the Accademia Filarmonica in Verona, such a standard print published by Antonio Gardano would, in the mid-sixteenth century, cost on average one lira, the equivalent of a manual worker's pay for less than a full day's work.⁸ Such prints were somewhat more expensive in Royal Prussia at the turn of the 1570s and 1580s. Prices marked on a number of German prints from the Marienkirche collection in Elbląg show that a small music edition cost at that time in the region of eight to ten groschen, equivalent to a day's pay for a bricklayer's apprentice.⁹ In each of these cases we are talking about unbound copies: even an simple cardboard cover would entail a large increase in price, while parchment binding would be significantly more expensive than the print itself. So far as Knoff's collection is concerned, the elegant bindings (to which we will return later) must have considerably increased its value. Additional costs would have been incurred through the need to transport the books from Venice and other distant centres to Gdańsk. Taking into account these circumstances, we might estimate that Knoff invested in his collection the equivalent of at least two years' pay of a bricklayer's apprentice.

The prints date to the period 1568–1601, and their temporal distribution is irregular. It allows us – in conjunction with some other features of the volumes – to distinguish four phases in the creation of the collection (see Table 1).¹⁰ The first of these might be described as the “foundational” phase. The two bound sets of which it consists contain editions datable to the years 1569–1574 and are in many ways different from those of the later call numbers. On the binding of Ee2156² we find the date “1574” and the initials “A G”, which most probably refer to the Gdańsk theologian and music lover, Alexander Glaser. Although this set is included in the inventory of prints donated to the Gdańsk Library by Georg Knoff's son Raphael,¹¹ it does not contain the note of donation in 1615 appearing in each of the remaining sets. These books were probably transferred to, or bought for, the collection, but they were not fully integrated with it.¹² The second bound set from the foundational phase (Ee2173²) does indeed contain Raphael Knoff's note of donation mentioned above, as well as inscriptions added in his father's hand. It is distinguished from the other sets by the exceptionally small number of prints bound together (only four).

The second phase is represented by ten sets (three of them have been lost; therefore, their inclusion in this phase is hypothetical and based solely on the dating). Basically, these include editions from the first half of the 1580s (the boundary date is the year 1585); however, the majority of them also contain – often as an exception – older editions, reaching back even as far as the year 1568 in the case of Ee3047. This phase is characterized by the presence of a variety of markings testifying that the collection was a private one

⁸ Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, 89.

⁹ Gancarczyk, *Muzyka wobec rewolucji*, 85–88; Gancarczyk, *La Musique et la révolution*, 58–60.

¹⁰ Morell, “Georg Knoff,” 109, distinguishes three phases based on purely chronological criteria.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 117–118.

¹² *Ibid.*, 107–108.

belonging to Georg Knoff. On the bindings we find the collector’s initials (“G K”), and on the paste-down sheets (as in Ee2173²) contents lists and aphorisms entered by Knoff himself. For this reason, one might describe this phase as one of “individualization.”

Table 1 The phases of building the Knoff collection

Phase	Print Dating	Call Numbers of the Bound Sets*
1. Foundational phase	1569–1574	Ee2156 ² , Ee2173 ²
2. Individualization phase	1568, 1572–1585	Ee1184, Ee2273, Ee2318, <i>Ee3047</i> , Ee1720, Ee2639, Ee2789, Ee3044, <i>Ee2125²</i> , <i>Ee2371</i>
3. Objectivization phase	1580, 1582–1589	Ee1815, Ee2456, Ee2206, Ee2380, Ee2628, Ee2975, Ee1189, Ee1638, Ee1856, Ee1982, Ee2932
4. Recurrence phase	1589, 1595–1601	Ee1931, Ee2027 ² , <i>Ee1370</i>

* Call numbers of the missing sets are indicated by italics. They are quoted according to the sequence established in Morell’s inventory (“Georg Knoff,” 118–124). The call numbers omit a reference to the library format, which is identical for all the sets (8°).

The third phase is represented by the eleven call numbers containing prints from the years 1580 and 1582–1589. The temporal spread of the editions within each individual set is much narrower than in the second phase; in a number of them we find prints published within two or three years of each other. It is also the most heavily Italian phase (92% of the editions are of Italian provenance). This phase brings with it a depersonalization of the collection: Knoff’s initials disappear from the bindings,¹³ and the practice of writing contents lists and aphorisms on the paste-down sheets is abandoned. In two of the sets (Ee1815 and Ee2380) we merely find – as before – a numerical ordering of the prints they contain added by the collector on the title pages. This phase might be referred to as one of “objectivization”, not only in view of the absence of marks indicative of ownership, but also on account of the almost wholesale manner in which the editions were obtained, the overwhelming majority of them coming from the same centre (Venice) within a narrow time-frame (1584–1589).

The fourth, final phase consists of prints bound in 1615: that is, ten years after the death of Georg Knoff, as indicated by the dates embossed on the bindings. These editions date to the years 1595–1601 (with the exception of a single print from 1589), and many more of them originate from German printers. We find here no entries in the hand of Georg Knoff but merely contents lists and notes of donation made by his son. Since this phase marks a return after a gap of a number of years, we may describe it as the “recurrence” phase.

Assessing the collection as a whole leads to the conclusion that Knoff’s enthusiasm for collecting fell mainly within the 1580s. In 1590 this enthusiasm suddenly ceased and remained absent for a period of several years, with no prints dating to this period. Since we know little about Knoff’s life, it is difficult to say what might have brought about this lacuna. One may merely draw attention to the fact that the 1580s were the decade that saw the largest number of prints of polyphonic music published relative to the rest of the entire

¹³ According to Martin Morell’s list (“Georg Knoff,” 121–122). Knoff’s initials appear on the covers of Ee2456, Ee2206, Ee2380 and Ee2975. Personal inspection did not confirm their presence.

sixteenth century.¹⁴ This was also the golden age of the printing firm of Angelo Gardano,¹⁵ which produced the largest number of prints in Knoff's collection. The mid-1580s were also a period when Gdańsk was particularly prosperous; this prosperity, although it had a tendency towards continuous increase, encountered a number of setbacks, such as the epidemics of 1587–1589 and the poor harvest and consequent price rises of 1589.¹⁶ We cannot say whether these events had a dampening effect on Knoff's enthusiasm for collecting, or whether some unknown personal factors played their part.

The question now arises: how did prints, particularly the Italian ones, find their way to distant Royal Prussia? As we know, an important part in the distribution of books was played by book fairs, particularly that in Frankfurt am Main. An excellent illustration of this is provided by the inventory of sheet music imported from Frankfurt to Poland in 1602 for the bookselling establishments of Zacheus Kesner in Kraków and in Lublin. This inventory lists ninety-one editions identified by title (numbering between one and four copies), and 284 copies of music prints in quarto format, the content of which is not given.¹⁷ Among the identified titles Venetian editions constitute thirty per cent of the items. The problem is, however, that during the last quarter of the sixteenth century – as we learn on the basis of the surviving lists – the items offered at this fair included prints from Gardano or Scotto only sporadically.¹⁸ It was much easier to purchase prints from Nuremberg or Munich, which offered for sale the majority of the German editions preserved in the Knoff collection. Independently of the fairs in Frankfurt and other cities, there also existed the possibility of importing prints via a network of booksellers. We learn about some of the principles on which this system of distribution operated from the trading records of Christopher Plantin from Antwerp, who found customers throughout Europe.¹⁹ It seems, however, that Georg Knoff had some special channel for obtaining Italian prints that significantly shortened the chain of intermediaries. A number of features in his collection point to this conclusion.

The method employed for ordering the prints was to combine them into larger sets which, in the case of Knoff's collection, contain from four to nineteen editions. The initial criterion for combining prints into one bound set was their format. Since we are dealing here only with quarto format, the sole significant distinction was between upright and oblong orientation. The essential criterion adopted for positioning the prints within the framework of an individual set was the number of partbooks: prints with the smallest number of parts were placed at the beginning, and those with the largest number at the end.²⁰ Over and above these external features Knoff ordered the prints according to the criterion of provenance. Two sets contain German editions (Ee3047, Ee2027²), while the remainder group together Italian prints, supplemented by prints of different origin only on

¹⁴ Gancarczyk, *Muzyka wobec rewolucji*, 76; Gancarczyk, *La Musique et la révolution*, 50.

¹⁵ Agee, *Gardano Music Printing Firms*, 63.

¹⁶ Pelc, *Ceny w Gdańsku*, 56–58.

¹⁷ Czepiel, "Zacheus Kesner," 23–69.

¹⁸ See Göhler, *Verzeichnis der in den Frankfurter und Leipziger Messkatalogen*.

¹⁹ See Vanhulst, "Suppliers and Clients of Christopher Plantin," 558–604.

²⁰ See Morell, "Georg Knoff," 106 (Table 5.1.).

exceptional occasions. What is striking here is the observable tendency to bind together editions from specific printing shops. The majority of the sets are dominated by prints from Angelo Gardano, and two of them contain no editions from any other printers (Ee2371, Ee1815). We also encounter sets containing prints from Scotto (Ee2173², Ee1184) where there are no items from Gardano, as well as one bound set containing a few editions from Scotto, Amadino and Vincenti and only a single edition from Gardano (Ee1189). At the same time, it is difficult to discern any tendency to arrange the prints according to the criterion of the type of repertory, apart from the obvious principle of binding together items belonging to the same publishing series. We find within the same sets secular and sacred compositions, and serious madrigals cheek by jowl with lighter Italian repertory. It is also worth noting that prints from particular sets – especially from the third phase of collection-building – often span only a short segment of time. This is particularly striking in the case of Ee1815, where out of thirteen editions twelve were printed in 1586, and also in Ee1982, where the prints date from a period between June 1588 and April 1589.

This manner of binding the sets leads us to suppose that we are dealing with a collection formed by purchasing not single editions but largish batches. The binding together of prints originating from the same location and from a similar period suggests that the purchases were made through fairly direct contact with Italian printing shops.²¹ Otherwise, it seems, the content of the sets would have been more mixed in terms of both provenance and chronology, while the proportion of German or Flemish prints would have been significantly higher. Perhaps this kind of purchase was facilitated by catalogues of books for sale, such as the *Indice delli libri di musica* published by Angelo Gardano in 1591.²² We may suppose that Georg Knoff did not build up his collection by visiting a local bookshop or the fairs. Nor would he have made use of a chain of intermediaries. Instead, he probably had an agent who purchased prints for him directly in Italy.²³

This hypothesis becomes more likely when we take into account the trading contacts of Gdańsk, then the most important port on the Baltic. During the second part of the sixteenth century it was undergoing a period of great expansion: in 1583 as many as 72.8 per cent of ships sailed out of Prussia via the Sound to the Low Countries, France, Spain, Portugal and Italy. Poor harvests in Southern Europe in the second half of the 1580s intensified even more the direct and reciprocal trade between Gdańsk and such centres as Venice. Polish grain was exported, while wine and luxury goods were imported.²⁴ Among these luxury goods may well have been books, including the music prints ordered by Georg Knoff. An alternative transport route might have been overland – faster but more expensive – leading north via Innsbruck, Vienna and Kraków.²⁵

The key question remains to be answered: what could have been the motive for such an enormous effort to amass *canzonette* and madrigals in distant Gdańsk? The presence

²¹ Cf. Morell, “Georg Knoff,” 114–115; Leszczyńska, “Beginnings of Musical *italianità*,” 7.

²² Agee, *Gardano Music Printing Firms*, 360–405.

²³ These remarks do not apply to German, Flemish and Prussian prints, which were undoubtedly obtained in a different manner.

²⁴ See Bogucka, “Gdańsk – największy port Bałtyku,” 484.

²⁵ Morell, “Georg Knoff,” 114–115.

of Italian editions in the collection should not in itself be surprising since, as we know, in the sixteenth century almost every second edition of polyphonic music originated from the Venetian printing presses, and during the 1580s the share of Venice in the production of prints of this type amounted to 54.2 per cent (and 66.6 per cent for Italy as a whole).²⁶ In Poland, including the area of Royal Prussia, we find many traces of the presence of madrigal repertory, which even as early as the second half of the sixteenth century was undergoing a variety of modifications and adaptations.²⁷ It is sufficient to mention that the members of Elbląg's *Convivium musicum* sang the *balletti* of Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi, as testified by the manuscript dating from around 1600 which they employed, and in which these works were copied together with their original Italian texts.²⁸ However, the scale of Knoff's Italian-oriented interest is puzzling: perhaps his personal taste played an important part here, as well as a facility to obtain the prints directly from Italy, as mentioned earlier.

In the literature on the subject produced so far, including the study by Martin Morell, we find information about Georg Knoff's musical competence, according to which he is supposed to have been not only a bibliophile but also a performer.²⁹ Evidence for this is presumed to be provided by the handwritten corrections appearing in the prints, as well as – indirectly – other kinds of evidence. It seems, however, that to make this assumption when interpreting the collection rests on somewhat flimsy premises.

The prints in Knoff's collection show few traces confirming their use in musical performance. Some of the corrections originating from the sixteenth century may well be – as Morell has correctly pointed out – publishers' emendations.³⁰ These are distinguished by careful calligraphy as seen, for example in the added minim b and the syllable “-ce” in the print containing madrigals by Constanzo Porta (Ee2456/5, *Il quarto libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1586), Cantus, p. 1). Clear marks left by actual users occur in only two sets. The first of these is set Ee2156², the one that originally belonged to Alexander Glaser and was most probably used by him. In this we find a variety of corrections in the *Premier livre des chansons* (Ee2156²/1 [RISM 1570⁵]) and the *Liber primus sacrarum cantionum* (Ee2156²/1a [RISM 1569⁷]). Moreover, at the end of this set we find a handwritten supplement – a copy of the madrigal *In dubbio di mio stato* by Paolo Animuccia – written out before the partbooks were bound in 1574. The second set in which we find unquestionable and numerous traces of use is Ee2027², which belongs to the fourth, final phase of building the collection. These traces occur in the print *Cantiones sacrae* of Hans Leo Hassler (Ee2027²; Nuremberg: Paul Kauffmann, 1597), which was clearly of particular interest both at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (with inscriptions in ink), and in the twentieth century (with inscriptions in pencil, including ones in German). It is difficult to tell whether these older entries – which concern, for example, the duration of rests, the names of voices, or a missing flat sign – were made

²⁶ Gancarczyk, *Muzyka wobec rewolucji*, 76; Gancarczyk, *La Musique et la révolution*, 50.

²⁷ Cf. Jeż, *Madrygał w Europie północno-wschodniej*; Leszczyńska, “Beginnings of Musical italianità,” 1–11.

²⁸ Leszczyńska, “Thannenwald,” 107.

²⁹ See Morell, “Georg Knoff,” 110.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

in the hand of Georg Knoff or that of another person such as his son. In the remaining sets, particularly those constituting the core of the collection (i.e., the second and third phases of its creation), original traces of use are almost imperceptible. However, we find here inscriptions made by twentieth-century users of the prints: for example, numerals quantifying the number of semibreves. Morell interpreted these as entries made in Knoff's hand,³¹ but closer analysis leaves no doubt about their more modern origin (see Figs. 1 and 2). This origin is shown by the implement used for writing (most often pencil) and the *ductus* of the handwriting (clearly different from Knoff's), as well as the purpose of the entries (enumerating semibreves and inserting occasional strokes and other marks, all of which point to someone's struggle to transcribe the works into modern notation). Only some of the crosses entered in ink under the notes may date from Knoff's time, but this is insufficient to establish that his collection was used for musical performance.

Evidence for Knoff's musical competence might be sought in Johannes Eccard's dedication on the title page of the Tenor partbook of his *Neue Lieder* (Ee1856):

Praestanti Viro, Domino Georgio Knoff, patricio Gedanensi, insigni Musico, nec non Musicorum omnium patrono celeberrimo, domino suo et amico, dono dedit author.

To Esteemed Master Georg Knoff, patrician of Gdańsk, a distinguished musician and also a most famous patron to all musicians, his master and friend, this gift is made by the author.

The kapellmeister from Königsberg describes Knoff as a “distinguished musician.” However, it appears – taking into account the understanding of the term “musicus” at that time and the rhetoric typical of a dedication – that this is not equivalent to the term “musician” as we understand it today. In this particular context the term is more likely to refer to someone who possesses a certain level of knowledge about music and not just the purely practical skill of singing, and this is how the term was understood in the writings of Franchinus Gaffurius and other sixteenth-century treatises.³² Clearly, this reference to Knoff as a *musicus* does not exclude the possibility that he was a skilled singer or instrumentalist, but neither does it identify him as a professional or professional-standard performer.

However, evidence for Knoff's competence as a practising musician could possibly be provided by the handwritten copy of missing pages from the anthology *Sacrarum symphoniarum continuatio* (RISM 1600²), which constitutes part of another collection from Gdańsk, formerly belonging to the Marienkirche and currently held by the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences (BibMar q82–87).³³ Morell hypothesizes that Georg Knoff likewise had a part in creating this collection of music prints, and he takes as evidence of this – among other things – the manuscript of the missing pages of the Quinta

³¹ Ibid.

³² Witkowska-Zaremba, *Ars musica w krakowskich traktatach*, 92–100.

³³ The individual partbooks from this collection, lost during the Second World War, were recently identified at the National Museum in Warsaw; see Gancarczyk, “Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Music Prints,” 57–59 and 63–65.

vox in the example of the anthology referred to above, which is copied in his handwriting.³⁴ In my view, to identify Knoff as the copyist of this manuscript is highly dubious. We need merely note the completely different manner of writing the letters “b”, “d”, “l” and the ligature “ae,” as well as to compare the words appearing both in the autograph inscriptions and in the copy from the Marienkirche collection, which provide particularly useful comparative material (“Gabriel[is]”, “David[ici]”, “vitae”). The writing of the word “DEO” exhibits some similarity, but this is very insignificant when set against the other details of the Marienkirche source’s handwriting, which – notwithstanding the handwriting’s different functions in the manuscripts being compared, which creates difficulties for comparative analysis – differ too much to have been the work of the same scribe.³⁵

As this discussion has demonstrated, we do not in fact have unequivocal evidence that Knoff’s prints were ever used in performance, nor even confirmation of his practical musical skills beyond those acquired via the standard musical education of a member of the patrician class. There is much to suggest that this collection was not created with the aim of singing or playing the music contained in the prints composing it. Most probably, it was not aimed either at obtaining material for specific performances, since we have a puzzling absence of evidence indicating that Knoff’s prints influenced the musical repertory of Royal Prussia in any way.³⁶ Nor was it a mere accumulation of objects of practical value: it was a collection *sensu stricto*: one devoid of any utilitarian function.

Such an interpretation seems to accord with the sense of the notes of donation entered (in several variants) by Raphael Knoff on the paste-down sheets of individual sets (see Fig. 1). They speak of the collection of books having been created because of his father’s passionate interest (“studium”):

In Bibliothecam Amplissimi Senatus Gedanensis hosce libros parentis sui studio conquisitos l.[ibenter] v.[olente] d.[atos] conferebat Raphael Cnofius. Anno 1615. Mense Septembri.

To the Library of the Most Illustrious Senate of Gdańsk, these books, collected by his father on account of his passion, [donated freely and of his own volition] were presented by Raphael Knoff in the year 1615, in the month of September.³⁷

³⁴ Morell, “Georg Knoff,” 116.

³⁵ I find it difficult to share Morell’s assumption that the differences in the handwritings under comparison result from the fact of copying notes from a print. The shape of the letters “d” or “l”, with the slant of the upper part of the strokes to the right, and the form of the letter “s” show that the style of writing represents more the scribe’s autonomous choices than any attempt to imitate printed lettering (a comparison of the diamond-shaped note-heads in the print and the round ones in the manuscript leads to a similar conclusion). The underlaying of words to notes influences such important aspects of handwriting as the connection and spacing of letters, for which reason I concentrate on the shapes of individual letters and syllables when making comparisons.

³⁶ Leszczyńska, “Beginnings of Musical *italianità*,” 6.

³⁷ The word “conquisitos” is replaced in some notes by the words “comparatos”, “collectos” or “aquisitos.” I thank Professor Bartosz Awianowicz from the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń for his proposed resolution of the abbreviation “l.v.d.”

According to Krzysztof Pomian, who has researched into the phenomenon of collecting from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, a key feature of the objects that make up a collection is that they are excluded – temporarily or permanently – from practical use. These objects need to be subject to special protection and arrangement so that despite their multiplicity one is able to discern that they belong to a single category. It is important to assign to them features that make them well adapted for viewing, since creating a collection presupposes the participation of a public, defined in a variety of ways. Hence a collection should be regarded as an autonomous creation, transported beyond the boundaries of utility: this is a creation that functions as a prestigious representation drawing the viewer through what is visible towards the sphere of what is not visible.³⁸ Although Pomian explores mainly the phenomenon of cabinets of curiosities and collections of works of art, it is worth quoting what he says about libraries:

[...] the purchase of works of art, the creation of libraries or collections, is one of the procedures which transform utility into significance and allow the person who occupies a high rank in the hierarchy of wealth to achieve an appropriate position in the hierarchy of good taste and knowledge, since the elements of the collection are [...] signifiers indicating membership of a social class or indeed superiority.³⁹

These remarks seem very appropriate in relation to Georg Knoff's collection. As noted earlier, it was preserved from utilitarian application. Traces left by possible performers occur in reality only in a few prints, and these few do not even belong to the main phases of the collection's formation (i.e., phases two and three). Knoff took care to have the collection properly housed and ordered by having the editions bound. He also made sure that it was invested with features inviting admiration – not so much of the music itself but rather of the volumes in which it was contained.

The visual qualities of Knoff's collection have not so far been the subject of much attention, although the artistic value of some of the bindings has already been noted.⁴⁰ Examining this phenomenon more closely, we observe that each of the surviving bound sets is different in appearance. We may distinguish nine elements that bring about this differentiation:

- upright or oblong orientation
- a soft or hard binding
- the presence of ornamentation on the binding
- the kind of ornamentation for the binding
- the use of dye for the leather

³⁸ Pomian, *Collectionneurs, amateurs*, 293–296.

³⁹ “L'achat d'œuvres d'art, la formation de bibliothèques ou de collections, est une des opérations qui, transformant l'utilité en signification, permettent à quelqu'un de haut placé dans la hiérarchie de la richesse d'occuper une position correspondante dans celle du goût et du savoir, les pièces de collection étant [...] des insignes d'appartenance social, sinon de la supériorité.” Pomian, *Collectionneurs, amateurs*, 53.

⁴⁰ See Ogonowska, *Oprawy zabytkowe*, figs. 28–30.

- the presence of ribbons for tying the books and their colour
- the application of punching to the edges of folios and the patterns used
- the application of dyeing to the edges of folios and its colour
- the colour of the headband

Visually closest to each other are the sets Ee1815 and 2456, which differ in only one element (the orientation of the folios), whereas all the others are identical (hard binding with ornamentation, brown in colour, tied with red ribbons, with red edges to the folios, no punching). The remaining sets differ in a number of respects: we find hard bindings with very rich ornamentation and white in colour (Ee2318, Ee3044), as well as soft ones without ornamentation and seemingly modest but nevertheless striking in their colouring (for instance, in Ee2975 the parchment binding is dyed brick red, the ribbons are green, the punching on the edges of the folios is in blue, and the headband is golden yellow). These techniques made prints from Knoff's collection attractive not only because of their origin and elevated repertory but also on account of their external features. They looked impressive on the shelves (the books' spines were likewise ornamented and dyed), and even just gazing at the covers must have evoked satisfaction and admiration. Differentiation by colouring and type of ornamentation also had an ordering function: it made it easier to assign a given partbook to a particular set. One need hardly add that the visual attractiveness of the prints is much less obvious today than must originally have been the case, not only through damage suffered by the bindings (particularly the spines), but also because of wear to the dyed leather, the excision of ribbons and the discolouration of the headbands by dirt.

The puzzling procedure adopted for set Ee2173² from the foundational phase should similarly be interpreted in terms of the visual effect produced. At the time when it was bound (ca. 1578)⁴¹ Knoff had most probably not yet established a reliable method of obtaining prints, hence this print contains only four editions. These were bound together with a number of fascicles of blank folios, a feature that augments the thickness of the individual partbooks. These folios were never filled in any way, and display no signs suggesting that they were intended for copying music or making annotations. The sole explanation for binding them together with the prints is a desire to increase the bulk of the books for the sake of their visual appearance. This simple procedure ensures that set Ee2173² does not differ in its number of folios from the later volumes in the collection, which – with the exception of Ee1856 (Eccard's *Neue Lieder*) – are all more or less of the same thickness. We may add that the binding of the prints was carried out in Gdańsk; in the majority of cases this is unequivocally shown by the watermarks on the paper used by the bookbinders, which depict different variants of the “fish in a circle” motif.⁴² This shows that Knoff had the opportunity to influence directly the appearance of his collection.

⁴¹ Next to the binding we find paper with a watermark datable to 1578; see Siniarska-Czaplicka, *Filigrany papierni*, no. 1207.

⁴² See Siniarska-Czaplicka, *Filigrany papierni*, nos. 1197–1198, 1204–1207; Siniarska-Czaplicka, *Katalog filigranów*, nos. 1258–1264. The only sets where the “fish in a circle” sign does not appear are Ee2156², Ee1931 and Ee2027².

The collection is thus characterized by a series of features indicating that beyond its contents its appearance held significance. Its creation was motivated not only by the desire to accumulate interesting music prints but also (and perhaps primarily) to define the social status of the collector. In this way a patrician ranking high in the economic hierarchy could signal his elevated position in the “hierarchy of good taste and knowledge.” In addition to the mentioned characteristics of the editions and bindings one discovers further signs that this was the owner’s aim in many sets belonging to the first two phases of the collection’s formation.

As early as set Ee2173², from the foundational phase, an emphasis is placed on Knoff’s ownership of the collection. We find there the legend “Sum Georgij Knophij”, where the book tells us in the first person: “I belong to Georg Knoff.” All the bindings from the second phase, that of “individualization,” carry the owner’s initials “G K” and the date – perhaps in imitation of Alexander Glaser, who marked set Ee2156² in a similar way (with his initials and the date). In addition, the paste-down sheets of these books (usually in the Tenor) carry a number of aphorisms parading Georg Knoff’s erudition in the areas of classical literature, Latin and Italian as well as testifying to his piety. The most frequent aphorism, since it makes several appearances in sets Ee2173² and Ee2318, is an elegiac distich elaborating the well-known maxim “vive ut vivas” (“live that you may live”). This served as a kind of family motto,⁴³ as expressed by the abbreviation “V.V.V.” used in set Ee2173²:

V.V.V. / Sic Vive Vt longum Vivas, nec vivere / Mundo.
Malis, quam tua sit vita dicata / DEO.

Were you to live in such a way as to live for long, do not live for the world.
It is better that your life should be devoted to GOD.

Another elegiac distich appears on the paste-down sheet of the Tenor book in set Ee1184 (see Fig. 1):

Passibus incertis errat fortuna sub aevo.
Dum mala prae foribus spem melioris habe.

Fortune in life wanders with uncertain steps.
So long as evil lies outside the door, hope for that which is better.

On this occasion we have a reference to a line in Ovid’s *Tristia* (book V).⁴⁴ Significantly, the same quotation from Ovid accompanies the image of Fortune embossed on the bindings of partbooks in set Ee2318.

⁴³ Knoff once again entered this distich in the book of the St Reinhold Brotherhood from 1590 on the occasion of the acceptance as a member of his newborn son Raphael. Morell, “Georg Knoff,” 111.

⁴⁴ “Passibus ambiguis Fortuna volubilis errat.” I thank Professor Bartosz Awianowicz for his help in interpreting these distichs.

In Ee2639 – likewise from the individualization phase – we find a short quotation from Virgil's *Aeneid* (book I): "Olim meminisse iuvabit" ("perhaps it will be pleasing to reminisce about this one day"), while in set Ee2789 Knoff entered the Italian proverb:

Belle parole e tristi fatti
Ingannano i savi e li matti.

Beautiful words and sad affairs
Deceive both the wise and the foolish.

These maxims collectively testify to Knoff's humanistic education, which he perhaps obtained at the Academic Gymnasium in Gdańsk, established in 1558.⁴⁵ They contain reflections on the transience and vanity of this world and the typically Christian entrustment of oneself to God. In the first maxim, which seems to be central, Knoff contrasts (also through the manner of their writing) the words "mundo" and "DEO", making the second distinctive by the use of capitals. The pious collector reminds us that our life should be devoted to God and not only to the affairs of this world. The library that he created was capable of ensuring both splendour in life and remembrance after death, a fact of which Knoff was undoubtedly aware. Nonetheless, in conformity with the idea of Christian humility the collector, after this initial phase of individualization, ceased to mark the prints with outward signs of his ownership. Might he have sought by this to follow the path of Lutheran orthodoxy?

Accumulating a sizeable collection of music prints created an excellent opportunity to give evidence of possessing erudition, education, good taste and wide horizons. The exceptionally high proportion of Venetian editions lent the collection the distinction of uniqueness, thereby increasing its cultural and material value. It also secured a place for Georg Knoff within the boundaries of the highly regarded Italian culture, which had provided a model for Poland even as early as the time of Sigismund I the Old (king of Poland during the years 1507–1548). Obtaining prints from distant centres was undoubtedly facilitated by the extensive trade links that Gdańsk enjoyed: once again, the routes of cultural contact coincided with those through which goods and capital flowed. In the light of the above discussion, it seems obvious that Knoff's aim was not merely to accumulate madrigals and *canzonette*: it was equally to create a prestigious representation of his social position expressed through the provenance and visual aspects of his collection. The goal of obtaining an elevated position within not only the economic but also the cultural hierarchy had been achieved.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ See Budzyński, "Dawne humanistyczne Gimnazjum," 7–69. Georg Knoff's sons were educated at this Gymnasium. See Morell, "Georg Knoff," 111.

⁴⁶ The text of this article was translated into English by Zofia Weaver.

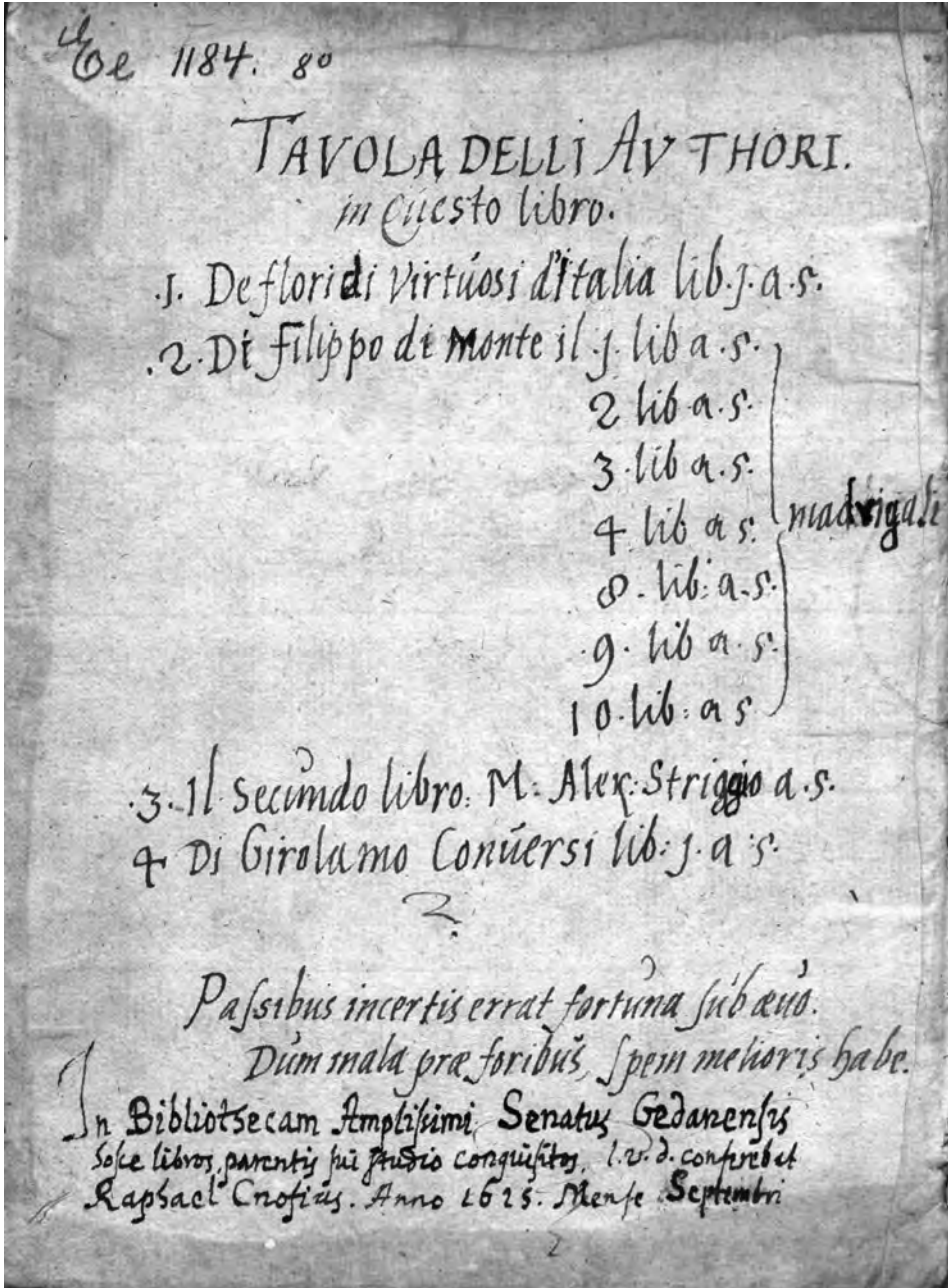


Figure 1 Ee1184, Tenor, paste-down sheet of the cover: Autograph inscriptions of Georg Knoff (contents list and distich) and his son Raphael (note of donation below); (Polska Akademia Nauk, Biblioteka Gdańska, call no. Ee1184 8°; reproduced with kind permission).

BASSO

lu ce ascofe ch'in te sua luce ascofe Amor mi spinge a dir

Amor mi spinge a dir di te paro de Ma non fo incominciar senza tua a-

ita E di colui ch'amado in te si pose ch'amado in te si

pose Inuoco lei che be sempre rispose Chi la chiamò cōfe

de Vergine s'amerce de Miseria estrema del'humane co-

se Giamai ti volse al mio prego t'inchina Soccorri alla mia

guerra Ben ch'io sia terra e tu del ciel e tu del ciel ij re-

gina e tu del ciel regina regina. N a

Figure 2 Ee1720/8, Bassus, s. 1: Twentieth-century additions (Polska Akademia Nauk, Biblioteka Gdańska, call no. Ee1720/8 8°; reproduced with kind permission).

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ZBIRKA GEORGA KNOFFA V GDANSKU
OPAZKE O ZBIRANJU IN ŠIRJENJU GLASBENIH TISKOV

Povzetek

Georg Knoff (u. 1605) – patricij iz mesta Gdansk na Poljskem – je proti koncu 16. stoletja ustvaril zbirko, v kateri je imel 267 glasbenih tiskov iz let med 1568 in 1601. Večinoma so bili to italijanski tiski (82 %), pretežno iz beneške tiskarne Angela Gardana, po vsebini pa je šlo za madrigale in lažje posvetne skladbe. Lastnik je večino tiskov dal zvezati v obsežnejše glasovne zvezke, ki so dobili tudi svojo skupno oznako. Na podlagi kronologije izdaj in zunanje podobe tiskov ugotavljamo, da se je celotna zbirka izoblikovala v štirih korakih. Leta 1615 je Knoffov sin Raphael zbirko poklonil knjižnici mestnega sveta v Gdanku. Večji del tiskov se je ohranil vse do danes in se nahaja v knjižnici Poljske akademije znanosti v tem mestu.

Avtor razprave predvideva, da je prvotni zbiralec večino tiskov pridobil neposredno preko svojih znancev v Italiji. O tem priča dejstvo, da so tiski urejeni po svojem krajevnem izvoru (urejevalec npr. razlikuje med »italijanskimi« in »nemškimi« tiski), pa tudi to, da so skupaj zvezane beneške izdaje iz sorazmerno ozkega časovnega obdobja. To hipotezo potrjuje tudi dejstvo, da je imelo konec 16. stoletja mesto Gdansk razvite trgovske stike z Italijo, pa tudi z drugimi evropskimi deželami, ki so uvažale poljsko žito.

Tiski kažejo le redke znake uporabe in ni povsem jasno, do kolikšne mere je bil Knoff sploh zmožen to glasbo sam izvajati. Prav zato se zdi, da tiske ni zbiral za izvajanje, temveč bolj v smislu potrjevanja svojega statusa poznavalca z dobrim okusom in znanjem. Po antropoloških raziskavah zbirateljstva (Krzysztof Pomian) je Knoffova zbirka avtonomna kreacija s svojim skritim pomenom, ki ga lahko razberemo iz vidnih elementov, med katerimi so na primer presenetljivo lepe platnice in latinski napisi na njih. Razprava polemizira s prejšnjimi raziskovalci te zbirke v zvezi z znaki njene praktične glasbene uporabnosti.

BETWEEN PRAGUE AND PIRNA A STORY FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

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Izvleček: Razprava obravnava dva polifona vira s preloma 16. stoletja (CZ-Pu, 59 E 9726/1–3 (olim XXXIII C 20) in D-Dl, Mus. Pi. 2), ki ju lahko povežemo s češkim humanistom in glasbenikom Nicolausom Dionysiusom (ok. 1577–1647). Ta je bil zaradi svoje luteranske vere leta 1627 izgnan iz češkega kraljestva v Pirno na Saškem. Povzeta sta življenje in delo Dionysiusa in obravnavana njegova vloga pri transferju dveh glasbenih del iz Prage v Pirno med tridesetletno vojno.

Ključne besede: Češke dežele, Nicolaus Dionysius Beronensis, zgodovina glasbe, polifoni viri, tridesetletna vojna.

Abstract: This paper considers two polyphonic sources from the turn of the seventeenth century (CZ-Pu, 59 E 9726/1–3 (olim XXXIII C 20), and D-Dl, Mus. Pi. 2), which are linked to the Bohemian Humanist and musician Nicolaus Dionysius (ca. 1577–1647), who was expelled from the Kingdom of Bohemia to Pirna, Saxony, in 1627 because of his Lutheran faith. This paper summarizes Dionysius's life and works and discusses his role in the transportation of these two musical sources from Prague to Pirna during the Thirty Years' War.

Keywords: Czech Lands, Nicolaus Dionysius Beronensis, history of music, polyphonic sources, Thirty Years' War.

The identification of the provenance of sources is one of the most important tasks for a historian of music. Today the location of a large quantity of musical prints and manuscripts across Europe is, however, different from their places of origin. The aim of this article is to trace the itinerary of two musical sources that once constituted part of the same private collection but are now separated by a distance of two hundred kilometres. Both sources are connected with the Lutheran Church of the Holy Saviour in the Old Town of Prague that recently celebrated the four hundredth anniversary of its solemn opening on 5 October 1614.

The construction of the Church of the Holy Saviour between 1611 and 1614 marked the culmination of the emancipation of the Prague Lutherans. They had to wait for this moment for almost a century until 9 July 1609, when Emperor Rudolph II issued his Letter of Majesty on religious freedom. Until then only two Christian denominations had been officially tolerated in the Czech Lands: first, Roman Catholicism and, second, Utraquism,

as heir to the conservative Hussite movement.¹ The Lutheran celebration of the issue of the Letter of Majesty on religious freedom took place a few days later (15 July 1609) in the Utraquist Church of the Holy Cross in the Old Town. The ceremony was celebrated with great solemnity and attended by thousands of believers. Almost immediately after the celebration Prague's Lutherans began to apply for financial support for the building of their own church in the Old Town.² After two years of preparatory work the cornerstone of the Church of the Holy Saviour was laid in the presence of religious, secular and academic dignitaries and hundreds of members of the Lutheran community. The ceremony took place on 27 July 1611 at the Church of the Holy Cross. The building of the Church of the Holy Saviour was successfully completed despite financial difficulties, and on Sunday, 5 October 1614 the church was opened with great solemnity, again with the participation of many important guests. The Church of the Holy Saviour, as well as the neighbouring school for boys, developed into an important devotional and intellectual centre of the Lutheran Reformation in the Old Town of Prague.³ During the same period the Lutheran community in the Lesser Town also built its own church, dedicated to the Holy Trinity.⁴

The period of devotional liberty guaranteed by the Letter of Majesty of 1609 on religious freedom lasted only eleven years. After the Catholic restoration of 1620 the Church of the Holy Saviour was closed, in 1622, and Lutherans had to leave the Bohemian Lands, mostly going into exile in Saxony. Three years later the Catholic order of Saint Francis of Paola initiated a new period in the history of this church.

Let us now turn our attention to the two sources mentioned at the beginning of this article. The first is a convolute of three alto partbooks from the collection *Promptuarium musicum* compiled by the cantor in Speier, Abraham Schadeus (1566–1626).⁵ These three collections contain over three hundred compositions by almost one hundred authors and played an important role in the dissemination of double-choir sacred music across the European continent at the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁶ These three alto partbooks are held by the Department of Music of the National Library of the Czech Republic in Prague (CZ-Pu).⁷ The convolute of the above-mentioned prints contains a manuscript

¹ For the sake of non-Czech readers references to literature in the Czech language have been restricted to an indispensable minimum, preference being given to studies in German or English. Studies published in Czech usually include a summary in German or English. I am grateful to Pat Lyons for his generous revision of the final text.

For further information on the history of the Czech Lands during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Pánek et al., *History of the Czech Lands*, 149–229. The religious milieu is discussed in David, *Finding the Middle Way*.

² See Schreiber, *Das Spenderbuch*.

³ The history and architecture of the church are described in Wenzel, “Konfese a chrámová architektura,” pt. 1. A survey of the history of the Lutherans in the Czech Lands is presented in Just, “Luteráni v našich zemích,” 23–126. Musical life within the Lutheran churches of Prague is discussed in Bařa, “Musical Culture of the Prague Lutherans,” forthcoming.

⁴ See Forbelský, Royt and Horyna, *Holy Infant of Prague*, 30–32; Wenzel, “Konfese a chrámová architektura,” pt. 2.

⁵ RISM 1611¹, 1612³, 1613².

⁶ See Roche, “Anthologies and the Dissemination,” 10–11.

⁷ CZ-Pu, 59 E 9726/1–3 (*olim* XXXIII C 20).

adligium written by at least five scribal hands; this contains twenty-two sacred compositions: Masses, hymns, motets and psalms. The first item is a Mass for seven voices composed by a little-known Bohemian composer, Johannes Columella Misenus, following the model of Melchior Vulpus. The other compositions are either anonymous or attributed to the Italian composers Giovanni Valentini (ca. 1582–1649) or Alessandro Gualtieri (d. 1655). The contents of the manuscript adligium are set out in Table 1.

Table 1

Author	Title	No. of Voices	Voice Designation	Remark
Johannes Columella Misenus	<i>Missa super Cantate Domino Melchioris Vulpii a 7v.</i>	7		
Giovanni Valentini	<i>Missa a 8</i>	8	Altus primi chori	RISM V 89
[Anonymous]	<i>[Te Deum laudamus] a 8</i>	8	Altus primi chori	
[Anonymous]	<i>[Te Deum laudamus] a 8. Non Concertato</i>	8	Altus primi chori	
Alessandro Gualtieri	<i>Missa pro defunctis a 8</i>	8	Altus primi chori	RISM G 4790
Giovanni Valentini	<i>[Missa] a 5</i>	5		
[Anonymous]	<i>Exultate Deo adiutori nostro</i>	12 (?)	Altus secundi chori & Altus tertii chori	
[Anonymous]	<i>Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore</i>	12 (?)	Altus secundi chori & Altus tertii chori	
[Anonymous]	<i>Exultate Deo adiutori nostro</i>	12 (?)	Altus secundi chori & Altus tertii chori	
Giovanni Valentini	<i>Salve virtutum mare magnum. Virgo Maria a 6</i>	6	Altus	
Giovanni Valentini	<i>O quam felix est fons sanctorum, mater choros angelorum a 6</i>	6		
[Anonymous]	<i>Vivat hospes</i>			
M. Fux	<i>Dixit Dominus</i>	8 (?)	Altus primi chori	
[M. Fux]	<i>Confitebor tibi Domine</i>	8 (?)	Cantus secundi chori	
[M. Fux]	<i>Beatus vir qui timet Dominum</i>			
[M. Fux]	<i>Laudate pueri</i>			
[M. Fux]	<i>Laudate Dominum omnes gentes</i>			
[Anonymous]	<i>Mundus gaudebit</i>	8 (?)	Cantus primus & Discantus [!] secundus	
[Anonymous]	<i>Qui venerunt ex magna tribulatione</i>	8 (?)	Discantus [!] secundus	
[Anonymous]	<i>[Missa]</i>			
[Anonymous]	<i>O salutaris hostia</i>	8 (?)	Cantus primus & Cantus secundus	
[Anonymous]	<i>Confitemini Domino</i>		Altus	

The second musical source is a fragmentary set of partbooks (Altus, Bassus, Quinta, Sexta and Septima vox) preserved today in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (D-DI). It consists of a collection of forty-seven motets, the *Cantiones sacrae de praecipuis festis totius anni 5, 6, 7, & 8 vocum* published in 1599 in Hamburg by Hieronymus Praetorius (1560–1629); its adligium manuscript contains thirteen mostly Marian devotional motets for four to ten voices, progressing from simple homophony via imitative counterpoint to a polychoral texture.⁸ As can be seen from Table 2, most of the compositions within the adligium, which are by Italian, German and Flemish composers, are suitable for use at Compline.

Table 2

Author	Title	No. of Voices	Remark
Jacob Handl-Gallus	<i>Ave, Maria. Gratia plena</i>	6	
Blasius Ammon	<i>Ave, Maria. Gratia plena</i>	6	
[Charles Luython]	<i>Dies est laetitiae</i>	8	
[Anonymous]	<i>Regina coeli laetare</i>	4	
[Anonymous]	<i>Salve Regina, mater misericordiae</i>	8	
[Agostino Agazzari]	<i>Ave, stella matutina</i>	8	RISM A 330
Jacobus Reiner	<i>Salve Regina</i>	6	RISM R 1084
Giovanni Gabrieli	<i>Iam non dicam vos servos</i>	8	RISM G 86
[Anonymous]	<i>Salve Regina, mater misericordiae</i>	6	
[Orpheo Vecchi]	<i>Regina caeli laetare</i>	5	RISM V 1057
Orpheo Vecchi	<i>Alma Redemptoris Mater</i>	5	RISM V 1057
[Orpheo Vecchi]	<i>Ave, Regina coelorum</i>	5	RISM V 1057
[Anonymous]	<i>Beata es, virgo Maria, Dei genitrix</i>	10	

This convolute originally belonged to the Jesuit Marian confraternity in the Old Town of Prague based at the Collegium Clementinum, founded in 1575. This confraternity was patterned on the *Congregatio Divae Barbarae* at the Jesuit college in Vienna. Its constitution imposed firm rules on its members: besides the obligation of daily attendance at Mass and the recitation of prayers from the Breviary and the Rosary, members of the confraternity had to assemble during Saturday Vespers and Marian feasts to sing Litanies. The growing importance of the confraternity is shown by the lists of applicants for membership, among whom were members of the intellectual and social elite; these applicants included members of the imperial court and indeed imperial musicians such as the organist Paulus de Winde, the assistant leader of the court music ensemble, Matthias de Sayve, and Jacob Regnart.⁹

The question now arises: what do these two musical sources have in common? At this point our story begins. Its protagonist is the Bohemian Humanist and musician, Nicolaus

⁸ D-DI, Mus. Pi 2. See Steude and Kümmerling, *Die Musiksammelhandschriften*, 180.

⁹ The Jesuit confraternities in general are discussed in Lazar, *Working in the Vineyard of the Lord*. The attitude to music of the Prague confraternity is described in Bařa, “Jesuité a hudební kultura přebělohorské Prahy,” 977–983.

Dionysius. He was probably born in 1577 in Beroun, a royal city in central Bohemia. He accordingly adopted as his cognomen “Beronensis.” We know nothing about his childhood, youth, or education, but it is certain that he was well instructed in music and in Latin. Dionysius was probably a student at the Charles University in Prague (although he did not graduate); from 1599 to 1601 he worked at a school in Louny, a royal city in north-west Bohemia. After this short period as a schoolteacher he returned to Prague and entered the service of the city council of the Old Town. In 1605 he obtained the citizenship of Prague and two years later was given the noble title “a Doubravína,” although this honour brought him no more than a coat of arms. Thanks to an advantageous marriage, Nicolaus Dionysius acquired property, which enabled him to achieve a higher social status.¹⁰ His musical activities were mainly connected with the Lutheran community of the Old Town of Prague. This community, however, did not have its own church until Sunday, 5 October 1614, when, as already stated, the Lutheran Church of the Holy Saviour near the Old Town Square was solemnly opened. Until then Lutherans had needed to hire various Utraquist churches in Prague. Dionysius served as the *regens chori*, and the Church of the Holy Saviour was most probably the place where he employed the convolute of *Promptuarium musicum* that bears his supralibros *NDBAD* on its binding.

It appears that Dionysius was only a performing musician, not a composer; nevertheless he penned many literary texts and poems in Czech and Latin, among them several song texts.¹¹ One of the Latin poems evidences his relationship not only to the community of Humanist poets but also to that of musicians. It was written as an epitaph for Paulus Spongopaeus Jistebnicenus, the most prolific Czech composer of the time, who died in Kuttenberg in 1619. Dionysius shows his poetic and musical skills by employing the *voces musicales* ut – re – mi – fa – sol – la both as an acrostic and as a telestic.¹²

The adult life of Nicolaus Dionysius was deeply influenced by politics. The defenestration of the vice-regents of Bohemia from the windows of Prague Castle on 23 May 1618 sparked a rebellion of the Bohemian Protestant Estates against the Habsburg dynasty. The government established by the rebels took the form of a thirty-member directorate with equal representation from lords, knights and towns. King Ferdinand II was dethroned, and one year later, on 26 August 1619, the rebels voted in his stead Frederick V, the Elector Palatine, who entered into history as the “Winter King.”¹³ On 31 October 1619 Frederick entered Prague with great pomp and ceremony, Nicolaus Dionysius welcoming the new king at the city gates with a Latin poem. However, Dionysius paid painfully for this fleeting moment of glory during the so-called Prague execution of June 1621.

The rebellion brought about many changes in the political, social and cultural life of

¹⁰ For a more detailed survey of his life and works, see Sokol, *Mikuláš Diviš*; Truhlář et al., *Rukověť humanistického básnictví*, 48–49.

¹¹ Most of his texts are preserved in an autograph manuscript held by the Christian-Weise-Bibliothek Zittau, Wissenschaftlicher und Heimatgeschichtlicher Altbestand. See D-ZI, 4° B 25. The manuscript has been partially edited in Sokol, *Mikuláš Diviš*, 45–80.

¹² See Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea (CZ-Pn), Ms. V D 6/II, p. 216, http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/main/en/index.php?request=quick_search¶m=&client=&ats=1426008497&mode=&testMode=&sf_queryLine=V.D.6%2F2&qsf_field=6.

¹³ He spent only one winter on the throne.

the Czech kingdom. The most important event from our point of view is the expulsion of the Jesuit order from the Czech Lands in summer 1618. The Collegium Clementinum and its library were confiscated and given to the Charles University. The university authorities were fortunate to absorb the library of their rivals into their own, but they lacked an original inventory of the Jesuits' books. One of the persons who made a catalogue of the confiscated library was the preacher of the Lutheran Church of the Holy Saviour, Fabianus Natus (1591–1634).¹⁴ Natus was not paid for this work and accordingly decided to reward himself. He took several books from the Clementinum College library with him to the Lutheran church.¹⁵ The convolute belonging to the Jesuit Marian confraternity was most probably among them; it was given to the organist, who used it for a certain time. The character of the music performed in the Lutheran church of the Holy Saviour in the Old Town of Prague was during those years mostly influenced by the double-choir technique common to Protestant and Catholic composers.¹⁶

The two-year rebellion of the Protestant Estates against the Habsburg dynasty ended in a two-hour battle at White Mountain near Prague on 8 November 1620. The defeat of the Protestants was disastrous. Frederick, the “Winter king,” escaped from the country and left the Kingdom of Bohemia defenceless. Ferdinand II mounted the throne again and began a great trial of the rebels. Many people were imprisoned, Nicolaus Dionysius among them. The final verdict was merciless: on 21 June 1621, twenty-seven leaders of the opposition from the Estates were executed in the Old Town Square in Prague.¹⁷

Even though Nicolaus Dionysius was not condemned to death, his punishment was cruel. On 22 June 1621 his tongue was nailed for two hours to the gallows in the Old Town.¹⁸ He was then imprisoned for two further years. His imprisonment served, Nicolaus Dionysius was released. However, political and religious life beyond the walls of the Old Town prison had in the meantime changed. Protestant priests were expelled from the city and country, starting in 1622. Inevitably, the Lutheran Church of the Holy Saviour was closed. Dionysius remained in the city until 1627, when Ferdinand II issued a new constitution for the Kingdom of Bohemia – the so-called Renewed Land Ordinances. Beyond its declaration of a hereditary accession to the Bohemian throne and other important legal changes, the Renewed Land Ordinances demanded the conversion to Catholicism of all the Protestant inhabitants of the Czech Lands. Like other Protestants, Nicolaus Dionysius had a choice: to remain and convert, or to go into exile.¹⁹ Dionysius chose the second path and moved with all his family and belongings to the city of Pirna in Saxony, where he

¹⁴ For an overview of Natus' life and works, see Truhlář et al., *Rukověť humanistického básnictví*, 11–13.

¹⁵ Tobolka and Horák, *Národní a univerzitní knihovna v Praze*, 38–39.

¹⁶ The confessional neutrality of this style assisted the migration of the repertory between the different denominations.

¹⁷ See Pánek et al., *History of the Czech Lands*, 233–234.

¹⁸ Dionysius described in detail all his sufferings during that period in a Latin tract *Actus martyrologicus*, written in the above-mentioned manuscript held by the Christian-Weise-Bibliothek in Zittau. This tract inspired a novel by Jan Blahoslav Čapek, *Za jazyk přibitý*, printed in Prague in 1970.

¹⁹ See Pánek et al., *History of the Czech Lands*, 234–235.

became organist at the Church of St Nicholas, which had been made over to Bohemian immigrants.²⁰ The music in the Jesuit partbooks probably saw use in the devotional services celebrated by this community.

In the following years the military situation of the Thirty Years' War altered in favour of the Protestants. In 1631 a Saxon army invaded Bohemia and occupied Prague until the spring of 1632.²¹ Many Protestant refugees, including Dionysius, returned to Prague and renewed their religious services. The Church of the Holy Saviour, which was now Catholic, was confiscated and became Lutheran once again; however, this new situation did not continue for long. During the spring of 1632 Albrecht von Wallenstein, as supreme commander of the Catholic Habsburg armies, recaptured the lost Bohemian territories, and the Protestants were forced to leave Bohemia for good. Nicolaus Dionysius was imprisoned once more and then released. Finally, on 4 January 1636, he was expelled from Prague and Bohemia, dying in Leszno, Poland, in 1647.

In this article I have offered an explanation of how the Jesuit convolute found its way to Pirna in Saxony. The itinerary traversed by the alto partbook of *Promptuarium musicum* is not so clear. It is evident that Nicolaus Dionysius left it behind in Prague, but we can only hazard a guess whether this occurred after his first expulsion in 1627 or some nine years later. The convolute was bound in 1617 and Dionysius inserted several sheets of paper at the end by way of later additions. The music manuscript paper bears only one watermark, of originally Styrian provenance, which can be dated to Prague ca. 1600.²² Dionysius wrote out only the first composition by Columella Misenus, leaving the rest blank. When the Jesuits gained possession of the convolute, they started to fill the empty space with polychoral works by the early baroque composers Giovanni Valentini and Alessandro Gualtieri, plus other, still unidentified masters. The exlibris *Templi Societatis Jesu Neopragae* on the title page was affixed there somewhat later, since construction of the church of St Ignatius in the New Town of Prague began only in 1665.

The repertory of the two sources discussed in this article attests the homogeneity and confessional neutrality of polychoral music at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The convolute of the Jesuit Marian confraternity combining a collection of motets by the Lutheran Hieronymus Praetorius with Marian devotional compositions found its way initially to the Lutheran church of the Holy Saviour, and later to the exiles in Pirna, Saxony. Conversely, the Lutheran collection, augmented by its polychoral repertory taken from the circles around the Habsburg court, served well in this Catholic milieu for several decades. Today, the physical distance of the two sources can be seen as symbolic: despite sharing a common musical language, Lutherans and Catholics were divided by confessional and political barriers.

²⁰ Lists of immigrants from Prague and north-west Bohemia are compiled in Bobková, *Exulanti z Prahy*.

²¹ See Rezek, *Dějiny saského vpádu*.

²² Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, no. 1918: Prague 1591–1604; var. Prague 1600, Vienna 1606.

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MED PRAGO IN PIRNO
ZGODBA IZ ČASA ZAČETKA TRIDESETLETNE VOJNE

Povzetek

Razprava obravnava dva polifona glasbena vira s preloma 16. v 17. stoletje (CZ-Pu, 59 E 9726/1–3 (*olim* XXXIII C 20) in D-Dl, Mus. Pi. 2). Oba vira sta povezana s češkim humanistom in glasbenikom Nicolausom Dionysiusom (ok. 1577–1647), ki so ga leta 1627 zaradi njegovega luteranskega prepričanja pregnali iz Češke v Pirno.

Prvi vir predstavlja sveženj treh altovskih glasovnih zvezkov zbirke *Promptuarium musicum* (RISM 1611¹, 1612³, 1613²), ki jo je pripravil kantor v mestu Speier Abraham Schadeus (1566–1626). Sveženj, ki je nekoč pripadal omenjenemu Nicolausu Dionysiusu, se sedaj nahaja v Glasbenem oddelku Narodne knjižnice Republike Češke v Pragi. Vsebuje tudi privezane strani z rokopisnimi dodatki, ki jih je pisalo vsaj pet zapisovalcev. Na teh straneh najdemo 22 cerkvenih skladb (maše, himnuse, motete in psalme) več avtorjev: od malo znanega češkega skladatelja Johannes Columella Misenus pa do Giovannija Valentinija (ok. 1582–1649) in Alessandra Gualtierija (u. 1655).

Drugi vir je nepopolno ohranjen set glasovnih zvezkov zbirke motetov s privezi, ki so danes shranjeni v Saški deželni, državni in univerzitetni knjižnici (D-Dl) v Dresdnu. 47 motetov zbirke *Cantiones sacrae de praecipuis festis totius anni 5, 6, 7, & 8 vocum* je leta 1599 v Hamburgu objavil Hieronymus Praetorius (1560–1629), v rokopisnih dodatkih pa je še 13 pretežno marijanskih motetov za štiri do deset glasov; po zvočnosti obsegajo vse od preproste homofonije do zapletene polifonije in večzborja. Prvotno je ta skupina glasovnih zvezkov pripadala jezuitski marijanski družbi v starem mestu in leta 1575 ustanovljenemu kolegiju Clementinum v Pragi.

Jezuitska skupina muzikalij je prišla v roke Nicolausa Dionysiusa verjetno poleti leta 1618, ko so knjižnico kolegija Clementinum zasegli protestanti. Leta 1627 se je moral ob rekatolizaciji Češkega kraljestva Dionysius z vso družino in imetjem iz Prage preseliti v mesto Pirna na Saškem, kjer je postal organist cerkve sv. Nikolaja, ki jo je mesto poklonilo češkemu emigrantom.

Po drugi strani pa vse kaže, da je Dionysius v Pragi pustil svojo lastno zbirko treh altovskih glasovnih zvezkov zbirke *Promptuarium musicum*, ki je na koncu prešla v last jezuitov; ti so tudi porabili privezane prazne strani in jih napolnili z večglasnimi skladbami večzbojskih del zgodnjebaročnih mojstrov Giovannija Valentinija in Alessandra Gualtierija.

Ta nenavadna zamenjava virov priča o glasbeni homogenosti in konfesionalni nevtralnosti večzbojske glasbe začetka 17. stoletja. Še posebno zanimiv je vir iz jezuitske marijanske bratovščine, v katerem so združeni moteti protestanta Hieronymusa Praetoriusa in marijanske duhovne skladbe, nahajal pa se je najprej v luteranski cerkvi sv. Odršenika potem pa v saški Pirni. Sicer pa je tudi protestantska zbirka – skupaj z dodanim večzbojskim repertoarjem glasbenega kroga habsburške dvorne kapele – še dolga desetletja odlično služila tudi katoliškemu krogom.

ROUTES TO THE DÜBEN COLLECTION

THE ACQUISITION OF MUSIC BY GUSTAV DÜBEN AND HIS SONS

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Izvleček: Razprava opisuje, na kakšne načine so prihajale muzikalije v Dübnovo zbirko. Glasbo so zanj prepisovali iz tiskov, so pa tudi iz raznih predelov Evrope pridobivali cele skupine rokopisnih prepisov. Zdi se, da so bila tesna osebna prijateljstva in zasebne mreže pri tem pomembnejše kot uradne tržne poti.

Abstract: The article describes the practices of acquisition of music behind the Düben Collection. Music was copied into manuscripts from prints, but was also obtained in the form of groups of manuscripts from different regions of Europe. Close personal contacts and networks seem to have been more important than traditional trade routes.

Ključne besede: Dübnova zbirka, 17. stoletje, glasba na Švedskem, razširjanje glasbe, zbirke.

Keywords: Düben Collection, seventeenth century, music in Sweden, dissemination, music collections.

Musical-cultural interchange and the transfer of music and musical cultures constitute in effect an exchange of knowledge, skills and values. In early modern Europe music travelled across the continent, being adopted, imitated and integrated in local contexts, often in cross-fertilization with local practices. Encounters with new and foreign sounds could be uncritically embraced – or resisted and rejected – but they always led to some kind of transformation of attitudes to listening, playing, composing or otherwise interacting with music.

Even though transnational and transcultural interchange effectively entailed mental transformations of this kind, cultural transfer had in some way or other to be mediated by material means – by the transfer of material objects such as music prints or manuscripts, instruments or educational treatises: a transfer basically carried out by humans, who might be migratory musicians, postal carriers, shippers or couriers. So in order to make a historical reconstruction and interpretation of the mental aspects of cultural interchange one needs to reconstruct and describe the material processes that made this possible.

The Düben Collection at Uppsala University Library (S-Uu) is uncommonly well suited to serve as a case study for such processes. It is remarkably well preserved, being more or less unaffected by antiquarian reconstruction, and it is unusually international

in scope. Moreover, thanks to recent research, it is today possible to give an almost conclusive account of the routes of transfer and acquisition.

The Düben Collection: A Brief Presentation

The so-called Düben Collection comprises musical manuscripts and prints that belonged to members of the Düben family, who during a period of more than eighty years were in charge of music at the royal court of Sweden. Four members of the family spanning three generations succeeded one other as *Hofkapellmeister*. Their tenures as leaders of the royal music were as follows:¹

Andreas Düben	1640–1662
Gustav Düben the elder	1663–1690
Gustav Düben the younger	1690–1698
Anders (von) Düben	1698–1726

In 1732 the entire collection was donated by Anders von Düben, the last *Hofkapellmeister* in the family succession.² This donation formed part of a series of donations to the Uppsala Academy by von Düben, which also comprised books and paintings.³ At this juncture Anders von Düben had been ennobled as a baron and appointed Marshal of the Court (*hovmarskalk*). This was an extraordinary career for a court musician in early modern Europe.

The major part of the collection was assembled by Gustav the elder between 1663 and 1690, some material being added by his two sons – not least, the French sub-collection, to which we will return. The collection mirrors their activities as musicians in Stockholm in a broad sense. Gustav the elder was not merely the *Hofkapellmeister* but also the organist for the German congregation, for whose services much of the sacred music in the collection seems to have been prepared. Some occasional music in the collection was prepared by Gustav Düben for weddings and funerals.⁴ There is also some material reflecting Gustav's activities before he became *Hofkapellmeister* in 1663.

The collection consists of around three thousand manuscript sources, which include both sets of partbooks and tablature scores, amounting to two thousand, two hundred and fifty works in manuscript. It also contains over a hundred and fifty music prints, totalling approximately two to three thousand additional compositions. The proportion of music in the collection composed and produced in Sweden is remarkably small. A rough estimate suggests that it runs to some hundred and fifty works, making up less than a tenth of the works preserved in manuscript in the collection. A reason behind this relative scarcity

¹ Kjellberg, *Kungliga musiker i Sverige under stormaktstiden*.

² The formal donation was made in 1732, whereas the actual transportation of the collection from Stockholm to Uppsala took place in January 1733.

³ Lindberg, "Katalog över Dübensamlingen," 6; see also Schildt, *Gustav Düben at Work*, 31–36, 79–82.

⁴ Schildt, *Gustav Düben at Work*, 373–449.

is that the members of the Düben family were neither very prolific nor very productive as composers. They were consequently obliged to acquire music by other persons, who were mainly composers active outside Sweden. This situation to some extent accounts for the unique character of the collection.

At this point, one important thing needs to be emphasized. The historical Düben Collection in the possession of the Düben family did not constitute a “collection” in the strict sense of the word. It was never assembled for the specific purpose of collecting.⁵ It is made up of performance material that the members of the Düben family acquired or produced in order to carry out their professional duties. In preparation for its donation to Uppsala University this material was packed into two chests in the simple state in which the material happened to be preserved at that point. One might argue that the musicalia mutated into an actual collection when they were donated to Uppsala University. At that point, artefacts became transformed from “things” into “semaphores,” to borrow the terminology of Krzysztof Pomian. Pomian defines “things” as objects that are useful, can be handled, consumed, undergo modification and be gradually worn out. He contrasts these with “semaphores,” which he defines as objects that are of no practical utility, are put on display, can neither be consumed nor modified and never wear out.⁶

To clarify this difference, Maria Schildt introduced a distinction between The Düben Collection on the one hand, and The Düben Family Music Library on the other.⁷ The Düben Collection is thus the content of the two chests that was transported over the ice from Stockholm to arrive in Uppsala in January 1733: that is, the actual donation.⁸ The Düben Family Music Library was the variable stock of music in possession of family members at different times, for use in their professional duties. This was in constant flux on account of not only new acquisitions but also, presumably, losses. Material was weeded out or given away; outworn parts were discarded and sometimes replaced; presumably, some material simply disappeared by accident. The Düben Collection is thus a momentary incarnation of the Music Library that happened to become frozen and preserved at the precise point when it was packed and sent to Uppsala. We do not know exactly to what extent Anders von Düben made a selection at that point, but, judging from the make-up of the collection, it would appear that he did not omit anything but simply packed the library just as it stood at the time. There are no hints that he reorganized or sorted the material in the process.

This makes the Düben Collection quite unique. It is an unsorted stock of musical performance material from a northern European court, almost untouched by collectors or librarians. It contains the sheets of music actually placed on music stands by the court musicians – sheets that often bear traces of different performance occasions or of reworkings and rearrangements of the music. This makes the material invaluable for our understanding of everyday musical practices at an early modern European court.

⁵ Pomian, *Collectionneurs, amateurs et curieux*.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Schildt, *Gustav Düben at Work*, 26–27.

⁸ Lindberg, Introduction to “Katalog över Dübensamlingen,” 6–9.

The Düben Collection Database Catalogue Project

Since 2006 digital scans of the Düben Collection have been available online, being linked from a catalogue with substantial metadata.⁹ This project was initiated by Kerala J. Snyder and Erik Kjellberg already in the 1990s. After some preparatory work the digitization project proper started in 2003, with a grant from the Swedish Foundation for Humanities and Social Sciences. The version published online in 2006 covered close to ninety per cent of the manuscript collection. Subsequently, it has gradually been added to and refined, and this process of refining is due to continue indefinitely. The catalogue is conceived as a dynamic resource that is constantly being updated in step with new research findings. In 2014 a new grant was secured from the Swedish Foundation for Humanities and Social Sciences towards inclusion of the important sub-collection of French stage music.

Apart from the cataloguing and digitization, the following aims have informed this large-scale project:

- To mark the Düben Collection off from the other music held by Uppsala University Library,
- To identify the provenance, and trace the acquisition, of the prints and manuscripts,
- To date the material with regard to both production and acquisition.

At some point, most likely in connection with the cataloguing of musical manuscripts in Uppsala during the 1880s, the Düben collection was merged with the other music sources in the Library, sorted into alphabetical order and separated into manuscripts and prints. Hence the precise content of the Düben Collection – that of the actual donation – had to be reconstructed. This work of demarcation and reconstruction, as well as dating and identifying provenance, has fallen to several scholars since the time of Lindberg's first catalogue in the 1940s.¹⁰ Especially important was the work carried out during the 1960s by Bruno Grusnick,¹¹ even though some of Grusnick's finds have been revised by later research and by Jan-Olof Rudén.¹² More recent contributions have been made by Maria Schildt, Peter Wollny and, to some extent, the present author. Wollny has made some important discoveries, especially concerning material of German provenance. Schildt has produced ground-breaking work on the demarcation of the collection with regard to both manuscripts and prints, and in the refinement of knowledge about the provenance of different source groups.¹³ Thanks to these collective efforts, it is today possible to present a relatively complete picture of the composition of the collection and, not least, to trace the provenance of different groups of manuscripts and the routes of acquisition for the entire collection.

⁹ *The Düben Collection Database Catalogue*, edited by Lars Berglund, Kia Hedell, Erik Kjellberg and Kerala J. Snyder: <http://www2.musik.uu.se/duben/Duben.php>.

¹⁰ Lindberg, "Katalog över Dübensamlingen."

¹¹ Grusnick, "Die Dübensammlung: ein Versuch ihrer chronologischen Ordnung."

¹² Rudén, "Vattenmärken och musikforskning."

¹³ Schildt, *Gustav Düben at Work*.

The methods applied in this research have been those of traditional musical source criticism:

- Paper identification by watermarks and physical qualities, and comparison with relevant reference material;
- The identification of hands and copyists, with regard to both individuals and workshop styles or regional characteristics;
- The noting of special features in the sources, such as monograms, locations, traces of historical inventories, catalogues etc.;
- Collation with archival documents in order to establish performance occasions or for the purpose of comparing and identifying hands etc.

In the following sections I will try to summarize the most important finds of the last five to ten years of research. The present survey will of necessity be superficial, presenting a broad outline and synthesis. The main focus will be on reconstructing and analysing the networks and practices behind the acquisition of music by members of the Düben family, and especially by Gustav the elder.

The General Composition of the Düben Collection

The manuscripts in the Düben Collection consist, on one hand, of foreign manuscripts produced outside Sweden and acquired and transferred to Stockholm at some point, and, on the other, of copies produced in Stockholm for local performances. In many cases, these categories interact: the foreign manuscripts were used for performance but were often supplemented by new parts or scores copied in Stockholm. Hence there are often at least two different representations of the same music: one set of parts and one tablature score. The tablatures were most likely used for performance.¹⁴ A rare feature is the fact that so many of the foreign originals used for the copying of performance parts or scores are actually still present in the collection. As we shall see, this opens up unique possibilities for tracing the routes of acquisition of the music.

A substantial portion of the locally produced manuscripts have been copied from printed collections. Just as in the case of the foreign manuscripts, the prints serving as copy texts are in several cases preserved within the collection or else in the collection of the German Church.¹⁵ A list of all concordances identified between manuscripts in the Düben Collection and printed volumes, prepared by Maria Schildt, is published on the Düben Catalogue website.¹⁶

One result of this particular make-up of the sources is that the Düben Collection is a unique fount of knowledge not only regarding local musical practices at the Swedish court but also regarding those regions and institutions from where the foreign manuscripts

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 76–78.

¹⁵ Today at Musik- och teaterbiblioteket in Stockholm.

¹⁶ See <http://www2.musik.uu.se/duben/Concordances.pdf>.

originated, since at several of those localities much of the musical source material has been lost. This is the case with the city of Danzig (present-day Gdańsk), several towns and courts within Saxony and also the cities of Lübeck and Hamburg. But it is to some extent also relevant for important cultural centres such as Paris and Rome.

With regard to the manuscripts acquired from outside Sweden, the so-called foreign manuscripts, it has been possible to identify some particularly important groups.

The Roman Manuscripts and Prints

To begin with, there is a group of Italian manuscripts and prints brought to Sweden by an Italian ensemble employed at Queen Christina's court between 1652 and 1654. This ensemble was recruited mainly in Rome, with Vincenzo Albrici as its *maestro di cappella*. It numbered over twenty members, including no fewer than six castrato singers.¹⁷

This complex contains about fifteen compositions in manuscript originating from Rome, including a unique source of a musical Vesper setting by Francesco Foggia (1604–1688), *maestro di cappella* at the Lateran basilica.¹⁸ In addition to the manuscripts copied on Italian paper, there are also around fifty works preserved in manuscripts copied in Sweden by the Italian musicians and by Gustav Düben and his colleagues from originals brought by the former. Among this material we find several motets by Giacomo Carissimi transmitted exclusively in manuscripts, some of which are *unica*.¹⁹ There are also several compositions by Vincenzo Albrici produced during his stay in Sweden, including a few parts in autograph manuscript, plus one composition by Alessandro Cecconi, impresario for the ensemble, who was later appointed Queen Christina's *valet de chambre*. In addition to these manuscripts, there are a few music prints from Rome that most likely were similarly brought to Sweden by the same Italian musicians, including Francesco Foggia's *Concentus ecclesiastici* of 1645,²⁰ and three of Florido de Silvestri's anthologies.²¹ In addition to the material in the Düben Collection, there are also manuscripts in the Royal Library of Stockholm and Christ Church Library in Oxford originating from the visit of this Italian ensemble.²²

The likely reason why this material became part of the Düben Collection was that the still relatively young Gustav Düben was deputed by his father to work with the Italian musicians, together with some other young members of the court musical establishment, possibly as part of their continuing musical education.²³ The early layers of the Collection,

¹⁷ We will present new finds regarding the recruitment process, the repertoire and the source material in a forthcoming study: Berglund and Schildt, "Italian Music at the Swedish Royal Court of Queen Christina."

¹⁸ S-Uu, Vmhs 23:1–11.

¹⁹ *Simile est regnum caelorum*, CC, bc (in F), and *Surrexit pastor bonus*, CCC, bc (also in F), both copied into the partbooks of S-Uu, Vmhs 53:10.

²⁰ Francesco Foggia, *Concentus ecclesiastici* (Roma: Giovanni Domenico Franzini, 1645).

²¹ S-Uu, Uvmtr 553–557, 544–548 and 549–552 (RISM 1647², 1649⁴ and 1652³).

²² Webber, "Italian Music at the Court of Queen Christina."

²³ The others were Fredrick Scharle, Hans Heinrich Tauscher and possibly also Gustav's brother

dating from the period before 1663 when Gustav Düben was appointed *Hofkapellmeister*, comprise music collected by Gustav Düben himself, rather than being remnants of the music library of his father, Andreas Düben.²⁴

The manuscripts and prints that arrived with the Italian ensemble represent the material in the Düben Collection that travelled the furthest distance across Europe. They were the result of extraordinary circumstances: Queen Christina's ambitions for her Stockholm court in terms of art and letters, but also, and more importantly, her already well-advanced plans to abdicate, convert to Catholicism and move to Rome. The material seems to have been retained by the Düben Collection by virtue of the fact that Gustav Düben was assigned to work with the Italian ensemble and was able to keep some of the material that passed through his hands. These chance circumstances aside, the brief visit of the Italian musicians had a lasting impact on the music at court, as well as on Gustav Düben's own practices and preferences.²⁵

Another early manuscript with a similar background is the single tablature volume Imhs 409, which contains a large number of dance movements in the French style copied by Gustav Düben from the early 1650s onwards. This volume resulted from Düben's contact with a French violin band recruited for Stockholm in 1647. It contains some of the earliest preserved ballroom dances from the French court, by composers such as Jacques de Belleville, Michel Mazuel and Louis Constantin,²⁶ plus essays in the composition of dances in the French style by Gustav Düben himself, his brother Peter and his father Andreas.²⁷

Manuscripts from Danzig

One group of manuscripts in the Düben Collection originates from the city of Danzig and contains around fifty compositions. It was presumably acquired by Gustav Düben in the early 1660s, but the manuscripts appear to be older than that: from the 1650s or even earlier. This could possibly be a small collection previously owned by a musician in Danzig that Düben acquired through an unknown intermediary. The connection to Danzig is confirmed by the use of papers from the Danzig paper mill of Nathanael Propstly, with its characteristic watermark in the shape of a fish, and by paper displaying that city's coat of arms. There is also a large representation of composers active in Danzig, who include Crato Bütner, Balthasar Erben, Kaspar Förster junior and Thomas Strutius.²⁸

Peter Düben; see Berglund and Schildt, "Italian Music at the Swedish Royal Court of Queen Christina."

²⁴ A qualified guess is that that older collection was destroyed in the fire at the royal castle in 1697.

²⁵ Berglund, "Roman Connection."

²⁶ Some of the dances have concordances in the Philidor manuscript "Recueil de plusieurs vieux Airs," Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la Musique, Rés. F 494; Robertson, *Courtly Consort Suite in German-Speaking Europe*, 41–45. The entire volume was edited by Jaroslav J. S. Mráček in *Seventeenth-century Instrumental Dance Music*.

²⁷ These attributions have been disputed, but were convincingly confirmed in Schildt, *Gustav Düben at Work*, 101–107; cf. Wollny, "Zur Thüringer Rezeption des französischen Stils."

²⁸ The origin of the material will possibly be clarified when the main copyist of the manuscripts,

Although the principal intermediary is not yet identified, the proximity of Danzig and Stockholm and the well-established trade routes between the two cities could explain the acquisition of these manuscripts. They could conceivably have been obtained by Gustav Düben in connection with a journey to Danzig, but it seems more likely that they arrived with an itinerant musician who sold or otherwise traded them to Düben.²⁹

Manuscripts from Saxony

A group of around sixty manuscripts can be linked to electoral Saxony.³⁰ Peter Wollny has argued convincingly that these manuscripts should be associated not primarily with the Saxon *Residenzstadt* of Dresden, but instead with one of the secondogeniture courts, such as those in Zeitz, Halle and Merseburg.³¹

An absolute majority of the composers represented in this group were active in Saxony, mainly in Dresden. Heinrich Schütz is represented by his *Weinachtshistoria*, the so-called “Christmas oratorio,” including the instrumental parts for the *intermediae*, which are *unica*. Further, there is music by, among others, David Pohle, J. Ph. Krieger and Clemens Thieme, as well as by the most prominent Italian composers active in Dresden at this time: Vincenzo Albrici, Giosepe Peranda and Andrea Bontempi. Wollny’s hypothesis that the manuscripts derive from a smaller, secondogeniture court is based on the fact that some minor composers from those centres, such as Heinrich Groh and Christoph Kreichel, are likewise represented.

As in the case of the Danzig manuscripts, the intermediary for these manuscripts is not yet identified, but it may have been a musician or any other person travelling across Europe.

Manuscripts belonging to Johann von Assig und Siegersdorff, from Breslau, Leipzig and Vienna

In his 1968 manuscript catalogue of the instrumental music of the Düben Collection, Erik Kjellberg called attention to the occurrence of the inscription “assieg” or “assig” in a number of instrumental manuscripts. Peter Wollny was later able to identify their origin.³² The approximately forty manuscripts belonged to a nobleman from Breslau, Johann von Assig und Siegersdorff (1650–1694). This man was born in Breslau but studied in Leipzig for a few years around 1670. In Leipzig he acquired music by composers active

the mysterious “Befastru,” is identified. The copyist was thus named by Grusnick, using the initials of the composers mentioned above; Grusnick, “Die Dübensammlung,” pt. 1, 64.

²⁹ Manuscripts could have been bought by Düben, but also traded against different services and employments or simply bartered in exchange for other manuscripts.

³⁰ Bruno Grusnick referred to the individual copyists of these manuscripts simply as “Mitteldeutscher Schreiber”. Grusnick, “Die Dübensammlung,” pt. 1, 68–69.

³¹ Wollny, “Source Complex from Saxony.”

³² Wollny, “Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Sammlung Düben.”

there, such as Sebastian Knüpfer and Adam Krieger. In Breslau he had already acquired a small collection of works by musicians in Vienna, who included Antonio Bertali and Johann Helmich Schmelzer.

Following his studies in Leipzig, Johann von Assig und Siegersdorff embarked on a journey through northern Europe, and in the first years of the 1670s he made an appearance in Sweden as a *valet de chambre* (*Kammerjunker* or *Hofjunker*) of the Lord High Chancellor of Sweden, Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, and his consort Maria Euphrosyne.³³ After a journey to Swedish Livonia he returned in Stockholm in 1676. As a lieutenant commander of the Swedish navy he participated in three naval battles during the Scanian War against Denmark, including the disastrous Battle of Öland on 1 June 1676, where he was badly wounded. In 1676 his father died, and he returned to his native city of Breslau.³⁴

The biography of Johann von Assig und Siegersdorff as well as certain dates present in the manuscripts suggest that Gustav Düben acquired the music around 1674 in connection with Assig's sojourn in Stockholm.³⁵ It is not possible to determine how Düben obtained possession of them. He could have purchased them or else received them as a gift.

Manuscripts from Gottorp: Augustin Pflieger

This is a very specific group of around seventy manuscripts in the Düben Collection, comprising an *Evangelienjahrgang* by Augustin Pflieger, *Kapellmeister* at Gottorf, Schleswig-Holstein, from 1665 to 1673. Several of the manuscripts are in Pflieger's own hand, which has been identified by Peter Wollny.³⁶ Gustav Düben presumably acquired them during the 1670s.³⁷ There were close links between the courts of Sweden and Gottorf, since the Swedish Dowager Queen Hedvig Eleonora was a daughter of Frederick III, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp. The music could have reached Stockholm through emissaries, or else Gustav Düben could have acquired them during his travels to that region. During the 1660s and up to 1671 Düben travelled frequently to Lübeck, Hamburg and Amsterdam, these journeys being documented in ship's manifests from Stockholm harbour.³⁸

Dietrich Buxtehude Manuscripts from Lübeck

A remarkable group of manuscripts in the Düben Collection comprises over one hundred vocal works by the organist of the Marienkirche in Lübeck, Dietrich Buxtehude. About a

³³ *Ibid.*, 106.

³⁴ Johann von Assig, *Herrn Hannß von Aßig*, [...], *Gesammlete Schrifften*, "Vorrede."

³⁵ For a more detailed argumentation, see Wollny, "Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Sammlung Düben," 103–106.

³⁶ Wollny, "Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Sammlung Düben," 102.

³⁷ Schildt, *Gustav Düben at Work*, 279–280.

³⁸ Peetz Ullman, "Eine neue Quelle zu Gustav Dübens Reisen."

tenth of them are preserved in autograph manuscripts,³⁹ including the famous dedication to Gustav Düben in the autograph tablature score of *Membra Jesu nostri*.⁴⁰ This direct contact between Düben and Buxtehude, referred to as a friendship by Buxtehude himself,⁴¹ explains how this music found its way to Stockholm, even though most of the manuscripts were copied from originals that no longer survive there. These originals could have been sent to Stockholm and returned to Lübeck, or perhaps the manuscripts were copied in Lübeck by Düben's or Buxtehude's assistants.

The North-West German Manuscripts

Another extraordinary group of manuscripts from the same region was acquired by Gustav Düben in connection with his travels to Lübeck and Hamburg during the 1660s. The main part consists of two large tablature books, Vmhs 79 and 81. The tablatures bound into these two volumes contain music by composers from the region, such as Franz Tunder (Buxtehude's predecessor in Lübeck), Christoph Bernhard and Mattias Weckmann (both active in Hamburg), plus music by composers from more distant parts of Germany, as well as some Italian music. The tablatures were copied by a number of German scribes on paper manufactured in the Lübeck region, including that from the Ratzeburg paper mill. In addition to the tablatures, there are also a number of partbooks with the same provenance. This group contains altogether around one hundred and fifty compositions.

The more precise origin of these manuscripts is yet to be clarified, but several features point to the city of Hamburg. This is one of the most interesting and important complexes within the Düben Collection for several reasons: first, it is the largest group of foreign manuscripts; second, it includes a sizeable number of *unica*; third, as we shall see, there are strong reasons for believing that a large proportion of the manuscripts produced in Sweden by Gustav Düben and his assistants for which no foreign or printed originals have yet been identified were copied from manuscripts of the same provenance. So this specific supply of music may have been much more important for Gustav Düben than is immediately apparent from the material in question (more on this below).

The Sub-Collection of Stage Music from the French Court

This sub-collection belongs among the latest material in the Düben Collection, dating from ca. 1690 to the 1720s. It derives mainly from Anders von Düben's tenure as *Kapellmeister*. It is a collection of operatic music by Jean-Baptiste Lully and his followers, who include, among others, André Campra, Pascal Colasse, André Cardinal Destouches and Henri Desmarests, and runs to around fifty works. The material contains a number of Ballard prints, performance material in manuscript from Paris and performance material in manuscript

³⁹ Wollny, "From Lübeck to Sweden."

⁴⁰ S-Uu, Vmhs 50:12.

⁴¹ "Nobilissimo Amico," Buxtehude writes in the dedication.

prepared in Stockholm. Interestingly, the manuscripts of French origin can be linked to the scriptorium of the music librarian of Louis XIV, André Danican Philidor *alias* Philidor l'Aîné (1652–1730).⁴² Maria Schildt and the present author have been able to establish that all this material belongs to the Düben Collection.⁴³ These manuscripts arrived in Stockholm soon after the original performances at the *Académie royale de musique* – often within a year. The manuscript parts comprise mainly *parties de remplissage*, the complementary middle parts omitted in the prints, and some of these are *unica*, or at least sources earlier in date than their counterparts preserved in France. The Swedish manuscripts represent additional performance parts, but also evidence many instances of adaptation for local court entertainments such as masquerades and ballets.

The prompt arrival of this material in Stockholm was made possible by close contacts with the French court. Anders von Düben studied in Paris for relatively long periods during the 1680s, as did his older brother, Gustav Düben the younger. Moreover, the court entertainments just mentioned were staged by the Swedish court architect Nichodemus Tessin the younger, who was exceptionally well connected in Paris and Versailles and made several sojourns there in the late 1670s and 1680s. Finally, the Swedish resident in Paris, Daniel Cronström, was similarly well connected, and in close contact with a colleague of Philidor, the royal music librarian François Fossard.

Miscellaneous Manuscripts of Foreign Origin

In addition to the nine groups of manuscripts described above, there are some smaller sets of manuscripts of a more accidental character. One such set is formed by manuscripts that Gustav Düben brought home from his educational journey around Europe in the second half of the 1640s.⁴⁴ There are also thirteen compositions by Johann Valentin Meder, several of which are in Meder's own hand, and which must have been sent or brought to Stockholm by the composer, who was active variously in Reval (now Tallinn), Riga, Danzig and Königsberg (now Kaliningrad). A few manuscripts were also brought from Copenhagen and Mecklenburg by Christian Geist when he arrived in Stockholm in 1670.

Printed Music in the Düben Collection

In his thesis of 1979 Erik Kjellberg identified around fifty printed collections that could be considered part of the Düben Collection.⁴⁵ In 2014 Maria Schildt was able to add about a hundred more, so that today a hundred and fifty prints can safely be assigned to the Collection.⁴⁶

⁴² Berglund and Schildt, “French Stage Music in the Düben Collection, Uppsala.”

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ For more details, see Schildt, *Gustav Düben at Work*, 87–94.

⁴⁵ Kjellberg, *Kungliga musiker i Sverige under stormaktstiden*.

⁴⁶ A list of the prints in the collection prepared by Schildt is available from the Düben Collection Database Catalogue webpage: http://www2.musik.uu.se/duben/Printed_Music.pdf.

Leaving aside the prints from Rome referred to above, the printed items in the Düben Collection mainly come from the German-speaking lands, the Netherlands and Paris. It is not clear how and where they were acquired. Some of them may have been bought in Lübeck, Hamburg or Amsterdam during Düben's travels, or else ordered from booksellers active in those regions.

Manuscripts Copied in Stockholm

The largest single group of manuscripts in the Düben Collection comprises manuscripts prepared in Stockholm for local performances. Most of them were copied by Gustav Düben himself, while others were the work of court musicians, some of whom have been identified. Another important copyist was Johann Stockman, *Kantor* at the German Church.⁴⁷

As already mentioned, a large part of those works were copied from prints. The list of such concordances between manuscripts and printed collection prepared by Maria Schildt shows that prints were the single most important source for manuscripts copied in Sweden by Gustav Düben and his assistants.

A smaller, but still substantial, portion of these manuscripts was copied from manuscripts of foreign provenance that still survive in the Düben Collection. The locally produced copies are often complementary in nature: either a tablature score has been intabulated from an imported set of parts, or parts have been prepared from an imported tablature score. The first case is the more common.

In addition to these two larger groups, there are also a number of manuscripts produced locally in Sweden by composers active there. The largest set is formed by the sixty compositions by Christian Geist (ca. 1650–1711) composed during his time as a court musician in Stockholm (1670–1679) and as organist for the German congregation in Göteborg (1679–1684).⁴⁸ Moreover, there are around forty works by members of the Düben family, mainly Gustav the elder and Anders von Düben.

Manuscripts Copied in Sweden and Lacking Known Foreign or Printed Models

In addition to these different complexes, there is also a relatively large group of manuscripts copied in Sweden that cannot have been taken from printed collections since the music was never printed, and which have no foreign manuscript originals preserved in the Düben Collection. This group is estimated to total over two hundred and fifty compositions.

For these manuscripts, there must have been an original available at some point in time. This original must either have existed previously in Stockholm or elsewhere in Sweden or been accessible to Gustav Düben or his assistants in the context of travels abroad. This raises the question: from which sources were these manuscripts copied? This

⁴⁷ This copyist was for a long time called "A-Sthlm," an alias used by Bruno Grusnick. Peter Wollny was able to identify the scribe as Johann Stockmann; see Schildt, *Gustav Düben at Work*, 231.

⁴⁸ Berglund, *Studier i Christian Geists vokalmusik*.

is one of the last remaining questions relating to how this large collection was gathered. When this enigma has been solved, it will be possible to account for the provenance of almost the entire collection. Some preliminary assumptions may be made regarding this mysterious group of manuscripts.

Either these sources were sent to Stockholm by post or courier, copied in Stockholm and then sent back; or Gustav Düben or someone else travelled to the location of the originals and copied them there. Both possibilities seem to point to relatively accessible locations. Moreover, it is clear from papers, hands and explicit dates that this material was produced not on a single occasion or within a narrow time-frame but with some regularity over a period of more than twenty years. All this implies that we are concerned with a supplier whom Gustav Düben knew quite well: a person with whom he was in constant contact. At the same time, the repertoire in these manuscripts is fairly homogeneous, possibly suggesting a common origin. This is music disseminated only in manuscript and associated with centres in North Germany, and to some extent also Saxony: music by Kaspar Förster, Johann Philip Krieger, Vincenzo Albrici, Giuseppe Peranda, Christoph Bernhard and Franz Tunder.

The attentive reader will have noticed that this repertoire is remarkably similar to the one represented by the North-West German complex of manuscripts discussed above. This suggests that the origin of these Swedish sources without originals in the collection, or at least a large part of them, could be the same as that of the enigmatic North-West German manuscripts. Should this assumption prove correct, we would be able to identify the most important source for Gustav Düben's acquisitions, prints aside. It would account for over four hundred, perhaps even close to five hundred, compositions in manuscript. Although this is still a very tentative assumption, there is much that points to the city of Hamburg. However, this material awaits further study.

Routes of Transfer and Networks of Acquisition – the Düben Collection Unveiled

The question of how Gustav Düben and his sons managed to assemble their large music collection, with its vast geographical range and its to a large extent unique and exclusive selection of high-quality music, was for a long time considered an enigma among scholars working on the material. Today, as we have seen, it is actually possible to answer these questions, at least regarding the major parts of the collection. To conclude, I would like to present some general observations on this case study in musical transfer.

A first observation is that the transmission of music depended mainly on personal contacts, either direct or indirect, within relatively small and closed networks. Institutionalized networks such as established trade routes were not of importance; nor were cultural, economic or dynastic networks of contact at a more official level. The exception is possibly published music, at least portions of which we may assume were purchased from book dealers or agents in, for instance, Amsterdam or Hamburg.

We can also notice that much of the manuscript music seems to have been received or obtained in the form of “packages” constituting small sub-collections on a single, specific occasion, rather than via a steady stream of individual items. The exceptions are what

have here been termed the North-West German manuscripts, as well as the Buxtehude manuscripts: cases where the direct contact with a supplier seems to have depended on a long-term relationship, possibly even including an advisory function.

It is also noteworthy that even though some of the sub-collections of manuscripts, such as the North-West German complex and the French material, seem to have been obtained more actively and systematically, with a purpose and a specific use in mind, other acquisitions appear to have been mere coincidences. The best example is the private collection of Johann von Assig und Siegersdorff, but possibly the Danzig manuscripts, too, belong to this category. At the same time, these are also instances suggesting that Gustav Düben eagerly grasped the opportunity to get hold of music whenever such an windfall came his way.

More generally, it is quite clear that the practices of acquiring music reflected in the Düben Collection were marked by careful selection and discrimination. This is particularly true of the selection of works from the published repertoire, a practice that Maria Schildt has investigated.⁴⁹ When Gustav Düben used a printed volume as his copy text for handwritten parts intended for use in performance, he usually selected only two or three pieces out of the twenty or thirty,⁵⁰ always with a keen eye for scorings, texts and musical style. This high level of discrimination is also revealed by the remarkably high quality of the musical repertoire disseminated only in manuscript.

The compositions preserved in manuscripts copied in Sweden are very often adapted and rearranged for local uses and needs. They are re-scored, re-texted and during the 1690s also often abridged. Moreover, in many cases the manuscripts betray layers of different performance occasions, running from the early 1660s up to the late 1690s.⁵¹

I would like to close with some methodological remarks. The most important research observations regarding routes and practices of assembling music as described in this survey have been achieved through careful studies of the actual musical manuscripts and prints in the collection. Various external documents and a knowledge of historical circumstances have been of importance for contextualizing the philological observations. Yet the most important source of information has been the data extracted from the sources themselves, read and interpreted from a broad perspective not merely as vehicles for music but also as artefacts of material culture. The detailed database and the digitized images have been of great use, but mainly for sorting and searching the vast material. The most important conclusions are the result of patient philological work and close attention to detail. This combination of new and old – modern technologies allied to traditional and well-tried methods and the integration of cultural-theoretical perspectives – suggests a most promising path for the future development of historical musicology.

⁴⁹ Schildt, *Gustav Düben at Work*, 310–318.

⁵⁰ See <http://www2.musik.uu.se/duben/Concordances.pdf>.

⁵¹ For a comprehensive study of these practices, see Schildt, *Gustav Düben at Work*.

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POTI V DÜBNOVO ZBIRKO KAKO STA GUSTAV DÜBEN IN NJEGOV SIN PRIDOBIVALA MUZIKALIJE

Povzetek

Dübnovo zbirko, ki jo danes hrani Univerzitetna knjižnica v Uppsali (S-Uu), so ustvarili člani družine Düben med okoli 1645 in 1726, univerzi pa so jo poklonili leta 1732. Najpomembnejša člana te družine sta bila Gustav Düben starejši in njegov sin Anders von Düben, ki je zbirko predal univerzi. Zbrana glasba odraža potrebe njihovih vlog dvornih kapelnikov in organistov nemške cerkve. Zbirka vsebuje blizu dva tisoč del v rokopisih in vsaj sto petdeset glasbenih tiskov, ki so vsi digitalizirani in katalogizirani ter v taki obliki dostopni tudi v spletni zbirki *The Düben Collection Database Catalogue*.

Po zaslugi nedavnih raziskav Marie Schildt in Petra Wollnyja lahko danes izsledimo več poti, po katerih so glasbene vire za to obsežno zbirko pridobivali. Velik del rokopisov predstavljajo kopije glasbenih tiskov, ki so jih izdajali nemški in nizozemski tiskarji. Zanimive so tudi druge obsežne skupine skladb tujega izvora, ki so krožile samo v rokopisnih prepisih, prihajale pa so na primer iz Rima, mesta Gdansk, regije Lübecka in Hamburga, iz dvora Gottorf, s Saške, iz Vroclava, Dunaja in Pariza. V zbirki je tudi skupina rokopisov, ki so nastali na Švedskem in za katere ne poznamo tujih predlog. Nekateri so delo skladateljev, ki so delovali v Stockholmu, kot je bil na primer Christian Geist. Za večji del, ki obsega okoli dvesto petdeset rokopisov, pa izvor še ni bil ugotovljen oziroma preverjen. Avtor prispevka meni, da bi morda povezavo lahko iskali v Hamburgu.

Poti, ki so se jih posluževali Dübnovi za pridobivanje glasbene literature, so bile v največji meri odvisne od osebnih kontaktov in mrež in so bile v nekaj primerih tudi zgolj posledica slučajev. A glasba sama je bila vedno izbrana s posebnim posluhom za glasbeno kakovost in uporabnost. Veliko del je bilo posebej prilagojenih lokalnim razmeram.

Na koncu je treba vendarle poudariti, da so največ podatkov za opravljeno raziskavo in njeno metodologijo dali sami rokopisi in tiski ter le v manjši meri drugo gradivo. Podatkovna zbirka je služila predvsem za urejanje in križno iskanje, osnovno pa je bilo temeljno delo po tradicionalnih filoloških metodah.

“GALLUS APUD BELGAS” THE DOUAI *MORALIA* (1603) RECONSIDERED

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Izveleček: Zbirka *Moralia* (Nürnberg, 1595) je edina izdaja Gallusove glasbe, ki je bila že kmalu po njegovi smrti ponatisnjena, in to v Douaiju, mestu, ki leži daleč od srednjeevropskega prostora, v katerem so skladateljeva dela sicer najbolj razširjena. Prispevek ocenjuje kakovost tega novega natisa v primerjavi z izvorno izdajo.

Abstract: The collection of *Moralia* (Nuremberg, 1596) is the only volume of Handl's music to have been republished shortly after the composer's lifetime, and this in Douai, a city very distant from the Central European area where Handl's music was most widely circulated. The nature of the new print is discussed in relation to the *editio princeps*.

Ključne besede: Douai, Jacobus Handl - Gallus, Georgius Handl, Alexander Philipp Dietrich, Jean Bogard.

Keywords: Douai, Jacobus Handl-Gallus, Georgius Handl, Alexander Philipp Dietrich, Jean Bogard.

The collection of *Moralia* by Jacobus Handl-Gallus (1550–1591), which appeared in Douai in 1603,¹ could probably be taken for a new publication within the printed music market of the Southern Low Countries. In terms of content, however, it contained nothing different from the original publication brought out in Nuremberg seven years earlier by Alexander Philipp Dietrich.² These Nuremberg *Moralia* are the last collection from the composer's

¹ The latest and most accurate study of Handl's works and sources is Marko Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, where the Douai *Moralia* are discussed on p. 327. The sole known example of this print, preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) in Paris, has been scanned and is accessible online free of charge via the BnF digitized items website, Gallica, on the web page <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90598111.r=Moralia.langFR>. Please refer to this online resource for all mentions of the source in this article.

² Handl, *Moralia* (Nuremberg: Alexander Philipp Dietrich, 1596). Motnik, 327. This source is preserved complete in the Ratschulbibliothek Zwickau and the Bibliotheca Fürstenbergiana of Schloss Arnsberg-Herdringen in Germany. Incomplete copies are preserved in Prague and Hradiště u Znojma in the Czech Republic; Augsburg, Kassel and Neustadt an der Orla in Germany; the British Library in London; Warsaw and Lublin in Poland; Stockholm and Uppsala in Sweden. The Augsburg example, preserved almost complete with five out of its six partbooks, has been scanned. Six specimen pages (title page, index and first two pages of the Cantus II section of

own time to have been published under his name. They form an entertaining succession of forty-seven secular Latin pieces written for five, six and eight parts on texts taken either from classical authors such as Ovid, Virgil and Martial or from anonymous medieval and early Renaissance *adagia*. Varied in their scale and form of setting, these pieces also differ from one another in style. We find in these light compositions some of Handl's finest achievements in the refinement of expression, such as Dido's lament "Dulces exuviae" (no. 43), taken from Virgil's *Aeneid*, and two praises of music "Musica noster amor" (no. 28), and "Musica musarum germana" (no. 29), where Handl seems to display a *summa* of his art in its multiple aspects. We also find examples of what comes closest to scansion *à l'antique* in the whole of his oeuvre, such as "Quid petitur sacris" (no. 8), on a text from Ovid's *Ars amatoria*, among many other pieces.³ A number of the pieces adopt the simple form of a couplet, and these sound like proverbs, delivered musically in a variety of lighter forms and replete with irony.⁴ The term *Moralia* was itself proposed by the composer explicitly to affirm the moral character of these compositions, as opposed to the more sensual and lyrical world of the madrigal.⁵ In this respect, the volume of *Moralia* formed a complement to the collection issued only a short time earlier by Handl: the *Harmoniae morales* published in three books in Prague in 1589–1590, which contained fifty-three similar pieces, all written in four parts.⁶

The fact that this masterpiece should have been reprinted is not in itself surprising. What is more remarkable is that these *Moralia* are unique in this respect within Handl's vast printed oeuvre. No Mass by him,⁷ not a single volume of his *Opus musicum*,⁸ nor even the *Harmoniae morales* collection, was ever reprinted⁹ – a fact that makes one wonder: why the *Moralia*? The place of the new publication may also appear unexpected: why Douai? Although this city appears to have been home to several printers, it never became

the Cantus partbook) are accessible free of charge from the web page: <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0185-schl2493>. The entire digitized source can also be ordered against payment from the same page via the Harald Fischer Verlag Download service.

³ The strict declamatory style is probably the outstanding feature of the entire collection.

⁴ Thirty-one pieces out of forty-seven are composed on texts taking the form of a couplet.

⁵ See Handl, *Harmoniae morales*, vol. 1, fol. 2. In the foreword that Handl wrote for the *Harmoniae morales* he proclaimed: "instead of the name of madrigals, I substitute for these works the more adequate term *Moralia*, and wish from now on that they be called thus, so that their moral aspect should become as little licentious as possible, and that they should even shun the shadow of obscenity" ("et Madrigalium loco substitutum laetioerem hunc cantum, MORALIA, inscribo, sicque ut deinceps vocentur opto; quod potissima pars morum sit minimè lascivorum, sed qui obscenitatis etiam umbram reformident").

⁶ See Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, 326–327. The complementarity of the two collections is also implied by the numerically perfect sum of their combined content: fifty-three pieces (*Harmoniae morales*), plus forty-seven pieces (*Moralia*) form a corpus of exactly one hundred secular compositions.

⁷ Four books of Masses were published in 1580 in Prague under the title of *Selectiores quaedam missae, pro Ecclesia Dei non inuiles*. See Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, 322–323.

⁸ Published in four books between 1586 and 1591 under the title of *Tomus primus [–quartus] musici operis*. See Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, 323–326.

⁹ The unsold copies of the fourth book of *Opus musicum* came to be sold again as *Sacrae cantiones* in 1597, but constitute neither a reprint nor a new edition (on this point, see below, p. 74).

an important centre for music printing on a par with Prague, the cradle of most of Handl's printed production. Moreover, Douai was actually situated quite far from Handl's place of residence, and equally far from the Central European area where his work was published, copied, appreciated and most widely circulated. The dates also raise questions of their own: the original *Moralia* print was published in 1596: that is, five years after the composer's death. This lapse of time appears somewhat long, since the music must certainly have been ready in 1591 at the very latest. The fact that this collection was published not in Prague, like all Handl's earlier volumes, but in Nuremberg, suggests that some difficulties occurred during the process. On the other hand, the seven years that separate the Douai edition from the first, Nuremberg edition – hardly longer than the interval separating the composition of the pieces from their first edition – appears, in contrast, to be a rather short gap. Why republish the *Moralia* so quickly? And, once again, why choose solely this volume from the whole of the composer's output?

Today a secondary city of northern France, Douai was at the beginning of the seventeenth century at the peak of its intellectual and artistic splendour. Belonging at that time, together with the whole of Flanders, to the Spanish Netherlands governed by the Madrid Habsburgs, it was situated not far from the French border, and within the space of a few decades was granted several important institutions that would enhance its Catholic character. This included a university founded in 1559, whose influence rose to a peak during the early seventeenth century.¹⁰ In the face of the "dangerous" example of neighbouring France, which had been beset by religious turmoil for almost forty years, and where freedom of confession had finally been granted to Protestants by Henry IV in 1598, Douai developed as a centre for the Counter-Reformation under the leadership of the Jesuits, hosting in its many colleges students in Theology, Law, Medicine and the Arts. It also became an important cultural centre of studies for English-speaking Catholics, ensuring higher education at a convenient geographical location situated close enough to the English Channel.

It is in this context of Jesuit influence that the printing trade developed in Douai, with the transfer of technology and craftsmanship mostly coming from more important centres within the Southern Low Countries. Jacques Boscard (d. 1580) and Jean Bogard (ca. 1531–1616) both came from Leuven; Balthazar Bellère came from Antwerp. The last two men also printed music.¹¹ If we join the strict Catholic allegiance of the city to the rapid development of the printing industry, it is no surprise to discover in the 1603 edition of the *Moralia* a short report from the censor stating that nothing in the collection offended

¹⁰ On the singular history of the university in Douai, see Dehon, *L'Université de Douai dans la tourmente*, esp. 12–22. On the context of the Counter-Reformation in Douai and its influence on music, see Bossuyt, "Counter Reformation and Music in Douai."

¹¹ Prints published in Douai started to be listed as early as 1842 by Hippolyte-Joseph-Romain Dutillhœul in his *Bibliographie douaisienne*. The most recent and accurate list of books printed in Douai is that contained in the two sections of the *Bibliotheca bibliographica Aureliana* devoted to Douai by Albert Labarre. Recent studies with a special focus on music prints include Persoons, "Joannes I Bogardus, Jean II Bogard en Pierre Bogard," 613–666; Vanhulst, "Balthazar Bellère," 175–198 and 227–263; Vanhulst, "Music in the *Indicis librorum*," 87–106.

piety or morals.¹² Given that the *editio princeps* originated from Lutheran Nuremberg, the securing of such official permission was of course a necessary step to take before having the book published in Douai.

As a matter of fact, those scholars who have studied the Douai *Moralia* up to the present day seem to have focused above all on the matter of the distance between Douai and Nuremberg, as if this would necessarily bring about change or variation in the transmitted music. Josip Mantuani (1860–1933), the pioneering musicological authority on Handl's life and works active at the beginning of the twentieth century, focused in particular on the *Opus musicum*,¹³ but made a special examination of the *Moralia* in 1929,¹⁴ probably with the intention of publishing a modern edition of the collection.¹⁵ He urged his former professor, Guido Adler (1855–1941), who spent that autumn in Paris, to obtain photocopies of the Douai print for him.¹⁶ Modern scores did not, however, appear before the late 1960s. Again uniquely within Handl's oeuvre, the *Moralia* have appeared in modern editions no fewer than three times in under thirty years.¹⁷ The editors responsible for these editions, respectively Dragotin Cvetko and Ludvik Zepič (1968), Allen B. Skei (1970) and especially Edo Škulj (1996), have stated that the Douai edition was strictly dependent on the original one. Closer to the present time, Marko Motnik has also remarked in his monograph on Jacobus Handl that the Douai print differed from the Nuremberg one only in the fact that the foreword, the introductory poems and the index to contents at the end were missing.¹⁸ It is not our intention to question these conclusions here: the present article aims, rather, to investigate in fuller detail the Douai print as compared with the *editio princeps*, and to attempt a more precise assessment of its importance within Handl's musical legacy.

Origin of the Douai *Moralia*: Where Does the Music Come From?

This question is probably far less simple than we might initially imagine. We have, certainly, to consider the transfer of the music from Nuremberg to Douai. But we also

¹² "In his *Moralibus Cantilenis Iacobi Handelini nihil est quod pietatem aut bonos mores offendat. Actum Duaci 15. Septembris. 1603.*" [There is nothing in these Moral Cantilenas by Jacobus Handelinus [!] that offends piety or morals. In Douai, 15 September 1603.] Handl, *Moralia* (1603), Cantus partbook, fol. [G4v]. This permission bears the signature of Georges Colveniers (Georgius Colvenerus), Professor in Philosophy at the Faculty of Arts in Douai and censor of books.

¹³ Mantuani was responsible for the first complete edition of the *Opus musicum*, published in six volumes by Artaria in Vienna between 1899 and 1919 within the series *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*.

¹⁴ As we may infer from his correspondence. See Hilscher, "Josef Mantuani und Guido Adler," 23–74.

¹⁵ Transcribed scores of the *Moralia* as well as Mantuani's correspondence with Guido Adler certainly establish that an edition was planned. See Motnik, *Jacobus Handl-Gallus*, 20–21.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 61.

¹⁷ In chronological order: 1. Cvetko and Zepič, *Jacobus Gallus Carniolus (Jacobus Handl): Moralia* (1968); 2. Skei, *Jacobus Handl: The Moralia of 1596* (1970); 3. Škulj, *Jacobus Gallus: Moralia* (1996).

¹⁸ Motnik, *Jacobus Handl-Gallus*, 48–49.

have to take into account the fact that the Nuremberg edition itself has a rather complex history that until now has never been examined in detail.¹⁹ Indeed, it seems necessary to insist on the fact that Nuremberg does not represent a "fixed point" in the transmission history of the music. As we know, the composer Jacobus Handl died in Prague in 1591. It was his brother Georgius who took care of these still unpublished *Moralia*, and it was this same Georgius Handl who wrote the prefatory page introducing the music, together with a dedication to the Senators of the Old Town of Prague, in fulfilment, as he wrote, of a wish of Jacobus. The foreword itself is dated 20 March 1596 in Prague.²⁰

Having Nuremberg on its title page but containing music composed in Prague in or before 1591 and then dedicated and presented in Prague in 1596, this publication implies that at least one journey from Prague and back again was executed by the music. Should we wish to summarize the transmission process in its totality, an itinerary including at least three (not two) places appears before us:

- A1. Prague: the music is composed and assembled in the city, which it then leaves in manuscript form;
- B. Nuremberg: the music is printed;
- A2. Prague: the music comes back in printed form to be dedicated;
- C. Douai: the music is reprinted.

The origin of the music contained in the Douai print could be, as we see, either Nuremberg at point B or Prague at point A2; but the possibility also exists that it was actually transferred directly from Prague at point A1.

The Importance of the *Moralia* among the Jean Bogard Music Prints in Douai

Regarding the final destination of this itinerary, Douai, it seems necessary, first, to emphasize the fact that the father and son both named Jean Bogard²¹ were not primarily music printers. Only twenty books of music are today preserved out of a total of thirty, a number that represents only a small proportion of the roughly five hundred books issued under their imprint.²² Among the Bogard music prints that have survived, the *Moralia* form an

¹⁹ Despite information found in Skei, "Jacob Handl's *Moralia*," 431–447, which, however, mostly concern musical content, not the history of the printed source itself. The most recent discussion of this source occurs in Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, 44–46.

²⁰ A reproduction of the foreword is included in Škulj's edition of the *Moralia*, p. xxxii. The same author has also published a complete Slovenian translation of this text (together with the Latin original) in a publication devoted to all the prefatory texts found in Handl's original publications: *Gallusovi predgovori in drugi dokumenti*, 102–107. An English translation is provided in Skei's edition of the *Moralia*, p. 10.

²¹ Jean I Bogard (?1531–1616) left his son Jean II (1561–1627) to run the Douai printshop during his multiple sojourns in Leuven in 1586 and after he retired to that city in 1607, at which point Jean II Bogard became sole manager of the printing house.

²² Bain, "Bogard, Jean."

isolated volume, and Jacobus Handl appears, indeed, to be something of an outsider among those composers whose works were issued in Douai. Although modest in size, even when taking into account the volumes that today are lost, the Bogard music production can be divided into three discrete groups of publications:²³

1. A first group is devoted to composers whose sole known works are ones published in Douai and who appear for the most part to be local musicians:

- Jean Pennequin, *Chansons nouvelles à quatre et cinq parties et une à huit* (1583)
- Jean Machgielz, *Premier livre des chansons nouvelles à quatre, cinq et six parties convenables tant aux instruments comme à la voix* (1583)
- François Gallet, *Sacrae cantiones* (1586) and *Hymni communes sanctorum* (1586)
- Antonius Marissal, *Flores melodici sive cantiones sacrae* (1611)
- [Jean Sardonius, *Angelica musa* (1629)]²⁴

2. Composers from the Franco-Flemish area, whose works would have enjoyed a wider circulation and were also published in Antwerp or Paris, form a second group:

- Andreas Pevernage, *Cantiones aliquot sacrae* (1578)
- Jean de (Jan-Jacob Van) Turnhout, *Sacrarum cantionum I* (1594)
- Piat Maulgred, *Airs et chansons à 4, 5, 6 et 8 parties* (1616)
- Jean de Bournonville, *Missae tredecim* (1619)

3. Composers with an international reputation form the third group, the most prestigious of the three:

- at least four volumes were devoted to Jean de Castro: [*Novae cantiones sacrae* (1588)],²⁵ *Trois odes [...] en musique à 4 parties* (1592), [*Tricinia* (1603), IL fol. O4v], *Sonets du Seigneur Pierre de la Meschinière* (1611)
- Jacques, François, Charles and Pascaise Regnart, *Novae cantiones sacrae* (1590)
- [Roland de Lassus, *Psalmi poenitentiales* (1600), IL, fol. O4v] (reissued from the Munich edition of 1584)

²³ The list of music volumes printed by Jean I and Jean II Bogard presented here has been reconstructed with the aid of references mostly taken from Vanhulst, “Balthasar Bellère,” but augmented by Labarre’s source list in *Bibliotheca bibliographica Aureliana* and also by references given in Warengien, *La Musique à Douai au XVIe siècle*, in cases where it has been possible to confirm these in the *New Grove*, RISM or either of the sources first mentioned. Titles within brackets indicate volumes now lost. Except where otherwise mentioned, reference to them is made in the *Indicis librorum [...] prima pars* (Douai: Jean Bogard, 1619) [abridged as *IL*].

²⁴ Warengien, “La Musique à Douai au XVIe siècle,” 107 (with the erroneous date of 1579, corrected in accordance with the *New Grove*). Baron Amaury Philippe de Warengien was responsible for the first study of music in Douai in the sixteenth century. This came out in 1904 and contains a list of publications on pp. 98–109.

²⁵ Quoted by Warengien, “La Musique à Douai au XVIe siècle,” 99, after Draud.

- Jacobus Handl, *Moralia* (1603) (reissued from the Nuremberg edition of 1596)
- [Ioannin Favereo, *Cantiunculae sacrae* (1616), IL, fol. O4v]
- [Jacob Reiner, *Missae quatuor trium vocum* (before 1619), IL, fol. O4r]

A first glance at this list brings to light a “peak” in the Bogard production, which seems, however, to have been of rather limited duration, roughly occupying the period 1590–1603. Bogard had previously printed only music by young Franco-Flemish composers, some of whom, such as Andreas Pevernage, would later also be published elsewhere. The printer’s son Jean II Bogard would revert to this tendency after 1603 (more precisely in 1611), with musical volumes devoted mostly to lesser composers (Bournonville and Castro excepted). Leaving aside a lost volume of three-part Masses by the Württemberg composer Jacob Reiner published before 1619, whose origin has not been traced, only two prints in this list originate from Germany: the *Psalmi poenitentiales* by Lassus, today lost, which most probably echoed the 1584 Munich edition of the same work; and the *Moralia* by Handl, which, as we know, postdate the Nuremberg 1596 print. This last collection, as we remarked, is an outlier in the list, since it appears to be the only one absolutely foreign to the area of the Spanish Netherlands in terms of its printed dissemination – not merely within the third category but even in the entire Bogard production.²⁶ The policy of the Bogard firm thus develops in three phases: initially, it assists young, promising composers (Pevernage, Gallet); it then focuses for a short time on major international personalities, among whom we find the brilliant Regnart brothers as well as Roland de Lassus; finally, under Jean II Bogard’s management, it returns to publishing composers who may be regarded as provincial or of minor importance.

The Original *Moralia* Published in Nuremberg

If we next examine the transmission route of the *Moralia* from their Nuremberg starting point, we observe that Handl was no less of an outsider within Dietrich’s production than he was in Bogard’s. Alexander Philipp Dietrich appears to have been even less involved in music printing than Bogard.²⁷ His books centred essentially on the Lutheran faith, and above all on the publication of Bibles in large format, which included several polyglot versions edited by Elias Hutter.²⁸ Leaving aside the *Moralia*, Handl’s name appears on

²⁶ Even the French composer Jean de Bournonville, who was to be published mostly in Paris, was born in Noyon in northern Picardy close to the border with the imperial territories. Bournonville’s places of activity, such as Amiens, Rouen and Abbeville, were all situated in the northern part of the kingdom and never extended to the capital itself.

²⁷ On Dietrich, see Reske, “Alexander Philipp Dietrich,” 702–703, which draws on and complements the study by Benzing, “Alexander Philipp Dietrich,” 362; Grieb, “Dietrich, Alexander,” 74; Voit, “Dietrich, Alexander Philipp,” 211.

²⁸ Elias Hutter (1553–1602?) was Professor of Hebrew at Leipzig and produced both an edition of the Hebrew Old Testament and a Hebrew translation of the New Testament. His edition of the Polyglot Bible, known as the “Nuremberg Polyglot,” was published by Dietrich in 1599 with a choice of four different languages in addition to the five common to all copies (*Ebraicè*,

one other volume with the Dietrich imprint: his *Sacrae cantiones*, published in 1597.²⁹ This volume has been well studied since the time of Mantuani,³⁰ most recently by Paweł Gancarczyk.³¹ It is now clear that it constitutes not a new edition (except in a formal bibliographic sense) but only a new title page applied to unsold copies of the fourth book of the *Opus musicum*, which had been published in Prague by Nigrin in 1591. This fact immediately casts a shadow over the *Moralia*: could this 1596 publication be similarly a disguised version of an earlier Prague edition, one that today is lost? A first glance at the print already brings clear evidence that this is not the case. Despite the presence of many features common to this print and the Prague publications by Nigrin that transmit Handl's music, such as the form of initial capitals and the music type itself, the 1596 Dietrich print also exhibits specific elements that never appear in Nigrin publications: most notably, the type used for running titles.³²

A close examination of small details indeed confirms the somewhat slapdash and poorly executed nature of the Dietrich print. Except in the case of the Polyglot Bibles and New Testaments bearing his name, all printed in 1599 and 1600, Dietrich does appear to have been a rather absent figure in the printing trade.³³ First mentioned as a type founder at the Gerlach printing house, he married Katharina Schmid, Katharina Gerlach's daughter, in 1586; he then became a bookseller in 1590 before setting up his own printing house in 1595. Archival documents repeatedly mention his poor health, and he had to retire from the market as early as 1597, leaving his printing business to his wife before dying in 1599. It is therefore to his wife Katharina Dietrichin, née Schmid, that we have to turn in order to learn more about the activities of the Dietrich printing house, especially as regards music prints. Being Katharina Gerlach's daughter, this Katharina Dietrich forms a direct link between her husband, Alexander Dietrich, and one of the most powerful dynasties of the German printing trade, that of the Gerlach family, itself heir to the famous Berg [Montanus] & Neuber firm, active since 1542. The genealogy of the family is quite complex, but thanks to an illuminating article written by Susan Jackson on the subject,³⁴ we can summarize without too much trouble that:

- a. Katharina Dietrich (1539–1605) was the daughter of Katharina Gerlach (ca. 1515/20–1592)

Chaldaicè, Graecè, Latinè, Germanicè): a sixth column gives the text either in French (*Gallicè*), Italian (*Italicè*), Saxon (*Saxonicè*) or Slovenian (*Sclavonicè*). A subsequent edition of the New Testament, published in 1600 under the Dietrich imprint, adds Spanish, Czech, English, Danish and Polish versions of the text to the languages already mentioned.

²⁹ Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, 327.

³⁰ Mantuani, "Bibliografičen 'unicum' Gallus-ovih del," 65–67.

³¹ Gancarczyk, "Mystery of *Sacrae Cantiones*" 25–33.

³² Fols. [2]v and [3] of the Cantus II partbook in the 1596 Dietrich edition, freely available from the web page mentioned in note 2, constitute a clear case in point. The same page layout is reproduced throughout the whole edition.

³³ See Benzing, "Alexander Philipp Dietrich."

³⁴ Jackson, "Who is Katherine?," 451–463. We acknowledge our debt to this substantial article in the lines that follow.

- b. She was married three times, the last occasion being in 1586 to our Alexander Dietrich (d. 1599), at that time a type founder at the Gerlach printing house.³⁵
- c. She managed the Dietrich printing house almost alone between 1597 and 1605.³⁶

A capable businesswoman in her own right, Katharina Dietrich had a very good model to imitate in the person of her own mother Katharina Gerlach, née Bishoff. The mother was likewise married three times:

- a. first in 1536 to Niclas Schmid (d. 1540), with whom she had her first daughter, the above-mentioned Katharina;
- b. then in 1541 to Johann vom Berg (d. 1563), the famous printer from the Nuremberg house Berg & Neuber, with whom she had her second daughter, Veronica (b. 1545). When Berg died in 1563, she herself took over the running of the Berg & Neuber printing house;
- c. finally in 1565 to Dietrich Gerlach von Aerdigen (d. 1575), a former employee of the Berg & Neuber firm.
- d. Gerlach died in 1575, and his widow, now known as Katharina Gerlach (or Gerlachin), managed the firm along during the next twenty years, maintaining and even enhancing its status as one of the foremost German music-publishing houses.³⁷

We know that the links between Prague and Nuremberg were very active in the printing trade and the exchange of print technologies during the sixteenth century. A conference held in Prague in 2008 took as its theme this long-standing connection between the Franconian and Bohemian capital cities.³⁸ Thanks to a recent Master's thesis presented at the Charles University by Petra Jakoubková,³⁹ we can be sure that the links between the Nigrin printshop in Prague and the Nuremberg printing houses were indeed fairly strong. Through a detailed examination of all the types employed by Nigrin, Jakoubková has convincingly established that the Nigrin house shares with the Gerlach family firm not only the use of identical initials but also an identical musical typography.⁴⁰

In this connection it seems necessary to emphasize that after 1585 a major change occurred in the Nigrin house, as we now learn from Jakoubková's thesis. From that year onwards Nigrin started to publish music with a new musical type, identical to that of the

³⁵ Her two previous marriages had been to the colour-merchant Hanns Braun and the bookseller Lamprecht von Neden.

³⁶ During this period (and ignoring the *Sacrae cantiones* edition of 1597, which is not a proper edition), the Dietrich printing house issued eight music books, comprising five collections of polyphonic music and three of monodies.

³⁷ Gustafson, "Gerlach," 783–787.

³⁸ *Ztracená blízkost, Praha-Norimberk v proměnách staletí = Verlorene Nähe, Prag und Nürnberg im Wandel der Jahrhunderte, international conference Prague, October 7–8, 2008*. Proceedings edited by Olga Fejtová, Václav Ledvinka and Jiří Pešek under the same title.

³⁹ Jakoubková, "Typografie hudbních tisků Jirího Nigrina."

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 41–43.

Berg-Neuber-Gerlach tradition in Nuremberg.⁴¹ If we correlate this fact with known biographical data regarding Jacobus Handl, this year 1585 seems to have significance, since it was exactly then that the composer asked for release from the service of the Bishop of Olomouc, Stanislav Pavlovský, in which he had been engaged since 1579 or 1580, in order to settle in Prague and supervise the printing of his compositions at Nigrin's establishment.⁴² The place where Handl acquired his title of *regens chori* in Prague was the small Romanesque church, now destroyed, known as St John-on-the-Bank (Svätý Jan na Břehu). In the light of the printing supervision undertaken by the composer this location may appear extremely strategic, since the church was situated only a few steps away from Nigrin's printshop.⁴³ Although the two facts initially seem unrelated, it is probably relevant to recall here that in 1588 or 1589 Georgius Handl, until then working in Nigrin's printshop, left Prague, probably for Nuremberg, where it is possible that he helped Dietrich with the setting up in type of the Polyglot Bibles.⁴⁴ Jacobus, no longer being able to rely on his brother's vital support in Prague, therefore had to seek alternative means of bringing about the printing of his many works still unpublished.⁴⁵

A study of all the music prints published under the Dietrich imprint brings to light only a few more items. Leaving aside the two Handl volumes already mentioned, these publications were all made at a later point in time by Katharina Dietrich, most often in association with the bookseller Conrad Bauer.⁴⁶ These later volumes do not resemble the previous ones completely, since they feature a music type and page layout that appear in all their aspects the same as those of Nigrin's productions, running titles not excepted.⁴⁷ It therefore appears a peculiarity of the 1596 *Moralia* that they should constitute the only volume published under the Dietrich imprint to display a characteristic of the Gerlach printshop not shared by Nigrin's: the specific Gerlach form of running titles. An examination

⁴¹ Jakoubková establishes the existence of two sets of music types in use at the Nigrin printshop. Set no. 2 appears to be used in the majority of cases, if not exclusively, from the year 1586 onwards. *Ibid.*, 32–36.

⁴² The document by which Bishop Pavlovský grants Jacobus Handl release from his service in 1585 has been commented by most Handl scholars since Mantuani's time. It is reproduced and edited with a Slovenian translation in Škulj, *Gallusovi predgovori in drugi dokumenti*, 128–131.

⁴³ Nigrin's printshop stood on what is today Křižovnické náměstí 1 in Prague 1, at the Old Town end of the Charles Bridge. See Jakoubková, "Typografie hudebních tisků Jirího Nigrina," 16 and n. 25.

⁴⁴ This hypothesis is discussed in Desmet, "Typographicum robur fractum," 13–25.

⁴⁵ In 1589 the fourth and last book of *Opus musicum*, plus the secular music collections *Harmoniae morales* and *Moralia*, remained unpublished.

⁴⁶ See Reske, "Konrad Bauer," 5–6. Bauer had been a typesetter at the Neuber, Dietrich Gerlach and Katharina Gerlach printshops and therefore was very experienced in musical typesetting.

⁴⁷ If we except the specific case of monodic *Gesangbücher* printed in small format, the prints of polyphonic music produced by the Dietrich firm under Katharina following her husband's death comprise only three items: the *Motetae novae pro praecipuis in anno festis decantandae* by Johannes Agricola (1601); the *Sieben und siebentzig neue außerlesene liebliche zierliche Polnischer und Teutscher Art Tantz* by Christoph Demantius (1601); and the *Contrapuncti compositi* by Melchior Franck (1602). All these exhibit strong similarities to Nigrin prints.

of the vicissitudes undergone by the Gerlach family perhaps helps us to understand the reason for this peculiarity.

- a. It is obvious that the printshop owned by Katharina Gerlach played a central role so long as it enjoyed full commercial strength: Dietrich was an employee there, and Georgius Handl may have worked there as well, given the strong links with Nuremberg that he himself would later maintain as a printer.⁴⁸
- b. This situation seems to have deteriorated after 1592, when Katharina Gerlach, who died in that same year, stated in her will that she was passing on all of her firm not to her elder daughter Katharina Dietrich but to her younger daughter Veronica, by that time Veronica Kauffmann.⁴⁹ Katharina Dietrich attempted to contest the will, but in vain. Katharina senior had perhaps understood that Paul Kauffmann (1568–1632), one of Veronica's ten children who had worked in his grandmother's printshop since the late 1580s, had more potential for the printing trade than Katharina junior. The dispute was solved only in 1594: Katharina junior obtained in compensation the right to represent the Gerlach firm at the book fairs of Frankfurt and Leipzig. The overall impact of this family saga may be summarized at this juncture in the following manner:
 1. in 1585, the Gerlach type entered the Nigrin printshop in Prague, where it remained in use. Nigrin did not use the Gerlach type for running titles, which came instead from the Berg-Neuber tradition, but only its music types and the text type for the underlay to the music. That same year Jacobus Handl left his only official position in order to settle in Prague. A question: did Georgius Handl play a role in these two simultaneously occurring changes? In other words, do these two changes mean that Georgius Handl himself settled in Prague in 1585, in parallel with the change of printing technology at Nigrin's printshop?
 2. Georgius Handl left Prague for Nuremberg in 1588 or 1589.
 3. The Dietrich edition of the *Moralia* bears all the marks of a Gerlach print (and not of a Nigrin one), including the running-titles of the Berg-Neuber tradition, as well as the custom of repeating the name of the composer at the start of every single piece.
 4. Conversely, all the ensuing Dietrich music publications, most especially those produced by Dietrich's widow, Katharina II, resemble Nigrin prints. They do not retain the characteristic Gerlach type for running titles.

We can clearly see that the matter of dates is crucial here, since we are dealing with a volume of *Moralia* whose musical contents must have been conceived as a complement to the *Harmoniae morales* at the latest in 1590 or 1591: that is, *in extremis*, just before

⁴⁸ Also given the fact that most of the printed music books listed in Jacob Handl's inventory carry the Gerlach imprint. See Desmet, "Typographicum robur fractum," 17, and below, p. 79.

⁴⁹ Jackson, "Who is Katherine?," 462. Veronica, née vom Berg, had married the Lutheran preacher Johannes Kauffmann in the mid-1560s. They had ten children, among them Paul Kauffmann (1568–1632) who, as a printer, became the most important continuer of the Berg-Neuber-Gerlach tradition.

the composer's death. The fact that, unlike all Dietrich editions, this one displays distinct Gerlach characteristics inclines one to think that its first impression could have been made immediately after Handl died; or if not, then at a time when he was still alive, but the Nigrin printshop was completely preoccupied with the preparation of the fourth and largest part of the *Opus musicum* and could not be burdened with these *Moralia* in addition. At that time, Dietrich and probably Georgius Handl were still working at Gerlach's establishment, and the first print of the *Moralia* could well have been made in this printshop. Katharina Gerlach then bequeathed the major part of her inheritance to her younger daughter Veronica. Dietrich and his wife Katharina left the family-owned business and started a printshop of their own, where Georgius Handl joined them, having in his possession the neither sold nor corrected copies of the first *Moralia* prints. The volume was finally issued only in 1596, but with a substituted Dietrich title page. It is therefore reasonable to surmise that with this volume of *Moralia* from 1596 we are facing a case similar to that of the 1597 *Sacrae cantiones*: the provision of a new title-page for a print executed earlier in a different printshop. Gerlach represents for the 1596 (but originally 1591) *Moralia* what Nigrin does for the 1597 (but originally 1591) *Sacrae cantiones*.

Support for this claim can be found in one of those unsolved mysteries that are not uncommon in Handl studies, and which in this instance arise from the ambiguous first lines of the inventory drawn up at the composer's home immediately following his death.⁵⁰ This inventory is simply a list of the music prints he had in his possession, in which the large number of copies recorded shows that he very probably took a leading part in financing and marketing his own editions.⁵¹

The first eight lines of this inventory are styled as follows:⁵²

1. *Prydnie partes swazany w czerwony kuži zely opus* (First of all partbooks of the whole opus in red leather bindings)
2. *Item partes tež swazany w byly kuoži Orlandi* (Then partbooks of Orlandus with white leather bindings)
3. *Item Moraliu 19 w traktatyach* (Then nineteen *Moralia* in bindings)
4. *Item quatuor Tomi Moraliu 260* (Then 260 copies of the *Moralia* in four books)
5. *Item tomus 1.us Harmoniarum opus 25* (Then the first book of *Opus Harmoniarum* twenty-five)
6. *Item 2.us tomus 60 exemplarzuw* (Then the second book, sixty copies)
7. *Item 3.us tomus Harmoniarum 100* (Then the third book of *Harmoniarum*, hundred)
8. *Item 4us Tomi 250* (Then the fourth book, 250)
9. *Item Tricinia Orlandi niemezky dwoge* (Then two *Tricinia Orlandi*) [etc.]

⁵⁰ This document in Czech drawn up in 1591 was published and commented on as early as 1888 by Zikmund Winter in his *Malé historie ze života staročeského*, 114ff. It later found its way into all Handl studies from Mantuani to Škulj. Škulj, *Gallusovi predgovori in drugi dokumenti*, 138–149, provides a Slovenian translation and a detailed commentary.

⁵¹ Gancarczyk, "Mystery of *Sacrae Cantiones*," 30.

⁵² I have added these numbers for the sake of clarity in the discussion that follows.

If all scholars agree to identify as items 5–8 the four books of the *Opus musicum* (whose titles do indeed read *Liber Musici Operis Harmoniarum* in the original title pages), we see that the *Moralia* are, curiously, mentioned twice: as items 3 and 4. The 260 copies of item 4 can refer only to the *Harmoniae morales* (that is, *Harmoniarum Moralium* according to the original title-page) already printed by Nigrin. According to Edo Škulj, their division into four books as recorded for this item is a rather strange one, since the *Harmoniae morales* actually divide into three books, not four.⁵³ The *quatuor tomi* (four books) of this item must therefore refer instead to the collection's four separate *voces* (Cantus, Contra, Tenor, Bassus), even though none of the later items in the list adopts the same basis of numbering. The previous mention in item 3 is intriguing as well: to what do these *Moralia* in nineteen separate gatherings refer? Might they not correspond to an initial, limited print-run of the *Moralia* proper? Or else to a single proof-reading print, comprising the nineteen sections needed to group the parts for pieces conceived variously for five, six and eight voices ($19 = 5 + 6 + 8$)? If this was indeed the case, we would have confirmation that Jacobus Handl died just prior to completing the proof-reading of the first print of his *Moralia*, which would therefore have been produced in the Gerlach printshop at a time (1591) when Dietrich, who by then had not started up his own business, was still working there. The numerical preponderance of Gerlach prints⁵⁴ among the following entries in this inventory seems to confirm this hypothesis, which also marks out the Gerlach printshop as a very likely workplace for Georgius Handl himself.

The Douai Print Compared with the Nuremberg *editio princeps*

The Douai print offers a sharp contrast to the original edition when both are directly compared. The intricate history, hybrid character and rather poor quality of the Nuremberg print stand in contrast to the impeccable and consistent appearance of the Douai edition. An examination of the later edition makes the difference of print quality obvious in every respect. The Douai *Moralia* are distinguished first and foremost by far better textual editing, a factor that affects both the placement of capital letters on the page and that of the sung text under the notes.⁵⁵ It is revealed even more in the consistent treatment of textual punctuation throughout the volume.⁵⁶ Another pointer towards Bogard's close

⁵³ Škulj, *Gallusovi predgovori in drugi dokumenti*, 141.

⁵⁴ Of the twenty-five items listed in the inventory, seven titles correspond to Nigrin prints of Handl's own oeuvre. Among the remaining eighteen items, thirteen can be associated with a Nuremberg provenance, out of which twelve indeed come from the Gerlach printshop.

⁵⁵ One example among many is the textual underlay for "Qui sermone placet" (*Moralia*, no. 12) and "Cui bene succedit" (*Moralia*, no. 13) in the Cantus I part, which is made much easier for the reader/singer in Bogard (nos. 20 and 21, respectively) than in Dietrich (nos. 12 and 13, respectively).

⁵⁶ In the Cantus II part of "Usibus edocto" (*Moralia*, no. 3) Bogard restores all commas that are left out by Dietrich, as well as introducing capital letters, and the same kind of improvement is found in many other pieces ("Cede repugnanti", "Sperne lucrum"). In "Usus amicorum" (*Moralia*, no. 46) the last line is affected by an erroneous (but repeated) comma in the Dietrich print, a mistake similarly corrected by Bogard.

attention to textual details is seen in some minute modifications to the spelling of certain words in order to adapt them to the linguistic environment of a Douai publication: that of French-speakers. For example, the cuckoo's call in "Permultos liceat cuculos" (*Moralia*, no. 27), reads "guggug" in Dietrich⁵⁷ but "coucou" in Bogard,⁵⁸ while the treatment of some individual letters, such as an initial *j* / *i*, likewise reveals that the texts have been carefully revised in order to facilitate correct pronunciation by Francophone readers.⁵⁹ Lastly, the overall elegance of the Douai print leaves the hybrid and hasty character of the *editio princeps* far behind.⁶⁰ That the order of the pieces, as often remarked, should have been altered (working upwards from five voices to eight, instead of the reverse as in Dietrich) in itself represents no great change, although it already shows how much care Bogard took in order to make the volume conform to his established practice.⁶¹

From a musical point of view, if the new print is not otherwise distinct from the Nuremberg original, as all scholars have already observed, careful note should be taken of the various typographical errors present in Dietrich that have been corrected in Douai.⁶² Significantly, however, those errors in the Dietrich print that come to light only when a score is prepared from the partbooks are present in the Bogard edition at exactly the same points.⁶³ One infers, therefore, that Bogard worked directly from the text of Dietrich's partbooks without first taking the precaution of making a performing score from them.

Publishing the *Moralia* in Douai

We can now return to our opening question about the provenance of the music used by Bogard. A link between Douai and Prague is easy to establish for the 1590s, since it is associated with the name of the famous composer Jacques (Jacobus) Regnart, born in Douai and active at the Habsburg court first in Vienna, then in Prague between 1576 and 1582, then at the Innsbruck court of archduke Ferdinand, and finally again in Prague in 1596, where Regnart held the post of court vice-*Kapellmeister* under the direction of Philip de Monte up to his death in 1598.⁶⁴ Regnart always retained close contact with

⁵⁷ In the Cantus I part, fol. [17].

⁵⁸ In the Cantus I part, no. 35.

⁵⁹ For example, "jucunditas" (Dietrich) vs. "iucunditas" (Bogard) in "Adeste Musae" (*Moralia*, no. 9).

⁶⁰ In Bogard initial letters provide many opportunities for an elegant layout absent from the earlier print: see, for example (among many other instances), the elaborate initial used for "Diversos diversa juvant" (no. 38), which opens the section for eight-part compositions in Bogard's Altus and Tenor partbooks.

⁶¹ All Bogard music prints are ordered, where relevant, in an ascending number of parts.

⁶² For example, a sharp printed by mistake by Dietrich (fol. [14]) in the Cantus I part of "Turpe sequi casum" (*Moralia*, no. 21) is removed in the Bogard print (no. 29).

⁶³ In the critical apparatus of the most recent edition, that by Edo Škulj (*Moralia.*, nos. 19–23), every note of the Dietrich print identified as an error on account of its relationship to the other parts occurs unchanged in the Bogard print.

⁶⁴ Except for a few articles, Regnart's bibliography has not significantly evolved since the publication, in 1969, of a thematic catalogue devoted to his complete works. See Walter Pass,

his homeland. Four other Regnart brothers are known, among whom three were also composers of some merit: Paschaise, Charles and François. François Regnart is known to have been choirmaster of archduke Matthias in 1573; he also worked at the cathedral of Tournai. Charles and Paschaise sang in the Capilla Flamenca of Philip II under Pierre de Manchicourt,⁶⁵ while a fourth brother, Augustin, held a canonry at the church of Saint-Mauritius in Lille. However, none of the Regnart brothers enjoyed a fame to equal that of Jacques, who achieved great success with his collections of German Lieder published in many collections from 1574 onwards.⁶⁶ The extraordinary international recognition accorded to Jacques alone did not prevent the brothers from remaining in close contact, as exemplified by an important publication bringing together the five Regnart brothers published by Jean I Bogard in Douai in 1590: a book of motets composed by Jacques, François, Charles and Paschaise, with a foreword written by Augustin.⁶⁷

It is not known with any certainty whether Jacques Regnart was acquainted with Jacobus Handl personally, but a potentially significant fact is that in 1595 their two names were mentioned together by the Naumburg cantor Abraham Ratz. Under the title of *Threni Amorum* Ratz had translated into German Regnart's first collection of Italian *canzoni* for five parts: *Il Primo libro delle canzone italiane*, a cycle originally published in Vienna in 1574. This new, "German" version of the *canzoni*⁶⁸ was published in Nuremberg at the Gerlach printshop in 1595 – that is, at a time when this printshop was already in the hands of Veronica Kauffmann's son, Paul Kauffmann.

Regnart returned to Prague in November 1596, the very same year when Georgius

Thematischer Katalog sämtlicher Werke Jacob Regnarts. The composer's complete works, edited by the same scholar, came out in the Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae series between 1973 and 1975 (vol. 62, nos. 4–5).

⁶⁵ The source for this assertion is the lengthy biography of the Regnart brothers by Warengien (see n. 29). According to Warengien, Charles and Paschaise are mentioned as members of Philip II's Flemish *capilla* in Madrid in 1559, under the direction of Pierre de Manchicourt. See Warengien, "La Musique à Douai au XVI^e siècle," 84.

⁶⁶ Under the title of *Kurtzweilige teutsche Lieder nach Art der Neapolitanen oder welscher Villanellen* (Merry German songs in the manner of Neapolitan or Italian villanellas), three volumes of such pieces composed for three voices were published in Nuremberg by the Gerlach printshop respectively in 1574, 1577 and 1579; the first volume was reprinted in 1578. Another collection for five parts, *Neue kurtzweilige teutsche Lieder*, was published by the same printer in 1580, while a complete edition of the three-part *Lieder* was brought out in one volume in Munich by Adam Berg in 1583 (*Teutsche Lieder [...] in ein Opus zusammengedruckt*). In 1584 this single-volume edition was reprinted in Nuremberg under the title of *Tricinia: kurtzweilige teutsche Lieder*. A further volume followed, this time for four parts, and was published in Munich in 1591 (*Kurtzweilige teutsche Lieder*). These well-liked pieces also appeared in a number of anthologies during the first decade of the seventeenth century (see RISM 1585¹⁷, 1600^{5a}, 1600⁶, 1602¹¹, 1609²⁸, 1610¹⁸), while an anthology of similar songs solely devoted to Regnart appeared again in Nuremberg in 1614 (*Allerley kurtzweilige teutsche Liedlein*).

⁶⁷ *Novae Cantiones Sacrae 4, 5 et 6 vocum, auctoribus Francisco, Jacobo, Paschasio, Carolo Regnart, fratribus germanis.*

⁶⁸ *Threni amorum, der erste Theil Lustiger weltlicher Lieder mit fünff Stimmen* (Nürnberg: in der Gerlachischen Druckerey durch Paulum Kauffmann, 1595). See Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, 53.

Handl, then on his way to Olomouc to start up his own printing firm, signed in the same city the dedicatory foreword of the Nuremberg *Moralia*. Did the two men meet? Could Georgius Handl have given Jacques Regnart a volume of the Dietrich *Moralia*? We do not know; nor do we know whether Regnart ever returned to Douai before his death in 1598. But we need to place on record here that a number of clues conspire to make the years 1595–1596 a very plausible time for a significant encounter between Georgius Handl and Jacques Regnart either in Nuremberg (1595: publication of the German version of *Threni amorum*) or in Prague (1596: foreword of the *Moralia*).

Conclusion

1. Jacobus Handl-Gallus's collection of *Moralia* printed in Douai by Jean Bogard in 1603 deserves fresh consideration. Although strictly identical, in terms of contents, to the *editio princeps* published in 1596 in Nuremberg by Alexander Philipp Dietrich, as all scholars have already observed, the later edition displays a quality of text editing and an overall elegance of conception that surpass the rather mediocre quality of the original print.

2. The fact that these Douai *Moralia* are the only section of Handl's oeuvre to have been republished is intriguing, as is also its place of publication, which is rather distant from the central European area where Handl's music was composed, copied and printed. Both of these unexpected details seem to point towards a personal link as the vital factor lying behind the travel of the music.

3. A direct Prague (or Nuremberg) – Douai connection is indeed perfectly plausible when one considers the influential personality of Jacques Regnart, a native of Douai who became one of the celebrated Habsburg composers working in Innsbruck, Vienna and Prague, and who is likely to have known the Handl brothers either in Nuremberg or in Prague. A transfer of the music occurring by a route other than personal recommendation is also possible, although less likely, since this print is the only one originating from Protestant Nuremberg in the whole of the Bogard production.

4. The investigation into the second publication of the *Moralia* also sheds a retrospective light on the hybrid and mediocre character of the *editio princeps*. Published with a Dietrich title-page but displaying characteristics of a Gerlach print (uniquely among Dietrich music publications), this original edition points to difficult circumstances that possibly delayed the printing and publishing process.

- a. The composer Jacobus Handl died before managing to correct the initial proof copies of the collection, as revealed by the inventory.
- b. These proof copies were produced in 1591 in the printshop managed by Katharina Gerlach in Nuremberg. Dietrich was still working there at that time, as was possibly also Georgius Handl, who had left Prague for Nuremberg in 1588 or 1589. The Nigrin printshop in Prague, where all of Handl's previous volumes had been printed, was not available at that time, on account of the great backlog of Handl compositions awaiting publication.
- c. The complicated Gerlach succession also conspired to delay publication of the *Moralia*, Katharina Gerlach having bequeathed her printshop not to her elder, but

- to her younger, daughter, Veronica Kauffmann, whose son Paul Kauffmann was already one of the most promising young printers active in the German trade.
- d. Dietrich did not start up his own printing business together with his wife Katharina (that is, Katharina Gerlach's elder daughter), before 1595. With assistance from Georgius Handl he published the copies of the *Moralia* produced in the Gerlach printshop, substituting a title page of his own, in 1596. He would act similarly one year later, adding to the unsold copies of the fourth book of *Opus musicum*, originally published in Prague by Nigrin, a new title page of his own that gave the collection the name of *Sacrae cantiones*.

5. Difficult conditions surrounding the initial print of the *Moralia* and a possible meeting between Georgius Handl and Jacques Regnart in 1596 in Prague may explain how the music of Gallus came to be known within a French-speaking environment as early as 1603 via a new edition that compensated not for all, but at least for the most immediately apparent, imperfections of the *editio princeps*. It is important to emphasize the exceptional character of this print in terms of both geography and chronology: This not only because neither the Prague-Douai nor the Nuremberg-Douai route would have been favoured at that time according to the criterion of "cultural vicinity" (in contrast to the Prague-Nuremberg route), but also because Gallus's music would not appear again in a French-speaking environment until 1845.⁶⁹

6. The sole preserved example of the Douai *Moralia* formed part of the personal belongings of the French composer and music theorist Sébastien de Brossard (1655–1730). Brossard was responsible for the initial nucleus of the Music Department at the Bibliothèque Royale, later Bibliothèque nationale de France, in Paris, where this example is still found today. It is also thanks to this Douai edition that the music of Gallus came to be known by French students of music and men of letters as, according to Brossard, "l'une des plus excellentes de ce temps là."⁷⁰

⁶⁹ *Recueil des morceaux de musique ancienne* (Paris, n.d., ca. 1845), vol. 6, containing three motets (*Media vita, Adoramus te* and *Ecce quomodo moritur*) published by Joseph Napoléon Ney, prince de la Moskowa, for the historical concerts organized for the nobility in Paris. See Campos, *La Renaissance introuvable*.

⁷⁰ Brossard, *La Collection Sébastien de Brossard*, 177.

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»GALLUS APUD BELGAS«
PONOVI PREMISLEK O DOUAIŠKI IZDAJI *MORALIJ* (1603)

Povzetek

Čprav je mesto Douai v začetku 17. stoletja gostilo številne pomembne tiskarje, nas dejstvo, da je tam že kmalu po natisu prve izdaje zbirke *Moralia* Jacobusa Handla - Gallusa (Nürnberg, 1596) izšel pri tamkajšnjem tiskarju in založniku Jeanu Bogardu leta 1603 njen ponatis, preseneča. Dosedanji raziskovalci so vsi ugotavljali, da izdaja iz Douaija ne prinaša ničesar novega ali drugačnega od prve izdaje, razen vrstnega reda skladb. Tudi se zdi, da je bila Handlova glasba povsem tuja repertoarju, ki ga je Jean Bogard sicer objavljaj. Tiskal je namreč predvsem glasbo franko-flamskih skladateljev, še predvsem lokalnih avtorjev, katerih dela so že izšla v Leuvenu ali Antwerpnu.

Podrobnejši pregled izvirne izdaje sicer potrjuje dejstvo, da je bila nürnberška izdaja *Moralij*, v že tako maloštevilnih glasbenih tiskih z naslovnico Alexandra Philippa Dietricha, še večja izjema. Dietrichovi glasbeni tiski so namreč nastajali šele v času, ko se je iz tiskarskih poslov že umaknil in je nadzor na tiskom prevzela njegova žena Katharina. Ta je uporabljala enako tipografijo kot Nigrin v svoji praški tiskarni in s kakršno je bila pred tem natisnjena vsa Handlova glasba. A med Dietrichovimi glasbenimi tiski le izdaja *Moralia* ne kaže podobnosti z Nigrinovo praško delavnico, temveč z eno najpomembnejših nürnberških tiskarn, tisto, ki jo je vodila Katharina Gerlach in v kateri sta delala tako Dietrich kot verjetno tudi Georg Handl, skladateljev brat. Podrobna analiza te izdaje pripelje do nove hipoteze, in sicer, da bi bila lahko zbirka *Moralia* natisnjena leta 1591 v Gerlachovi tiskarni, a je izšla šele 1596 z Dietrichovo naslovnico in brez skladateljevega pregleda. To predpostavko potrjuje tako Handlov zapuščinski inventar kot tudi zapleteno nasledstvo v Gerlachovi družini; Katharina Dietrich je bila namreč starejša hči Katharine Gerlach.

V primerjavi z nürnberškim izvirnikom so v tisku iz Douaia opazni popravki v glasbi in besedilih, razporeditvi sistemov in estetiki zunanjega videza. Popravljeni so tudi nekateri napačni glasbeni znaki iz izvirne izdaje. Vendar pa te izboljšave ne vključujejo popravljanje napak, ki so prisotne v izdaji iz leta 1596, kar bi lahko pomenilo, da so nürnberški glasovni zvezki predstavljali osnovo za tisk v Douaiu ter da so popravke delali samo na podlagi partov, niso pa preverili skladnosti vseh partov skupaj.

Razlog za izid v mestu Douai bi lahko morda iskali v povezavi med skladateljem Jacquesom Regnartom, ki je bil doma iz tega mesta in je deloval na habsburškem dvoru, predvsem v Pragi, ter sta ga zato Jacobus Handl in njegov brat Georgius tudi poznala. Edini ohranjeni izvod tiska iz Douaia je prišel konec 17. stoletja v Pariz, kjer so ga že zgodaj francoski glasbeniki in učenjaki uporabljali kot vzorčni primer Gallusove glasbe.

THE RECEPTION OF THE MOTET *ELISABETH ZACHARIAE* BY JACOBUS HANDL-GALLUS IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

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Izvilleček: Šestglasni motet Elisabeth Zachariae Jacobusa Handla - Gallusa sodi med skladateljeva najuspešnejša dela. Prispevek obravnava besedilo, strukturo in rabo moteta, predvsem pa se posveča njegovi recepciji od nastanka do zadnjih natisov in rokopisnih prepisov iz sredine 17. stoletja.

Abstract: Elisabeth Zachariae, a six-part motet of Jacobus Handl-Gallus can be considered as one of his most successful works. In this article the motet's text, structure, and use are briefly discussed, and the history of its reception from its first appearance to its last printed editions and manuscripts in the mid seventeenth century is examined.

Ključne besede: Elisabeth Zachariae, Jacobus Handl - Gallus, Stephan Schormann, Heinrich Grimm, Thomas Selle.

Keywords: Elisabeth Zachariae, Jacobus Handl-Gallus, Stephan Schormann, Heinrich Grimm, Thomas Selle.

When the Prague publishing house of Georgius Nigrinus, also known as Jiří Černý, in 1580 printed *Selectiores quaedam missae*, a collection of sixteen Masses by Jacobus Handl-Gallus,¹ the composer was already thirty years old. It took another six years before the first book of his motets came out in print, although a few works published in Handl's *Opus musicum* between 1586 and 1590 appear earlier as models for his Mass settings. These are *Pater noster* and *Locutus est Dominus* from the first part of *Opus musicum* (1586, nos. 69 and 80, respectively), plus *Elisabethae vero impletum est* and *Elisabeth Zachariae* from the fourth part of the *Opus musicum* (1590, nos. 20 and 53, respectively). Among those compositions *Elisabeth Zachariae* illustrates the dissemination of Handl's work especially well through the number and variety of its preserved sources.

The text of the motet, which is used as an antiphon in the Liturgy of the Hours for the feast of St John the Baptist (*Ad laudes* on 24 June, according to the *Antiphonale Pataviense* from 1519),² is based on the Latin version of the Gospel according to Luke,

¹ On Handl's Masses, see Desmet, "Establishing a Chronology," 155–168.

² *Antiphonale Pataviense*, fol. 155v.

Chapter 1, verses 13–15, which contains the announcement to Zachariah of the birth of John the Baptist:³

Elisabeth Zachariae magnum virum genuit, Ioannem Baptistam, praecursorem Domini.
Ioannes est nomen eius: vinum et siceram non bibet et multi in nativitate eius gaudebunt.

Handl's melodic material is not, however, related to the plainchant of the antiphon. His motet is in two parts (*Prima* and *Secunda pars*). The first part (*Elisabeth Zachariae*) has more of an imitative-polyphonic texture, while the second (*Ioannes est nomen eius*) is essentially block-chordal in style, at least at the beginning. The motion of the melodic lines, however, is livelier in the second part. The words "vinum et siceram" in particular are set in short, lively imitations, and the word "gaudebunt" in longer, melismatic lines.⁴

Handl published his composition in 1590 in the fourth and final part of *Opus musicum*. This collection of motets basically consists of works for the Proper of Saints and differs from books one to three, which contain motets for the Proper of Seasons. There are two different dates of publication stated in *Quartus tomus musici operis*. On the title page one sees 1590, but the foreword is dated 1 January 1591. The collection was certainly issued toward the end of 1590, since its circulation is evidenced already in December 1590.⁵ The first day of January 1591 happened to be the second anniversary of Caspar Schönauer's death, as mentioned in the foreword. So Handl employed this date in memory of his late friend and supporter.

Printed Collections

Even if the *Quartus tomus musici operis* was not published before the very end of 1590, this was in fact not the first outing in print of *Elisabeth Zachariae*. In the same year an anthology in six partbooks containing thirty polyphonic works, edited by Stephan Schormann (as his surname is given in the foreword) or Scharmann, (as it appears on the title page), was issued in Munich by Adam Berg. The dedication of the collection is dated 1 March 1590. Its title page reads:

Specially selected sacred songs of the sweetest melodies, collected from certain outstanding musicians, for four, five, six, and eight voices, to be performed most conveniently both

³ "[...] thy wife Elisabeth shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name John. And thou shalt have joy and gladness; and many shall rejoice at his birth. For he shall be great in the sight of the Lord, and shall drink neither wine nor strong drink; and he shall be filled with the Holy Ghost, even from his mother's womb." (*The Official King James Bible Online*, <http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/>)

⁴ See the edition of this motet in Gallus, *Opus musicum*, 118–124.

⁵ For example: on 24 December 1590 Bishop Stanislav Pavlovský sent ten ducats to Handl from Kroměříž (Kremsier) on receiving the fourth part of *Opus musicum*. See Škulj, *Gallusovi predgovori in drugi dokumenti*, 134–137. A few days earlier (19 December 1590), Handl had been paid by the mayor and town council of Rakovník (Rakonitz) in Bohemia. See Winter, "Spisovatelé a Umělci na Žebrote," 106.

by the human voice and with instruments of all kinds. To these motets is added a Mass for six voices composed skilfully and elegantly. Now finally published with the greatest care by Stephan Scharmann for the benefit of those interested in music.⁶

The anthology is dedicated to Johannes II Aigele, “The Very Reverend in Christ Father and Lord, Lord Johannes, The Very Worthy Abbot of the Well-known Monastery of Undersdorf.” Aigele was Abbot, from 1586 to 1604, in Undersdorf (today called Indersdorf) in Upper Bavaria. Essentially nothing is known about the editor, but Schormann says in the dedication that he and his father have spent several years in that abbey. Through the collection he wishes to express his gratitude to Aigele, described as “a lover of divine music.”

Although all thirty pieces are anonymous, some of their composers can be identified. The collection contains works by both prominent and obscure musicians of the late sixteenth century, some of whom worked in the south German regions. They include Bernhard Klingenstein, Valentinus Judex, Mathias Gastritz, Johann Eccard, Orlande de Lassus, Dominique Phinot, Constanzo Porta, Stefano Felis and Ruggiero Giovannelli.⁷ Three compositions can be attributed to Handl: the motets *Elisabeth Zachariae* and *Surge propra amica mea* from the fourth part of *Opus musicum* plus the Mass setting mentioned in the title of the anthology as “Missa eleganti artificio composita,” which is, in fact, Handl’s *Missa super Elisabeth Zachariae*.⁸

On a closer examination of this collection it becomes clear that the motets are printed in versions slightly different from those in *Opus musicum*. More differences are actually present in *Surge propra amica mea*, but *Elisabeth Zachariae*, too, features some obvious deviations. Firstly, the underlaid text is marginally divergent, for which there is no clear reason. There are also several obvious mistakes. Moreover, the two tenor voices are exchanged, and most of the accidentals appearing in the *Opus musicum* version are missing. There are numerous additional differences in rhythm and part-writing. The most significant deviation is probably the one occurring at the start of the *Secunda pars*, which opens in Schormann’s version with an *Exclamatio* (the rising sixth in the Cantus: a¹–f²), whereas Handl begins with a rising third (d²–f²) – see Figures 1 and 2 in the Appendix.

Since Schormann’s anthology predates Handl’s publication of the two motets, it is obvious that the editor could not possibly have used the printed material, but must instead have had access to manuscript sources. So *Elisabeth Zachariae* and *Surge propra* evidently

⁶ Diplomatic transcription of the title: SVAVISSIMORVM | MO-|DVLORVM SELECTISSIMAE | CANTIONES SACRAE, EX PRAESTANTISSIMIS | QVIBVSDAM MVSICIS COLLECTAE, QVATVOR, QVINQVE | SEX ET OCTO VOCVM, CVM VIVA VOCE, TVM OMNIS generis instrumentis cantatu com-|modissime. | HIS ADIVNCTA EST MISSA ELEGANTI | artificio composita, sex vocum. | NVNC DEMVM SVMMA DILIGENTIA IN GRATIAM | Studiosorum Musices in lucem emissae, per | Stephanum Scharmannum. | TENOR | MONACHII excudebat Adamus Berg. | Cum gratia & priuilegio Caes: May: | ANNO M. D. XC. Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Tonkunst Schl. 124–129.

⁷ See Charteris, “A Neglected Anthology,” 28–34.

⁸ The *Missa super Elisabeth Zachariae* from the second part of Handl’s collection *Selectiores quaedam missae* (no. 6) can likewise be considered a very successful work by the composer. On its sources, see Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*, 465.

circulated in handwritten copies in the South German area even before they were published. It may be assumed that the different readings already existed in the primary sources, those used by Schormann, and are probably not the result of his independent work. If Schormann's version of *Elisabeth Zachariae* is an early version of Handl's motet, it must be at least a little older than his Mass setting dated 1580, for the variant readings do not occur in the quoted parts of the *Missa super Elisabeth Zachariae*.⁹

There is no other print of this motet discoverable before the seventeenth century. It was published by the German composer Heinrich Grimm (Heinricus Grimmus). Grimm was born in Holzminden, Lower Saxony, in 1592 or 1593. He studied with Michael Praetorius in Braunschweig. It has also been established that he later attended the University of Helmstedt.¹⁰ Grimm worked as a cantor at the Gymnasium in Magdeburg and at the Gymnasium in Braunschweig, where he died in 1637.¹¹ Two of his numerous published works throw an interesting light on the reception of Handl's work: his *Fasciculus Cantionum Sacrarum*, published in Magdeburg in 1627;¹² and his edition of four parody Mass settings and some German Psalms, *Missae aliquot*, published in the same city one year later (1628).¹³ The *Fasciculus Cantionum Sacrarum* contains fifty-two settings by different composers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Fifteen motets, over a quarter of the total, are taken from the parts (all four) of Handl's *Opus musicum*.

Only one example of the Cantus partbook is preserved today. Grimm declares in his foreword to *Philomuso Lectori* that the compositions in the edition are frequently used in anniversary celebrations, and he would like to have them collected into one book. The anthology is intended for young learners, who are urged to become familiar with these works from an early age in their homes, in schools, and later on in churches. Interestingly, the lower vocal registers are omitted and only Cantus and Altus are included, since the pieces were aimed at children. Since German texts were added to the original Latin versions, larger numbers of people, especially the parents of these children, were enabled to follow the meaning of these widely circulated pieces.

In Grimm's anthology *Elisabeth Zachariae* has the original Latin text, a German translation and, interestingly, a second German text for the feast of St Michael ("O Gottes Sohn im höchsten Thron"); see Figure 3 in the Appendix. Apart from this, no further differences between Handl's Cantus and that in Grimm's collection are discernible.

Grimm's collection of 1628, *Missae aliquot*, is undoubtedly much more significant

⁹ A clear example occurs at the beginning of *Qui tollis peccata mundi*, which is based on the *Secunda pars* and begins with a rising third, not a sixth. See Gallus, *Selectiores quaedam missae*, 72.

¹⁰ Interestingly, two handwritten copies of *Elisabeth Zachariae* from the beginning of the seventeenth century are preserved in the Helmstedt music collection, today held by the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 322 Mus. Hdschr., No. 3 and Cod. Guelf. 324 Mus. Hdschr., No. 443. The manuscript Cod. Guelf. 322 Mus. Hdschr. was compiled in 1605. The manuscript Cod. Guelf. 324 Mus. Hdschr. dates from the first half of the seventeenth century. See Garbe, *Das Musikalienrepertoire von St. Stephani zu Helmstedt*, 1:23–32, 2:34–90; and RISM Online Catalogue, no. 451510702.

¹¹ See Synofzik, *Heinrich Grimm*.

¹² Erfurt/Gotha, Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Cant.spir 8° 00686.

¹³ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, RESVM1-128.

than the *Fasciculus Cantionum Sacrarum* and reveals Handl's popularity even more strongly. Unfortunately, it contains no preface or dedication. All the Masses are *Missae breves* for use in the Protestant liturgy and comprise Kyrie and Gloria movements only.

Table 1 Motets of Jacobus Handl-Gallus in *Fasciculus Cantionum Sacrarum* by Heinrich Grimm (1627)

No.	The Feast, Title, and Voices	Opus musicum
	In Adventu Domini.	
2	Hierusalem gaude. 6. Voc. Handelij. 2. D. 1. A.	I:8
4	Veni Domine. 8. Voc. Handelij. 2. D. 2. A.	I:3
	In Festo Nativitatis Christi.	
9	Hodie nobis cœlorum Rex. 8. Voc. Handelij. 2. D. 2. A.	I:27
	In Festo Resurrectionis Christi.	
25	Maria Magdalena. 8. Voc. Handelij. 2. D. 2. A.	II:31
28	Alleluja, in resurrectione. 8. Voc. Handelij. 2. D. 2. A.	II:29
	In Festo Ascensionis Christi.	
32	Jam non dicam. 6. Voc. Handelij. 2. D. 1. A.	II:60
33	Omnes gentes. 8. Voc. Handelij. 2. D. 2. A.	II:36
	In festo Pentecostes.	
37	Hodie completi sunt. 8. Voc. Handelij. 2. D. 2. A.	II:56
	In Festo Sanctissimae Trinitatis.	
41	Duo Seraphin. 8. Voc. Handelij. 2. D. 2. A.	III:1
43	Gloria tibi Trinitas. 8. Voc. Handelij. 2. D. 2. A.	III:2
44	Laus & perennis gloria. 8. Voc. Ejudsdem. 2. D. 2. A.	III:57
	In Festo S. Johannis Baptistae.	
45	Elisabeth Zachariae. 6. Voc. Handelij. 2. D. 1. A.	IV:53
	In Festo Visitationis Mariae.	
46	Quae est ista. 6. Voc. 2. D. 1. A.	IV:33
47	Surge propera. 8. Voc. Ejudsdem. 2. D. 2. A.	IV:1
	Ad Placitum.	
51	Haec est dies. 8. Voc. Handelij. 2. D. 2. A.	I:40

Grimm reproduces more than 90 per cent of his model in the Kyrie. Only the closing five bars of the first Kyrie are composed freely, with a lively melisma. As a matter of course, Grimm alters the original rhythm in conformity with the new text. The first Kyrie is based on the *Prima pars* of *Elisabeth Zachariae*. The *Christe* is taken from the motet's *Secunda pars*, where some bars, especially the concluding melismatic passage, have been omitted. The second Kyrie is based on the second section of the *Prima pars*, beginning at the line "magnum virum genuit."

Grimm displays much more artistic freedom in the Gloria, which consists of two sections ("Et in terra pax" and "Qui tollis peccata mundi"). It begins, employing some rhythmic alterations, with a quotation from the *Prima pars*, but follows it only for six bars. The ensuing material remains loosely related to Handl's composition, but is not taken directly from it. The "Qui tollis peccata mundi" begins with a quotation of six bars from the *Secunda pars* and continues freely up to the line "In gloria Dei Patris,"

which is based on Handl's setting of the line "vinum et siceram non bibet." The closing passage of Grimm's Gloria ("Amen") and Handl's melismatic "gaudebunt" conclusion are almost the same. It appears that only about a quarter of the 112-bars-long Gloria is a direct reworking of Handl's setting, the remainder being more or less freely composed (see Music ex. 1 in the Appendix).

A partial imitation of *Elisabeth Zachariae* is also evident in a composition by Thomas Selle described as *Concerto ab 1. vel à 2.*, where the *Elisabeth Zachariae* text is set for tenor and Basso continuo.¹⁴ This composition is included in a collection of fifteen monodic concertos, *Monophonia harmonico-latina*, which was published in Hamburg in 1633.¹⁵ Selle, born in Zörbig in 1599, studied in Leipzig with Sethus Calvisius and Johann Hermann Schein. He was Cantor and Director of Music in Hamburg from 1641 until his death in 1663. Previously, he had worked first as Cantor in Heide (Holstein); then, from 1625 to 1634, as Rector in neighbouring Wesselburen; and finally, from 1634 to 1641, as Cantor in Itzehoe.¹⁶

It is obvious that Selle imitates the melodic material from Handl's *Elisabeth Zachariae* at the beginning of the tenor line. His concerto may have been inspired by Handl, but it can hardly be seen as a direct adaptation of this model, since the later composer develops the melodic material differently, employing a completely foreign structure and extended text (see Fig. 4 in the Appendix). It is clear, however, that Selle had knowledge of Handl's motet, but there is no explanation for how he came into contact with this work. Although he assembled a large music library, he did not personally possess any compositions by Handl, except for the motets included in *Florilegium Portense*, an anthology edited by Erasmus Bodenschatz in Leipzig in 1618.¹⁷ Nevertheless, *Elisabeth Zachariae* was so popular that Selle could well have heard it anywhere in north-west Germany, where he lived and worked.

One of the last musical testimonies to the reception of *Elisabeth Zachariae* is an anthology from the mid-seventeenth century published in the German city of Gotha. This *Cantionale sacrum* was printed in three parts in the years 1646–1648 by order of Prince Ernst, and was to be used, according to its title page, in the schools of the Principality of Gotha.¹⁸ A second edition soon followed, in the years 1651–1657. The editors of this extensive collection are not named, but they could well have been the principal of the Gymnasium in Gotha, Andreas Reyher, and the town cantor, Veit Dietrich Marold.¹⁹ The voices are written in full score and in mensural notation, but without barlines.

Nine motets by Handl are included in this anthology, and some of them have German

¹⁴ As an alternative to having the tenor sing to the accompaniment of a Basso continuo, the texted continuo part can be sung and doubled by a bass instrument: "Bassus Continuo pro Organo: & si placet vel Instrumento vel Voce simul."

¹⁵ Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 3 an Scrin. A/592. See Gable, "Style and Performance Alternatives," 258–278.

¹⁶ Braun and Neubacher, "Selle, Thomas," 58–59.

¹⁷ See Neubacher, *Die Musikbibliothek*, 44, No. 107: "M. Erhardi Bodenschatz VIII. Volum: Lipsiae 1618. Diversorum Auctorum Cantilenae."

¹⁸ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Liturg. 1372 c-1/3.

¹⁹ See Blankenburg, "Das Gothaer Cationale Sacrum," 148–149.

texts added. *Elisabeth Zachariae*, appearing in the first part of the collection, is mistakenly attributed to Orlando di Lasso. Close comparison of the different versions of the motet shows that the editors could not possibly have used as their model the *Quartus tomus musicis operis*, but perhaps referred to the *Suavissimorum modulorum selestissimae cantiones sacrae* of 1590 or even to some handwritten copy with similar deviations. The readings in the *Cantionale sacrum* are, however, nearly the same as in Schormann's anthology.

Alongside several other motets by Handl, *Elisabeth Zachariae* also served as an example in certain treatises on music theory from the seventeenth century written either in Latin or German. In this role it is cited as a specimen of the Hypodorian mode at least three times: by Sethus Calvisius (1600),²⁰ Maternus Beringer (1610)²¹ and Conrad Matthaei (1652).²² In these discourses no music is shown in notation, and only the titles of compositions are quoted, so the writers must have assumed that their readers had prior knowledge of the subject discussed.

Manuscript Sources

Leaving aside the printed editions, *Elisabeth Zachariae* was even more widely circulated in handwritten form. In total, thirty-six manuscript copies, originating from Eastern, Central and Northern Europe, are known. With few exceptions, *Elisabeth Zachariae* was favoured mainly in Protestant towns, where Handl's music was greatly admired during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Ten of the manuscripts are intabulations that were probably written down for the sake of accompaniment on keyboard instruments (see Fig. 5 in the Appendix). Another *Bassus generalis* occurs in a manuscript from the Marienkirche in Lübeck today preserved in Vienna.²³ Several copies transmit not the "official" version of the motet from the *Opus musicum* but one or other divergent version closely related to Schormann's anthology. Two manuscripts of Silesian origin from the Elisabethkirche in Breslau should be brought to attention here: Ms.mus. Bohn 4 and Ms.mus. Bohn 5, today preserved in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz. It would appear that *Elisabeth Zachariae* was notated in these manuscripts long before it achieved publication in the *Opus musicum* collection in 1590, since Ms.mus. Bohn 4 is dated 1575 on the cover.²⁴ The copies exhibit several deviations, and it seems that they present the oldest known version of *Elisabeth Zachariae*.

²⁰ Hanover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek K-A 59. See Calvisius, *Exercitationes Musicae duae*, 48.

²¹ See Beringer, *Musicae*, fol. Eiiij^v.

²² Matthaei, *Kurtzer doch ausführlicher Bericht von den modis musicis*. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musiksammlung, Mus. ant. theor. M 30.

²³ Vienna, Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, II 1796 (45), fol. 124.

²⁴ Bohn, *Die musikalischen Handschriften*, 15. The manuscript Ms. mus. Bohn 5 bears no date, in fact, but both books belong together and have the same date of origin, running approximately from 1575 to 1583.

Table 2 Inventory of manuscript sources of *Elisabeth Zachariae* by Jacobus Handl-Gallus (call numbers marked with an asterisk are intabulations)²⁵

Land	Holding	Provenance	Call Number / No. in Manuscript
Austria	Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Marienkirche, Lübeck	II 1796 (45), fol. 124
	Benediktinerstift Kremsmünster	South German region	*I 9, No. 87
Czech Republic	Moravské zemské muzeum, oddělení dějin hudby, Brno	Benedictine Abbey, Raigern/Rajhrad	A 7077, No. 9
Germany	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musiksammlung	Elisabethkirche, Breslau/Wrocław	*Ms. mus. Bohn 4, No. 99
	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musiksammlung	Elisabethkirche, Breslau/Wrocław	Ms. mus. Bohn 5, No. 175
	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musiksammlung	Elisabethkirche, Breslau/Wrocław	Ms. mus. Bohn 15, No. 42
	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musiksammlung	Maria-Magdalena-Kirche, Breslau/Wrocław	*Ms. mus. Bohn 20, Nos. 122–123
	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musiksammlung	Middle German region	*Mus. Ms. 40075, No. 16
	Stadtarchiv Kamenz	Kamenz	I 595/927, No. 11
	Stadtarchiv Kamenz	Freiberg, Teutschau and Kamenz	I 929, No. 105
	Ratsbücherei, Lüneburg	Several churches in Lüneburg	Mus.ant.pract. K.N. 150, No. 79
	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Musiksammlung	Augustine Abbey Au am Inn	*Mus.ms. 1640, No. 50
	Staatliche Bibliothek, Passau	probably Benedictine Abbey Irsee	*Ms. 115, No. 41 (fragment)
	Stadtkirche St. Nicolaus, Schmölln, Archiv	Stadtkirche St. Nicolaus, Schmölln	Stb. Hs. 7, No. 52
	Stadtkirche St. Nicolaus, Schmölln, Archiv	Stadtkirche St. Nicolaus, Schmölln	Stb. Hs. 10, No. 10
	Stadtkirche St. Nicolaus, Schmölln, Archiv	Stadtkirche St. Nicolaus, Schmölln	*Tab. 2, No. 84
	Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Musiksammlung	Stephanskirche, Helmstedt	Cod. Guelf. 322 Mus. Hdschr, No. 3
	Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Musiksammlung	Stephanskirche, Helmstedt	Cod. Guelf. 324 Mus. Hdschr, No. 443
Evangelisches Pfarramt St. Mauritius, Bibliothek, Zörbig	Kantorei Zörbig	Ms. 51, No. 185	

²⁵ On the bibliography of the sources, see Motnik, *Jacob Handl-Gallus*,

Land	Holding	Provenance	Call Number / No. in Manuscript
	Ratsschulbibliothek Zwickau	probably Marienkirche, Zwickau	Ms. LXXIV, 1, No. 93
	Ratsschulbibliothek Zwickau	Gymnasium Zwickau	Ms. LXXX, 3, No. 42
Hungary	Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest	St.-Aegidien-Kirche, Bartfeld/Bardejov	Ms. Mus. Bártfa 1, No. 49
	Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest	St.-Aegidien-Kirche, Bartfeld/Bardejov	Ms. Mus. Bártfa 16, Koll. 5, No. 89
	Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest	St.-Aegidien-Kirche, Bartfeld/Bardejov	Ms. Mus. Bártfa 17, Koll. 2, No. 18
	Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest	St.-Aegidien-Kirche, Bartfeld/Bardejov	Ms. Mus. Bártfa 21, No. 62
Poland	Archiwum Państwowe w Toruniu	Morungen, Angerburg	Kat. II, XIV 13a, No. 66
	Archiwum Prowincji Małopolskiej Towarzystwa Jezusowego w Krakowie	Uncertain: perhaps the Jesuit college in Braunsberg/ Braniewo or Posen/Poznań	Rękopis 1631, fol. 11
	Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego w Pelplinie	Benedictine Convent, Thorn/Toruń	Without call number, Nos. 18–19
	Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Oddział Zbiorów Muzycznych, Wrocław	Royal Gymnasium, Brieg/Brzeg	51360 Muz., No. 3
Romania	Biblioteka Muzeului Bruckenthal, Sibiu	Großspold/Apoldo de Sus	jj 69, No. 106 (attributed to Georgius Aleschinus)
Slovakia	Evanjelický a. v. farský úrad - Lyceálna knižnica, Kežmarok	Silesia (?)	N 69 192, No. 69 [106]
	Evanjelická a. v. cirkevná knižnica, Levoča	Several towns in Upper Hungary (Kirchdrauf/Szepesváralja, Deutschproben/Nitrianske Pravno, Schmöllnitz/Smolník, Leibitz/Lubica)	*Ms. 13992 (3 A), No. 155
	Evanjelická a. v. cirkevná knižnica, Levoča	Siebenbürgen region (?)	*Ms. 13994 (5 A), No. 12
	Evanjelická a. v. cirkevná knižnica, Levoča	Middle German region and Upper Hungary (Leutschau/Levoča)	Ms. 13997 (57–58 A), No. 5
	Evanjelická a. v. cirkevná knižnica, Levoča	Upper Hungary (Zips/Spiš)	Ms. 13998–13999 (17–18 A), No. 2
	Evanjelická a. v. cirkevná knižnica, Levoča	Upper Hungary (Zips/Spiš)	Ms. 14003 (64–65 A), No. 72

Conclusion

Following this survey, it can be concluded that *Elisabeth Zachariae* is undoubtedly an example of a very successful work by Handl. But was the composer generally so popular, or does *Elisabeth Zachariae* constitute an exception? Considering the number of printed editions and manuscript sources, only approximately one tenth of his works has a comparable history of wide dissemination. The main part, in fact, was not widely circulated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and remains scarcely known up to this very day. The secret of the success of *Elisabeth Zachariae* may lie in its outstanding musical quality, its brevity and its use in the services of both Catholic and Protestant liturgies.

APPENDIX

Sex voc: De S. Iohanne Baptista. LIII. Cantus I.

Elisabeth Zachariae Zachariae magnū virum genuit magnum
virum genuit, ij Ioannem baptistā, ij præcur-
sorem domini præcursores domini. ij

Secunda Pars.

Iohannes est nomen eius, vinum & siceram non bibit

Figure 1 *Elisabeth Zachariae* by Jacobus Handl-Gallus in *Quartus tomus musici operis*, Cantus, no. 53 (Brno, Moravské zemské muzeum, oddělení dějin hudby, A 20.530 a; reproduced with kind permission).

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Difcantus A Sex. voc. XXIII.

Elisabeth Zachariae

it ij Ioannem Baptistam ij praeurforem Domi-

ni. ij praeurforem domini. SECUNDA PARS

Oannes est nomen e- ius Vinum & siceram non bibet ij

Vinum & siceram non bibet ij & multi in natiuitate eius gaude-

bunt gaudebunt & multi in natiuitate eius gaude- bunt gaudebunt.

Figure 2 *Elisabeth Zachariae* by Jacobus Handl-Gallus in the anthology *Suavissimorum modulorum selectissimae cantiones sacrae*, Cantus, no. 23 (Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Tonkunst Schl. 124–129; reproduced with kind permission).

In Feste S. Johannis Baptista.
XLV.
6. Voc. Handls.

E li so beth Za cha ri a, Za-
E li so beth Za cha ri a/ Za-
In F. Mich. O Gottes Sohn im höchsten Thron im
cha ri a, magnum vi rum ge nu it, ma-
cha ri a hat gebohrn/den Gott er koehr/ hat
höchsten Thron laß die Him melsfürsten dein/ laß
gnum vi rum ge nu it, ij
gebohrn den Gott er koehr/ ij
die Him melsfürsten desu/ ij
Jo hannem Ba pri stam, ij præ cur-
Jo hannem den Täufler/ ij vnd Vor-
die hei li gen Engeln/ ij olzeit
leuff

so rem Do mi ni, præ cur so rem Domni;
täufler set nes Herrn/ ij
unser Wächter seyn/ ij

ij
ij
ij

Secunda Pars.

Jo hannes est nomen e- jus, vi-
Jo hannes ist der Nah- me sein/ feis
So wollen wir so schil- get sein/ dich
num & si ce ram non bi bet, viam & si ce-
Wen noch starkes wird er trinken/ ij
fröhlich lo ben in dei eer Gmeln/ ij
K iij ram

Figure 3 *Elisabeth Zachariae* by Jacobus Handl-Gallus in the anthology *Fasciculus Cantionum Sacrarum*, Cantus, no. 45 (Erfurt/Gotha, Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek, Cant.spir 8° 686; reproduced with kind permission).

Music example 1 Heinrich Grimm, *Missa super Elisabeth Zachariae* in *Missae aliquot* (1628), the beginning of Gloria (“Et in terra pax”)

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system includes six vocal parts: Cantus I, Cantus II, Altus, Tenor I, Tenor II, and Bassus. The second system includes six vocal parts: C I, C II, A, T I, T II, and B. The lyrics are in Latin and describe the beginning of the Gloria, specifically the 'Et in terra pax' section.

System 1:

- Cantus I:** Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus,
- Cantus II:** Et in ter - ra pax ho -
- Altus:** Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo -
- Tenor I:** Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni -
- Tenor II:** Et in ter -
- Bassus:** Et in ter - ra

System 2:

- C I:** ho - mi - ni - bus bo - nae vo - lun - ta - tis, lau - da - mus
- C II:** mi - ni - bus bo - nae vo - lun - ta - tis, lau - da - mus
- A:** - nae vo - lun - ta - tis, vo - lun - ta - tis, lau - da - mus
- T I:** bus, mo - mi - ni - bus bo - nae vo - lun - ta - tis, lau - da - mus
- T II:** ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo - nae vo - lun - ta - tis,
- B:** pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo - nae - vo - lun - ta - tis,

Concerto ab 1. vel à 2. Thomæ Sellij. Tenor Voce solà.

8.

The image shows a page of a musical score for a tenor voice. It begins with a large, ornate initial 'E' decorated with intricate floral and scrollwork patterns. The score consists of six staves of music, each with a corresponding line of Latin lyrics underneath. The lyrics are: 'E li sabeth Zachariæ magnū virum genuit', 'nuit magnū virum genuit, magnū virum genuit ij', 'Johannem Baptistam Johannem Ba-', 'tistam præ-', 'cur solem Domini', and 'præparavit in Eremo, qui'. The music is written in a style characteristic of the late 16th or early 17th century, with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The notes are primarily quarter and eighth notes, with some rests and accidentals. The lyrics are printed in a Gothic-style font.

E li sabeth Zachariæ magnū virum genuit
nuit magnū virum genuit, magnū virum genuit ij
Johannem Baptistam Johannem Ba-
tistam præ- cur solem Domini
præparavit in Eremo, qui

Figure 4 Thomas Selle, *Elisabeth Zachariae*, Tenor (Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 3 an Scrin. A/592, no. 8; reproduced with kind permission).

The image displays a page of handwritten musical notation from a tablature book. The score is organized into several systems, each containing multiple staves. The notation is a mix of mensural notation (with notes on a four-line staff) and lute tablature (with letters and numbers on a six-line staff). The text of the piece is written in a large, decorative Gothic script. The first system is titled 'Elisabeth Zachariae' and includes the number '83.' in a large, ornate initial. The second system features the text 'Iohannes est nomen eius. et dauid pars.' written in a similar decorative style. The notation is dense and characteristic of the early modern period's lute music manuscripts.

Figure 5 Intabulation of *Elisabeth Zachariae* by Jacobus Handl-Gallus in the tablature book (Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek, L 9, no. 87; reproduced with kind permission).

This image displays a page of handwritten musical notation, likely a score for a motet. The notation is arranged in five systems, each consisting of multiple staves. The notation is highly complex and dense, featuring a variety of note values, rests, and clefs. The ink is dark, and the paper shows signs of age and wear. The notation is written in a cursive, handwritten style, characteristic of the early modern period. The score concludes with a large, decorative flourish or ornament at the bottom right, which is a stylized, symmetrical design. The overall appearance is that of a historical manuscript page.

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RECEPCIJA MOTETA *ELISABETH ZACHARIAE*
JACOBUSA HANDLA - GALLUSA V 16. IN 17. STOLETJU

Povzetek

Prispevek se posveča razširjenosti in recepciji šestglasnega moteta *Elisabeth Zachariae* Jacobusa Handla - Gallusa, ki ga je skladatelj zložil za praznik Janeza Krstnika (24. junij) in leta 1590 objavil v četrti knjigi *Opus musicum*. Ta skladba izjemne kvalitete se je v številnih rokopisih in glasbenih tiskih ohranila širom po Evropi. Že desetletje pred objavo je izšla predelava moteta v Gallusovi parodični maši *Missa super Elisabeth Zachariae* (1580), ki jo je prav tako mogoče oceniti za uspešno delo. Sklepati je mogoče, da je ta skladba eno izmed zgodnejših Gallusovih del, saj je moral model nastati pred predelavo le-tega.

Nekaj mesecev pred tiskom *Opus musicum* se motet in maša pojavita v tiskani zbirki Stephana Schormanna *Suavissimorum modulorum selectissimae cantiones sacrae* iz Münchenske tiskarne Adama Berga (marec 1590). Očitno je, da je urednik Gallusa z objavo moteta prehitel in da Schormannov tisk ponuja verzijo, ki se rahlo razlikuje od originala. Zdi se, da gre pri tem za prvotno verzijo Gallusovega moteta in ne za tujo predelavo. Motet je bil pozneje natisnjen še v antologiji *Fasciculus Cantionum Sacrarum* leta 1627 v Magdeburgu ter v prvotni verziji tudi v kompilaciji *Cantionale sacrum* v letih 1646 in 1651 v Gothi na Nemškem. V zadnji zbirki je kot skladatelj pomotoma imenovan Orlando di Lasso.

Recepcija moteta kulminira v parodični maši *Missa super Elisabeth Zachariae* nemškega skladatelja Heinricha Grimma, objavljene leta 1628 v Magdeburgu v Grimmovi zbirki maš in psalmov. Gre za protestantsko kratko mašo (*missa brevis*), pri kateri sta uglasbena zgolj stavka Kyrie in Gloria. Skladbo je najbrž poznal tudi nemški skladatelj Thomas Selle, saj se ta na začetku svojega monodičnega koncerta *Elisabeth Zachariae* iz zbirke *Monophonia harmonico-latina* (1633) očitno naslanja na začetek Gallusovega moteta. Motet je nadalje navzoč tudi kot primer hipodorskega modusa v treh glasbeno-teoretičnih spisih iz zgodnjega in srednjega 17. stoletja (Calvisius, Beringer in Matthaei).

Rokopisi, med katere je potrebno uvrstiti tudi vrsto intabulacij za glasbila s tipkami, izvirajo iz številnih evropskih mest, kot so Bartfeld (Bardejov, Bártfá), Breslau (Vroclav), Brieg (Brzeg), Helmstedt, Kamenz, Leutschau (Levoča), Lübeck, Lüneburg, Schmölln, Thorn (Toruń), Zörbig in Zwickau. Večinoma so to protestantska mesta srednje Evrope, kjer je bila Gallusova glasba v 17. stoletju izjemno priljubljena. V nekaj rokopisih je notirana prvotna verzija moteta. Iz tega razloga posebno zanimiva sta predvsem rokopisa Ms. mus. Bohn 4 in 5 iz Vroclava (danes v Državni knjižnici v Berlinu), saj se zdi, da vsebujeta najstarejši zapis Gallusove skladbe *Elisabeth Zachariae*.

TWO UNKNOWN CASES OF PRINTED INCIDENTAL MUSIC IN THE SIXTEENTH- AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ITALIAN THEATRE

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Izvilleček: *Francesco Contarini je svojo pastoralo La finta Fiammetta, ki je bila izvedena v Padovi skupaj z intermediji v pustnem času 1610, izdal pod pokroviteljstvom kardinala Scipiona Borgheseja. Drugo izdajo (1611) – posvečeno istemu kardinalu – spremlja ločena knjižica z intermediji, ki pa so posvečeni beneškemu ambasadorju pri svetem sedežu v Rimu Giovanniju Mocenigu. V luči »vojne prepovedanega« med Rimom in Benetkami (1606–1607) je politična vloga teh tiskov očitna. Drugega od štirih intermedijev »rappresentati nella finta Fiammetta« (1611) z naslovom La lotta di Hercole con la Morte je leta 1624 Innocentio Vivarino uglasbil kot monodično delo s spremljavo dveh violin (Madrigali concertati a due e tre voci et a voce con violini e sinfonie) za lika Alkestide in Apolona.*

Ključne besede: *Francesco Contarini, La finta Fiammetta, pastorala, priložnostna glasba, intermedij, Alkestida, Innocentio Vivarino.*

Abstract: *Francesco Contarini published his pastoral La finta Fiammetta, staged in Padua with a set of intermedii in carnival 1610, under the patronage of Cardinal Scipione Borghese. A second edition (1611) – likewise dedicated to the cardinal – is accompanied by a separate libretto containing intermedii dedicated to Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian ambassador at the Holy See in Rome. Against the background of the “War of the Interdiction” between Rome and Venice (1606–1607) the political role of these books is evident. The second of the four Intermedii rappresentati nella finta Fiammetta (1611), entitled La lotta di Hercole con la Morte, was set to music in 1624 by Innocentio Vivarino (Madrigali concertati a due e tre voci et a voce con violini e sinfonie) as a monodic composition for Alcestis and Apollo with an accompaniment of two violins.*

Keywords: *Francesco Contarini, La finta Fiammetta, pastoral drama, incidental music, intermedio, Alcestis, Innocentio Vivarino.*

Despite the large quantity of monody and polyphony performed in the sixteenth-century Italian theatre, only a small amount was printed. Any kind of incidental music, either on stage or between the acts, was considered an ephemeral component of the production, on a par with scenery and illumination. In this context, the case of Florence constituted an exception. The Grand Dukes of Tuscany conceived theatre as a political tool expressing their power and wealth, and as a way to celebrate their modern feeling for stage production. This is the reason why recovering Florentine spectacles is easy enough today: the texts of comedies and pastorals, their scenarios, their stage directions and their music

were published and disseminated widely in Italy and abroad. In contrast, Mantua, Venice, Ferrara, Rome and Naples, equally involved with theatrical activities, were less energetic than Florence in publicizing their music.

Current musicology, following the lead set by Wolfgang Osthoff, Nino Pirrotta and some other eminent scholars such as Francesco Luisi, strives to establish the rules of music written for the theatre through an analysis of its relationship to the text.¹ Unfortunately, a lack of information on the use of many works prevents musicologists from establishing whether or not they were employed in the theatre.

In this collection of papers about the circulation of music books, I would like to present two case studies showing the connection between books containing, respectively, dramas, intermedii and music. The first study reveals an unconventional use for the polyphony printed before the text of a pastoral: not in the manner of a quotation of a French chanson, a canzonetta or a madrigal in order to lend a touch of realism to the acts, as occurred in contemporary comedies, but in this instance with the aim of paying tribute to two noble guests. The second study brings to light the intriguing story of a pastoral staged in Padua, a subsequent, unforeseen edition of its intermedii prepared by its author for a second event in Venice and, finally, the discovery of its music, which was included in a book of monodies published fourteen years later and lacking any reference by the author to the earlier spectacles.

In honour of Gesualdo da Venosa and probably of Alfonso Fontanelli, both of whom were noblemen and composers, Illuminato Ferazzoli staged in 1594, in Lugo di Romagna, the pastoral entitled *Fileno*. Like Torquato Tasso in his famous *Aminta* (1573), this dramatist introduced a chorus at the end of each act. But unlike Tasso, who had rethought the role of the chorus with the purpose of avoiding the addition of extraneous musical spectacles, Ferazzoli included intermedii within his drama. This decision exemplified the failure of the project, conceived by the literati, to regulate pastoral drama by providing an epigrammatic, self-sufficient finale in imitation of the chorus of ancient tragedy. In a similar spirit, and probably against the wishes of its author, *Aminta* was staged in 1579 at the court of Ferrara with the addition of some intermedii; the same happened later in Florence at the instigation of the ladies of the court (1590).²

The conclusion of the fourth act of *Fileno* does not follow a regular pattern. It consists of a chorus followed by an intermedio, and after it comes a new chorus. As indicated by the stage direction “Tutti cantano Oratio Vecchi sulla Selva,” the stanza *Ecco nuncio di gioia* is the eight-voice dialogue found in Vecchi’s *Selva di varia ricreatione* (1590). The reference to a singing chorus of shepherds and nymphs is an unexpected instance of the use of music printed earlier than the drama and without any connection to it, which produces the irregular sequence chorus – intermedio – chorus. In my opinion, this interpolation is the result of a friendship between Vecchi and Fontanelli.³

¹ Osthoff, *Theatergesang und darstellende Musik*; Pirrotta, *Li due Orfei*; Luisi, *Il Caritesio*.

² The matter is examined in Cavicchi, “Immagini e forme,” 46–47; see also Solerti, “Laura Guidiccioni Lucchesini,” 808–809.

³ On this subject, see Cavallini, “Nuove riflessioni.”

There is one other unknown case that illustrates the difficulty of reconstructing a spectacle on the basis of surviving sources: or, rather, of assembling in complete form the text of the drama, the text of the intermedi and the latter's music, published later and without a declared connection with those intermedi.

The renowned Venetian philosopher and dramatist Francesco Contarini, whose biography remains obscure, is easily confused with other writers of the same name.⁴ For this reason, it is worth pointing out that he was the natural son of the patrician Taddeo Contarini, as recorded in certain of this writer's works: the philosophical treatise *De Deo* (1594);⁵ the dedication of the pastoral play *La fida ninfa* (1598), written in honour of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinando de' Medici ("May my *Fida ninfa* come out into the world under the protection of the glorious name of Your Serene Highness, [...] to whom I myself, the excellent Mr. Tadeo, my father, and my entire family humbly pledge devotion");⁶ and the dedicatory letter addressed to the Doge of Venice, Marcantonio Memmo, accompanying his tragedy *Isaccio* (1615), which is signed "Francesco Contarini di f[u] Tadeo." Moreover, besides being a prolific author of theatrical pieces, Contarini was active as a lecturer at the University of Padua. His well-known pastoral *La fida ninfa*, dedicated to Francesco Ferdinando, was published (either under the already mentioned title or its equivalent, *Darinello*) at least ten times by different printers from 1598 to the early seventeenth century. However, the seventeenth-century editions are dedicated exclusively to Antonio Priuli, Doge of Venice.⁷ Appointed *principe* of the Accademia Serafica in Venice, Contarini was a member also of the Accademia Olimpica in Vicenza and the Accademia dei Ricovrati in Padua, and an honorary member of the Accademia Filarmonica in Verona, as attested by his philosophical lecture in the form of an apology entitled *Oratione [...] alla virtuosissima Accademia Filarmonica di Verona nell'essere stato accettato Academico* (1621). This volume was published in Verona by the above-mentioned Accademia Filarmonica; more importantly, it displays on its title page the famous figure of a Siren symbolizing the harmony of the Cosmos in which music participates as a harmony among other kinds of harmony.

Although his name is linked to many learned societies, Contarini maintained his closest ties with the Accademia dei Ricovrati founded in Padua in 1599. Two editions of his *Fida ninfa* were published in 1598–1599 by Francesco Bolzetta, printer to the Paduan academy; in the years 1600–1601 and 1608–1609 Contarini acted as secretary to the Ricovrati, and in 1601 he published numerous madrigals in praise of Federico Baldissera Bartolomeo Corner, the academy's founder, under the title of *Madrigali di Francesco Contarini academico Olimpico e Ricovrato dedicati all'illustrissimo et reverendissimo*

⁴ Some references to Contarini's biography are collected on the website www.idt.paris-sorbonne.fr/corpus.

⁵ *Francesci Contareni Thadaei patritii veneti filii, philosophiae, iuris utriusque et sacrae theologiae doctoris, de Deo et de his quae effluerunt a Deo*.

⁶ "Esca dunque nel mondo la mia *Fida ninfa* sotto la scorta del glorioso nome di Vostra Altezza Serenissima, il quale quasi benigna stella di Giove impressole in fronte la potrà rendere ad ognuno amabile e graziosa: insieme con la quale io stesso, e'l clarissimo signor Tadeo mio padre, e tutta la mia famiglia, umilmente se le doniamo [...] 10 marzo 1598." Contarini, *La fida ninfa*, 7b.

⁷ The relevant editions are listed in Rees, "Satyr Scenes in Early Modern Padua," 48n31.



Figure 1 Francesco Contarini, *La finta Fiammetta* (1610); title page of the first edition (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Dramm. 0072; reproduced with kind permission).

sig. Federico Cornaro gran Comendator di Cipri, Abbate di Vidore e Chierico di Camera (1601).⁸ Finally, he wrote, on behalf of the Paduan academy, a valedictory oration for Tomaso Contarini, the mayor and governor of the city: *Oratione di Francesco Contarini per nome dell'Accademia Ricovrata all'illustrissimo signor Tomaso Contarini, cavalier, conte del Zaffo, e podestà di Padova nella sua partenza* (1609).

In autumn 1609 Count Egano Thiene, a jurist responsible for the students of Law at the University of Padua, proposed the writing of a pastoral play for the recreation of these young scholars, who had grown weary of their studies: “Proposuit idem [Count Thiene] quod pro recreandis animis d. solum ob assiduum studium laxatis in Carnisprivii proximo venturo debeat quedam nova pastoralis comoedia.”⁹ Contarini was accordingly requested to write the pastoral *La finta Fiammetta* (see Fig. 1), which was performed in Padua during carnival 1610, as recorded by the printer Ambrogio Dei in a letter that quotes the name of Egano Thiene but does not give the place of performance: “This pastoral [...]

⁸ Maggiolo, *I soci dell'Accademia Patavina*, 78.

⁹ Recorded on 12 December 1609. See Brunelli, *I teatri di Padova*, 67.

was staged during the last carnival by students of Law in this noble University, under the patronage of Count Egano Thiene.⁷¹⁰

La finta Fiammetta is dedicated to Scipione Borghese, the young nephew of Pope Paul V, who appointed him Cardinal in 1605. The dedicatory letter is dated 24 October 1610; immediately afterwards, on 25 October, Scipione was also appointed Archbishop of Bologna, being consecrated by the Pope in an official ceremony held at the Cappella Sistina on 8 December.¹¹ It is still unclear to me whether the pastoral came into being under the patronage of Borghese himself, or whether it was an unofficial tribute paid to the Cardinal by the Venetian government via Contarini's play. Anyway, what is incontestable is the political role of the first and second editions. At the top of the title page of the first edition there appear the insignia of the Borghese family, and at the bottom the winged lion of Saint Mark. In the second edition, printed carelessly probably during the early months of 1611, these emblems are replaced by a single coat of arms – that of the Cardinal's nephew – while the symbols of Venice are omitted. The new edition, with the title of *La finta Fiammetta, favola pastorale di Francesco Contarini. Dedicata all'illustrissimo et reverendissimo signor cardinale Scipione Borghesi con gl'Intermedi aggiunti in questa seconda impressione* (1611), reprints the dedicatory epistle for Borghese (see Fig. 2).¹² This second edition of the pastoral drama is connected with a contemporary but separate libretto of intermedi dedicated to Giovanni Mocenigo: *Intermedi rappresentati nella finta Fiammetta di Francesco Contarini. Dedicati all'illustrissimo et eccellentissimo sig. Giovanni Mocenigo ambasciatore veneto a n. s. papa Paolo V* (1611; see Fig. 3). On the title page of the *Intermedi* the previous Borghese coat of arms is replaced by the lion of the Venetian Republic, since from 1609 to 1612 Giovanni Mocenigo held the post of Ambassador to the Holy See in Rome ("ambasciatore ordinario alla Corte di Roma").¹³ Contarini's dedication draws attention to the delicate role played by Mocenigo, who in 1611 sent the Venetian Senate a detailed *relazione*, where the Ambassador describes the nepotism and absolutism of Pope Paul V: "The Cardinal is thirty three years old [...] he possesses the authority and honours proper to the Pope's nephews, and in consequence, the ambassadors, after any audience with the Pope, are obliged to inform the Cardinal about the matters discussed."¹⁴

To summarize, there were two dedicatees: Borghese for the première in Padua

¹⁰ "Ai benigni lettori Ambrogio Dei [...]. Questa pastorale, che con tanto applauso, et illustrissima pompa, fu rappresentata il carnevale passato in Padova dalla nobilissima università de' signori legisti di questo studio, sotto'l favorito sindacato del molto illustre signor cont'Egano Tiene, era da un numero di quasi infiniti spiriti pellegrini istantemente desiderata e dimandata." Contarini, *La finta Fiammetta* (1610).

¹¹ Castronovo, "Borghese Caffarelli, Scipione."

¹² Printed in Venice by Ambrogio Dei in 1611.

¹³ See www.storiadivenezia.net/sito/testi/Antonibon.pdf.

¹⁴ "Questo principe è carissimo ed amatissimo dal Pontefice, e nella persona sua sono riposte tutte le speranze della grandezza della casa Borghese. Il cardinale è in età di 33 anni, ha nell'apparenza tutta l'autorità ed onori che sogliono avere li nepoti dei Pontefici, perché tutti gli ambasciatori dopo l'udienza vanno a lui e gli comunicano ogni trattazione." See *Relazioni degli stati europei*, 91–110.



Figure 2 Francesco Contarini, *La finta Fiammetta* (1611); title page of the second edition (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Dramm. 1988; reproduced with kind permission).



Figure 3 Francesco Contarini, *Intermedi rappresentati nella finta Fiammetta* (1611); title page (available online: www.archive.org).

with intermedi, which were printed, later in 1611, in honour of Mocenigo; and once more Borghese for the second edition of the pastoral drama, plus Mocenigo only for the intermedi between the acts. The second edition was probably prepared for a revival in a Venetian *palazzo*.¹⁵ The title of a parallel edition of these spectacles, printed by Dei with identical pagination, dedication and content, states that they had been “staged in Padua:” *Intermedi rappresentati nella finta Fiammetta in Padoa. Di Francesco Contarini* (1611; see Fig. 4). As confirmation of this event we have the above-mentioned second edition of

¹⁵ On theatre and music in Venice at the end of the sixteenth century, see Solerti, “Le rappresentazioni musicali.”

La finta Fiammetta, where the printer informs readers that, having been instructed to reprint the pastoral, he had needed to ask Contarini for permission to publish it together with the intermedi, which had been successfully performed in Padua.¹⁶

At this juncture, it needs saying that it was not the custom then in Venice to print intermedi and musical scores, so *La finta Fiammetta* already provides an exceptional case. Contarini, I suppose, was being supported by Mocenigo at the time when he entered the Pope's court as a diplomat. With the intention of demonstrating Venice's positive feelings towards Cardinal Borghese, Mocenigo promoted a second performance of *La finta Fiammetta* three years after the so-called War of the Interdiction (1605–1607), a crisis that had arisen between the Roman Curia and the Republic on account of the tolerant attitude that Venice showed towards the Protestant lands of Europe. The *casus belli* was the refusal of Venice to turn over the civil trial of two priests to a clerical tribunal, as demanded by the Roman Curia.¹⁷ It would not be unreasonable to venture the hypothesis that the staging of the pastoral in Padua (and probably also in Venice) in honour of Cardinal Borghese, together with the inclusion of the intermedi celebrating Mocenigo's diplomacy, symbolizes the reconciliation between the Vatican and the Venetian Republic. This interpretation makes sense of the joint presence of the Cardinal's insignia and the Venetian lion on the title page of the original wordbook of *La finta Fiammetta*. Unfortunately, only a chronicle describing the event would be able to confirm this hypothesis and explain this singular case of intermedi printed in Venice.

With regard to Contarini's theatrical essays, one may recall another staged performance with intermedi that took place in Venice. During the carnival of 1615 the Accademia dei



Figure 4 Francesco Contarini, *Intermedi rappresentati nella finta Fiammetta in Padoa* (1611); title page (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Dramm. 3733; reproduced with kind permission).

¹⁶ “Ai benigni lettori. Ambrogio Dei. [...] ho risoluto di farne questa seconda impressione, nella quale per darvi qualcosa di più, che nella prima non era, ho dall’ autore quest’ Intermedi ottenuti, che insieme con la favola furono in Padoa il passato carnevale con celebre apparato rappresentati.” Contarini, *La finta Fiammetta* (1611).

¹⁷ See the proceedings *Lo stato Marciano durante l’ interdetto*.

Generosi performed the tragedy *Isaccio* at the Patriarchal Seminary. Contarini's dedication emphasizes the elaborate *apparati* and marvellous intermedi ("regale apparato et con artificiosi et maravigliosi intermedi").¹⁸ Despite the difficulty of finding the intermedi for this tragedy, we possess, as evidence of the important role of music in them, the prologue sung by Astrea to the accompaniment of a chitarrone ("Astrea. Prologo cantato in Chiterone").¹⁹ There can be no doubt that Contarini's *Isaccio* was one of the most significant Venetian dramas of its time. Like that of many historically based tragedies with a *lieto fine*, a type very popular throughout the Venetian state, the plot of *Isaccio* recounts an episode that had occurred in Constantinople during the twelfth century: it is the story of the traitor Alessio, who usurps the imperial throne of his brother Isaccio, whom he kills.²⁰ Thanks to help from Doge Dandolo, the true Alessio, Isaccio's son, assumes power in the eastern part of the realm. From an ideological point of view, Contarini's *Isaccio* symbolizes Venice's greatness and the wisdom of its policy. This tragedy, too, is supplied with intermedi in defiance of the theory of drama that permitted only the use of a "neoclassical" chorus singing in simple polyphony.²¹

The intermedi for *La finta Fiammetta* have a variety of subjects, all based on history or mythology: the building of Venice (*L'edificazione di Venetia*);²² the struggle of Hercules with Death (*La lotta di Hercole con la Morte*);²³ Cupid's verdict on the controversy over love between Cleitophon and Arminda (*Il contratto amoroso*);²⁴ and finally, a *pièce à sauvetage* in which Venus rescues Aeneas, under threat from Achilles (*Abbattimento d'Achille e d'Enea*).²⁵ For each spectacle there is a synopsis, together with a great quantity of stage directions acting as a scenario. The second intermedio, *La lotta di Ercole con la Morte*, presents a variant of the story of Alcestis inspired by Euripides's tragedy. The characters are Apollo, Hercules, Death, Chorus of Citizens, Admetus King of Thessaly, and Alcestis, the wife of Admetus who sacrifices herself and by a heroic deed saves her husband. As a god, Apollo has the capacity to sing, whereas the other characters merely act, and Alcestis remains silent ("Alceste regina sua moglie, la quale non parla").²⁶ This

¹⁸ Contarini, *Isaccio*, 4.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 10.

²⁰ Mangini, "La tragedia e la commedia," 308, 323.

²¹ Luisi, "Musica e tragedia."

²² Contarini, *Intermedi rappresentati nella finta Fiammetta*, 5–19.

²³ *Ibid.*, 20–39.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 40–55.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 56–71.

²⁶ The original synopsis and scenario run as follows: "Argomento. Apollo sbandito dal Cielo ricorse al re Admeto, da cui fu lasciato sotto rusticane spoglie a guardare gli armenti in riva al fiume Anfriso. Ora giunta essendo l'ora fatale al re, Apollo in ricompensa del ricevuto beneficio, ottenne dalla Parche che la vita gli prolungassero; ma con patto da loro aggiunto, mentre alcuno fosse de' suoi più congiunti, che per lui volesse morirsi. La sola moglie si trovò che volesse farlo, onde, sendo ella morta per lui in quel tempo che se ne celebravano le pompe funebri, Hercole vi arrivò, et volendo alloggiare col re Admeto, ei gli celò la cagione della mestizia per non contristare l'amico: ma Apollo rivelando ad Hercole la cortesia del re, lo sprona col suo esempio a mostrarsigli grato dell'ospizio, et a ritornare in vita la regina; il che egli prontamente essequisce, per che combattendo con la Morte ne riporta gloriosa vittoria. Euripide nell'Alceste".

Figure 5 Innocentio Vivarino, *Madrigali concertati a due e tre voci* (1624); title page (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung SA. 79.C.44; reproduced with kind permission).



is in accordance with the rules of verisimilitude observed from the time of Poliziano's *Fabula di Orfeo* up to the time of the earliest operas. The setting is the city of Phaere, the royal residence of King Admetus. On one side of the stage there is Hades, from which emerges Death, who will fight with Hercules. On the other side, assuming the function of a *deus ex machina*, there is Apollo, who sings on a cloud in front of Hercules ("Apollo comparve nella nube in aria, et tutto in un tratto comparve Hercole armato su la scena, et Apollo cantò nella lira"). The god rouses Hercules and instances some of his twelve labours: those of the Nemean Lion, the Lernaean Hydra, the Erymanthian Boar, and the Garden of the Hesperides.²⁷

Fourteen years later, Innocentio Vivarino, *maestro di cappella* at the Cathedral of Adria near Padua and Venice, recycled the music for this intermedio in his *Madrigali*

"Maniera della rappresentazione di questo intermedio. Finito il secondo atto della favola, e cambiata velocemente la scena, dall'una parte fu veduta la città regia di Tessaglia, ove in un lato era un sepolcro; dall'altra parte si vide l'aspetto di una città quasi tutta ardente; presso a cui fu poi veduto, quando ora ne fu, aprirsi la terra, et da una bocca d'inferno uscire la Morte. Appena erasi veduta la scena mutata, che si vide venire anche Apollo in una nube per quel fine, per lo quale egli fu a cantare introdotto nell'intermedio, il quale finito, tosto la prima scena pastorale si rivide essere tornata."

²⁷ Contarini, *Intermedi rappresentati nella finta Fiammetta*, 26.

concertati a due e tre voci et a voce con violini e sinfonie per cantar nel clavicembalo, chitarrone o altro simile strumento d'Innocentio Vivarino, organista nel Duomo d'Adria. Opera sesta (1624; see Fig. 5).²⁸ Unfortunately, Vivarino does not provide any explanation for the monody of Apollo inserted at the end of the book. In this connection, one should bear in mind that composers of the time were rarely attracted by the texts of intermedi. They more usually set to music the poems of Petrarch, Bembo, Tasso, Guarini and other famous authors; moreover, intermedi were by definition unrepeatable events. So one may confidently say that Vivarino and his other colleagues were commissioned by someone else to write the music for Contarini's verses. Perhaps Vivarino became free to use this music on his own behalf after the death of the dramatist. That said, the dedicatee of the *Madrigali concertati* – the Bishop of Adria, Ubertino Papafava, a member of a well-known patrician family of Padua – would not have looked kindly on any reference to events of the past that had not concerned him. In this connection, we need to examine carefully the sequence of events. On 28 May 1623 Ubertino Papafava was appointed bishop of Adria, but he took up this position officially only one year later, on 28 April 1624.²⁹ Vivarino had already signed his madrigals one month earlier, on 15 March, referring to Papafava in the dedicatory letter as a patron and future protector. But on the title page Papafava is explicitly named Abbot and Bishop of Adria. So the likelihood is that the collection was approved by Papafava (with an assurance to the composer of a *regalo*) a short time before his consecration as Bishop at the end of April 1624.

As in Contarini's original source, in Vivarino's book of madrigals it is Apollo who sings. However, unlike Contarini, the composer adds at the beginning of his version a monologue for Alcestis as evidence of the queen's sacrifice. Nevertheless, the identity of the characters (not revealed in the partbooks) is never clarified, nor is the story of Alcestis related. Table 1 gives the incipits of the stanzas sung by the soprano and the instrumental interludes in Vivarino's version:

Table 1

1	Che'l mio amor, che'l mio ben, che'l mio sostegno, S., 2 vn., b.c. (<i>stanza for Alcestis added by Vivarino</i>)
2	Sinfonia prima, 2 vn., b.c.
3	O magnanimo Alcide, S., b.c. (<i>Apollo</i>)
4	Sinfonia Seconda, 2 vn., b.c. ("doi violini in loco di risposta seguono")
5	Pugnar ora convienti, S., b.c. (<i>Id.</i>)
6	Sinfonia Terza, 2 vn. b.c. ("doi violini seguono")
7	Gliela torrai di man, pugna e travaglia, S., b.c. (<i>Id.</i>)
8	Si replica la Prima [Sinfonia] ("doi violini": repeat of the first ritornello)
9	O magnanimo eroe vinto hai la morte, S., 2 vn., b.c. (<i>Id.</i>)
10	Si replica la Terza [Sinfonia] (repeat of the third ritornello)

²⁸ An example of this collection, published in Venice by Alessandro Vincenti, is preserved in the music collection of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. On Vivarino (ca. 1575–1626) and his oeuvre, see Cavallini, "Note biografiche."

²⁹ See *Serie cronologica dei vescovi di Adria*, 38–39.

In Table 2, I compare the original intermedio with Vivarino's edition. Only the stanzas set to music by the composer are given in full; for the other stanzas, acted without music, the incipit alone is transcribed. Stage directions are all omitted, except for the words indicating the disappearance of Apollo into the cloud:

Table 2

***Alcestis* [text and music by Vivarino]**

Che'l mio amor, che'l mio ben, che'l mio sostegno,
a nove cure involto,
faccia da me partita,
non mi toglie la vita.
Ma che nella più insolta e oscura notte,
con disagio di lume o di Diana,
assorga da le piume e si allontana,
in così dura sorte
fuggir, ohimè, non mi lice la morte.

Venus, the Morning Star
piume = bed

***Apollo* [set to music by Vivarino]**

O magnanimo Alcide
che fai, che pensi a gloriose imprese?
Ti desta Apollo e lieto il ciel t'arride.

Hercules

***Hercules* [omitted by Vivarino]**

O Febo, o santo nume [...]

***Apollo* [set to music by Vivarino]**

Pugnar ora convienti,
non con aspri serpenti,
non con fiera Nemea,
non con cingial menalio, o con arpie,
non con esperio drago,
non con uomo mortale al tuo valore,
non più tentate vie
vengon mutate in sorte,
t'apparecchia la pugna con la morte:
Ella ha tolto la moglie al rege Admetto,
tosto ora tu gli la rendi viva
pria che squallida torna all'altra riva.

The Nemean Lion
The Erymanthian Boar
The Garden of the Hesperides

Admetus, King of Phaere in Thessaly

The river Acheron or Styx?

***Hercules* [omitted by Vivarino]**

Ospite avventuroso [...]

***Apollo* [set to music by Vivarino]**

Gliela torrai di man, pugna e travaglia,

al sepolcro verrà tu qual'attendi
e contra lei t'affronta, osa e contendi
la funeral vivanda al dente ingordo.
Io'l marito l'ho tolto,
le avrai tu la consorte anco ritolto?
Ribonderà d'Anfrino il lido intorno
Alcide equal al portator del giorno.

Apollo vs Artemis
consorte = Alcestis
The river Amphrysus

(Stage direction: "Qui tacque Apollo e si rinchiuse nella nube, la quale non disparve, ma stette ferma, et Hercole così rispose".)

Hercules [omitted by Vivarino]

O luminoso divo [...]

Chorus of citizens [id.]

O sfortunato regno [...]

Hercules [id.]

Cessino i pianti omai [...]

Chorus [id.]

Ahi, qual novo terror s'apre la terra? [...]

Hercules [id.]

Nel timor vi tocchi, ombre o fantasime [...]

Chorus [id.]

A gran cose t'accingi, Hercole invitto [...]

Hercules [id.]

Fuggite voi, fuggite anime vili [...]

Death [id.]

Or non potrai tu, Apollo, [...]

Hercules [id.]

Non godrai queste vittime da Alcide [...]

Death [id.]

Osi tu contrastar, Hercole audace? [...]

Hercules [id.]

Io son mortal, ma di mortal valore [...]

Death [id.]

S'io son colei, ch'ogni mortal atterra [...]

Hercules [id.]

Ed ecco, al fin se' vinta [...]

Death [id.]

Solo mancava a le tue glorie, Alcide [...]

Hercules [id.]

Or vuoi donar quel che vietar non puoi? [...]

Death [id.]

Va' non andrai lunga stagion altero [...]

Apollo [set to music by Vivarino]

O magnanimo eroe vinto hai la morte,

solo al figlio di Giove è ciò permesso,

rendi viva ad Admetto la consorte,

ch'aura serba corona a te'l permesso.

[At this point the music stops]

Jupiter (Jove)

Hercules

Andiam, o dal mio ardir, da le mie forze [...] etc.

By chance, I some years ago discovered the wordbook with the intermedi in the “Arturo Graf” library at the University of Turin.³⁰ Until that lucky day it had been impossible for twenty years for me to identify the source used by the composer: the lines represented a puzzle whose meaning remained obscure in the absence of the stanzas referring to the other characters.

The music of Vivarino is in true *concertato* style in the episode for Alcestis, where soprano and violins interact. In contrast, Apollo's monody is accompanied only by continuo except for the last lines, which are similarly sung with two violins. Each stanza, whose music is conceived as a mixture of arioso and recitative style, is followed by a “Sinfonia,” namely, a ritornello, played by the violins as if in a cantata. However, this is not a cantata with arias and recitatives; moreover, the monodic sections feature a dramatic texture in arioso style that is unlike the species of monody found in the Florentine or Roman operas that flourished during the first decade of the seventeenth century. Vivarino probably created, around 1624, verses and music in up-to-date style for Alcestis, while for Apollo he retained the music already written in response to Contarini's commission. The title *Madrigali concertati* is conservative and incorrect. As in the *Nuove musiche* (1601, 1614)

³⁰ This example is now consultable online at archive.org/stream/image392TeatroOpal.

of Giulio Caccini, the term “madrigal” refers to through-composed music, so that duets and trios turn into monodies with continuo.

Some complications occur in the distribution between the partbooks of the music for this intermedio. The *Madrigali concertati* come in four partbooks: Canto Primo; Canto Secondo; Basso; Basso Continuo. The monodies for Alcestis and Apollo, both printed with a figured bass, are for a soprano voice, which is included in the Canto Secondo partbook under the heading “A 3. Soprano e doi Violini” (pp. 26–33). The parts for first and second violins appear in the partbooks labelled Canto Primo (pp. 27–29) and Basso (pp. 11–13). The partbook for Basso Continuo, which contains an unbarred figured bass part, replicates the notes of the Basso that supports the soprano voice. Predictably, the continuo part for the ritornellos appears only in the Basso Continuo partbook (on p. 24).³¹

One final remark. Alcestis did not prove a very attractive subject for poets and musicians until the mid-seventeenth century. Only a few other versions from this period exist of Euripides’s tragedy, which did not have the same wide diffusion as the story of Orpheus, the favourite myth in theatre and opera. The following is a short list of the works that have emerged from my survey of the topic:

- Giulio Salinero, *Alceste, tragedia di Giulio Salinero, detto l’Abbandonato fra gli Accademici Accessi* (Genova: eredi di Girolamo Bartoli, 1593).
- Scipione Agnelli, in a letter addressed to the Duke of Mantua (19 December 1616), written after Monteverdi’s doubts expressed about *Le nozze di Tetide*, Alessandro Striggio reports that the poet Scipione Agnelli has written for Monteverdi a pathetic “libretto” entitled *Congiunta d’Alceste et d’Ameto*.³²
- Melchiorre Zoppio, *Admeto, tragedia del Caliginoso Melchiorre Zoppio* (Bologna: Tebaldini, 1634). This tragedy was staged in Bologna (1626).
- Prospero Bonarelli, *Alceste in Melodrami, cioè opere da rappresentarsi in musica del conte Prospero Bonarelli. Alla Serenissima Donna Vittoria Gran Duchessa di Toscana* (Ancona: Marco Salvioni, 1647).

³¹ An essay on Contarini’s *La finta Fiammetta*, and the complete edition of its intermedii with the music of Vivarino is in preparation.

³² Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, 150–151.

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- . *La finta Fiammetta favola pastorale di Francesco Contarini dedicata all'ill.mo et rev.mo sig. cardinal Scipione Borghesi*. Venice: Dei, 1610.
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DVA NEZNANA PRIMERA TISKANE PRILOŽNOSTNE GLASBE V ITALIJANSKEM GLEDALIŠČU 16. IN 17. STOLETJA

Povzetek

Čeprav je bilo v italijanskem gledališču 16. stoletja izvedeno ogromno enoglasne in polifone glasbe, je bil natisnjen le njen neznaten del. Vsaka priložnostna glasba, izvajana bodisi na odru bodisi med dejanji, se je pojmovala kot manj pomembna sestavina predstave, primerljiva s sceno ali razsvetljavo. V tem pogledu predstavljajo Firenze izjemo. Po eni strani se je v Veliki vojvodini Toskani gledališče razumelo kot politično sredstvo za razkazovanje moči in bogastva, po drugi pa kot prostor, kjer se lahko manifestira občutek za sodobno gledališče – sodobni gledališki okus. Oživljanje firenškega gledališča danes ne predstavlja težav: besedila komedij in pastoral, njihovi scenariji, navodila za njihovo uprizoritev kot tudi njihova glasba, vse to se je objavljalo in širilo po vsej Italiji in na tujem. Nasprotno temu so bila mesta kot Mantova, Benetke, Ferrara, Rim in Neapelj, ki so bila enako udeležena v gledališkem dogajanju, pri objavljanju gledališke glasbe manj dejavna.

Sodobna muzikologija želi dognati logiko gledališke glasbe, in sicer preko analize razmerja med glasbo in besedilom, bolj natančno, preko analize razmerja med literarnimi deli dvornih pesnikov in partiturami (ali glasovnimi zvezki) skladateljev, delujočih v istem okolju. Za številne kompozicije pomanjkanje podatkov raziskovalcem žal preprečuje, da bi dognali, ali so se uporabljale v gledališču ali ne. V zvezi s tem problemom je zanimiva navedba polifone kompozicije Orazia Vecchija v pastoralni drami *Fileno* (1594) Illuminata Ferazzolija. Predstava tega dela je bila v kraju Lugo di Romagna, posvečena pa je bila Gesualdu da Venosi in Alfonsu Fontanelliju, ki sta bila oba plemiča in skladatelja. Kot je razvidno iz odrskega napotka (»Tutti cantano Oratio Vecchi sulla Selva«), je igro uvedel osemglasni dialog *Ecco nuncio di gioia*, vzet iz Vecchijeve zbirke *Selva di varia ricreatione* (1590), čemur je sledila pesem. Navedba zbora pastirjev in nimf je nenavadno pričevanje o gledališki rabi glasbe, ki je bila objavljena pred nastankom drame in ni imela z njo nobene zveze. V luči teorije dramskega dela je tak zaključek nepravilen, saj ga sestavljajo zbor, ki mu sledi intermedij in nato še ena nova zborovska točka.

Drugi doslej še nepoznani primer ponazarja težave, do katerih pride ob rekonstruiranju predstave na osnovi ohranjenih virov, oziroma ob sestavljanju dramskega besedila, intermedijev in glasbe v popolno celoto. V letih 1610–1611 je dramatik in filozof Francesco Contarini objavil pastoralo *La finta Fiammetta*, ki je bila z vrsto intermedijev uprizorjena v Padovi v pustnem času. To delo je bilo posvečeno kardinalu Scipionu Borgheseju, nečaku papeža Pavla V. Contarini je pozneje pripravil še drugo izdajo te iste pastoralne drame in jo ponovno posvetil istemu mecenu. Še več, drugo ločeno, a s prejšnjo povezano knjigo intermedijev je izdal pod okriljem ambasadorja svetega sedeža Giovannija Moceniga, verjetno za izvedbo v Benetkah. Drugi od štirih intermedijev (objavljenih kot *Intermedi rappresentati nella finta Fiammetta*) z naslovom *La lotta di Hercole con la Morte* vsebuje natančna odrska navodila. Zgodba je različica Evripidove tragedije *Alkestida*, ki pripoveduje o boju Herkula/Alkida s Smrtjo.

Situacija zahteva razmislek v treh smereh. Prvič je treba izpostaviti, da v Benetkah ni bilo običajno, da bi se tiskali intermediji in glasba skupaj, tako da je primer tiska *La finta*

Fiammetta že sam po sebi izjemen, četudi ga povežemo s političnimi cilji: spravo med Rimom in Benetkami po diplomatski vojni 1606–1607. Drugič velja omeniti, da se sama zgodba o Alkestidi pred sredino 17. stoletja pesnikom in glasbenikom ni zdela posebno privlačna. Tretje opažanje pa je, da je Innocentio Vivarino Contarinijeve verze uglasbil na zelo zapleten način. Ta beneški skladatelj je intermedij o Alkestidi objavil v svoji zbirki *Madrigali concertati a due e tre voci et a voce con violini e sinfonie* (1624), in sicer kot solistično dramatično epizodo z madrigami za dve violini in kontinuo. Ne da bi bilo omenjeno Contarinijevo pesniško delo, vsebuje zadnji del te knjige madrigalov monodijo, namenjeno Alkestidi in Apolonu, ki razpravljata o Herkulovem boju in zmagi. Vivarino je vzel le del Contarinijevega besedila, in sicer verze, ki se nanašajo na Apolona, ki jim je dodal eno kitico za Alkestido. To se je skladalo s pravilom – ki je veljalo vse od Polizianove *Favole di Orfeo*, in sicer, da je bilo petje dovoljeno le bogovom. To je tudi razlog, zakaj Vivarino ni uglasbil besed, ki jih izgovarjata Herkul in Smrt.

A BUSY COPYIST AND A SHY COMPOSER TWO SIDES OF FRANCESCO BARSANTI (ca. 1690–1775)

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Izyleček: *Francesco Barsanti, italijanski glasbeni imigrant v Britaniji, je za dodatni zaslužek ob igranju v orkestru in učenju delal tudi kot glasbeni kopist. Medtem ko je bila njegova inštrumentalna glasba natisnjena, so njegova vokalna dela večinoma ostala razpršena v rokopisih, pogosto brez navedbe avtorja, med deli drugih skladateljev, katerih dela je prepisoval.*

Ključne besede: *Francesco Barsanti, glasbeni kopist, glasba v Britaniji, vokalna glasba.*

Abstract: *Francesco Barsanti, an Italian immigrant musician in Britain, worked as a copyist to supplement his income from orchestral playing and teaching. Whereas his instrumental music was published, his vocal music survives almost entirely in manuscript, being interspersed, often anonymously, among music by other composers that he himself copied.*

Keywords: *Francesco Barsanti, music copying, music in Britain, vocal music.*

Music Copyists in Eighteenth-Century Britain

The historian John Rosselli once gave the title “A Profession of Sorts” to a chapter on the position of the impresario in nineteenth-century Italian opera, opening with the sentence: “Almost anyone could become an operatic impresario.”¹ Much the same could be said of the profession of music copyist between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. The minimum requirements were very basic. One needed to be musically literate, to have fluent and legible (if not necessarily calligraphic) handwriting and also to be prepared to work intensively for short periods in order to complete jobs on time. Sometimes, there were added requirements, such as conformity to the “house style” of a copying shop or scriptorium – this could be particularly relevant in cases where a single, large task such as the copying of an opera was parcelled out among many hands – or the adaptation of an existing part to create a new part, such as occurred when oboe parts were formed *extempore* from ripieno violin parts.² Above all, copyists needed at all times to be intelligent,

I am very grateful to Jasmin Cameron for reading, and commenting on, an early draft of this article.

¹ Rosselli, *Opera Industry in Italy*, 17.

² This particular case is discussed in Rousseau, “Copiste,” 271. Active as a music copyist in his

attentive and accurate: qualities that we often find wanting when we examine their handiwork today, and the absence of which was lambasted with almost satirical vehemence in an article of 1749 by Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg.³

In Italy, where, as Charles Burney remarked in 1771, the music copyist's trade seemed "more brisk and profitable than any other" on account of the virtual absence of music engraving and the huge demand for new music on the part of Italians and visitors alike,⁴ music copying, often undertaken in specially appointed premises (*copisterie*), was potentially a full-time profession. Indeed, a particularly expert copyist could sometimes achieve celebrity status.⁵ In Britain,⁶ by contrast, the ready availability, for the most popular genres, of cheaper engraved music obtainable from music shops rendered copying more of a "niche" occupation suited to part-time work. However, such niches were numerous. Most music, sacred or secular, for more than one voice circulated only in manuscript, exactly as in Italy. The same was obviously true of any music fresh from the composer's pen and awaiting publication. Because of the large amateur participation in music-making, there was a market for customized albums: anthologies of music compiled for one user, often with an instructional purpose. There was also a large community of music collectors distinct from (though inevitably overlapping with) both music patrons and professional musicians. Many of these musicians, out of personal interest or in order to enlarge their repertoire, made copies for private use. The cult of "ancient" music, which grew in strength as the eighteenth century progressed, encouraged the copying of little-known music from the past, both manuscript and printed. Finally, there was in Britain an important role for what one might call the "transcriber-cum-arranger:" a copyist who deliberately altered the text transmitted by the exemplar. This alteration could take the form of simplification, as when operatic arias were presented with the loss of the less essential instrumental components (for example, second violin or viola parts) in order to make the music accessible

youth, Rousseau wrote a highly personal and surprisingly detailed entry for his old profession in his *Dictionnaire de musique*. While adamant that a copyist should not seek to "improve on" the composer's musical intentions (*ibid.*, 267–268), Rousseau was very keen that he should correct obvious slips and rectify inconsistencies in the manner of an editor.

³ Marpurg, untitled article. The errors and blemishes listed (p. 312) include the writing of sharps in place of flats, the misreading of bass figures, wrong notes, missing or superfluous bars, text crossed or scratched out, pasted-over slips, bad vertical alignment, incorrect note-values, inexactly calculated rests, incorrect clefs, misaligned textual underlay, separate flags in place of required beaming, trills in place of appoggiaturas and missing dots. Marpurg's disparagement of the quality of the musical copies circulating in Germany formed part of his argument in favour of the expansion of music engraving there.

⁴ Burney, *Present State of Music in France and Italy*, 190.

⁵ For instance, Vivaldi's nephew Pietro Mauro, a former operatic tenor and leader of his own troupe, abandoned his not very successful life on the road and settled down in Venice to become a music copyist. The diarist Pietro Gradenigo noted in 1760 that Mauro was the city's best music copyist and even corresponded with the king of Sweden. See White and Talbot, "Pietro Mauro, detto 'Il Vivaldi,'" 54–55.

⁶ By "Britain" I mean in all instances "Britain with Ireland:" until the Act of Union passed in 1800 Ireland was a distinct political entity with its own parliament, albeit under the same crown.

to small amateur ensembles.⁷ It could equally well take the form of elaboration, as when solo sonatas were converted into trios, or when four-part textures were expanded to seven parts through the provision of concertino-ripieno contrast; this type of alteration served the needs of the music societies that were springing up everywhere in Britain.⁸ Not even France equalled Britain in its liking for such altered versions. And just as simple copies were apt to shade into arrangements, the latter, too, sometimes developed yet further into radical revisions, even ones containing a substantial amount of new composition.⁹

Since music copying was in eighteenth-century Britain largely an anonymous activity (except among certain collector-copyists), identification of individuals is difficult. The most common route to identification is when the copyist was also a composer for whom an autograph manuscript, and therefore a proven specimen of his scribal hand, is available. At present, the knowledge we possess is very piecemeal. The Image Gallery hosted by the website of the pre-1850 manuscripts database of RISM (UK)¹⁰ has made a good start, but only scratches the surface: what is now needed in order for further progress to be made is a large-scale, preferably not time-limited, collaborative project.

As we saw, music-copying in Britain was predominantly a part-time occupation undertaken alone or in an informal and usually impermanent group. In London, where orchestral musicians were most numerous, there were large numbers of rank-and-file instrumentalists whose income from playing was too small to support them in comfort, but who at least had time on their hands, not needing to practise overmuch, go touring as soloists or constantly attend the nobility.¹¹ They formed an important category among music copyists, and my impression is that they predominated, perhaps in almost monopolistic fashion, among the collectives responsible for preparing copies for the opera houses and other institutions or societies employing orchestras.¹² Viola players appear to have formed an important contingent among these player-copyists. They included Johann Georg Linike, John Christopher Smith the Elder, Thomas Rawlings,¹³ Anthony Werner and Francesco Barsanti, the subject of this article.

⁷ A score of this kind is equivalent to the *partition réduite* favoured in France for similar purposes.

⁸ See Halton and Talbot, “Choice Things of Value,” 12–13.

⁹ A good case in point is the collection entitled *Twelve Concertos in Seven Parts [...] Composed by Sig.^r Domenico Scarlatti* (London: Author, 1743), which was arranged, but also partly composed, by Charles Avison.

¹⁰ See <http://picasaweb.google.com/musicmss>.

¹¹ In Landgraf and Vickers, *Cambridge Handel Encyclopedia*, 164, we find the statement: “The major copyists were underemployed musical performers.”

¹² The team of collaborating copyists called by Handel scholars the “Smith Scriptorium” (after its senior figure, John Christopher Smith) or “Handel-Smith Scriptorium” is a prominent example.

¹³ The activity as copyist of Thomas Rawlings (or Rawlins), Barsanti’s orchestral colleague and the father of the latter’s best-known pupil, Robert Rawlings, is discussed in Graydon Beeks, *Making a Living in the Pit*.

Introducing Francesco Barsanti

The life and career of Barsanti, traced in a recent article of which I was a co-author, have recently become somewhat clearer.¹⁴ After Francesco Geminiani, he was certainly the most interesting, and arguably also the most important, Italian immigrant musician continuously active in Britain in the central decades of the eighteenth century. To summarize: born in Lucca in 1690 or shortly afterwards, Barsanti abandoned university studies in Padua to become a musician. Briefly active as an oboist (and player of other treble woodwind instruments) in Bologna and Massa, he came to England around 1723 (not in 1714 as assumed by Hawkins and many later writers).¹⁵ There, he carved out a living as a “jobbing” oboe player, teacher, composer and arranger. Composition was his major interest. Between 1724 and 1769 he produced and published seven collections of mainly instrumental music (six bearing an opus number), each of which is different in nature, and most of which include attractive experimental features.¹⁶ He brought with him from Italy an interest in music theory; like his friend (and fellow Lucchese) Geminiani, he gravitated towards the conservative wing of British musical life, participating in and contributing to the growing vogue for “ancient” music (a loose term embracing not only music of the Renaissance but also *stile antico* compositions from after 1600 and, indeed, any music, however recent, with a solid contrapuntal basis) and also for “national” music (of Scotland, Ireland etc.).¹⁷ He spent most of his time in London, but around 1731 worked for a while in York and the North-East, where he acquired useful patrons. Between 1735 and 1743 he was in the full-time service of the Musical Society of Edinburgh. He returned to London, but at some point between then and ca. 1750 apparently visited, perhaps only briefly, the Northern Netherlands. After his return from Scotland, he appears to have been active as a player of the viola rather than the oboe. In later life he was a member of the Madrigal Society, which he joined in 1759, and there is evidence from the copying work he undertook that he was associated with the Academy of Ancient Music (hereafter, AAM), although his actual membership of the Academy has not been confirmed.

Contemporary testimony portrays Barsanti as a rather timid person, who shunned the limelight and avoided controversy.¹⁸ Whereas composers who were also performers good enough to lead concerts and/or feature there as soloists could use their public appearances

¹⁴ Cameron and Talbot, “Many-Sided Musician.” I am indebted to Jasmin Cameron also for many materials and ideas used for the present article.

¹⁵ Sir John Hawkins, *General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 5:372.

¹⁶ Ignoring Barsanti’s published arrangements of music by others, these collections were, in chronological order: *Sonate a flauto [...] con basso*, op. 1 (London, 1724); *VI Sonate per la traversiera [...] con basso*, op. 2 (London, 1728); *A Collection of Old Scots Tunes* (Edinburgh, 1742); *Concerti grossi*, op. 3 (Edinburgh, 1742); *Nove overture a quattro*, op. 4 (London, ca. 1750); *Sei antifone*, op. 5 (London, ca. 1760); *Six Sonatas for Two Violins and a Bass*, op. 6 (London, 1769).

¹⁷ The sense in which, for Barsanti, “national” music became a kind of “ancient music by other means” is explored in Talbot, “Francesco Barsanti and the Lure of National Song.”

¹⁸ The main sources for this description are Baretti, *Voice of Discord*, 32, 34 and 36; and Hawkins, *Anecdotes, Biographical Sketches and Memoirs*, 1:215.

as a springboard for publishing and disseminating their works and building their reputation, this well-trodden route was closed to him. Instead, he had to secure the support of patrons willing to subsidize his publications, in which he had some success. However, several of his compositions, particularly vocal ones, remained outside the neatly packaged sets and needed dissemination via some other means. Barsanti found an unorthodox solution: he inserted these compositions, generally in ones and twos, in the copies he made of music by other composers. These insertions were always discreet and sometimes almost clandestine, in the sense that he often omitted his name or, in one known instance, represented it by a monogram (composed of the letters “FMB,” standing for “Francesco Maria Barsanti”). In this way he satisfied his urge as a composer in an unassertive manner in keeping with his character. Those who received the copies evidently tolerated, and perhaps even welcomed, the additions: none of the pieces by Barsanti seems to have provoked an owner into making a comment, still less a deletion. On the other hand, no evidence has emerged to suggest that Barsanti was ever required or even encouraged to contribute music of his own to the collections he was commissioned by others to copy.

Barsanti as Copyist

The first inkling that Barsanti’s hand might be identifiable arose when it became evident that the great majority of his surviving works in manuscript (almost entirely vocal compositions – for some reason, hardly any of his instrumental music has come down in manuscript form), though widely dispersed, were in the same hand.¹⁹ Moreover, certain pieces bore signs of compositional correction, suggesting that author and scribe were the same person. Irrefutable confirmation that he was indeed Barsanti arrived when the handwriting of the textual underlay of the copies in question was compared with that of surviving written documents (a letter and a receipt) of the composer.²⁰ Quite by chance, the same hand appeared in various manuscripts associated with the AAM that were being studied around the same time by another scholar in preparation for an article aiming to reconstruct as far as possible the contents of the famous library of that institution and to give information on the present-day location of its surviving items.²¹ Through the pooling of information, I was able quickly to expand my list of music copied by Barsanti and extend

¹⁹ The one significant exception in the instrumental domain is a manuscript containing the six Op. 1 sonatas in Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Sanvitale Sanv.D.2, which still awaits evaluation. The vocal compositions by Barsanti copied by other hands comprise: parts for two Op. 5 motets and a madrigal in the library of the Madrigal Society (GB-Lms) on deposit since 1954 at the British Library (shelfmark Mad. Soc. A 6-11); scores of the same two motets and madrigal made in 1806, probably from the GB-Lms parts, by the tenor and collector William Clarke (1737/8–1820), in the library of the Royal Academy of Music (GB-Lam, MSS 158 and 163); a catch dated 1763 in the collection of the Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Catch Club on deposit at the British Library since 1952 (H.2788.p (109)).

²⁰ The receipt is reproduced in facsimile in Cameron and Talbot, “Many-Sided Musician,” 125.

²¹ Johnstone, “Westminster Abbey and the Academy of Ancient Music.” I am exceedingly grateful to the author for letting me have sight of early drafts of his article and, in particular, for bringing

it to cover collections in which no work by him appeared. A brief published account of Barsanti's activity as a copyist appeared shortly afterwards,²² and this led in turn to a private communication through which a rather interesting addition to the list was made.²³

Table 1 lists the twenty-one musical sources comprising or containing works copied by Barsanti that are currently known. The order in which they are presented is not chronological, but has been chosen to facilitate their discussion. Comments on each item follow.

Table 1 A list of manuscript sources containing music wholly or partly in Barsanti's hand

Item	Library	Shelfmark	Brief Description of Content	Works by Barsanti Contained	Date (est.)
1	D-Hs	M A/833	135 Italian cantatas for voice and b.c. by numerous named composers	5 cantatas	1733–35
2	GB-Lam	MS 132	29 Italian cantatas for voice and b.c. by numerous named composers	3 cantatas	1745–75
3.1	I-Rama	A. Ms. 3702	Operatic excerpts and cantatas by numerous composers, mostly named	1 cantata	1733–34
3.2	I-Rama	A. Ms. 4771	4 cantatas and 1 aria by various composers, partly named	—	1733–34
4	GB-Lbl	Add. MS 5322	12 chamber duets by Handel	—	1745–75
5	GB-Lbl	Add. MS 5329	26 chamber duets, mostly for soprano and b.c., by Steffani	—	1745–75
6	GB-Lbl	Add. MS 5330	30 chamber duets for soprano and alto by Steffani	—	1745–75
7	GB-Lbl	Add. MS 5331	20 chamber duets, mostly for soprano and tenor, by Steffani	—	1745–75
8	GB-Lbl	Add. MS 5332	21 chamber duets for 2 sopranos by Steffani	—	1745–75
9	GB-Lbl	Add. MS 5335	19 chamber duets by 6 different Italian composers	—	1745–75
10	GB-Bu	Barber MS 5005	20 chamber duets by Steffani, mostly coincident with those in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 5331	—	1745–75
11	CH-CObodmer	Ms. 11461–7	Pieces for solo keyboard, voice and keyboard and treble instrument and keyboard	6 French airs	1743
12	GB-Lbl	RM 24.c.16	13 Italian and English madrigals, mostly in 5 parts	—	1745–75
13	GB-Lbl	RM 22.m.2	12 sacred vocal compositions in 5 parts by Palestrina	—	1745–75
14.1	GB-Lbl	RM 24.d.15 (1.)	10 motets by Victoria, 11 motets by Palestrina, all in 4 parts	—	1745–75

to my attention the appearance of the same copyist's hand in the sources identified below as items 4–10, 12–14 and 16–21.

²² Talbot, "Unexpected Handel Copyist."

²³ My informant was Donald Burrows, to whom I am very grateful for letting me see a reproduction of the manuscript and for providing helpful comments on the resulting article (see later, n. 40).

Item	Library	Shelfmark	Brief Description of Content	Works by Barsanti Contained	Date (est.)
14.2	GB-Lbl	RM 24.d.15 (2.)	1 motet by Richafort, misattributed to "Adrianus" [Willaert or Coclico]	—	1745–75
15	GB-Lcm	MS 208	Gesualdo's first and second books of madrigals	1 catch	1745–75
16	GB-Lcm	MS 483	Pergolesi's <i>Stabat Mater</i> and <i>Salve Regina</i> in C minor, transposed to A minor	—	1745–75
17	GB-Lcm	MS 1029	Terradellas's motet <i>Luminosa consurgit</i> (3 separate vocal parts)	—	1745–75
18	GB-Lcm	MS 1074	Miscellaneous sacred works	2 motets	1745–75
19	GB-Lwa	CG 26	Pergolesi's (?) <i>Miserere</i> in C minor (Paymer 71)	—	1745–75
20.1	GB-Lwa	CG 59	61 4-part madrigals, motets etc. in score by numerous composers, mostly named	1 Latin motet, 1 Hebrew sacred song	1745–75
20.2	GB-Lbl	Add. MS 31442	4 partbooks matching item 20.1	As item 20.1	1745–75
21	GB-Lwa	CJ 1b	Individual vocal and contrabass parts for 3 motets in Barsanti's Op. 5	As previous column	1760

Item 1

This is a two-volume collection containing a total of 135 Italian-language cantatas for voice (generally soprano) and basso continuo purchased at an unknown time and place by the nineteenth-century Handel scholar Friedrich Chrysander and since 1875 held by what is today the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg "Carl von Ossietzky" (D-Hs).²⁴ The sole scribe, Barsanti, appears to have prepared it for his personal use as a central stock of cantatas from which copies could be prepared for any purpose. The paper is used economically: many cantatas straddle gatherings or begin on verso sides. From this one may infer that the pieces were entered consecutively, so that their sequence reflects exactly the chronology of copying, the second volume carrying on from the first.

The approximate date of the manuscript is ascertainable both from the single type of paper used ("C 30" in the Burrows-Ronish catalogue,²⁵ with the date-range 1728–1739) and from the content. In descending order of the number of cantatas contributed, the composers represented are shown in the following tabulation:

Composer	Total	Position within the Collection
Astorga, Emanuele d'	(42)	1–6, 10, 28–30, 32–33, 37, 49–52, 55–58, 71–74, 76–77, 92–106
Marcello, Benedetto	(21)	7–9, 34–36, 46–48, 79, 114–124
Scarlatti, Alessandro	(14)	40–41, 61–62, 81–90
Gasparini, Francesco	(11)	31, 39, 42–45, 63–64, 67–68, 109

²⁴ Musiksammlung, M A/833 (Bde I–II). Items 1–66 occupy the first volume (pp. 1–417), items 67–135 the second (pp. 1–402). Details of the contents and their pagination are obtainable via <https://opac.rism.info>.

²⁵ Burrows and Ronish, *Catalogue of Handel's Musical Autographs*.

Composer	Total	Position within the Collection
Handel, George Frideric	(11)	19–27, 110–111
Porpora, Nicola	(10)	54, 59, 65, 125–131
Barsanti, Francesco	(5)	17–18, 60, 69–70*
Bononcini, Giovanni	(3)	12–13, 108
Mancini, Francesco	(3)	15, 112–113
Pescetti, Giovanni Battista	(3)	132–133, 135
Sammartini, Giuseppe	(2)	38, 75
Sandoni, Pietro Giuseppe	(2)	16, 78
Arresti, Giulio Cesare	(1)	91
Bencini, Pietro Paolo	(1)	107
Corradini, Francesco	(1)	66
Hasse, Johann Adolf	(1)	80
Leporati, Domenico	(1)	11
Porsile, Giuseppe	(1)	14
Sarro, Domenico	(1)	53
Zipoli, Domenico	(1)	134
Grand total	(135)	1–135

* The five cantatas by Barsanti are: *Oh giorno, oh infausto giorno* (17); *Un sospiro, ah che si muore* (18); *Chi mai vi fe' sì belle* (60); *E qual legge m'imponi* (69); *Oh quante volte, oh quante* (70). The large number of minor modifications made to these cantatas after their initial entry into the volume suggests that their composer made practical use of them over a long period of time.

The first five names in the list, with Astorga massively dominant, are all “classic” late-Baroque cantata composers whom one expects to encounter in an anthology prepared in England. The remainder are a mixture of very minor composers, whose familiarity to Barsanti may in some cases go back to his formative years in Italy, and rising stars of the Italian operatic scene, many in the ambit of the Opera of the Nobility from 1733 onwards. It is significant that the collection ends (discounting a single cantata by Zipoli) with cantatas by Porpora and Pescetti, who both visited London in that connection.²⁶ At all events, the final works must predate June 1735, when Barsanti moved to Edinburgh and no longer had easy access to the repertory of this milieu. The cantatas heading the first volume do not appear to have been entered many years previously, so a time-frame of 1732–1735 (bearing in mind his absence from London in 1731) can tentatively be proposed. How and where he gained access to the copy texts is unknown, but it seems likely that through personal connections he was permitted to copy items from major repositories such as the libraries of the AAM and of Handel, and quite possibly the royal collections.

Barsanti's access to a largish group of cantatas by Handel is noteworthy (that he moved in Handel's orbit is also suggested by item 11 in Table 1). One interesting detail would suffice to indicate his role as scribe even in the absence of other pointers: whereas all other composers named at the head of a cantata are dignified with the appropriate title

²⁶ The first known report of Pescetti's presence in England dates from 1736, but since no new operas by him were produced in Italy between 1732 and 1747 he may well have arrived in London one or two years earlier.

(“Signor” or its equivalent), the copyist modestly (or is it ostentatiously?) omits a title for Barsanti on each of the five occasions when his name appears.²⁷

Item 2

How item 1 was used in practice is shown beautifully by this collection of 29 continuo cantatas preserved in the library of the Royal Academy of Music, London (GB-Lam).²⁸ It is an anthology made up of pieces from the Hamburg manuscript that is more or less representative of the latter’s content (except for the absence of Handel). Barsanti may well have had a free hand in choosing and ordering the items. The fact that nos. 9–13 in the London manuscript are the same five Astorga cantatas, identically ordered, as nos. 92–96, in the Hamburg manuscript shows that he did not need to agonize over his selection. He took care to include three of his own cantatas in the anthology.²⁹

The volume was very likely prepared, either on commission or as a gift, for its first known owner, the singer, organist, composer and keen music collector William Savage (1720–1789), who as a member of the Madrigal Society and enthusiast for “ancient” music moved in the same circles as Barsanti. After the death, in 1816, of Savage’s clergyman son Edward, who had inherited his music, the latter’s widow sold the collection privately to the singer and collector Richard John Samuel Stevens (1757–1837), a former pupil of William Savage. Stevens’s music was put up for auction in 1872, when it was acquired by the Royal Academy of Music.

Items 3.1 and 3.2

The library (today termed the Bibliomediateca) of the Accademia Nazionale di S. Cecilia, Rome (I-Rama), acquired in 1926 the Fondo Mario, which is the former collection of the eminent singer Giovanni Matteo De Candia (who adopted the surname “Mario”). Mario (1810–1883) amassed a considerable library of music during his travels.³⁰ It was almost certainly in London that he acquired the collection of cantatas (mostly continuo cantatas for soprano) that in their present-day bindings are distributed between several volumes, some of which also contain unrelated vocal material. Most of the cantatas are housed in the volume A Ms. 3710 and its continuation A Ms. 3702, but a few extra items (including some that at an earlier stage became accidentally detached from the main volumes) occur in A Mss. 2619, 2724, 3704, 3705, 3710 and 4771.

These cantatas were copied, presumably also in London, by a scriptorium of at least six copyists plus (peripherally) Barsanti. It seems probable, given the strong connections between the milieux of the Italian opera and cantata (which involved the same singers), that this collective was ordinarily concerned with providing performance material for

²⁷ The Hamburg volumes contain all the surviving cantatas by Barsanti currently known, which suggests that at the time of compilation they were the only ones he had written.

²⁸ MS 132. The manuscript has 199 numbered pages with music, and Barsanti has added a contents list at the front.

²⁹ *Chi mai vi fe’ si belle* (no. 4); *Oh quante volte, oh quante* (no. 18); *E qual legge m’imponi* (no. 25).

³⁰ The collection comprises 857 items, catalogued in Bini, *Il fondo Mario nella Biblioteca musicale di Santa Cecilia di Roma*. I am very grateful to the author, Annalisi Bini, for personally ascertaining some details.

the first genre. Although the Hamburg and Rome collections are not coextensive, there is a very substantial overlap of content, several “blocks” of adjacent cantatas appearing in exactly the same order in the two sources.³¹

The question we have immediately to ask is whether Barsanti copied from the scriptorium’s repertory to form his own collection or the reverse, for both situations could in principle apply. Quite fortuitously, there is a tiny detail that proves Barsanti’s priority. Alessandro Scarlatti composed at least eighteen cantatas (to ascertain the full number, one would need to study every poetic line in every piece!) that name as female protagonist a certain “Mitilde.” Unusually, this name is not of Classical (Arcadian) origin but comes from medieval Germany (as “Mahthildis,” “Mechtilde” and allied forms).³² Scarlatti himself always employs the standard Italian form as given. However, on two occasions out of a possible three, the Hamburg source changes the name to the form normal in Britain: “Matilda.”³³ But in the copy of *Da quel dì che Mitilde* (no. 84) acquired by Savage “Mitilde” does indeed transmute into “Matilda.” Since Barsanti here took the opportunity to alter the previously accepted (or overlooked) “Mitilde” to “Matilda,” we can be certain that he himself was the instigator of the change, the purpose behind which remains elusive. For its part, the Rome manuscript follows the Hamburg source in using the form “Matilda” for *Amor, Mitilde è morta* (no. 62). In this instance the hand is not Barsanti’s, so the obvious inference to draw is that the Hamburg manuscript served his London colleagues as a prime source of cantatas to copy.

Since the Roman volumes contain no cantata entered after no. 78 in the Hamburg source,³⁴ whereas Savage’s manuscript goes up to no. 126,³⁵ their compilation probably predates the completion of the latter. 1733/1734, shortly after the initiation of the Opera of the Nobility, would be a possible time.

Barsanti’s own contributions as a copyist to the Roman collection number only two so far discovered. One, predictably, is a cantata of his own composition: *Chi mai vi fe’ sì belle*.³⁶ The other, which fails to name the composer, is Marcello’s *Quella, Fileno, quella ch’un tempo*.³⁷

³¹ In all, there are over 50 cantatas from the Hamburg manuscript – the number will once have been higher, if one reckons with losses over time – preserved in Rome among the identified volumes.

³² It would be worth investigating whether “Mitilde” was used by Scarlatti, and perhaps others (a “Mitilde” cantata by Mancini is also known), as a cover name for a patroness or lady at court. This convention of using Arcadian pseudonyms is described in Talbot, *Chamber Cantatas of Antonio Vivaldi*, 99–102.

³³ Thus we have *Amor, Matilda è morta* (no. 62) and *Il genio di Matilda mente non sia* (no. 89), while *Da quel dì che Mitilde* (no. 84) escapes alteration.

³⁴ Sandoni’s *Pallida nel sembiante*.

³⁵ Porpora’s *Questo è il platano frondoso*.

³⁶ A. Ms. 3702, fols. 145r–148r. This autograph manuscript exhibits several small variants vis-à-vis the Hamburg text. The relationship needs further study, but preliminary analysis suggests that the Rome text is the earlier: the manuscript transmitting it was perhaps discarded by Barsanti precisely because it had been superseded by the “reference” copy in the Hamburg volume.

³⁷ A. Ms. 4771, fols. 11r–14v. The identification of the hand was made by Annalisa Bini.

Items 4–9

The largest single copying task Barsanti is known to have undertaken for a customer is a six-volume set of selected Italian-language chamber duets (for two voices plus continuo) by several composers. These scores were owned, and probably also commissioned, by the blind organist and composer John Stanley (1712–1786). Shortly after Stanley’s death his music was auctioned at Christie’s on 24 June 1786, where the duets, listed as Lot 23, were described as “Duets by various masters, 6 v[olumes].”³⁸ Stanley’s friend Sir John Hawkins purchased the volumes, which he then donated to the library of the British Museum (today, the British Library: GB-Lbl). The content of the volumes is as follows:

Add. MS 5322	12 duets by Handel.*
Add. MS 5329	26 duets mostly for soprano and bass by Steffani.
Add. MS 5330	30 duets for soprano and alto by Steffani.
Add. MS 5331	20 duets mostly for soprano and tenor by Steffani.
Add. MS 5332	21 duets for two sopranos by Steffani.
Add. MS 5335	19 duets, variously by Torri (8), Feroci (6), Stradella (2), Ercole Bernabei (1), Francesco Maria Veracini (1) and Francesco Antonio Pistocchi (1).

* This source is the one identified as “Y” in Konstanze Musketa’s critical edition of Handel’s chamber duets and terzets: Georg Friedrich Händel, *Kammerduette, Kammerterzette*, Hallische Händel-Ausgabe V/7 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2011), 202. Musketa dates the copy to after 1745, which looks credible.

On this occasion Barsanti, surely wisely, refrained from adding anything of his own.

Item 10

The library of Birmingham University possesses a manuscript of twenty chamber duets for soprano and tenor by Steffani in Barsanti’s hand.³⁹ Its content coincides almost entirely with that of GB-Lbl, Add. MS 5331. The title states that it was copied from the collection of Fredrick Louis, Prince of Wales (1707–1751), and a bookplate shows that it was owned by Lawrence (or Laurence) Dundas (1712–1781), one of Barsanti’s most loyal Scottish patrons. Starting out as a wine merchant, Dundas became exceedingly wealthy through being a government contractor, parliamentarian (with a reputation for venality) and sugar plantation owner. He subscribed to Barsanti’s Opp. 4 and 5, and the dedicatee of

³⁸ *A Catalogue of all the Capital Musical Instruments, Extensive and Valuable Collection of Manuscript, and Other Music [...] Late the Property of John Stanley, Esq. M.B. dec[eased]* (London: Christie, 1786), 3.

³⁹ Barber MS 5005, with a bibliographical description in Fenlon, *Catalogue*, 117–118. The folios number 108, and the recto side of fol. 1 has a title reading: “Duetti dell’Abate Vescovo Stefani | per Soprano e Tenore out of y:^e | Collection of his Royall Highness Frederick Prince of Wales &c &c &c.” We learn from Hawkins, *General History*, 4:290n, that Frederick’s collection of chamber duets by Steffani comprised several volumes (incompletely preserved as GB-Lbl, RM 23.k.13–20) inherited from his mother, Queen Caroline, for whom the copies had been made in Hanover. As Fenlon observes, the duets copied by Barsanti not present in the eight surviving volumes in the Royal Music Library could well have been taken from the several volumes known to have been lost.

Op. 6 was his wife Margaret (1715–1802). The bookplate must have been affixed no earlier than 1762, since it proclaims Dundas's title of baronet, conferred in that year. However, bearing in mind that Frederick Louis's death acts as a *terminus ad quem*, Dundas probably received the volume at some point between 1743 (when Barsanti returned from Scotland) and 1751, adding the bookplate only later. Very likely, Dundas was the commissioner and first owner of the duets. It is interesting to know that Barsanti was granted access to a private royal collection, a privilege that must have enhanced his status as a copyist.

Item 11

The Bibliotheca Bodmeriana at Cologny-Genève, Switzerland (CH-CObodmer), possesses an album containing keyboard music (including transcriptions), songs suited to self-accompaniment at the keyboard and pieces for solo treble instrument and continuo.⁴⁰ Ignoring items of uncertain authorship, at least nine composers are represented: Handel, Rameau, Barsanti, Hasse, Chelleri, Telemann, Geminiani, Nicolas Renier and Lewis Granom. At least six scribes, apparently working in considerable haste, collaborated to compile the album. Two of them, Handel and Barsanti, combined copying with composition (or re-composition of earlier music). Barsanti's specific contribution falls into two distinct categories. The first consists of a group of six keyboard pieces by Rameau (though not naming him) taken from his second and third harpsichord books.⁴¹ There are mostly straightforward copies, although Barsanti simplifies the ornamentation a little and is not above making some almost unnoticeable would-be compositional improvements.⁴² The second contribution is a pretty set of six French *airs tendres* for voice and continuo.⁴³ The originals, from which Barsanti took the strophic text and melody (which he modified considerably to suit his more Italianate taste), were all monophonic *airs à voix seule*, so the basses, recalling those of his *Old Scots Tunes* of 1742, must be entirely his handiwork, as copious compositional corrections suggest. He omits to write his name anywhere, and one wonders whether Handel or any of the other scribes (none of whom has been identified) was aware of his compositional interventions.

The date of the album's compilation and the person and occasion for which it was intended are the subject of close investigation in the cited article. Circumstantial evidence strongly suggests that it was put together in London shortly after Barsanti's return from Scotland in mid-1743 and that its likely recipient was the highly musical and linguistically gifted Princess Louisa (1724–1751), who left London permanently in October 1743 to marry the crown prince of Denmark.

⁴⁰ Ms. 11641–7. On this complex and in many respects mysterious album, see Talbot, "Leaving Present for Princess Louisa?"

⁴¹ On pp. 73–79 and 90–97. The two collections in question are the *Pièces de clavessin* of 1724 and the *Nouvelles Suites de pièces de clavecin* of 1729/1730.

⁴² For example, in bar 5 of the G Major *Menuet* from the *Nouvelles Suites*, where Barsanti substitutes major chords of C and G for Rameau's minor chords of A and E. The passage is shown in facsimile in Cameron and Talbot, "Many-Sided Musician," 132.

⁴³ The six airs, entered on pp. 80–89, are: *La jeune Iris dans un bocage*; *Maman, ne grondés pas*; *Ce n'est plus un mystère*; *Je n'entends plus dessous l'ormeau*; *Il faut qu'on aime une fois*; *Un jour dans un verd bocage*.

Item 12

This is a calligraphic manuscript entirely in Barsanti's hand containing thirteen mostly five-part madrigals in score. The first eight are by Italian masters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Antonio Cifra, Agostino Steffani, Alessandro Stradella, Antonio Lotti), the last five by English composers (Michael East, Ellis Gibbons, John Bennet, John Hilton, Thomas Morley) and taken from *The Triumphs of Oriana* (1601). The manuscript is held by the Royal Music Library deposited at the British Library.⁴⁴ Among other possibilities, it could have been copied especially for the royal music collection.

Item 13

The manuscript RM 22.m.2 in the Royal Music Library is a collection of twelve sacred vocal compositions by Palestrina in score: nine pieces taken from his *Offertoria* of 1593; two from his fifth book of motets (1584); and a singleton, the invitatory from the Office for the Dead *Regem cum omnia vivunt*; the last work is generally accepted as authentic, although a Berlin source attributes it to Johann Joseph Fux.⁴⁵ Consisting of 29 folios, the manuscript was written out by two scribes: fols. 1–5, containing the first three pieces and part of the fourth (*Ave Maria*), are in one hand – obviously English and, to judge from the sham-antique notational style, belonging to someone firmly in the “ancient music” camp – while fols. 6–29 are in Barsanti's hand. The collection appears to be copied from another manuscript in the same collection, RM 24.c.10 (1.), with the exception of the ninth piece, *Regem cum omnia vivunt* (on fols. 20v–21r), which has evidently been inserted, perhaps surreptitiously, by Barsanti himself. The motive behind the addition may have been simple admiration for the music of this invitatory, which is a double canon. The original destination of this manuscript, if other than the royal collection itself, is unclear.

Items 14.1 and 14.2

RM 24.d.15 (1–4) is a binder's collection assembled in the nineteenth century, although its first two component parts, and possibly all four, clearly share a provenance. The first section (fols. 1r–13v) begins with ten four-part motets by Victoria copied by a hand similar to, but not identical with, the one that opened item 13. This hand is identifiable with some confidence as that of John Keeble (ca. 1711–1786), a prominent London organist, music theorist and collector of music, who, as a former pupil of Johann Christoph Pepusch upholding the latter's tradition, had the same general musical orientation as Barsanti.⁴⁶ Taking over from Keeble lower down on fol. 13v and continuing to the end of the section on fol. 43v, Barsanti added eleven motets by Palestrina taken from the *Motecta festorum* of 1590 and the second book of motets for four voices of 1604.

⁴⁴ RM 24.c.16 (1–13).

⁴⁵ Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek P. K. (D-B), Am.B 415. Köchel's Fux catalogue of 1872 accepted this attribution.

⁴⁶ The identification was made after comparison with (a) the musical and textual handwriting of a collection of *madrigali spirituali* by Palestrina (GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31408) that belonged to Keeble and contains the autograph inscription (of ownership) “J. Keeble” and (b) the handwriting of invoices by Keeble (for music copying and other services) reproduced in facsimile in Goodwill, *Musical Involvement of the Landed Classes in Eastern Scotland*, 43–44.

The second section, occupying three folios, is a single composition in Barsanti's hand: a four-part responsory, *Quem dicunt homines*, headed "Adrianus Prenestini's Master."⁴⁷ "Adrianus" is presumably either Adriaan Willaert or Adrianus "Petit" Coclico, while "Prenestini" is a synonym for "Palestrina." In reality, however, this motet is by neither Willaert nor Coclico but by Jean Richafort: the association with Palestrina may have been suggested by the fact that this composer was among several who wrote parody masses on Richafort's composition.⁴⁸

In the supernumerary works inserted into items 13 and 14 we catch a whiff of Barsanti's missionary zeal – but this time on behalf of favourite works by other composers, not his own compositions.

Item 15

In 1883 the newly founded Royal College of Music in London (GB-Lcm) purchased via public subscription the large library of the Sacred Harmonic Society. Among the items acquired was a manuscript, entirely in Barsanti's hand, containing the scores of Gesualdo's first two books of five-part madrigals.⁴⁹ On the vacant verso side of the final folio (fol. 77), Barsanti left a space-filler amounting almost to a calling card: a five-bar, four-part catch of his own composition set to words from the Book of Proverbs opening "Happy is the man that findeth wisdom" (see Fig. 1). He must have been confident of its favourable reception, for he acknowledged authorship of it in the heading: "Barsanti's catch for four parts." There is something incongruous, perhaps deliberately ironic, in this startling juxtaposition of the hedonistic and the moralistic, the chromatic and the diatonic, the convoluted and the transparent. However, congruence exists at a more basic level: that of devotion to the polyphony of the past. Nothing further is known about the provenance of this manuscript.

Item 16

Another manuscript entirely in Barsanti's hand at the Royal College of Music is one containing Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*, followed by a transposed version in A Minor of his *Salve Regina* in C Minor.⁵⁰ Since the Sacred Harmonic Society acquired the manuscript in 1849 from Vincent Novello, to whom it had been left by the eminent double-bass player and collector Domenico Dragonetti, active in Britain from 1794 onwards, there is a possibility that it is a stray item from the library of the AAM. As H. Diack Johnstone has noted, both works were included in the 1761 edition of *The Words of Such Pieces as are Most Usually Performed by the Academy of Ancient Music*.⁵¹ Andrew Woolley has reported the presence of the initials "M. T." in gilt tooling on the volume's cover.⁵² While

⁴⁷ It seems unlikely that this copy was originally a free-standing manuscript as its separate shelfmark implies.

⁴⁸ The third section of the same volume transmits an *Adjutorium nostrum* in an unidentified third hand, while the fourth section consists of Thomas Morley's *De profundis* in a copy by Henry Needler.

⁴⁹ MS 208.

⁵⁰ MS 483. The *Stabat Mater* occupies pp. 1–48, the *Salve Regina* pp. 49–61.

⁵¹ Johnstone, "Westminster Abbey and the Academy of Ancient Music," 355.

⁵² Woolley, "Neapolitan Sacred Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain," 191. I am grateful to the

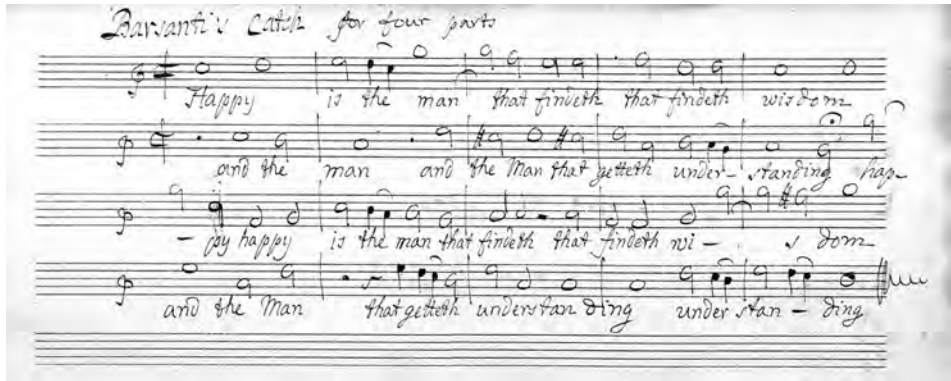


Figure 1 Barsanti's catch *Happy is the man that findeth wisdom* (London, Royal College of Music, MS 208, fol. 77v; reproduced with kind permission).

one should not jump to conclusions, there is a possibility worth exploring further that the initials are those of Moses Toghill (1744–1825), a cleric also esteemed as a singer (in both bass and countertenor registers) and cellist.⁵³

These two Pergolesi works are the first examples so far discussed of the more mainstream area of Italian musical repertory with which Barsanti could sometimes become involved as a copyist, this composer being admired equally by partisans of the ancient and the modern.

Item 17

MS 1029 at the Royal College of Music is a complete set of parts for the motet *Luminosa consurgit* by Domingo (Domenico) Terradellas (1711–1751), three instrumental parts being in the hand of an unknown scribe, probably Italian, and three vocal parts in Barsanti's.⁵⁴ The same unidentified copyist wrote out the matching full score, which is the manuscript CG 56 in the library of Westminster Abbey, London (GB-Lwa). Because of the certainty that the score once belonged to the AAM, we here have clear evidence of Barsanti's connection, at least in a "service" role, to the Academy. Johnstone provides

author for giving me sight of this article prior to publication.

⁵³ Born in Pucklechurch, Gloucestershire, Toghill came to notice as a boy chorister at New College, Oxford. He made a successful career in the Anglican church, initially as a "vicar choral" but ending his days as Canon Residentiary and Precentor of Chichester Cathedral. He is not recorded as a collector of music, although in 1780 he was a subscriber to John Beckwith's *Six Voluntaries for the Organ, Harpsichord etc.* Ending his life as a wealthy man, Toghill would have had the means to possess such a handsomely bound volume.

⁵⁴ See Johnstone, "Westminster Abbey and the Academy of Ancient Music," 356–357; and Woolley, "Neapolitan Sacred Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain," 190–191. GB-Lcm, MS 1029, also includes some parts of no direct relevance added for a later performance. Terradellas was familiar to London audiences through his visit of 1746–1747.

the information that the paper used for the score is datable, via Handel's use of it, to 1748–1751; a similar date doubtless applies to the parts.⁵⁵

Item 18

Ms 1074 in the same collection, earlier owned by the Sacred Harmonic Society, is a binder's collection of scores containing thirteen sacred vocal compositions by diverse composers, among whom Francesco Gasparini, Gaetano Carpani (his surname mis-spelled as "Carpari") and Edward Lupi are named. Two anonymous multi-sectional motets written out by Barsanti and occupying, respectively, pp. 102–110 and pp. 111–125 are clearly his compositions, as not only their style but also a few compositional corrections show. The first, *Christus factus est*, is scored for SATB (but for correct harmony needs continuo support for the bass at the sub-octave). The second, *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*, described as "Int[roit]us" in an annotation inserted before the first system, is for two three-part choirs (respectively, SAB and SAT) with independent continuo support. This is certainly the kind of music that both the AAM and the Madrigal Society performed recreationally, if not necessarily before the public, although the source provides no precise clues to context.

Item 19

Barsanti copied a further sacred vocal work by (or at any rate attributed to) Pergolesi: one of two C Minor settings of the *Miserere* (Paymer 71). This is scored for SATB soloists, SATB choir, strings and continuo.⁵⁶ The score is massive, containing fifteen movements and running to 84 folios in oblong quarto format. Since this manuscript, the only eighteenth-century source for the work surviving in Britain, is preserved among the volumes in the library of Westminster Abbey identified as belonging earlier to the AAM, that body was probably its first destination and the commissioner of the copy.⁵⁷ An interesting detail: in the first movement, Barsanti subsequently inked in numerous minor alterations (evidently intended as compositional improvements and written in small-sized notes and underlaid text). This act not only typifies his "interventionist" leanings as a copyist, but suggests, moreover, that he was personally involved in the practical aspects of this work's performance.

Items 20.1 and 20.2

Another major work of copying undertaken by Barsanti in his later years for the AAM, as it appears, was an anthology containing 61 four-part polyphonic vocal compositions. The score is preserved in the library of Westminster Abbey,⁵⁸ but the four matching partbooks (likewise entirely in Barsanti's hand), which at one time belonged to the

⁵⁵ Johnstone, "Westminster Abbey and the Academy of Ancient Music," 356.

⁵⁶ Both settings are listed as spurious in the second edition of the *New Grove* (2001). The exclusion of Paymer 71 from the Pergolesian canon seems to have more to do with the absence of positive indices than the presence of negative ones. There are no contrary attributions in the source tradition. The music appears a perfect exemplar of Neapolitan style in the period 1730–1750.

⁵⁷ CG 26. See Johnstone, "Westminster Abbey and the Academy of Ancient Music," 355.

⁵⁸ CG 59.

counter-tenor James Horsfall, a member of the Westminster Abbey choir, participant in AAM concerts in 1787–1788 and member of the Madrigal Society from 1791 onwards, passed via the collector Julian Marshall to the British Library in 1881.⁵⁹

The collection opens with seventeen English-language madrigals by John Bennet, representing the complete content of his *Madrigalls for Four Voyces* of 1599. However, Barsanti's copy text was not the published edition but one or more manuscript sources of these pieces preserved in the archives of the Madrigal Society, with which they share several modifications to the underlaid texts. As a member of the Madrigal Society from 1759, Barsanti had ready access to its library, and since relations between the former and the AAM were very cordial (AAM members had the right to be admitted to Madrigal Society meetings *gratis*), there would have been no obstacle to co-operation of this kind.⁶⁰ Curiously, Bennet's name is not disclosed in the scores, although it appears in the part-books for two of the madrigals.

The bulk of the collection (nos. 18–55, the number 45 being accidentally used for two pieces) comprises 38 Italian-language madrigals. The method of anthologizing is typical of Barsanti, resembling that used for the cantata manuscript in Savage's possession (item 2). Sometimes, he enters works in blocks as found in the copy text; sometimes he darts from one source to another. The result is a good cross-section of the international repertory of four-part Italian madrigals. Palestrina is represented by five madrigals and the obscure Piedmontese composer Antonio Dueto even by six, but the eighteen others all have between one and three. With one exception (a Dueto madrigal, no. 30), the composers' names are given in the score but omitted from the parts.

Barsanti closes the collection with five sacred pieces. Nos. 58–60 are motets in which Palestrina is named as the composer, although Victoria is the actual author of the last (*Magi viderunt stellam*). Nos. 56 and 57 are pieces by Barsanti, who in the score (the partbooks have no heading other than the serial numbers) prefaces his "FMB" monogram to each. No. 57, a multi-sectional Latin motet (*O salutaris hostia*) resembling the *Christus factus est* discussed earlier, carries a date: 1736.⁶¹ This is clearly a date of composition, not of copying, and suggests how far the composer's interest in the *stile antico* went back. No. 56 is truly extraordinary, a piece *sui generis*. It is a polyphonic setting of the first six verses of the Hebrew text of Psalm 74/75 (counting the preface as verse 1) employing the orally transmitted melody of a traditional Sabbath chant sung by the Sephardic (Spanish- and Portuguese-Jewish) community of Amsterdam. Barsanti uses a homespun, slightly garbled system of transliteration from Hebrew characters which follows the phonetics sometimes of English, sometimes of Italian. The opening verse is rendered as "Lamna seah al taschet mizmor-le a saphsir."⁶² The chant is published in an arrangement for melody and

⁵⁹ Add. MS 31440.

⁶⁰ See Thomas Oliphant, *Brief Account of the Madrigal Society*, 7.

⁶¹ The opening of *O salutaris hostia*, showing the date and monogram, is reproduced as a plate in Johnstone, "Westminster Abbey and the Academy of Ancient Music," 354.

⁶² A more modern and systematic Romanized version would be: "Lammenattztech 'al-tashchet mizmor le-Asaf shir." I am grateful to Don Harrán for advice on the meaning and transliteration of the Hebrew and for alerting me to the source cited in the next footnote.

vocal (or piano) accompaniment in a nineteenth-century collection of Sephardic sacred songs.⁶³ Barsanti adheres remarkably closely to the original melody, treated it with great originality in a series of six strophic variations, the three accompanying voices weaving madrigalian counterpoints against, and occasionally imitating, the melody in the soprano voice. In this strange but moving piece his interests in “ancient” and “national” music achieve perfect fusion.

Item 21

In 1760 or slightly earlier Barsanti published privately in score his *Sei antifone*, op. 5. These are five-part (in one case, six-part) Latin motets for recreational and concert use.⁶⁴ Their pioneering, albeit rather idiosyncratic, adoption of the *stile antico* attracted approving notice.⁶⁵ Among the 82 subscribers were the AAM and the Madrigal Society, whose copies survive today.⁶⁶

The library of Westminster Abbey possesses a manuscript score of the third motet, *Agios o Theos*, and nineteen miscellaneous manuscript parts for the second (*Asperges me*), third and fourth (*De profundis*) motets.⁶⁷ The score is not in Barsanti’s hand and transmits a version of the motet differing at many points from the published score, of which it appears to be a primitive version. At certain points, a second hand, which looks like that of Barsanti himself, has made emendations, and these match in part the text of the definitive version. The inference to be drawn is that Barsanti had the piece tried out at the AAM prior to publication. All the parts are in Barsanti’s hand. The ten for *Agios o Theos* comprise: (a) a full set of five vocal parts corresponding to the published text; (b) duplicate parts for tenor and bass; (c) three instrumental contrabass parts, of which one doubles the vocal bass, one slightly elaborates the line of the vocal bass, and one, provided with bass figures, acts as a *basso seguente* that on occasion follows the overlapping tenor, instead of the bass, line. These three versions appear to represent distinct chronological stages in the evolution of this added part, which is not present in the published score. The fourth motet, *De profundis*, has a full set of vocal parts (with duplicated tenor) plus a doubling contrabass part. The parts for the second motet, *Asperges me*, are only two: these are contrabass parts in duplicate with small deviations from the vocal bass, exactly as in the second of the contrabass parts for *Agios o Theos*.

Throughout these copies, even more than in the published Op. 5, Barsanti makes full use of a curious notational convention particularly prevalent among British adherents of the “ancient music” cult. This is to notate the music, Renaissance-style, as if without barlines and only then to superimpose the barlines. The result is the bisection of many breves and semibreves by a barline and the positioning of many barlines between note-heads and the

⁶³ Emanuel Aguilar, *Ancient Melodies of the Liturgy of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*, 18 (of the music section).

⁶⁴ The third motet, *Agios o Theos*, alternates Greek and Latin in accordance with liturgical usage.

⁶⁵ Kollmann, *Essay on Practical Musical Composition*, 30.

⁶⁶ GB-Lwa, CG 69, and GB-Lms, Mad. Soc. 13. (11.), respectively.

⁶⁷ The score is shelfmarked CG 1a, the parts CG 1b.

following dots of addition.⁶⁸ Consequently, the need for ties is almost eliminated. This is one sign among many of Barsanti's willing adjustment to the British environment.

The importance of these parts is that they constitute the only surviving performance material specially prepared by the composer for his own music. The afterthoughts they contain reinforce the general impression that Barsanti regarded all works, including his own, as "works in progress" apt for further revision.

Barsanti: A Man of Many Parts

Although the twenty-one items discussed provide a remarkably wide range of content and context for Barsanti's activity as a copyist, they fall far short of the full story. To point out just two obvious lacunae: there is nothing dating from Barsanti's eight years in Scotland (1735–1743), although we know that the Edinburgh Musical Society included "writing" (i.e., copying) music as one of his duties, and the surviving copies in his hand include no instrumental ensemble music, although this domain dominated his publications and work as a teacher and concert promoter.

The importance of music copying to Barsanti's career has several distinct aspects. First, it helped to secure his livelihood. Once established as a copyist – moreover, one with the advantage of native-speaker expertise in the sphere of Italian vocal music – he could count on gaining a modest but at least guaranteed income from it in the intervals between more satisfying or profitable work. Second, it fulfilled an educative, instructional role. Music copying was seen in earlier centuries as an opportunity for a musician to pick up, via immersion and careful observation, the compositional principles practised by the "best masters." This function was especially important as a point of entry into a less familiar musical style such as Renaissance polyphony. Third, it was a highly social practice. Music copying forged personal in addition to contractual links: between one musician and another; between master and pupil; or between musician and patron or customer. For a musician such as Barsanti with a relatively low public visibility, it provided a simple means of retaining and expanding contacts. Finally, the relative autonomy often enjoyed by a music copyist allowed him in suitable circumstances to inject a personal agenda. It enabled Barsanti to revise – normally silently – the text copied, and it sometimes allowed him, openly or furtively, to append or intercalate pieces of his own composition that might be difficult to place in circulation by other means.

Reinhard Strohm once ended an essay on Vivaldi's career in opera by describing his subject memorably as "the best composer among the impresarios – the best impresario among the composers."⁶⁹ One is tempted to adapt this formula for Barsanti and call him "the best composer among the copyists – the best copyist among the composers." Certainly,

⁶⁸ Doubtless, this custom first arose when barlines were manually added in the seventeenth century and subsequently to printed or manuscript music that previously lacked them: what was originally a makeshift solution then matured into an established notational practice.

⁶⁹ Strohm, *Essays on Handel and Italian Opera*, 163.

within eighteenth-century Britain his combination of the two skills was uncommonly fruitful for both of them.

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MARLJIVI PREPISOVALEC IN SKROMNI SKLADATELJ
DVA OBRAZA FRANCESCA BARSANTIJA (OK. 1690–1775)

Povzetek

Francesca Barsantija glasbeniki in muzikologi poznajo predvsem kot pomembnega člana italijanske skupnosti osrednjih desetletij 18. stoletja v Britaniji, še posebno skladatelja privlačnih in izvirnih sonat za kljunasto in prečno flavto, godalnih koncertov z dodatnimi pihali in timpani, uverturah za godala in trio sonatah. Manj znana je njegova sicer še zanimivejša vokalna glasba (moteti, kantate, kanoni, šansone in en madrigal), ki se povečini navezuje na njegovo aktivno gojenje in posnemanje »starih« kot tudi »nacionalnih« glasbenih zvrsti. Barsanti je za širjenje teh skladb uporabil nenavadno pot. Tako kot veliko preprostih orkestrskih glasbenikov svojega časa, ki jim ni bilo dano, da bi nastopali kot solisti (ali pa si niso upali), je za svoj dodatni prihodek prepisoval glasbo. Ohranjenih je več kot dvajset rokopisov, ki so v celoti ali deloma delo njegove roke. Približno tretjina le-teh vsebuje tudi njegova lastna vokalna dela, ki jih je zvito dodal ter pri tem pogosto opustil navedbo skladateljevega imena.

Barsantijev zapis glasbe je zelo značilen. Njegova prepoznavna je izhajala iz primerjave podpisanega besedila z dokumenti, ki so nedvomno avtografi (pisma in en račun), a tudi v smislu manjših skladateljskih popravkov v nekaterih rokopisih, kjer se je podpisal s svojim imenom. Dejstvo, da so rokopisi glasbe, ki jih pripisujemo Barsantiju, brez izjeme vsi napisani z isto roko, le še dodatno potrjuje zgornjo domnevo.

Po splošni predstavitvi vloge glasbenih kopistov pri razširjanju glasbe, še posebno v Angliji, se prispevek osredotoča na analizo posameznih enot vsega Barsantijevega znanega prepisovalskega opusa. Posebne pozornosti bo deležen aspekt namena in končnega cilja njegovih prepisov, sodelovanja z drugimi kopisti in skladbam (predvsem Barsantijeva vokalna dela, a tudi skladbe nekaterih drugih avtorjev), ki so bile očitno na njegovo pobudo vstavljene ali dodane na koncu, da bi se tako razširile oziroma preprosto ohranile. Te dodane skladbe so tako kratke kot tudi zelo dolge in nekatere so prav posebne – zlasti je zanimiva madrigalna uglasbitev hebrejskega besedila, kjer je uporabljena sefardska duhovna melodija, na katero je verjetno naletel v času svojega drugega obiska v Amsterdamu. Po zaslugi te diskretne samo-promocije, ki ji naročniki rokopisov očitno niso nasprotovali, imamo danes solidno zbirko Barsantijeve vokalne glasbe. Njegov primer razkriva tudi način, kako je lahko prepisovalec, ki je bil hkrati tudi skladatelj, združil svoje »mehansko« in »ustvarjalno« delo.

CONTRAFAC TA OF OPERATIC ARIAS AMONG THE DOMINICANS OF BAROQUE SILESIA

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Izvleček: Razprava obravnava kontrafakturno prakso v rokopisih Piusa Hanckaja, dominikanskega meniha iz Šlezije. Njegove partiture kažejo poti, po katerih se je širil operni repertoar, in dokumentirajo procese sprememb v prehodu k drugi družbeni vlogi, ki jo je posamezno delo dobilo ob priredbi posvetne vsebine liturgičnemu okolju.

Abstract: The paper discusses contrafactum practice in the manuscripts of Pius Hancke, a Dominican monk from Silesia. His scores point to pathways for the dissemination of the operatic repertory and document the process of change in its social function associated with the adaptation of secular music to a liturgical context.

Ključne besede: dominikanci, kontrafaktura, operne arije, baročna glasba.

Keywords: Dominicans, contrafactum, operatic arias, Silesia, Baroque music.

The historical process of the dissemination of repertoire can be traced in a variety of ways. An analysis of the extant collections of musical prints brings out the potential, passive aspect of reception, the practical profile and active shape of which is more clearly revealed by manuscript sources. An even more successful reconstruction of the itineraries of musical repertoire can be made from music collections that are homogeneous in provenance. A given centre's own stockpile of music offers a glimpse into this collection's specificity and allows one to posit certain research hypotheses. Especially valuable in this regard are collections formed by an individual musician actively involved in local musical life. This musician's activity normally comprises a unique, personal selection of elements from the universal tradition, but with the possibility (to a greater or lesser degree) of their creative adaptation to local needs and conditions.

If we accept that the process of adaptation is the essence of musical tradition, a certain relativization has to be imposed on the idealistic conception of a creativity that is fully original and completely independent of its context, genesis and material. In turn, this revaluation becomes welcoming towards artistic adaptation, recomposition and transfiguration: after all, we consider these techniques to be immanent elements in every living culture. It is true that these elements are often pushed into the background as being phenomena of lesser importance. However, they were of key importance for the musical traditions

of modern Europe, and they significantly influenced how culture was practised, shaping not only the style of the musical performance but also its techniques, genres and forms.

Among the most symptomatic techniques of adapting musical repertoire was that of *contrafactum*, which was present in European culture from the earliest times but achieved particular prominence in the sixteenth century.¹ It enjoyed great popularity in religious communities actively engaged in the Reforms of Catholicism around the time of the Council of Trent. Descending into paradoxical oxymoron in the face of the Council's postulate of *nihil lascivium aut impurum*,² they promoted the popular repertoire of secular music in a new, religious attire. Although this mostly affected the vernacular repertoire, the latter was able also to enjoy a parallel liturgical function.³ The justification for its admittance was expressed as a need to compete with the repertoires of other confessions – a need that quickly gained a crushing dominance in the confessional confrontations of that period.⁴

The practice of *travestimento spirituale* did not arouse any immoderate dissent on the Catholic side, the representatives of which even found for it a theological justification that attributed the sacred character of music solely to the verbal text attached to it.⁵ So open-minded an approach to the secular repertoire set out the directions of musical development within many Catholic communities and conferred a markedly adaptive profile on the traditions they shaped. The consequence of such a stance was a pressure to make the music performed in churches approach the style of theatrical music, and to encourage the use of actual operatic repertoire in *contrafactum* guise.

Numerous testimonies to this development may be found in musical manuscripts of Silesian provenance copied in the Dominican monasteries of the region. Contrary to the intermittently renewed rules prohibiting the performance of secular repertoire in the liturgy,⁶ this music is indeed dominated by *contrafacta* of popular operatic arias. This same profile is revealed by a collection of music manuscripts collected by a certain Pius Hancke (1711 or 1715–1798), who 1734 entered a Dominican monastery and 1737 took religious vows and holy orders. He was active in several cities of Silesia: in Breslau (Wrocław), Opoln (Opole) and especially Neisse (Nysa), where he lived during the years 1764–1789 as superior and leader of the ten-strong music ensemble active at the local church of St Dominic.⁷ This monk was undoubtedly well trained in music, and his cultivation of the harp is suggested by the parts for this instrument added to many of his transcriptions. His inclinations toward secular music are perhaps to be explained by his earlier employment at the Larisch Palace in Groß Stein (Kamień Śląski), where he served as chaplain in the years 1756–1757.⁸

Among the manuscripts bearing the inscription *Rerum Fratris Pij Hancke*, the most intriguing are thirteen that transmit fifteen operatic arias by such composers as Giovanni

¹ Ferrari-Barassi, *Il madrigale spirituale*; Rostirolla, *Aspetti di vita musicale*.

² *Canoness et decreta Concilii Tridentini*, 128.

³ *Libro primo delle laudi spirituali*.

⁴ Bertolini, *Censurare la musica*.

⁵ Galiano, *Bellarmino, i Gesuiti e la Musica*, 378.

⁶ Jasiński, *Summarium ordinationum capitulorum*, 281.

⁷ Dola, *Dominikanie w Nysie*, 116; Hauptman-Fischer, *Mysterious provenance*.

⁸ Hauptman-Fischer, *Mysterious provenance*, 159.

(or Antonio Maria) Bononcini (1), Francesco Antonio Feo (1), Baldassarre Galuppi (1), Geminiano Giacomelli (3), Carl Heinrich Graun (4) and Johann Adolf Hasse (5). The multifarious ways in which they are written down allows closer examination of the *travestimento spirituale* technique as applied in practice, documents the phenomenon of the proliferation of the operatic repertoire characteristic of the time, attests to the gradual transformation of its social function and symbolic meaning and, finally, enables a reconstruction of the consecutive stages of the assimilation of secular repertoire within the tradition of church performance. A hypothetical reconstruction of this process is the main aim of the present contribution.⁹

The first stage was most likely represented by faithful copies of the originals: arias copied *in extenso* and retaining the original underlaid text and instrumental setting. An example is furnished by “Che posso dir? Consolati,” identifiable as a fragment of the opera *Nitocri, regina d’Egitto* (1736) by Geminiano Giacomelli.¹⁰ The words of the aria, by Apostolo Zeno, offer solace to the hero in difficult times with an assurance that his *virtù* will triumph:

Che posso dir? Consolati:
Sorte miglior t’attende.
E non cercar di più.
Sa il ciel ... sa amor ... so anch’io ...
Ma taccia l’amor mio.
Vinca la tua virtù.

This text probably caught Hancke’s eye because of its subject and amenability to a religiously apposite interpretation – which, in the event, was for some reason never realized. Diametrically opposite affects are expressed by another aria written down by the Dominican, which likewise retains its original form.¹¹ This is taken from the opera *Siface, re di Numidia* by Francesco Antonio Feo (1723) and furnishes an example of the so-called *aria di furore*, which here gives expression to particularly tumultuous emotions:

Almen la parca irata
Non mi serbasse in vita;
Perfida figlia ingrata!
Donna real tradita!
Misero genitor!
Ho perso i miei sudori,
Se basta un sol momento
Di cento allori e cento
A togliermi l’onor.

⁹ The present paper is not concerned with an examination of the sources’ provenance and transmission (interesting though these are in their own right), but instead investigates the textual and semantic relationships arising from the *contrafactum* techniques employed.

¹⁰ Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka (PL-Wu), RM 5529 [Mf 1533]. Diplomatic title: “MRA | Aria ex A | Canto Solo. | Violino I | Violino II | Viola | Rerum | Fratris Pij Hancke | S. Ord: Praed^m.”

¹¹ PL-Wu, RM 4177 [Mf 54]. Diplomatic title: “N 157 | ~~No XXXV~~ | Ariae 2 | Alto Solo | Violino 2^{bus} | Viola | Con | Basso | Del Sigr. Bononcini | Rerum | Fratris Pij Hancke | S. Ord. Praed^m. – Aria Ima.”

It is difficult to imagine a semantically appropriate religious counterpart to this text that would fit the original music equally well; perhaps this was the reason why it never moved beyond this state. However, the same manuscript includes an aria supplied with the original text, of unknown provenance, and a religious *contrafactum* in parallel (see Fig. 1) – a form of notation that exemplifies the hypothetical second stage in the process of reconstruction:¹²

Chi legge dà al mio cor	Mater amabilis et admirabilis,
A legge si crudel	O Mater Virgo pia.
Non è soggetto.	Solamen pauperum,
È lungi dal rigor	Juvamen miserum in agonia.
Di cruda deità	
Divino oggetto.	

The original words of this aria take up the frequent operatic theme of the conflict between freedom and feelings; the words added below the same melody do not, however, refer directly to such dilemmas, replacing their secular content with litany-like invocations to the Mother of Jesus. Traces of motivic correspondence are found only at the level of the two texts' general topicality, juxtaposing awe before the power of love with a description of the persona's unfortunate state. At all events, a Marian theme often justified the drawing of semantic parallels, in *contrafacta*, between *amor divinus* and *amor terrenus*.

To represent the next stage of the *travestimento*, we may consider a notational form setting down the original and its *contrafacta* on two separate fascicles belonging to a single set of manuscripts. An example of this is supplied by the notation of Johann Adolf Hasse's popular aria "Chi non sente al mio dolore" from the opera *Cajo Fabricio* in its 1735 version for Venice.¹³ On one of the fascicles the original version of the aria (see Fig. 2a) has been copied with its text by Domenico Lalli (an interpolation in Apostolo Zeno's original text); on the other (see Fig. 2b), we find the same composition with the *contrafactum* text, which is revealed to be the first two stanzas of the sequence "Lauda Sion Salvatorem," ascribed to St Thomas Aquinas:

Chi non sente al mio dolore	Lauda Sion Salvatorem
Qualche affanno dentro al core	Lauda ducem et pastorem
Vada pur nei foschi orrori	In hymnis et canticis.
Fra le fiere ad abitar.	
Il mio bene, il padre, il regno	Quantum potes, tantum aude:
M'ha rapiti fato indegno.	Quia major omni laude,
Sommi Dei, se giusti siete,	Nec laudare sufficis.
Fin ponete al mio penar.	

¹² PL-Wu, RM 4177 [Mf 54]. Diplomatic title: "N 157 | ~~No XXV~~ | Ariae 2 | Alto Solo | Violino 2^{bus} | Viola | Con | Basso | Del Sigr. Bononcini | Rerum | Fratris Pij Hancke | S. Ord. Praed^m – Aria 2da."

¹³ PL-Wu, RM 4453/8 [Mf 488]. Diplomatic title: "MRA ~~No 89~~ | Aria de Festo | Soprano Solo | Violino I^{mo} | Violino II^{do} | Viola | & | Basso | Del Sig: | Hasse | Rerum | Fratris Pij Hancke | S. Ord: Praed.^m."



Figure 2a “Chi non sente al mio dolore” (Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, RM 4453/8; reproduced with kind permission).



Figure 2b “Lauda Sion Salvatorem” (Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, RM 4453/8; reproduced with kind permission).

The texts are completely foreign to one another in terms of both content and poetic architecture; the only similarity is found in the correspondence between the metre used and the opening with a rhyming couplet, which perhaps served as the pretext for the employment of this particular liturgical text.

A structural relationship is discernible also in the *contrafactum* of the aria “A trionfar mi chiama” from Hasse’s opera *Didone abbandonata* (1742).¹⁴ Its notation represents the next stage in the process of *travestimento spirituale*: one that consists of setting down the original operatic melody with only the *contrafactum* text. Comparing it with the original, we observe a similarity on the level of textual structure; however, the symmetry is disrupted by the different accentuation pattern and disposition of rhymes. Notwithstanding this, the poems are associated by the character of their content, which makes reference to the notions of triumph and glory, illustrated – as also in the case of the Marian hymn – by the use of an *obbligato* trumpet:

A trionfar mi chiama Un bel desio d’onore E già sopra il mio core Comincio a trionfar.	Omni die dic Mariae Meae laudes, anima; Ejus festa, ejus gesta Cole devotissima.
Con generosa brama, Fra i rischi e le ruine Di nuovi allori il crine Io volo a circondar.	Ejus dona semper sona, Semper illa predica; Omnes mei sensus, ei Personate gloriam.

In the sole form of a *contrafactum* Hancke wrote down also a further aria by Hasse, taken from the opera *Semiramide riconosciuta* (1744).¹⁵ Here, too, the *amor terrenus* was made to change into religious garb, as a result of which the profession of self-sacrificing love by Ircano in Pietro Metastasio’s libretto loses none of its power within the new context of prayer:

Tu sei lieto, io vivo in pene, Ma se nacqui sventurato Che farò? Soffrir conviene Del destin la crudeltà.	Magne Deus, O! Amor meus; Te adoro Redemptorem, Te honoro, amor mi.
Voi godete; io del mio fato Vado a piangere il rigore. Così tutta al vostro amore Lascerò la libertà.	Ut plus amem Unam da scintillam, cordi meo favillam Tui amoris.

That practical use was made of the discussed compositions is proven by certain *contrafacta* of arias with an added comment about their liturgical function: for instance,

¹⁴ PL-Wu, RM 4457/20 [Mf 515]. Diplomatic title: “MRA | No. IV | Aria de B.V. | Alto Solo | Violinis 2bus | Clarinis 2bus | Viola et | Basso | Del Sigl: | Hasse | Rerum | Fratris Pij Hancke | S. Ord: Praed.^m. Hauptman-Fischer.” *Mysterious provenance*, 166.

¹⁵ PL-Wu, RM 4457/13 [Mf 508]. Diplomatic title: “N°. 68 | Aria ex F | Tenore Solo | Violinis 2bus | Viola | & | Basso | Del Sigl: | Hasse | Rerum | Fratris Pij Hancke | S. Ord: Praed.^m.”

the arrangement of the aria “Se parla l’onore” from Carl Heinrich Graun’s opera *Ifigenia in Aulide* (1748), intended for a not more closely specified *de Festo* occasion.¹⁶

Ad plausus canoros,
 Ad ausus sonoros
 Venite, o chori.
 Aulæ cives, supernæ aulæ,
 In voces veloces
 Guttur distendite.
 En splendet serena
 Dies tam amoena
 Lucem spargens per orbem
 Lucem spargit per orbem et aethera.

Two other arias intended for *de Tempore* liturgical use appear in another manuscript:¹⁷ the first, “La fronda che circonda,” from Graun’s opera *Catone in Utica* (1744), is provided with a Eucharistic text:¹⁸

Hic Deum adorete, devoti clientes,
 Et corda dicite, estote ferventes,
 Deo vero Eucharistico.

 Estote ferventes, devoti clientes,
 Huc pia mentes convolate,
 Deum vestrum adorete.

The optional final stage of the *travestimento* technique entailed the making of multiple *contrafacta* of operatic arias. This is what occurs for the aria “In te spero o sposo amato” from Graun’s opera *Demofonte* (1746), which in the discussed manuscript received two different *contrafacta* texts, notated in parallel fashion in a single musical document (see Fig. 3). The texts are linked by virtue of their similar character as a declaration of a love full of sweetness – the first addressed to the Holy Spirit, and the second to His earthly Bride – and also by the fact that both are standard liturgical prose texts rather than newly written ones in verse after the manner of motets: the first belongs to an antiphon employed at First Vespers at the feast of Corpus Christi; the second, to one of the four familiar, so-called “great” antiphons sung at Compline. In both instances, the use of a pre-existing melody taken from the operatic original necessitated significant changes in order to accommodate the new texts; the length of the latter induced the author of the *contrafacta* to do away with the frequent repetitions, no longer needed in the composition’s new, religious attire:

¹⁶ PL-Wu, RM 4401/1 [Mf. 359]. Diplomatic title: “MRA | Aria | De Festo | Soprano Solo | Violinis 2^{bus} | Viola | & | Basso | Del Sigl | Graun | Rerum | Fratris Pij Hancke | Sac. Ord: Praed.^m.”

¹⁷ PL-Wu, RM 4457/22 [Mf 517]. Diplomatic title: “Ariae de Tempore. | a | Canto | Violino I^{mo} | Violino Secundo | Viola | con | Organo | I | Del Sigl: Hasse. | II | del Sigl: Graun | Rerum | Patris | Pii Hancke | S: Ord: Praedm.”

¹⁸ Hauptman-Fischer, *Mysterious provenance*, 166.

In te spero, o sposo amato;
Fido a te la sorte mia;
E per te, qualunque sia,
Sempre cara a me sarà.

O quam suavis est, Domine,
spiritus Tuus!

Qui ut dulcedinem tuam
in filios hominum demonstrares,

pane suavissimo
de coelo praestito,
esurientes reple bonis,
fastidiosos divites dimittens inanes.

Salve, Regina, Mater misericordiae;
vita, dulcedo, et spes nostra, salve.
Ad Te clamamus exules filii Hevae.
Ad Te suspiramus, gementes et flentes
in hac lacrymarum valle.
Eja ergo, Advocata nostra,
illos tuos misericordes oculos
ad nos converte.
Et Jesum, benedictum
fructum ventris tui
nobis post hoc exilium ostende.

Pur che a me nel morir mio
Il piacer non sia negato
Di vantare che tua son io,
Il morir mi piacerà.

Alleluia.

O clemens: o pia: o dulcis
Virgo Maria.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for a soprano part. The title 'Soprano' is written at the top. The lyrics are in Latin and include: 'O quam suavis est, Domine spiritus Tuus!', 'Qui ut dulcedinem tuam in filios hominum demonstrares, pane suavissimo de coelo praestito, esurientes reple bonis, fastidiosos divites dimittens inanes.', 'Salve, Regina, Mater misericordiae; vita, dulcedo, et spes nostra, salve. Ad Te clamamus exules filii Hevae. Ad Te suspiramus, gementes et flentes in hac lacrymarum valle. Eja ergo, Advocata nostra, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte. Et Jesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui nobis post hoc exilium ostende.', 'Alleluia.', and 'O clemens: o pia: o dulcis Virgo Maria.' The notation includes a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and ornaments. The manuscript is aged and shows some wear.

Figure 3 “O quam suavis est, Domine” / “Salve Regina” (Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, RM 4457/22; reproduced with kind permission).

As proof that the observed *travestimento spirituale* process was not accidental, we have a specific group of manuscripts from Hancke’s collections in which the arrangements contain a harp part not present in the original, and which exhibit exactly the same stages of the phenomenon reconstructed above.

Two arias by Giacomelli from the opera *Nitocri, regina d’Egitto* (“Non accusarmi, ingrato” and “Qual sconsolata afflitta tortorella”),¹⁹ notated with original texts in simple arrangements for soprano, violin, viola and harp, may well have been performed in secular surroundings, on the other hand. However, it is possible that written specimens of this type served only as a point of departure for *contrafactum* arrangements, a supposition supported by the aria “Piace la vita umile”²⁰ from the same opera, which has been notated with two parallel texts: the original in Apostolo Zeno’s version, and a new one appropriate for performance within the *Proprium de Sanctis* (see Fig. 4). Note that both texts are linked – in a rather free manner – by their assonant alliterations, discernible at least in the opening verses:

Piace la vita umile Al saggio agricoltor Più del cipresso altier Che l’aria ingombra.	Plausus hic date, huc properate, Deum laudate In Sanctis suis honorate, Deum invocate.
Da quella il frutto ei coglie Del grave suo sudor; Ma da questo non ha Che onor di vane foglie E inutil ombra.	Et ipse vos exaudiet, Auxilium implorate. Da, quaeso, nobis hic veniam; Da gratiam ut perveniamus Ad tuam gloriam.

In instances where the notation includes the harp we also encounter arias set down in two versions: separately with an Italian text (see Fig. 5a) – “La dolcissima saëtta” from Hasse’s opera *Alfonso* (1738)²¹ – and in a *contrafactum* version (see Fig. 5b) presenting the first three stanzas of the already encountered sequence “Lauda Sion Salvatorem.” In this instance, however, only certain vowel alliterations associate it with Stefano Benedetto Pallavicino’s original – for evident reasons, with little consistency:

La dolcissima saëtta Nel mio sen quando vibraste Voi di vincer m’insegnaste: Si, begl occhi, io vincerò.	Lauda Sion Salvatorem, Lauda ducem et pastorem, In hymnis et canticis. Quantum potes, tantum aude: Quia major omni laude, Nec laudare sufficis.
Ed il pianto da voi spanto Sul rival vendicherò.	Laudis thema specialis, Panis vivus et vitalis Hodie proponitur.

¹⁹ PL-Wu, RM 5664 [Mf 1673] and RM 5665 [Mf 1674]. Hauptman-Fischer, *Mysterious provenance*, 165, 166.

²⁰ PL-Wu, RM 5515 [Mf 1519]. Diplomatic title: “MRA | Ariae ex G: # | Canto Solo. | Cythara Obl: | Violino | Viola | & | Basso | Rerum | Fratris Pij Hancke | S. Ord. Praed^m.”

²¹ PL-Wu, RM 5661 [Mf 1670]. Diplomatic title: “MRA | Aria ex A | Canto Solo | Harpa | Violino | Viola | et | Organo | Rerum | Fratris Pÿ Hancke | S. Ord. Praed^m.” Hauptman-Fischer, *Mysterious provenance*, 163, 166.

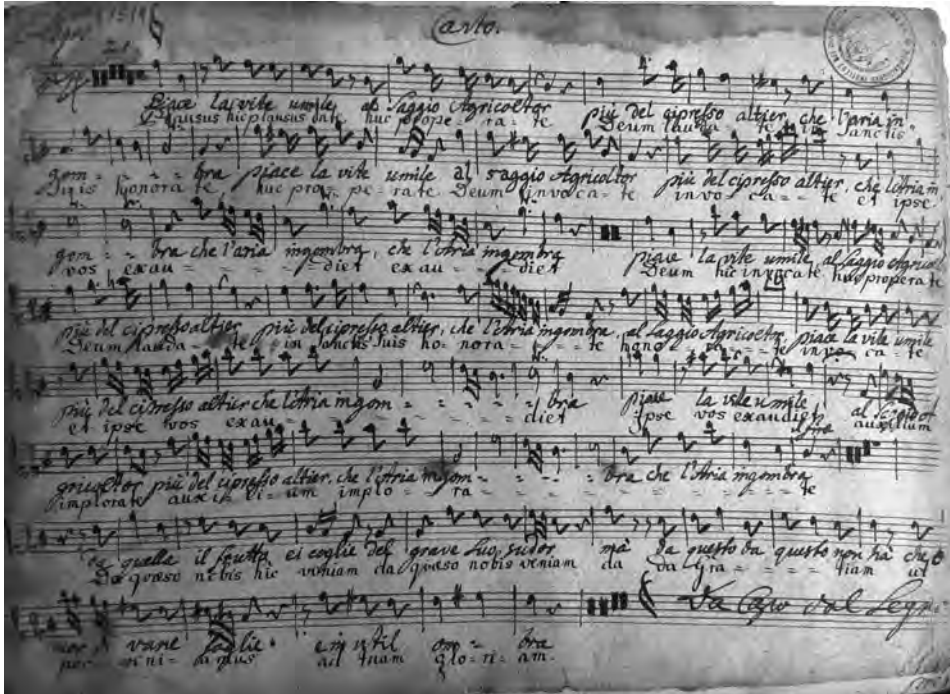


Figure 4 “Piacce la vite umile” / “Plausus hic date” (Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, RM 5515; reproduced with kind permission).

In the discussed group of sources, we also find an example of a further stage in the *travestimento spirituale*: a composition written down only in the form of a *contrafactum*: to Baldassarre Galuppi’s aria “Se perde il caro bene,” from the opera *L’Arminio* (1747), another Eucharistic text has been added:²²

Te Jesu mi praesentem,
 Te Deum vere hic latentem,
 Te, Jesu, adoro sub parvis specie.
 Nunc Tuam, Jesu, oro immensam bonitatem
 ut Tua in aeternum fruer facie.

Contrafactum practice was obviously not limited to the Dominican order. It provided a universal *modus procedendi* for the period’s many religious groups that conducted a dialogue with the secular culture of their time by musical means.²³ However, the Silesian Dominicans participating in this process contributed to the dissemination of operatic

²² PL-Wu, RM 4374/5 [Mf 314]. Diplomatic title: “Aria de Venerabili | Canto Solo | Cythara Obl. | Violino | Viola | & | Organo | Del Sigl | Galuppi | Rerum Fratris Pij Hancke | S. Ord. Praed.”

²³ Burchard, *Johann Adolf Hasse’s Compositions*; Byczkowska-Sztaba, *Arie w zbiorze pocysterskim*; Jeż, *Reception of Neapolitan Music*.

Canto.

la dolcissi- ma saëtta nel mio sen quando vi-
braste voi di viver m' insegnaste m' insegnaste li beagl
occhi io vincero. Li beagl occhi io vincero.
La dolcissima sa e ta nel mio sen
quando vibraste voi di viver m' insegnaste li beagl occhi
li beagl occhi io vincero. voi li R. voi voi
vincer m' insegnaste li beagl occhi li beagl occhi io vincero.
ed il pian-
to da voi spanto sul rival vendichero - - -
vendiche - - - ro. ed il pianto da voi
spanto sul ri- val vendichero sul rival
Da capo del'

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Figure 5a “La dolcissima saëtta” (Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, RM 5661; reproduced with kind permission).

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for a vocal piece. At the top, the title "Aagio. Cantio." is written in a decorative, cursive hand. The music is written on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are written in Latin and are placed below the notes. The text includes: "Lauda Sion Salvatorem lauda quem et Pastorem lauda. Non Salvatorem lauda quem in hymnis et canticis. in hymnis. et canticis et canticis quantum potes tantum aude, quia major omni laude quantum potes tantum aude tantum aude. tantum laudare sufficit. quantum potes tantum aude. quia major omni laude omni laude nec quiescere sufficit nec laudare sufficit. Sufficit laudis thema speciosum. alis panis vivus et vitalis nobis. et panis loquax. laudis thema speciosum panis vivus et vitalis nobis. et panis loquax." The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and bar lines. The handwriting is in a historical style, likely from the 17th or 18th century.

Figure 5b “Lauda Sion Salvatorem” (Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, RM 5661; reproduced with kind permission).

repertoire in their centres. The arias they transported to the church, even after their clothing in new, religious texts, introduced qualities into the liturgy that were evidently secular. Was this process really a manifestation of concessions made to the fashion of the period and a testimony to spiritual weakness in the religious orders of that time?²⁴ Or did the post-Trent policy of adaptation produce effective results in practice even as late as the end of the eighteenth century and come to constitute a significant itinerary of the historical culture we are presently attempting to understand? If the language of religious and secular music was held in common at the time, it must consequently have moved listeners' emotions in the same manner, symbolically expressing the universal content of a culture extending from the *sacrum* to the *profanum*.

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²⁴ Hinnebusch, *Dominikanie – krótki zarys dziejów*, 226–228.

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KONTRAFAKTURE OPERNIH ARIJ V BAROČNI GLASBI PRI DOMINIKANCIH V ŠLEZIJI

Povzetek

Za ugotavljanje postopkov širjenja določenega repertoarja so še posebno dragocene zbirke, ki so jih ustvarjali oblikovalci tedanjega lokalnega glasbenega življenja. Ti so namreč po lastnem okusu in nagibih izbirali specifične elemente iz tedanje splošne glasbene ponudbe in jih nato ustvarjalno prilagajali lokalnim potrebam in zahtevam. Tak postopek tudi sicer predstavlja srž vsake žive glasbene kulture, obsega pa priredbe glasbenih del, prekomponirana dela in preobrazbe. Za razvejanost novoveških evropskih glasbenih tradicij so ti postopki ključnega pomena; pomembno so vplivali na kulturne prakse in oblikovanje ne le izvajalnega sloga, temveč tudi izvajalnih tehnik, glasbenih zvrsti in oblik.

Ena od oblik takih praks je bila tudi *travestimento spirituale* (duhovna preobleka), skozi katero je v liturgično glasbo prodrli tedaj priljubljeni operni repertoar. Ta način je bil izjemno priljubljen in razširjen v okviru glasbenih aktivnosti posameznih cerkvenih redov, še posebno tistih, ki so aktivno sodelovali v rekatolizacijskih reformah. Opravičevali so ga s potrebo po repertoarju, ki je po svoji privlačnosti enakovreden tistemu drugih veroizpovedi in ki je dobival vse večji pomen v medreligijskih soočanjih svojega časa.

Ta praksa je bila tudi ena najzanimivejših značilnosti redovnih krogov v Šleziji, deželi, kjer so bila verska nesoglasja še posebno izražena. Proces postopnih predelav repertoarja je jasno razviden iz glasbenih rokopisov zgodnjega osemnajstega stoletja, ki so nekoč pripadali dominikanskemu menihu Piusu Hanckeu. Deloval je v krajih, nemško imenovanih Breslau, Oppeln, Groß Stein in Neisse v Šleziji. Med njegovo bogato zbirko je tudi kontrafaktura petnajstih opernih arij Bononcinija, Fea, Galuppija, Giacomellija, Grauneja in Hasseja. Pojavlja se v različnih oblikah, ki dokumentirajo zaporedne faze predelav posvetne glasbe v novem liturgičnem kontekstu. Ti viri pričajo o pomembni poti širjenja opernega repertoarja v tem obdobju ter o zelo zanimivem procesu radikalnih sprememb njegove družbene vloge, ki se v glasbenih zapisih kaže na različne načine.

Na podlagi teh bogatih in raznolikih virov lahko rekonstruiramo načine asimilacijskih procesov in nekatere vidike njihovega simboličnega pomena, ki so razvidni iz razmerja med izvirnim in novim besedilom. Hanckejeva prizadevanja za *interpretatio Christiana* delno osvetljujejo tudi duhovnost njegovega reda in njegovo kulturno identiteto, ki je temeljila na odprtem dialogu s posvetnimi tradicijami novoveške Evrope. Ta *modus operandi* je pomenil vsesplošno in temeljito sekularizacijo obravnavanega miljeja, ki je bila v svojem času pomembna sestavina lokalne in kontinentalne zvočne pokrajine.

IN SEARCH OF THE OPERATIC ARCHIVES OF GIUSEPPE BUSTELLI

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Izvleček: Obširne aktivnosti impresarija Giuseppe Bustellija, ki je v sezonah 1764/65–1777/78 uprizarjal opere v Dresdnu in v Pragi, so prispevale k oblikovanju obsežnih glasbenih zbirk in kroženju gradiva po srednji Evropi. Nedavne identifikacije nekaterih Bustellijevih partitur odpirajo nova obzorja v raziskavah opere osemnajstega stoletja v Pragi in v Dresdnu.

Abstract: The exceptional activities of the impresario Giuseppe Bustelli, who performed operas in Dresden and Prague from 1764/65 to 1777/78, brought about the formation of large music collections and the circulation of materials within Central Europe. New identification of some of Bustelli's scores opens up further possibilities for research on eighteenth-century opera in Prague and Dresden.

Ključne besede: opera 18. stoletja, Giuseppe Bustelli, Pasquale Bondini, glasbene zbirke.

Keywords: eighteenth-century opera, Giuseppe Bustelli, Pasquale Bondini, music collections.

The important political and economic changes in European society during the eighteenth century also affected the destiny of Italian opera in many ways. In particular, the success and the very shape of mid-century *dramma giocoso*, or, more colloquially, opera buffa, should be viewed in direct relation to the changing social structure of many European cities, the spread of the ideas of the Enlightenment, an increase in commercial activity and improved communications and transport. Similarly, as European theatrical routes became denser and more frequently used, the demand for new titles and new scores increased. Indubitably, the diffusion of Italian opera, especially opera buffa, during the eighteenth century considerably modified the importance and the actual production (copying, selling, preservation) of operatic scores themselves.¹

As regular opera performances for paying audiences became the norm during the second half of the century, the system of *teatro impresariale* (or *impresa*) became widely established. Whether or not he rented his theatres, the impresario became a central figure

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¹ Piperno, "Il sistema produttivo," 59–71.

of the operatic enterprise, placing singers, musicians, poets, composers etc. under contract and usually also bearing the entire financial risk. The sheet music for the performances usually belonged to the impresario, unless he worked as a kind of intermediary for another interested party such as an academy, a society of proprietors or, more frequently, a court. The musical materials of impresarios working in municipal theatres, especially those hosting itinerant companies, have survived only in isolated cases, and then only as single items. In general, operatic productions are more frequently attested by libretti, which were usually printed in hundreds of copies, were relatively cheap, and were therefore more likely to be held by private libraries. In contrast, musical collections holding sources directly connected with specific theatrical performances (as opposed to memorabilia or collectors' items) are more often preserved in the archives of (former) court theatres or, more generally, when the productions were to some degree under the control of the local political authorities.

Many of the characteristics just described come together perfectly in the history of Italian opera in Prague in eighteenth century. In this study I would like to concentrate on some lesser-known features of the Prague operatic *impresa* and particularly on the complicated, yet interesting, situation regarding sources and their circulation. Despite some important findings presented below, the whole text is best understood as an interim report on ongoing, long-term research.

The rich operatic traditions of Prague in the eighteenth century are documented mostly by printed libretti preserved today in several libraries in the Czech Republic and abroad. The destinies of several opera impresarios working in Prague – e.g., Antonio Denzio and Giovanni Battista Locatelli – may be considered textbook cases:² a constant battle, often lasting many years, to win the favour of audiences, ending in a prison sentence or flight to another country – these are well-known scenarios (mirrored even in the libretti of comic operas), that certainly give us a little hope of finding some musical scores. A very different case, however, is that of Giuseppe Bustelli, a successful Italian merchant, who acquired the Prague Theatre in Kotzen in a hereditary lease in 1764.³ Further, in 1765 Bustelli was engaged by the Dresden court to provide regular performances of Italian opera buffa in Moretti's Theatre (Kleines kurfürstliches Theater), which was to become the city's main stage for several decades. By renewing his contracts with the court Bustelli managed to maintain regular opera performances up to the outbreak of the War of the Bavarian Succession in 1778. This led to a rather unusual situation where a single impresario managed not only two theatres in two different cities but also ones in two different states and operating under quite different conditions. Bustelli established two separate Italian companies and performed a similar repertoire in both cities, the main difference being that Prague was favoured in addition with opera seria productions, whereas in Dresden only opera buffa was staged.⁴

This remarkable interconnection lasted for twelve years and inevitably affected the

² For the most up-to-date biographies of Denzio and Locatelli, see the respective entries in Jakubcová, *Theater in Böhmen*, 146–151 and 394–398.

³ *Ibid.*, 91–95.

⁴ Niubo, "Italian Opera between Dresden and Prague," 58–73.

operatic undertaking in many ways. Singers as well as composers (e.g., Domenico Fischietti, Antonio Boroni) migrated from one city to the other; the repertoire was partially shared, as were the actual sheet music and the libretti. Undoubtedly, this situation was favourable not only to Bustelli but to the health of opera in both cities in general, since it made for a constant supply of new titles and relatively regular performances. Nevertheless, Bustelli, aware of the uncertainty governing the fortune of theatres, continued to make every effort to find new outlets. Notwithstanding his secure position in Prague and Dresden, he brought his companies to Carlsbad (1765), Leipzig (various years), Hamburg (1770), Brunswick (1770–1772, 1777) and even Ljubljana (1766, 1769).⁵

The situation changed in spring 1777, when he stopped giving operatic performances in Prague, most probably because he planned to try his luck in Vienna. At this time Joseph II was intervening decisively in theatrical matters. In the course of the three years 1776–1778 the Italian company performing in the Burgtheater was dismissed, the Kärtnertheater was offered for rent and the Burgtheater proclaimed a *Nationaltheater* (with a German company producing both singspiels and dramas). Bustelli, although he still had control of the Prague Kotzen Theatre, which he rented out to German actors, concentrated on his Viennese *impresa*. Possibly on account of his official engagement in Dresden, Bustelli's name does not appear in Viennese libretti until 1779, although singers from his former Prague company had been giving performances there since spring 1777.⁶ His efforts continued until 1780, when they were interrupted by the closure of theatres following the death of the Empress Maria Theresa in November. The theatres reopened on 21 January 1781;⁷ however, Bustelli's own death came soon afterwards, on 2 March 1781.

When an inventory was made of Bustelli's estate in Prague in April 1781, he was shown to have been a rich man with many possessions, including a large collection of theatrical costumes and sheet music.⁸ The inventory lists some 159 musical items, usually with the name of the author and the title given in Italian and/or German. Besides contemporary operatic scores (forty serious operas and ninety-seven *opere buffe*), there are also instrumental and vocal parts, printed libretti, cantatas, separate operatic numbers, oratorios and some unidentifiable pieces. The complete list is certainly impressive; however, the number of operas mentioned must surely be incomplete. In Prague alone Bustelli produced at least thirty further operas not included in the list, not to mention many others staged in Dresden and Vienna. Nevertheless, the inventory is of considerable importance: it demonstrates some of the dramaturgical strategies of the impresario, lists several titles of operas that were possibly never performed, and also points to some interesting unknown sources that tell us something about the impresario's contacts and choices.⁹

At the same time, this lengthy inventory makes the question of the later history of

⁵ Jakubcová, *Theater in Böhmen*, 92–94; Kokole, “1773 production,” 254.

⁶ Deutsch, “Das Repertoire der höfischen Oper,” 399. See also below.

⁷ Hadamowsky, *Die Wiener Hoftheater*, 10.

⁸ Pokorný, “Josef Bustelli,” 85–111.

⁹ For instance, *Lucrezia romana in Constantinopoli*, one of the early operas of Carlo Goldoni set to music by Giacomo Macari. See Pokorný, “Josef Bustelli,” 94–95. The inventory will be the subject of further evaluation in a forthcoming study.

Bustelli's music that much more pressing and problematic. The document itself is rather cryptic. Towards the end, before the final valuation and the signatures of the civic officials, mention is made of a group of eighteen comic operas that is to be sold to Michele Patrassi, a former singer with Bustelli in Prague and Dresden.¹⁰ Most probably, Patrassi bought these operas even before the official auction took place in July of that year, when some 140 musical items were offered for sale. In the inventory, however, there is no further mention of what became of them, and, judging from this document alone, it seems that the only substantial purchase made during the auction was by Bustelli's colleague Pasquale Bondini, who bought the entire costume stock for the considerable sum of 4100 gulden.¹¹ Nevertheless, as other documents reveal, Bustelli also left considerable debts, and during the following months and years there were certainly several other transactions that similarly involved the impresario's music (see below). Judging from the surviving documents in Vienna, the settlement of his estate concluded only in March 1790.¹²

When one searches for the routes taken subsequently by the music, the most obvious path leads to Michele Patrassi. Patrassi, together with a former dresser in Bustelli's employ named Luigi Simoni, established an opera company on behalf of the court of Brunswick, probably just after the impresario's death or even some months before. The titles of the operas Patrassi bought in Prague are not stated in the inventory. However, their identification is not entirely impossible, since a considerable portion of the Brunswick court music archives has been preserved and is now accessible in the Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv in Wolfenbüttel.¹³ In 1998 Alena Jakubcová analysed the modern printed catalogue of the court music collection and proposed a list of ten scores that were most probably bought in Prague in 1781.¹⁴ During my own research in Wolfenbüttel I was able to confirm this supposition in most cases, and to identify further scores that can be reliably linked to Prague as place of origin or adaptation. Although some of the scores bought by Patrassi in 1781 are certainly missing today, the extant collection nevertheless includes at least eleven titles that came from Prague either through the Bustelli estate or in some other way.¹⁵ Since the theatrical links between Brunswick and Prague had been active since

¹⁰ Prague, Národní archiv (CZ-Pa), ms. 1203, fol. 461; Pokorný, "Josef Bustelli," 104.

¹¹ Pokorný, "Josef Bustelli," 104.

¹² The surviving documents concerning the legal proceedings in Vienna contain no information about Bustelli's music, nor, surprisingly, any mention of his *Nachlass* in Prague, although the process of settling his estate was apparently coordinated. I am grateful to Dr Hubert Reitterer for sharing with me his research in Viennese archives. See also Jakubcová, *Theater in Böhmen*, 94.

¹³ Kindler, *Findbuch zum Bestand Musikalien*.

¹⁴ Jakubcová, "Z Prahy až k severní říšské hranici," 161. A few hints concerning the provenance of the sources are already given in Kindler, *Findbuch zum Bestand Musikalien*.

¹⁵ On the basis of both external (covers, papers, handwriting) and internal evidence, the following scores have provisionally been identified as having some connection with Prague: P. Anfossi, *L'avaro* (46 Alt, Nr. 90–92); P. Anfossi, *Il geloso in cemento* (46 Alt, Nr. 70–72); P. Anfossi, *La vera costanza* (46 Alt, Nr. 184–185); F. Bertoni, *Le pescatrici* (46 Alt, Nr. 66); D. Fischietti, *La morte d'Abel* (46 Alt, Nr. 157); D. Fischietti, *La donna di governo* (46 Alt, Nr. 452–454); D. Fischietti, *Il dottore* (46 Alt, Nr. 45); G. Gazzaniga, *La vendemmia* (46 Alt, Nr. 220–221); P. A. Guglielmi, *La sposa fedele* (46 Alt, Nr. 113–115); G. Paisiello, *L'avaro deluso* (46 Alt, Nr. 29–30); G. Paisiello, *La frascatana* (46 Alt, Nr. 134–135).

the late 1740s,¹⁶ the total number of such scores is likely to be somewhat higher, although more detailed investigation of the material awaits further research.

The next clues lead us to Vienna. After Bustelli's departure from Prague in 1777 most of the members of his former company, including the tenor and composer Vincenzo Righini and the librettist Nunziato Porta,¹⁷ moved to the Austrian capital. Their first performances included the repertoire previously staged in Prague: e.g., Righini's *La vedova scaltra* and *Il convitato di pietra*, both with librettos by Porta. As the situation in Vienna was rather uncertain for Italian artists (see above), Porta, together with his wife, the singer Metilde Bologna, went to Venice, where he provided libretti for Giuseppe Sarti and Pasquale Anfossi.¹⁸ Next year, however, he was back in Vienna and apparently remained there until Bustelli's death in 1781, when he and his wife finally received an appointment in Esterháza, where they joined other colleagues from Prague.¹⁹

In Esterháza Porta became a *Theaterdirektor* with many duties including stage direction, wardrobe management and even action as a middleman regarding operatic scores and music copying for the court theatre or for Haydn himself. In this way the Esterháza music archives (today housed in the National Szechenyi Library in Budapest), acquired many operas, some of these being connected with Porta's previous engagements. The acquisition of materials from Bustelli was all the more advantageous as the theatre archives in Esterháza had largely been destroyed by fire in 1779 and Haydn was in great need of new scores.²⁰ The first contact probably occurred already during Bustelli's lifetime: in 1780; however, the majority of his materials came to Esterháza after his death. As early as September 1781 eight titles from Bustelli's estate were bought and sent to Esterháza via Peter Bianchi, the "Joseph Bustellischer Executor Testamenti" in Vienna.²¹ Since three of these operas were incomplete, only five titles were actually retained and paid for, the remainder being returned. What is more surprising and important is that some of these operas, notably *Il cavaliere errante* (by Traetta) and *Orlando paladino* (by Guglielmi), were works that Porta had already been trying to obtain from Brunswick – he cancelled his request only after the scores became available at a more favourable price following the auction of Bustelli's music in Prague.²² This is not, however, the only proof of links between the former colleagues and members of Bustelli's troupes in Prague and Dresden, who apparently entered into some kind of agreement (or arrangement) in order to take over control of the various theatrical *imprese* (Prague, Dresden, Leipzig, Brunswick) once held by Bustelli.

¹⁶ Jakubcová, "Z Prahy až k severní říšské hranici," 163–164.

¹⁷ Porta, today remembered mostly as Joseph Haydn's librettist, almost certainly began his career in Italy (Rome?). However, his first documented libretti came from Prague, where he worked from autumn 1773 or at latest from 1774.

¹⁸ *I contratempi* and *L'Americana in Olanda*, both staged in autumn 1778 at the Teatro San Samuele.

¹⁹ Bartha and Somfai, *Haydn als Opernkapellmeister*, 168 and 176.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 41 and 81.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 96.

²² *Ibid.*, 97. Since the original receipt does not state the operas' titles, Bartha and Somfai suggest that the three further items were the operas performed in Esterháza in 1782: M. A. E. Grétry, *Zémire et Azor*; A. Salieri, *La fiera di Venezia*; G. Paisiello, *L'innocente fortunata*.

In contrast to the collection in Brunswick, that of Esterháza (because of its importance for Haydn research, obviously) has already been the object of extensive and detailed investigation. Consequently, the presence there of sources from Dresden is relatively well known, even if their total number is rather uncertain; but their connection with Bustelli has largely been neglected and, more particularly, no full identification of the materials from Prague has yet been undertaken.²³ The most eloquent proof of the presence of Prague materials is unquestionably the signature “Strobach” on the first violin part of Guglielmi’s *Il ratto della sposa*,²⁴ and “Bondini” on the *particello* of Polidoro from the same opera,²⁵ which was performed by Bustelli in Prague in summer 1766 (and again in 1775).²⁶ Moreover, some of the watermarks, papers and copyists’ handwritings point to Prague as the place of origin or adaptation of some of the materials. The total number of operas associated with Bustelli is still to be determined, since they often travelled several times across central Europe before finding a permanent home in Esterháza, although we can already identify eighteen titles with some certainty.²⁷

An examination of the sources from Brunswick and Esterháza is highly revealing. However, to understand more fully the relationship between the various sources and their circulation, at least one further piece of the whole puzzle has to be briefly discussed: namely, Dresden. After establishing two opera companies Bustelli had also to establish two music archives: one for Dresden and one for Prague. While there is evidence of material being transferred from one city to the other (as in *Il ratto della sposa*, discussed above), this should be regarded as an exception rather than the rule. It would have been impossible to work with a single collection in both cities, let alone to run several one-off theatre seasons in Leipzig, Brunswick and elsewhere. This assumption is further confirmed by both the inventory of Bustelli’s estate, where some titles are recorded as having two scores, and also by the Dresden operatic sources, today mostly preserved in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (SLUB).

²³ On the basis of the work of Bartha and Somfai and her own research in Dresden, Ortrun Landmann was probably the only scholar to suggest that Bustelli was responsible for the purchase of Dresden scores by Esterháza. See Landmann, “Die Dresdner Haydn-Quellen,” 525n25.

²⁴ Starting in the 1770s, Joseph Strobach was the first violinist of the Prague theatre orchestra, later to be remembered also as its “music director.” See Jakubcová, *Theater in Böhmen*, 672.

²⁵ Both names were carefully recorded by Bartha and Somfai in their monumental work, albeit without further questioning of the origin of the parts. See Bartha and Somfai, *Haydn als Opernkapellmeister*, 269–270.

²⁶ The opera was performed also in Dresden in the same year (1766); however, the presence of Strobach’s name as well as the structure of the score prove that it travelled between Dresden, Prague and Esterháza. More details are to be published in a special study.

²⁷ G. Avossa, *Il ciarlone* (OE 101); M. Bernardini, *Amore e musica* (OE 70); P. Anfossi, *Il curioso indiscreto* (OE 35); M. A. E. Grétry, *Zémire et Azor* (OE 7); P. A. Guglielmi, *L’impresa d’opera* (OE 65); P. A. Guglielmi, *Il ratto della sposa* (OE 66); J. Mysliveček, *Farnace* (OE 73); J. G. Naumann, *Le nozze disturbate* (OE 16); B. Ottani, *Amore senza malizia* (OE 74); G. Paisiello, *Don Anchise campanone* (OE 78); N. Piccinni, *L’Americano* (OE 80); V. Righini, *Il convitato di pietra* (OE 84); V. Righini, *La vedova scaltra* (OE 78); A. Salieri, *La fiera di Venezia* (OE 10); A. Salieri, *La secchia rapita* (OE 87); G. Sarti, *I contratempi* (OE 30); T. Traetta, *Il cavaliere errante* (OE 96); and the pasticcio *Circe o sia L’isola incantata* (OE 57).

A large part of these Dresden sources can be divided into two main groups according to their provenance: the *Hofarchiv* or the *Opernarchiv*.²⁸ At first sight, the distinction is clear and functional. Whereas the *Hofarchiv* collection consists mostly of calligraphic scores written by court copyists, bound in decorated leather and lacking any signs of use, the *Opernarchiv* collection includes a variety of sources, scores and parts, written in different places and often with various adaptations. Most of them, but not all, were used for performances in Dresden. From the time of Bustelli's *impresa* onwards it became a rule to make a presentation copy of every single opera for deposit in the *Hofarchiv*. Not all the operas staged, however, survive in the form of two scores: many lack either the court copy or the performance one, while some works exist in three copies originating from the *Opernarchiv* alone. Moreover, the *Hofarchiv* collection also contains copies of operas performed not in Dresden but in Prague (or other places).²⁹

Besides the particular interest of several members of the Elector's family in music and opera, one of the main reasons for this abundance and diversity of materials in Dresden is precisely the double *impresa* of Bustelli – his activity in two different cities over so many years. Whenever Bustelli acquired a score from Italy or elsewhere, he usually had at least one extra copy made so as to be able to perform the opera in both locations at any time. In this way, many operas were deposited in Dresden, though never performed here. However, as some materials prove, the second set of music was not always to hand, and under those circumstances a copy from Dresden was used for performance in Prague or vice-versa, and even for performance in Vienna in the late 1770s. Paradoxically, the present-day abundance of operatic scores in Dresden makes the two questions of their origin and connection with Prague more puzzling. Although many of these sources are carefully described and catalogued in the RISM A/II database, and while some of the Prague copies have been already identified by Ortrun Landmann, the process of making a precise identification of the entire archive is far from complete.³⁰

Despite the importance of these new findings, especially for further research into Prague opera, the bulk of Bustelli's music collection, as attested by the estate inventory, remains largely unknown.³¹ Our attention should thus turn to Bustelli's closest colleague and "heir," Pasquale Bondini, who recommenced performances of Italian opera in Prague in autumn 1781.³² Although there is no direct evidence for such a claim, there is a strong

²⁸ Landmann, "Das Dresdner Opernarchiv in der SLUB," 65–78; Landmann, *Die Dresdner italienische Oper*, 1–13.

²⁹ For instance, *Bellerofonte* by Josef Mysliveček and *Semiramide* by Giovanni Marco Rutini.

³⁰ Landmann, "Das Dresdner Opernarchiv in der SLUB," 88 and 91.

³¹ Individual items are found in other archives (e.g., Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris and Fürst Thurn und Taxis Hofbibliothek und Zentralbibliothek in Regensburg), and there is also a set comprising some ten scores, held by the National Museum in Prague, which bear marks indicating Bustelli's possession. However, this material is temporarily inaccessible and will therefore be described in a separate study focusing on Bustelli's inventory and estate.

³² A long-time singer with Bustelli and his co-director in Dresden, Bondini went on to develop a career as an impresario, starting with a German theatre company based in Dresden in 1777 but also giving performances in Leipzig and Prague. In autumn 1781 Bondini recommenced public performances of Italian opera in count Thun's Theatre in Prague, later moving to the newly

probability that Bondini acquired not only Bustelli's wardrobe but also a portion of his sheet music and libretti. First, there is an item in the inventory described as "Ein packel von Musicalien allhier gelassen von H. Bondini,"³³ which, if nothing else, testifies to the two colleagues' close relationship and the circulation of materials between them. Second, at least eleven operas performed in Prague during the 1780s by Bondini were already in the possession of Bustelli.³⁴ Third, when staging some of these operas Bondini used libretti that had been printed by Bustelli back in Dresden during the 1770s.³⁵ Moreover, according to the estate inventory, a large lot of over 11,000 unbound libretti was bought by an unknown purchaser for a price of seventy five gulden and thirty kreuzer. Such a large purchase might have been of interest to a paper manufacturer, although for an opera impresario it would have been very convenient, to say the least.

There is evidence that this collaboration between Prague and Dresden and a two-way traffic in musical materials continued for the next few decades, although over time the various theatre companies passed into different hands. Andrea Bertoldi took charge of the Italian operatic productions in Dresden, where Bondini's wife Catarina sang until 1785. Pasquale Bondini directed not only the Prague Italian opera company (with which he several times visited Leipzig) but also the German theatre company based in Dresden, which certainly facilitated the transfer of scores. Unfortunately, there is no similar evidence of materials used by Bondini and his partner and successor Domenico Guardasoni, who managed the Italian opera in Prague up to his death in 1806. No inventory of the latter's estate has survived, and it can only be supposed that his musical archives were taken over by the new director, Carl Liebich.³⁶ By that time, however, the nature of both the Italian opera and the operatic *impresa* had changed considerably. In Italy as well as other countries the *semi-seria* genre was in the ascendant, and the opera buffa in Prague (and elsewhere in Central Europe) was being replaced by German (or Czech) singspiels and farces. For financial reasons, the new director of the Estate Theatre, Carl Liebich, was excused for not establishing an Italian company for the new season, and this became the rule for the rest of the century.³⁷ No doubt, the repertoire of Bondini, or even Bustelli, had become very outmoded by 1806, so it is quite likely that most of the music, even if it had passed into the possession of Liebich, was sooner or later sold as unserviceable old paper.

built Estates Theatre. For a recent summary of Bondini's activities, see Jakubcová, *Theater in Böhmen*, 61–64; and Woodfield, *Performing Operas for Mozart* (with many new details, albeit somewhat imprecise where Prague is concerned).

³³ Pokorný, "Josef Bustelli," 98.

³⁴ G. Gazzaniga, *Andromeda* (1781); P. Anfossi, *Il curioso indiscreto* (1782); G. Gazzaniga, *La vendemmia* (1782); P. Guglielmi, *Gl'intrichi di Don Facilone* (1782); P. Anfossi, *Isabella e Rodrigo* (1783); G. Astarita, *Circe ed Ulisse* (1783); G. Gazzaniga, *L'isola d'Alcina* (1784); J. G. Naumann, *Ipocondriaco* (1784); G. Paisiello, *L'Avaro deluso* (*La discordia fortunata*, 1784); G. Paisiello, *La frascatana* (1784); P. Anfossi, *La vera costanza* (1785).

³⁵ For instance, *La frascatana* and *Gl'intrichi di Don Facilone*; see above.

³⁶ Ludvová, *Hudební divadlo v českých zemích*, 306–310.

³⁷ The Italian repertoire became reduced in size and was staged and adapted in either German or Czech. See Teuber, *Geschichte des Prager Theaters*; Niubo, "Italská opera ve Stavovském divadle," 315–327.



Figures 1 and 2 The script of the Prague coyst. Transposed aria in P. Guglielmi's *Il ratto della sposa* (Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, OE 66; reproduced with kind permission).

It is thus, perhaps, a more than symbolic gesture if we now conclude our investigation with a brief remark on that most iconic work of Prague's operatic history: Mozart's *Don Giovanni*. Its Prague score witnessed not only the most glorious days of Italian opera in Prague but remained in use for performances there until the mid-nineteenth century.³⁸

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³⁸ The so-called Donebauer score, Prague, Knihovna Pražské konzervatoře, 1 C 276. This score has survived up to modern times only because of the fact that it became the personal [?!] property of Carl Thomé, the director of the Estate's Theatre during 1858–1864, and was later inherited by his daughter Anna Willhain. See Mozart, *Don Giovanni*, 32–33.

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PO SLEDEH OPERNEGA ARHIVA GIUSEPPA BUSTELLIJA

Povzetek

Glasbeni arhivi opernih impresarijev, ki so v 18. stoletju vodili javne operne hiše, se kot celota do danes niso ohranili. Zato tudi zgodovino praškega opernega gledališča danes rekonstruiramo predvsem na podlagi ohranjenih tiskanih libretov. Razprava govori predvsem o izjemno bogatem obdobju, ko je praško operno hišo vodil italijanski impresarij Giuseppe Bustelli, ki je hkrati deloval tudi v Dresdnu (v sezonah 1764/1765–1777/78). V tem času je nastala velika zbirka glasbenega gradiva, poleg tega so njegovi glasbeniki krožili po vsej srednji Evropi. Sistematične raziskave v zvezi z delovanjem Giuseppa Bustellija in njegovih naslednikov v številnih opernih središčih, kot so Dresden, Praga, Dunaj, Esterháza in Brunswick, so njegova prizadevanja osvetlila z nove strani. Identificiranih je bilo tudi nekaj opernih partitur, ki jih je uporabljal za svoje predstave. V Brunswicku sta njegova bivša pevca Michele Patrassi in Luigi Simoni ustanovila leta 1781 svoje lastno podjetje, za predstave pa sta uporabljala tudi starejše Bustellijevo gradivo. Podobno je svojo kariero nadaljeval tudi Bustellijev libretist Nunziato Porta, ki je svojo poklicno pot skupaj s še nekaterimi kolegi iz Prage nadaljeval v kraju Esterháza. Tudi oni so še naprej uporabljali stare Bustellijeve partiture. Izmenjava partitur med Prago in Dresdnom je bila v času Bustellijevega delovanja v teh dveh mestih povsem običajna, zanimivo pa je, da se je ta izmenjava do neke mere nadaljevala tudi po impresarijevi smrti, ko je že ustaljeno uprizarjanje italijanskih oper v Pragi prevzel Pasquale Bondini. Razprava prinaša pregled novih dejstev, ki jih je prinesla zgoraj omenjena raziskava in ki odpirajo tudi vrsto novih vprašanj in možnosti za nadaljnje delo in raziskave opernega življenja v Pragi in Dresdnu v 18. stoletju.

COPYING STRATEGIES IN THE MANUSCRIPT DISSEMINATION OF LUIGI BOCCHERINI'S TRIOS OPUS 1

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Izyleček: V skoraj šestdesetih znanih rokopisih najdemo enega ali več Boccherinijevih Triov op. 1, ki jih je napisal leta 1760. Videti je, da so prepisovalci lahko pri svojem delu sledili različnim načelom: lahko so ustvarjali različice in napake, a tudi popravke, izboljšave, revizije ali celo priredbe.

Ključne besede: Luigi Boccherini, glasbeni kopisti.

Abstract: Nearly sixty extant manuscripts contain one or more of Boccherini's six Trios op. 1 composed in 1760. It appears that copyists could follow different procedures when copying a work: they could create variants and errors, but also corrections, improvements, revisions and even arrangements.

Keywords: Luigi Boccherini, manuscript copying.

Today Boccherini's Trios opus 1, composed in 1760, are not the composer's best-known works.¹ Nevertheless, they belong to the works by him most widely disseminated in the eighteenth century. Nearly sixty extant manuscripts from before 1830 contain one or more of the six works. The sheer number of these manuscripts poses many problems to the modern researcher. But it is a blessing in disguise as well: it allows us to study the ways in which copyists in the eighteenth century carried out their task. Did they simply copy their examples; did they commit errors; or did they introduce variants? And did they apply corrections, changes, revisions or improvements?

No autographs of Boccherini's Trios op. 1, nor any copies close to an autograph, are preserved. There is no authorized early edition. The first edition, *Sei trietti per due violini e basso* [...] *Opera II* (Paris: Bailleux, 1767), was based on a manuscript in circulation, and all later editions follow this edition. This means that in order to present a critical text of the works – as I had to do for the *Opera Omnia* published by Ut Orpheus in Bologna for the Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini – it was necessary to have a good understanding of both the manuscript and the printed traditions of the works.²

¹ The works are G. 77–82 in Gérard, *Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue*, 77–87.

² A critical edition is now available: Boccherini, *Sei Trii*.

In order to bring some system to the source situation a simple classificatory model will be used here. This model distinguishes five categories of sources: the original version; pre-publication manuscripts; authorized editions; unauthorized editions; and post-publication manuscripts. The original version includes the composer's own autograph archival manuscript and autograph or authorized copies of this manuscript: in short, manuscript sources that, one can be sure, reflect the composer's intentions. Unfortunately, as already noted, for Boccherini's Trios op. 1 no such manuscripts have come down to us.

Pre-publication manuscripts are manuscripts copied directly or indirectly from the original version, without the intervention of an edition. The designation "pre-publication" does not imply that they were all written before the first edition. They may actually post-date the first edition or even later editions. The designation implies only that no edition was included in the chain of copying leading from the original version to the manuscript in question. Pre-publication manuscripts may contain all the works of a particular set; or just one; or a few; or several, but not all, of them.

Editions are printed publications of the works. Editions may be either authorized (based on a score provided by the composer and produced with his consent) or unauthorized (where the publisher works from a score acquired independently by him, thus bypassing the composer).

Post-publication manuscripts are manuscripts that are either copied from an edition (authorized or not) or copied from another post-publication manuscript. In most cases, they contain the complete contents of the edition on which they are based and follow that edition in all details.

With the categories now described, it is possible to classify all known sources of Boccherini's Trios op. 1. As already remarked, no original versions are known. But there are apparently no fewer than 49 extant manuscripts containing one or more of Boccherini's six Trios op. 1, that may be considered pre-publication manuscripts. The category editions comprises the five known early editions, one of which was reissued twice by later publishers under new imprints. In the case of Boccherini's Trios op. 1 ten post-publication manuscripts copied directly or indirectly from one of the editions can be identified.

The various sources are listed in Appendix 2 to this article. They are all provided with brief codes in bold face that will be used for reference in the text of this article.

The Variability of the Sources

As may have been sensed already from the introduction, the available sources for Boccherini's Trios op. 1 show a great, if not bewildering, variety. This variety concerns nearly all aspects of the sources as such, and also of the compositions as they are presented in the sources.

Source Types. The sources can be divided into various types. An obvious distinction is that between sources in score and ones in separate parts. Scores are rare and occur only in manuscript form (Ge1, MC, Dr).

Sources in separate parts may either write all the Trios one after another in the various parts or take the form of sets of manuscripts, with separate gatherings for all the individual pieces. Sets may be either complete or incomplete. Some sets of manuscripts are ordered

in sequence, while others are left unordered. A manuscript containing a single piece will, for clarity, be called a “single manuscript,” forming a separate category.

Format. Most manuscripts are in folio format with sheets in the order of magnitude of 20×30 cm, which corresponds approximately to modern A4 or Letter format. Italian manuscripts tend to be in oblong folio format, while transalpine manuscripts prefer upright folio format, but this distinction is not absolute.

Order. If the sequence of the pieces in the complete manuscripts (or editions) and the ordered complete sets is studied, the first thing to strike one is the variability of the sequences encountered. This is especially true of the pre-publication manuscripts. The first edition reproduces the sequence found in one particular pre-publication manuscript, and this sequence is retained in all the post-publication manuscripts.

Titles. Boccherini's Trios op. 1 appear in the early sources – both manuscript and printed – under various titles. Most frequent is the title “Trio,” with “Sonata (a tre)” and “Divertimento” occupying second and third place, respectively. Baillieux introduced the designation “Trio” for them on the title page of the first edition, employing “Trio” for the individual pieces within the edition. Boccherini later (1796) listed them as “Terzetto.”³

Designation of the Violoncello Part. In the sources varying designations are used for the bass instrument of the trios: more precisely, three – “Violoncello,” “Basso” and “Violoncello Obbligato.”

Order of Movements. The majority of the sources present each trio with the same succession of movements, be this fast-slow-fast or slow-fast-special, where “special” is either a fugue or a Tempo di Minuetto. But a few sources (Ot, Ne) alter the order, especially in the second schema, which is then amended to fast-slow-special.

Tempo Markings. Tempo markings for movements may easily vary among the sources. Sometimes, the variation is rather cosmetic, as in the addition of assai to Largo or Presto, the alternation between spiritoso (or spirituososo) and con spirito (similarly: brioso and con brio) and the omission of “ma” in Allegro ma non tanto. In other instances, the variation is more substantive, as in the replacement of Tempo di Minuetto by Allegro for the last movement of the Trio in C major in certain sources. Sometimes, there are differences of tempo marking in the different parts for an individual manuscript. All these types of discrepancy are very normal in the transmission of eighteenth-century music.

The Musical Text. What strikes one immediately when the manuscripts transmitting Boccherini's Trios op. 1 are studied is the great variability of musical text among the various sources. No two sources are exactly the same in this respect. This variability concerns all aspects of the composition: both the notes themselves and secondary characteristics such as articulation, dynamics and ornamentation.

Variation in the notes themselves can have different causes. The basic distinction is between errors and variants. We will speak of errors when there are readings that cannot possibly be accepted in a decent performance of the piece: incorrect pitches; incorrect or missing accidentals; incorrect durations; over-long or over-short rests; missing notes;

³ See the thematic catalogue of Boccherini's works that must be a copy of his own autograph catalogue drafted in 1796. On this, see Pascoe, “La reaparición del catálogo de Baillot,” 77–90. The page with the six Trios op. 1 is reproduced on p. 83.

missing bars, and so forth. Errors occur in greater or smaller numbers in all the sources examined.

We will speak of variants when there are different readings that are all possible musically: different notes chosen for double or triple stops; rhythmic variants; octave-transpositions of motives; extra notes within the same harmony; alternative notes; longer notes instead of repeated notes of shorter duration (or vice versa); tied versus untied notes etc.

Several musical figures appear to be extremely conducive to variants. A particularly common type of variant is what will be called the “dotted figure” (usually on a weak part of the beat or the bar) where parallel passages or other sources give an undotted figure. Sources are highly variable in the notation of these figures. It is almost as if the dotted figure were a realization of the undotted figure making *inégalité* explicit. Most often, this concerns two semiquavers (realized as a dotted semiquaver and a demisemiquaver); less often, two quavers (equivalent to a dotted quaver and a semiquaver). A similar, but less frequent, source of variability is the dotted figure with two notes for the shorter element, such as a dotted quaver followed by two demisemiquavers. This figure may occur as a variant comprising an undotted quaver followed by two semiquavers.

Other very common variants concern the notes making up double or triple stops. A double or triple stop in one source may appear as a single note or as a different chord in another source.

Highly variable, too, is the tying together (or not) of consecutive notes of the same pitch, either short or long. Some sources tie as much as possible, while other do not trouble to tie at all. In the cases of series of syncopations, the beginnings and endings of ties may differ among the sources. If a tie proceeds from one stave to the next, it usually occurs only at the end of the first stave, not at the start of the next.

It is very common that the notes and rests ending phrases, particularly before a double bar (either the one in the middle of a movement or the one at the end), have different durations. Upbeats are not always subtracted from the final bar of the period.

Articulation. The variability of articulation in early sources is notorious. Consistency in articulation does not exist as a requirement in eighteenth-century manuscript copying procedures.

Dynamics. Even more unreliable than articulation is the notation of dynamics, since these instructions are not directly attached to notes. Dynamics are rarely identical in any two sources.

Ornamentation. Somewhat more faithfully transmitted than articulation or dynamics is ornamentation. Three types can be distinguished: the appoggiatura, the trill and the turn.

Cleffing of the Violoncello Part. Many passages in violoncello parts are written in the tenor clef. Although the various sources largely agree on the desirability of employing the tenor clef, there is some variation in the implementation: the sources do not necessarily change clef in the same place. Some sources use the treble clef with downward octave transposition (the so-called “tenor G” clef) in place of the tenor clef (Gr2, MC, Sto1). Conversely, a source such as Ge2 does not use the tenor clef at all, but instead notates high passages rather awkwardly with a profusion of ledger lines.

Abbreviated Notations. In circumstances where the speed of copying and the consumption of paper were important factors, copyists understandably tried to use abbreviated

forms of notation wherever possible. The most common type of abbreviation takes the form of single notes with a cross-stroke through the stem to represent repeated quavers, or two cross-strokes for repeated semiquavers. These notations are common in nearly all the sources, but their incidence varies considerably.

Types of Copies and Copyists

If we approach the variability of the sources from the angle of the copyist, it is possible to place the latter in five groups: copyists who merely copied: either (1) from an edition, or (2) from another manuscript; copyists who revised their copy text; copyists who arranged their copy text; copyists who transcribed their copy text for other instruments. Something will be said about each group.

(1) Copyists copying from printed editions. An edition is usually unambiguous and precise in its notation (even if containing errors) and at the same time prestigious as a source. Therefore, copies made from editions are usually similarly precise and do not introduce new variants in the transmission of the works, allowing for occasional errors. Earlier, I introduced the appellation post-publication manuscripts to designate these manuscript copies.

In the case of Boccherini's Trios op. 1 there are not a great many post-publication manuscripts. Through study of their variants they can all easily be linked to one or other of the five early editions of the work.

(2) Copyists copying from other manuscript copies. Manuscripts are rarely totally unambiguous, and rarely so precise in their notation that they induce the copyist to do nothing other than faithfully copy the musical text found therein. Normally, there is some inexactitude and ambiguity in their musical notation, and this fact has consequences for the manuscripts copied from them. The copies are normally not exact reproductions of their sources, but ones that introduce errors, variants, inaccuracies and whatever further differences there may be. Copyists appear to be highly variable with regard to how much articulation, dynamic marking and ornamentation they are willing to insert into their copies. The variants that they introduce in this fashion may be termed random variants.

Most of the pre-publication manuscripts of Boccherini's Trios op. 1 were written by these ordinary copyists. Some of these manuscript copies contain only a few errors and variants; others, many more.

If one could assume that all errors and variants would be retained in successive copies, one might entertain the fond hope that analysis of these errors and variants would enable one to construct a stemma of the sources. In the case of Boccherini's Trios op. 1 this proved impossible, except for certain isolated groups of manuscripts. The two great stumbling blocks are that certain errors and variants may occur in otherwise not directly related sources and that passages may indeed find themselves restored to an earlier state in the process of copying. It may also be that the preserved manuscripts represent too small a portion of the manuscripts that once existed to permit a reliable stemmatic analysis.

(3) Revising copyists, who did not merely copy the musical text, but also looked at it with an expert eye and introduced improvements, or at least changes that they considered improvements. In this case, one may speak of substantive variants. A copy produced in this manner may be called a revision (or a version, if placed in comparison with an earlier state). If the revised copy itself becomes recopied, this gives rise to a group of similar manuscript copies that differ from the manuscript copies of other groups. Within this group the manuscript copies may differ from one another simply through random variants.

Within the pre-publication manuscripts considered here one may indeed distinguish four versions accommodating three revisions. The first version (as I term it) is the one found mostly in Central-European manuscripts, which may indeed represent the trios as Boccherini originally composed them. The second version (in my nomenclature) exists in a large number of manuscripts both inside and outside Italy, and must be considered a revision of the first version. There are good reasons to assume that these revisions stemmed from the composer, but absolute proof of this cannot be given. The alterations take many forms.

First, there are changes of detail, such as the creation of a dotted figure from two notes of equal duration, the splitting of notes in two or three notes of shorter duration or other small rhythmic changes.

Second, quite a few notes in the Violoncello part were moved up or down an octave. An example occurs in the fugue of the Trio in G major (5/iii/62–63, 70–71, 140–141 and 148–149):⁴

First version:

The image shows a musical score for the first version of the Trio in G major, measures 62-63. It consists of three staves: Violin I (Vn. I), Violin II (Vn. II), and Violoncello (Vc.). The Vc. part has four asterisks above the notes in measures 62 and 63, indicating an octave shift.

Second and later versions:

The image shows a musical score for the second and later versions of the Trio in G major, measures 62-63. It consists of three staves: Violin I (Vn. I), Violin II (Vn. II), and Violoncello (Vc.). The Vc. part has four asterisks above the notes in measures 62 and 63, indicating an octave shift.

⁴ The expression “5/iii/62–63” means Trio 5, third movement, bars 62–63.

Third, in a few instances one of the violin parts was transposed up an octave or even two octaves. The most noteworthy instance occurs in the Trio in F (3/i/55–56), where repeated notes on the pitch *c'* are transported two octaves higher:

First version:

Second and later versions:

Fourth, there are many instances where double or triple stops were replaced by different double or triple stops or by single notes, or where single notes were replaced by double or triple stops.

Fifth, in a fair number of cases the exact point of insertion of a tenor or bass clef in the cello part was changed.

Sixth, several tempo markings were altered. The notation of the first movement of the Trio in G major switched from $\frac{3}{8}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ metre, with a concurrent adjustment of the tempo marking from *Largo* to *Larghetto*.

Then there are, in the seventh place, changes in detail that may be considered genuine compositional improvements. They are perhaps not necessary alterations, but they certainly make the composition run more smoothly. One of them will be illustrated here. The entry of the countersubject of the fugue ending the Trio in D major is made clearer by changing the original semibreve into a minim preceded by a minim rest (2/iii/1/Vc.):

First version:

Musical score for the first version of 'Fuga Allegro'. The score is in G major (one sharp) and common time. It features three staves: Violino I (Vn. I), Violino II (Vn. II), and Violoncello (Vc.). The Vn. I part begins with a whole note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, and C5. The Vn. II part is silent. The Vc. part begins with a whole note G2, followed by quarter notes A2, B2, and C3. An asterisk is placed above the first note of the Vc. part.

Second and later versions:

Musical score for the second and later versions of 'Fuga Allegro'. The score is in G major (one sharp) and common time. It features three staves: Violino I (Vn. I), Violino II (Vn. II), and Violoncello (Vc.). The Vn. I part is identical to the first version. The Vn. II part is silent. The Vc. part begins with a whole note G2, followed by quarter notes A2, B2, and C3. An asterisk is placed above the first note of the Vc. part.

A substantive change in the composition occurs in the third movement of the Trio in A major, where the Violino Secondo and Violoncello parts are freshly composed in an entire bar (bar 27=29, and, similarly, bar 72=74), giving rise to a completely new figure:

First version:

Musical score for the first version of bar 27 of the Trio in A major. The score is in A major (two sharps) and common time. It features three staves: Violino I (Vn. I), Violino II (Vn. II), and Violoncello (Vc.). The Vn. I part has a sixteenth-note figure. The Vn. II part has a sixteenth-note figure. The Vc. part has a sixteenth-note figure.

Second and later versions:

Musical score for the second and later versions of bar 27 of the Trio in A major. The score is in A major (two sharps) and common time. It features three staves: Violino I (Vn. I), Violino II (Vn. II), and Violoncello (Vc.). The Vn. I part has a sixteenth-note figure. The Vn. II part has a sixteenth-note figure. The Vc. part has a sixteenth-note figure.

There are also, in the eighth place, a few changes that can be considered rectifications of defects in the composition of the first version: corrections that are necessary or at least desirable. Just one example is given here: bar 26 of the Tempo di Minuetto of the Trio in C major:

First version:

Second and later versions:

The arrival of the f-sharp in the bass is indeed better delayed until the double suspension has been resolved, and it is similarly an improvement to have a *d* in the bass at the precise moment of this resolution.

The first edition (Baillieux, 1767) appears to be closely related to one of the pre-publication manuscripts (Ve1) – one that within the category of pre-publication manuscripts is actually somewhat peripheral. This manuscript forms, with some related manuscripts, a kind of subgroup within the category of pre-publication manuscripts: one that may appropriately be dubbed “Adriatic” since all of them are held by libraries in cities on the Adriatic littoral (Venice, Ancona).

After the second version came the third version. The third version is recognizable by a number of variants absent from the first and second versions. A substantive variant occurs in the second movement of the Trio in C major (1/ii/19–27 and 109–116), where the violin parts are transposed down an octave throughout an entire passage:

First and second versions:

Third version:

The image shows a musical score for three instruments: Violin I (Vi. I), Violin II (Vi. II), and Cello (Vc.). The score is written in treble clef for the violins and bass clef for the cello. It begins with a measure number '19'. The Violin I part starts with a *pp* dynamic. The Violin II part also starts with a *pp* dynamic. The Cello part is marked *staccato* and features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The score consists of five measures.

The disparate number of changes among the six trios and, especially, the disparate nature of these changes suggest that this second revision was the work of a copyist who both made some textual alterations and introduced several unintentional mistakes. It seems unlikely that they are the work of Boccherini himself.

A fourth version occurs in the two manuscripts (Berg, Sta) that may likewise be considered to form a subset: the “Alpine” group, named after their present locations (Bergamo, Stams in Austria). The two manuscripts are largely identical, so far as variants are concerned. There are many of these, and many of them are substantive, although unevenly distributed among the six pieces. Here, almost for the first time in the manuscript copying process, we see at work an active and an intelligent copyist: someone who has really tried to improve the pieces, short of arranging them. It is only here that a specific error in the bass of the Presto of the Trio in F major (bar 161/2), present in all the manuscripts discussed so far, has been corrected. An unnecessary inconsistency in the Violino Secondo part of the Trio in B flat major (Presto, bars 89 and 97) has been remedied. Apart from these and some other remarkable interventions, there are numerous minor changes. In particular, the bass line has been modified in many places, but bars in the other parts have also occasionally been recomposed. In view of the appearance of this version in only two rather peripheral sources, it seems improbable that the revision was the work of the composer.

(4) Arranging copyists. In two cases, a copy can aptly be called an arrangement. One manuscript (Pr2) contains an arrangement rather than a straightforward copy of the Trio in G major. Behind this arrangement, however, the First Version of the trio is clearly recognizable, for example through the presence of the Largo in 3/4 metre. The arrangement leaves the composition basically as it is but changes many details. In all three movements there are a few passages that have been replaced by newly composed bars, so that they all have a few bars more or less than the original composition. Articulation, dynamics and ornamentation are less ubiquitous but more consistent than in the average manuscript of the Trios, so the arranger apparently had clear ideas about these aspects.

Another manuscript (An1) contains an arrangement of the Trio in F major. Many passages are almost recomposed. Bar 9 of the Allegro is reduced to a half-bar, which

means that the barlines of the next 24 bars all shift by a half-bar. This anomaly is rectified at the cadence of the first period, in bar 33, which has become halved as well. There is a cut running from the second half of bar 44 to the first half of bar 48 in the Allegro, where the final cadence is similarly shortened. Conversely, the final cadence of the Largo is extended by a full bar. Numerous changes have been introduced in all parts in all movements. Occasionally, passages for the two violins are exchanged, as occurs in bars 14–17 of the Largo and bars 1–8 and 94–118 of the Presto. The other Trios in the same manuscript exhibit a fair number of variants, but one cannot say they were arranged in the manner of the F major Trio.

(5) Transcribing copyists. One manuscript (Ge7) contains a transcription of the Trio in A major for two flutes and violoncello. The cello part was left untouched, while the two Violino parts needed very little adaptation to the new instruments: double and triple stops are reduced to the highest note; passages with notes lower than *d'* are transposed up an octave.

A manuscript in Stift Engelberg (En) has an added partbook, which writes the bass part in the treble clef, this time not written an octave above sounding pitch but instead a twelfth higher, which transposes the piece to C major. This notation represents what a performer would do when reading the music as a violinist but playing a violoncello. Perhaps this part was written for a viola da spalla or a viola pomposa, instruments with cello stringing but played in front of or over the shoulder. The Basso partbook of the C major Trio has the remark “bei diesem muss die Bass mit die [sic] Violen abgespillt werden,” which perhaps refers to a performance of this kind. But there is no bass partbook in the treble clef for the C major Trio to match that for the F major Trio, as just described.

One manuscript (Na2) has the bass part arranged for double bass (“Controbasso”). The arrangement is rather drastic: where the cello had florid writing in the tenor clef, either melodic or accompanimental, this has been systematically replaced by simple notes and textures in the bass clef or by rests, thus removing many melodic passages played in parallel thirds or sixths with the Violino Primo or Secondo. The remaining double stops in the bass parts are replaced by single notes. Passages featuring broken chords in semiquavers are similarly replaced by simple notes. All signs for articulation, dynamics and ornamentation disappear.

Conclusion

This overview of the manuscript and printed dissemination of Boccherini's Trios op. 1 tells us in the first place that pieces of music change during the process of their dissemination. Each instance of copying, including publication, may bring with it changes of detail or more substantive changes. Leaving aside copyists working from a printed exemplar, the reproduction of a source exactly as received was not a standard requirement in eighteenth-century copying practice. Copyists could introduce changes at various levels. They could inadvertently introduce mere random errors and mistakes; they could also create variants, distinguishable from errors through being performable alternatives. Other copyists made

a habit of revising or (in their eyes) improving the music they copied. And, finally, some copyists transcribed pieces for other instruments or instrumental ensembles.

All these different variations in the copying process are observable in the transmission of Boccherini's Trios op. 1, partly as a consequence of the large number of sources involved. Most important from the point of view of the musician or the musicologist are, of course, the variants and the revisions, the latter arising when the variants are substantive and occur in a number of sources. The question then arises: are these variants and revisions due to the composer or to some zealous copyist? In the case of Boccherini's Trios op. 1 there appear to be four discrete versions, which implies three revisions. Of these revisions, the first may be connected with the composer: there are compositional improvements, and the new version created is found in a large number of sources. The other two revisions, in contrast, seem to be the work of copyists not content merely to reproduce the text of their exemplars.

This article has dealt with musicological problems at two distinct levels. In the first place, it has considered the transmission processes of musical works in general; in the second place, the manuscript and printed dissemination of Boccherini's Trios op. 1 in particular. Each level informs, and benefits from, the other. The terms and associated concepts adopted here to describe the transmission process of music in general are, of course, derived from working with the special case of Boccherini's Trios op. 1. On the other hand, the analysis of a particular case is much easier to undertake when it can be based on concepts borrowed from a more general model.

The concepts and methods used for studying the dissemination of Boccherini's Trios op. 1 can equally well be applied to the study of the dissemination of other collections and works. Such studies are unlikely to parallel in detail the pattern revealed by this study of Boccherini's Opus 1: one should, rather, imagine that each new musical work investigated will have its unique dissemination "profile," albeit one constructed from similar elements.

Table 1 Diagram showing the various categories of sources and the relations between these categories

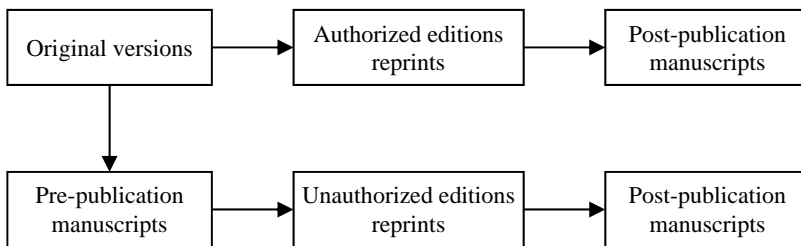
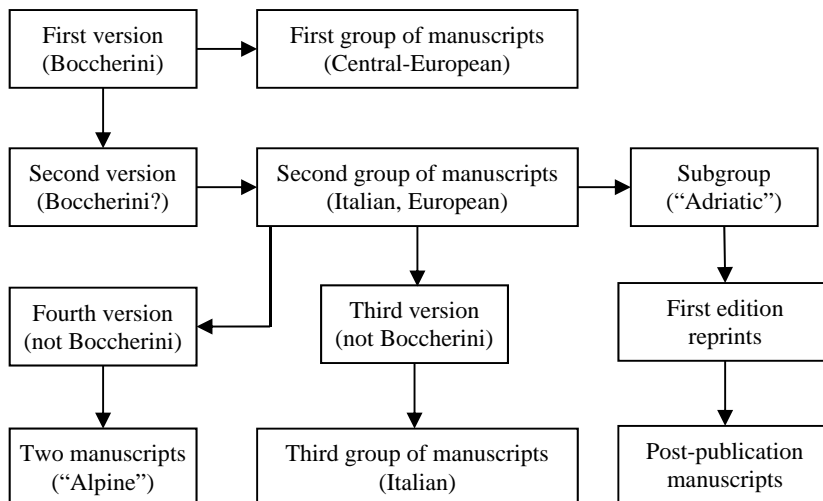


Table 2 Diagram showing the categories of sources in the dissemination of Boccherini's Trios opus 1 (expressions such as "First version" and "Second version" refer to the various textual states of the compositions)



APPENDIX 1

The six Trios op. 1 in the sequence adopted in Boccherini's Thematic Catalogue:

1. Trio in C major, G. 82
2. Trio in D major, G. 80
3. Trio in F major, G. 77
4. Trio in B flat major, G. 78
5. Trio in G major, G. 81
6. Trio in A major, G. 79

and in that of the first edition (Paris, Bailleux, 1767):

1. Trio in F major, G. 77
2. Trio in B flat major, G. 78
3. Trio in A major, G. 79
4. Trio in D major, G. 80
5. Trio in G major, G. 81
6. Trio in C major, G. 82

In order to avoid confusion, it is best to refer to the key of the piece or to the Gérard number rather than to its position within the set of six pieces.

APPENDIX 2

Overview of sources of Boccherini's Trios op. 1.

Pre-publication manuscripts:

- An1** Ancona, Biblioteca comunale, Ms. mus. 3. All six Trios.
- An2** Ancona, Biblioteca comunale, Ms. mus. 6 and 7.
Trios in D major, G major (incomplete).
- Berg** Bergamo, Biblioteca civica, Ms. D.6.2.2. All six Trios.
- Ber11** Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Mus. ms. 2006/1. Trio in C major.
- Ber12** Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Mus. ms. 2008/2. Trio in G major.
- Bo** Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, Ms. DD.183. Trio in D major.
- DH** Den Haag, Nederlands Muziek-Instituut, Ms. 49 D 21. Trio in D major.
- Ei** Kloster Einsiedeln, Musikbibliothek, Ms. 69/47 23. Trio in C major.
- En** Stift Engelberg, Musikbibliothek, Ms A 230-233. Trios in C major, F major, A major, B flat major.
- Fi** Firenze, Conservatorio, Ms D.IX.250-252. Trios in D major, G major.
- Ge1** Genoa, Conservatorio, Ms. A.7b.43 (B.1.17). All six Trios. Score.
- Ge2** Genoa, Conservatorio, Ms. Q.1a.1.35-37 (A.7.15-17). All six Trios.
- Ge3** Genoa, Conservatorio, in Ms. SS.A.1.8 (G 7) and Ms. SS.A.2.13. Trios in C major, F major, B flat major.
- Ge4** Genoa, Conservatorio, in Ms. SS.A.1.22 (G 8). Trios in A major, D major, C major, F major.
- Ge5** Genoa, Conservatorio, in Ms. SS.A.1.8 (G 7). Trio in D major.
- Ge6** Genoa, Conservatorio, in Ms. SS.A.1.8 (G 7). Trio in G major.
- Ge7** Genoa, Conservatorio, in Ms. SS.A.1.8 (G 7). Trio in A major, in an arrangement for two flutes and violoncello.
- Gr** Graz, Diözesanarchiv, Ms. 506, 510-513. Trios in A major, B flat major, F major, D major, C major.
- He** Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. VI b 1. Trio in A major.
- Le** Leipzig, Musikbibliothek, Ms. Becker III.1.1.29. Trio in D major.
- Ma** Madrid, Real Conservatorio Superior de Música, Ms. 1/7041-11. Trio in F major.
- Mi1** Milan, Conservatorio, Mss. Nosedà E 24.33. Trio in C major.
- Mi2** Milan, Conservatorio, Ms. Da Camera 3/6. Trio in C major.
- Mi3** Milan, Conservatorio, Ms. Da Camera 3/12. An arrangement of the Trio in B flat major.
- MC** Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, cod. music. All six Trios. Score.
- MT** Montecatini Terme, Biblioteca Comunale, Fondo Venturi, Ms. A.1a-f. All six Trios.
- Na1** Naples, Conservatorio, Ms. 22.5.6. All six Trios.
- Na2** Naples, Conservatorio, Mus. Str. 437-439. All six Trios, with the bass part for "Controbasso".

- Ne1** Neckarzimmern, Burg Hornberg, Mss. H 18-23. All six Trios.
Os Ostiglia, Biblioteca Musicale, Mss. Mus. B 3079. Trio in G major.
Ot Ottobeuren, Benediktiner Abtei, MO 133-137. Trios in F major, B flat major, G major, C major, A major.
Par1 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Musique, Ms. Vma 69. All six Trios.
Par2 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Musique, Ms. D 10760. Trios in F major, A major.
Pr1 Prague, Národní Museum, Mss. XXII B 44-49. All six Trios.
Pr2 Prague, Národní Museum, Mss. XXIII A 506-507. Trios in G major (an arrangement.), C major.
Pr3 Prague, Národní Museum, Ms. XLI B 341. Trio in G major.
Pr4 Prague, Národní Museum, Ms. XLI B 342. Trio in F major.
Pr5 Prague, University Library, Mss. 59 R 3568, 3529, 3544, 3549, 3550, 3551. All six Trios.
Rh1 Rheda, Bentheim-Tecklenburgische Musikbibliothek (in Münster, Universitätsbibliothek, Musiksammlung), Mss. 73-75. Trios in A major, B flat major, C major.
Ro1 Rome, San Giovanni in Laterano, Ms. Mus. C.6a-c. Trio in D major, B flat major, G major (all incomplete).
Sta Stams, Zisterzienser Stift, Musikarchiv, Mus. Ms. 174, 181–185. All six Trios.
Sto1 Stockholm, Musik- och Teaterbiblioteket, in Ms. W3-R. All six Trios.
Sto2 Stockholm, Musik- och Teaterbiblioteket, in Ms. W3-R. Trios in B flat major, F major.
Sto3 Stockholm, Musik- och Teaterbiblioteket, in Ms. W3-R. Trio in A major.
Ve1 Venice, Conservatorio, Ms. Giustiniani B. 20. n. 2. All six Trios.
Ve2 Venice, Conservatorio, Ms. Correr, B 81, nos. 6, 8, 9, 10, 12. Trios in C major, D major, F major, A major, B flat major.
Vi Vienna, Archiv, Bibliothek und Sammlungen der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, Inv. no. IX-2020. All six Trios.
Wo Wolfenbüttel, Staatsarchiv, Ms. 46 Alt 577. Trio C major.
Za Zagreb, Croatian Musical Institute, Algarotti Collection, Ms. XLIII.W. Trio in C major.

Early editions:

- Ba** *Sei trietti per due violini, et basso* [...] *Opera II* (Paris: Antoine Bailleux, [1767]), RISM B 3056.
Br *Six Sonatas for Two Violins, and a Violoncello Obligato* [...] *Opera II* (London: Robert Bremner, [1769]), RISM B 3057.
Hu *Six trios à deux violons et violoncello obligé* [...] *Oeuvre quatrième* (Amsterdam: Johann Julius Hummel, [1771]), RISM B 3034.
Pr Later issue of **Br**. (London: Preston & Son [ca. 1795]), RISM B 3059.
Im *Sei trietti per due violini, et basso* [...] *Opera II* (Paris: Jean-Jerôme Imbault, [ca. 1810]), RISM B 3058.

- JC** *Collection des Trios de Boccherini: Premier Livre, Pour Deux Violons et Basse* (Paris: Pierre-Honoré Janet & Alexandre Cotelle, [ca. 1824]), RISM B 3097.
- Co** Later issue of **Pr**. (London: Robert Cocks, [ca. 1870]), not in RISM.

Post-publication manuscripts:

- Berl3** Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, M 615, 616, 617. Trios in C major, D major, F major. After **Ba**.
- Dr** Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Mus. 3490/P/2. All six Trios. Score. After **Hu**.
- Hä** Härnosand, Länsmuseet, no shelfmark. All six Trios. After **Hu**.
- Ka** Karlstad, Stadsbibliotek, no shelfmark. All six Trios. After **Hu**.
- Pad** Padua, Conservatorio, Ms. rari 1/III/24. All six Trios. After **Br**.
- Par3** Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Musique, Ms. Cons. L. 87 (1-3). All six Trios. After **Ba**.
- Par4** Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Musique, Ms. D. 10774. Trios in D major, B flat major, A major. After **Ba**.
- Ro2** Rome, Accademia di Musica, Ms. A-Ms-3197-3199. All six Trios. After **Br**.
- Sk** Skara, Stifts- och Landsbiblioteket, Ms. 416. Movements from all six Trios. After **Hu**.
- Sto4** Stockholm, Musik- och Teaterbiblioteket, Ms. in Collection Wallenberg. All six Trios. After **Hu**.



Figure 1 First page of the Violoncello part of Boccherini's Trio in C major, op. 1, no. 1, G. 82 (Vienna, Archiv, Bibliothek und Sammlungen der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, Inv. no. IX-2020; reproduced with kind permission).



Figure 2 First page of the Violoncello part of Boccherini's Trio in D major, op. 1, no. 2, G. 80 (Montecatini Terme, Biblioteca Comunale, Fondo Venturi, Ms. A.1a).



Figure 3 First page of the score of Boccherini's Trio op. 1, with the opening bars of Trio in C major, op. 1, no. 1, G. 82 (Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, cod. music. I-C-7; reproduced with kind permission).

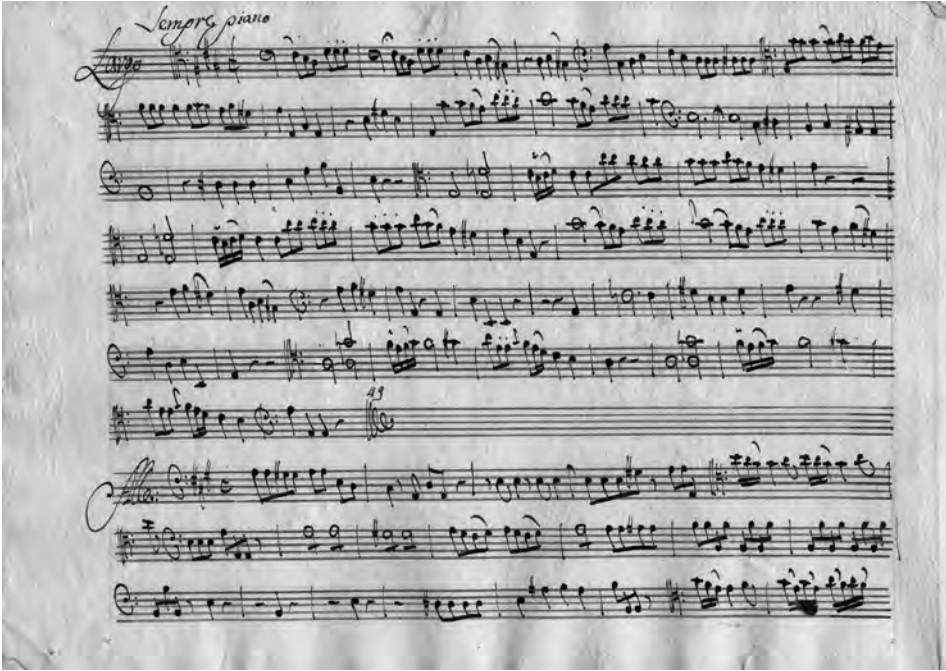


Figure 4 First page of the Violoncello part of Boccherini's Trio in A major, op. 1, no. 6, G. 79 (Stams, Zisterzienser Stift, Musikarchiv, Mus.ms. 174; reproduced with kind permission).

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STRATEGIJA RAZŠIRJANJA ROKOPISNIH PREPISOV TRIOV OP. 1 LUIGIJA BOCCHERINIJA

Povzetek

Čeprav Boccherinijevi Trii op. 1 za dve violini in čelo iz leta 1760 danes ne sodijo med njegova najbolj znana dela, so bili v 18. stoletju med njegovimi najbolj razširjenimi deli. Nič manj kot 60 ohranjenih glasbenih rokopisov pred letom 1830 vsebuje eno ali več tovrstnih Boccherinijevih del. Večino teh predstavljajo rokopisi pred objavo, ki so bili neposredno ali posredno prepisani iz skladateljevih izvirkov, brez posredništva tiskane izdaje. Prva izdaja je bila natisnjena v Parizu leta 1767, potem pa še večkrat ponatisnjena v Parizu, Londonu in Amsterdamu. Rokopise, ki so bili prepisani iz le-teh, avtor imenuje po-izdajni rokopisi.

Kljub številnim virom raziskovalcu ohranjenost teh del predstavlja veliko težavo. Ohranjen ni noben avtograf ali podoben prepis, niti ni avtoriziranih prepisov. Prva izdaja je nastala na podlagi rokopisov, ki so bili takrat na voljo. Današnji viri zato kažejo izjemno raznolikost prepisov istih glasbenih del. Razlike so vseh možnih vrst: oblike samega vira (partitura nasproti ločeno zapisanim posameznim glasovom), zapovrstnost del, naslovi, opisi parta za violončelo, ključi glasu za violončelo, sosledje stavkov, oznake za tempo, artikulacijo, dinamiko, okraske, pa okrajšave v notaciji in ne nazadnje glasba sama.

Za rekonstrukcijo Boccherinijeve prvotne oblike je potrebna podrobna raziskava vseh virov. Tradicija rokopisnih virov kaže, da so imeli prepisovalci za izdelavo kopij zelo različne strategije. Tisti, ki so prepisovali iz tiskov, so skoraj v vseh pogledih zvesto sledili predlogi; že zaradi samega prestiža izdaje in jasno zabeležene notacije. Tisti, ki so delali na podlagi rokopisov, so imeli na razpolago kopije, ki niso imele prestižnosti tiskane izdaje in so bile navadno površno napisane. Te tako niso mogle biti zelo zanesljive za izdelavo novega prepisa. Prepisi iz rokopisnih virov zato skoraj praviloma prinašajo različice in napake. O različicah lahko seveda govorimo, ko je zapisana drugačna, a izvedljiva oblika glasbenega teksta, napaka pa je tak zapis, ko zapisana oblika povzroča težavo pri izvedbi, na primer manjkajoči takt ali povsem jasna napačna nota.

Le manjši del rokopisnih prepisov iz Boccherinijevega op. 1 vsebuje naknadne popravke v glasbenem delu: zavestne in resne spremembe prvotno zapisanega, ki so namenjene izboljšavi skladbe. Še korak dlje od izvirnika pa so tisti rokopisi, v katerih je glasba prirejena do te mere, da je na tak način nastala nova skladba.

Na koncu lahko ugotovimo, da so nekateri prepisovalci izdelali tudi transkripcije za druga glasbila. Rokopisno izročilo Boccherinijevih Triov op. 1 sestavljajo tri oblike prepisov, od katerih vsako opredeljuje prisotnost ali odsotnost številnih različic. Predpostavljamo lahko, da gre za tri faze revidiranja, od katerih bi lahko prvo opravil sam Boccherini, drugo in tretjo pa zagotovo ne. Prepisovalci, ki so skušali zapis popraviti, so sprožili vrsto priredb in transkripcij za druga glasbila, od katerih nobena ne izhaja neposredno iz skladateljevega izvirnega zapisa.

Zgodovina razširjanja Boccherinijevih Triov op. 1 jasno pokaže, da je glasba s prepisi doživela veliko sprememb, vsaj v podrobnostih, do še posebno velikih razhajanj pa je prišlo pri prepisovanju iz rokopisnih virov, saj so imeli kopisti navado tako glasbo revidirati, prirejati in transponirati.

IMPORTED MUSIC SCORES IN THE POSSESSION OF THE GOZZE FAMILY IN DUBROVNIK

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Izvleček: Plemiška družina Gozze je imela v Dubrovniku obćudovanja vredno zbirko muzikalij, većinoma iz poznega 18. in začetka 19. stoletja. Gradivo se je deloma ohranilo v glasbeni zbirki franćiškanskega samostana v dubrovniku med gradivom iz časa Dubrovniške republike, ki ga tam hranijo od začetka 19. stoletja. Ohranjena je tudi knjižica, katalog muzikalij. Po opombah na samih notah je mogoće vzpostaviti zvezo med samim gradivom in beleškami v katalogu. Tako tiski kot tudi rokopisi so bili većinoma kupljeni v tujini, iz njih pa danes lahko razberemo vrsto informacij o njihovem izvoru, okolišćinah izvedb itd. Vse to pa odseva glasbeni okus družine Gozze.

Ključne besede: Dubrovnik, katalog muzikalij, franćiškanski samostan, družina Gozze, glasbeni kopisti, glasbeni založniki, 18. in 19. stoletje.

Abstract: The noble Gozze family in Dubrovnik maintained a respectable collection of musical material dating mostly from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It has been partly preserved in the music collection of the Monastery of the Friars Minors in Dubrovnik, forming part of the material dating from the time of the Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) kept there since the mid-nineteenth century. There is also a booklet – actually a catalogue – listing their musical material. On the basis of its notes on this music collection, a link between the catalogue and the material can be established. The prints and manuscripts were mostly purchased from abroad, and these provide various kinds of information on their origin, the context of their performance etc., thereby illustrating the taste of their owners.

Keywords: Dubrovnik, catalogue of music sources, Friars Minor, Gozze family, music copyists, music publishers, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Introductory Remarks

If one may paraphrase Plato's connection between the quality of art – in this case, music – and the quality of a state, the Republic of Dubrovnik might well be characterized as a traditional one, with good relations among its broad cultural circle, cautious, modest in its output and, certainly, not prodigious or boastful. The facts we know about its eighteenth-century history, as well as the preserved musical material, testify to its well-educated nobility, its representative Rector's Chapel with a centuries-old tradition, its Cathedral orchestra and the education in music offered at the Jesuit College as well

as privately. This small state, with some forty to fifty thousand (or fewer) inhabitants,¹ which formally acknowledged the sovereignty of the Croatian-Hungarian kings, who tried to keep Venetian appetites at a distance, and – for balance – also had to pay tribute to the Ottomans, was very cautious about letting new ideas penetrate into their “safe community.” Hence its cautious government allowed the first printshop only in 1783 – and then only for textual material, so that musical scores still had to be imported. Moreover, Dubrovnik’s Senate never took a decision to establish a permanent theatre group or even an opera house. It was easier to exercise control over the performances of Italian itinerant companies, which toured along the Eastern shores of the Adriatic, performing the standard repertoire in its adapted theatre (formerly an arsenal) – and it was definitely cheaper. Yet the philosopher and physicist (Abbé) Ruder Bošković complained in 1748 that the “atmosphere of his native city will be poisoned by attractive actresses and by the competition to win their favour,”² because local amateur theatre companies admitted only male performers.

Music Collections in Dubrovnik

An evaluation of musical taste in the Republic of Dubrovnik at the beginning of this text has been made possible by facts gleaned from secondary sources as well as from the rich music collections still preserved in the sacred and secular institutions within its city walls. Nevertheless, natural catastrophes (such as the disastrous earthquake in 1676 and the ensuing fires) and occupying armies (French and Austrian)³ radically diminished its estimable patrimony. Still, several points of musicological interest from primary sources can offer information about the musical past of the city. On this occasion, the collection of the Dominican Monastery, with sources relating to church music from the eleventh century onwards, and the rich collection of some seven hundred eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century libretti, held by the Scientific Library, as well as some smaller private and public collections, will interest us less. The focus of the present investigation is the large music collection of the Friars Minor in Dubrovnik, comprising almost eight thousand items.⁴ Apart from the “sacred” component, containing musical material dating from the eleventh century up to the present, it houses a fairly extensive amount of secular music originating mostly from private collections. The credit for this work of collecting goes to Ivan Evandelist Kuzmić (1807–1880), a member of the Franciscan community and a pharmacist, historian, organist and composer, who went from door to door in the mid-nineteenth century in order to collect musical material lying, largely forgotten, in the attics of the houses and villas of local noble families. By then, the glorious past of the Republic of Dubrovnik, whose existence was brought to an abrupt end in

¹ On the question of Dubrovnik’s population, see Krivošić, *Stanovništvo Dubrovnika*.

² Beritić, “Iz povijesti,” 28.

³ The French army entered the city in 1806 and in 1808 abolished the Republic, while the Habsburg Empire gained the territory of the former Republic at the Congress of Vienna.

⁴ For more information on the composers connected to Dubrovnik, see Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici*; on the Franciscan music collection, see Tuksar, “Glazbeni arhiv.”

1808 by Napoleon's army, lived on only in the nostalgic memory of its aristocratic offspring. The consequences of its absorption, in 1815, into the framework of the Habsburg Empire, with simultaneous economic and social changes, led to its decline and impoverishment. Still, the inscriptions and notes found within the collected and preserved musical material can trace a picture of the music interests of its noble inhabitants.

These notes provide information on Dubrovnik families with Italian names (Stulli, Pellegrini), Italianized ones, which would mostly adopt a Slavic form during the nineteenth century (Natali → Božidarević, Sorgo → Sorkočević, Chersa → Krša, Zuzzeri → Zuzorić, Pozza → Pucić or Pučić), and Croatian names (Androvich, Moncovich, Maroevich, Milkovich, Ivankovich, Casnacich, Ascich, Barich, Lepesc), all of them written, however, in the Italian manner. The nineteenth century also reveals some German names (Schwarz),⁵ thus uncovering different layers in the cultural traditions of the city.

The name that occurs on the majority of the signed musical items is that of the noble Gozze family. Its origin, stretching back at least to the twelfth century,⁶ and the importance of its members (diplomats, philosophers, artists and seafarers) made it one of the richest and most influential families among the old nobility of the Republic of Dubrovnik. According to the statistics for offices held by the Republic's supreme governing class,⁷ members of the Gozze clan occupied second place, holding 306 posts (12.01% of the total) during the period 1751–1807, while the Sorgo family led the field in this respect, occupying five hundred posts during the same period (19.63% of the total).⁸ As educated intellectuals, the Gozze family owned one of the largest libraries in the Republic, and many inscriptions in preserved archival material testify to their interest in the Arts, in addition to music.

Gozze family members collected sheet music for their own use: probably exclusively for domestic performance, either by themselves or by members of the Rector's orchestra or that of the Cathedral, but at any rate within the confines of their town houses or summer villas. The contents of the collection can be reconstructed – at least in part – thanks to the preserved catalogue (or, more precisely, list) of their music, as well as from the music itself, which bears the signatures of certain family members; together, these elements are distributed among some 240 boxes in the music collection of the Franciscan Library.

The Catalogue or *Elenco*

The author of the music catalogue is Paolo Baldasare di Gozze (Pavo Baldov Gozze, 1778–1838),⁹ a close friend of the diplomat and composer Antonio Sorgo (Antun Sorkočević),

⁵ Katalinić, "Glazbeni arhiv," 623–664.

⁶ Their nickname "Pecorario" shows that they were sheep-farmers before their migration from Livno (Bosnia) to Dubrovnik in the twelfth century. An extended reconstruction of the family trees of the Pecorario (and Gozze) clans, with information on their origin, is presented in Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, 3:91–149 (Gozze: 97–142; Bassegli-Gozze: 142–143).

⁷ Ćosić and Vekarić, *Dubrovačka vlastela*.

⁸ The diplomats and composers Luka Sorgo and his son Antun also participated in these duties as senators, ambassadors or similar.

⁹ All these names are given also in Croatian, because this is the language they mostly used in their



Figure 1a Title page of the catalogue of music scores by Paolo Gozze, preserved in the Dubrovnik Franciscan monastery (Dubrovnik, Samostan Male braće, Glazbena zbirka, 204/5666; reproduced with kind permission).

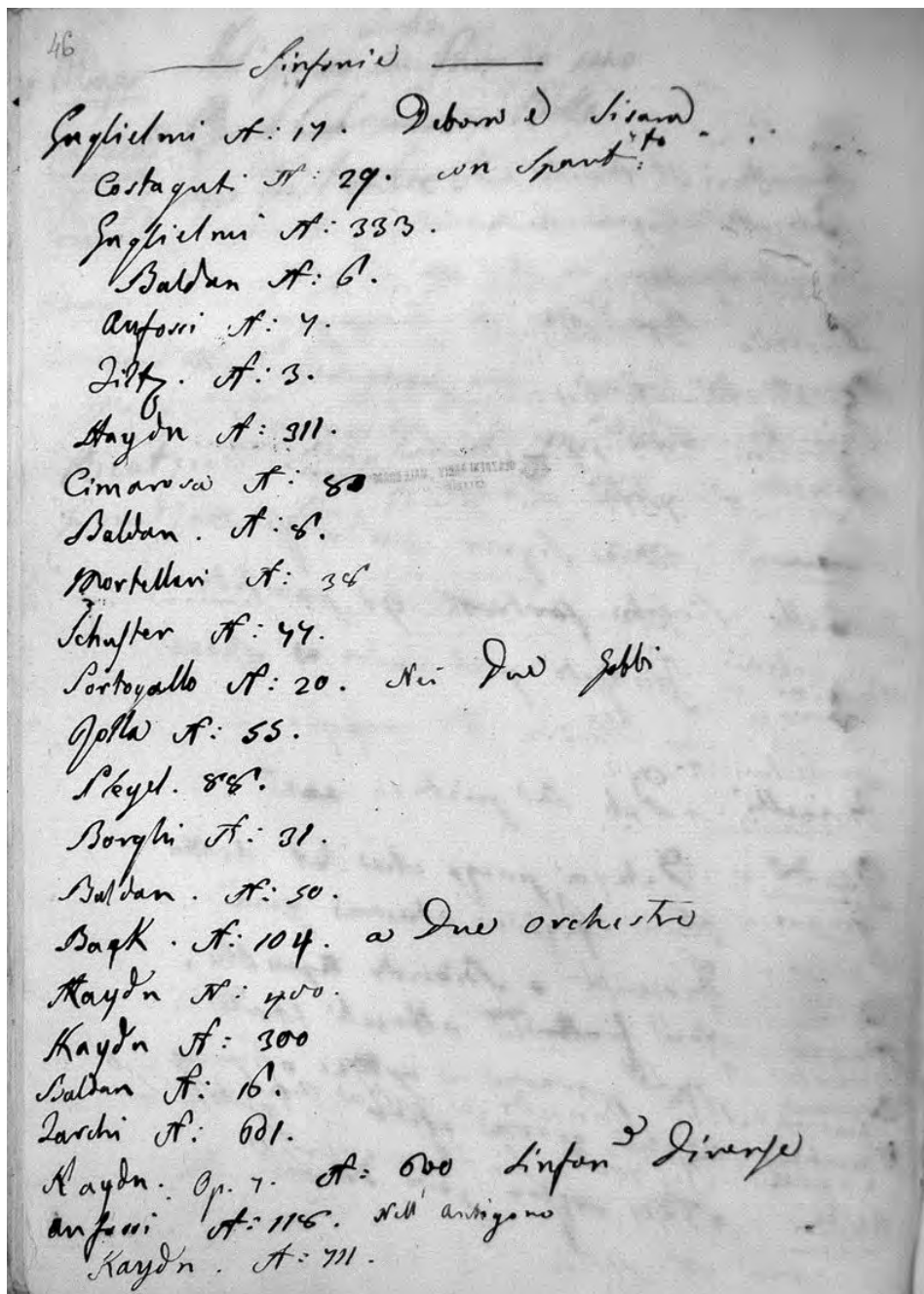


Figure 1b A page of orchestral pieces in the Gozze catalogue where, under the name of “Sinfonie”, both symphonies by Haydn, Rolla, Pleyel etc., as well as overtures by Guglielmi (*Debora e Sisara*), Portogallo (*I due gotti*) and others are listed (Dubrovnik, Samostan Male braće, Glazbena zbirka; reproduced with kind permission).

who was from the same generation, although actually his second uncle. According to the preserved musical material, Paolo Baldasare played the violin¹⁰ and possibly also the flute. His parents and close relatives were highly educated: his mother was a poetess, and his famous uncle Tommaso (Tomo Bassegli, 1756–1806), educated in Switzerland, played the flute and the harp. It is possible that Tommaso bequeathed the flute music to his nephew Paolo. When Paolo inherited his mother's property, he added her maiden name – therefore, some of his music features the signature Bassegli-Gozze.

The *Elenco della musica vocale e strumentale attinente al Sig. Paolo Gozze* (List of the vocal and instrumental music belonging to Sig. Paolo Gozze) is a booklet of nineteen pages laid out according to musical genre: sestetti e quintetti, quartetti, trij, duetti (chamber music); concerti (for flute and for violin) and pieces for the solo violin; these are followed by vocal music consisting of arias and duets from operas and songs with often unspecified instrumental accompaniment. The section “Sinfonie” can induce some confusion since both operatic overtures and free-standing instrumental symphonies are included without any precise differentiation between them (see Figs. 1a and 1b). The lack of more complete information, probably occasioned by haste in the compilation of the list, is obvious in all its sections. It is therefore not possible to make a full reconstruction of the contents of Gozze's musical library from this list alone: in addition to the absence of important details in the description of the material (manuscript or print; score or parts), a complete title or opus number is often lacking. This additional information has to be sought among the preserved items of sheet music.

Table 1 List of composers (with at least 4 works) in the catalogue

Composer	No. of Items
Pleyel, I.	27
Haydn, J.	20
Pichl, W.	9
Farinelli, G.	7
Paisiello, G.	7
Mozart, W. A.	7
Baldan, P.	5
Cimarosa, D.	5
Vranitzky, P.	5
Beethoven, L. van	4
Hoffmeister, F. A.	4

The majority of the compositions listed are instrumental. In all, there are 233 entries representing ninety-one composers. For three authors, only the initials are given, and three items are anonymous. Some titles are listed in more than one section, so the true number

letters, for which reason this form appears very often in modern literature.

¹⁰ E.g., Momolo [Girolamo] Ricci: *Posizioni p. Violino* (Dubrovnik, Franjevački samostan Male braće, knjižnica (HR-Dsmb), 75/1966) and *Arpeggi per Violino* (HR-Dsmb, 75/1965), written for Paolo Gozze.

of works comes down to some 220 titles. The composers with the most compositions are Ignaz Pleyel (with twenty-seven titles), Joseph Haydn (twenty), Wenzel Pichl (nine), W. A. Mozart, Giovanni Paisiello and Giuseppe Farinelli (seven each) – see Table 1.

The predominance of Central European – indeed, Austrian – composers in Mediterranean Dubrovnik provides evidence of the new political directions being taken already at the end of the eighteenth century, leading towards the new political map drawn in 1815, when Dubrovnik became part of the Habsburg Empire. Certainly, both Pleyel and Haydn were already recognized during their lifetimes as the most popular composers in lands lying outside their cultural milieu. Their compositions were therefore performed also in the Italian states, and from Italy travelled to collections in Dalmatia.

The Owners of Musical Material from the Gozze Family Preserved in the Music Collection of the Friars Minor

The individual ownership of the musical material belonging to members of the Gozze family is somewhat clarified by the preserved copies in the monastery of the Friars Minor in Dubrovnik, where some two hundred items (individual compositions as well as collections) bearing the Gozze signature are kept: there we encounter the names of Paolo, Giacomo, Melchiore and Vladislav Paul, as well as the less precise appellations Gozze, Casa Gozze, Comte du Gozze and Bassegli-Gozze.

Melchiore di Gozze (Melko Baldov Gozze, 1787–1853), whose signature is found on nine pieces of music, was Paolo's brother. Judging from his musical possessions, he probably played the piano, but he also liked operatic arias by Paisiello, Boriani and Portogallo. It is also possible that he himself used to sing, as we may infer from the dedication of one aria ("Per uso del Nobil Fanciullo il Sig. Melchiorre di Gozze," HR-Dsmb, 9/225), "Se di tacer v'impongo" by Tommaso Resti, who may have been his teacher. On two music prints we encounter the signature of Giacomo Gozze, probably Paolo's and Melchiore's father with the full name of Baldassare-Giacomo (di Paolo) Gozze (Jakopica Gozze, 1745–1817),¹¹ whose musical education is still unknown.

Finally, Vladislav Paul de Gozze (Vladislav Pavov Gozze, 1788–1859), a member of a different Gozze clan but Paolo's and Melchiore's contemporary, obviously learned the piano, since pieces for that instrument by Steibelt and Clementi carry his signature.¹² In 1822, Vladislav Paul founded the new Dubrovnik theatre. His interest in stage and recreational music is also evident from the Franciscan collection, although the *Elenco* probably does not list any of his musical material.

Only about sixty items in the Franciscan collection cannot be matched to any entry in the catalogue, whereas almost 130 entries in the catalogue have their original material

¹¹ Vekarić, *Vlastela*, 4:83.

¹² For example, a manuscript volume entitled *Regole musicali per principianti di cembalo* once owned by Vladislav Pavlov Gozze (Vladislav Paul de Gozze) in HR-Dsmb, 206/5384, as well as an *Etude pour le Piano-Forte* by Daniel Gottlieb Steibelt and sonatas by Clementi in HR-Dsmb, 27/857, 58/1620–21.

still preserved (amounting to more than half the listed items). Next to many titles in the catalogue, numbers have been added, and many of these match numbers present on the items of sheet music (but the numbering system is neither clear nor precise).¹³

The taste and the artistic level of some of the owners can be assessed from their choice of works to collect: there are primers for music theory and violin playing (for Paolo Gozze),¹⁴ and also for the piano (for Vladislav Paul).¹⁵ Further, there are chamber works, probably used for domestic music-making,¹⁶ and even some quite demanding concertante and symphonic works, which could have been played with assistance from members of the Rector's orchestra or other professionals. The noble musicians naturally participated in such performances only at domestic "academies" in a private setting.

The Gozze musicians acquired mostly more or less recent musical repertoire, running from the mid-eighteenth century (represented by sonatas of Giuseppe Tartini), to arrangements of arias from the contemporary music stage. This material reached Dubrovnik mostly from neighbouring countries, predominantly Italy. Only a small number of exceptions originated from the city itself: these were two symphonies composed by Antun Sorgo (1775–1841), which were dedicated to his friends (among them was Paolo Gozze), and two arias composed by Tommaso Resti, one of the most important composers in Dubrovnik, who came from Lecce in Apulia. Both of the latter bear the signature of Melchior Gozze, who may even have been a pupil of Resti.¹⁷ Vladislav Paul collected dance melodies in two volumes: *Monferine suonate da Ragusa* (HR-Dsmb, 52/1474) and *Eccossais joués à Raguse* (HR-Dsmb, 52/1473).

Some manuscripts acquired in Italy testify to operatic production in well-known theatres. It is possible that members of the Gozze family bought them at the point of their initial sale. For example, Paolo Gozze's score of the "Rondò" aria for soprano and orchestra "Se ti lascio o mio tesoro" by Gaetano Andreozzi notes its performance at the Venetian theatre of San Benedetto in the Ascension season of 1788 (HR-Dsmb, 1/16); similarly, the cavatina "Benedetta di Campagna" by Francesco Orgitano, performed at the Teatro San Moisè in 1801 (HR-Dsmb, 24/744), and the aria "A che giova esser gelosi" by Giuseppe Mosca, performed at the same theatre in spring 1809 (HR-Dsmb, 41/1180).

There are also various inscriptions referring to the copyists of the material, and

¹³ In the catalogue, numbers up to 1200 can be found, but with many gaps in between. Moreover, it is not possible to link numbers to specific musical genres. For example, some symphonies are numbered fifty-six, while others bear the numbers four or three hundred. Some numbers occur repeatedly on diverse items, albeit only sporadically. When the original musical material was inspected, its numbers corresponded to those of the matching entry in the catalogue. It is therefore possible that these numbers denote a sequence of acquisition by the family library, musical and non-musical items perhaps forming a single series.

¹⁴ See earlier, n. 8.

¹⁵ See earlier, n. 10.

¹⁶ An example of an original piece is Haydn's *Eco per quattro violini, e due violoncelli da eseguirsi in due camere*, Naples: Marescalchi, n.d. [1793?] (HR-Dsmb, 166/4620; see Fig. 2). There is also a series of trios, quartets, quintets and sextets.

¹⁷ These are the cavatins "Non voglio più darmi" and "Se di tacer v'impongo" for soprano and strings (HR-Dsmb, 9/224 and 225), the second of which bears the inscription "Per uso del Nobile Fanciullo il Sig. Melchior di Gozze."



Figure 2 Title page of Haydn's *Eco* for the string ensemble, which should be performed in two rooms in order to produce the echo effect. A signature by Paolo Gozze was partly torn; the shelf no. 166/4620 and "Cart.[ellone] 34" were written by Ivan Evandelist Kuzmić, the friar who brought the material to the monastery in the mid-nineteenth century, and other remarks on the preserved parts was written by Albe Vidaković, who was the first to make the new catalogue of the Franciscan collection during the 1950s (Dubrovnik, Samostan Male braće, Glazbena zbirka, 166/4620; reproduced with kind permission).

some of these identify the *copisteria*, its location and the names of copyists. For example, a concerto for violin and orchestra by Dittersdorf (in B) was copied by “Don Giuseppe Baldan Coppista di Musica a S. Giov: Grisostomo. Venezia” (HR-Dsmb, 3/62).¹⁸ It is possible that this man was related to the Venetian composer Angelo Baldan,¹⁹ whose two symphonies are also preserved in Paolo Gozze’s collection at the monastery (HR-Dsmb, 37/1044 and 1045).

Table 2 Publishers represented in the preserved music publications owned by the Gozze family

Publishers	In the Catalogue	Not in the Catalogue	Total
Berlin and Amsterdam: Hummel	1	1	2
Florence: Pagni e Bardi	1	2	3
Florence: Ranieri del Vivo	1	0	1
Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel	0	1	1
London: J. Bland	1	1	2
London: Longman & Broderip	0	1	1
Mainz: Schott	1	0	1
Naples: Marescalchi	4	1	5
Offenbach: André	2	1	3
Paris: Pleyel	1	0	1
Paris: Érard	3	0	3
Paris: Mad. Duhan & Co.	0	1	1
Venice: Zatta	12	3	15
Vienna: Artaria	10	10	20
Vienna: Hoffmeister	3	3	6
Vienna: T. Mollo	2	2	4
Vienna: T. Weigl	0	1	1
Vienna: L. Maisch	0	1	1
Vienna: Magazin de musique	0	3	3
No mention of the publisher	3	0	3
TOTAL: 19 PUBLISHERS	45	32	77

The copyists evidently had fixed tariffs, as in the case of Lodovico Massaglia, who charged half a piastre per *foglio* (i.e. for four leaves).²⁰ His name occurs on quite a number of Dubrovnik manuscripts, and also on ones found in very distant locations – his copy of

¹⁸ Giuseppe Baldan was a very active copyist in Venice, especially of the oeuvre of Baldassarre Galuppi (Buranello; RISM lists fifty-four items by him copied by Baldan) and some other contemporaries. On the other hand, this manuscript of the Dittersdorf concerto is also identified as a piece “Per uso della Sig.^{ra} Baronesa Stigliani,” so it probably did not come to Dubrovnik directly from Baldan’s establishment.

¹⁹ Hansell, “Angelo Baldan,” 529.

²⁰ For a copy of an arrangement for string quartet comprising ten numbers from Cimarosa’s *Gli Orazi ed i Curiazi* (premiered at the Neapolitan theatre of San Carlo in 1795) he charged six piastres for twelve *fogli*, and two piastres for the four *fogli* of a single aria by Gardi (HR-Dsmb, 19/649).

some fragments from Generali's opera *Pamela nubile* even found its way to the collection of Mikhail Sergejevich Vorontsov in Moscow.²¹

The shift of interest towards France and French culture already evident at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the abolition of the Republic of Dubrovnik in 1808, the Napoleonic government and the gradual change in social relations also left their traces on the Gozze material. Besides the titles in French (adopted also by Viennese publishers), there are occasional revelatory remarks on the provenance of manuscripts: for example, a collection of French *romances* for voice with simple instrumental accompaniment is labelled "Paris 1810." In the collection are also two pieces by Antun Sorgo, and the author of one of the texts was Paolo Gozze. Moreover, some seventy prints (both in the catalogue and in the music collection) date from that same period, having been purchased by members of the Gozze family from various European publishers. Pride of place is taken by Viennese publications, with thirty-five examples by Artaria (twenty), Hoffmeister, T. Mollo, L. Maisch, T. Weigl and Magasin de musique. These were owned mostly by Vladislav Paul. They are followed by twenty-three Italian ones from Venice, Florence and Naples, mostly published by Zatta e Figli (Venice), which were almost entirely owned by Paolo Gozze. There are also some French, German and even British publications (see Table 2).

Conclusion

The information provided on the discussed sheet music, as well as the material owned by other Dubrovnik families, testifies to its provenance, proving that the local nobility had a wide ambit of education and interests, not only in literature and philosophy (as proven by their libraries), but also in music. Unlike artists in Dalmatia, who were oriented mostly towards the Venetian Republic (Venice, Padua, Bologna etc.), the nobility of Dubrovnik had the opportunity to enjoy direct contact with many European cities on account of their extensive maritime trade and diplomatic relations. When travelling abroad, they took the opportunity to acquire various *objets d'art* as well as musical material, books etc. Musical education formed part of their intellectual development, and its results were intended to be displayed exclusively in private surroundings. Their teachers were either local musicians or ones from outside Dubrovnik (for example, Paolo Gozze's Venetian violin teacher Momolo Ricci), but they never made an effort – or did not possess the skills – to be creative in music and compose in the manner of their noble contemporaries from the Sorgo family.

They reoriented the direction of their musical (and general) interests in line with the

²¹ See Moscow, Naučnaja muzykal'naja biblioteka im. S. I. Taneeva Moskovskoj gosudarstvennoj konservatorii im. P. I. Čajkovskogo, XYII I–II66. It is possible that this person is actually Mikhail Semyonovich Vorontsov (1782–1856), the son of Semyon Romanovich Vorontsov (1744–1832), an outstanding diplomat serving the Russian empress in London (1784–1806), who received an exquisite education in London and was later created a field-marshal.

developing political, social and cultural situation: from neighbouring Italy towards the enlightened Austria (of Joseph II), and later on towards France.

Finally, the lack of detailed general information on the life and work of four Gozze family members has prompted a musicologist to investigate the musical aspect of their activity, thereby contributing to a deeper insight into their lives and leisure-time as well as into the broader picture of Dubrovnik's intellectual everyday life.

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TUJE MUZIKALIJE DUBROVNIŠKE DRUŽINE GOZZE

Povzetek

Dubrovniška družina Gozze, ena od najstarejših plemiških družin Dubrovniške republike, se je ponašala s člani, ki so bili odlično izobraženi v literaturi in filozofiji, in so ob članih družine Sorkočević (Sorgo) zasedali najvišje državne upravne položaje. Dokazi in neposredni viri so se ohranili v dubrovniškem frančiškanskem samostanu, kjer hranijo tudi enega najobsežnejših in najpomembnejših glasbenih fondov na Hrvaškem. Od sredine 19. stoletja so v zbirko vključene muzikalije dubrovniških patricijev in med njimi tudi katalog muzikalij Paola (Pavao) Gozze. Poleg tega lahko zahvaljujoč se podatkom o muzikalijah te zbirke in njihovi celoviti računalniški obdelavi ugotovimo, da se je v zbirki ohranil tudi del notnega gradiva tega plemiča, in sicer v obliki številnih rokopisov in glasbenih tiskov skladb iz 18. in začetka 19. stoletja.

Članek prinaša pregled teh muzikalij, skladateljev, ki so v njih zastopani, založnikov, pa tudi rokopisnih beležk in njihovih izvorih, o lastnikih obravnavanih muzikalij iz širše družine Gozze (poleg Paola so bili lastniki glasbe tudi njegov brat Melchior ali Melko, oče Giacomo, tudi Jakopica, ter sorodnik Vladislav Pavlov).

Glasbeni tiski so bili nabavljeni največini v tujini – v Italiji, v Avstriji, v Franciji in celo v Angliji. Rokopisna glasba pa je prihajala predvsem iz italijanskih mest, o čemer govorijo razne beležke o prepisovalcih, krajih in datumih izvedb, o izvajalcih ipd.

Na podlagi teh podatkov lahko sklepamo o načinih pridobivanja teh not, za koga so bile nabavljene in celo o glasbeni izobrazbi njihovih lastnikov. Precej lahko razberemo o glasbeni izobrazbi članov družine Gozze (ta je kot primer obravnavana v pričujoči razpravi), pa tudi po analogiji o večjem delu dubrovniškega plemstva na koncu 18. in v začetku 19. stoletja.

FROM GRAZ TO LJUBLJANA? TOWARDS DISCOVERY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE HREN CHOIRBOOKS

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Izvleček: V Hrenovih kornih knjigah je prisotnih pet različnih pisav. Glavni pisec je bil Georg Kuglmann, ostali pa so neznani. Tri pisave (med njimi Kuglmannova) se med seboj prepletajo in kažejo na obstoj delavnice v Gradcu. Ostali dve pisavi pa nakazujeta, da repertoar ni bil v celoti prepisan v Gradcu. Palestrinova Missa L'homme armé je bila (zaradi uporabljenega papirja) verjetno proti koncu 16. stol. prepisana v Innsbrucku, kratki odpevi v slogu falsobordone pa so bili dodani naknadno, morda v Ljubljani.

Abstract: There are five scribal hands evident in the Hren choirbooks. The main scribe for these choirbooks was Georg Kuglmann; the others are unknown. Three scribes (among them, Kuglmann) worked closely together and formed part of a scribal workshop at Graz. The presence of two other scribal hands suggests that not all the repertory was copied in Graz. The Missa L'homme armé of Palestrina was probably copied in Innsbruck in the late sixteenth century (given the paper type), and a few responses in falsobordone style were added in later years, perhaps in Ljubljana.

Ključne besede: korne knjige, paleografija, kodikologija.

Keywords: choirbooks, paleography, codicology.

The Hren choirbooks have been the object of some scholarly attention, especially in Slovenia, though not yet in a fully detailed manner.¹ Thus none of the existing studies reports on the manuscripts' paper types, records all the differences of handwriting or lists the contents and concordances entirely accurately. So the intention of this article is, by means of paleographical and codicological analysis, to confirm the Graz origin of these manuscripts, and also to draw attention to a small portion of one of the manuscripts that suggests the presence of an interpolation not originating in Graz. Especial attention is accordingly paid to scribal hands and watermarks, and, to a lesser extent, also to repertory.

The Hren choirbooks are a collection of six well-preserved large codices from the early seventeenth century that today constitute part of the Manuscript Collection at the

¹ The principal studies of the Hren choirbooks are Gruber, "Magnificatkompositionen in Parodietechnik," 33–60; Höfler, "Gornjegrajska glasbena zbirka," 32–35; Škulj, *Hrenove korne knjige*; and Kokole, "From Graz to Today's Central Slovenia," 335–374.

National and University Library in Ljubljana (SI-Lnr; they are shelfmarked Mss 339–344). When the manuscripts came to the library in Ljubljana is not clear. However, it is most likely they arrived after the reforms of Joseph II in the late eighteenth century, when the episcopal archives from Gornji Grad were acquired (the library was then called the *Lyceal Bibliothek*).² They are not listed in the library inventories of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Since none of these inventories is a complete listing of library items, they do not argue for a later date of accession. However, the codices were certainly in the library's possession before the last decade of the nineteenth century, since in 1889 Ferdinand Bischoff mentioned their presence there in an article on music in Styria.³

As mentioned above, the assumption is that these manuscripts came to the *Lyceal Bibliothek* from the collection of the Bishop's palace in Gornji Grad. There are two main reasons for this supposition. First, the former owner of at least two of the choirbooks (but as likely as not of all six) was the prince-bishop of Ljubljana, Tomaž Hren (Thomas Chrön). Hren, bishop of Ljubljana from 1597 to 1630, was closely connected with the court in Graz, especially from 1614 to 1621, when he served as governor of Inner Austria, residing at Ferdinand's court. Hren was a great music-lover and personally provided repertoire for his musical establishments both at the cathedral of Ljubljana and at the co-cathedral of Gornji Grad. In Ms 344 we find a dedication stating that the volume was presented to Hren in 1616 by Karl Kuglmann, son of the Graz court bass singer and music scribe Georg Kuglmann, who had written out the choirbook.⁴ It must be noted that beyond this fact there is unfortunately no information on how and when Hren acquired the remaining choirbooks. The other volume once indubitably in his possession is Ms 341, which contains a flyleaf with Bishop Hren's coat of arms and his motto plus name written at the top and bottom of the page, respectively.⁵

Second, if Hren had kept the choirbooks in Ljubljana, they would very likely have been listed in the Ljubljana Cathedral music catalogue entitled *Inventarium librorum musicalium ecclesiae cathedralis Labacensis* and compiled between 1620 and 1628 by order of Hren himself.⁶

The Hren choirbooks are of large format, measuring ca. 55 × 40 cm and containing up to 591 folios. They are all written on good-quality paper, which has mostly not suffered damage from ink corrosion, making all the folios more or less perfectly legible and usable. All the books save one (Ms 342) retain their original leather-over-wood binding in white leather; only one (Ms 339) is bound in dark brown leather. The bindings are blind-tooled in very similar fashion. Since the choirbooks of Graz origin from the same period today preserved in the University of Graz Library (Universitätsbibliothek Graz; A-Gu) display similar blind-tooled bindings, and since there were bookbinders active in Graz, the Hren

² See Höfler and Klemenčič, *Glasbeni rokopisi in tiski*, 12–13.

³ Bischoff, "Beiträge zur Geschichte," 139–146.

⁴ See the reproduction of the relevant folio in Kokole, "From Graz to Today's Central Slovenia," 348.

⁵ See the reproduction of the flyleaf *ibid.*, 341.

⁶ Cf. Snoj, *Zgodovina glasbe na Slovenskem*, 367.

codices were most probably bound in Graz.⁷ Although we do not know who actually bound the manuscripts, this may well have been the work of Georg Wagner, who in 1610, for instance, received payment for binding Kuglmann's choirbooks.⁸

The manuscripts contain a large repertory of exclusively liturgical music: Masses, Magnificat settings, litanies, psalms, hymns, Marian antiphons and responses. Nearly all the Masses and many of the Magnificats are of parody or imitation type, based on models dating from the period of Josquin to that of Gabrieli. A high proportion of the pieces (mostly by famous composers of the period) were probably copied from existing prints, but some circulated only in manuscript. However, there are also a fair number of *unica* preserved only in the Hren choirbooks (the majority of these are by composers linked in one way or another to the Graz court).

The first choirbook (Ms 339) contains thirteen Magnificat settings for five to six voices followed by eighteen Masses for four to eight voices, all ordered according to the (ascending) number of voices. This manuscript is especially important on account of the five *unica* it contains: a Magnificat by an unknown *Kleinmeister*, Bartholomeus Damitz; a *Missa Magne pater Augustine* by a little-known Italian composer, Theodorus Leonardus; a *Missa Pastores quid nam vidistis* (based on the homonymous motet of Clemens non Papa) by the *Kapellmeister* in Vienna, Jean Guyot; and a *Missa Aller mi fault* (based on Willaert's similarly named chanson) by the Graz *Kapellmeister* Simone Gatto; and a *Missa Osculetur me* by Orlando di Lasso. For a certain length of time the *Missa Dulce me mori* (based on Sandrin's famous chanson *Doulce memoire*) by Ippolito Chamerò, who was active mostly in northern Italy, was likewise regarded as a *unicum*. This Mass was printed in Chamerò's *Liber primus missarum* (Venice: Scotto, 1569), and the only specimen of this collection was formerly reported as missing; however, it has recently been found.⁹ The composer of this Mass preserved in Ms 339 has hitherto been regarded as unknown – a consequence of the erroneous transcription of his surname (as Lammaterus instead of Cammaterus).¹⁰

The second choirbook (Ms 340) is a collection of twelve settings of the Ordinary of the Mass ordered according to the (descending) number of voices, from eight to four voices. Three *unica* appear in this manuscript: a *Missa Benedicite omnia opera Domini* by the Graz organist Annibale Perini; a *Missa Quanto in milli anni in ciel* (based on Nolett's madrigal) by Bartolomeo Spontone, active in northern Italy; and a *Missa Stabant iusti* (based on Lasso's motet) by Simone Gatto.

The third choirbook (Ms 341) contains eighteen Magnificat settings and eighteen Masses ordered in alternation and descending from ten to five voices,¹¹ plus a few responses

⁷ See, for example, A-Gu, Ms 8. A portion of this choirbook was likewise copied by Georg Kuglmann.

⁸ Federhofer, *Musikpflege*, 96.

⁹ Kurtzman and Schnoebelen, *Catalogue of Mass*. In *Liber primus missarum* the Mass is titled *Missa ad Illustrissimum Parmae et Placentiae Ducissam*.

¹⁰ See Škulj, *Hrenove korne knjige*, 14 and 40.

¹¹ Interestingly, A-Gu, Ms 22, another choirbook from Graz, is organized in similar manner. Georg Kuglmann dedicated it in 1607, each pair comprising a Mass and a Magnificat being offered to a different prominent person in Seckau: "Georg Kugelmann, erzherzogl. Kapellensinger, widmete

for four voices. This codex is next to Ms 339 probably the best-known one among the Hren choirbooks, since it contains a *unicum* by Lasso: a *Magnificat septimi toni* for ten voices. Besides Lasso's *Magnificat*, this choirbook contains six further *unica*: a *Missa* and a *Magnificat* by the Graz *Hofkapellmeister* Pietro Antonio Bianco (both works are based on Giovanni Croce's motet *Percussit Saul mille*); a *Missa Nasce la pena mia* (based on Striggio's famous madrigal) by Spontone; a *Missa Invidiosa amor* (based on another Striggio madrigal) by a musician in the Bavarian *Hofkapelle*, Antonius Gosswin; a *Missa Nisi Dominus aedificaverit domum* (based on Lasso's motet) by Giovanni Flori, active in Catholic south Germany and Italy; and a *Magnificat primi toni* by Gatto. To these, an anonymous versicle and 3 responses in *falsobordone* style should be added.

The fourth choirbook (Ms 342) is a collection of two five-voice settings of the Ordinary of the Mass: one by Jacob Regnart and the other by Gatto.

The fifth choirbook (Ms 343) contains thirty-eight psalms, seventeen Magnificats, thirty-one hymns and two Masses for eight to fourteen voices. There are thirty-six *unica* present in this manuscript: three psalms by Spontone (*Dixit Dominus*, *Confitebor tibi Domine* and *Beatus vir*); a *Magnificat secundi toni* by Lambert de Sayve, a musician active in Graz, Prague, Linz and Vienna; a complete cycle of hymns for the liturgical year (thirty-one in number) by the Graz court organist Francesco Stivori; and a *Missa Exaudi Deus* (based on Gabrieli's motet) by de Sayve.

The final and sixth choirbook (Ms 344) is a collection of litanies for two choirs (comprising four and six voices, respectively) and Marian antiphons for five voices. This contains a single *unicum*: a five-voice Marian antiphon, *Ave Regina coelorum*, by Bianco.

It is well established that the main scribe of these choirbooks was the Graz court bass singer Georg Kuglmann, active as a scribe at least from 1587 until his death in 1613 or 1616, and that other scribal hands are also evident.¹² However, no detailed examination has previously been undertaken.

Through analysis of the scribal hands in detail it becomes sufficiently evident that the Hren choirbooks are the work of five different scribes (see Table 1). As has already been ascertained, especially by Gernot Gruber, Mss 343 and 344 are unquestionably the work of Kuglmann (see Figs. 1 and 2). Ms 339 has similarly been attributed to him alone, although in fact three further scribal hands are discernible.

The copying of Ms 339 was clearly begun by the first scribe (Scribe A), who was responsible for entering the Magnificats (see Fig. 3). A different hand, that of Kuglmann, took over to copy the first four Masses (see Fig. 4). A third hand (Scribe B) then copied most of the next Mass (see Fig. 5), towards the end alternating with Kuglmann. After that, Kuglmann copied another Mass alone. The next Mass (Palestrina's *Missa L'homme armé* for five voices) stands apart from the rest; it is in a completely unrelated hand (Scribe C; see Fig. 6). Scribe B took over to copy the next Mass. There follow four more Masses,

je eine Missa u. ein Magnificat der Hs. dem Bischof v. Seckau, Martin [Brenner], dem Propst v. Seckau Sebastian [Kueler] u. den Chorherren daselbst: Georg Huebner, Zacharias Schwedlinger, Michael Bruchlinger, Georg Harb, Franz Nomander, Paul Faber, Clemens Reichel u. Balthasar Polzmann." See Zotter, "Der Handschriftenkatalog der UB Graz."

¹² For a list of the principal studies, see earlier, n. 1.

all copied by Kuglmann. The next Mass was copied by Scribe A. The remainder of the manuscript is all in Kuglmann's hand.

Table 1 A comparison of scribal hands in the Hren choirbooks





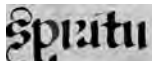
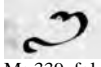


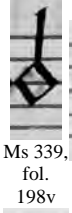
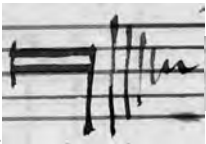
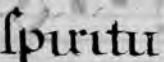
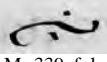
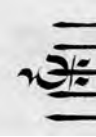



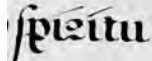
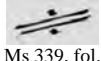
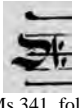



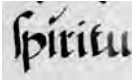
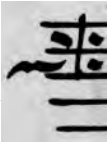



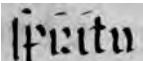

Scribe	Clef (F)	Mensuration Sign	Semi-breve	Final Longa	Text	Idem Sign
A	 Ms 339, fol. 427v	 Ms 339, fol. 427r	 Ms 339, fol. 430r	 Ms 339, fol. 432v	 Ms 340, fol. 168r	 Ms 339, fol. 433r
B	 Ms 339, fol. 195v	 Ms 339, fol. 194r	 Ms 339, fol. 198v	 Ms 339, fol. 212r	 Ms 339, fol. 202v	 Ms 339, fol. 200v
C	 Ms 339, fol. 258r	 Ms 339, fol. 261r	 Ms 339, fol. 258v	 Ms 339, fol. 263v	 Ms 339, fol. 267v	 Ms 339, fol. 272r
D	 Ms 341, fol. 415d	 Ms 341, fol. 415d	 Ms 341, fol. 415d	 Ms 341, fol. 415d	 Ms 341, fol. 415d	—
Kuglmann	 Ms 343B, fol. 419r	 Ms 341, fol. 373r	 Ms 341, fol. 392r	 Ms 341, fol. 393r	 Ms 343A, fol. 375r	 Ms 342, fol. 8v



Figure 1 The handwriting of Georg Kuglmann; Bartolomeo Spontone, *Dixit Dominus* (primus chorus, beginning) (Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Rokopisna zbirka, Ms 343A, fols. 75v–76r; reproduced with kind permission).

The image shows two pages of a handwritten musical score. The left page is titled 'Ave Regina A. s.' and the right page is titled 'Petrus Antonius Bianco. 279'. Both pages contain musical notation on staves with Latin lyrics underneath. The lyrics on the left page include: 'Ave Regina caelorum', 'salve', 'radix sanctae quae mundo hinc est orta', 'Ave Regina caelorum Ave domina angelorum', 'salve radix sanctae quae mundo hinc est orta', 'gaude de gloria', 'Ave domina angelorum', 'salve radix sanctae quae mundo hinc est orta'. The right page lyrics include: 'Ave Regina caelorum Ave domina', 'na angelorum salve radix san', 'cta quae mundo hinc est orta', 'Ave domina angelorum', 'salve radix sanctae quae mundo hinc est orta', 'gaude de'.

Figure 2 The handwriting of Georg Kuglmann; Pietro Antonio Bianco, *Ave Regina* (beginning) (Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Rokopisna zbirka, Ms 344, fols. 278v–279r; reproduced with kind permission).



Figure 3 The handwriting of Scribe A; Hieronimus de Sayve, *Magnificat Sù sù non più dormir* (beginning) (Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Rokopisna zbirka, Ms 339, fols. 86v–87r; reproduced with kind permission).

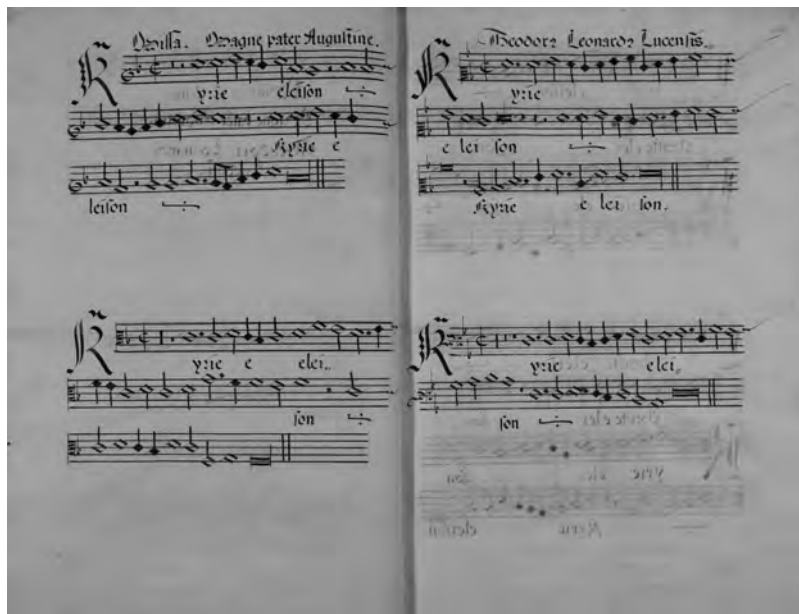


Figure 4 The handwriting of Georg Kuglmann; Theodorus Leonardus, *Missa Magne pater Augustine, Kyrie I* (Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Rokopisna zbirka, Ms 339, fols. 104v–105r; reproduced with kind permission).



Figure 5 The handwriting of Scribe B; Ippolito Baccusi, *Missa Benedicta es, Kyrie I* (Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Rokopisna zbirka, Ms 339, fols. 194v–195r; reproduced with kind permission).

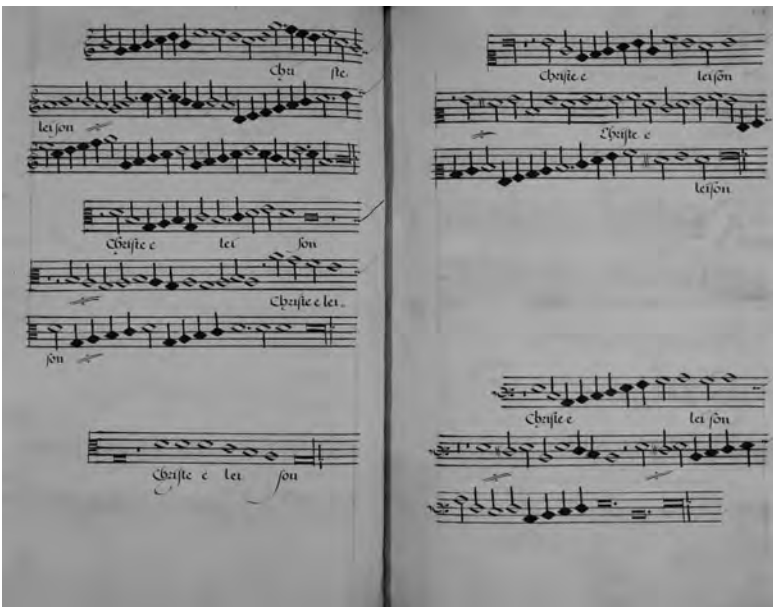


Figure 6 The handwriting of Scribe C; Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Missa L'homme armé, Christe (end)* (Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Rokopisna zbirka, Ms 339, fols. 257v–258r; reproduced with kind permission).

In Ms 340 two hands are in evidence. The volume is divided fairly equally between Scribe A (see Fig. 7) and Kuglmann (see Fig. 8); the two men evidently alternated regularly: one copied the first Mass, the other the second Mass, and so forth.



Figure 7 The handwriting of Scribe A; Annibale Perini, *Missa Benedicite omnia opera Domini, Agnus Dei* (beginning) (Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Rokopisna zbirka, Ms 340, fols. 34v–35r; reproduced with kind permission).

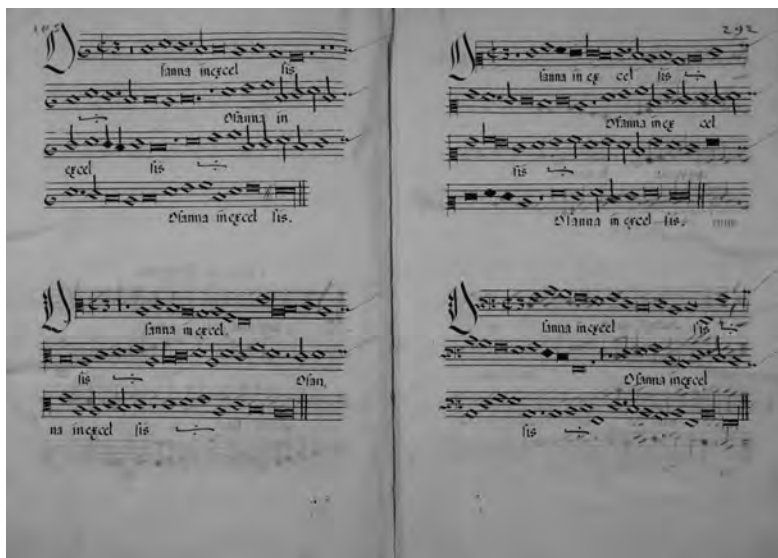


Figure 8 The handwriting of Georg Kuglmann; Johannes de Cleve, *Missa Vivre ne puis, Osanna* (Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Rokopisna zbirka, Ms 340, fols. 291v–292r; reproduced with kind permission).

In Ms 341 three hands are in evidence. The music of the first twenty-two compositions was copied by Kuglmann, while the text was entered by Scribe A (see Fig. 9). Interestingly, both the music and the text of the altus on fol. 242 is the work of Scribe A (see Fig. 10). The next piece (both text and music) was copied by Kuglmann, but at the end of the piece Kuglmann and Scribe A alternate, each entering the text on a single page, one after the other (see Fig. 11). The next section of the manuscript was copied by Kuglmann. After that a few responses in *falsobordone* style are written in a hand completely different from the others (Scribe D; see Fig. 12). The remainder of the manuscript is once again in Kuglmann's hand.



Figure 9 Handwritings of Georg Kuglmann (music) and Scribe A (text); Orlando di Lasso, *Magnificat septimi toni a 10* (end) (Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Rokopisna zbirka, Ms 341, fols. 33v–34r; reproduced with kind permission).

Ms 342 is once again the work of two scribes. The first Mass is copied by Kuglmann (see Fig. 13), the second by Scribe A (see Fig. 14).

What can be gleaned from the above brief observations? Who were the scribes of the choirbooks besides Kuglmann?

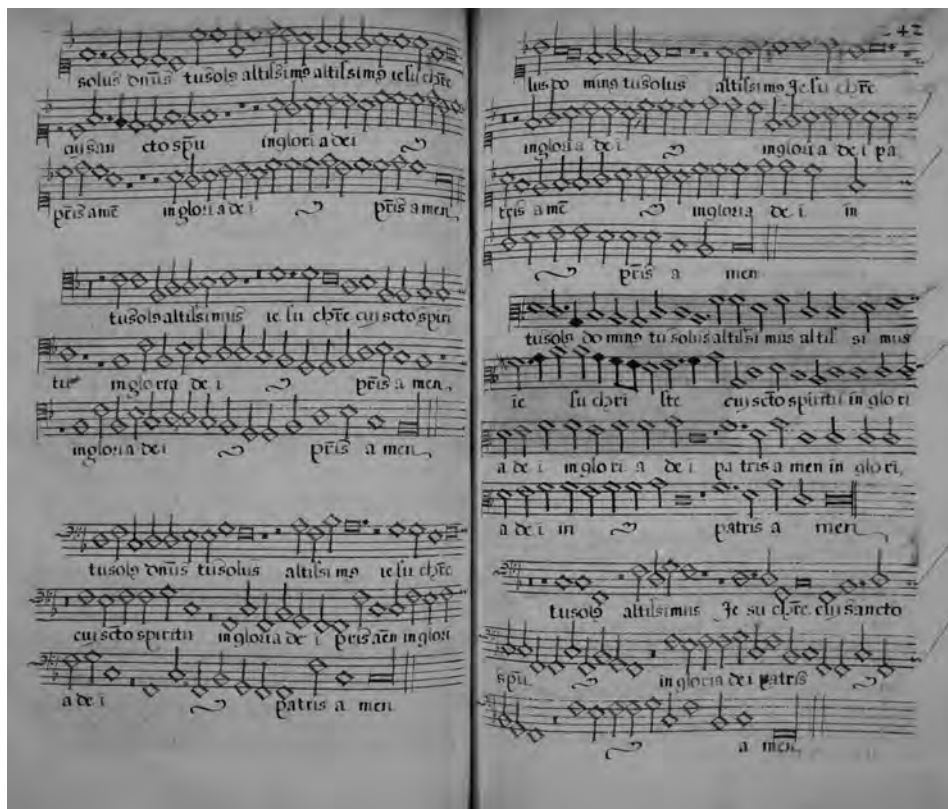


Figure 10 Handwritings of Georg Kuglmann (music) and Scribe A (text and music of the altus); Andrea Gabrieli, *Missa Pater peccavi*, Gloria (end) (Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Rokopisna zbirka, Ms 341, fols. 241v–242r; reproduced with kind permission).

It is known that there were other scribes among the musicians at Graz court.¹³ However, none is mentioned as being a music scribe in the *Hofkammerakten*. The system of division between Scribe A, Scribe B and Kuglmann is interesting; it appears that they worked in close collaboration and were therefore contemporaries. But what about Scribes C and D? As the interpolation of responses in *falsobordone* style occurs in the space left void at the end of Gatto's *Magnificat primi toni*, it appears that Scribe D must have entered those responses at some later stage, after the original corpus had been copied. When exactly this was done is impossible to establish. Since the responses are not listed in the index, perhaps they were added at a time when the codex had already reached Ljubljana.

The case of Scribe C is rather more complicated. It is interesting that the work copied is a Mass by Palestrina, since Palestrina's Masses are otherwise completely absent from many of the sources of Graz origin preserved today. That fact implies that this layer of

¹³ See, for example, Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker am Grazer Habsburgerhof*, 163.

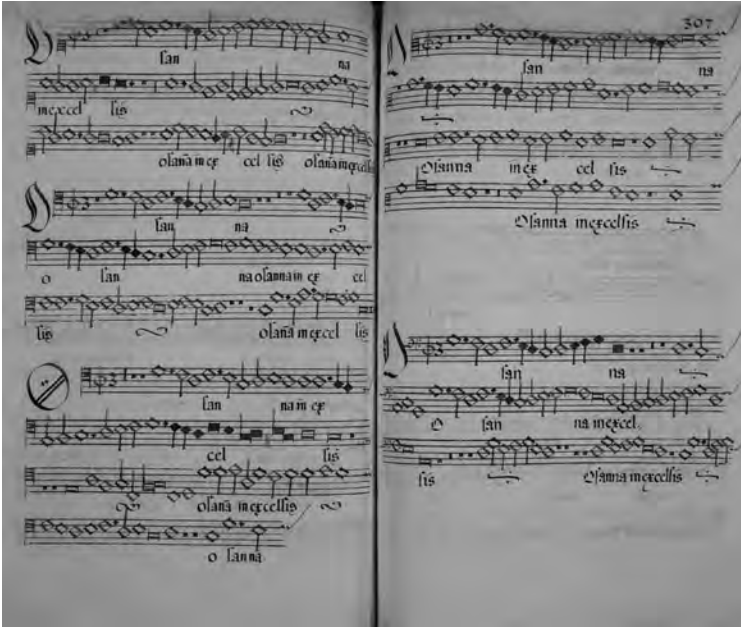


Figure 11 Handwritings of Georg Kuglmann (music and text on the recto) and Scribe A (text on the verso); Jacobus Vaet, *Missa quodlibetica*, Osanna (Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Rokopisna zbirka, Ms 341, fols. 306v–307r; reproduced with kind permission).

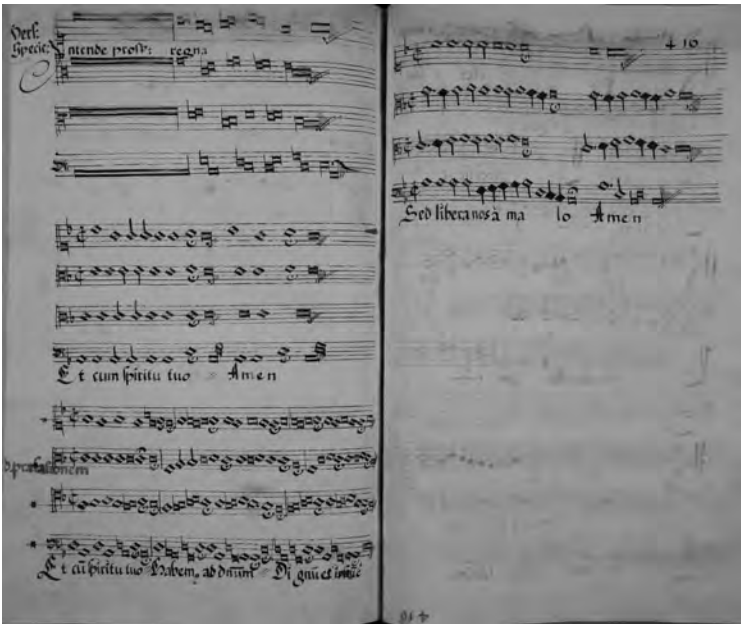


Figure 12 The Handwriting of Scribe D; *Falsobordoni* (Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Rokopisna zbirka, Ms 341, fol. 415d–416r; reproduced with kind permission).

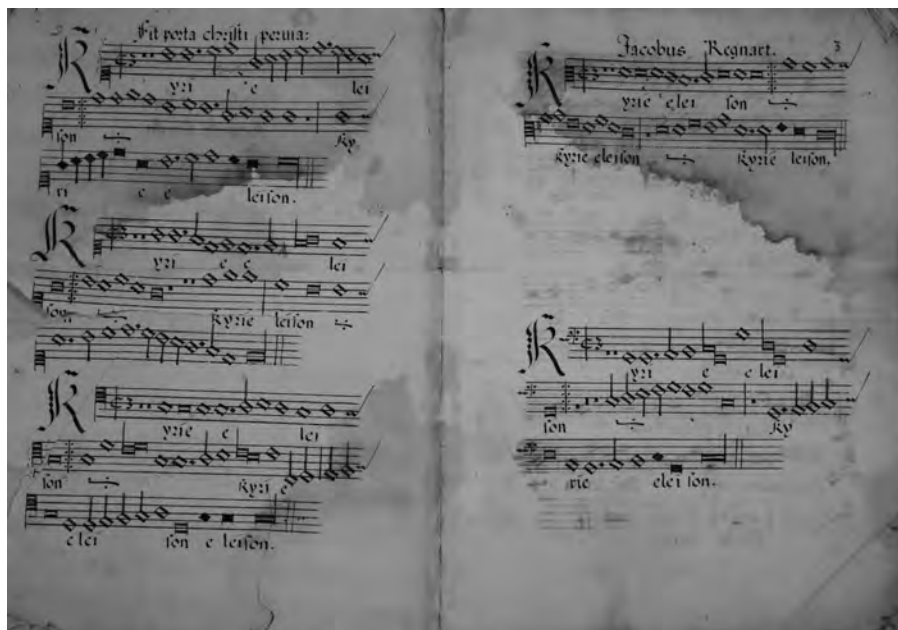


Figure 13 The handwriting of Georg Kuglmann; Jacobus Regnart, *Missa Fit porta Christi pervia*, Kyrie I (Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Rokopisna zbirka, Ms 342, fols. 2v–3r; reproduced with kind permission).

The image shows two pages of a handwritten musical manuscript. The left page is folio 21v and the right page is folio 22r. Both pages feature three systems of music, each beginning with a large red initial 'K'. The lyrics are written below the staves. The title 'Missa Scarco di doglia' is written at the top of the first system on the left page, and 'Simon Gatto.' is written at the top of the first system on the right page. The lyrics include 'Kyrie eleison' and 'Kyrie eleison'. The notation is in a historical style with square notes on a four-line staff.

Figure 14 The handwriting of Scribe A; Simone Gatto, *Missa Scarco di doglia*, Kyrie I (Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Rokopisna zbirka, Ms 342, fols. 21v–22r; reproduced with kind permission).

Ms 339 has a different origin from the rest of the codex. To discover its possible origin, the paper type it employs has to be examined.

The watermark that appears most frequently by far in the Hren choirbooks is a large-snake design (see Fig. 15), very similar to Briquet 13808. This is a type documented in the German-speaking lands in the last quarter of the sixteenth century and approximately the first decade of the seventeenth century. This paper type was used extensively by Kuglmann throughout his active period as a scribe and was employed also for Ms 339.



Figure 15 A large-snake watermark (Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Rokopisna zbirka, Ms 340, fol. 258 (detail); reproduced with kind permission).

However, Scribe C used different paper. The paper of the Palestrina layer (see Fig. 16) is not otherwise represented in the large choirbooks of Graz origin. The watermark – a circle enclosing the letter K (similar to Briquet 8268) – places the source of the paper in Kempten, as Lilian P. Pruett has established, this being one of several paper-producing communities in the Allgäu, Bavaria, just across the border from Tyrol. The Kempten papermill was the principal source of the official and personal paper supplies for Ferdinand II of Tyrol from 1565 to the early 1590s, after which the Tyrolean chancellery began to purchase paper from a mill in Wattens, Tyrol.¹⁴ The choirbooks known to come from the other Habsburg *Kapellen* do not employ this paper. However, it was widely used between 1578 and 1595 in Augsburg by Johannes Dreher, a scribe at the monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra, and is also traceable in Munich.¹⁵

The watermark of the just-discussed layer of Ms 339 thus suggests three possible places of origin: Augsburg, Munich and Innsbruck. The scribal hands in Dreher's manuscripts and the Munich choirbook differ greatly from the one in Ms 339. The sources from Innsbruck, however, are almost entirely lost, making it impossible to compare all the scribal hands. However, there is a fact that speaks in favour of an Innsbruck provenance for the Palestrina layer. One of Kuglmann's colleagues, Johann Faber from Carniola, a bassist at the Graz court, is documented as a music scribe at the Innsbruck court from 1564 to 1595.¹⁶ It therefore seems plausible that Faber copied Palestrina's Mass in Innsbruck and brought it with him to Graz, where it was included in Ms 339.¹⁷

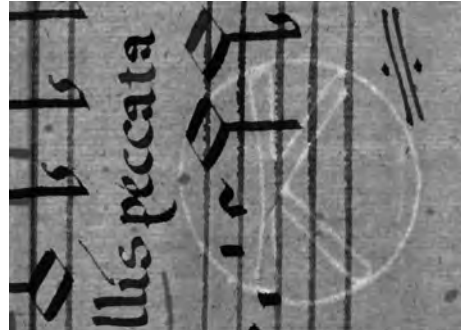
¹⁴ Pruett, "Little-Known Renaissance Polyphonic Hymn Cycle," 832–833.

¹⁵ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (D-Mbs), Mus.ms. 79, from ca. 1580, evidences use of the same paper.

¹⁶ Tschmuck, *Die höfische Musikpflege in Tirol*, 61.

¹⁷ As the Innsbruck and Graz courts had close ties, it could well have been sent from Innsbruck

Figure 16 K-in-circle watermark (Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Rokopisna zbirka, Ms 339, fol. 288 (detail); reproduced with kind permission).



Let us try now to draw some conclusions about the origin of the Hren choirbooks, on the basis of the above observations.

The organization of the Hren choirbooks is fairly clear; the contents being grouped by type of composition and number of voices. Despite their obvious rigorous organization, the copying was not executed continuously from the first folio to the last but was, rather, a more complex operation entailing the copying of different layers at different times (even in Ms 343, entirely written out by Kuglmann, there is evidence of one layer being copied well before the rest of the manuscript).

From the paleographical characteristics of the codices we may deduce that there probably existed a scribal workshop in Graz responsible for copying and compiling the Hren choirbooks. But codicological and repertorial evidence shows that one small section of Ms 339 was of different provenance, its most probable place of origin being Innsbruck. Moreover, while the main part of Ms 339 appears to date from the early seventeenth century, the watermark of the Palestrina layer shows this part of the codex to be a little older, thus to have a prehistory.

So the Hren choirbooks are typical products of their era. They are a collection of manuscripts containing liturgical music by local composers as well as works imported from elsewhere. As typically occurs, the work of several scribes can be detected: these were professional copyists working in a scribal workshop that produced many choirbooks, only a handful of which, unfortunately, have survived up to the present day.

to Graz already before 1595, when Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol died and the *Kapelle* was consequently disbanded.

Sources

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IZ GRADCA V LJUBLJANO?
NA POTI K IZVORU HRENOVIH KORNIH KNJIG

Povzetek

Med najpomembnejše glasbene rokopise s konca 16. in začetka 17. stoletja, ohranjene v slovenskih knjižnicah in arhivih, sodi šest velikih kornih knjig, ki jih danes hrani Glasbena zbirka Narodne in univerzitetne knjižnice v Ljubljani (Ms 339–Ms 344). Rokopisi vsebujejo liturgično glasbo (predvsem maše in uglasbitve kantika *Magnificat*, pa tudi litanije, himne, marijanske antifone in psalme) italijanskih in frankoflamskih skladateljev, ki so vsaj nekaj časa delovali v južnem, katoliškem delu nemško govorečega področja. Med njimi so tako imena slavnih mojstrov 16. stoletja (npr. Orlando di Lasso, Philippe de Monte in Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina) kot tudi popolnoma neznanih skladateljev (npr. Hieronymus de Sayve). Korne knjige so v prvih desetletjih 17. stoletja prešle v last ljubljanskega knezoškofa Tomaža Hrena (škof v letih 1597–1630), tesno povezanega z graškim dvorom. Po njem se tako omenjeni rokopisi navadno imenujejo Hrenove korne knjige.

Hrenovi kodeksi so že bili predmet preučevanja, a z omejenimi izsledki. Iz ene izmed knjig je razvidno, da je bil njihov glavni pisec graški dvorni basist Georg Kuglmann in da so bile torej v večjem delu napisane v Gradcu. Vendar pa je prisotnih več različnih pisav, prav tako je raznorodni papir, iz katerega je mogoče razbrati različne vodne znake. Različni pisci in vodni znaki nakazujejo, da repertoar ni bil v celoti prepisan v Gradcu, a je bil tam najverjetneje kompiliran. Poleg Kuglmannove pisave se v kodeksih pojavljajo še štiri druge neznane pisave. Tri pisave (med njimi Kuglmannova) se med seboj prepletajo in kažejo na obstoj delavnice v Gradcu. Ostali dve pisavi pa nakazujeta, da repertoar ni bil v celoti prepisan v Gradcu. Kot kaže uporabljen papir (z vodnim znakom), je bila Palestrinova *Missa L'homme armé* najverjetneje proti koncu 16. stol. prepisana v Innsbrucku, kratki odpevi v slogu *falsobordone* pa so bili dodani naknadno (na kar mdr. kaže njihova umestitev na prazni dve strani enega izmed kodeksov), morda celo v Ljubljani.

P. MAURITIUS PÖHM AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO MUSICAL LIFE IN NOVO MESTO DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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Izyleček: Prispevek predstavlja nekaj najpomembnejših ugotovitev raziskave t. i. Pöhmovih muzikalij v Novem mestu. P. Mavricij Pöhm, frančiškan in organist, se je rodil na Češkem leta 1745. Pozneje je deloval v več samostanih v slovenskem in hrvaškem delu nekdanje frančiškanske province sv. Križa, kjer je tudi umrl leta 1803. Njegovo češko poreklo in sloves izvrstnega glasbenika je zgodovinarje v preteklosti spodbudilo na eni strani k domnevi o odločilni vlogi p. Pöhma pri oblikovanju glasbenega repertoarja v Novem mestu v drugi polovici 18. stoletja, na drugi strani pa k domnevi, da je bil prav Pöhm oseba, ki je novomeški samostan oskrbela s številnimi glasbenimi rokopisi s Češkega. Omenjena raziskava je obe domnevi preverila, prvič, z vidika dejanskega obsega muzikalij v novomeškem samostanu, ki jih je mogoče zanesljivo povezovati z delom p. Pöhma v njem, in drugič, z ugotavljanjem geografskega izvora papirja, na katerem je glasba napisana.

Ključne besede: glasbeni repertoar, Novo mesto, frančiškani, 18. stoletje.

Abstract: The paper presents some of the most significant results of research on the so-called Pöhm music collections in Novo mesto (Ger. Rudolfswerth, Lat. Neostadium). P. Mauritius Pöhm, born in Bohemia in 1745, was a Franciscan friar and organist. He was later active in several monasteries in the Slovenian and Croatian regions of the former Franciscan province of the Holy Cross, where he died in 1803. His Bohemian roots and his high reputation as a musician have led some scholars in the past to assume, first, that Pöhm played a decisive role in the formation of the musical repertory in Novo mesto during the second half of the eighteenth century, and, second, that he personally obtained numerous music manuscripts preserved in Novo mesto from Bohemia. Both conjectures have been re-examined in the course of the present research – with a view to discerning the real extent of the music in this repertory that can convincingly be linked to Pöhm personally, and also to establishing its geographical origin through a study of the paper on which the manuscripts were written.

Keywords: music repertory, Novo mesto, Franciscans, eighteenth century.

The name of Mauritius Pöhm has been known to modern historians ever since the mid-1960s, when two important music collections were brought to light in Novo mesto (Ger. Rudolfswerth, Lat. Neostadium) during a stocktaking of old musical manuscripts and prints

on Slovenian territory.¹ When added to the less comprehensive collection of music from the second half of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century held by the local chapter church, the collection in the Franciscan monastery at Novo mesto supplements in an important way our knowledge of eighteenth-century music in the Slovenian lands, with regard not only to the art of composition cultivated by native-born musicians at that time, but also to the musical repertoire that reached the Slovenian provinces from other parts of Europe.

The monastery's collection contains over five hundred archival units comprising various vocal and/or instrumental church works and compositions for keyboard instruments, as well as a wide range of music for string, or other instrumental, chamber ensembles.² Another essential characteristic that distinguishes this collection and sets it apart from comparable music collections on Slovenian soil (in Celje, Ptuj, Ljubljana and Maribor, as well as Koper and Piran) is the very wide range of composers represented. The music from the eighteenth century that it contains consists mainly of works by contemporary Central European composers – whether musicians of merely local importance or widely influential Viennese and other Austrian ones – as well as numerous Czech and Bavarian masters. Alongside these, the collection also includes pieces originating from more distant European cultural centres, such as London and Paris. It naturally also contains typical examples of eighteenth-century Franciscan music, which was geographically much more limited, being disseminated in the form of so-called “choirbook” manuscripts exclusively within the monasteries of this order.³

As Janez Höfler admitted at the time of the discovery of this repertoire some fifty years ago, the diversity, up-to-dateness and, most especially, emphatically international character of this musical repertoire from eighteenth-century Novo mesto seemed, in the light of the “general cultural situation in this part of the Slovenian territory at that time [...] almost unfathomable”.⁴ Höfler accordingly tried to find an explanation for the characteristics of the two collections from Novo mesto by focusing on the personal ambitions of musicians of the past working in Novo mesto rather than on any systematic “cultural policy” pursued by the institutions in which they were active.⁵

In this regard, three names come to the fore on account of their frequent appearance on the covers of the Novo mesto musical items dating from the second half of the eighteenth century. First, there are the names of two Franciscan friars: Mauritius Pöhm and Calist Weibl. The second man was born in Novo mesto in 1749 and was (also as an organist) later active in several monasteries in the Slovenian and Croatian portions of the former Franciscan province of the Holy Cross (in Novo mesto, Ljubljana, Klanjec and Trsat).⁶ But these items also frequently contain the name of a certain, still completely

¹ Höfler, “Glasbenozgodovinske najdbe,” 136.

² See *ibid.*, 135–148; Faganel, “Glasbeni repertoar,” 120–123; Škrjanc, “Prispevek k poznavanju,” 33–55.

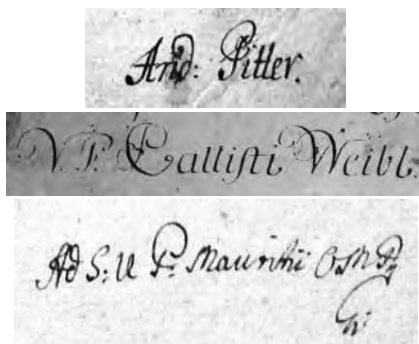
³ See Škrjanc, “Frančiškanske korne knjige,” 65–86; Barbo, “‘Cantual’ brežiškega frančiškanskega samostana,” 257–273.

⁴ Höfler, “Glasbenozgodovinske najdbe,” 136.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*; see also Kinderić, *Franjevci uz orgulje*, 152.

unknown, music copyist and perhaps musician, Andreas Pitter, who must have been in close contact with Pöhm, as will be explained later.



Figures 1a, 1b and 1c Inscriptions of Pitter's, Weibl's and Pöhm's names in the manuscripts SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 113a, 90 and 54a (Novo mesto, Knjižnica Frančiškanskega samostana; reproduced with kind permission).

Pöhm's name is especially interesting in connection with the creation of the repertoire under discussion. To express this more precisely: this was the name under which a musician who supposedly had a decisive impact on the musical activities of the local Franciscans in the second half of the eighteenth century signed numerous music manuscripts in Novo mesto. His Czech origin might on one hand – at least in principle – “explain the classicist orientation of the Novo mesto monastery's repertoire, characterized by the well-known German and Czech artists,” as Höfler puts it.⁷ On the other hand, it also provides us with an opportunity to establish a link between the specific presence of musical items by Czech composers in Novo mesto and the contacts that Pöhm could have maintained with his native land after his arrival in Novo mesto or even to conclude that he brought with him from Bohemia at least a segment of these musical collections when he first arrived on Slovenian territory.

When and from exactly where Pöhm came to Novo mesto still remain unknown, since his life has not yet received any serious scholarly attention.⁸ What is certain is that he was living in that city from at least 1774, when he took up a teaching position at the local grammar school. He taught there until 1786, as well as serving as its prefect during the period 1784–1785.⁹ In 1788 he was appointed Guardian of the Franciscans in Novo mesto,

⁷ Höfler, “Glasbenozgodovinske najdbe,” 136.

⁸ A more detailed investigation of Pöhm's life has recently been initiated by the author of this article. So far, this research has provided some new information about Pöhm's early life in Carniola: for instance, his residence in Kamnik in 1764. See “Tempore gubernante Provinciam A. R. P. Joanne Nepom. Tropper Min. Prov. a. 1764” (rubric “Familia Conventus Camnicensis”), preserved in Ljubljana, Knjižnica Frančiškanskega samostana. In this document Pöhm is described as a church organist (“Cleric. Org.”). The same document mentions Beno Majer (1736–1818), who was likewise an important Franciscan musician working in Kamnik at that time, and was even perhaps Pöhm's music teacher (“VP. Beño Maÿr Org. instruet Novitios in cantu”).

⁹ Höfler, “Glasbenozgodovinske najdbe,” 136.

retaining this post up to his death in 1803.¹⁰ The necrology and other documentation of the Franciscan province of the Holy Cross also reveal that Pöhm was born in Bohemia in April 1745 and baptized with the name of Antonius, and that he was a brilliant organist and musician (“Organista, et Musicus praestantissimus”), a highly respected man among the people and a very popular friar. His funeral, which took place on Easter Sunday in April 1803, was accordingly unlike “any funeral Novo mesto had seen before.”¹¹

Besides providing other data concerning Pöhm’s death and also his personality, these documents also contain mention of Pöhm’s entry into the Franciscan Order in the Slovenian-Croatian Province of the Holy Cross as early as August 1763, when this province was headed by Friar Joannes Nepomucenus Tropper.¹² Another indication that Pöhm lived in this province during the 1760s – at the young age of twenty – was recently discovered by Petar Kinderić. This is the mention of a short stay by Pöhm in Samobor, Croatia, in 1769 (at this time the Samobor monastery belonged to the same province as that in Novo mesto).¹³

The two reports therefore suggest that Pöhm arrived on Slovenian and Croatian territory, respectively, earlier than has previously been supposed – a fact that naturally also raises doubts about the hypothesis that he brought with him to Novo mesto the musical items in question that included at least a few from Bohemia. In view of Pöhm’s important role in building up the eighteenth-century musical repertoire of the Franciscans in Novo mesto – which, as already stated, is attested by numerous “written traces” – this repertoire needs to be re-examined with two aims: (1) to establish the precise identity of the musical items in the repertoire directly associable with Friar Pöhm, and (2) to determine their origin and the date of their creation. This research task is, however, only the starting point for a wider assessment of Pöhm’s life and work that, in addition to the perusal of Slovenian archives, should also cover at least the archives of three monasteries in Croatia: at Trsat, Samobor and Klanjec, where one of only two works attributable to Pöhm has been preserved.¹⁴

¹⁰ See “Chronicon conventus Neostadiensis ab Anno 1762 usque ad annum 1830: Tomus III,” 524 and 575, preserved in Novo mesto, Knjižnica Frančiškanskega samostana; see also “Discretorium Conventus 1732 – 1752 – 1809” in the same library.

¹¹ See “Necrologium provinciae S. Crucis Croatiae – Carniolae tam unitae, quam separatae, quondam Bosnae – Croatiae, adjunctis etiam Fratibus, qui per Sexennium in Conventus Styriae, et Carinthiae decreto Josephi II. Provincia Carniolae unitis obierunt: Ab anno 1490. [...], IX. Aprilis,” preserved in Novo mesto, Knjižnica Frančiškanskega samostana.

¹² See “Nomina Electionis Praesidium: Ab Anno 1514; usque ad praesens Tempus” (rubric “Sub 2do Provincialatu A.R.P. Joan. Nepom. Tropper, electi 31. Julii 1763”), preserved in Ljubljana, Knjižnica Frančiškanskega samostana. See also earlier, n. 8.

¹³ Kinderić, *Franjevci uz orgulje*, 102–103.

¹⁴ The authorship of Pöhm’s work preserved in Klanjec, *Litaniae ex C con Canto* (RISM 500077902), is unequivocal – on account of the inscription “Authore P: Mauritio Pöhm Franciscano” on the first page. Pöhm’s authorship of the second composition (*Aria de Immaculata: Aria pro Festis Pentecostalibus a Canto Solo, Violino Primo, Violino Secondo, Cornu Primo, Cornu Secondo con Organo*; RISM 540000794), today preserved in Novo mesto, is less certain. Its manuscript contains an inscription, “Auth: P: M: P: F.,” that is probably an abbreviation for the same “Authore P: Mauritio Pöhm Franciscano;” however, the evidence for this attribution lacks conclusive proof.

The research proceeded in two phases: the first phase was the identification of all musical material in Novo mesto that can clearly be linked to Friar Pöhm; in the second phase, this material was examined to establish the origin of the paper on which the music was written. The findings of this phase of research are of merely comparative value, since they can in no way lead to a conclusion that a given manuscript written, for instance, on paper of Venetian origin in fact found its way into Slovenian territory from the Veneto.

Nevertheless, in combination with other known data, these findings can contribute usefully to the elaboration of various hypotheses by increasing or lowering their probability. One such datum, for example, reveals that the market for paper in eighteenth-century Carniola, hence also in Novo mesto, was mostly supplied from the 1740s onwards by regional manufacturers (especially Antonius and Dismos Nickel), and from 1760 onwards also by Thomas Cumar from Gorizia and André Müller from Radeče in Lower Styria.¹⁵ The Carniolan paper market was also partly supplied by four mills in neighbouring Carinthia: the Tengg mill in Villach (Slov. Beljak), the Weinländer mill in St. Ruprecht (Slov. Šentrupert) near Klagenfurt (Slov. Celovec) and the Šentvid mill on the Glina River, plus the famous Upper Austrian *Steyer-Altmühle*, especially during the period of its management by Johann Kienmoser (1750–1783). So nearly all the manuscripts of music by native-born composers dating from that period employed paper manufactured in one of the above-named mills.¹⁶ Similarly, the binding of most of the music manuscripts and prints preserved in Novo mesto, including that of items of undoubtedly foreign provenance, took place on Slovenian territory.¹⁷ At the same time, no locally produced manuscripts containing works by “external” musicians were copied on paper originating from Bohemia and Moravia – a fact of particular importance for research into the “Pöhm music collections” in Novo mesto.

Both parts of the research were accompanied by two problems: the first was the presence of several watermarks (on the examined paper) that could not be identified with any degree of certainty. The second problem was the form of the handwriting almost certainly attributable to Friar Pöhm, since there are considerable differences between individual graphemes. On one hand, this handwriting constitutes a fairly recognizable *manuproprium* that cannot be found in any other music collection in Slovenia. The same *manuproprium* was used for inscriptions on the covers of the manuscripts, stating that they were intended for Pöhm’s personal use (“Ad Simplicem Usum P. Mauriti Pöhm OMR”), as well as for some manuscripts in their entirety – for example, the manuscript SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 278a – and for a considerable number of individual parts in other manuscripts that are written in another person’s hand but whose covers feature inscriptions of the same kind.

¹⁵ On paper production and commerce in eighteenth-century Carniola, see Šorn, “Starejši mlini,” 92–104.

¹⁶ For more information on this subject, see also Škrjanc, “Prispevek k dataciji,” 42–60.

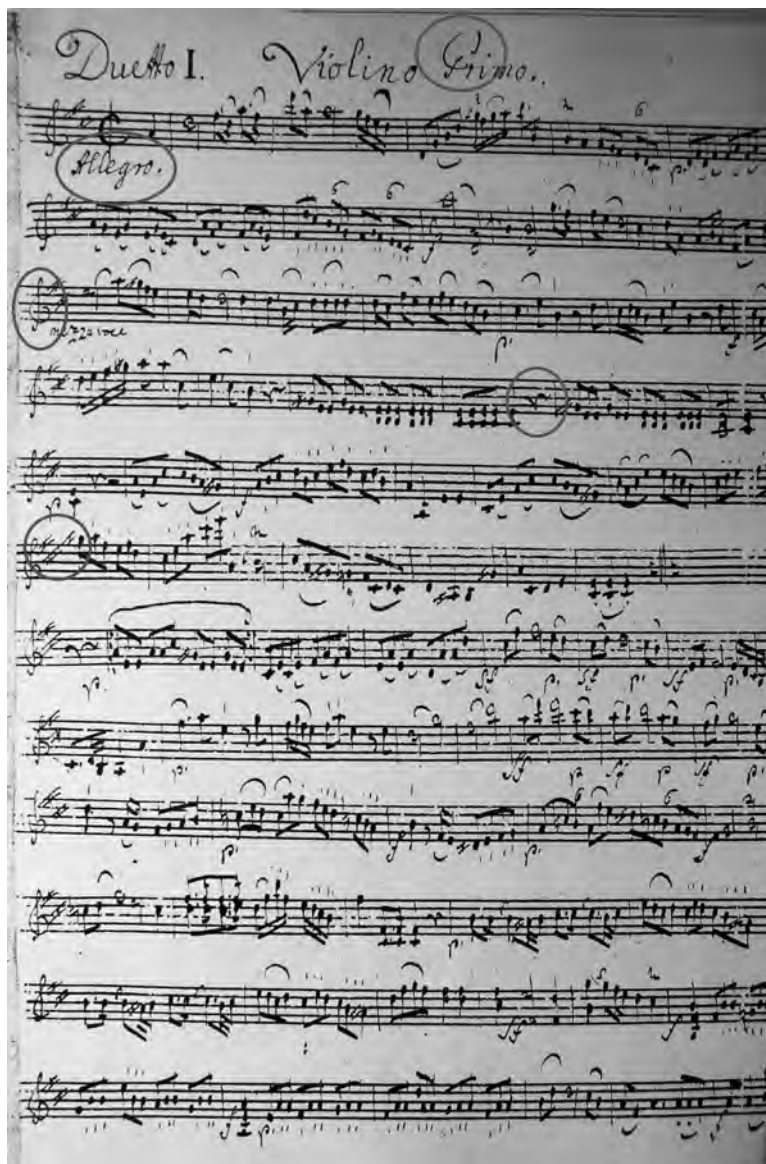
¹⁷ Such as, for instance, the binding of Kobrich’s six Masses op. 7 (Augsburg: Lotter, 1751), and that of Hirschbergers’s collection *Philomena cisterciensis* (Burghausen: Luzenberger, 1743): both bindings exhibit watermarks of Antonius Nickel from around 1750. Interestingly, the soprano part of Hirschberger’s collection preserved in Novo mesto contains an additional sheet of paper with Pöhm’s transcription (?) of an unidentified setting of Sanctus and the verse “Te ergo quaesumus.”



Figures 2a and 2b Pöhm's (?) handwriting in the manuscript SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 278a (Novo mesto, Knjižnica Frančiškanskega samostana; reproduced with kind permission).

One such example is the manuscript SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 115b, which was written out partly by Weibl and Pöhm, and partly by some other copyist whose identity remains unknown.

On the other hand, the material in question also contains another three manuscripts copied by Pöhm (SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 290, 291 and 418), which – like manuscript 278a – display a relatively uniform handwriting. Each of these is probably also written in the



same ink and on paper from the same manufacturer. Nevertheless, these manuscripts differ considerably in their individual graphemes. And, looking at the situation from another perspective, what all these manuscripts have in common is precisely the fact that their handwriting employs graphemes different in character from those of all the other handwritings in the same archive.



Figures 3a, 3b, 3c and 3d Different graphemes of Pöhm's (?) handwriting shown in the manuscripts SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 290 and 291 (Novo mesto, Knjižnica Frančiškanskega samostana; reproduced with kind permission).



The image displays a page of handwritten musical notation, identified as "Sonata I". The score is written on ten staves, organized into five systems of two staves each. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings. A circled "Llegro" marking is present at the beginning of the second staff. Several measures throughout the score are circled, highlighting specific musical phrases or techniques. The handwriting is in an older style, and the paper shows signs of age and wear.



The different “faces” of this (probably one and the same) handwriting may perhaps be explained through the then customary division of the manner or, rather, style of handwriting into “conceptual” and “calligraphic” varieties – a distinction illustrated by, *inter alia*, the manuscripts SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 100 and 115c, both of which probably exhibit Pöhm’s handwriting. To a certain extent, these differences may also be understood as the product of an evolution of handwriting over time – i.e., over the course of no fewer than thirty or perhaps even forty years (the period when Pöhm was working as a friar and musician in the Franciscan province of the Holy Cross).

There is still no definitive answer to the question concerning Pöhm’s handwriting. Perhaps more will be known after the examination of other written material in the Novomesto monastery and the music collections of the three already mentioned monasteries in Croatia. Therefore, the examined musical material in Novomesto is, in one way or another, with the work of Friar Pöhm, should provisionally be divided into three groups. The first group (A) comprises manuscripts that on their covers or in their separate parts contain indications of Pöhm’s ownership. This group may further be divided into two subgroups (A/1 and 2 – see Table 1). The first subgroup contains fourteen manuscripts, each supplied with a label providing evidence of Pöhm’s ownership of the music, which suggests that they were all very probably copied by Pöhm’s hand, plus another two manuscripts (*) with similar inscriptions, which were jotted down on the covers by Weibl. Within this subgroup Weibl’s handwriting appears on four further covers and no fewer than twenty-seven separate parts belonging to six manuscripts, where only the above-mentioned two manuscripts (i.e., 290 and 418) were copied by Pöhm, leaving aside a further eight separate parts for three other manuscripts. However, apart from specimens of Weibl’s handwriting, these items also feature a number of other, unknown hands and several short inscriptions that were most likely inserted by Pöhm.

Annotations of this kind are more frequently encountered in the third (C) group of manuscripts (see Table 2). These have mostly been preserved incomplete; they contain no inscriptions with Pöhm’s name but were nevertheless most probably written out by him. In addition to manuscripts with shorter or longer annotations in the same handwriting – such as in the manuscript SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 113a, produced and owned by the already mentioned copyist Andreas Pitter – this group also includes manuscripts that were perhaps partly or even wholly copied by Pöhm.

The second section of group A (see Table 1) comprises the musical items produced by Pitter, which subsequently, at an unknown date and for unknown reasons, came into Pöhm’s hands. This sequence of ownership is demonstrated by the previously mentioned inscriptions on the covers, all of which are – with a single exception (the manuscript SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 127) – written over Pitter’s name, which has been blotted out. Interestingly, Pöhm’s handwriting did not leave any significant trace in this portion of the manuscripts, appearing only in one separate part (the *basso* of the manuscript SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 113b) in addition to the inscriptions affirming Pöhm’s ownership. These manuscripts make up a fairly uniform group of musical items consisting mainly of secular compositions for stringed and wind instruments (only two compositions feature church music, which otherwise dominates the “Pöhm music collections” in Novomesto). In addition to displaying Pitter’s authorship, these manuscripts show an even greater degree of uniformity in respect



Figure 4 Pitter's handwriting and Pöhm's (?) annotations in the *Canto solo* part of SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 113a (Novo mesto, Knjižnica Frančiškanskega samostana; reproduced with kind permission).

of the paper on which they were written. With the exception of three items, all exhibit the type of paper that, as already stated, was dominant in Carniola between the 1760s and the 1790s (see Table 3).¹⁸ Two manuscripts (of *Divertimentos* for strings by Pietro Domenico Paradisi) are copied on a paper of unknown provenance bearing a watermark with three crescent moons indicative of the so-called royal paper (*carta reale*) manufactured in the Venetian Republic, plus the initials FA. The second watermark with these initials is linked, in Eineder's catalogue of watermarks, to a still unidentified paper manufacturer from the region of today's Lombardy. Two further unidentified watermarks occur in manuscript 113b, which – like the other manuscript containing a Paradisi *divertimento* – features on its cover the watermark of Thomas Cumar from Ajdovščina.

¹⁸ Two principal references for identifying watermarks in the examined musical material in Novo mesto were Eineder's catalogue of watermarks for the area of the former Habsburg lands and Šorn's annotated list of watermarks employed by paper-manufacturers in Carniola during the eighteenth century.

Most manuscripts in the second group of “Pöhm’s music” or group B, except for three (SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 131, 134 and 278c), were produced on paper of similar origin. Group B contains eight items whose covers and a few separate parts feature initials that almost certainly represent Pöhm’s name – this conclusion has been reached also on the basis of the inscription of both (the initials and the name in its entirety) in the manuscript SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 54a (see Table 4).

Besides the paper of two manufacturers from Carinthia and Upper Austria (Caspar von Schwerenfeld and Johann Kienmoser), which, as already noted, was used also for manuscripts belonging to group A/2, the manuscripts of group B employ that of another manufacturer from Carinthia (Georg Tengg), as well as that of Dismos Nickel from Žužemberk, which was very popular in the Slovenian territory during the 1770s (see Table 5). So despite the dominance of paper encountered also in many other manuscripts produced in eighteenth-century Carniola, group B includes four manuscripts written on paper from Italy and Moravia, and most probably also from Bohemia (the last two will be discussed in the continuation – see Tables 7a and 7b). Manuscript 278c was written on Venetian paper of the “Gava brothers” (GVA)¹⁹ and manuscript 114b on Friulian paper from

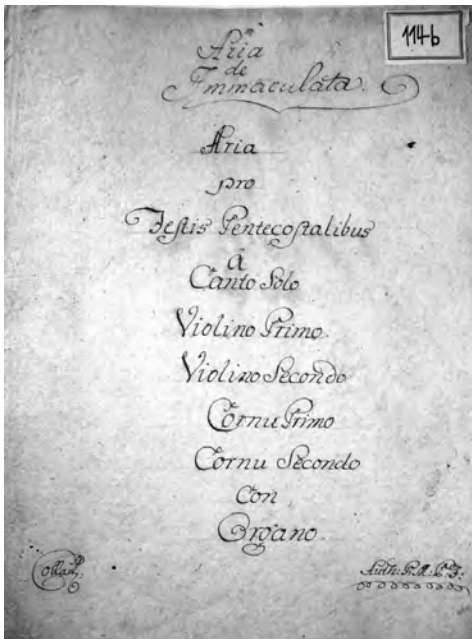


Figure 5 Title page of Pöhm’s (?) *Aria de Immaculata*, SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 114b (Novo mesto, Knjižnica Frančiškanskega samostana; reproduced with kind permission).

the Galvani mill in Cordenons (VG). Leaving aside the separate part for soprano, which was probably copied by Pöhm, the latter was in its entirety the work of Weibl. However, it contains the only work preserved in Slovenia that may be said with any great certainty to have been composed by Pöhm.²⁰

¹⁹ See Wiesmüller, “The Watermarks,” 33–34.

²⁰ See earlier, n. 14.

Featuring the same paper and Weibl's handwriting is likewise manuscript 114c belonging to the first (A/1) group of manuscripts. In addition to paper with the already discussed watermarks of Kienmoser, Tengg and Nickel (see Tables 3 and 5), paper of another regional manufacturer (André Müller from Radeče) and paper with a second different watermark of Thomas Cumar, as well as paper from the mill Toscolano near Bergamo and paper of still unidentified origin (see Table 6), one of the manuscripts in group A/1 also employs Ossendorf paper from the well-known mill in Bensen, Bohemia. This is manuscript SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 416, containing Brixl's *Missa solemnis*, where the manner in which the indication of the authorship of the composition is formulated suggests that it must have been copied at some point before Brixl's death in 1771.²¹ Another feature placing it within a period running from the end of the 1750s up to the beginning of the 1770s is the Ossendorf watermark (see Table 7a). Moreover, the manuscript containing Brixl's composition also contains a different, unidentified watermark with the inscription SCHIL, and the letter H as countermark, which in the examined material in Novo mesto has been found in only one further document: manuscript 134 (group B). The same is true of the watermark from the Moravian mill MOHELNO, to which Eineder assigns the same year (1790) as the one written on the cover of manuscript 131, which was probably Weibl's work (see Table 7b). The separate parts in this manuscript contain numerous annotations in Pöhm's presumed handwriting and feature a different watermark originating from the Styrian mill THALBERG. The paper from that mill is used also for manuscript SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 116b, which is dated 1779 and written in its entirety in a different hand that has not been identified in any other manuscript in Novo mesto.

Finally, special mention should be made of another manuscript (SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 285) whose composition, variety of handwritings and paper types typically combine some fundamental characteristics of the so-called "Pöhm music collections" in Novo mesto. One of these characteristics is the multi-layered structure of these music collections, which in manuscript 285 – a transcription of Pleyel's String Quartets 1 from ca. 1782 – comprises three layers (see Table 8). Perhaps the oldest layer is represented by a copy of a viola part by an unknown hand on a paper bearing the letter W in the watermark, whose origin – to my knowledge – is still unexplained, even though this type of paper was very often used in Viennese music collections dating from the 1770s, 1780s and 1790s, as already established by Alan Tyson some time ago.²² It is also known that the Viennese paper market, as opposed to that in Carniola, was at that time mostly supplied by Venetian manufacturers, such as the previously mentioned Gava brothers, whose watermark is found, together with two other, still unidentified, watermarks, on paper used for the second part of the Novo mesto manuscript 285. The latter was most certainly copied out by Weibl, and the same watermarks of the Gava brothers and paper featuring the letter W are found in the Novo mesto copy of J. C. Bach's Piano Concertos op. 7 (SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 98), made at some point after 1775, most likely in one of the copying shops then active in Vienna – like manuscript

²¹ In this manuscript Brixl is still mentioned as an active *Kapellmeister* in Prague ("Auth Dmno Brixl Capellae Magistro in Area Pragensi ad S: Vitum").

²² See Tyson, "Paper Studies and Haydn," 578.

SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 97, which contains a subsequently added annotation²³ indicating Pöhm's ownership. The third layer of manuscript 285 most likely consists of later copies of parts for first and second violin bearing the watermark of the regional manufacturer Thomas Cumar, which were almost certainly made by Pöhm.

To summarize: even though Pöhm's musical estate in the area of the former Franciscan province of the Holy Cross still awaits detailed research, we may safely claim that: (1) the extent of his legacy in the Novo mesto monastery is indeed vast, since of the altogether 130 musical manuscripts definitely produced before Pöhm's death in 1803, more than a quarter can be linked directly to him; (2) only a few of them may reasonably be claimed to have been brought into the Franciscan province from somewhere else (Vienna and Bohemia, perhaps also Moravia). In this regard, at least one other friar, organist and contemporary of Pöhm may have played an important part: Calist Weibl, whose musical activity (like Pöhm's) has yet to receive serious scholarly attention.

²³ "Ad Simplicem usum P[?] Mauriti OMR."

Table 1

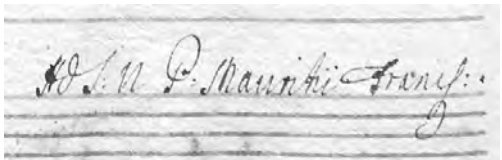


Group A/1	Group A/2
 <p data-bbox="308 441 585 467">or (Weibl's manuproprrium)*</p> 	
<p data-bbox="201 714 648 1164"> SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 54/a (Ivanschiz) SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 54/b (Ivanschiz) SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 58/a (Rigel) SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 97 (Adlgaser, Steffan, Filippo, Hengsberger, Wagenseil) SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 114/c (Anon.) SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 115/b (Anon.) SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 116/b (Gödl) SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 125 (Pokorný)* SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 126 (Novotni) SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 135 (Anon.) SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 139 (Anon.) SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 164 (Anon.) SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 285 (Pleyel)* SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 290 (Sterkel) SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 416 (Brixl) SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 418 (Sterkel) </p>	<p data-bbox="762 714 1083 926"> SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 113/b (Umlauf) SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 119 (Vaňhal) SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 127 (Linek) SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 280 (Razelsperg) SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 283/a (Paradisi) SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 283/b (Paradisi) SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 284 (Piccinni) SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 289/a/b (Stamitz) </p>

Table 2

Group C			
SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 94	SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 122/b	SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 148	SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 446
SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 99	SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 136	SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 149	SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 452
SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 100	SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 137	SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 165	SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 455
SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 113/a	SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 142	SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 167	SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 464
SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 115/c	SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 143	SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 168	SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 489
SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 122/a	SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 146	SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 231	SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 511

Table 3


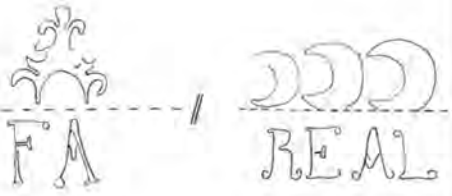

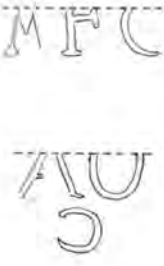
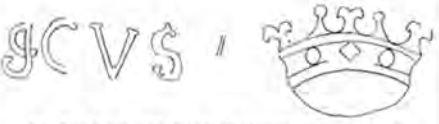
Watermarks in Group A/2	
<i>Identified</i>	<i>Unidentified</i>
 <p>Steyr-Altmühle (Johann Kienmoser), ca. 1750 – ca. 1783</p>	 <p>Lombardy?</p>
 <p>Ajdovščina (Thomas Cumar), from the 1760s to the 1790s</p>	 <p>paper-mill?</p>
 <p>St. Veit an der Glan (Johann Caspar von Schwerenfeld), from the 1760s to the 1780s</p>	

Table 4



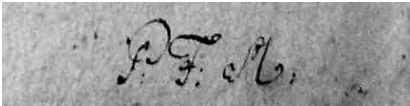
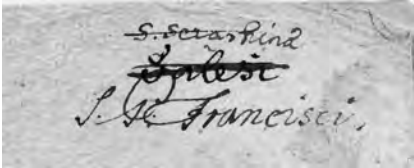
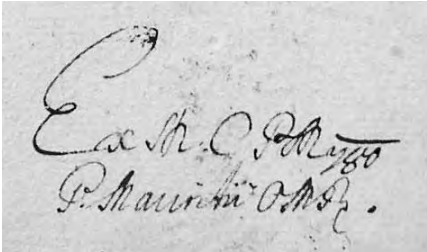
Group B	
SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 114/b (Pöhm)	
SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 128 (Fils)	→ 
SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 131 (Fischer)	→ 
SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 132 (Brixi)	→ 
SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 134 (Anon.)	→ 
SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 278/a (Kammel)	
SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 278/b (Kammel)	
SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 291 (Vanhal)	
	
<p>The inscription of Pöhm's initials and his name in its entirety in manuscript SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 54a</p>	

Table 5

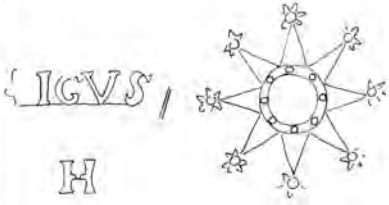

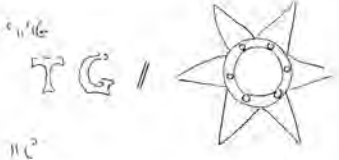
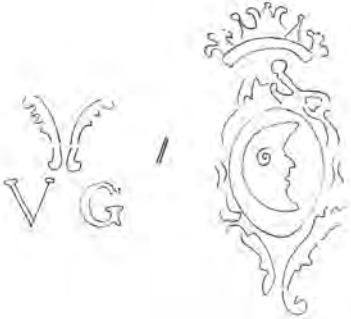
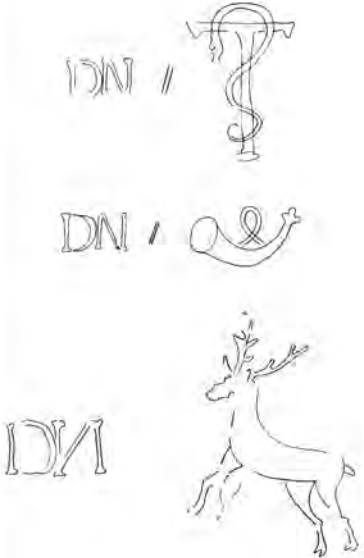
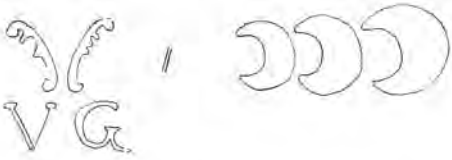
Watermarks in Group B	
 <p>St. Veit an der Glan (Johann Caspar von Schwesternfeld)</p>	 <p>Venice (Fratelli GAVA)</p>
 <p>Villach (Georg Tengg), from the 1760s to the 1790s</p>	
 <p>Žužemberk (Dismos Nikel), from the 1760s to the 1780s</p>	 <p>Cordenons (Valentino Galvani)</p>

Table 6

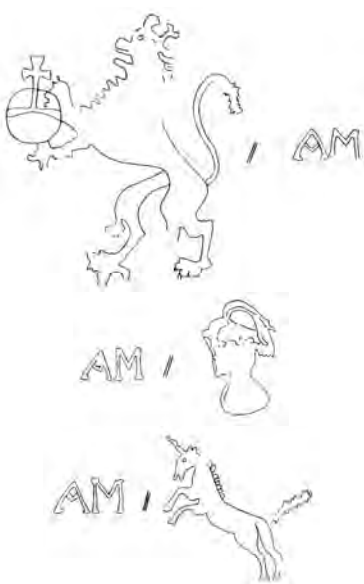


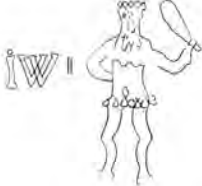

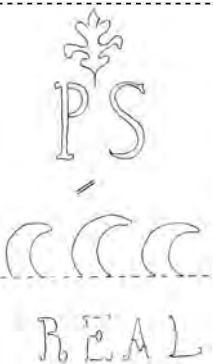
Watermarks in Group A/1	
<i>Identified</i>	<i>Unidentified</i>
 <p style="text-align: center;">Radeče (André Müller), from the 1760s to the 1780s (?)</p>	
 <p style="text-align: center;">Ajdovščina (Thomas Cumar)</p>	
 <p style="text-align: center;">Lombardy (Toscolano mill)</p>	

Table 7a






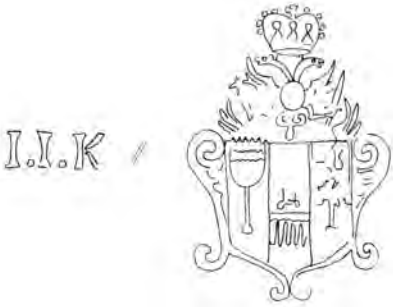
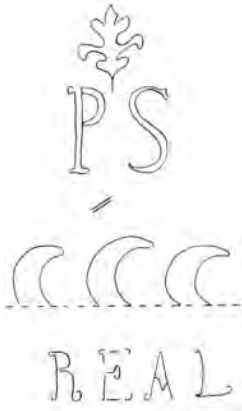


Watermarks and (Front) Pages in Manuscripts	
<p>SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 416</p> 	 <p><i>Missa solennis</i> <i>a</i> <i>Canto etc</i> <i>Tenore Basso</i> <i>Violinis 2^{te}</i> <i>Clarini 2^{te} in 2</i> <i>Principali</i> <i>Tympano</i> <i>Coa</i> <i>Corno</i></p> <p><i>Euth Anno Bini capella Auguste in Stra</i> <i>Pragensi ad S. Vitum.</i></p> <p><i>J. B. Bensen</i></p>
<p>SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 134</p> 	 <p><i>Canto</i> <i>Violino</i></p> <p><i>Kyrie eleison Kyrie eleison elei...</i> <i>eleison elei... Kyrie eleison</i> <i>eleison elei... Kyrie eleison</i> <i>elei... Kyrie eleison</i> <i>elei... Kyrie eleison</i></p> <p><i>Gloria</i></p> <p><i>In terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.</i> <i>Gloria in excelsis deo.</i> <i>Et tu domine benedicimus te adoramus te glorificamus</i> <i>te magnificamus in spiritu sancto in gloria dei patris</i> <i>domini in excelsis deo.</i> <i>In excelsis deo.</i></p>

Table 7b

<p>SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 131</p>  <p>MOHANO</p> <p>THALBERG</p>	 <p>131</p> <p>Missa</p> <p>S. Joannis Nepomuceni M.</p> <p>a Canto</p> <p>Alto</p> <p>Senore</p> <p>Basso</p> <p>Violini</p> <p>Viola & Alto Concertino</p> <p>Hautbois</p> <p>Obois</p> <p>Clarin, ou Corni z.</p> <p>Sympani</p> <p>Organo.</p> <p>Ed. S. M. A. d. O. M. R.</p>
<p>SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 116b</p>  <p>THALBERG</p> <p>THALBERG</p>	 <p>116b</p> <p>Salve Regina</p> <p>a Canto. Alto.</p> <p>Senore. Basso</p> <p>Violino. Primo.</p> <p>Violino. Secundo</p> <p>Con Organo.</p> <p>Authore S. P. Christoph. J. C.</p> <p>P. Maurits Pöhm</p>

Table 8

Watermarks in Manuscript SI-Nf, Ms.mus. 285	
<p>First layer: <i>Viola</i> part (unknown writer)</p> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div>	
<p>Second layer: front-page (Weibl's handwriting)</p> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div>	<p><i>Violino Primo, Violino Secondo and Basso</i> parts (Weibl's handwriting)</p> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div>
<p>Third layer: <i>Violin Primo and Violino Secondo</i> parts (? Pöhm's subsequent copies)</p> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div>	<div style="text-align: center;">  </div>

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P. MAVRICIJ PÖHM IN NJEGOVA VLOGA PRI OBLIKOVANJU GLASBENEGA
 REPERTOARJA V NOVEM MESTU V DRUGI POLOVICI 18. STOLETJA

Povzetek

Dosedanje mnenje o odločilni vlogi p. Mavricija Pöhma pri nastanku glasbenega repertoarja, ki se je iz druge polovice 18. stoletja ohranil v Novem mestu, velja najbrž samo deloma oz. le toliko, kolikor v Pöhmu vidi osebo, ki je tamkajšnji frančiškanski samostan oskrbela s številnimi prepisi skladb takrat aktualnih skladateljev iz nekdanjega avstrijskega in širšega evropskega prostora. Manj verjetno pa je, da bi Pöhm večino teh prepisov prinesel s Češkega že ob svojem prihodu v Novo mesto okoli leta 1770. Med mnogimi rokopisi pri novomeških frančiškanih, ki vsebujejo zaznamek o Pöhmovem lastništvu not in jih je zato mogoče neposredneje povezovati s p. Pöhmom, v resnici prevladujejo takšni, ki so napisani bodisi na papirju domačega izvora (v mlinih Dizme Nikla v Žužemberku, Andreja Müllerja v Radečah in Tomaža Kumarja v Ajdovščini) bodisi na papirju, ki je takrat k nam dotekal v večjih količinah s sosednje Koroške (tj. iz mlinov Johanna Casparja von Schwenfelda v Šentvidu ob Glini in Georga Tengga v Beljaku), pa tudi iz bolj oddaljenega gornjeavstrijskega mlina »Steyr-Altmühle«. Nekateri med temi rokopisi je skoraj zanesljivo deloma ali v celoti napisala prav Pöhmova roka. Nekaj pa je takšnih, ki jih ni izdelal Pöhm in so bili le v njegovi rabi (»Ad S[implicem] U[sum] P. Mauriti OMR«) – npr. ti, ki so sprva pripadli zdaj še neznanemu tedanjemu (novomeškemu?) kopistu Andreju Pittru in imajo čez izbrisano Pittrovo ime zapisan tak zaznamek.

Po drugi strani pa je med »Pöhmovimi rokopisi« v Novem mestu tudi nekaj takšnih, ki vsebujejo papir iz bolj oddaljenih krajev srednje Evrope. Tu sta zlasti zanimiva rokopisa SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 97 in 416, ki oba vsebujeta tudi krajše zaznamke p. Pöhma. Prvi rokopis, gre za zbirko klavirskih skladb več avstrijskih skladateljev, delujočih v desetletjih okrog sredine 18. stoletja, je najverjetneje nastal v kateri od tedanjih dunajskih kopističnih delavnic; drugi – z Brixijevo mašo v C-duru – pa je napisan na papirju češkega izvora in je verjetno nastal že v času, ko je Pöhm še prebival v rodni Češki. Rokopis SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 131, ki je bil nekoč prav tako v lasti p. Pöhma in ga je sicer najverjetneje izdelal njegov kolega p. Kalist Weibl okoli leta 1790, vsebuje poleg znaka z gornještajerskega mlina Thalberg še vodni znak z Moravskega. Thalbergovi znamenji vsebuje tudi rokopis SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 116b. Tega je izdelala neka druga roka, v Pöhmovo last pa je kot kaže prešel leta 1779. Rokopis SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 278c vsebuje beneški papir bratov Gava, rokopis SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 114b – z edino ohranjeno skladbo v Novem mestu, ki bi lahko bila Pöhmova – pa vodni znak Galvanijevega mlina v Cordenonsu.

Zaradi vsega tega in zlasti stikov, ki jih je Pöhm gojil z drugimi glasbeniki že pred prispetjem v Novo mesto in po njem in so zagotovo vplivali na njegov glasbeni okus ter izbiro glasbenega repertoarja za izvajanje na koru novomeškega samostana, postaja tudi Pöhmov življenjepis pomembna tema za prihodnje raziskave glasbenega življenja in repertoarja v Novem mestu iz obdobja 18. stoletja.

FOLLOWING THE TRAIL OF MUSICAL MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTS BELONGING TO THE MONASTIC ORDERS AT PTUJ

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Izvillek: *Problematika o uporabi, širjenju in dediščini historičnih glasbenih rokopisov in tiskov na širšem evropskem prostoru je prepoznavna tudi skozi delovanje in glasbeno poslanstvo dominikanskega in minoritskega samostana na Ptuj. Obe nekoč izjemno pomembni redovni skupnosti sta bili tesno vpeti v evropska duhovna gibanja. Ohranjena glasbeno-teoretična dela, liturgične knjige in posamezni foliji omogočajo podrobnejše poznavanje glasbene kulture obeh redovnih skupnosti in medkulturnih vplivov, ki so bili posledica pestre migracije redovnikov med samostani obeh redov.*

Abstract: *The paper focuses on issues concerned with the heritage of historical music manuscripts and prints, along with their use and dissemination in the wider European area, as well as the activities and musical mission of the Dominican and Minorite monasteries in Ptuj (Pettau, Petovio). Both monastic orders were once exceptionally important and maintained strong connections with European spiritual movements. They preserved works on music theory, liturgical books and some sheet music, which has enabled a more detailed insight into the musical culture of monastic communities and into the transcultural influences that resulted from the multi-directional migrations of friars among various European monasteries in the past.*

Ključne besede: *dominikanski samostan Ptuj, minoritski samostan Ptuj, glasbeni rokopisi, glasbeni tiski, migracija redovnikov.*

Keywords: *Dominican monasteries in Ptuj, Minorite monasteries in Ptuj, music manuscripts and prints, migration of friars.*

There are a number of manuscripts and printed books in many archives and libraries with open questions about their provenance. Determination of their origin and the wider question of the former ownership of cultural heritage are important subjects for research. Exploring these issues may lead us to enrich our knowledge and understanding of the cultural backgrounds and spiritual movements in relation to which these items were produced. Among other questions, there are many unknowns attending the musical manuscripts and prints associated with the history of monasteries or convents. One of the factors we have to take into account when researching in this area is the migration of friars, who generally moved between monasteries, and thereby influenced the circulation of musical material.

It is well known that European monasteries had rich libraries, which were continually supplemented by the individuals circulating between houses – something that is also true of monasteries in today's Slovenia. Several monasteries of the most prominent European orders were established in Slovenia from the thirteenth century onwards, among them the Dominican and Minorite monasteries in Ptuj (Ger. Pettau, Lat. Petovio). Both of these institutions influenced the spiritual, economic, educational and cultural level of the town and its surroundings.

Unfortunately, there is little left of the Ptuj monasteries' musical heritage as a result of numerous fires, the influence of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, the reforms of Emperor Joseph II, the migration of friars and other factors. Nevertheless, the preserved sources are sufficiently rich to provide answers to the questions about the movement of musical literature circulated over the centuries. Previous studies have drawn attention to the frequent migration of friars belonging to both orders, and, as a result, some material related to the Ptuj monasteries is today preserved in archives and libraries in Graz, Vienna and elsewhere.¹

The traces of most of it are, unfortunately, lost. For that reason, most attention will be paid to the general migration of Dominicans and Minorites from the foundation of the monasteries in the thirteenth century to the second half of the eighteenth century and the reforms of Joseph II in the 1780s, respectively. In addition to their main mission, both monasteries played a strong educational role from an elementary to an advanced level. Therefore, their lecturers and professors often became associated with musical activities, as is evident from the preserved richly detailed archival sources and music books.²

The Dominican order was founded in 1216, and friars were entrusted with pastoral care, preaching and confessing. They emphasized the importance of the study of theology and other sciences, the education of youth from an elementary to an advanced level and economic development. As a rule, they did not commit for life to the monastery in which they took their monastic vows, as required by the Benedictines, Carthusians and Cistercians. On the contrary, most of them operated in accordance with the temporary needs of a individual monastery within an individual province, which is one reason for their frequent migration.

In 1221 the General Chapter founded eight provinces, among them – on the territory of the land north of the Alps between France, Hungary and Poland – the so-called German province (Provinz Teutonia, Provincia Teotonia).³ The Cologne monastery, centre of the above-mentioned province, incorporated the monastery in Friesach in Carinthia, the first one on Slovenian ethnic territory (1217), in Ptuj. The growth of the monasteries in the following centuries led to numerous reforms. On the territory of the German province several

¹ The author acknowledges the financial support from the state budget by the Slovenian Research Agency (project no. P6-0376).

The main references to the Dominican and Minorite monasteries in Ptuj are Kovačič, *Dominikanski samostan*; Mlinarič and Curk, *Dominikanski samostan na Ptuj*; Kovačič, "K starejši zgodovini," 149–168; Godina, *700-letnica minoritskega samostana*; Mlinarič and Vogrin, *Minoritski samostan*.

² Koter, "Glasbeno življenje," 121–132; Koter, "Glasbeni tiski in rokopisi," 101–112.

³ Hinnebuch, *Dominikanci*, 1–14.

monasteries were established in the Styrian and Carinthian areas. The most important of them was Friesach, whose teaching friars established the Ptuj monastery, followed by monasteries in Leoben (late thirteenth century), Novi Klošter (Ger. Neukloster) near Polzela (1453) and Graz (1466).⁴

All these institutions were closely linked; however, the migration of friars was not limited to these monasteries; it also took place between others in the province and beyond. The Ptuj monastery was founded in 1230 by the Archbishop of Salzburg, Eberhard II (1200–1246), and the widow of the lord of Ptuj Frederick III, Mathilda (d. 1253), who donated land and funds for its building.⁵ The first teaching friars came to Ptuj from Friesach, which was known for its advanced studies in theology, law and philosophy. However, the general studies provided by the order took place in Basel. According to its Rule, each religious community had to provide an adequate education for novices as preparation for their general studies. Records regarding lectures and professors, as well as their level of education, suggest that before the establishment of the so-called high school there was a monastic school in Ptuj that may have been in operation from the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries or later.⁶

Although the data are inconclusive, the chronicles suggest that besides local “teaching” friars, ones from other monasteries in the province lectured in Ptuj: these came, for example, from Krems, Leoben, Graz, Hainburg, Villach, Zwettl and even Siena and Bologna. Further, some friars from Ptuj were entitled to a higher level of education and were sent to Vienna or even to renowned Italian monasteries such as Bologna, Padua and Siena. Evidence of the migration of friars belonging to several orders has been found: from Ptuj to Florence, Bolzano, Nuremberg and Zagreb, and to Ptuj from Vienna and Köln.⁷ The Reformation brought a significant reduction in the number of monasteries in the Hungarian province, and the rest of the communities were incorporated into the Styrian and Carinthian bodies.

The chronicler of the Order in Ptuj, Ambrosio Capello (author of the chronicle for the year 1697), wrote that monastic life in Ptuj stood no comparison with the “devastation” of monasteries in Germany and the surrounding area.⁸ In the mid-sixteenth century the Ptuj monastery was instructed to educate novices for the Hungarian province, which

⁴ The most significant source concerning the Dominicans in Ptuj is the monograph Mlinarič and Curk, *Dominikanski samostan na Ptuju*, which is based on research into all the important archival records, published sources and literature. For the history of the Dominican order in Styria, see the chapter by Mlinarič “Dominikanski red,” in Mlinarič and Curk, *Dominikanski samostan na Ptuju*, 22–28.

⁵ See the chapter by Mlinarič, “Ustanavljanje samostana,” in Mlinarič and Curk, *Dominikanski samostan na Ptuju*, 35–42.

⁶ The organization of study in the Ptuj monastery during the fourteenth century is discussed by Mlinarič in his chapter “Študij pri dominikancih,” in Mlinarič and Curk, *Dominikanski samostan na Ptuju*, 65–67.

⁷ See Mlinarič, “Seznami dominikancev,” in Mlinarič and Curk, *Dominikanski samostan na Ptuju*, 234–247.

⁸ Mlinarič, “Samostan v obdobju duhovne,” in Mlinarič and Curk, *Dominikanski samostan na Ptuju*, 118.

resulted in the wider circulation of Dominican ideas as well as of those manuscripts and prints that were customarily the private property of friars.

Sources from the sixteenth century record that the monastery then counted twelve friars and four novices, mainly from Hungary and Croatia. Some were of German origin, while others had come from Croatia to escape the Turkish threat. In addition, there were some Italian priors – a consequence of the Dominican superiors' distrust of domestic friars on account of the influence of the Reformation.⁹

From the beginning of the next century, parallel to the Counter-Reformation and political tensions between the Habsburgs and Venetians, friars stopped arriving from Italy. In the seventeenth century some monasteries in certain provinces managed to recover from Turkish pillaging and from Lutheranism, a development that encouraged the re-establishment of the monastic discipline. From the mid-sixteenth century all the Dominican monasteries in Styria and Friesach in Carinthia, as well as some in Hungary, were incorporated into the Hungarian province. Since by the beginning of the next century all the friars in Hungary had passed away, the Province no longer had any reason to exist.

In 1611 the monastic superiors annexed all monasteries of “German” origin to the German religious province. Until the abolition of the Dominican monastery in Ptuj the majority of its priors and friars had been of Italian, German, Croatian, Dalmatian and even Belgian origin. There is also evidence for the presence of numerous novices who were educated there for the Graz, Vienna, Szombathely, Leoben, Novi Klošter and Friesach monasteries; it should also be pointed out that some students came from the local area, while others were sent to Ptuj as guests or were merely in transit there.¹⁰

During the eighteenth century the Ptuj monasteries of the Dominican, Minorite and Capuchin orders took charge of elementary education and of the so-called high schools and in particular of scholars from the town and its surrounding areas. The records attest to the large number of well-educated friars, priors, lecturers and professors from the locality and beyond.¹¹

A variety of documents and chronicles contain evidence of musical activity in the monastery. The monastery had its own bindery and a rich library with a wide range of literature, although, unfortunately, only about thirty-two manuscripts are preserved – the number of musical manuscripts and books is not known. The catalogue of 1782, drawn up not long before the dissolution of the monastery in 1786, mentions approximately nine hundred works, which may actually be a conservative figure, considering the effect of the many fires and the migration of friars, teachers and lay-brothers. After the dissolution of the monastery some manuscripts and books passed to the University Library in Graz, while the majority was lost or is preserved in unknown locations.¹²

⁹ Ibid., 121.

¹⁰ Mlinarič, “Upravna preureditev,” in Mlinarič and Curk, *Dominikanski samostan na Ptuj*, 141–163.

¹¹ Regarding the Dominican monastery during the eighteenth century, see Mlinarič, “Skozi življenje ptujškega samostana,” in Mlinarič and Curk, *Dominikanski samostan na Ptuj*, 195–205.

¹² Kovačič, *Dominikanski samostan*, 120–125; Mlinarič, “Samostanska knjižnica,” 230–233.

Each monastery usually focused on high-level musical culture. This was especially true of those housing a school. In accordance with the *artes liberales*, novices were educated in Gregorian chant for the needs of the liturgical ceremonial. The records state that the members of the Ptuj monastery sang the complete Office and Requiem Masses from the mid-fifteenth century onwards.¹³ In 1641 the Prior engaged a lay-brother organist as accompanist for the friars' choral singing on Sundays and feast days.¹⁴

The monastery church possessed an organ from as early as 1458, while there is a reference in the records from 1664 to a new "large" organ; however, the only organist known by name is Franz Xaver Resch from Graz, mentioned in Ptuj between 1757 and 1783. In the inventory of 1786 we find mention of an organ with six registers, which could be an old musical instrument that has not been preserved.¹⁵ Organs of this kind entered use in the mid-seventeenth century up to the first half of the eighteenth century, although they were already outdated by the time the monastery was dissolved.

The monastery of the Friars Minor in Ptuj was founded by the Lords of Ptuj around 1239. During its first few centuries it was materially dependent on them, as was the Dominican monastery. The relevant diocesan authorities provided the two houses, along with the right to carry out pastoral duties, preaching and confession. Because of its solid financial status, achieved through donations from aristocratic families, the number of friars (priests and lay-brothers) steadily grew.

In the medieval period the Ptuj monastery came under the jurisdiction of the Austrian Province (founded during the second half of the thirteenth century), which had eighteen monasteries and close links to others. A number of priors accordingly came to Ptuj from other monasteries and provinces (Tulln, Enns, Wells etc.).¹⁶

The Reformation at the beginning of the sixteenth century brought about a reduction in the number of monasteries. The new circumstances required a re-organisation of the Austrian Province, given that in 1553 only seven friars lived at the monastery in Vienna and the same number in Ptuj. This would explain the presence in Ptuj of friars from Mediterranean countries, particularly Italy and Dalmatia. Following a reform of the order in the first half of the sixteenth century, a Styrian Province was established. The Ptuj monastery served as its headquarters for some time: in fact, right up to 1607.

Before 1668 the Styrian Province included monasteries in Maribor, Celje, Ptuj, Bruck an der Mur, Judenburg, Graz, Villach and even Trieste and Gorizia. From the end of the sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century most of the guardians and friars in Ptuj were of Italian origin. The majority of them arrived as a consequence of the strength of the Lutheran movement, while others were descended from Italian families that had moved to Ptuj in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

¹³ Mlinarič and Curk, *Dominikanski samostan na Ptuj*, 78, 82, 85, 121, 152.

¹⁴ In Mlinarič, "Skozi življenje ptujskega samostana," in Mlinarič and Curk, *Dominikanski samostan na Ptuj*, 152.

¹⁵ There are very few records of organs and organists in the archives. See Kovačič, *Dominikanski samostan*, 16–48; Mlinarič and Curk, *Dominikanski samostan*, 20, 152, 158, 214 and 216.

¹⁶ Regarding the Lords of Ptuj, see Vidmar, "Die Herren von Pettau."

The heavy migration of Italians to Ptuj, particularly among builders, stonemasons and bricklayers, was connected with the Turkish threat, which accelerated the building of defensive walls. A new wave of migration took place at the beginning of the seventeenth century, at the time of the Counter-Reformation, when Lutheran families (tradesmen and merchants) from Ptuj moved away towards the north and were replaced by Italians. From the second half of the seventeenth century there are no records of guardians and friars of Italian origin: the majority of them were of German, and some of Slovenian, origin.

One of the characteristics of the Minorite order was the circulation of friars between the monasteries of a particular province. As well as noting that since 1607 Graz had played the leading role within the Province, it is also necessary to stress that the Ptuj monastery, one of the larger ones, also played an important religious, spiritual, economic and educational role. It has already been established that from the mid-eighteenth century it had twenty-two members, friars, clerics and lay-brothers. Among the most common duties of the friars were to act as organist, music teacher, master of novices, festive preacher, archivist or librarian.

Following the reorganization of educational activities in the period of the reforms carried out by Joseph II, the Ptuj Minorite monastery survived, while the majority of its sister houses were dissolved. The list of the monastery's members in 1788 proves that the majority of friars and lay-brothers were of German origin; however, they came to Ptuj from Carinthia, Bohemia, Hungary and Austria, as well as from Ptuj and its surroundings.¹⁷

Little is known about the musical activities of the Ptuj Friars Minor, their heritage of music manuscripts, prints and the influence of migration. The most important source of information is the monastery library, with its nearly five thousand units from the early sixteenth century onwards, which contained musical manuscripts and prints. We can also consult the archival records of the activities and migration of friar musicians, which provide information on *regentes chori*, organists and other instrumentalists.¹⁸ It is known that the content of the library was affected by the migration of monastery members, as well by its destruction, which occurred during the Counter-Reformation.

The preserved heritage points to the influence of the inward migration of guardians and friars from Italian monasteries during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.¹⁹ Among the preserved objects is a Bible, published in 1553 in Venice, which is enclosed in parchment paper with a choral notation datable to the end of the fifteenth century – a characteristic of the late medieval period under the influence of German scriptoria.²⁰ The preserved Bible with its parchment paper fragment could possibly be connected with the movement of friars from Italian and Dalmatian monasteries to Ptuj. After the invention of printing the use of folios with musical manuscripts as endpapers became common, particularly during the mid-sixteenth century but also throughout the next two centuries.

¹⁷ Mlinarič, "Ptujski samostan v zadnjih dveh stoletjih," 140–163, 172–173 and 195–205; Mlinarič, "Ukinitev samostana v letu 1786," 212–218.

¹⁸ Mlinarič and Vogrin, *Minoritski samostan*; Koter, "Glasbeno življenje," 126–128; Koter, "Glasbeni tiski," 102–108.

¹⁹ Mlinarič, "Zgodovina samostana od ustanovitve do 1800," 47–86.

²⁰ Koter, "Glasbeni tiski," 103–105.

As the parchment has only partially been preserved, I am unable to establish the precise content of the unknown codex or its origin.

There are also some unanswered questions regarding the *ex libris* in the book: “Patris Constantin Wutt de Pettovio Ord. Minor. Conventual” (MK1459 L VI). The friar Constantin Wutt (1710–1770), born in Maribor, was active in several Styrian monasteries (Graz, Celje, Maribor) and a guardian of the Ptuj monastery. According to the records, he was, in particular, a renowned musician, *regens chori* and even a composer.²¹ The above-mentioned copy of the Bible, which contains numerous depictions of musical instruments as a symbol of the glory of music, serves as a good example of how complicated researching heritage trails can be.

The second of the significant examples from the library of the Ptuj Minorites is a first edition from 1558 of Gioseffo Zarlino’s remarkable theoretical work *Le istituzioni harmoniche* (MK 584 E V). The numerous handwritten inscriptions and musical notes in the book, made by several users, attest to its theoretical and practical importance and frequent use. The volume contains an *ex libris* with the legend “Conventum Petoviensis” (Ptuj Monastery) and a painting (probably from 1695) showing SS Peter and Paul, patrons of the Minorite monastery church. Above the picture is a record of the author of the painting and/or owner of the book (“Opera Fris. Anselmi P. Lueber in [...] Contu. Pettouiens. Min. Conv. 1695”). These musical sources most likely evidence the friars’ curiosity about music theory, which is only to be expected for the Ptuj monastery.

Also interesting is a volume with theological treatises by Joseph Langio from 1681 (MK 2433 V VI) enclosed in parchment paper with a Gothic plainsong notation datable to the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century, characteristic of the Salzburg archdiocese. Unfortunately, the provenance of the fragment is unclear, but its content is possibly a section of the Gloria from the Ordinary of the Mass. The following inscription is visible on the title page: “Fr. Constantin Halleg de Pettovia, guem[...] 22.Otobris 1693”. The named person could be one of the owners of the book, but there is no record of his origin or education.

Among other items, some seventeenth-century liturgical books, most of them prints from Venice, have been preserved. The traces on some of the pages, particularly of some fragments of Mattins and the Mass, serve as eloquent evidence of their frequent use. Among them should be mentioned a *Psalterium Romanum* (1667), a *Graduale Romanum* (1662), a *Missale Romanum* (1622) and an *Antiphonarium Romanum* (1687). The last-mentioned volume, a daily prayer book, contains numerous handwritten fragments with musical notes, names of friars etc.

In conclusion, we can see that archival records pertaining to the frequent migration of Dominicans and Minorites and their musical education and activities, such as preserved manuscripts and prints, are able to supplement our knowledge about the circulation of musical sources. Regarding both monasteries in Ptuj, it has already been established that the friars, priors, guardians and lay-brothers were well-educated, and that some of them were active as *regentes chori*, musicians, rectors, organists, instrumentalists and even composers. In accordance with the rules of both orders, most of the residents were

²¹ Emeršič, *Minoritska knjižnica*, 30; Koter, “Glasbeni tiski,” 105.

members of various monasteries stretching along a west-east axis from Germany and Italy to Hungary and along a north-south axis from Vienna to Dalmatia.

The patterns of circulation between monasteries prove that Ptuj stood at a crossroads of spiritual trails from the medieval period onwards, exactly as in Roman times. Both monastic orders were once exceptionally important and maintained strong connections with Central European monasteries; their many-sided activities accordingly contributed to the spiritual, economic, educational and cultural level of the local area and its wider surroundings. Members of the monasteries were well-educated men coming from noble families, mostly with German, Italian, Hungarian, Slovenian or Croatian backgrounds. The preserved documents afford a more detailed insight into the musical culture of monastic communities and into the transcultural influences resulting from the multi-directional migrations of friars between various monasteries in the Europe of the past.

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PO SLEDEH GLASBENIH ROKOPISOV IN TISKOV PTUJSKIH MENIŠKIH REDOV

Povzetek

Za temeljitejše poznavanje problematike o uporabi, širjenju in dediščini historičnih glasbenih rokopisov in tiskov na širšem evropskem prostoru je potrebno upoštevati tudi delovanje in glasbeno poslanstvo dominikanskega in minoritskega samostana na Ptuj. Obe nekoč izjemno pomembni redovni skupnosti sta bili tesno vpeti v evropska duhovna gibanja, s svojim večstranskim delovanjem pa sta vplivali tudi na duhovno, gospodarsko in kulturno raven lokalnega območja. Ptujski dominikanski samostan (1230–1786), ki je sodil k nemški, nato pa k avstrijski in ogrski provinci, deloma pa se je povezoval tudi z italijanskim in hrvaškim prostorom, je pomenil nekakšen most med srednjo Evropo in Ogrsko. Med člani konventov, ki so bili izobraženci iz plemiških družin nemškega, italijanskega, ogrskega, slovenskega in hrvaškega okolja, je potekala intenzivna migracija, ki je pomenila tudi izmenjavanje glasbenih praks in literature. Na Ptuj so prihajali redovniki iz Kremsa, Leobna, Gradca, Hainburga, Villacha, Zwettla, pa tudi iz Siene in Bologne. Nekateri so iz Ptuja odhajali na nadaljnji študij na Dunaj ali v renomirane italijanske samostane, kot so Bologna, Padova, Siena in drugi, migracija pa je potekala tudi z ogrskimi in s hrvaškimi oziroma dalmatinskimi mesti. O glasbeni dejavnosti ptujskega dominikanskega samostana pričajo različne listine, kronike in liturgične knjige. Konvent je imel lastno knjigovoznico in bogato knjižnico, vendar je njena vsebina le delno znana. Rokopise in knjige naj bi po razpustitvi samostana hranili v dunajski dvorni in graški licejski knjižnici, precej je zgubljenega.

Ptujski minoritski samostan sv. Petra in Pavla (ustanovljen okoli leta 1255) je drugi pomembnejši konvent za utrjevanje verskega življenja na današnjem slovenskem Štajerskem. V njem so Frančiškovi manjši bratje ob izpolnjevanju evangelija razvili samostansko, kasneje tudi javno šolstvo, kjer so med drugim poučevali glasbeno-liturgično petje in gojili instrumentalno oziroma vokalno-instrumentalno glasbo. Med najpomembnejšimi viri za poznavanje glasbene prakse ptujskega minoritskega samostana je njegova knjižnica s pet tisoč enotami, med katerimi so tudi glasbeni rokopisi in tiski od poznega 15. stoletja naprej. Med njimi so pergamentni rokopisi, posamezni beneški glasbeni tiski iz 16. in 17. stoletja in mašne knjige (antifonariji, misali, graduali, psalteriji). V nekaterih so ohranjeni ekslibrisi, ki kažejo na migracijo članov ptujskega minoritskega konventa z italijanskim prostorom in Dalmacijo. Arhivski viri pričajo tudi o aktivnostih regens chorijev, organistov in drugih instrumentalistov, pa tudi skladateljev, ki so si prizadevali za kulturni in umetniški razvoj svojega okolja. Tako kot velja za dominikance, so tudi minoriti prihajali na Ptuj iz različnih okolij. Posebno dejavno je bilo povezovanje z današnjo Italijo, kar je pomenilo svojevrstno kulturno migracijo in vplivalo na duhovno in kulturno podobo konventa in njegove glasbene prakse. Do danes ohranjena bogata minoritska knjižnica omogoča podrobnejše poznavanje glasbene kulture redovnih skupnosti in medkulturnih vplivov, ki so bili posledica pestre migracije redovnikov med različnimi samostani nekdanje Evrope.

TRACING THE ORIGINS OF EARLY SYMPHONIC REPERTOIRE IN THE SLOVENIAN LANDS

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Izyleček: V 18. stoletju je simfonični repertoar v slovenskih deželah obsegal dela znanih skladateljev, ki so bila razširjena po celotni Evropi. Medtem ko so avtorji najzgodnejših primerov simfoničnega žanra, ki datirajo že v trideseta leta 18. stoletja, delovali na različnih koncih Evrope, so bile simfonije ob koncu stoletja skoraj izključno delo skladateljev, delujočih v Habsburški monarhiji.

Ključne besede: simfonični repertoar, prenos del, prepisi in tiski, 18. stoletje, Habsburška monarhija, Slovenija.

Abstract: In the eighteenth century the symphonic repertoire in the Slovenian Lands consisted mainly of works that were performed throughout Europe and were written by famous composers. While the composers of the earliest examples of the genre, dating from as late as the 1730s, lived in various nations, at the end of the eighteenth century the symphonic repertoire consisted almost exclusively of works by composers working in the Habsburg monarchy.

Keywords: symphonic repertoire, transmission, manuscript and prints, eighteenth century, Habsburg monarchy, Slovenia.

The extant manuscripts and prints of early symphonic music preserved in various archives throughout Slovenia and in the border town of Gorizia confirm that during the eighteenth century this territory followed broader European symphonic currents and was acquainted with contemporary examples of the genre. The increased symphonic production throughout the century was probably due to the fact that the symphony was very versatile in its functions and integrated into different social environments. This was true also of the Slovenian Lands. The present article traces three different types of patronage of the symphonic repertoire that were characteristic of the Slovenian Lands in the eighteenth century. Proceeding chronologically, it first examines the earliest examples of symphonies dating from the 1730s to the 1760s, which were owned by aristocratic Gorizian families and are today held by the Historical Archive of Gorizia (Archivio storico provinciale di Gorizia). The focus then shifts to the repertoire found in religious institutions from the 1750s until around 1780; finally, there is a comparison of the repertoire of the Philharmonic Society, founded in 1794 in Ljubljana, with the symphonies preserved in the Historical Archive of Gorizia that date from the end of the century.

Throughout the eighteenth century the symphonic repertoire of the Slovenian territory was significantly influenced by the preferences of the wider region to which it belonged politically. In order to understand this connection a brief account of this historical-geographic background must be provided. In the eighteenth century the modern-day Slovenian territory was governed by three powerful countries. The majority of the territory belonged to the Habsburg Empire in the shape of the Inner-Austrian hereditary lands: the Duchies of Carinthia and Carniola and the Archduchy of Styria, plus the County of Gorizia and Gradisca and the city of Trieste. The coastal areas, including the towns of Koper (It. Capodistria), Izola (Isola) and Piran (Pirano), the Alpine valleys of Rezija (Resia) and the river basin of Nadiža (Natisone) and Tera (Pradielis), belonged to the Venetian Republic (until 1797), while Prekmurje and Porabje in the far north-eastern corner of present-day Slovenia formed part of the Kingdom of Hungary. The characteristics of the symphonies preserved in Slovenian collections are comparable to those of other collections in the Habsburg monarchy, although the County of Gorizia's border with the Venetian Republic seems to have influenced the repertoire there.

Sadly, very few musical collections once belonging to the local nobility are preserved. The largest collection is preserved in the Historical Archive of Gorizia,¹ while the only other musical collection from this early period containing symphonic works originates from Slovenska Bistrica and was previously owned by Count Ignaz von Attems and his wife Josepha.² The second collection contains the *sinfonia* from Johann Adolph Hasse's opera *Asteria* from 1737.³ The County of Gorizia was populated by many aristocratic families, who, judging by the preserved instrumental music held by the Historical Archive of Gorizia, were very fond of music.⁴ The extant works include numerous symphonic compositions, which reflect an almost continuous cultivation of symphonic music throughout the century.

The symphonies from the period between the 1730s and 1760s are the earliest examples of the symphonic genre preserved in this territory, and are mainly works by the pioneers of the genre.⁵ The Italian contribution is represented by the so-called Milan school. We can find one symphony by Antonio Brioschi, while among certain anonymous works the present author recently discovered three symphonies by Giovanni Battista Sammartini. There are also operatic *sinfonias* by other Italian composers who were either contemporaries of Sammartini (Antonio Vivaldi, Domenico Francesco Negri, Giorgio Giulini, Baldassare Galuppi) or belonged to an even earlier generation. The Gorizian collection also includes examples of the genre by the Mannheim composers Ignaz Holzbauer, Johann

¹ A complete catalogue of the musical collection preserved in the Historical Archive in Gorizia has been compiled by Alessandro Arbo; see Arbo, *I fondi musicali*. On musical life in Gorizia, see Arbo, *Musici di frontiera*; on symphonic music from this collection, see Venišnik, "Simfonični repertoar Goriške dežele."

² Kokole, "Glasba v plemiških bivališčih," 686. For more information on Ignaz von Attems, see Kokole, "Glasbeni utrinki," 58–61, with references.

³ Title on source: "Ouverture Con Wr e Viola | Del Sig. | Giou: Adolfo Hasse." Maribor, Pokrajinski arhiv (SI-Mpa), 1857/010/00093.

⁴ Kokole, "Glasba v plemiških bivališčih," 689.

⁵ Information on composers and the symphonic repertoire in general given in this article is generally based on that in Morrow and Churgin, *Eighteenth-Century Symphony*.

Stamitz and Carl Joseph Toeschi, as well as one symphony by Johann Christian Bach dating from his early symphonic period and one symphony by Johann Gabriel Seyffarth of the Berlin court. From the composers of the Habsburg empire, the only symphonies represented are by Georg Christoph Wagenseil – which is not so unexpected, since he was the only Austrian symphonist of his generation to achieve an international reputation.

The majority of these symphonies, all of which are manuscript copies, are found in several volumes that include quartets, trios, *sinfonia*, *divertimentos* and *sonatas* – compositions that were later bound together. This has sadly given rise to a number of anonymous works that exhibit the standard form of the early symphonies. These symphonies mainly belong to the early decades of the symphony (including in this definition operatic *sinfonias*), featuring three movements scored, with only a few exceptions, for an orchestra consisting solely of strings.

The symphonic repertoire of this period had an international orientation, which was also characteristic of other European collections; the works of these composers were in general very well known and disseminated throughout Europe.⁶ Specific information on how these works were acquired is lacking. It is likely that the anonymous works are principally of Italian origin, since the other chamber works contained in the volumes just mentioned are by Italian composers. That fact suggests that this repertoire was drawn from what was available in Italy, especially Venice.

There is, however, one characteristic of the Gorizian repertoire that is quite distinctive. The symphonies mainly originate from the early or middle compositional periods of their respective composers; there are no examples of their mature works exhibiting a four-movement structure and other advanced characteristics. Moreover, there is a gap in the repertoire, since an entire generation of composers is completely absent. There are no works by Johann Baptist Wanhal (Vaňhal) or Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf, for instance; nor are there any symphonic works by Luigi Boccherini, despite the presence of his quartets in the volumes. (The single preserved Haydn symphony was written in 1782 and his *Sinfonia concertante* in 1792.) The sole exception to this apparent dearth is a symphony attributed to Leopold Mozart that is not listed in his thematic catalogue. The presence in one of the volumes of an *Andante* from Ignaz Pleyel's *Symphonie Concertante* in E flat major suggests that, rather than being lost, symphonies dating from the late 1760s to the 1770s were in fact never acquired.

Among the important patrons of the symphonic repertoire in the eighteenth century were religious institutions, where symphonies were used for liturgical and devotional purposes as well as during festivities.⁷ Numerous monastery collections contain vast numbers of symphonies attesting to the Church's prominent role in the cultivation of the genre. Monasteries are considered to have been significant patrons of the symphony, especially in the Habsburg monarchy,⁸ and some examples of the genre can be found also in Slovenian religious institutions, albeit in small quantities.

⁶ Morrow, "Patrons and Practices," 81–82.

⁷ Riedel, "Joseph Haydns Sinfonien," 214. On the use of symphonies during the liturgy, see Zaslav, "Mozart, Haydn;" Riedel, "Die Bedeutung," 6, and Beck, "Die Musik," 189.

⁸ Morrow, "Patrons and Practices," 77.

The Franciscan monastery in Novo mesto holds several symphonic works including two printed collections, one of symphonies and one of operatic *sinfonie*.⁹ All of these works are oriented towards the local Austrian production, and some are by the most popular composers of the era. They include a Symphony in A major (A4)¹⁰ by Dittersdorf and a Symphony in C major (C1)¹¹ by Wanhal, as well as the popular edition of *Sei sinfonie a grande orchestra*¹² (a collection of six operatic sinfonias) by Joseph Haydn. The works of Haydn, Dittersdorf and Wanhal were widely distributed, as was the overture to the very successful opera *La buona figliuola* by Niccolò Piccinni.¹³ Conversely, L. Mozart's works were not so well known, being largely confined to Habsburg territory. Mozart's Symphony in G major (G3)¹⁴ undoubtedly came to this monastery by virtue of its clear religious connection: this symphony is actually an instrumental *pastorella* intended specifically for church performance. The symphonies that do not originate from Austrian territory demonstrate the fact that the monasteries themselves formed an autonomous channel of transmission. This was very likely a result of the constant relocation of monastery residents, which is a likely explanation for how a symphony by the Czech composer Antonín Kammel found its way there. This work was probably brought to Slovenian territory by that composer's compatriot, the Franciscan friar Mauritius Pöhm, when he settled in Novo mesto in the 1770s.¹⁵ The fact that monasteries shared a cultural connection emerges similarly from a printed collection of twelve symphonies by F. Kraus Lambert from the Bavarian monastery at Metten, which survives almost exclusively in monastic archives. Typically, the works of monastic composers are concentrated in monastery collections.¹⁶

The monastery of St Francis in Piran holds the sinfonia to the opera *Solimano* by Johann Gottlieb Naumann,¹⁷ while in the archive of Koper Cathedral we find a three-movement work that could be either a chamber symphony or an operatic sinfonia and

⁹ For information on the musical collection of the Franciscan monastery in Novo mesto, see: on church music, Škrjanc, "Prispevek k poznavanju repertoarja;" on choirbooks, Škrjanc, "Frančiškanske korne knjige v Novem mestu iz 18. stoletja;" on the "Fundamenta" textbook, Škrjanc, "Relativnost in funkcija," and Škrjanc, "O času in kraju nastanka;" on musical works from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Höfler, "Glasbenozgodovinske najdbe;" Bizjak "Frančiškani in glasba v 18. stoletju;" Faganel, "Glasba klasicizma;" Faganel, "Glasbeni repertoar;" on the symphonic repertoire, Venišnik, "Instrumental Music and Franciscan Liturgy." The complete collection of the Franciscan monastery in Novo mesto has been catalogued and included in the RISM A/II database (SI-Nf).

¹⁰ Title on the source: "Sinfonia Ex A | a | Violino Primo | Violino Secundo | Alto. Viola | è | Basso | Autore Sigr. Carolo Titters." SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 277.

¹¹ Untitled. SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 504.

¹² RISM H 3288; HH 3288; SI-Nf, 343.

¹³ Title on the source: "Sinfonia in D. | a | Due Violini | Due Oboe | Due Corni | Viola | e Basso | Del Sig: Niccolo Piccinni." SI-Nf, Ms. mus. 284. On Piccinni's operatic sinfonia to *La buona figliuola*, see Kokole, "1773 Production of Piccinni's *La buona figliuola*."

¹⁴ Diplomatic title: "Pastorelle ex G | a | Violino Primo | Violino Secundo | Viola obl. | Cornu Pastoris ex G | con | Basso | Del Sig. Mozart." SI-Nf, ms. mus. 282.

¹⁵ Faganel, "Glasba klasicizma v novomeških arhivih," 215.

¹⁶ Morrow, "Symphony in the Austrian Monarchy," 422.

¹⁷ Title on source: "Sinfonia del Sig^r Amadeo Naumann." SI-Plm, Ms. mus. B-27.

was most likely written by Giacomo Rampini, an Italian composer and organist who worked as an organist at the cathedral of Udine from 1775 onwards.¹⁸ A shift towards local production can likewise be observed in the remainder of the repertoire of this cathedral at the end of the eighteenth century, since works were by then obtained no longer from Venice but rather from musicians living in nearby cities such as Trieste and the towns of the Friuli area in the north-east of Italy.¹⁹

Interestingly enough, the preserved works of the Cathedral of Ljubljana show a preference for the French repertoire. A printed collection of three symphonies by Simon Leduc, Carl Stamitz and François-Joseph Gossec used to belong to the cathedral, as did a printed edition of the Symphony in D major, op. 5, no. 1, by Giuseppe Maria Cambini, an Italian composer who worked in France (Leduc le Jeune, Paris).²⁰ Gossec's and C. Stamitz's symphonies were also present in other Habsburg collections, whereas Cambini was better known for his quartets and *sinfonie concertanti* than for his ordinary symphonies. Only rare examples of French symphonies entered the Austrian repertoire, and this situation is reflected also in Slovenian archives. Haydn's Symphony No. 35 in B flat major was also owned by the cathedral.²¹

The works of this type in these religious establishments were acquired between the 1750s and the 1780s, the period when Austrian monasteries also obtained most of their symphonic repertoire.²² The Josephine reforms of the 1780s not only closed several monasteries but also curtailed the musical accompaniment to the liturgy, thereby automatically reducing the Church's demand for symphonies.

By the end of the century the symphonic repertoire in the Habsburg monarchy had become oriented almost exclusively towards local production.²³ This is characteristic of the Gorizian region and of the repertoire of the Philharmonic Society (Philharmonische Gesellschaft) in Ljubljana, founded in 1794. In the Gorizian collection works by popular composers such as Adalbert Gyrowetz and Ignaz Pleyel predominate. The apparently especially favoured *La festa della pace* by Franz Anton Hoffmeister also forms part of the collection, as does the first symphony of Franz Krommer. There are only two symphonies by J. Haydn, the first and third symphonies by Beethoven and none at all by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. The non-Austrian exceptions are a collection of six symphonies by the Venetian Angelo Baldan and the German Otto Carl Erdmann von Kospoth. Some of the preserved overtures belong to the most popular operas of the era, while others come from works that did not enjoy much success beyond the Italian peninsula. The collection also includes the *Sinfonia D'un Aria della Farsa Zelinda e Lindoro* by Venceslav Wratny, a composer of Czech descent active in Gorizia and Ljubljana.²⁴

Certain parallels can be drawn between the Gorizian repertoire and that of the

¹⁸ Title on source: "Sinfonia del Sig^r Rampini 1775." SI-Kš, GA XI/15.

¹⁹ Kokole, "Repertoar koprské stolnice," 37.

²⁰ Title on source: "Symphonie a piu stromenti." Without call number and not catalogued in RISM.

²¹ Without title; only the oboe parts are preserved. SI-Ls, Ms. mus. 36.

²² Morrow, "Symphony in the Austrian Monarchy," 414.

²³ *Ibid.*, 422.

²⁴ On Wratny's church music, see Nagode, "Šest latinskih maš Venčeslava Wratnyja;" on Wratny's *Sinfonia D'un Aria della Farsa Zelinda e Lindoro*, see Barbo, "Referential Contexts."

Philharmonic Society, since the latter also favoured local repertoire (by composers born and/or active within the monarchy). Moreover, works by the same composers – primarily the most prolific and popular composers of the day – are found in both collections, including some absolutely identical works: the Society also obtained symphonies by Gyrowetz and Pleyel, as well as Beethoven’s first and second symphonies. Unlike the Gorizians, however, the Society acquired works by Dittersdorf and Paul Wranitzky, plus – in contrast – several Mozart symphonies. Not surprisingly, the predominant composer listed in the Society’s catalogue of works drawn up in 1804 was clearly Haydn, with thirty-five symphonies. Among the composers of symphonies held by the Society, only Franz Christoph Neubauer and Louis Massoneau were non-Austrian; their works were, however, available for purchase in Vienna. Among the *sinfonie concertanti*, besides Gyrowetz’s works, we find a number of foreign composers – François Devienne, Giuseppe Antonio Capuzzi, Carl August Cannabich and Johann Brandl – but this prominent presence is due only to the fact that this distinctive species of symphony flourished in France, Mannheim and London, whereas in the Habsburg Monarchy it had a much lower profile. The overtures are either by Austrian composers or by Italian composers whose operas had gained international success or were in some way connected with Vienna – that is, either composed there or staged there for the first time.

The Philharmonic Society became the most prominent standard-bearer of the symphonic repertoire in the Slovenian territory. It has been pointed out that this society was an “anomaly,” since in the Austrian Monarchy public concerts (although these were actually only semi-public, only members being admitted) were normally organized by individuals who performed whatever pieces they had at their disposal and did not function as patrons in the more significant sense of creating and cultivating a repertoire.²⁵ From this perspective, the Society was truly unique within the empire in its acquisition of a large collection of symphonies and active encouragement of local creativity. Its catalogue of works acquired during the period 1794–1804 also lists five symphonies by František Josef Benedikt Dusík, a Czech composer active in those parts from 1790 onwards.²⁶

Many of the symphonies and overtures that came into the possession of the Society were donated by its members: either by musicians, such as its co-founders Carl Moos and Bernard Kogl and the violinist Wolfgang Schmitt, or by its elite membership, such as the aristocrats Baron Sigismund Zois and Count Ferdinand von Porzia. Beyond the Society there was no real market for symphonies in Ljubljana, so its symphonic repertoire had to be purchased elsewhere, one assumes mainly in Vienna.

By this time, publishing and printing businesses had become well established, so the majority of the Society’s symphonies arrived in the form of printed editions, mainly issued by the leading publisher André.²⁷ This is not surprising, since by the end of the eighteenth

²⁵ Morrow, “Symphony in the Austrian Monarchy,” 417.

²⁶ See Barbo, *František Josef Benedikt Dusík*; Barbo, “František Josef Benedikt Dusík;” and Arbo, “Dusík, Wrattni e la ricezione.” There is also a modern edition of one of Dusík’s symphonies: Dusík, *Simphonia grande in G*.

²⁷ On the publisher André, see Matthäus, *Johann André Musikverlag*; for the period after 1800, see Constapel, *Der Musikverlag Johann André*.

century André had become “the single most important music publisher in Europe.”²⁸ Although his base was in Offenbach, André’s publications were generally available throughout Europe, and almost all his editions were sold in Vienna.²⁹ We can find some of the André editions owned by the Society in the 1799 catalogue of the Viennese music dealer Johann Traeg, and in the 1804 supplement to the same dealer’s catalogue. Apart from buying from André, the Society also obtained editions from well-established printing firms based in Vienna, notably those of the prominent Artaria as well as Hoffmeister.

Despite the great expansion of music publishing, manuscript copies still circulated in abundance, and this form of distribution remained highly characteristic of the Habsburg monarchy even as late as the end of the century.³⁰ A preference for hand-copied rather than printed symphonies is observable in certain sources obtained by the Society. Of the Haydn symphonies in the collection, three were already available from the publishing house Artaria at the time and four had been printed by firms in Paris and London, while Massoneau’s Op. 3, nos. 1 and 2 had been published by André.³¹ The operatic *sinfonias* are mainly manuscript copies.

The editions in the Gorizian collection display more or less the same origins, most of them being sold by Viennese publishers and music dealers (André, Artaria and Toricella, the Viennese publishing pioneer). Nevertheless, we also find one Sieber (Paris) edition and one Schott (Mainz) edition of Pleyel’s symphonies – which is interesting, since these were also published by André and would probably have been easier to obtain from him. There are also manuscript copies of Pleyel symphonies that had been published by Imbault (France) as well as a manuscript copy of Kospoth’s Op. 12. The operatic *sinfonias* are all in manuscript form. Interestingly, some are preserved in the form of a score – which was a rare event, since such works were more normally disseminated as performance material in parts.

The printed editions preserved in Slovenian archives are generally first editions: that is, first editions from André or Viennese firms, or first Viennese editions that followed international publications by only a year or two. This proves that the Society and the Gorizian music enthusiasts were keen to acquire contemporary repertoire and made a serious effort to obtain the most recently composed symphonies. This was definitely true of the Philharmonic Society, whose catalogue citing works acquired by June 1804 includes the *sinfonia* to an opera that had been premiered in January 1804 as well as Beethoven’s Symphony No. 2, which first became available in print that same year.³²

It is interesting to observe the shift of the symphonic repertoire from international to local production that occurred at the end of the eighteenth century, when the orientation

²⁸ Jones, “Symphony in Beethoven’s Vienna,” 19.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 19–22.

³⁰ Morrow, “Symphony in the Austrian Monarchy,” 423.

³¹ Unfortunately, several symphonies by Haydn as well as works by certain other composers have not been preserved. The main source of information about the repertoire of the Philharmonic Society is their catalogue of works from 1794–1804, which contains incipits of the works owned by the Society.

³² Beethoven’s Symphony No. 2 is listed in the Society’s catalogue, but the parts for the symphony are missing. It is most likely that the Society obtained a printed edition.

changed in favour of Austrian composers. This transition is shown on the map below, which illustrates the origins of the symphonies preserved in Slovenian archives by mapping the cities where the respective composers lived and worked. As mentioned above, this shift was characteristic of the entire Habsburg monarchy. Given that most of the works by foreign composers were available from music dealers in Vienna, it is probably safe to conclude that this musical centre dictated absolutely what was deemed fashionable in its hinterland.

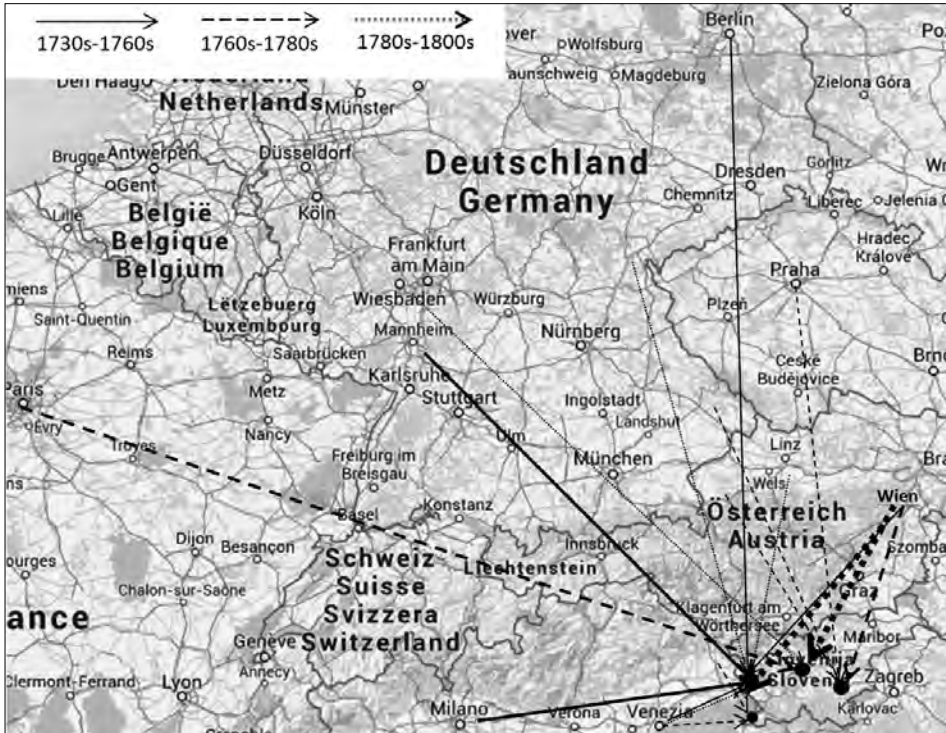


Figure 1 The shift in symphonic repertoire during the eighteenth century. Thicker lines represent a greater number of symphonies by composers from that area.

It is difficult to write about the Slovenian symphonic repertoire in the eighteenth century for two reasons. First, one can quickly be discouraged from researching into Slovenian symphonic creativity, since we do not have a Haydn or a Mozart, nor any prolific indigenous composer, leaving aside the rare exceptions of Dusik and Wratny. Second, Slovenia as such at this time did not exist, since there was not yet a self-aware Slovenian nation with a collective consciousness based on a common language, culture and economy; moreover, there were no recognized borders defining Slovenian territory.³³ The vast majority of the population regarded themselves as belonging first and foremost

³³ Kosi, *Kako je nastal*, 64–65.

to a certain duchy, and in consequence to the Habsburg monarchy. We cannot, therefore, properly speak of an expressly Slovenian symphonic repertoire and Slovenian composers; however, we may in compensation regard Austrian creativity legitimately as “local” creativity. In this light, the modern Slovenian territory was a peripheral but integral component of a large and culturally rich state. Although there were no (truly rich) patrons in this periphery capable of commissioning vast numbers of symphonies, there were at least consumers who in their more modest way contributed to the cultivation and growth of the symphonic repertoire, whereby new symphonies continued to be written so long as there was a continued demand for them.

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IZVOR ZGODNJEGA SIMFONIČNEGA REPERTOARJA NA SLOVENSLEM

Povzetek

Ohranjeni rokopisi in tiski simfoničnih del v arhivih na Slovenskem in v obmejnem mestu Gorici dokazujejo, da so skozi 18. stoletje v slovenskih deželah ljubitelji glasbe sledili trendu naraščajoče priljubljenosti simfonije in uspeli pridobiti najnovejša simfonična dela. V Zgodovinskem arhivu v Gorici se je ohranilo precej simfonij, ki izhajajo iz obdobja od tridesetih let 18. stoletja do začetka 19. stoletja. V zbirki najdemo primere zgodnje simfonične ustvarjalnosti najbolj razširjenih evropskih skladateljev: mannheimski skladatelji I. Holzbauer, J. Stamitz in C. G. Toeschi, skladatelja milanskega kroga G. B. Sammartini in A. Brioschi, dela G. C. Wagenseila, edinega avstrijskega skladatelja svoje generacije, ki je uspel pridobiti mednarodni sloves, ter simfoniji J. C. Bacha in J. G. Seyffartha. Naštete simfonije so nastale v obdobju od okoli 1730 do okoli 1760 in so ohranjene v obliki prepisov. Na kakšen način in od kod so simfonije prišle, ni mogoče natančneje določiti. Velika večina simfonij iz tega obdobja je spetih v več zvezkov, v katerih je še precej del drugih žanrov, ki so dela italijanskih skladateljev. Slednje nakazuje, da je tudi simfonični repertoar prihajal najverjetneje preko italijanske strani.

K razvoju in distribuciji simfonij so precej pripomogle cerkvene ustanove, kar potrjujejo ohranjeni primeri v frančiškanski knjižnici v Novem mestu, arhivih nekaterih primorskih samostanov ter ohranjene muzikalije stolne cerkve v Ljubljani. Te simfonije so nastale v obdobju med letoma 1750 in 1780. Samostani so med seboj tvorili posebno povezavo, preko katere se je širil simfonični repertoar. Slednje je razvidno tudi iz primerov muzikalij v frančiškanskem samostanu: simfonijo češkega skladatelja Antonína Kammela je s seboj najverjetneje prinesel pater Mauricij Pöhm, ko se je nastanil v novomeškem frančiškanskem samostanu, iz medsebojne samostanske povezave izhaja tudi zbirka simfonij patra Lamberta Krausa iz benediktinskega samostana Metten, ki jo najdemo skoraj izključno v samostanskih zbirkah.

Ob koncu stoletja so simfonični repertoar v Habsburški monarhiji sestavljala skoraj izključno dela lokalnih avstrijskih skladateljev oz. skladateljev, delujočih na Dunaju. Slednje je bilo značilno tudi za leta 1794 ustanovljeno Filharmonično družbo in za simfonije iz Zgodovinskega arhiva v Gorici, ki datirajo v konec 18. stoletja. V obeh zbirkah najdemo dela najbolj priljubljenih skladateljev dobe A. Gyrowertza, I. Pleyela, J. Haydna in zgodnje simfonije L. Beethovna. Filharmonična družba je vključila v svojo bogato zakladnico del tudi simfonije C. D. Dittersdorfa, P. Wranitzkega in seveda W. A. Mozarta. V obeh zbirkah so primeri simfonij tujih skladateljev redki. Simfonije iz tega časa so načeloma tiskane edicije uveljavljenih firm na Dunaju (Artaria, Toricella, Hoffmeister) in pa seveda najpomembnejše glasbene založniške firme Andréja iz Offenbacha, katerega edicije je bilo mogoče kupiti na Dunaju. Kljub temu je nekaj simfonij Haydna in Pleyela, ki so že obstajale v tiskanih oblikah, ohranjenih v obliki prepisov. V Habsburški monarhiji je namreč kljub uveljavitvi glasbenega tiska prevladovalo prepisovanje simfonij.

Tiskane izdaje so načeloma vse prve edicije simfonij; gre za prve edicije dunajskih firm in založnika Andréja ali za prve dunajske edicije, ki so po letu ali dveh sledile izdajam v Parizu ali Londonu. Filharmonična družba in goriški ljubitelji glasbe so tako

pridobivali sodoben repertoar in zagotovo stremeli k temu, da bi pridobili najnovejše simfonije, ki so bile na voljo.

Slovensko ozemlje je bilo v 18. stoletju periferija velike in kulturno bogate države. Sicer drži, da tukajšnji prostor ni premogel bogatih mecenov, ki bi za svoje potrebe lahko naročali številne nove simfonije, zaradi česar je ohranjenih (oz. je nastalo) le nekaj simfonij tukaj živečih skladateljev. Vendarle pa so Filharmonična družba, goriške aristokratske družine in cerkvene institucije simfonije potrebovali in so z njihovim nakupom posredno spodbujali tudi nastanek novih del.

THE JOURNEYS OF VIOLIN HANDBOOKS TO THE SLOVENIAN LANDS AND THEIR INTERACTIONS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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Izvleček: *Violinski učbeniki, ki so bili namenjeni izključno violinski tehniki, so se pojavili na koncu 17. stoletja in so bili vsaj do leta 1750 prvenstveno namenjeni amaterjem. Na Slovenskem so se pojavili v drugi polovici 18. stoletja in so bili namenjeni predvsem orkestrskim izvajalcem.*

Ključne besede: *18. stoletje, violin, violinski učbeniki, instrumentalna glasba, Giuseppe Tartini, Leopold Mozart, Vincenzo Panerai, Johann Adam Hiller, Johann Joachim Quantz.*

Abstract: *Violin treatises solely devoted to violin technique first appeared at the end of the seventeenth century. Up to 1750, at least, most of them were intended for amateurs. In the Slovenian lands they started to appear in the second half of the eighteenth century and were used primarily by orchestral performers.*

Keywords: *eighteenth century, violin, violin treatises, instrumental music, Giuseppe Tartini, Leopold Mozart, Vincenzo Panerai, Johann Adam Hiller, Johann Joachim Quantz.*

Introduction

Violin treatises solely devoted to violin technique first appeared at the end of the seventeenth century. Up to 1750, at least, most of them were intended for amateurs and were written by generalists who confined themselves to basic matters concerning the violin and performance on it.¹ In the seventeenth century professional violinists did not use violin handbooks in their training but were tutored individually by recognized masters. For their teaching the latter took practice materials from contemporary violin works and prepared lessons tailored to the specific needs of each student.² The music written by professional violinist-composers was technically far in advance of that in the violin handbooks written during the same period. One may well wonder why none of these violinist-composers improved the instructional material. The most important reason was probably the protection of their “trade secrets” – small tricks of violin technique that were highly prized and undoubtedly provided them with earnings when disclosed to students on an individual

¹ Boyden, *History of Violin Playing*, 244 and 357.

² Pulver, “Violin-Tutors of the 17th Century,” 695; Pulver, “Violin Methods Old and New,” 101.

basis.³ The other reason may have been that professional violinists had neither the time nor the literary skills needed for such an effort. The only violin treatise to describe professional methods in the seventeenth century was that contained in the *Florilegium Secundum* by Georg Muffat (1653–1704). This describes the violin technique of the French violinists under J. B. Lully (1632–1687) and was primarily oriented towards the performance of dance music. For this reason, the techniques described are relatively simple compared with those practised by German and Italian professional violinists of the time. The first violin handbooks of the seventeenth century came from England and Germany, typically sketching the topography of the fingerboard and providing a few simple tunes.⁴

The picture markedly changed in the middle of the eighteenth century, with a proliferation of violin treatises written by well-known violinists and addressed to those themselves aspiring to become professional violinists. These instructions, intended for pupils and teachers alike, were more complete and provided a picture of the best current practice among professional violinists. The earliest known violin method of this kind was *The Art of Playing on the Violin* by Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762), published in London in 1751. A year later, the *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* was published in Berlin by Johann Joachim Quantz (1697–1773). This second handbook is devoted primarily to transverse flute playing but in addition contains valuable material relevant to the violin. Geminiani created a model for many other violin handbooks, such as: *Arte y puntual explicación del modo de tocar el violín* by Joseph de Herrando (1721–1763), published in Paris in 1756, and the *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* by Leopold Mozart (1719–1787), published in Augsburg the same year.⁵

Eighteenth-century violin handbooks provided technical information about the holding of the instrument and the bow, bow strokes, special techniques of the right and left hand, and finally ornaments, including vibrato and unwritten embellishments. These methods also addressed more general matters such as notation, the history of music, expression and aesthetics.⁶ Eighteenth-century methods often discussed violin technique on a few pages, giving general guidelines, and concluded with a complete composition to put the theory into practice. In this respect Leopold Mozart's treatise was exceptional in its scope, systematic approach and pedagogical practice of illustrating every detailed principle by one or more short examples. This is probably also the reason why it became a resounding success and one of the favourite violin manuals of its time.

Violin Handbooks Preserved in the Slovenian Lands in the Eighteenth Century

In the eighteenth-century Slovenian lands violin playing was fostered mainly by monastic orders, cathedral orchestras and the local aristocracy. The archives do not provide enough data to enable us to form a clear picture of violin performance during the eighteenth century

³ Pulver, "Violin Methods Old and New," 102.

⁴ Boyden, *History of Violin Playing*, 244.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 357.

⁶ Boyden, "Violin and Its Technique in the 18th Century," 10.

in churches and monasteries on the territory of present-day Slovenia. We may assume that the predominant role of the violin was to provide orchestral accompaniment, and that violinists mostly played relatively simple melodies. At times, when more complicated compositions and better trained performers were available, the level rose, but it remained far below that of “virtuoso” performance.⁷ An important part of aristocratic education was the playing of a bowed instrument, a skill that rose in importance after the establishment, at Ljubljana in 1701, of the Academia Philharmonicorum, which boasted not only a choir but also an orchestra.⁸ For all these reasons, violin treatises have been preserved mostly as a legacy of monasteries, churches and the nobility, the oldest among them dating back to the eighteenth century. That means that they were in use in this territory at around the same time as their use became common throughout Europe.

The oldest of these printed manuals is *Principi di musica* (Principles of Music), which is preserved in the Diocesan archive of Koper⁹ and was written before 1750 by Abbot Vincenzo Panerai (active between 1750 and 1797; the author’s name appears also as Vincenzio Panierai). The surviving copy of that handbook mentions neither the author’s name nor the date. Nevertheless, authorship of the work can be positively identified from reprints published before 1750. From the cover page of the preserved copy it is evident that the handbook was published in Venice by the printer Antonio Zatta before 1780.¹⁰ There is not much biographical information available about Vincenzo Panerai, who was a teacher of organ, harpsichord and pianoforte in Florence and also *maestro di cappella* at San Marco and Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence. In addition to further theoretical works, Panerai also wrote a number of instrumental compositions, mostly for keyboard instruments.¹¹

The handbook *Principi di musica*, running to twelve pages, explains basic musical terms and scales, not only for the violin but also for other instruments, such as the flute, the oboe, various bowed instruments and the harpsichord. There are data showing that instrumental music was being played at Koper Cathedral in the eighteenth century. In 1734 three violinists and expenses for purchasing scores for the musicians are mentioned.¹² The reprints of Panerai’s work and the numerous additional manuscript annotations on the last page (where the violin scales are located), provide evidence of the great practicality of, and need for, this kind of handbook at that time.¹³ However, this manual cannot be regarded as a serious violin handbook because it covers only the playing of scales on that instrument.

The handbook that in our day has been widely accepted as a defining document of eighteenth-century performance practice – the *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (Essay on a Method for Playing the Transverse Flute) by Johann

⁷ Zupančič, “Violinism,” 144, 148.

⁸ Kokole, “Academia Philharmonicorum,” 220.

⁹ [Panerai], *Principi di musica*. Preserved in Koper, Škofijski arhiv, GA XXIV/3.

¹⁰ Škrjanc, *Osnove klavirske in orgelske igre*.

¹¹ Panerai, “Principj di musica teorico-pratici.” Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini; Basso, “Vincenzo Panerai,” 553; “Avvisi,” 29.

¹² Recorded in the Cathedral account books (“Spesari” or “Libri delle spese”), book G (1680–1760); see Höfler, “Glasbeniki koprské stolnice,” 143.

¹³ See also Kokole, “Glasbeno teoretični in pedagoški priročniki,” 65; Zupančič, “Violinism,” 149.

Joachim Quantz – is intended mainly for flautists but also contains a considerable amount of material specifically relevant to violinists. The various editions and translations of the *Versuch*, and the borrowings from it, provide evidence of its popularity and ready acceptance in different countries.¹⁴ A printed copy of the first edition (of which today only the section containing the musical examples is preserved in Novo mesto) reached the Franciscan Monastery in that same town soon after its publication in 1752 in Berlin.¹⁵ A note on the title page proves that the handbook was in use by the Franciscans of Novo mesto at least from 1755 onwards. It is not known whether it was in use with the friars themselves or with the students in the gymnasium in the same town, which was under the direction of the Franciscans. Even though there is no direct evidence regarding the music's performers, we may infer from the preserved music that, in addition to one or two soloist singers and an organist, the monastery had at least a few violinists, since most of the surviving compositions include violin parts.¹⁶

The manual is organized as three interrelated treatises devoted to (i) the education of the individual musician, (ii) accompaniment and (iii) forms and styles. Chapter seventeen concerns different kinds of accompanying musicians: the leader of an ensemble; a string player; a keyboard player; and accompanists in general. On this subject, Quantz discusses important aspects of each individual instrument, including: tempo markings, intonation, the problem of balance, the size and make-up of an ensemble etc. The second section of this chapter (“Of the Ripieno Violinists in Particular”) explains the “duties” of a violinist in an accompanimental role. It focuses mainly on different styles of bowing, because “the bow stroke,” according to Quantz, is the most important aspect of musical performance on the violin or any other bowed instrument. Quantz’s aim was “to train a skilled and intelligent musician, and not just a mechanical player.”¹⁷

One of the key music performance manuals of the eighteenth century was the *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* (Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing) by Leopold Mozart (1719–1787), published in Augsburg in 1756. The text of the *Violinschule* must have been finished already in 1755, since the author states that its publication was delayed for over a year “because I was too foolish to step out in a time of such enlightenment with my modest effort into the light of the day.”¹⁸ The German music theorist Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718–1795) encouraged Leopold Mozart¹⁹ to proceed with publication of the work in the following words: “Although one could not complain of

¹⁴ Reilly, *Quantz and his Versuch*, 40.

¹⁵ Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere*. Preserved in Novo mesto, Knjižnica frančiškanskega samostana, Mus. 318.

¹⁶ Höfler, “Glasbenozgodovinske najdbe,” 140–141.

¹⁷ Reilly, “Introduction,” ix.

¹⁸ Mozart, *Art of the Violin*, 32.

¹⁹ Leopold Mozart wrote in the preface of his *Violin Method*: “Finally I chanced upon Herr Marpurg’s *Historical-Critical Essays on the Perception of Music*. I read his preface. At the very beginning he says that there can be no complaint as regards the number of writings on music. He delivers proof for this but laments, among other things, the absence of work of instructions for the violin. Now, this suddenly made my previous resolve again; and provided the strongest impetus for my sending these sheets immediately to the printer of my home town.” See *ibid.*, 33.

the number of books on music, a violin method comparable to the Quantz flute text was lacking.²⁰ Leopold Mozart's assertion "It has been many years since I wrote down the present rules for those who submitted themselves to my instructions in the playing of the violin"²¹ could be taken as indicating that his work was largely based on his own experience. However, his violin handbook was undoubtedly influenced in part by the *Traité des agréments de la musique* of Giuseppe Tartini (1692–1770).²² Mozart believed that nothing had been published earlier on the subject of violin playing. He expresses this in his preface to the first edition in the following words: "I often thought it peculiar that no book of instruction should have appeared for such a standard instrument, so indispensable to most musicians as the violin is, when, as a matter of fact, a sound basis and, in particular, some rules for the special way of bowing satisfactory to good taste has long been wanting [...] As for the publishing of this book, I will not in all probability be called upon to apologize for it, since as far as I know, it is the first work of instructions for the violin to be made available to the public."²³ By the time that the second edition was published, between 1769 and 1770,²⁴ Mozart must have become acquainted with Geminiani's *The Art of Playing on the Violin* (1751), for he describes a technique we today call "Geminiani's grip" in his new edition.²⁵

Mozart's *Violinschule* contains an introduction and twelve chapters that fall logically into five groups. The first group, comprising chapters one to three, gives elementary instructions for beginners. The second group, comprising chapters four to seven, inculcates a thorough knowledge of bowing technique. The eighth chapter discusses *applicatures* (positions), while chapters nine to eleven in the fourth group are devoted to a discussion of ornamentation. The final chapter offers advice on how to achieve a good performance. In chapters nine to eleven, those concerning ornaments, Mozart draws heavily on the first part of Tartini's *Traité des agréments de la musique*.

A copy of the first edition is preserved in the Peter Pavel Glavar Library in Komenda near Ljubljana. The owner of the handbook was a former director of the library, Josephi Tomelli (Josip Tomelj), as indicated in the note of its ownership "Ex libris Josephi Tomelli."²⁶ The last page of Mozart's handbook binding contains a watermark featuring a "serpent", a "stag" and the initials "AN," referring to the papermaker Anton Nickel from Žužemberg (Seisenberg). In 1756 Nickel's son Dismos (or Dizma) took over the paper mill and used his father's initials for few more years after the latter's death. The same watermark appears in the 1750s and the early 1760s in numerous musical manuscripts and other documents.²⁷ This suggests that Mozart's *Violinschule* reached Komenda soon after its publication in

²⁰ Marpurg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge*, v–vi; Steinhardt, "Leopold Mozart's Violin Method," 22.

²¹ Mozart, *Art of the Violin*, 32.

²² Concerning Mozart's general borrowings from Tartini's *Traité des agréments de la musique*, see also Angelucci, "Le 'Regole per ben suonar,'" 299–319.

²³ Mozart, *Art of the Violin*, 32–33.

²⁴ The second edition was delayed. The printing was initiated already in 1769 but took so long that a number of copies were not ready until 1770. See Einstein, "Preface," xxix.

²⁵ Stowell, "Leopold Mozart Revised," 132.

²⁶ Škrjanc, "Jakob Frančišek Zupan."

²⁷ Škrjanc, "Prispevek k dataciji rokopisov," 43–44.

1756. The state of musical activity in Komenda itself is not very clear. Documents reveal that Komenda's church bought a sizeable quantity of strings ("Musicorum cordae") etc. in 1762. There could have been at least two possible users of Mozart's handbook. The first is the Czech Matija Jellinek (Gellinek). He was between 1760 and 1762, and from 1765 onwards, a music teacher and conductor of the choir and orchestra in Peter Pavel Glavar's seminary for boys.²⁸ The other possible user could have been the composer Jakob Suppan (Jakob Frančišek Zupan; 1734–1810). This man reportedly replaced Jellinek in his position between 1762 and 1765. Two violin fragments for a movement entitled *Et incarnatus est* by an unidentified composer are preserved in the library in Komenda. They were most probably copied by Jakob Zupan ca. 1760. This might confirm the hypothesis that Zupan was active in Komenda.²⁹

The other surviving violin handbook is the *Anweisung zum Violinspielen für Schulen und zum Selbstunterrichte* (Instructions for Violin playing for schools and self-instruction) by Johann Adam Hiller (1728–1804), published in Leipzig in 1792. An example of the Graz edition of 1795 is preserved in the music department of the National and University Library in Ljubljana.³⁰ It came there from the Federal Collection Center in 1957, having previously belonged to Josip Mantuani's library. This violin tutor was most likely once owned by Joseph Graf von Thurn und Valsassina (1771–1829), whose signature is present on the treatise. Valsassina lived in the castle of Krumperk near Ljubljana and would probably have used this violin handbook for his children's musical education.³¹ Hiller's work serves as a violin tutor for schools and for self-instruction. Such handbooks for self-instruction were by no means exceptional at that time. The earliest violin handbooks were essentially "do-it-yourself" books. Such manuals were regarded as an up-to-date phenomenon in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries not only in music but in many other fields as well. Similar handbooks existed on how to fire a gun, brew beer, gain a husband etc.³² Hiller's treatise contains a short dictionary of foreign words and musical terms. Its principal object was to teach the elements of violin playing in a clear, easily understood and innovative way. The handbook was intended to address certain needs of the Thomasschule in Leipzig, and a perhaps still more urgent want in other schools. The author's intention was to produce not virtuosos but good orchestral players, who, according to him, were of greater consequence for the art of music than concert violinists. Hiller speaks about the two different ways of holding the violin explained and illustrated in Mozart's violin method. This is a good illustration of the fact that Hiller knew Mozart's violin tutor very well. The term *applicatur* used by Giuseppe Tartini as well as Leopold Mozart is found antiquated by Johann Hiller, who uses the term *position* still current today.

²⁸ Škrjanc, "Jakob Frančišek Zupan."

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Hiller, *Anweisung zum Violinspielen*. Preserved in Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Glasbena zbirka, Inv. Nr. 1353/1957.

³¹ Jožef Thurn in Valassina was born in 1771 in Celje and died in 1829. After his marriage he lived in the castle of Krumperk near Ljubljana. See Kokole, "Glasbeno teoretični in pedagoški priročniki," 65.

³² Boyden, *History of Violin Playing*, 245.

Giuseppe Tartini's famous letter of 1760 has been preserved in his native Piran (Slovenia) and can be regarded as a contribution to violin pedagogy.³³ The letter must have come there before the end of the eighteenth century with the rest of Tartini's estate, which was bequeathed to his brother and nephew in Piran.³⁴ There have been many polemical exchanges regarding the authenticity or otherwise of the letter. Its authenticity has finally been confirmed through a comparison with Tartini's other autograph letters.³⁵ Tartini wrote it to one of his last students, Maddalena Laura Lombardini Sirmen (1745–1818). In 1753, when she was eight years old, Maddalena was admitted to the Ospedale dei Mendicanti in Venice: not as an orphan but as a student of music. At the time of receiving Tartini's letter she was only fourteen years old, but already evidently an accomplished violinist and musician, considering her form of address as "signora."³⁶ The governors of the Mendicanti had permitted her to travel to Padua in 1760, 1761 and 1764 to study with Tartini directly.³⁷ But as the lessons of 1760 were delayed, Tartini wrote her a long letter explaining his violin methods and the best ways to practise.³⁸ This letter contains instructions on how to acquire, as Tartini explains, three essential skills of good performance on the violin: bowing, shifting position and vibrato. The letter was posthumously published, on 1 June 1770, in the Venetian periodical *L'Europa letteraria*; before the end of the century it had been translated into three languages.³⁹ A German translation was made in 1784 by the already mentioned Johann Adam Hiller. A comparison of Tartini's autograph (Ms. 140) and the letter published in *L'Europa letteraria*, on which all the translations were based, has revealed around 200 divergences.⁴⁰

³³ The letter was written in Padua on 5 March 1760.

³⁴ Tartini's estate contains manuscript letters and theoretical treatises, held by the Provincial Archives of Koper, Piran Section (Piran, Pokrajinski arhiv Koper), one of his violins and numerous personal effects (exhibited in the memorial room in his house of birth, which is under the management of the Maritime Museum "Sergej Mašera" of Piran – Piran, Pomorski muzej Sergej Mašera). However, Tartini's musical works remained in the hands of his pupils and employers, and most are now kept in the archives of the Paduan basilica. See "Testamento di Giuseppe Tartini," Pucer, *Inventar zbirke*, 39.

³⁵ Berdes, "L'ultima allieva di Tartini," 219.

³⁶ At the Mendicanti the title "signora" was normally reserved for those members of the *ospedale* who had attained the rank of *maestra*. See Berdes, "Notes," xviii.

³⁷ Berdes, "Preface," viii.

³⁸ Arnold, "Maddalena Laura Sirmen," 448.

³⁹ The letter was published in the eighteenth century in further editions: "Lettera del Defunto Sig. G. T. alla Signora Maddalena Lombardini," *L'Europa letteraria* 6, no. 1 (1770): 74; *Un importante lezione per i suonatori di violino* (Bologna: Sassi, 1770); *Un importante lezione per i suonatori di violino* (Milan: Galeazzi, 1770); *Un importante lezione per i suonatori di violino* (Venice: Colombani, 1770); *A Letter from the Late Signor Tartini to Signora Lombardini* [...], trans. Charles Burney (London: Bremner, 1771); "Lettre de Feu Tartini à Madame Madeleine Lombardini [...]," trans. F. J. M. Fayolle, *Journal de Musique* 2 (1771): 15; *A Letter from the Late Signor Tartini to Signora Lombardini* [...], trans. Charles Burney (London: Bremner, 1779); *Brief des Joseph Tartini an Magdalena Lombardini* [...], trans. Johann Adam Hiller (Leipzig: Dykische Buchhandlung, 1784); [Unknown title], trans. Rohrmann (Hannover: Pochwitz, 1786); [Unknown title], (Venezia: Marescalchi, 1799). See Berdes, "L'ultima allieva di Tartini," 220.

⁴⁰ Berdes, "Notes," xviii.

In his preface to the letter Tartini explains that “weighty business” has prevented him from fulfilling his promise to write the instructions for violin practice that she had requested. He continues by writing that the most important part of practice and study should be confined to the use and power of the bow in order “that you become a complete master of it, both in the *suonabile* and in the *cantabile* styles.”⁴¹ With this perspective, Tartini starts by focusing on basic exercises: practising crescendo on different parts of a bow on the open strings, to which she should devote at least an hour every day (“a little in the morning, and a little in the evening”). Tartini additionally warns Lombardini that she should bear in mind that this form of practice is the most difficult of all, and the most essential to playing well on the violin. In order that she should acquire a light pulsation and play of the wrist, Tartini gives her an example in which she should accelerate the motion until she arrives at the greatest possible speed. This exercise should be played with staccato notes – separate and detached, with a little space between every two notes (Music ex. 1); she should start with the point of the bow until this becomes easy; then continue with the part between the point and the middle of the bow; and lastly carry out the same exercise with the middle of the bow.

Music example 1 G. Tartini, from *A Letter from the Late Signor Tartini to Signora Maddalena Lombardini*, 15



Tartini finally focuses on practising swift passages in a light and neat manner with skips over a string between two quick notes in arpeggiated passages (Music ex. 2).

Music example 2 G. Tartini, from *A Letter from the Late Signor Tartini to Signora Maddalena Lombardini*, 17



The second part of the letter concerns the use of the left hand. Tartini focuses primarily on practising in different positions. He recommends taking a violin part (the first or second in a concerto, sonata or song) and playing the whole of it first in the half position, then in the first position and finally in the second position. The third essential property of a good performer on the violin is, according to Tartini, the possession of a good vibrato, which should be practised in slow, moderately fast and quick varieties, so that the two framing pitches succeed each other in three tempi: *adagio*, *andante* and *presto* (Music

⁴¹ Petrobelli, “Giuseppe Tartini,” 112.

ex. 3). At the end of the letter Tartini proposes no further exercises, since he claims that what he has said is more than sufficient.⁴²

Music example 3 G. Tartini, from *A Letter from the Late Signor Tartini to Signora Maddalena Lombardini*, 23



Besides penning the letter to Maddalena Laura Lombardini, Tartini also wrote for his pupils a practical essay on ornaments and related matters. Tartini began his pedagogical activity after his return from Prague to Padua between 1727 and 1728. His school was the first such school to acquire great fame and attracted students from all over Europe. A standard course of study usually lasted two years, offering tuition in violin technique and composition.⁴³ For the purposes of teaching, Tartini wrote a treatise today known as his *Traité des agréments de la musique* (Treatise on Ornamentation).⁴⁴ This manual was not published in Tartini's own time but circulated widely in manuscript form among his pupils and some other musicians, who surely included Leopold Mozart. It is believed that Italian manuscript copies were in circulation for some twenty years after Tartini's death, since after that time the material of the treatise would have been regarded as outmoded.⁴⁵ To date, Tartini's autograph of the treatise has not been found, but its content is preserved in a French translation (*Traité des agréments de la musique*) and in four Italian manuscript copies. The exact year of origin of the autograph is not known, but it is believed that it was written between 1727/28 and 1754. The beginning of the time-frame for its writing would coincide with the inception of Tartini's teaching activity in Padua in either 1727 or 1728. Since there is no doubt that Leopold Mozart used part of its content in his *Violinschule* (1756), which was finished by 1755,⁴⁶ Tartini's treatise must have been written before 1754. It was most probably written towards the end of the time-frame 1727–1754, since Quantz would surely have mentioned it in his *Versuch* (1752), especially in connection with cadenzas, if he had known of its existence. Instead, Quantz wrote: "As I have already said, rules have never been prescribed for cadenzas."⁴⁷

The title of Tartini's treatise is given differently in different historical sources,⁴⁸ so

⁴² Tartini, *Letter from the Late Signor Tartini*, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23.

⁴³ Petrobelli, "Giuseppe Tartini," 112.

⁴⁴ See Tartini, *Traité des agréments de la musique*; Babitz, "Treatise on Ornamentation," 75–102; Petrobelli, *Giuseppe Tartini – Le fonti biografiche*, 106–137; Petrobelli, *Tartini, le sue idee e il suo tempo*, 43–49.

⁴⁵ Boyden, "Missing Italian Manuscript," 321.

⁴⁶ The beginning of the *Violinschule* Leopold Mozart sat down between 1753 or 1754. See Einstein, "Preface," xxiv.

⁴⁷ Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, 181.

⁴⁸ "Lezioni sopra I vari generi di appoggiature, di trilli tremoli e mordenti, etc.," "Lezioni pratiche pel Violino," "Trattato delle appoggiature si ascendenti che discendenti per il violino, come pure il trillo, tremolo, mordente, ed altro, con dichiarazione delle cadenze naturali e composte," "Molte

its original wording is uncertain. Fétis states that one of the copies of Tartini's autograph was brought to Paris by his pupil Pierre La Houssaye (1735–1818).⁴⁹ That copy, in a translation by Pietro Denis, was published in 1771 as *Traité des agréments de la musique*.⁵⁰ An advertisement for this publication appeared in March 1771 in the *Mercure de France*.⁵¹ Until the late 1950s this was the only known version of this work. That is why today it is still generally known by its French title of *Traité des agréments de la musique*. It contains complete descriptions and examples of the proper use and performance, by both singers and players, of the appoggiatura, trill, vibrato, mordent, natural and artificial figures, and natural and artificial cadences.

The first of the four known Italian manuscript copies, entitled *Regole per ben suonar il Violino*,⁵² was copied by Tartini's pupil Giovanni Francesco Nicolai. It is preserved in the Conservatorio di Musica "Benedetto Marcello" in Venice and was discovered by Pierluigi Petrobelli in 1957. This copy contains a two-page chapter (without music examples) entitled *Regole per le Arcate* ("Rules for Bowing"), which was not included in the published French version of 1771. This chapter elaborates on Tartini's instructions described in the already mentioned letter to his pupil Maddalena Lombardini.

The second of the four Italian manuscript copies, entitled *Libro de regole, ed Esempi necessari per ben suonare*, was discovered by Paul Brainard in 1958 in a collection of eighteenth-century Italian manuscripts of string music held by the University of California at Berkeley. The collection was earlier preserved in Sacile, in the *comune* of Udine (Italy). The French translation (published in 1771) and this manuscript copy are not identical, but are linked by the sequence of ideas, important words and phrases. Most of the musical examples are identical and appear in the same order.⁵³ However, this manuscript copy contains an entire page with a discussion of the trill that is omitted in the French translation.

lezioni pratiche comunicate ad alcuni suoi Scolari ed amici che gelosamente le conservano, versando queste circa I vari generi d'Appoggiature, di Trilli, Tremoli, e Mordenti, intorno i Modi naturali, semplici, e composti; i Moti de Cadenza, i Siti di Cantilena, le finali Cadenze naturali, artificiali, arbitrarie, e cent'altri peregrine erudimenti [...].” See Boyden, “Missing Italian Manuscript,” 316, 322, 323.

⁴⁹ Fétis, “Joseph Tartini,” 488.

⁵⁰ There are some references to a French edition after 1771. The *Traité des agréments* is listed in the 1776 and 1780/81 catalogues of the Paris publisher Le Chevardière (as “Méthode pour la voix”) and in the 1786 catalogue of Le Duc (as “Méthodes”). See Boyden, “Missing Italian Manuscript,” 321.

⁵¹ “Traité des agréments de la musique,” 178.

⁵² “Regole per arrivare a saper ben suonar il Violino, col vero fondameto di saper sicuramente tutto quello, che si fa; buono ancora a tutti quelli ch'esercitano la Musica siano *Cantanti, o Suonatori* date in luce dal celebre Sig: *Giuseppe Tartini* per uso di chi avrà volontà di studiare copiate da Giovanni Francesco Nicolai suo Scolaro” (Rules for learning to play the Violin well, fully explained so that the student understands the reasons for everything he does; also suitable for all Music makers, whether *Singers or Players* written by celebrated Signor *Giuseppe Tartini* for the use of all those who wish to study, copied by Giovanni Francesco Nicolai, his Pupil.) See Jacobi, “G. F. Nicolai's Manuscript,” 207.

⁵³ Boyden, “Missing Italian Manuscript,” 320–321.

Surprisingly, this additional material appears in Leopold Mozart's *Violinschule*,⁵⁴ albeit without mention of the name of the original author.

The third of the four known Italian manuscript copies is entitled *Regole per arrivare a saper ben suonar il Violino, col vero fondamento di saper sicuramente tutto quello, che si fa; buono ancora a tutti quelli ch'esercitano la Musica siano Cantanti, o Suonatori date in luce dal celebre Sig^r: Giuseppe Tartini*. It is preserved in the Liceo Musicale "Orazio Vecchi" in Modena (G.A.595bis) and came there in 1936 as part of a collection owned by the pianist brothers Carlo and Guglielmo Andreoli from Mirandola. The title of this manuscript corresponds word for word to the manuscript copied by Giovanni Francesco Nicolai, but it does not contain the section *Regole per le arcate*.⁵⁵

The last manuscript copy of the *Regole* is held by the Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi in Venice, and most probably came there from the Contarini library. The copyist of the manuscript is unknown, but it was probably copied from the same exemplar that Nicolai used.⁵⁶

Travels and Influence of the Preserved Violin Handbooks

These violin treatises are the only evidence of any kind of violinistic pedagogical activity in the Slovenian lands in the eighteenth century. Most of them reached this geographical area soon after they were published, which means that they were in use in this region at the same time as they entered common use throughout Europe. The preserved handbooks are in all likelihood only a small fraction of the violin handbooks actually present on Slovenian soil in the eighteenth century. Most of them were probably lost or stolen in the course of the turbulent political events of the twentieth century or, together with their owners, relocated to places lying outside the territory of modern Slovenia.

One may speculate over how those violin handbooks reached this geographical area in the eighteenth century. Most of the preserved printed violin treatises were probably brought to the Slovenian lands by bookbinders or booksellers. Until the second half of the eighteenth century little printed material was sold by bookbinders in this geographical area. At the same time, printers were the most important booksellers. Already by the second half of the eighteenth century bookshops in the Slovenian lands had forged strong commercial links with foreign publishing houses.⁵⁷ Prints were mostly bought in unbound state and for economical reasons were bound by local bookbinders. The bindings usually contain watermarks that enable us to estimate the date of the treatises preserved on Slovenian soil. Conversely, it is less probable, but not to be excluded, that violin treatises were bought by musicians or other educated individuals.

The sole manuscript violin pedagogical instruction preserved in this area is contained in a letter written by Giuseppe Tartini to his pupil Maddalena Lombardini. The autograph

⁵⁴ Ibid., 316, 321.

⁵⁵ Canale, "Fonti per una ricostruzione," 17–19.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 17, 19, 20.

⁵⁷ Dular, "Knjigotrška ponudba na Kranjskem," 114.

of the letter sent to Maddalena Lombardini to Venice was copied (with the author's permission) by his friend Antonio Bonaventura Sberti (1731–1816). Soon after Tartini's death on 26 February 1770 Sberti gave his copy of the letter to the Venetian periodical *L'Europa letteraria*, which published the letter on 1 June 1770.⁵⁸ One may well wonder how the letter remained in Tartini's possession and could still, in the eighteenth century, be bequeathed to his brother and nephew after having been sent to Lombardini. There must in all likelihood have been a third copy (actually, the second autograph) retained by Tartini for further correspondence, since he wrote: "If I should not explain myself with sufficient clearness, I entreat you to tell me your doubts and difficulties, in writing, which I shall not fail to remove in a future letter."⁵⁹ This would also explain the polemics about the authenticity of the letter and the approximately two hundred differences between the autograph and letter published in *L'Europa letteraria* (1770), on which all further translations were based. Nevertheless, the letter was most certainly never in used for any kind of pedagogical purpose within the future Slovenia, and accordingly had no further impact on violin playing there.

In the second half of the eighteenth century the first serious and comprehensive musical handbooks appeared. Giuseppe Tartini was one of the most important musical figures who inspired their contemporaries. There is no evidence that Johann Joachim Quantz was acquainted with any of Tartini's didactic writings in circulation among his pupils and other musicians. Quantz witnessed Tartini's playing only once, in Prague in the 1720s, and devoted to him a single paragraph in his *Versuch*. In his autobiography Quantz describes Tartini's playing as follows: "His playing, to be sure, since it seems to be something new, excites much admiration among those who understand the instrument; the pleasure it excites, however, is proportionately less among the others. And since he has invented many different kinds of difficult bow strokes which distinguish his execution from that of all others, various German violinists have, out of curiosity, come under his influence, to their own detriment."⁶⁰ Besides Quantz's instruction that the string soloist should use a broad, singing bow stroke and the accompanist a more articulated one, which was most likely influenced by Tartini,⁶¹ there are no further obvious influences. Some of Tartini's ideas of bowing (practising crescendo combinations on different parts of a bow etc.) are reflected in Leopold Mozart's *Violinschule*.

Johann Adam Hiller was one of the eighteenth-century translators of Tartini's letter addressed to Maddalena Lombardini. The translation was published in 1784 in his *Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Musikgelehrten und Tonkünstler neuerer Zeit*,⁶² eight years before Hiller published his *Anweisung*. It seems that, more than by Tartini, Hiller

⁵⁸ Petrobelli, *Giuseppe Tartini – Le fonti biografiche*, 83.

⁵⁹ Tartini, *Letter from the Late Signor Tartini*, 9.

⁶⁰ Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, 324.

⁶¹ Tartini distinguished between *cantabile* and *suonabile* (allegro) bowing, where the first should be played without any discernible gap between the notes, whereas the second should be played with the notes detached.

⁶² Hiller, *Lebensbeschreibungen*, 267–285.

was influenced by Leopold Mozart's *Violinschule*, from which source pictures showing how to hold the violin were in 1792 reproduced in Hiller's *Anweisung*.

Even though Leopold Mozart's treatise was the first major systematic treatise for violin and was probably largely based on this musician's teaching experience, Mozart "borrowed" at least one fifth of its material from Tartini's *Traité des agréments de la musique*. Chapters nine to eleven (concerning appoggiaturas and other associated embellishments including the trill, vibrato, the mordent and several other arbitrary ornaments) consistently follow the order of the first section (appoggiatura, trill, vibrato and mordent) of Tartini's two-part treatise. Most of the musical examples Mozart simply transposed; at the same time, he is typically more precise in the explanation of technical concepts than Tartini himself. Mozart indirectly refers to Tartini only once, in the following words: "There is only one case in which it seems that the trill could be played with the minor 3rd or augmented 2nd, as taught by a great Italian master [Giuseppe Tartini]. However, even in this case it is better to omit the trill and insert a different ornament in its stead." One of Mozart's accompanied trill examples is the trill passage from the third movement of Tartini's work today known as the "Devil's Trill" Sonata, which probably originated during the 1740s.⁶³

Such "borrowing" of material without mentioning the original author would today be considered pure plagiarism. Nevertheless, in the eighteenth century the conception of authorship in music was still very loose. There was no distinction made between an "original" and a borrowed or arranged piece. Composers could borrow motifs, melodies and entire movements without being considered plagiarists or accused of theft, imitation or weakness.⁶⁴ The German theorist Johann Mattheson (1681–1764) defined "music borrowing" in *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739) thus: "Borrowing is permissible; but one must return the thing borrowed with interest; i.e., one must so construct and develop imitations that they are prettier and better than the pieces from which they are derived."⁶⁵ In Mozart's *Violinschule*, however, questions of musical authorship (the musical examples) and intellectual property (Tartini's definitions) are raised. The first stirrings of intellectual property rights, especially in the literary field, date from the eighteenth century. Around the same time the earliest forms of protection right (the precursors of copyright) appeared. In the musical domain there were then no available means (or these would have been ineffective) for protecting the ownership of musical composition by an author or a publisher. The result is reflected in the thriving market in unauthorized editions.⁶⁶ Intellectual property laws acquired an important role only at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when musicians, on account of the uncertainty of securing court or church appointments, began to seek opportunities to market their music and performances to the general public. Because of the dishonesty of his pupils and of professional copyists, most of Tartini's music circulated without his permission already during his lifetime. In his letters Tartini expressed disappointment over the unauthorized circulation of his and other composers'

⁶³ Pavanello, "Preface," vi.

⁶⁴ Lang, *George Frideric Handel*, 564–565.

⁶⁵ Mattheson, *Johann Mattheson's Der Vollkommene Capellmeister*, 298.

⁶⁶ Viverit, "Giuseppe Tartini e la proprietà intellettuale," 30.

works. However, his efforts to control the action of copyists remained ineffectual.⁶⁷ It is possible that Tartini did not become aware of the fact that a large part of the content of his manuscript appeared in Mozart's *Violinschule*. It seems that Mozart's *Violinschule* was not very popular in Italy, for Alfred Einstein states: "Only Italy and England closed their doors to Leopold's *Violinschule*."⁶⁸ Musicians of the time were probably unacquainted with the fact that Mozart was not merely influenced by Tartini but actually "marketed" many of his ideas as his own. Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart (1739–1791), in his *Aesthetik der Tonkunst* (written between 1777 and 1787), claimed that Mozart's examples are "excellently chosen and his *applicatures* are no less than scholarly. His trend is that of the school of Tartini, but he allows the student more freedom in bowing than the latter."⁶⁹ Besides reproducing Tartini's ideas on ornamentation and in part on bowing, Mozart's *Violinschule* also introduces the concept of the "third," or "difference," note (*terzo suono*) that had been identified by Giuseppe Tartini as early as 1714. (Tartini discovered that two musical notes played simultaneously generated a third note that acted like a bass, giving the interval a third dimension, a subtle harmonic context.)⁷⁰ Mozart writes in his *Violinschule*: "I have made proof on the violin that bowing two notes together causes the 3rd, or the 5th, or the octave etc. to sound of their own accord. This is an unmistakable test, which allows anyone to check whether he is playing in tune. For, if two notes (which I shall show below) are played well and in tune, one can clearly hear the lower tone at the same time with a certain muted and buzzing sound."⁷¹ Tartini's ideas regarding the *terzo suono* were published in his *Trattato di musica secondo la vera scienza dell'armonia* in 1754 in Padua. Prints form a part of Tartini's estate preserved in Piran. Since Tartini expressly declares that he began to use the *terzo suono* in his school only in 1742, one may infer that Leopold Mozart encountered the idea in some manuscript between 1742 and 1756.⁷²

Tartini's ideas about ornaments and related matters were published under his name (in the *Traité des agréments de la musique*, 1771) a mere fifteen years after they had been published in part in Mozart's *Violinschule*, a book that by that time had already reached the four corners of Europe in three different languages: German (1756, 1769–1770), Dutch (1766) and French (1770). Nevertheless, much of this unauthorized publication and copying activity also had positive consequences. The unauthorized publications of Tartini's compositions celebrated his name in Europe. Most of his ideas about violin playing, however, reached the larger part of Europe at second hand, through Mozart's *Violinschule*. Ironically, even though Tartini was born on the territory of modern Slovenia, he had no direct influence on the development of violin playing in his home region. Already in the eighteenth century some of his most important ideas came back to his homeland as part of his estate via his books, letters etc., but they long remained hidden from view. In contrast, his ideas about ornaments, bowing and the *terzo suono* were imbibed through

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Einstein, "Preface," xxx.

⁶⁹ DuBois, "Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart's Ideen," 209.

⁷⁰ Lohri et al., "Combination Tones in Violins," 728.

⁷¹ Mozart, *Art of the Violin*, 230.

⁷² Petrobelli, *Tartini, le sue idee e il suo tempo*, 98–99.

Mozart's *Violinschule*, which saw wide use for educational purposes in this region from the second half of the eighteenth century onwards.

Music example 4 G. Tartini, from the *Traité des agréments de la musique*, 78



Music example 5 L. Mozart, from *The Art of the Violin*, 272



Music example 6 G. Tartini, from the *Traité des agréments de la musique*, 86



Music example 7 L. Mozart, from *The Art of the Violin*, 285



Siz.^{na} Maddalena mia Stimatis^{ma}

Ladova li 6 marzo 1760.

Finalmente quando a Dio è piaciuto mi sono obbligato da quella nuova occupazione, che fin qui mi ha impedito di mantere la mia promessa, se ben anche troppo mi stava al cuore, perché di più m'affliggeva la mancanza di tempo. Terminiamo dunque col nome di Dio per fermar, e se quanto qui espongo ella non intenda abbastanza più scriva, e dimandi spiegazione di tutto ciò, che non intendo.

Il dilai servizio, e studio principale deve esser l'arco in genere, cosicché ella se ne faccia padrona assoluta a qualunque uso o suonabile, o cantabile.

Il suo studio deve esser l'appoggio dell'arco sulla corda sufficientemente leggero, che il primo principio della voce, che si causa sia come un fiato, e non come una percossa sulla corda. Consiste in leggerezza di peso, e in prometter subito l'arresto, dopo l'appoggio leggero non u'è più pericolo d'oprezza, e ardezza. Di questo appoggio, così leggero ella deve farsi padrona in qualunque sito dell'arco, sia in mezzo, sia negli estremi, e deve esserne padrona coll'arresto in su, e con l'arresto in giù. Per far tutto la fatica in una sola volta, s'incomincia dalla metà di una sopra una corda uolta, per esempio sopra la seconda, che è l'Almiri, s'incomincia dal pianissimo crescendo sempre a poco alla volta finché si arriva al fortissimo, e questo studio deve farsi egualmente coll'arresto in giù, e con l'arresto in su. Ella incominci subito questo studio, e vi prenda almeno un'ora al giorno, mai interotta, un poco la mattina, un poco la sera, e si accordi bene, che questo è lo studio più importante, e più difficile di tutti.

Quando sarò padrona di questo la sera allora facile la messa di voce, che incomincia dal pianissimo un al fortissimo, e torna al pianissimo nella stessa arca. fa più facile, e sicuro l'altro appoggio dell'arco alla corda, e potrà far col suo arco tutto quello, che vuole.

Per acquistare poi questa leggerezza di peso, da cui viene la velocità dell'arco, sarò cosa ottima, che venghi ogni giorno qualche fuga del Corelli tutta di semicrome, e queste fughe sono tre nell'Opera quinta di Violino solo, anzi la prima è nella prima suonata per Relationi. Ella si poco alla volta deve suonarle sempre più presto, sinché arrivi a suonarle con quella velocità, che le sia più possibile; ma bisogna averte due cose: prima di suonarle con l'arco disteso, cioè gravite, e con un poco di uccio tra una volta, e l'altra. Sono scritte nel modo seguente.

Figure 1 The autograph of Giuseppe Tartini's letter written to Maddalena Lombardini (Piran, Pokrajinski arhiv Koper, Tartinijeva zbirka; reproduced with kind permission).

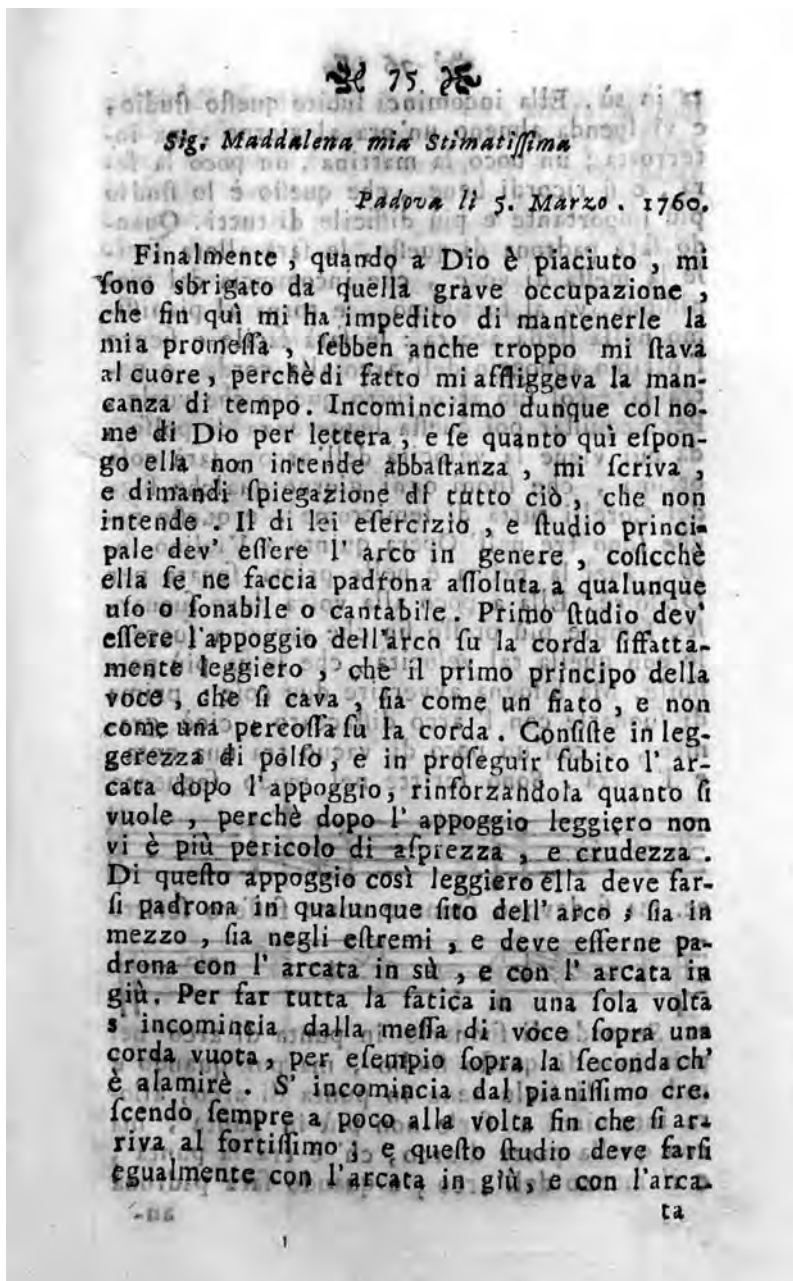


Figure 2 Tartini's letter as published in *L'Europa letteraria*, 74 (Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, COLRI.22–23"; reproduced with kind permission of the Ministero dei Beni e le Attività culturali e del Turismo).

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POTI VIOLINSKIH UČBENIKOV NA SLOVENSKO IN NJIHOVE INTERAKCIJE V 18. STOLETJU

Povzetek

Prvi samostojni violinski učbeniki so se v Evropi pojavili na koncu 17. stoletja in so bili vsaj do leta 1750 prvenstveno namenjeni amaterjem. Priznani violinisti so vse do druge polovice 18. stoletja svoje »poklicne skrivnosti« prenašali neposredno na svoje zasebne učence. Šele v začetku petdesetih let 18. stoletja pa so ti začeli izdajati učbenike, ki so bili namenjeni tako učiteljem kot tudi učencem. Na Slovenskem se je violinsko izvajanje v tem obdobju gojilo predvsem za zidovi samostanov in cerkva ter v krogih lokalne aristokracije, vendar večinoma ni bilo virtuoznega značaja.

Na Slovenskem se je v rokopisu ohranilo Tartinijevo pismo, ki je bilo leta 1761 napisano njegovi učenki Maddaleni Lauri Lombardini (1745–1818), ter štirje tiski violinskih učbenikov: *Principi di Musica* (pred 1750) Vincenza Paneraia, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traviersiere zu spielen* (1752) Johanna Joachima Quantza (1697–1773), *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* (1756) Leopolda Mozarta (1719–1787) in *Anweisung zum Violinspielen für Schulen und zum Selbstunterrichte* (1792) Johanna Adama Hillerja (1728–1804). Ohranjeni učbeniki najverjetneje predstavljajo le peščico dejansko prisotnih učbenikov 18. stoletja. Predvidevamo lahko, da je bila večina izgubljena ali ukradena v obdobju nemirnih političnih okoliščin 20. stoletja, ali pa je bila skupaj z njihovimi lastniki preseljena onkraj meja današnje Slovenije. Večino teh učbenikov so na slovensko ozemlje že v 18. stoletju najverjetneje prinesli knjigovezi in knjigarnarji, ki so imeli dobre povezave s tujimi založniškimi hišami. Tiski so bili zaradi ekonomskih razlogov na Slovensko prinešeni v snopičih, ki so bili zvezani v lokalnih knjigoveznicah, o čemer pričajo vodni znaki posameznih knjižnih platnic.

Giuseppe Tartini (1692–1770) je za svoje učence v Padovi pred letom 1754 napisal didaktično delo s poudarkom na okraševanju, ki je izšlo šele po njegovi smrti leta 1771 pod naslovom *Traité des agréments de la musique*. Omenjeno delo je v času Tartinijevega življenja v prepisih krožilo med Tartinijevimi učenci in drugimi glasbeniki. Ena izmed teh kopij je zagotovo prišla v roke tudi Leopoldu Mozartu, ki je v svoji *Violinschule* brez navedbe avtorja uporabil številne glasbene primere in definicije omenjenega Tartinijevega dela, pa tudi Tartinijevo idejo o t. i. *terzo suono* ipd. Čeprav je bil Giuseppe Tartini rojen v Piranu, na razvoj violinizma na Slovenskem ni imel neposrednega vpliva. Vendarle so številne njegove ideje preko Mozartove *Violinschule* dosegle slovensko ozemlje že v drugi polovici 18. stoletja.

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