

Musicology Today

2004 ◊ Musicology Section of the Polish Composers' Union

Polish Musical Culture
within the European Context

Institute of Musicology

University of Warsaw

Editor

Prof. dr hab. Zofia Helman (Institute of Musicology, University of Warsaw)

Associate Editors

Prof. dr hab. Ludwik Bielawski (Institute of Art, Polish Academy of Sciences),
Dr hab. J. Katarzyna Dadak-Kozicka (Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University of
Warsaw), *Prof. dr hab. Alicja Jarzębska* (Jagiellonian University of Cracow),
Dr hab. Maria Piotrowska (Catholic University of Lublin), *Dr hab. Ryszard
Wieczorek* (Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznań)

Secretariat

Dr Iwona Lindstedt (Institute of Musicology, University of Warsaw)

Consultants

*Prof. dr hab. Anna Czekanowska-Kuklińska, Ks. Prof. dr hab. Karol Mrowiec,
Prof. dr hab. Jadwiga Paja-Stach, Ks. Prof. dr hab. Ireneusz Pawlak, Prof. dr hab.
Mirosław Perz, Ks. Prof. dr hab. Jerzy Pikulik, Prof. dr hab. Irena Poniatowska,
Ks. Prof. dr hab. Ks. Józef Ścibor, Prof. dr hab. Andrzej Rakowski, Prof. dr hab.
Mieczysław Tomaszewski, Prof. dr hab. Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba, Prof. dr hab.
Sławomira Żerańska-Kominek*

English Language Consultant

Zofia Weaver, Ph.D.

© Copyright by the Musicology Section of the Polish Composers' Union 2004

ISBN 83-903-753-2-X

Publication partially funded by the State Committee for Scientific Research

Typeset by Iwona Lindstedt

Printed and bound by Drukarnia – Janusz Bieszczad, Warsaw, ul. Moszczenicka 2

Editorial Office: Institute of Musicology
University of Warsaw
00-927 Warsaw
Krakowskie Przedmieście 32
tel/fax: (22) 552-15-35
e-mail: imuz@uw.edu.pl

Musicology Section
of the Polish Composers' Union
00-272 Warsaw
Rynek Starego Miasta 27
tel/fax: (22) 831-17-41
e-mail: zkp@zkp.org.pl

Contributors

Ludwik Bielański studied musicology at the University of Poznań (1950–1954). In 1965 he obtained his Ph.D. on the basis of the thesis 'Rytmika polskich pieśni ludowych' ['The Rhythmics of Polish Folk Songs'] (Kraków 1970). In 1974 he obtained his habilitation on the basis of the work 'Strefowa teoria czasu i jej znaczenie dla antropologii muzycznej' ['Zone Theory of Time and Its Significance for Musical Anthropology'] (Kraków 1976). He has worked as a researcher since 1955. Since 1965 he has headed the Department of Documentation of Polish Folklore, and since 1992 the Department of Music History at the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences. He has published a number of articles on Polish folk music and on theory of music, with particular attention to the problem of the organization of musical time.

Ewa Bielińska-Galas is a Senior Research Assistant at the Musical Collections Department of the National Library in Warsaw, and a Senior Research Assistant at the Department of Theory of the Music Academy in Łódź. She completed her musicology studies at the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw, where she also obtained her Ph.D. Her thesis was on 'Msza XI w polskich graduatach przedtrydenckich' ['Mass XI in Polish Graduals from the pre-Trent period'] (1998). In her research she concentrates on sources documenting the history of early music in Poland.

J. Katarzyna Dadak-Kozicka, dr hab. anthropology of music (doctoral degree: 'Slavonic Harvest Songs' (1978), post-doctoral degree (habilitation): 'Folklor sztuką życia. U źródeł antropologii muzyki' ['Folklore as the art of life. The roots of anthropology of music'] (Warszawa 1996)) and theory of music education (inter alia a Polish adaptation of the Kodály concept: 'Śpiewajże mi jako umiesz' (Warszawa 1992) ['Sing to me as you can']; chairman of the Kodály Circle at the Polish Section of ISME); 1997–2001 and 2003– the president of the Musicology Section of the

Polish Composers' Union (organized the conference and ed. 7 volumes of the post-conference-book); the author of many articles; professor at the University of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński in Warsaw.

Paweł Gancarczyk, Ph.D., researcher at the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences, member of the editorial staff of the *'Muzyka'* quarterly, lecturer at Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw. Specializes in the history of music of the 15th and the 16th century (source studies, codicology, culture of Central Europe, the problem of print's "revolution"). Publications include: *'Musica scripto. Kodeksy menzuralne II połowy XV wieku na wschodzie Europy Łacińskiej'* [*'Musica scripto. Mensural Codices in Eastern Latin Europe in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century'*] (Warszawa 2001); *'Cantus planus multiplex. Chant Polyphony in Poland from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century'*, in *'Notae musicae artis. Musical Notation in Polish Sources 11th–16th Century'*, ed. Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba (Kraków 2001). Editor of the volume *'Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz–konteksty źródłowe'* [*'Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz–Contexts and Sources'*] (Warszawa 2004).

Tomasz Jeż studied musicology with Miroslaw Perz and graduated with distinction from Warsaw University, where he continued his doctoral studies. Twice he was scholar of the German Academic Exchange Service: in Göttingen, with M. Staehelin (1995/1996) and in Berlin, with M. Heinemann (2000/2001). In 2002 he completed his Ph.D. with the dissertation *'The Madrigal in North-Eastern Europe. Documentation–Reception–Transformations of the Genre'* (published 2003) and began to work as assistant professor at the Institute of Musicology of Warsaw University. During 2002–2003 he was a scholar of The Foundation for the Polish Science. Particular interests concern the questions of the European musical repertory reception in the 16th- and 17th-century documentation. He has published 20 papers, concerning both descriptions of unknown sources, and the interpretation of musical phenomena in the context of the spiritual and aesthetical culture of the Renaissance and Baroque. Presently, his main research field is the musical culture of the ancient Silesia.

Agnieszka Leszczyńska, Ph.D., lectures at the Institute of Musicology, University of Warsaw. In her research she concentrates on European Medieval and Renaissance music, in particular on the work of Franco-Flemish composers of Josquin's time and on the music of Royal Prussia in the sixteenth century. Publications include: *'Melodyka niderlandzka w polifonii Josquina, Obrechta i La Rue'* [*'Netherlandish Melodics in the Polyphony of Josquin, Obrecht and La Rue'*], (Warszawa 1997); *'Ślady trecenta w Poznaniu'* [*'The Traces of Trecento in Poznan'*], *'Muzyka'* 36:3 (1991); *'Johannes Wanning — kapelmistrz kościoła Mariackiego w Gdańsku'* [*'Johannes Wanning - maestro di cappella of the Marian church in Gdańsk'*], *'Muzyka'*

44:3 (1999); 'Muzyka w Gdańsku 2.pół. XVI wieku wobec przemian konfesyjnych' ['Music in Gdańsk in the second half of the sixteenth century and changes in religious faith'], in 'Musicology and Changes in Culture and Civilization', ed. L. Bielawski, J.K. Dadak-Kozicka, A. Leszczyńska (Warszawa 2001); 'W poszukiwaniu hanzeatyckiego sponsora: listy muzyków z przełomu XVI i XVII wieku do rad miejskich Torunia i Gdańska', in 'Complexus effectuum musicologiae', ed. T. Jeż (Kraków 2003); 'Unique Masses from the Time of Josquin in Ms Mus. 40634 in the Jagiellonian Library (from the former Preussische Staatsbibliothek Collection)', 'Musica Iagellonica', vol. 3, 2004; 'The Motets of Johannes Wanning from the Collection 'Sacrae Cantiones' 1580, 'Musica Iagellonica', vol. 3, 2004.

Zbigniew Jerzy Przerembski, Ph.D., works at the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw. He specializes in the study of Polish and European folk music, and works on analysis and classification and computerized analysis; he studies the styles and genres of Polish and European folk music, musical instruments and performance practice. Having written more than 150 articles on these topics which have appeared in collective works, periodicals, magazines and encyclopaedias, he penned 'Melodic Styles and Melodic Forms of Polish Folk Songs' in 1994. He has also done some editorial work on the series 'Polish Folk Song and Music. Sources and Materials'.

Ryszard J. Wieczorek, dr hab., graduated in musicology from the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań (1980), with which he is still connected. He obtained his Ph.D. there (1989) on the basis of thesis 'The Role of Humanistic Poetics in the Shaping of Italian Vocal Music of the First Half of the Sixteenth Century', and his habilitation (2002) on the basis of the book "'Musica figurata" w Saksonii i na Śląsku u schyłku XV wieku' ["'Musica Figurata" in Saxony and Silesia at the End of the Fifteenth Century']. His research interests include history and theory of music from the 15th–17th centuries, and problems of instrumentology. Since 1997 he has been Editor of the "Builders of Instruments" section of the Music Encyclopaedia for the publishing house PWM. He has published over 50 works in Poland and abroad, among them two books: "'Ut cantus consonet verbis". Związki muzyki ze słowem we włoskiej refleksji muzycznej XVI wieku ["'Ut cantus consonet verbis". Connections between Word and Music in Italian Musical Reflection of the Sixteenth Century'] (Poznań 1995) and "'Musica Figurata" in Saxony and Silesia...', op. cit. (Poznań 2002). Recipient of scholarships: "Konferenz der deutschen Akademien der Wissenschaften" (Mainz), "Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung" (Bonn) and "Fundacja na Rzecz Nauki Polskiej" (Warszawa). He is at present preparing, together with Professor Martin Staehelin (Goettingen) an edition of the Warszawa codex, University Library RM5892 (olim MF 2016).

Contents

<i>List of contributors</i>	page 3
<i>Editorial</i>	7
1 On the Diffusion of Musical Cultures <i>Ludwik Bielański</i>	9
2 Facts about <i>Contrafacta</i> . Netherlandish-Italian Music in Saxo-Silesian Sources from the Late Fifteenth Century <i>Ryszard J. Wieczorek</i>	16
3 The Neapolitan Repertory in the Glogauer Liederbuch <i>Paweł Gancarczyk</i>	38
4 Significance of Madrigals Anthologies in the Reception of European Repertory in Northeastern Europe <i>Tomasz Jeż</i>	49
5 Polyphonic Arrangements of <i>Proprium</i> and <i>Ordinarium Missae</i> from the Braniewo Manuscript (UppsU 76f) in the Context of European Tradition <i>Agnieszka Leszczyńska</i>	64
6 The Compositions of Johann Anton Losy in Lute Tabulatures from Krzeszów <i>Ewa Bielińska-Galas</i>	77
7 Transformations of Multi-ethnic Musical Cultures of Northeastern Poland <i>J. Katarzyna Dadak-Kozicka</i>	96
8 The Multicultural Nature of Mountain-Folk Music in Poland <i>Zbigniew Jerzy Przerembski</i>	116

Editorial

We are pleased to welcome readers to the first volume of our new publication entitled “Musicology Today”. The idea for such a publication came originally from the Musicology Section of the Polish Composers’ Union. This Section is the only national association which brings together leading musicologists and music theorists working in Poland. It has been active continuously since the end of the Second World War.

The dynamic development of musicological research in Poland during recent years has given rise to an urgent need to present what is being achieved to a wider audience, and to publish the results of our research in English. This is the purpose behind the publication of the series “Musicology Today”.

An important objective of the series is to demonstrate the wide range of research topics being undertaken by Polish scholars. At the centre of our interest lie issues relating to the creation of music, and the history of musical culture from the earliest epoch to the present day, particularly as they relate to Polish musical traditions seen from a wider European perspective. However, our publication also aims to include contribu-

tions from such areas of research as aesthetics, methodology and theory, ethnomusicology and musical anthropology, as well as psychology and sociology,

The series has an open character. The title itself, “Musicology Today”, points to our intention to expand the scope of our coverage beyond issues relating to Poland; similarly we do not wish to limit our authorship to researchers solely from the Polish community. We look forward to working together with those musicologists from other countries who would like their voice to be heard in the discussion of the issues presented in our series.

Zofia Helman

1

On the Diffusion of Musical Cultures

Ludwik Bielawski

Institute of Art, Polish Academy of Sciences

The topic is vast, and can be approached in a variety of ways. What strikes me personally are those aspects which result from the natural limits of musical knowledge, among other things, from different temporal perspectives in which we perceive musical phenomena. They reveal the distinctive qualities and values attached to music¹, and the ways in which music is present in the life of mankind and in the history of culture. These limits are clearly distinguishable, beginning with the area of musical language and compositions, through those situations in which music is performed and their place in the natural and cultural environment, to the position of music in human life and culture (regional, national, universal), and in the history of music, understood in the widest possible sense. These areas, in spite of their distinctiveness, are inter-related in a multitude of ways. So are the specific research problems embedded in this structure. They determine the manner and method of research, since the laws governing musical phenomena in each of the areas enumerated above will be different. Laws applying to the musical language and idiom are different from those applying to composition (genres, forms, styles); yet other laws reveal the truth about the role of music in the life of people, culture and history. Concentrating on a particular area of research (e.g. musical language and composition, or the biographical, cultural or historical context of a work) does not eliminate the influence of the other

areas. They remain important, providing general background and helping to define the main topic more closely.

Diffusion of musical cultures is not a topic relating to the level of musical language, although it can be revealed in it. Moreover, research tradition has tended to differentiate styles, traditions and cultures precisely on the basis of the morphology of music (e.g. the differentiation of rhythmic formulae, mainly dance ones, constituted for some scholars a method of defining the “ethnic” provenance of the music they analyzed). Examples from ethnomusicology and musicology are just too obvious to be worth quoting.

Neither does our topic belong to the subject of performance situations and musical composition, although perhaps a composition or, even more so, a number of compositions, can be a manifestation of it. Nor is the diffusion of musical culture a typical issue relating to musical environment. Studies of musical environments are more likely to emphasize the stable elements, whereas cultural diffusion brings out the elements of dynamics and change. However, it would be true to say that the environment may be the arena where cultural diffusion takes place.

It is better to position our topic at the level of individual and social life. Life is the universal model of change; it is the expression of personal history and socially experienced history, history as it is retained in the collective memory of living generations — the only truly universal history, present in every culture, even the most primitive one. This is the approach to cultural change favoured by the anthropological science of today. The social aspect of life needs to be particularly stressed here. This point was made strongly by Niklas Luhmann when he pronounced the judgement that the belief that a society consists of people is a “humanistic superstition”. In his own words, “Society is not made up of people but of interpersonal communication systems”². Thus social systems are communication systems and are decidedly different from psychical systems, which belong to systems of perception.

Social systems are formed out of many subsystems, such as the economy, politics, science, art (including music), law, religion, love and family. Each of them has its own code which, in essence, is not translatable into the codes of the other subsystems. This means that communication takes place within the

given subsystems rather than between them. The relative independence of the economy, politics, science, law, religion is emphasized here on purpose, since it would be so easy to find evidence for their being mutually inter-related. For instance, music is clearly related to other arts, to religion, politics and economy.

Luhmann's sociologism is rapacious and tries to explain a great deal. Here, using the systematics of musical knowledge presented in the introduction, an attempt will be made to differentiate an area which will extend beyond the immediate experience of individual and social life. Its aim is to throw light on that which we have not lived through ourselves, which we have not experienced socially, but which still shapes our view of the world and of music. Above all, this is history — history which is full, deep and different from history as experienced by living generations. The term 'history' is used here in the wider sense, as a concept which illuminates the past and reaches into its deepest layers. History understood in this way constitutes the most important area for revealing fully the issue of diffusion of musical cultures.

What, however, is history? Many traditional, primitive cultures do not have an awareness of history as we understand it. Historical thinking is a relatively new phenomenon, with the Bible usually taken as its beginning. It brings with it a new understanding of time, replacing cyclical time with linear, directed time, starting in the most distant past and proceeding towards an indefinite, or definite, future. We cannot discuss this issue in depth here. What is important now is to point out that not all cultures have an awareness of history as conceptualized by us, and yet they are not powerless against the fact that time reaches back further than the experience of living generations. They mould that time into the form of myth, tradition, religious conviction, belief in the ideals of a traditional worldview, in the same way that others form a belief out of the ideals of the scientific worldview, where the contemporary understanding of history is a significant component. History is an attempt to fit out scientifically the area taken up by myth, an attempt which is not fully successful. The need for myth is a natural human need and cannot be easily eliminated. The struggle against myths usually ends up with one set of myths being replaced by another. History itself often participates in myth creation,

and research papers on the diffusion of cultures provides much evidence of this.

There is no such thing as pure history; pure history would be a fiction. History as a higher perspective of perceiving humanity's story must always link up with the aforementioned subject areas, i.e., with the individual and social life perspective, with the perspective of the cultural environment, with the perspective on participating in performance situations and with the perspective of musical language. Also, there is no such thing as history free from ideas dominant at the time. The European historicism of recent centuries, born of the idea of progress, feeds on its ideals. There are many levels of history, and each presents the problem of differentiation and mutual diffusion of cultures. The deepest layer takes us to anthropogenesis, to differentiating, from within the common synthetic system, of two separate systems, linguistic and musical. Presumably the absence of such a differentiation did not constitute an obstacle to the differentiation of cultures, since, for instance, bird song is not purely the result of genetic programming, but also of mutual learning and imitation, which leads to the differentiation of cultural communities of bird song.

Diffusion of musical cultures of ancient times is usually deduced from the effects of their differentiation, from the registered degree of distinctiveness and similarity. There are few areas where comparative research on the widest scale has been undertaken, but one such exception concerns knowledge about musical instruments. For a long while now it has been used to illustrate the diffusion of cultures through different continents. Among the best known music research programmes on the widest possible global scale, are the results of Alan Lomax's cantometry research programme from the nineteen sixties³. The study was based on recordings from different cultures, selected on the basis of the atlas of world cultures edited by George P. Murdock. This research led to the differentiation of the basic cultural sets, to defining their inter-relatedness, and to presenting the whole evolutionary schema as a genealogical tree of musical cultures of the world. Such a daring hypothesis was easy to criticize, but nobody verified it on a wider scale, nor produced counter-proposals. In Poland we also have our own experience of music research

conducted from a wider perspective: one could mention here the diffusion of the cultures of East and West in the studies of Anna Czekanowska⁴ or the differentiation of old music traditions of Southern Europe in the work of Bożena Muszkalska⁵. Meanwhile, anthropological sciences have abandoned the fashion for grand syntheses; research concentrates on detailed studies of small ethnic groups, and on cultural change registered in the consciousness of living generations.

Lomax distinguished, among other things, the so-called old Europe, i.e., Central and Eastern Europe, without including the Western peripheries in the concept. This is exactly the reverse of the desired aim of some contemporary Western politicians, who divide Europe into old Europe — Western, mature, respectable, well-placed to instruct others, and young Europe, which should listen respectfully and not speak unless spoken to. This is another example of how strong the ideological function of history can be.

The development of historical research coincides with the period of growth of European nationalisms. In such circumstances history was expected to provide answers to the need for national myths, all the more important in the case of Poland because of loss of its independent statehood. The rebirth of the Polish state after the First World War intensified the need for recreating the foundations of national existence. The humanities were actively employed in this process. In Kraków, Józef Reiss was trying to cure national complexes by claiming in the title of his work that “Polish music is the most beautiful of all”⁶. In Poznań, Łucjan Kamieński, perceiving the hopeless position of Polish history of music when competing with the German one, decided that our only chance was to develop a new, dynamic science, ethno-musicology, independent of history⁷.

The title “Concerning the diffusion of musical cultures” sounds neutral, even friendly, and that is how we would like the problem to appear. Historically, however, such diffusion is often based on naked violence, a ruthless conflict of ideas. And when the ideas fight then the people die. Diffusion of musical cultures throughout history took different forms, including that of rapacious expansion and resistance to it in defence of one’s own identity.

Today, with the prospect of Europe uniting, we face new challenges —

or perhaps not so very new, as musicology and ethnomusicology have for some time now been participating in shaping the unity of European learning. Close contacts with others, free exchange of experiences have cured us of national complexes. Does the European Union bring with it a threat to national culture? No! On the contrary; the Union will make it easier for us to define our own distinctive characteristics and will exert pressure to have them preserved and developed. It is only through preserving our distinctiveness that we will be of interest to others, and will take our place among them as clearly identifiable and full members.

One can expect that future regional studies will be fuller, less dependent on historical divisions and the variety of languages in which sources have been preserved. The easiest accomplishment so far has been in the area of including the architectural monuments of Gdańsk, Wrocław, and even the Teutonic castle at Malbork, in our cultural heritage, which we guard with care. In time this will happen to foreign music, literature, philosophy and science which developed in the past in the area of today's Poland. We will probably participate to an even greater degree in working on questions of European music, beyond national divisions. And in time we will come to regard the whole European cultural heritage as our own, in spite of the often artificially enforced national divisions of recent centuries. We will share in the pride of Europe's achievements, and in the responsibility for causing its misfortunes.

Notes

- 1 This point is stressed by Katarzyna Dadak-Kozicka ('Pionowy wymiar antropologii muzyki', *Muzyka* 44:2 (1999), pp. 115–132) when commenting on my concept of temporal spheres of music.
- 2 See Jerzy Szacki, *Historia myśli socjologicznej. Wydanie nowe*, Warszawa 2002, p. 937.
- 3 Alan Lomax, *Folk song style and culture*, Washington, D.C., American Association for the Advancement of Science 1968, 'The evolutionary taxonomy of culture', *Science* 171 (21 July) (1972), p. 228–239.
- 4 Anna Czekanowska, (ed.) *Dziedzictwo europejskie a polska kultura muzyczna w dobie przemian*, Kraków 1995; *Pathways of Ethnomusicology. 50th Anniversary of Research Work of Professor Anna Czekanowska*, eds. P. Dahlig, L. Bielawski, S. Żerańska-Kominek, Warszawa 1999.

- 5 Bożena Muszkalska, *Tradycyjna wielogłosowość wokalna w kulturach basenu Morza Śródziemnego*, Poznań 1999.
- 6 Józef Reiss, *Najpiękniejsza ze wszystkich jest muzyka polska*, Kraków 1946.
- 7 Łucjan Kamieński, 'Z badań nad śpiewem i muzyką ludu polskiego', in *Balticoslavica*, vol. 2, Vilnius 1934, pp. 129–149. See Ludwik Bielawski, *Strefowa teoria czasu i jej znaczenie dla antropologii muzycznej* Kraków 1973, p. 14.

2

Facts about *Contrafacta*. Netherlandish-Italian Music in Saxo-Silesian Sources from the Late Fifteenth Century

Ryszard J. Wieczorek

Department of Musicology, Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznań

The scope and mechanisms of the reception of foreign repertory in fifteenth century Central Europe are still not well known. In contrast, during the second half of the sixteenth century and in the seventeenth century numerous Central European manuscripts (mostly tablatures) and collections of printed editions testify to the great popularity of Italian, French, and Netherlandish music. Furthermore, active reception of foreign repertory was revealed in many *contrafacta*, paraphrases, and parodies, sometimes unidentified for a long time and perceived as originals. Examples of this practice in Poland are *Aleć nade mną Wenus*, “the first Polish madrigal”, which is actually a *contrafactum* of a vilotta by Francesco Patavino, or *Date siceram moerentibus*, “the best Polish motet”, which is a *contrafactum* of a chanson by Josquin Desprez, and finally, the alleged Bakwark song *Albo już dalej trwać nie moze*, which is an intabulated chanson by Pierre Sandrin¹. In the German-speaking realm, strong predilection towards creating *contrafacta* is confirmed by German versions of Italian madrigals, prepared by Valentin Hausmann (Nuremberg 1600, 1606, 1610), and later by Wrocław’s organist Ambrosius Profius (Leipzig 1627–1649). Throughout the entire seventeenth century, creating *contrafacta*, parodies and other transformations of foreign works, mostly Italian, became almost a routine procedure of composers in Central Europe.

However, this issue is almost unknown in the fifteenth century. There are some traces of reception of foreign patterns, predominantly in sources con-

nected with Central European universities (Vienna, Leipzig, Cracow). Analysis of three manuscripts from the very end of the fifteenth century, namely Saxon codices Berlin 40021², Leipzig 1494 (the so called “Apel Codex”)³ and Silesian Codex Warszawa 5892 (the so called “Wrocław Codex”)⁴ might provide information on the transfer of foreign repertory to Central Europe. These manuscripts, close chronologically, territorially, and displaying strong repertory and filiation links, illustrate how native Italian and Franco-Netherlandish music created in Italy influenced Central European music traditions. Although the topic of this study concerns central European contrafacta, it is worth starting with a short review of foreign repertory in Saxo-Silesian codices (I). After examining the general characteristics of Central European contrafactum procedure (II), we focus our attention on French-language chansons (III), and later on Latin motets and Mass movements (IV). In conclusion, several hypotheses on *unica* are proposed (V).

I

In the repertory identified thus far, two generations of Franco-Netherlandish composers are widely represented. The dominant generation is that of Josquin Desprez (Agricola, Compère, Ghiselin, Isaac, Obrecht, Weerbeke). Authors of the majority of works were most active in the last two or three decades of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century, and two of these authors — Agricola and Obrecht — lived only to 1505-1506. Among all Franco-Netherlandish composers, one can point to scarcely three who in all certainty died before the end of the fifteenth century: Busnois, Barbiereau, and Martini; to this group also belong presumably Caron/Dusart and Congiet/Japart (in both cases we have to deal with conflicting attributions). It is noteworthy that the greatest composer of the pre-Josquin generation - Johannes Ockeghem is not represented by any composition, and two other important musicians of the same generation, Busnois and Martini, merely by one or two secular works (Table 1).

Table 1: List of Franco-Netherlandish composers in Saxo-Silesian sources represented: a) several times, b) once (numbers in brackets refer to doubtful or conflicting attributions)

(a)

Author	Leipzig 1494	Berlin 40021	Warszawa 5892	Total
Agricola	0 (2)	7 (11)	4 (6)	9 (14)
Busnois	(1)	1	-	1 (2)
Compère	1	2	2	3
Ghiselin	1	2	2	4
Isaac	9	10 (12)	6 (7)	16 (19)
Josquin	3	5	2 (3)	6 (7)
Martini	-	1	1	2
Obrecht	2	3 (5)	-	5 (7)
Roelkin	1	-	1	2
Weerbeke	2	1	3	4

(b)

Author	Leipzig 1494	Berlin 40021	Warszawa 5892	Total
Barbireau	-	1	-	1
Brumel	-	(1)	-	(1)
Caron/Dusart /Philippon	1	-	-	1
Congiet/Japart	-	1	-	1
Paulus de Rhoda	1	-	-	1
Renner	-	1	-	1

Together, Franco-Nethelandish composers are authors of 57–80 (including dubious attributions) identified works: 10–20 written by Isaac and Agricola, 3–7 by Compère, Ghiselin, Josquin, Obrecht, and Weerbeke. Characteristically, the majority of these composers had similar fates: they all spent part of their artistic lives in famous Italian musical centres, such as Milan’s cathedral and Sforza court (Agricola, Compère, Martini, Weerbeke, later also Josquin), the Este court in Ferrara (Agricola, Ghiselin, Josquin, Martini, Obrecht), Florence’s Medici court, cathedral or baptiserium (Argricola, Ghiselin, Isaac), Rome’s Papal chapel, (Josquin, Martini, Weerbeke), and Aragon court in Naples (Agricola, Ghiselin). Many had personal contacts with each other. Agricola, Martini, Compère and Weerbeke worked in Milan at the

same time; similarly, Agricola, Ghiselin and Isaac worked in Florence, while Josquin and Weerbeke in Rome; and Obrecht, Martini and Josquin met in Ferrara. Works of all these composers in Saxo-Silesian codices constitute characteristic Netherlandish-Italian repertory, created in the prominent musical centers of northern and central Italy during the last three decades of the fifteenth century.

II

Central European sources display abundant contrafacta. Already in the case of Minnesang, original French words of troubadours and trouvères songs were frequently replaced with German text, and Oswald von Wolkenstein (ca. 1444) applied it also to polyphonic music. The process intensified during the next decades of the fifteenth century. This hypothesis is supported by the most important Central European sources, such as the south German manuscript Strasbourg 222 (burnt in 1870), the codex from the St. Emmeran convent in Regensburg (München 14274), the Trent Codices (Trento 87-93), the “Leopold Codex” (München 3154), the Czech Codex “Speciálník” (Hradec Králové 7), and finally, especially interesting here, the Berlin 40021, Leipzig 1494 and Warszawa 5892 manuscripts.

Analysing Central European contrafacta, one has to study three different categories of repertory: 1) contrafacta of chansons, 2) contrafacta of motets and laude, and 3) contrafacta of Mass sections. These correspond to the general classification of fifteenth century polyphony described by Johannes Tinctoris: “cantus parvus”, “cantus mediocris” and “cantus magnus”⁵. Even a perfunctory overview of the fifteenth century repertory suggests that contrafacta of motets and Mass sections are less numerous than contrafacta of chansons, laude and compositions without text. Therefore, using a quantitative criterion, contrafacta of chansons will be discussed first.

Generally admired, small sized perennials were typical of Central European collections, most often however, without text or only with its incipit. One can distinguish the following forms of transmission:

- (i) chansons without a text or title

- (ii) chansons with incipit of original text (usually distorted)
- (iii) chansons with general Latin name (e.g., *Carmen*, *Gallicum*), solmization key (e.g., *Fa mi fa sol fa*) or indication of the number of voices (e.g., *Trium*, *Quatuor*)
- (iv) chansons to which a new text is provided or its incipit (usually Latin sacred text).

The majority of forms mentioned here appear in sources discussed above and also in typical collections of secular repertory, e.g., “Glogauer Liederbuch” (Berlin/Kraków 400 98) or the collection of cantor Wolfgang Küffer, dated 1557–1559 (Regensburg 940/41), containing not only textless Mass sections, but also textless chansons and their German *contrafacta*⁶.

What were the reasons for making *contrafacta* of chansons using Latin sacred texts? This widely popular practice in Central Europe resulted chiefly — not exclusively — from a poor command of French⁷. Although a “linguistic landscape” of this area has never been studied, there is a strong indication that in the fifteenth century and at the beginning of the sixteenth century lack of knowledge of French was quite common. Even first collections printed in Germany containing chansons, as anthologies of Arnt von Aich (RISM 1519⁵) or Christian Egenolff (RISM c. 1535²⁴), transmit them without a text. Only with the vast collection of Sigmund Salmingier and Melchior Kriesstein (RISM 1540⁷), French and gradually also Italian texts appear in German publications. Handwritten versions, however, still remain mostly textless, even in the case of copies from printed editions, e.g. the Küffer collection. If French titles or incipits were adapted (mainly in tablatures), it led to characteristic “latinization”, possible to pronounce for people who did not know French. Therefore, Latin *contrafactum* offered a solution to the dilemma of musicians and scriptors of how to acquire copies of admired chansons without the necessity of pronouncing and understanding vernacular texts.

Another reason for creating *contrafacta* with Latin texts was the historical tradition of the church, with a predilection for emphasis on local and individual factors, as well as the deeply ingrained piety of the rural population. Also, at the time of the Reformation, the church needed a new repertory. Latin text helped to adapt compositions to another audience or to a specific occasion,

or by contrast, a composition written for a specific purpose could be transformed into one with general appeal. Furthermore, this practice presumably resulted from strong links between compilers of individual collections (e.g. St. Emmeram Codex, late Trent Codices, Saxon Codices Leipzig 1494 and Berlin 40021) — with the academic environment or church school circles. It did not have to tie directly with the necessity of “sacralisation” of secular repertory. Only in rare instances were chansons or Italian works provided with German texts (the earliest example of the latter is a reworking of Francesco Landini’s *Quenta fanciulla* by Oswald von Wolkenstein⁸). This procedure became common during the first half of the seventeenth century (Hausmann, Profius and others).

Lack of command of French was not the only reason for preparation of contrafacta. There are Latin versions of German compositions, e.g., the song *Wär ich ein Falck* by Heinrich Finck in Berlin 40021 with a new text *Invicto regi júbilo*, and the very popular *Ach Jupiter* by Adam from Fulda, replaced in the same source with the Marian poem *O diva sollers virgo* (both texts unknown from other sources)⁹. It is also not true that textless compositions always conceal below the surface French songs or instrumental works. In the sources discussed here, several liturgical compositions are transmitted without a text, such as hymns or Magnificats. Also textless are arrangements of German songs, both sacral (*Ich stund an einem Morgen* in Berlin 40021¹⁰) and secular (*Min Herziges Hertz* in Warszawa 5892 and Leipzig 1494¹¹).

Sometimes a contrafactum becomes so very different from the original, that its transformation foreshadows a future procedure of “parody.” An intriguing example from Polish sources is *Alleluja* added to *Gloria* by Mikolaj Radomski in MS Warszawa 8054¹². It is actually a paraphrase of the beginning of Guillaume Dufay’s chanson *Bon jour, bon mois*, as demonstrated a few years ago by Marcin Majchrowski¹³. However, perhaps this alteration was not made on the original chanson, but rather on its Latin contrafactum, because in this form it survived in the St. Emmeram Codex (München 14274) with the text *Jesu iudex veritatis* (eleventh strophe of Jacopone da Todi’s poem *Ave regis angelorum*) and the original title. This manuscript (copied between 1436 and 1459) transmitted most of the repertory cultivated at the Habsburg court

and circles linked to Vienna university, and which may have been performed during the Basel Council (1431–1449). In contrast to two Italian sources (presumably from Venice) of the chanson in question with the original French text (Oxford 213, Paris 4379, both from 1420–1436), the München 14274 copy does not have contratenor. Furthermore, the contratenor in *Alleluja* was replaced by a new one. Perhaps its author knew only the two-voice version of the Dufay composition, although not the one in München 14274, where new Latin text forced several interferences in the rhythmic shape of the original phrases. This reworking was probably made (according to attribution in Warszawa 8054) by Radomski himself, who possibly somehow accessed the München 14274 repertory through direct contacts at the Hapsburg court or met musicians during the Basel Council. The above example well illustrates the complex process of transmission of fifteenth century songs and elucidates interpretation of French repertory preserved in Saxo-Silesian codices.

III

In this study, several repertory examples from Saxo-Silesian codices given below will serve to present the various forms of contrafacturing, involving French chansons as well as Italian frottola or compositions without text¹⁴. For instance, chanson *Des beins d'amours* by Johannes Martini was provided in Berlin 40021 with the Marian text *Ave amator casti consilii*¹⁵, unknown from other sources. Because the new text contained fewer syllables than the original, it required interference with the rhythmic shape of the original phrases (mainly combining shorter rhythmic values into longer ones). However, this procedure did not eliminate all the problems with underlaying new text to notes. Another example is the chanson *Rose playsant* by Caron or Dusart, transmitted in Leipzig 1494 with a text *Ave rex regum ditissime*¹⁶. The author of the contrafactum did not know or ignored the original form of the French poem, with its structure of phrases and ten-syllable versification format, because distorted here are both rules of Latin prosody (e.g., faulty accentuation “Ave verum” resulting from the rhythm of declamatory pattern of the original text — “Prenez regart”) as well as characteristics of melismatic

expansion so typical of chansons of that time, which here receive additional syllables.

Two subsequent pieces exemplify other problems. Berlin 40021 contains the oldest copy of the chanson *Adieu filette* by Heinrich Isaac¹⁷. Although this copy, similarly to three other German versions, is devoid of any text, one can assume that the composition by Isaac functioned as a contrafactum. Perhaps its Latin incipit/title *Non diva parens* in Fridolin Sicher tablature (Sankt Gallen 530) constitutes a trace of this procedure. Furthermore, the Berlin copy exhibits several rhythmic variants in comparison to Italian copies (longer rhythmic values divided into shorter ones) which also suggests that the scriptor already used the contrafactum version. Also textless is chanson *Dictes moy toutes* by Alexander Agricola in Warszawa 5892. This copy of the composition, the only one north of the Alps, is known also from seven Italian sources, two of which contain the sacred contrafactum *Amice ad quid venisti*. Warszawa version differs from Italian copies not only by characteristic ornamentation (known also from *La Matinella* by Johannes Martini in the same manuscript) of the structural tones of individual phrases of superius and tenor, but mainly by real rhythmic variants distorting declamatory patterns of the original. This suggests that the composition reached the compiler as a contrafactum.

Finally, another example is the famous *La morra* by Heinrich Isaac, transmitted in all Italian sources without any text. Entered twice in the Leipzig 1494, once textless and then again as contrafactum *Reple tuorum corda fidelium*¹⁸, it represents one of the most interesting secular composition of that time. Characterized by texture with sequential patterns, it has been considered in the past to be an instrumental composition or even a dance. In spite of lack of any text, this opinion does not seem correct. It is, rather, a Renaissance “song without words”¹⁹. Interestingly, a copyist of the Kottter tablature (Basel F.IX.22) defined *La morra* as a “Mutet”, which indicates vocal origins or at least vocal performances. Also, the author of the second Leipzig version (no. 164) did not recognise the piece as an instrumental composition, underlying the words of antiphon *Veni sancte spiritus* for two voices. The fact that the composition starts only with the words *Reple tuorum corda*

fideliūm, therefore without the intonation characteristic of this antiphon, suggests its performance within the liturgical framework. On the other hand, the manner of underlaying of the text causes its rather vague or even conflicting relation to the music. This is especially visible in the last fragment with many sequences, for which the antiphonal text was not sufficient and required the repeated word “alleluja”.

Also the three-voice *Illuxit dies* from the Berlin 40021²⁰, known from two Italian codices Firenze P27 and Cape Town 3.b.12 seems to be a contrafactum. The first of these transmits this piece as a textless composition; the second one has (probably not the original) words *Uidi impiūm superexaltatum*. The Berlin contrafactum is very successful. Syntactic structure of the new text, underlaying all the voices, corresponds exactly to the subsequent sections of the music. Each precise connection of four-syllable words or phrases with four-note sequential motifs results in undisturbed prosody of the text.

An interesting example of contrafactum is the frottola *Alla battaglia* by Heinrich Isaac preserved in Saxo-Silesian codices with two different Marian texts: *O praeclarissima* in Leipzig 1494²¹ and *Ave santissima* in Warszawa 5892. The only complete Italian (Florence) copy of this frottola is without text, which appears solely in a fragmentary copy (just a bass partbook) of the same provenance. In Central Europe the composition had no text or was prepared as a contrafactum. The latter possibility is indicated not only by the two Saxo-Silesian copies, but also by intabulation with a title/incipit *O dulcendo virginalis* in Fridolin Sicher tablature (Sankt Gallen 530). New texts adhere differently to the music. The Leipzig contrafactum *O praeclarissima* on the one hand displays clear insufficiency of syllables in relation to the notes, and on the other hand destroys the integrity of some words by dividing them with pauses. The author of this adaptation took care only of declamation in the highest voice, treating the lower voices marginally. The Wrocław contrafactum also exhibits small interferences in the rhythmic shape of the original phrases (breaking pointed semibreves to minims, etc.) allowing for better coordination of new text with the music. However, in the context of other Central European contrafacta both Saxo-Silesian adaptations could be considered successful. They testify clearly to the great popularity of secular

Italian music in Central Europe. Moreover, for local authors, the genesis of the composition did not constitute any obstacle in its adaptation for religious purposes.

Two contrafacta of chansons by Alexander Agricola preserved in Berlin 40021 illustrate some ambiguity in performance practice of that time. Both constitute tenor part arrangements from the very popular chanson *Comme femme desconfortée* by Gilles Binchois. The first one, the three-voice *Virgo sub aetheriis*²², has a text using fragments of a metric poem by Aeneas Silvius or Conrad Celtis. Since both poets lived in Nuremberg in Germany, presumably this contrafactum was created there. New text underlays only the slowly moving middle voice (tenor), but the insufficient number of syllables in relation to notes causes significant difficulties in their coordination with the music, especially when repeated sounds require separate syllables. However, both very mobile external voices are devoid of any text and appear as parts designed instrumentally. They did not have to be performed this way, though. This is revealed by the contrafactum of the second, four-voice arrangement: *Ave quae sublimaris*²³. New text underlays only the very condensed rhythmically lowest voice, and its coordination with notes is difficult and demands arbitrary editorial decisions. Therefore, the Berlin version demonstrates that even very complex voice lines could be utilised vocally. Similarly, in performance *Virgo sub aetheriis*, textless mobile external voices did not have to belong to instruments. All parts could be performed with a text, which is no longer present for a variety of reasons.

IV

Although contrafacta of motets are less numerous than contrafacta of chansons, they merit close attention, especially as in the case of works by Josquin, Isaac and Ghiselin, Saxo-Silesian codices transmit both original versions and corresponding contrafacta. Each of the eight cases is different and requires separate commentary (Table 2).

Table 2: Contrafacta of motets in Saxo-Silesian sources.

Contrafactum, Source B= Berlin 40021, L= Leipzig 1494, W= Warszawa 5892	Author, Text in other sources
<i>Verbum incarnatum</i> (B: no. 8)	Josquin: <i>Ave Maria...virgo serena</i>
<i>Regali quan decet</i> (B: no. 17, L: no. 124)	Agricola: <i>Ave ancilla trinitatis</i>
<i>Ecce dilectus meus</i> (L: no. 142)	Isaac: <i>Ecce sacerdos magnus</i>
<i>O regina nobilissima</i> (L: no. 167)	Isaac: <i>Angeli, Archangeli</i>
<i>Miserator Dominus</i> (B: no. 66)	Finck: <i>Miserator et misericors dominus</i>
<i>Inviolata intermetataque virginitatis</i> (B: no. 82)	Ghiselin: <i>Inviolata, integra est casta</i>
<i>O sacrum mysterium</i> (B: no. 20, W: no. 93)	Ghiselin: <i>O gloriosa domina</i>
<i>Vulnerasti com meum</i> (B: no. 101)	Anon: <i>Religioni agitatae</i>

Verbum incarnatum constitutes a contrafactum of the motet *Ave Maria...virgo serena* by Josquin Desprez, the most famous work of the Netherlandish master and one of the most popular compositions of those times (25 sources). Josquin's motet was also well known in Central Europe. All three Saxo-Silesian codices transmit this motet, but only one, Warszawa 5892, in a complete form with the original text. Berlin 40021 transmits it as the contrafactum mentioned above, and Leipzig 1494 preserves only fragments of two voices without text. Two other Central European sources preserve the original version of the composition: "Leopold Codex" (München 3154) and Czech "Speciálník" (Hradec Králové 7) but only Saxo-Silesian copies go back to a common source, and the Berlin copy (1488–1490) is the oldest one.

The Berlin version²⁴ has educational value, because it exhibits how carefully local authors studied Franco-Netherlandish masterpieces and shows their ingenuity in adaptations to particular needs. The Berlin contrafactum changed the liturgical purpose of the motet: the new text is not devoted, as expected, to the Virgin Mary, but to Jesus Christ, which contrasts with other Central European contrafacta. A comparison of both versions shows some irregularities in the relation of the new text to the music, although its structure is fully consistent with the main caesuras of the composition and with the changes in texture. The choice of the new text appears to be formally correct because it encompasses the same number of verses, although its subordination to individual musical phrases is different and requires repeats. While the original poem consists of five strophes of four verses (eight syllable for-

mat) and regular adjacent rhymes, in *Verbum incarnatum* both the size of individual verses and the scheme of rhymes are changed — adjacent rhymes start only in the middle. The function of framing distichs is also different. In contrast to the original, distichs are not grammatically distinguished from the whole poem. Homorhythmic sections best demonstrate adherence of the new text to the music: arrangement of the text is correct and sometimes even justified verbally as in a “dance-like” *proportio tripla* starting with the words “*Cordis nostri tripudium*”. However, antiphonal duets demonstrate the difficulties of text adaptation, which sometimes reveal the helplessness of an author of contrafactum due to syllable insufficiency in relation to notes, forcing him to divide some words by pauses. Evidently, then author was not eager to interfere drastically with the rhythmic shape of an arranged original. In spite of these faults, the Berlin contrafactum testifies to the competency of local musicians, demonstrating also their fascination with the Netherlandish masterpiece.

Many common features connect the motet by Josquin with the anonymous *Vulnerasti cor menu* from Berlin 40021²⁵, preserved also in “Speciálnik” (Hradec Králové 7) with the text *Religioni agitate*. Both poems belong to the Marian cult but neither adheres to the music perfectly, and it is difficult to conclude which, if any, constitutes the original text. In the Berlin version, the text is only loosely tied to the music. Sporadically, even a conflict with music occurs, e.g., in the sole interpolation of triple meter or in short sections with syllabic declamation. Since numerous sections exhibit an excess of notes in relation to syllables or, on the contrary, a shortage of notes where pauses break the integrity of words, the Berlin version should be regarded as a contrafactum. The next work to be considered preserved in Leipzig 1494 *O regina nobilissima*²⁶ is a contrafactum of the monumental, six-voice motet *Angeli, Archangeli* by Heinrich Isaac, in which the tenor part was taken from the rondeau *Comme femme desconfortée* by Gilles Binchois. It is a very important copy, because it demonstrates familiarity with Isaac’s composition — preserved in only one Flemish and two Italian sources — also in Central Europe. The dating of the oldest copy, Roma Chigi 234 (c. 1498–1503) suggests that the composition reached Saxony quite quickly, since the Leipzig Codex

was bound in 1504. The relationship of the new text *O regina nobilissima*, unknown from other sources, to the original one is unclear. Even from the point of view of the form itself, the text differs vastly from the original. Proportions are changed between both parts: *secunda pars* of the *contrafactum* contains more text than the motet's original version, and the *superius* contains the initial words of the subsequent text: *Ut mater piissima*. Also, a line of *cantus firmus* changes slightly in comparison to the original melodic material of *Comme femme desconfortée* (breaking longer values to shorter ones). One cannot exclude the possibility that the change took place as a result of adapting this part to a new text which by now has been lost.

In the process of preparing the *contrafactum*, the purpose of Isaac's motet underwent total change: while in *Angeli*, *Archangeli* the apostles and the prophets were praised as "doctors of holy law, and "martyrs in Christ", who "in one voice profess Holy Trinity", the new text became a Marian hymn, praising "the noblest Queen" and "the most affectionate Mother," "chosen ages ago" and "announced by prophets," who will "brighten the world," "destroy hell" and "save sinners from the devil's mouth". In contrast, one can find a connection between the texts of the *contrafactum* and the amorous *chanson* by Binchois, which is quoted as *cantus firmus*. The text of this song, written from the perspective of a despairing girl, whose joy is interrupted by the sudden death of her beloved, probably was not sung here. It was, however, known well enough to be a poignant, although silent, commentary to the religious text. Consistently with the symbolism of the late Middle Ages, one can find here (as in *Stabat mater* by Josquin, which is based on the same melody) the reinterpretation of a woman's despair ("femme desconfortée") in the religious spirit: the text of the *chanson* undergoes sacralisation, creating counterpoint to the Virgin Mary immersed in sadness.

The melodic material from the *chanson Comme femme desconfortée* was also used in a four-voice motet *Inviolata, integra est casta* by Johannes Ghiselin, preserved in Berlin 40021 as *contrafactum Inviolata, intermetataque virginitas*²⁷. This composition is known only from the edition of Ottaviano Petrucci in 1505. Therefore, the Berlin copy dated 1485–1490 is not only the sole copy of this composition in the area north of the Alps, but also the oldest

one. Several mistakes might indicate that this copy originates from another textual tradition than that of Petrucci. The text is a rhymed Marian poem and constitutes an extension of the original prose text from the above edition, which subsequently becomes a trope to the responsorium *Gaude Maria virgo*. In the Berlin contrafactum the text underlays only two, very different rhythmically, upper voices. The chant-like, majestically stepping highest voice declaims the text almost perfectly. In contrast, in the alto line, at times more mobile and nervous, adjusting words to individual phrases was troublesome and forced the author to break several words through pauses.

Another motet by Ghiselin was preserved in Saxo-Silesian codices with two different texts: *O gloriosa domina* and *O sacrum mysterium*. As the latter does not occur in the only known Italian source (Petrucci 1505) and the coordination of its syllables with notes is difficult, it could be a contrafactum. In this form, the composition is found in Berlin 40021²⁸, while Warszawa 5892 contains both versions, although incomplete and inscribed in two different layers. The contrafactum *O sacrum mysterium* cannot be defined as successful. Although the syntax of the new text adheres well to the music, in many instances the distribution of syllables is not clear and its excess in relation to the notes often forces a fragmentation of notes or a break-up through pauses.

Interesting examples of the contrafactum procedure provided by the two copies of a motet by Heinrich Finck with the text *Miserator Dominus* in Berlin 40021²⁹ and with the text *Miserator et misericors dominus* in “Speciálnik” (Hradec Králové 7). This time, the Berlin Codex contains undoubtedly an original version, while the Czech manuscript contains a contrafactum. Both copies are completely independent. Differences are so pronounced that Czech version, longer by two measures (faithful repetition of the preceding fragment) has to be viewed as another redaction of Finck’s motet. This mechanical extension of the composition was probably forced by the longer contrafactum text. Perhaps the author’s behaviour was not very noble, nevertheless it allows us nowadays to evaluate the contrafactum procedure and also to investigate the reception of Finck’s motets.

An opposite phenomenon to that found in Finck’s piece can be encountered in *Jam miseras rex* in Leipzig 1494³⁰. It constitutes a hitherto unnoticed

contrafactum of the last section of Credo (from “*Et resurrexit*”) of the *Missa L’ami Baudichon* by Josquin Desprez, extended this time by repetition of the three-measure section³¹. Josquin’s Mass was well known in central Europe. It was preserved in “Speciálnik”, partially in “Lwow fragments” (Poznań 7022) and in both Saxon codices. These last two manuscripts transmit only a short “Amen”, closing the Credo section, and in both cases were somewhat altered. In Leipzig 1494³² the differences are slight, therefore this version can be assessed as a concordance, but in Berlin 40021³³ the transformation is so profound, that concordance is virtually nonexistent. This composition differs not only by the constellation of voices but by a whole bass part, limited here only to alternating jumps from the first to fifth step of the scale.

This brings us to the third group of issues, namely the contrafacta of Mass sections. Both Central European and north Italian sources predominantly contain sections with a reduced number of voices and without cantus firmus as in the *Christe*, *Pleni*, *Benedictus* or *Agnus Dei II*. These sections, isolated from the wider context, often saturated with sequential patterns, do not differ from secular works in its textural layer. They can be encountered in theoretical treatises of the sixteenth century as instructive exempla and in various musical sources as textless pieces (“songs without words”). Strongly melismatic and not closely linked with verbal texts, they were especially useful for preparing contrafacta. There are, however, exceptions to this rule, e.g., *Flos virginum* in Trento 91, constituting a contrafactum of *Gloria* from *Missa Coda di pavon* by Johannes Martini, or as mentioned above *Jam miserans rex* from *Missa L’ami Baudichon* by Josquin. The same manuscript transmits also *Respice virgo pura*³⁴ constituting a contrafactum of the section *Et incarnatus* from the *Missa O Venus bant* by Gaspar van Weerbeke, preserved as a whole in the two remaining Saxo-Silesian Codices. This small (62 measures) three-voice piece does not differ at all from secular works and if not for the indication in the source itself (“*Et incarnatus est O venus bant*”) certainly would not have been quickly identified. In the future, one can expect more discoveries of contrafacta of Mass sections, especially in the numerous collections of *tricina* published in Germany.

V

Finally, it is worthwhile to ponder several Saxo-Silesian unica. For a variety of reasons, these also seem to be contrafacta, although due to their unique character, assessment could obviously be only hypothetical. It is especially difficult to define the provenance of these compositions. On the one hand, their texts are in general absent from anthologies of Middle Ages poetry and on the other hand, most of them are linked to the Marian cult, vibrant in fifteenth century Europe. On the basis of stylistic analysis one can distinguish here three layers of repertory (1) laude, (2) chansons, and (3) textless compositions modelled on them.

To the first group undoubtedly belongs *Ave Christi caro* from Berlin 40021³⁵ with the text of a well known prayer (published in 1513), also the basis for a motet by Josquin Desprez. Stylistically, this composition exhibits all the characteristics of polyphonic lauda. However, the connection of the text with the music is significantly distorted, and the insufficient number of syllables in relation to notes repeated in the superius (fourth verse) suggests a purely mechanical adaptation of this poem to an already existing composition. There is also a possibility of contrafactum in *Naturae genitor*³⁶ from the same codex: an unidentified text evidently conflicts with the music, and the subordination of syllables to repeated notes of the superius appears difficult. Similar comments are applicable to the unique *Ave decus virginum* in Leipzig 1494, signed “Ranlequin de Mol”³⁷. This name, unknown from other sources, does not seem to be of German derivation. As the composition displays the characteristics of lauda, presumably its author came from northern Italy. However, the Marian text is only vaguely connected to the music and sometimes even conflicts with it (e.g. the bass part, the word “De/i”) which makes for a not very successful contrafactum.

It seems that two adjacent three-voice anonymous compositions from Warszawa 5892 may be counted among secular contrafacta. As was established recently, the first one, *Santissima, virgum reginum*³⁸, has a textless concordance in manuscript Trento 1947/4³⁹, which allows one to place the composition in the context of Netherlandish-Italian tradition. It is worth indicating exactly where it was entered in the manuscript. It constitutes one of four

textless compositions, two of which are actually French chansons. The first one is *Accueillly m'a la belle* by Caron, an extremely popular song in the second half of the fifteenth century and surviving today — also as sacred contrafacta — in nine copies. The second piece, *J'ay pris amours*, also belongs to the same genre; and it is known today in five copies (differing mainly by the contratenor part), including sacred contrafacta. There are many indications that *Santissima virginum reginum* is also a secular composition by a Franco-Netherlandish master. This is suggested not only by the context of transmission, but by the main formal and textural characteristics: rondeau form, distinct stratification of all three voices, short and compact phrases, fluent and careful counterpoint, strict sequential patterning and especially the technique of through-imitation. All these features point to the last decade of the fifteenth century as the date of the composition. The question, when the composition acquired the sacred text, will probably remain forever unanswered. The text is not identified so far, and one can only state that its character is close to the typical Marian poems, widely popular in the fifteenth century. However, with the underlaying of two upper voices, it is loosely tied to the music, especially in the last sequential section with the characteristic insufficiency of notes in relation to the syllables of the final word “Maria”.

The unique composition *Ave praeclamm lumen* shows many similarities to the adjacent *Santissima virginum reginum*⁴⁰. The composition also has a rondeau form. However, while the first section, with imitations between all the voices, fits into pattern of the fifteenth century chanson, the second section, almost completely devoid of imitations, mechanically ranking ostinato motifs and with an additional internal caesura appears to be designed as a textless composition. An unidentified Marian poem underlays the two upper voices and, similar to *Santissima virginum reginum*, remains loosely connected with the music. Both compositions exhibit many related stylistic features, formal and textural, strongly suggesting the same authorship.

Finally, the three-voice *Exalta est sancta dei genitrix* is unique in Berlin 40021⁴¹. Characteristic for this small-sized composition are two alternative texts, carefully underlaid to all the voices, which enabled to use the composition to be used for two different occasions. The first one is the popular

Marian antiphon *Exalta est sancta dei genitrix*; the second one, written below by another copyist is a hymn in honour of St. Barbara *Hymnizemus parvuli*. It seems unlikely that the composition was based on some liturgical melody, especially since the tenor part has abundant sequential and ostinato figures. Therefore, the work was described by many scholars as a contrafactum of an instrumental composition (“carmen”). However, this classification appears questionable. The composition belongs rather to the category of chanson, due to melodious and flexibly shaped phrases, elaborate clausulae of the superius, sporadic imitations and complementary hoquetus-like two-note motifs in the upper voices. None of these texts completely adheres to the music. It is especially evident in the arrangement of two-note motifs, which break individual words through pauses, and in clausulae of phrases with an excess of repeated notes in relation to syllables. Therefore, perhaps also here, we are dealing with a contrafactum of chanson.

* * *

The contrafactum permeates time and space. It provides undeniable proof that cultural links exist, demonstration of which by other means can merely produce more or less viable hypotheses. The contrafactum procedure in Central Europe was more widespread than estimated previously. Testifying to this are not only concordances, but some unica and even, paradoxically, textless compositions. The content of Saxo-Silesian codices clearly indicates that their compilers were generally interested in relatively new repertory, created in northern and central Italy and scarcely known in the area north of the Alps. Authors of individual adaptations coped rather well with the synchronization of textual and musical phrases, but were quite indifferent towards prosodically proper declamation. This indifference, however has a good outcome: the composition becomes “suspect” and looking for the original can, with a little bit of luck, bring success. Although the criterion of coordination of words with music is certainly not very strong at the end of the fifteenth century, the combination of regular musical structure with a text shaped differently from it, always arouses suspicion and may lead to the discovery of contrafacta.

The reasons for the popularity of chansons as the main vehicle of new

texts were probably rooted in social factors and the general dissemination of Franco-Flemish culture. Things considered fashionable and trendy at the courts of France and Italy found vivid resonance in Central Europe. Also, growing interest in the artistic qualities of chansons, their clarity of form and structure encouraged copying and imitation. These qualities ensured that Mass sections did not undergo preparation of *contrafacta* to the same extent as chansons. Complex and asymmetrically shaped voice lines or elaborate imitation structures were certainly less suitable for this type of adaptation. Furthermore, in the case of motets, the religious text was usually acceptable in its totality or required only small modifications for adjustment to new purposes. The process of creating *contrafacta* resulted not only in seizing foreign repertory, attractive locally, but also led to the assimilation of new workshop solutions or texture characteristics. Musical material was still quite neutral, did not express a text, but served as a tool by which words acquired sensory perception. Therefore, chansons could function as religious compositions after the addition of new Latin texts. This constitutes interesting evidence of utilizing the same repertory for various purposes and confirms the full stylistic homogeneity of figural music in those times.

Sigla of the sources

Basel F.IX.22 – Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, Ms. IX.22 (Hans Kotter Organ Tablature);

Berlin 40021 (BerlS 40021) – Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. Ms. 40021;

Cape Town 3.b.12 (CapePL 3.b.12) – Cape Town South African Public Library, Ms. Grey 3.b.12;

Firenze P 27 (FlorBN Panc. 27) – Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Panciatichi 27;

Firenze 337 – Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Banco Rari 337;

Hradec Králové 7 (HradKM 7) – Hradec Králové Krajske Muzeum, Knihovna, Ms. II A 7 (“Speciálník”);

Berlin/Kraków 40098 (BerlPS 40098) – Berlin Preussischer Staatsbib-

- liothek Mus. Ms. 40098 presently Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Mus. Ms. 40098 (“Glogauer Liederbuch”);
- Leipzig 1494 (LeipU 1494)** – Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 1494 (“Apel Codex”);
- München 3154 (MunBS 3154)** – München Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Musica Ms. 3154 (“Leopold Codex”);
- München 5023 (MunBS 5023)** – München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Cod. lat. mon. 5023;
- München 14274 (MunBS Lat. 14274)** – München Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cim. 14274;
- Poznań 7022 (PozU 7022)** – Poznań, Biblioteka Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, Ms. 7022 (“Lwow fragments”);
- Oxford 213 (OxfBC 213)** – Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canonici Miscellaneus 213;
- Paris 4379 (ParisBNN 4379)** – Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. Acq. Fr. 4379;
- Regensburg 940/41 (RegB 940-1)** – Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek (Proskesche Musikbibliothek), Ms. A.R. 940-941;
- Roma Chigi 234 (VatC 234)** – Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi Ms. C VIII 234;
- Sankt Gallen 530** – Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek Ms 530 (Fridolin Sicher Organ Tablature);
- Strasbourg 222 (StrasBM 222)** – Strasbourg Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. M 222 C. 22;
- Trento 87-93 (TrentC 87-93)** – Trento, Museo Provincionale d’Arte, Castello del Buon Consiglio, Ms. 87-92; Trento, Museo Diocesano, Ms BL (*olim* Ms. 93);
- Trento 1947/4 (TrentBC 1947/4)** – Trento Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. 1947/4;
- Warszawa 5892 (WarU 2016)** – Warszawa, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Gabinet Zbiorów Muzycznych, RM 5892 (*olim* Mf. 2016, *olim* Rps Mus 58, “Wrocław Codex”);

Warszawa 8054 (WarN 8054) – Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, Ms. III.8054 (*olim* Kras 52);

Notes

- 1 Authorship of cited compositions was established by Bonnie J. Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 29 (1976) (Josquin) and Piotr Poźniak, *Repertuar polskiej muzyki wokalne w epoce Renesansu. Studium kontekstualno-analityczne*, Kraków 1999 (Patavino and Sandrin).
- 2 See *Der Codex Berlin 40021. Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin Ms. ms. 40021*, Teil I-III, ed. Just Martin. *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, Band 76-78, Kassel 1990–1991.
- 3 See *Der Mensuralkodex des Nikolaus Apel (Ms. 1494 Der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig)*, Teil I und II, ed. Rudolf Gerber, Teil III, aus dem Nachlaß Rudolf Gerbers ed. Ludwig Finscher and Wolfgang Dömling. *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, Band 32-34, Kassel 1956, 1960 and 1975.
- 4 See Fritz Feldmann, *Der Codex Mf. 2016 des Musikalischen Institut bei der Universität Breslau. Eine paleographische und stilistische Beschreibung*, I. Teil: *Darstellung*, II. Teil: *Verzeichnisse und Übertragungen* (= ‘Schriften des Musikalischen Instituts bei der Universität Breslau’, ed. A. Schmitz, Bd. 2), Breslau 1932, and Ryszard J. Wieczorek, ‘*“Musica figurata” w Saksonii i na Śląsku u schyłku XV wieku. Studia nad repertuarem kodeksów menzuralnych Berlin 40021, Leipzig 1494 i Warszawa 5892*’, Poznań 2002.
- 5 Johannes Tinctoris, *Terminorum musicae diffinitorium*, Treviso 1495, in *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi*, ed. Edmond de Coussemaker, Paris 1864–1876 (repr. Hildesheim 1963), vol. IV, pp. 177–191.
- 6 See Armin Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik im deutschsprachigen Raum des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Göttingen 1998 (Abhandlungen zu Musikgeschichte, 3), p. 68.
- 7 See Martin Staehelin, ‘Zur Begründung der Kontrafakturpraxis in deutschen Musikhandschriften des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts’, in *Florilegium Musicologicum. Hellmut Federhofer zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Ch.-H. Mahling, Tutzing 1988, pp. 389–396; Martin Just, ‘Kontrafakturen von Werken Josquins in der Handschrift LeipzigU 49/50’, in *Aneignung durch Verwandlung: Aufsätze zur deutschen Musik und Architektur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, ed. W. Steude, Laaber 1998, pp. 85–106; Giulio Cattin, ‘“Contrafacta” internazionali: musiche europee per laude italiane’, in *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts* (Göttinger Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten, Bd. 10), ed. U. Günther und L. Finscher, Kassel 1984, pp. 411–442, and Marco Gozzi, ‘I codici piu recenti nel loro contesto storico-liturgico: i contrafacta’, in *I codici musicali trentini: Nuove scoperte e nuovi orientamenti della ricerca*, ed. P. Wright, Trento 1996, pp. 55–80.
- 8 Theodor Göllner, ‘Landinis “Questa fanciulla” bei Oswald von Wolkenstein’, *Die Musikforschung* 17 (1964), pp. 393–398.
- 9 *Der Codex Berlin 40021...*, op. cit., no. 93 and 119.
- 10 *Ibidem*, no. 108.

- 11 *Der Mensuralkodex des Nikolaus Apel...*, op. cit., no. 59; see also R. Wieczorek, "*Musica figurata*"..., op. cit., p. 599.
- 12 See *Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia*, vol. XIII-XIV: *Sources of Polyphony up to c. 1500*. Vol. XIII: *Facsimiles*, ed. Mirosław Perz, Graz-Warszawa 1973, p. 93, and vol. XIV: *Transcriptions*, ed. Mirosław Perz in collaboration with Henryk Kowalewicz, Graz-Warszawa 1976, p. 352.
- 13 Marcin Majchrowski, 'Powiązania "Alleluja" przypisywanego Mikołajowi Radomskiemu z chanson "Bonjour, bon mois" Guillaume'a Dufaya', *Muzyka* 39:2 (1994), pp. 87–88.
- 14 In the rest of this article, detailed bibliography of compositions and examples of music are omitted. Full documentation and some examples can be found in the book by Ryszard J. Wieczorek "*Musica figurata*"... op. cit.
- 15 *Der Kodex Berlin 40021...*, op. cit., no. 23.
- 16 *Der Mensuralkodex des Nikolaus Apel...*, op. cit., no. 122.
- 17 *Der Kodex Berlin 40021...*, op. cit., no. 10.
- 18 *Der Mensuralkodex des Nikolaus Apel...*, op. cit., no. 81 and 164.
- 19 See Warwick Edwards, 'Songs without words by Josquin and his contemporaries', in *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe. Patronage, Sources and Texts*, ed. Iain Fenlon, Cambridge 1981, pp. 79–92.
- 20 *Der Kodex Berlin 40021...*, op. cit., no. 78.
- 21 *Der Mensuralkodex des Nikolaus Apel...*, op. cit., no. 168.
- 22 *Der Kodex Berlin 40021...*, op. cit., no. 62.
- 23 *Ibidem*, no. 64.
- 24 *Ibidem*, no. 18.
- 25 *Ibidem*, no. 101.
- 26 *Der Mensuralkodex des Nikolaus Apel...*, op. cit., no. 167.
- 27 *Der Kodex Berlin 40021...*, op. cit., no. 82.
- 28 *Ibidem*, no. 20.
- 29 *Ibidem*, no. 66.
- 30 *Der Mensuralkodex des Nikolaus Apel...*, op. cit., no. 157.
- 31 R. Wieczorek "*Musica figurata*"..., op. cit., p. 321, ex. 38.
- 32 *Der Mensuralkodex des Nikolaus Apel...*, op. cit., no. 120 (*Amen tertium*).
- 33 *Der Kodex Berlin 40021...*, op. cit., no. 31 (*Amen*).
- 34 *Der Mensuralkodex des Nikolaus Apel...*, op. cit., no. 118.
- 35 *Der Kodex Berlin 40021...*, op. cit., no. 9.
- 36 *Ibidem*, no. 25.
- 37 *Der Mensuralkodex des Nikolaus Apel...*, op. cit., no. 114.
- 38 F. Feldmann, *Der Codex Mf. 2016...*, op. cit., Teil II, pp. 88–90.
- 39 See R. Wieczorek "*Musica figurata*"..., op. cit., p. 555.
- 40 *Ibidem*, pp. 561–562.
- 41 *Der Kodex Berlin 40021...*, op. cit., no. 26.

3

Neapolitan Repertory in the Glogauer Liederbuch[§]

Paweł Gancarczyk

Institute of Art, Polish Academy of Sciences

The Glogauer Liederbuch, once held in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin and now to be found in the collection of Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Kraków (Mus. ms. 40098), counts among the most valuable sources of polyphonic music of the second half of the fifteenth century. The manuscript was created in Silesia, most probably in the Augustine monastery in Żagań under the influence of Abbot Martin Rinckenberg¹. It was copied around 1480, most probably — as the testing of watermarks shows — during the years 1477–1481². The Glogauer Liederbuch is one of the earliest examples of musical notation in partbooks: it is made up of three books in oblong quarto format (and not, as is usually quoted, in octavo)³. The manuscript is well known to scholars researching 15th-century music: its complete edition has been published in the *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*⁴, and also in the form of a facsimile⁵. In spite of this it would be difficult to regard it as a source which has been described in a fully multifaceted and exhaustive manner. This is particularly true in relation to the manuscript's repertory.

There are 292 compositions recorded in the Glogauer Liederbuch, most of them three-voice ones. The repertory presented in the manuscript is of mixed character, which can be regarded as a feature of the majority of polyphonic music collections in Central Europe. It contains both religious and secular

[§] This paper was read during the 17th International Congress of the International Musicological Society, Leuven, 1–7 August 2002.

works, those of local origin and imported from abroad. Compositions with Latin text form the largest part of the Glogauer Liederbuch repertory; these are usually adaptations of antiphons, responsories, hymns and sequences. We also find there a significant collection of German Lieder and French chansons. The Latin and German repertory is of local character. Most of it is not known from other sources of polyphonic music, and the preserved works are anonymous. The rare concordances of these compositions concern manuscripts created in the area of Central Europe, such as: the Trent codex 91 (I-TRbc 91), Schedel Liederbuch (D-Mbs 810), and also Speciálník Codex (CZ-HK II A 7), Strahov Codex (CZ-Ps 47) and Kassa fragments (SK-Bm 33 and SK-Bu 318). The French songs, grouped mainly in the final part of the Glogauer Liederbuch, possess — understandably — features of imported repertory. Compositions of this type are most frequently copied without text and without a title of any kind. Religious Latin text has been set to some of the chansons; a few have been given German titles. The chanson repertory in the Glogauer Liederbuch is typical for the 60s and 70s of the fifteenth century. We find there works by such composers as Guillaume Du Fay, Antoine Busnois, Firminus Caron and Hayne van Ghizeghem, as well as a number of anonymous and unidentified compositions. It is also worth noting that the Silesian manuscript is the oldest known source of the works of Jacob Obrecht (born 1457/58) — it records without the text the chanson *Lacen adieu* (no. 292⁶).

When one analyses the list of the Glogauer Liederbuch concordances⁷, it becomes clear that manuscripts originating from Naples occupy an important position among them (see table). At first glance this does not appear unexpected: Aragonese Naples belonged among the leading musical centres of Europe in the second half of the fifteenth century⁸. Prominent musicians working there included Johannes Cornago, Johannes Tinctoris and Johannes Vincenet; among others who had links with Naples were Franchinus Gaffurius, Josquin des Prez and Alexander Agricola. A number of important anthologies of polyphonic music were created either within this centre, or under its direct influence; almost all theoretical works of Tinctoris were also written there. However, one cannot ignore the fact that the Glogauer Liederbuch shares the greatest number of compositions with just one of the Neapolitan

manuscripts. This is the Seville Chansonnier (E-Sc 5-1-43 and F-Pn 4379/I)⁹, imprecisely dated to around 1480 or to the years 1470–1485¹⁰. As can be seen from table, the number of concordances relating to this manuscript (21) exceeds even that of such important sources as the Schedel Liederbuch (17 concordances) or Trent codex 91 (16 concordances). Such a large number of shared compositions does not, of course, mean that the Seville Chansonnier played a particularly significant part in forming the Glogauer Liederbuch repertory. After all, for the most part the concordances relate to repertory which was popular throughout the whole of Europe and, apart from these two manuscripts, was preserved in many sources, in the case of some works often numbering more than ten. Such popular compositions are, among others, the chanson *Hélas que pourra devenir* by Caron (no. 8), preserved in 21 sources in total, or the chanson *Ma bouche rit* by Ockeghem (no. 267), familiar from as many as 18 copies. On the other hand, it should be noted that there exist only two copies of one of the chansons by Busnois, *Au povre par necessité* (no. 10), apart from the Seville Chansonnier and the Glogauer Liederbuch. The same situation arises in regard to Du Fay's chanson *Dieu gard la bone sans reprise* (no. 180)¹¹.

Table: Concordances of the Glogauer Liederbuch

Source	Date	Provenance	Number of concordances
E-Sc 5-1-43 and F-Pn 4379/I	ca 1480 (1470-1485)	Naples	21
D-Mbs 810	1459/60-1463 and 1467	Nuremberg, Leipzig?	17
I-Fn 229	1491-1492	Florence	17
F-Pn 15123	1480-1484	Florence	16
I-TRbc 91	1472-1476/77	Trent	16
I-Rc 2856	1485-1490	Ferrara	11
I-TRbc 89	1460-1463/64 and 1465-1468	Trent	10
I-Rvat XIII, 27	1492-1494	Florence	9
I-Bc 16	1487	Naples	8
I-VEcap 757	ca 1490	northern Italy	8
US-NH 91	1475-1476	Naples	8
CZ-HK II A 7	1480-1500	Bohemia (Prague)	7
E-SE	1495-1497	Spain	7
CZ-Ps 47	1467-1470	south Bohemia or Moravia	6

SK-Bm 33 and SK-Bu 318	ca 1465	northern Hungary (Slovakia, Kassa?)	6
US-Wc L25	1465-1471 and ca 1485	France (Loire Valley)	6
and other 42 manuscripts			

It seems, however, that the 21 shared compositions which link the Glogauer Liederbuch and Seville Chansonnier do not do so merely by coincidence. It is their chronology which points to this conclusion: for a number of these compositions, the manuscripts under discussion are their oldest existing sources. The works involved are the chansons: *Que pourroit plus faire* by Morton (no. 130), *Se une fois* by Hayne (no. 263), *Helas le bon temps* by Tinctoris (no. 269) and *Adieu fortune* by Caron (no. 272). Moreover, three anonymous compositions are recorded in both sources with similarly sounding German titles¹². One of them — *O hertzens trost* (no. 196) — has been preserved only in the Seville Chansonnier and the Glogauer Liederbuch, and two — *Der fochß schwantcz* (no. 24) and *Nicht loss mich ort entgelden* (no. 226) — exist in only one other manuscript. The presence of these three compositions seems significant not only because they have survived in such a small number of sources, but particularly because of German influences in the titles. In Central Europe, ‘stripping’ the chansons of their original texts was common practice, and this approach is apparent not only in the Glogauer Liederbuch, but also, for instance, in the Speciálník Codex. For some reason, however, in a distant place like Naples, as many as three compositions are recorded with German titles, in an environment in which they must have undoubtedly sounded alien. In the light of these remarks it would seem difficult to deny the existence of some particular links between the Seville Chansonnier and the Glogauer Liederbuch. These links appear all the more interesting in that they were probably reciprocal, i.e., existed between Naples and Silesia (when one considers the chanson repertory), as well as Silesia and Naples (songs with German titles). Apart from this, in view of the problematic dating of the Seville Chansonnier, it is not really clear whether the Neapolitan manuscript was created earlier and is the oldest source of the chansons by

Morton, Hayne, Tinctoris and Caron referred to above, or whether it was preceded by the Glogauer Liederbuch.

When searching for the sources of the Glogauer Liederbuch repertory, one needs to pay particular attention to those manuscripts in the list of its concordances which were written before it was finished, i.e., prior to circa 1480. The Schedel Liederbuch and the Trent codex 91 are two such manuscripts, from which whole sequences of compositions were moved to the Glogauer Liederbuch. Other potential sources of the Silesian songbook are also: Trent codex 89 (I-TRbc 89 — 10 concordances), Strahov Codex (6 concordances), Kassa fragments (6 concordances) and also a number of collections of chansons. Among those chansonniers, the foremost contender is the Mellon Chansonnier (US-NH 91)¹³, created in Naples. Eight concordances linking the Mellon Chansonnier and the Glogauer Liederbuch may appear small, especially in the context of nearly three hundred compositions recorded in the latter manuscript. However, the Mellon Chansonnier records only 53 compositions; thus the eight concordances with the Glogauer Liederbuch amount to 15% of the whole collection, a significant proportion for that period. Both manuscripts record the popular chansons by Ockeghem (*Ma bouche rit*, no. 267), Du Fay (*Vostre bruit*, no. 273), Vincenet (*Fortune, par ta cruaulté*, no. 275) and a motet by Tinctoris — *Virgo dei throno digna* (no. 259). They also contain the much less well known chansons by Busnois, and a number of anonymous ones. For six of these eight works the Mellon Chansonnier — dated to the years 1475–1476 — is the oldest preserved source. It seems puzzling that these works appeared in the Glogauer Liederbuch only a few years later. Particular note should be taken here of the two chansons by Busnois (*Au povre par nécessité*, no. 10; *Pour entretenir*, no. 271) and the motet by Tinctoris referred to above, for which the Silesian manuscript is without doubt the second chronological source. Among compositions common to the Mellon Chansonnier and the Glogauer Liederbuch we also find an anonymous chanson (*Enfermé suis je en la tour*, no. 194), which has not been preserved in any other manuscript apart from these two.

The existence of close links between the Glogauer Liederbuch or, more generally, Central Europe, and Naples, is also confirmed by the documented

output of Neapolitan composers. Although the Glogauer Liederbuch records only two compositions by Tinctoris and one chanson by Vincenet, in each case the Silesian manuscript is one of their oldest sources. It is also worth noting that out of the four masses by Vincenet as many as three make use of musical material clearly connected with Central Europe¹⁴. Cantus firmus from the mass *Enterpris suis* comes from a composition by Bartolomeo Brolo, preserved in, among others, the Glogauer Liederbuch (no. 102). The model of another mass ascribed to Vincenet is a German song *Zersundert ist*, known, so far, only from the Silesian manuscript (no. 233). Apart from the facts presented here it should also be mentioned that references to composer Johannes Touront, who was active in Central Europe¹⁵, beyond the boundaries of that region can be found mainly in the Neapolitan manuscripts. Two of his compositions have been copied in the Glogauer Liederbuch (Nos 15 and 20). This might be another clue pointing to the conclusion that the cultural exchange between Naples and Silesia was of a reciprocal nature.

The argument for the existence of a Neapolitan context to the Glogauer Liederbuch may be justified by referring to political history and the history of culture. At the time of the manuscript's creation, Silesia was one of the dominions of the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490). In 1468 this ambitious ruler began a crusade against the heretical Bohemian king, Georg Poděbrad, who was a member of utraquists (calixtines) — the moderate wing of the Hussites. Matthias's policies led to the break-up of the Czech kingdom: the utraquist Bohemia stayed with Georg Poděbrad, while Catholic Moravia, Silesia and Lusatia accepted the supremacy of Hungary. In 1469 in Olomutz Matthias Corvinus was even crowned king of Bohemia; his coronation was not confirmed formally, but it sealed his claim to power in these three regions. When Ladislaus Jagiełło ascended the throne of Prague in 1471, the conflict between Hungary and Bohemia became the conflict between king Matthias and the Polish Jagiellonian dynasty. A peace treaty, which upheld Matthias Corvinus's claim to his territorial gains, was not signed until 1478.

In the second half of the fifteenth century Hungary was not only a great political strength, but also a cultural power in Central Europe. King Matthias received a thorough education — his teacher was the committed humanist

Janos Vitéz, later archbishop of Esztergom. Among the king's advisers was Janus Pannonius — a distinguished Latin poet of Croatian origin, educated in Italy. The so-called Bibliotheca Corviniana, an extensive book collection of about 3000 volumes, bears unprecedented witness to the high cultural sophistication of king Matthias's court. This was a humanistic collection, the largest of its kind not only in Central Europe but in the whole region north of the Alps. The remnants of this priceless collection are now dispersed over 40 libraries throughout the world¹⁶. Royal patronage extended not only to literature and science, but also various areas of art, including music. According to Bishop Bartolomeo de Maraschi, the choir of king Matthias was superior in its excellence even to the Papal chapel (letter to Vatican, 1483). Its leader was a Fleming, Johannes de Stokem (Stockem), a friend of Tinctoris. The Hungarian court was home to the talented lutenist, Pietrobono; Jacques Barbireau was also its guest for a short time¹⁷.

The cultural policy of Matthias Corvinus was clearly pro-Italian. The royal court maintained contact with the most important centres of humanism and renaissance, such as the court of Lorenzo de' Medici in Florence. The links with Naples were no less close: in 1476 Matthias Corvinus married the Aragon princess Beatrice, daughter of the king of Naples Ferrante I. In this way the area of the Hungarian kingdom came into the orbit of Neapolitan influence. This influence undoubtedly included music. Beatrice received a thorough musical education — her teacher was none other than Johannes Tinctoris himself. The name of the queen appears in the dedications of three treatises by Tinctoris (*Tractatus de regulari valore notarum*, *Complexus effectuum musices*, *Deffinitorium musicae*). One can even tentatively suppose that this prominent theorist and composer may have visited his pupil in Hungary during one of his journeys to the north (1479/80 or 1487/88). It is known that Beatrice had her own library in Buda. The Mellon Chansonnier, the queen's private manuscript edited by Tinctoris shortly before her departure to Hungary, probably formed part of it. This manuscript, prepared with exceptional care and richly illuminated, contains compositions dedicated to Beatrice, among them the motet *Virgo dei* by Tinctoris, also recorded in the Glogauer Liederbuch¹⁸. An inscription in the Mellon Chansonnier, telling us that in 1609 one Mat-

teus Rohn from Kłodzko made a gift of it to Johan Georg Trigbor of Bruntál, provides evidence that the chansonnier found its way to Central Europe¹⁹.

The Hungarian context of the creation of the Glogauer Liederbuch has already been remarked on elsewhere a number of times; the existence of Neapolitan themes in the repertory of this manuscript has also been mentioned²⁰. However, the significance of the links between the Glogauer Liederbuch and Hungary and Naples is much greater than the sparse references to them in musicological works would indicate. Firstly, the Glogauer Liederbuch, a manuscript created on the German-Slavonic boundary, is — paradoxically — the only source of polyphony documenting the musical culture of the court of Matthias Corvinus during the period of its greatest flowering²¹. Secondly, some of the facts quoted above indicate that the migration of musical repertory took place not only from Naples to Hungary, but also in the opposite direction, from Hungary to Naples. This puts into question the stability of the traditional division into the centre and the periphery.

List of cited sources

- CZ-HK II A 7** – Hradec Králové, Muzeum Východních Cech, MS II A 7
(= Speciálník Codex)
- CZ-Ps 47** – Prague, Strahovská Knihovna, Klášter Premonstrátu na Strahove, MS D.G.IV.47 (= Strahov Codex)
- D-Mbs 810** – Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Germanicus monacensis 810 (olim Mus. 3232; Cim. 351a) (= Schedel Liederbuch)
- E-Sc 5-1-43** – Seville, Catedral Metropolitana, Biblioteca Capítular y Colombina, MS 5-1-43 (olim 2 Tab. 135, N.^o 33) (= Seville Chansonnier, see also F-Pn 4379/I)
- E-SE** – Segovia, Archivo Capítular de la Catedral, MS without call no.
- F-Pn 4379/I** – Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits, Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises, MS 4379 (only first section, a part of the Seville Chansonnier, see E-Sc 5-1-43)
- F-Pn 15123** – Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits, Fonds Français, MS 15123 (olim Suppl. Fr. 2637) (= Chansonnier Pixérécourt)

- I-Bc 16** – Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q 16 (*olim* 109)
- I-Fn 229** – Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Banco Rari 229 (*olim* Magliabechi XIX.59)
- I-Rc 2856** – Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 2856 (*olim* O.V.208)
- I-Rvat XIII, 27** – Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capella Giulia XIII.27
- I-TRbc 89** – Trent, Museo Provincionale d'Arte, Castello del Buon Consiglio, MS 89
- I-TRbc 91** – Trent, Museo Provincionale d'Arte, Castello del Buon Consiglio, MS 91
- I-VEcap 757** – Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS DCCLVII
- SK-Bm 33** – Bratislava, Miestne Pracovisko Matice Slovenskej, Inc. 33 (*olim* III A 13) (lost part of the Kassa fragments)
- SK-Bu 318** – Bratislava, Univerzita Komenského, Knížnica, Inc. 318-I (*olim* III B 6) (= Kassa fragments)
- US-NH 91** – New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library for Rare Books and Manuscripts, MS 91 (= Mellon Chansonnier)
- US-Wc L25** – Washington D.C., Library of Congress, Music Division, MS M2.1.L25 Case (= Laborde Chansonnier).

Notes

- 1 Paweł Gancarczyk, *Uwagi o genezie śpiewnika glogowskiego (ca 1480)* [Remarks on the Origin of the Glogauer Liederbuch (ca 1480)], *Muzyka* 44:3 (1999), pp. 25–40. The Glogauer Liederbuch takes its name from the nearby town of Głogów (Glogau), where it was located in mid-sixteenth century.
- 2 Paweł Gancarczyk, *Musica scripto. Kodeksy menzuralne II połowy XV wieku na wschodzie Europy Łacińskiej* [Musica scripto. Mensural Codices in Eastern Latin Europe in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century], Warszawa 2001, pp. 81–88.
- 3 The size of the leaves 153 x 215 mm.
- 4 Heribert Ringmann, Joseph Klapper (eds.), *Das Glogauer Liederbuch*, vol. 1-2, Kassel 1936–1937 (= Das Erbe deutscher Musik 4, 8); Christian Väterlein (ed.), *Das Glogauer Liederbuch*, vol. 3-4, Kassel, Basel, London 1981 (= Das Erbe deutscher Musik 85-86).
- 5 Jessie Ann Owens (ed. facs.), *Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Glogauer Liederbuch*, New York 1979 (= Renaissance Music in Fascimile 4).
- 6 Numbering of compositions follows that in the catalogue edited by Ringmann and

- Klapper (op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 102–119). Obrecht's chanson is one of the last compositions in the manuscript, copied on paper originating from 1481.
- 7 See P. Gancarczyk, *Musica scripto...*, op. cit., pp. 97–100. The list requires corrections, but this does not affect in any significant degree the arguments presented here.
 - 8 See Allan Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples*, Cambridge 1985.
 - 9 See Dragan Plamenac, 'A Reconstruction of the French Chansonnier in the Biblioteca Colombina Seville', *The Musical Quarterly* XXXVII (1951), pp. 501–542 and XXXVIII (1952), pp. 85–117; Dragan Plamenac (ed. facs.), *Faksimile-Ausgabe der Handschriften Sevilla 5-I-43 and Paris n.a. fr. 4379*, New York 1962 (= Veröffentlichungen mittelalterlicher Musikhandschriften 8); Alice Anne Moerk, *The Seville Chansonnier: An Edition of Sevilla 5-I-43 and Paris N.A. Fr. 4379 (Pt. 1)* (diss.), West Virginia University 1971. The Seville Chansonnier was originally part of a whole with the first section of the manuscript F-Pn 4379 (here: F-Pn 4379/I).
 - 10 The dating of the Seville Chansonnier, as well as of many other manuscripts quoted in this paper, follows that in the *Census Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400–1550* (eds. Charles Hamm, Herbert Kellman, American Institute of Musicology 1979–1988). See also: Nanie Bridgman, *Manuscripts de Musique Polyphonique XV^e et XVI^e siècles. Italie*, München 1991 (= Répertoire International des Sources Musicales B IV⁵) and David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs 1415–1480*, Oxford 1999.
 - 11 Cf. Fallows, op. cit.
 - 12 See the Seville Chansonnier (Plamenac, *Faksimile-Ausgabe*), f. 27v–28r: *Niet laes mich leib*, f. 48r: *O heczen troist* (index: *O herten trost*), f. 94v–95r: *Fuyh schwanz*.
 - 13 See Leeman L. Perkins, Howard Garey (eds.), *The Mellon Chansonnier*, 2 vols, New Haven, New York 1979.
 - 14 Bertran E. Davis (ed.), *The Collected Works of Vincenet*, Madison 1978 (= Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance 9/10); Adelyn Peck Leverett, 'Works by Vincenet in Trent 91', *I Codici Musicali Trentini. Nuove scoperte e nuovi orientamenti della ricerca*, ed. Peter Wright, Trento 1996, pp. 121–147.
 - 15 For new data concernig Touront's biography, see Paweł Gancarczyk, 'Związki kodeksu Strahov z Austrią i dworem cesarza Fryderyka III' ['The Links between the Strahov Codex and Austria and the Imperial Court of Frederick III'], *Muzyka* 49:2 (2004), pp. 79–88; see also Martin Staehelin, 'Uwagi o wzajemnych związkach biografii, twórczości i dokumentacji dzieł Piotra Wilhelmięgo z Grudziądza' ['Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz: Notes on the Coherence of his Biography, his Work and its Transmission'], *Muzyka* 49:2 (2004), pp. 9–19 (see pp. 16–18).
 - 16 See Csaba Csapodi, Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Corviniana. The Library of King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary*, Budapest 1981.
 - 17 See for example Janka Szendrei, 'Hungary: I. Art Music: 1. To 1500', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians. Second Edition*, ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. 11, London 2001, pp. 846–849 (see p. 848).
 - 18 Jaap van Benthem, 'Concerning Johannes Tinctoris and the Preparation of the Princess's Chansonnier'. *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* XXXII/1-2 (1982), pp. 24–29.
 - 19 Leeman L. Perkins, 'The Mellon Chansonnier as a Central European Source', *Musica*

Antiqua Europae Orientalis. Acta Scietifica Congressus, vol. 6, Bydgoszcz 1982, pp. 651–667. Kłodzko and Bruntál are Silesian cities, now situated on both sides of the Polish-Czech border.

- 20 See Reinhard Strohm, 'Die Missa super *Nos amis* von Johannes Tinctoris', *Die Musikforschung* XXXII/1 (1979), pp. 34–51 (see p. 48).
- 21 It is difficult to count among such sources the much earlier Kassa fragments (c. 1465) or the Strahov Codex, dated to 1467–1470 and of uncertain provenance (on the matter of dating, see P. Gancarczyk, *Musica scripto*). According to H.M. Brown the chansonnier I-Fn 229 was being prepared for Matthias Corvinus. Corvinus died before it was finished, and the manuscript remained in Florence; Howard M. Brown (ed.), *A Florentine Chansonnier from the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS Banco Rari 229*, 2 vols, Chicago 1983 (= Monuments of Renaissance Music 7).

4

Significance of Madrigals Anthologies in the Reception of European Repertory in Northeastern Europe

Tomasz Jeż

Institute of Musicology, University of Warsaw

Surveying titles of recent literature on European music tradition of the sixteenth century points to a decreased number of monographs on newly discovered sources, works and composers. Perhaps there is not much left to discover, and a broad approach to previously common heuristic, biographical or historical themes does not seem possible nowadays. Obviously, this is only partially true: local documentation of sources, often supplemented with recently discovered items only now enables its better description and interpretation. Many investigators view heuristics as an old stage in the evolution of musicology, and “anachronism” of the subject is supposedly incompatible with interdisciplinary studies. However, a trend toward investigation of the reception of repertory is becoming more discernible in modern musicology. Maybe it constitutes a natural consequence of the heuristic approach, and omitting this stage it makes more difficult to carry on comparative, interdisciplinary and historical-ideological studies. On the other hand this extremely tedious approach enables one to pose some important questions.

The main issues on dispersion of European music repertory in Poland and adjacent countries comprise the methods of dissemination, the interaction among various cultural centers affecting the profile of reception and the diachronic dynamics of this process. It is also crucial to estimate the validity of different sources. Apparently, specific historical sources provide information about different layers of reception of the cultural texts. Real or as-

sumed significance of the source is proved not by its numbers, but rather its reproducibility, adaptation and direct contacts with a local tradition of performance or composition.

Characteristic of *Cinquecento* was secular vocal music composed for Italian texts. Creative adaptations and imitations of the genre in the northern and western parts of the continent are extensively documented¹. In Baltic Sea countries the active reception of the madrigal genre was much smaller, but one can find there the most abundant (except for Italy) collections of prints containing this repertory, as well as various examples of copies, contrafacta and parodies in extant manuscripts. Based on the recent statistical analysis², the best represented genre of secular music in local manuscripts is the madrigal. Therefore, studies on its reception represent an important step in a systemic approach to the repertory common in *Ostseeraum* and help to describe its transmission. Simultaneously, they verify and expand our knowledge on connection of centers of musical life in Poland and her nearest neighbours with Italian centers, thus shaping Renaissance music tradition.

This study focuses on only one aspect of madrigals reception in northeastern Europe, i.e., an attempt to reconstruct paths of dissemination of madrigal repertory. The question is what sources were most essential locally for historically real music culture.

Undoubtedly, the most abundant source consists of the old music prints from collections in libraries. This results most certainly from the fact that the last two decades of sixteenth century witnessed an enormous growth in music publications³. At the same time, a stylistically new form of madrigal (“*new canzonetta*”)⁴ reached the peak of its popularity and became associated with the names Andrea Gabrieli and Giovanni Ferretti. European reception of this “hybrid” form was influenced, at least partially, by the market factors: demand for the repertory increased proportionally to the developing technologies for dissemination of repertory.

The body of presently known old madrigal prints, registered in sixteen collections in the area studied, consists of 526 items (including copies and re-editions). This represents about 20% of all currently known European madrigal heritage. However, does the fact itself of such a wealth of documen-

tation warrant confirmation as historical fact reception of repertory published in these collections? Perhaps only in its passive, potential aspect, which defines merely a starting point for further studies. Tastefully bound volumes imported from Venice, Antwerp and Munich certainly adorned bookshelves in Gdańsk, Wrocław and Legnica. However, very few written correction marks on their pages suggest an infrequent use. Therefore, how can one better capture historically real reception?

The simplest answers might apply. First, reception can be evaluated, although indirectly, by historical evidence of demand, revealed in titles of the most frequent collections. Compilation of various sources, e.g., catalogues of old prints from inventories of that time might be helpful. Even more details could be gathered from an attempt to identify original compositions copied in many manuscript collections, both vocal and instrumental. Local music production, adapting in a variety of ways (*contrafacta*, parodies) assimilated patterns, reflects the deepest layer of reception.

I would like to concentrate on one question. It concerns the mutual relationship of madrigal repertory transmitted by two different forms of printed material: single-composer publication and anthology. What was the significance of these transmissions of basically the same, although differently acquired heritage?

Out of more than 500 madrigal prints, almost 100 are duplicates, re-editions and issues appearing often in library collections⁵. Perhaps this group represents local interest in publications imported from south and west. Tens of items concern single-composer works, especially collective editions, compiling the most popular pieces of a composer from previously published volumes. There are many collections containing the best among four-voice (M 584), five-voice (M 572) or six-voice madrigals by Luca Marenzio, *ridotti in un corpo...* Also very popular were madrigals by Hans Leo Hassler (especially H 2339, represented six times), Teodore Riccio (R 1295, four times), Alessandro Striggio (S 6956) and Peter Philips (P 1991), each represented three times. Similarly, well-liked were canzonettas by Antonio Scandello (S 1146 and S 1156 — each represented three times), Jacob Regnart (R 738 and R 753 —

four and three times, respectively) and Orazio Vecchi (collections V 1020, V 1029 and V 1050).

The majority of reprinted editions comprises madrigal anthologies, the best reflection of musical demand and tastes. Presumably the repertory transmitted in those collections was paramount for its reception. The most popular collection was the famous *Musica divina di XIX autori illustri...*, represented eight times. Almost as frequently, one encounters collections *Il lauro verde...* (1583¹⁰, 1591⁸) and the two first volumes of Nuremberg's *Gemma musicalis...* (1588²¹, 1589⁸) five and six times, respectively. Also fashionable were Antwerp's prints: *Symphonia angelica...* (1585¹⁹, 1590¹⁷, 1594⁸) and *Melodia Olympica...* (1591¹⁰) as well as Munich's *Sdegnosi ardori...* (1585¹⁷)⁶.

Anthologies of madrigals encouraged interest through their titles, expressing praise for composers of collected works (*virtuosi, illustri, eccelentissimi, praestantissimi*). It is also claimed, that repertory in the presented collection is very up to date and fashionable (e.g., *nella guide si contengono i più eccellenti madrigali che hoggidi si cantino: Musica divina*, 1583¹⁵). The persuasive strength of this kind of advertising was certainly great, since *Musica divina* had seven editions (within fifty years) and *Symphonia angelica* five editions. Other books were published only once, e.g., *Gemma musicalis...* (1588²¹, 1589⁸, 1590²⁰), reaching though similar geographical area.

It is worth noting here that single-composer collections were imported directly from Italy, but madrigal anthologies arrived in northeastern Europe from very influential publishing houses in Antwerp, Leuven, Munich and Nuremberg, commercially and culturally tied to the area. Moreover, there was a phenomenon of a secondary reception of Italian patterns, adapted by German composers, so called the German madrigal⁷: this refers primarily to the stylistically varied and locally popular creations of Jacob Regnart and Hans Leon Hassler, known mostly from single-composer publications.

Much more precise data come from comparison of madrigal handwritten copies with its printed originals. Identification of particular editions, which were probably used by individual sriptors seems like a risky endeavor, but it often allows to formulate viable hypotheses on real transmission of the reper-

tory. This applies especially to sources with numerous copies of compositions, written sometimes in the exactly the same order, as in the original.

Vocal manuscripts, containing heterogeneous repertory are more challenging to analyze. This stems mainly from the fact that these are frequently additions handwritten on blank pages of various publications. In two Brzeg sources of this type (Cat. No. Mus. K. 28, Mus. K. 58)⁸ several madrigals were copied from prints of Giovanni Ferretti (F 517), Girolamo Conversi (C 3548) and Antonio Scandello (S 1146). More canzonettas by the latter composer (S 1156) were found in the Wrocław Bohn Mus. ms. manuscript 10⁹. The repertory of Legnica collection (Cat. No. 35)¹⁰ originated from two sources: canzonettas by Orazio Vecchi (V 1047) and madrigals by Stefano Venturi del Nibbio of Florence (whole book NV 2863).

The repertory copied in Silesian vocal manuscripts originated from single-composer editions. In contrast, compositions in Scandinavian collections (mainly Stockholm's partbooks Cat. No. 32, 45, 229)¹¹ presumably originated from anthologies. Scriptor most likely were familiar with collections 1544²², 1546¹⁹ and subsequent editions of *Gemma musicalis...* 1588²¹, 1589⁸ and 1590²⁰. It seems feasible that these particular pieces were copied since pertaining publications remain in libraries to this very day. However, this is not the case with two other anthologies: *Secondo libro delle flamme...* (1567¹³) and *Fiamma ardente...* (1586¹⁹), from which also a few compositions were copied.

*Codex carminum gallicorum*¹² presently stored in Uppsala is an example of a collection of compiled music devoted almost exclusively to a single composer. Most madrigals intabulated there come from prints of Jacob Arcadelt (A 1313, A 1314), Vincenzo Ruffo (R 3067) and Orlando de Lasso (L 767). However, some compositions were copied from other collected prints, as 1526⁶, 1534¹⁵, 1542¹⁷, 1557¹⁹ or 1560¹². Another Swedish manuscript¹³ was based on a book by Girolamo Conversi (C 3545), although the same compositions appear also in many well known anthologies.

To establish which book was used specifically by a scriptor of a given collection one has to compare number and range of mutually concordant sources. This is often a problem in reference to collections written in organ tabla-

ture notation. For the two oldest manuscripts of this kind — tablature of Jan from Lublin¹⁴ and tablature of Holy Ghost Convent in Cracow¹⁵ the source is the first madrigals book by Verdelot (1553²). Other cases are more difficult to interpret in this respect. The recently discovered tablature of George Gothardt¹⁶ was based on canzonettas by Antonio Scandello (S 1146) and madrigals by Ippolito Sabino (S 45) and Philippo de Monte (M 3339). However, it is difficult to establish in Gothardt's tablature whether numerous works by Girolamo Conversi, Giovanni Ferretti and Jacob Regnart originated from single-composers editions (C 3545, F 512, R 738) or from anthologies often transmitting the same repertory (1589⁸, 1583¹⁵, 1581¹⁰). Also, the origins of madrigals copied in two volumes of tablature by Johannes Fischer from Morąg¹⁷ are not clear. Here, concordance number for single-composer editions exceeds that coming from anthologies (volumes G 59, G 72, M 3811, R 738, R 1295, and V 1010). Other parts of this collection were prepared on the basis of anthologies (e.g. 1591¹¹, 1588²¹, 1589⁸): such a conclusion is confirmed by the sequence of compositions. A similar interpretation can be given to repertory noted in Oliwa tablature¹⁸, containing also works by Hans Leo Hassler (H2335) and Gemignano Capilupi (1597²¹). The lost Legnica tablature (Cat. No. 99)¹⁹ represents a typical collection “prepared” from publications devoted to a single composer. This tablature comprises almost complete copies of madrigals by Giordano Conversi (C 3545), Giovanni Dragoni (D 3492, D 3493) and Luca Marenzio (M 549). Also, one of the volumes of Pelplin tablature²⁰ contains a complete copy of madrigals by Francesco Terriera (T 538).

Evidently then, a quantitative profile of madrigal reception in organ tablaturs is shaped by single-composer collections. The most frequently repeated intabulations on the other hand, originated from anthologies. Other sources, essential for the transmission of this repertory comprise printed instrumental works, popular in the particular area. Looking for concordance between handwritten madrigals with the printed instrumental anthologies, one can conclude that some publications could be influential in the local reception. (Schmidt²¹, Ammerbach²², Kregel²³, Denss²⁴). Perhaps Georg Gothardt and Johannes Fischer were familiar with these publications. Similarly, reper-

tory in Oliwa and Legnica tablatures is close to collected compositions by Johannes Rude²⁵ and Jean Baptiste Besard²⁶.

The smallest group, although best reflecting the assimilated reception of madrigal repertory consists of compositions, which became models for manuscripts of contrafacta and parodies. The majority of the originals was known to local authors through anthologies. Exceptions here are contrafacta of the complete collection of madrigals by Marco Scacchi (S 1131), preserved in Silesian manuscript Cat. No. Bohn Mus. ms. 197²⁷ in addition to contrafacta and parodies of *Magnificat* by Orazio Vecchi (V 1010, V 1047, V 1050), found in Frankfurt (Oder)²⁸ and Wrocław²⁹ manuscripts and in the tablature of Pelplin³⁰ and Legnica Cat. No. 99³¹.

Although madrigals were frequently printed as works of single composers, anthologies contributed to their wide popularity. Local authors produced contrafacta and parodies modeled on compositions from anthologies. Examples here are *Donna crudel, tu m'hai rubato il core* by Giovanni Ferretti (F 512, 1589⁸), transmitted through Fischer's tablature as *Ego flos campi*³², *Io mi son giovinetta* by Domenico Ferrabosco (1542¹⁷) which became a model for German language contrafactum in partbooks from Stockholm³³ and Mass parodies, noted in two Wrocław manuscripts³⁴, and *O misero mio core* by Giulio Eremita (E 745, 1590²⁰), another common model of missa parodia³⁵. Especially noteworthy are the most famous compositions, copied in almost all local manuscripts as *Io son ferito ahi lasso* by Giovanni Palestrina or *Nasce la pena mia* by Alessandro Striggio (both in 1588²¹). From the latter compositions four contrafacta and six parodies were authored, testifying to its great popularity. Also compositions by Luca Marenzio³⁶, the best known madrigalist in Baltic countries, were transmitted mostly through anthologies (1589⁸, 1588²¹, 1591¹⁰).

Summarizing, in the diffusion process of the madrigal genre, both single-composer publications and anthologies were essential for musical reception. However, editions devoted to one composer contributed to the quantitative profile, while anthologies were responsible for qualitative value, corresponding to active reception. Data presented here support the postulate of Jeremy Roche: "The anthology is the sign of a flourishing musical activity"³⁷. This

study indicates that repertory transmitted through anthology reached a significantly wider audience and penetrated deeper in the consciousness of local composers. It influenced characteristics of local reception and the historical memory of the tradition.

**Sigla of prints appearing in the text according to the catalogue
RISM and *II Nuovo Vogel***

- A 1313** – Jacques Arcadelt: *Livre des Trios...*, Paris, R. Ballard 1601;
- A 1314** – Jacques Arcadelt: *Il primo libro di Madrigali a quattro...*, Venezia, A. Gardano 1539;
- C 3545** – Girolamo Conversi: *Il primo libro delle canzone a cinque voci...*, Venezia, G. Scotto 1571;
- C 3548** – Girolamo Conversi: *Il primo libro delle canzoni a cinque voci...*, Venezia, G. Scotto 1580;
- D 3492** – Giovanni Andrea Dragoni: *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque...*, Venezia, G. Scotto 1575;
- D 3493** – Giovanni Andrea Dragoni: *Il secondo libro di madrigali a cinque...*, Venezia, G. Scotto 1575;
- E 745** – Giulio Eremita: *Il secondo libro di madrigali a cinque*, Venezia, R. Amadino 1589;
- F 512** – Giovanni Ferretti: *Canzone alla napolitana...*, Venezia, G. Scotto 1567;
- F 517** – Giovanni Ferretti: *Canzoni napolitane a cinque voci...libro primo...*, Venezia, G. Scotto 1581;
- G 59** – Andrea Gabrieli: *Il primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci*, Venezia, A. Gardano 1566;
- G 72** – Giovanni Ferretti: *Il secondo libro de madrigali a sei voci*, Venezia, A. Gardano 1580;
- H 2335** – Hans Leo Hassler: *Canzonette a quattro voci...libro primo...*, Nürnberg, C. Gerlachin 1590;
- H 2339** – Hans Leo Hassler: *Madrigali a 5. 6. 7. & 8. Voci...*, Augsburg, V. Schönigk 1596;

- L 767** – Orlando di Lasso: *Il primo libro di madrigali a quattro voci, insieme alcuni madrigali d'altri autori...*, Venezia, A. Gardano 1560;
- M 522** – Luca Marenzio: *Madrigali a sei voci ridotti in un corpo...*, Antwerpen, P. Phalèse, J. Bellère 1594;
- M 549** – Luca Marenzio: *Il quattro libro de madrigali a cinque...*, Venezia, A. Gardano 1584;
- M 572** – Luca Marenzio: *Madrigali a cinque voci, ridotti in un corpo...*, Antwerpen, P. Phalèse, J. Bellère 1593;
- M 584** – Luca Marenzio: *Madrigali a quattro voci...novamente ristampati...*, Nürnberg, P. Kauffmann 1603;
- M 3339** – Philippe de Monte: *Il primo libro de' madrigali a sei voci...*, Venezia, C. da Correggio, 1569;
- M 3811** – Bernardino di Mosto: *Madrigali a cinque...*, Antwerpen, P. Phalèse, J. Bellère 1588;
- P 1991** – Peter Philips: *Il primo libro de madrigali a sei voci...*, Antwerpen, P. Phalèse, J. Bellère 1596
- R 738** – Jacob Regnart: *Il primo libro delle canzoni italiane a cinque voci...*, Wien, J. Mair 1574;
- R 753** – Jacob Regnart: *Il secundo libro delle canzoni italiane a cinque voci...*, Nürnberg, K. Gerlach & J. B. Erben 1581;
- R 1295** – Teodore Riccio: *Il primo libro delle canzone napolitane a cinque voci...*, Nürnberg, K. Gerlach & J. B. Erben 1577;
- R 3067** – Vincenzo Ruffo: *Il primo libro de madrigali cromatici...*, Venezia, A. Gardano 1552;
- S 45** – Ippolito Sabino: *Madrigali a sei voci...libro primo...*, A. Gardano 1579;
- S 1131** – Marco Scacchi: *Madrigali a cinque conceratati da cantarsi su gli stromenti...*, Venezia, B. Magni 1634;
- S 1146** – Antonio Scandello: *El primo libro de le Canzone Napolitane a quattro...*, Nürnberg, A. Neuber 1566;
- S 1156** – Antonio Scandello: *Il secundo libro de le Canzoni Napolitane a quattro...*, München, A. Berg 1577;

- S 6956** – Alessandro Striggio: *Il primo libro de madrigali a sei voci...*, Venezia, A. Gardano 1579;
- T 538** – Francesco Terriera: *Il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci...*, Venezia, G. Vincenti 1606;
- V 1010** – Oratio Vecchi: *Canzonette...libro primo a quattro voci*, Venezia, A. Gardano 1590;
- V 1020** – Oratio Vecchi: *Canzonette a quattro voci...*, Nürnberg, C. Gerlach 1593;
- V 1029** – Oratio Vecchi: *Canzonette a quattro voci...*, Nürnberg, C. Gerlach 1593;
- V 1047** – Oratio Vecchi: *Più e diversi Madrigali e Canzonette a 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. & 10 voci...*, Nürnberg, C. Gerlach 1594;
- V 1050** – Oratio Vecchi: *Convito Musicale...*, Venezia, A. Gardano 1597;
- NV 2863** – Stefano Venturi del Nibbio: *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci...*, Venezia, A. Gardano 1592;
- 1526**⁶ – *Canzoni, frottole et capitoli. Da diversi eccellentissimi musici...Libro Primo...*, Roma, G. G. Pasoti et V. Dorico 1526;
- 1533**² – *Il Primo Libro de Madrigali di Verdelotto...*, Roma, A. Antico 1533;
- 1534**¹⁵ – *Madrigali novi...Libro primo de la serena...*, Roma, V. Dorico 1534;
- 1542**¹⁷ – *Il primo libro d'I madrigali de diversi eccellentissimi autori...*, Venezia, A. Gardano 1542;
- 1544**²² – *Dialogo della musica di M. Anton-Francesco Doni...*, Venezia, G. Scotto 1544;
- 1546**¹⁹ – *Madrigal di Verdelot e di altri...a sei voci...*, Venezia, A. Scotto 1546;
- 1557**¹⁹ – *Canzoni alla napolitana...Libro primo...*, Roma, V. Dorico 1557;
- 1560**¹² – *Il primo libro delle Vilotte alla napolitana de diversi eccellentissimi authori a tre voci...*, Venezia, A. Gardano 1560;
- 1567**¹³ – *Secondo libro delle fiamme madrigali a cinque et sei voci...*, Venezia G. Scotto 1567;
- 1581**¹⁰ – *Madrigali a cinque voci di Giovan Mario Nanino et di Annibale Stabile...*, Venezia, A. Gardano 1581;

- 1583¹⁵ – *Musica divina di XIX. Autori illustri...*, Antwerpen, P. Phalèse 1583;
- 1583¹⁰ – *Il lauro verde. Madrigali a sei voci composti da diversi eccellenti musici...*, Venezia, V. Baldini 1583;
- 1585¹⁷ – *Sdegnosi ardori. Musica di diversi auttori sopra un istesso soggetto la parole, a cinque voci raccolti da Giulio Gigli da Immola...*, München, A. Berg 1585;
- 1585¹⁹ – *Symphonia angelica di diversi eccellentissimi musici...*, Antwerpen, P. Phalèse, J. Bellère 1583;
- 1586¹⁹ – *Fiamma ardente de madrigali et canzoni, a cinque voci...*, Venezia, G. Vincenti 1586;
- 1588²¹ – *Gemma musicalis: Selectissimas varii stili cantiones vulgo italis madrigali et napolitane dicuntur...Friderici Lindneri...liber Primus...*, Nürnberg, C. Gerlach 1588;
- 1589⁸ – *Liber secundus Gemmae Musicalis...Friderici Lindneri...*, Nürnberg, C. Gerlach 1589;
- 1589⁸ – *Harmonia celeste di diversi eccellentissimi musici*, Antwerpen, P. Phalèse, J. Bellère 1589;
- 1590¹⁷ – *Symphonia angelica di diversi eccellentissimi musici...*, Antwerpen, P. Phalèse, J. Bellère 1594;
- 1591⁸ – *Il lauro verde. Madrigali a sei voci...*, Antwerpen, P. Phalèse, J. Bellère 1591;
- 1591¹⁰ – *Melodia olympica di diversi...*, Antwerpen, P. Phalèse, J. Bellère 1591;
- 1591¹¹ – *Musica divina di XIX. autori illustri...*, P. Phalèse, J. Bellère 1591;
- 1590²⁰ – *Tertius Gemmae musicalis liber...*, F. Lindneri Nürnberg, C. Gerlach 1590;
- 1594⁸ – *Symphonia angelica di diversi eccellentissimi musici...*, Antwerpen, P. Phalèse, J. Bellère 1594;
- 1597²¹ – *Canzonette a tre voci di Horatio Vecchi e di Giovanni Capilupi da Modena*, Venezia, A. Gardano 1597.

Notes

- 1 Among many publications concerning adaptation of madrigal in England and Germany, most important are: Edmund H. Fellowes, *The English Madrigal Composers*, London 1921; Joseph Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal. A Comparative Study*, American Musicological Society [Studies & Documents, Vol. IV], New York 1962; Karl Vossler, *Das deutsche Madrigal. Geschichte seiner Entwicklung bis in die Mitte des XVIII Jahrhunderts*, Weimar, E. Felber 1898; Rudolf Schwartz, 'Hans Leo Hassler unter dem Einfluss der italiänischen Madrigalisten', *Vierteljahresschrift für Musikwissenschaft* IX (1893), p. 1–61.
- 2 Results of these studies are presented by the author in his work: *Madrygał w Europie północno-wschodniej. Dokumentacja — Recepcja — Przeobrażenia gatunku*, ed. Semper, Warszawa 2003.
- 3 See Maria Przywecka-Samecka, *Drukarstwo muzyczne w Europie do końca XVIII wieku*, Wrocław Ossolineum 1987, p. 70, 95–97, 126–128.
- 4 See Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, Princeton, New Jersey 1949, Vol. II, p. 576–606.
- 5 The basis for the following remarks is information from accessible catalogues of old and new collections of libraries: Emil Bohn, *Bibliographie der Musik-Druckwerke bis 1700, welche in der Stadtbibliothek, der Bibliothek des Akademischen Instituts für Kirchenmusik und in der Königlichen- und Universitätsbibliothek zu Breslau aufbewahrt werden*, Berlin 1883; Theodore Carstenn, 'Katalog der St. Marienbibliothek zu Elbing', *Kirchenmusikalische Jahrbuch* XI (1896); Åke Davidsson, *Catalogue critique et descriptif des imprimés de musique des XVIe et XVIIe siècles conservés dans les bibliothèques suédoises (excepté la Bibliothèque de l'Université royale d'Upsala)*, Upsala 1952; Åke Davidsson, *Catalogue critique et descriptif des imprimés de musique des XVIe et XVIIe siècles conservés à la Bibliothèque de l'Université royale d'Upsala*. Vol. II-III, Upsala 1951; Aniela Kolbuszewska, *Katalog zbiorów muzycznych legnickiej biblioteki księcia Jerzego Rudolfa "Biblioteka Rudolfiną"*, Legnica 1992; Friedrich Kuhn, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Alten Musikalien — Handschriften und Druckwerke — der Königlichen Gymnasium zu Brieg*, Leipzig 1897; Janina Mendysowa, *Katalog zbiorów muzycznych XVI, XVII i XVIII w. Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego*, Warszawa 1970; Rafael Mitjana, *Catalogue critique et descriptif des imprimés de musique des XVIe et XVIIe siècles conservés à la Bibliothèque de l'Université royale d'Upsala*, Vol. I : *Musique Religieuse*, Upsala 1911; Emil Vogel, Alfred Einstein, François Lesure, Claudio Sartori, *Il Nuovo Vogel. Bibliografia della Musica Italiana Vocale Profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700*, Pomezia 1977; Ernst Pfudel, *Mitteilungen über die Bibliotheca Rudolfina der Königliche Ritter-Akademie zu Liegnitz. Königliche Ritter-Akademie zu Liegnitz. Oster-Programm*, Vol. I-III, Liegnitz 1876–1878; *Répertoire Internationale des Sources Musicales. Serie A. Einzeldrucke vor 1800*, Vol. I-XIV, ed. Karlheinz Schlager, Kassel-Basel-Tours-London 1971; *Répertoire Internationale des Sources Musicales. B/I, Recueils imprimés XVI-XVII siècles. Ouvrage publié sous la direction de François Lesure. I. Liste Chronologique*, München 1978.
- 6 The same titles are also repeated in the well known book catalogue of Zacheusz Kesner. These are: *Musica divina...*(1583¹⁵) *Symphonia angelica...*(1585¹⁹, 1590¹⁷ or 1594⁸) and a few examples of the very popular *Gemma musicalis...*(1589⁸ and 1590²⁰).

- See Tomasz Czepiel, 'Zacheus Kesner and the Musik Book Trade at the Beginning of the 17th Century: An Inventory of 1602', *Musica Iagellonica* II (1997) p. 23–69.
- 7 See Karl Vossler, *Das deutsche Madrigal...*, op. cit.
 - 8 Brzeg Mus. K. 28 [*Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400–1550. Compiled by the University of Illinois Musicological Archives for Renaissance Manuscript Studies*, American Institute of Musicology, Hänssler-Verlag 1988, Vol. IV, p. 158: WrocU 28] — handwritten additions to prints L 933, K 992, G 2588, c. 1587, presently: Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Cat. No. K. 28 [*olim* Brzeg, biblioteka Gymnasium Illustre]; Brzeg Mus. K. 52 [*Census-Catalogue*, Vol. IV, p. 164: WrocU 52] — partbooks written after *Septem psalmi* A. Utendala 1570 (U 119), 16th Century, presently: Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Cat. No. K. 52 [*olim* Brzeg, biblioteka Gymnasium Illustre].
 - 9 Five partbooks. 16th Century; Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Slg. Bohn. Mus. ms. 10 [*olim* Breslau, Stadtbibliothek]. See Emil Bohn, *Die musikalischen Handschriften des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau*, Breslau 1890, p. 31.
 - 10 Handwritten supplements of five partbooks, added to publication of J. Regnart (R 753), presently in Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, Mus. I 92/I-2. See Aniela Kolbuszewska, op. cit., pp. 69–70.
 - 11 Stockholm 32 [*Census-Catalogue*, vol. III (1980), p. 160: StockKM 32] — four partbooks, 16th century, handwritten supplements to the publication of J. Kerle (K 447), Stockholm, Kungliga Musikaliska Akademiens Biblioteket, MS Tyska Kyrkans Samling, No. 32; Stockholm 45 [*Census-Catalogue*, vol. III, p. 162: StockKM 45] — one partbook c. 1560–1570, Stockholm, Kungliga Musikaliska Akademiens Biblioteket, MS Tyska Kyrkans Samling, No. 32, entirely from Stockholm 229; Stockholm 229 [*Census-Catalogue*, Vol. III, p. 158: StockKB 229] — two partbooks, c. 1560–1570, Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, Cat. No. MS Hol. S 229: 1-2, entirely from Stockholm 45.
 - 12 *Codex carminum gallicorum*, lute tablature, c. 1550, Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, Cat. No. Vok. Mus. hs 87. See Bengt Hambraeus, *Codex carminum gallicorum* [*Studia Musicologica Upsaliensia*, vol. VI], Uppsala 1961.
 - 13 Choirbook containing French lute notation, c. 1570–1590, Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, Cat. No. Vok. Mus. Hs 76b. See Robert Stevenson, 'The Toledo Manuscript Polyphonic Choirbooks and some other lost or little known Flemish Sources', *Fontes Artis Musicae* XX/3 (1973), p. 91.
 - 14 Organ tablature by Jan from Lublin, c. 1537–1548, Kraków, Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Cat. No. ms. 1716.
 - 15 Organ tablature of the Holy Ghost Convent in Cracow, c. 1548, Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, Cat. No. ms. 564, manuscript lost.
 - 16 Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Slg. Bohn Mus. ms. 357 [*olim* Breslau, Stadtbibliothek]. See Richard Charteris, *Newly Discovered Music Manuscript from the Private Collection of Emil Bohn*, American Institute of Musicology — Hänssler-Verlag Holzgelingen 1999.
 - 17 Tablature of Johannes Fischer from Morağ, *Liber secundus*, c. 1595, Archiwum Wojewódzkie w Bydgoszczy, oddział w Toruniu, Kat. II, XIV, 13a and *Liber primus* (c. 1594) reconstructed on the basis of contents found on the cover of the manuscript.

- See Michał Siciarek, *Tabulatura Johanna Fischera z Morąga jako źródło muzyki organowej i zespołowej praktyki wykonawczej przełomu XVI wieku. Praca magisterska napisana pod kierownictwem prof. Jerzego Gołosa w Katedrze Źródeł i Analiz Muzyki Dawnej*, Warszawa 1995; Tomasz Jeż, *Spis treści tomu pierwszego tabulatury Johanna Fischera z Morąga*, *Muzyka* 44:4 (1999), pp. 83–112.
- 18 Wilno, Biblioteka Litewskiej Akademii Nauk sygn. F 15-284. See Jan Janca, *Oliwskie tabulatury organowe (ok. 1619). Nowe źródła do historii muzyki w Gdańsku i na Warmii*, 'Kultura Muzyczna Północnych Ziem Polski' 6. *Muzyka w Gdańsku wczoraj i dziś II*, Gdańsk 1992, pp. 63–92.
- 19 See Ernst Pfudel, *Musik-Handschriften der Königlichen Ritter-Akademie zu Liegnitz*, Leipzig 1886, p. 52.
- 20 Biblioteka Seminarium Diecezjalnego w Pelplinie, Cat. No. 308a, fol. 106v-112v. See *The Pelplin Tablature*, ed. A. Sutkowski, A. Osostowicz-Sutkowska, "Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia" Graz 1963, Vol. VII, pp. 196–212 (nr. 883-899).
- 21 *Zwey Bücher Einer Neuen Kunstlichen Tabulatur auff Orgel...Bernhard Schmid...*, Strasburg, B. Jobin 1577.
- 22 *Orgel oder Instrument Tabulaturbuch... Eliam Nicolai Ammerbach...*, Nürnberg, C. Gerlach 1583.
- 23 *Tabulatura nova... Gregorium Krengel...*, Frankfurt/O., A. Eichorn 1584.
- 24 *Florilegium omnis fere generis... per Adrianum Denss...*, Köln, G. Grevenbruch 1594.
- 25 Johannes Rude, *Flores musicae...*, Heidelberg, Voeglin 1600.
- 26 Jean Baptiste Besard, *Thesaurus harmonicus...*, Köln, G. Grevenbruch 1603.
- 27 Presently: Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz [*olim* Breslau, Stadtbibliothek]. See Emil Bohn, *Die musikalischen Handschriften...*, op. cit., p. 169.
- 28 Frankfurt Ad. 51 — handwritten supplements of prints by M. Ferrabosco (F 258), 16th century, Warszawa, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Cat. No. Sdm 73 [*olim* Frankfurt/O., Biblioteka Akademii; next: Bibliothek des Musikalischen Instituts bei der Universität Breslau, Ad. 51], nr 10; Frankfurt Ad. 163 — handwritten supplements of print V 1047, 16th century, Warszawa, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Cat. No. Sdm 74 [*olim* Frankfurt/O., Biblioteka Akademii; next: Bibliothek des Musikalischen Instituts bei der Universität Breslau, Ad. 163], nr 23.
- 29 Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz [*olim* Breslau, Stadtbibliothek]: Cat. No. Slg. Bohn. Mus. ms. 20, fol. 165v-166r; Cat. No. Slg. Bohn. Mus. ms. 21, fol. 87v-88r; Cat. No. Slg. Bohn. Mus. ms. 23, nr 146; Cat. No. Slg. Bohn. Mus. ms. 39, nr 8, 9; Cat. No. Slg. Bohn. Mus. ms. 109, nr 6, 7. See Emil Bohn, *Die musikalischen Handschriften...*, p. 169.
- 30 Biblioteka Seminarium Diecezjalnego w Pelplinie, Cat. No. 306, fol. 137v. See *The Pelplin Tablature*, ed. A. Sutkowski, A. Osostowicz-Sutkowska, "Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia" Graz 1963, Vol. IV, p. 274 (nr 428).
- 31 Nr 50. See Ernst Pfudel, *Musik-Handschriften der Königlichen Ritter-Akademie zu Liegnitz*, Leipzig 1886, p. 52.
- 32 Fol. 67r.
- 33 Stockholm 32, nr 33: *Ach Lieb gross Leid*.
- 34 Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz [*olim* Breslau, Stadtbibliothek]: Cat. No. Slg. Bohn. Mus. ms. 94, nr 17 and Slg. Bohn, Mus. ms. 97 nr 15.

- 35 Gdańsk, Biblioteka PAN, Cat. No. ms. 4006, nr 82; Gdańsk, formerly Stadtbibliothek, Cat. No. ms. 4012, nr 65 and Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz [*olim* Breslau, Stadtbibliothek]: Cat. No. Slg. Bohn. Mus. ms 105, nr 34.
- 36 See Tomasz Jeż, 'Recepcja madrygałów Luki Marenzia w Europie północno-wschodniej', *Muzyka* 47:4 (2003), p. 77–94.
- 37 Jeremy Roche, 'Anthologies and Dissemination of Early Baroque Italian Sacred Music', *Soundings. A Music Journal*, IV (1974), p. 6.

5

Polyphonic Arrangements of *Proprium* and *Ordinarium Missae* from the Braniewo Manuscript (UppsU 76f) in the Context of European Tradition

Agnieszka Leszczyńska

Institute of Musicology, University of Warsaw

In University Library of Uppsala, there are three handwritten partbooks: discant, alto and tenor (vok. mus. i hs. 76f), formerly property of the Braniewo Jesuit Collegium. In 1626, these books, together with other manuscripts and prints, were taken by the invading Swedes as a war trophy to Stockholm, and later arrived in their current place¹. The inscription “Collegii Braunsbergensis Societatis Jesu” visible at the bottom of the first page of each book demonstrates their origin. The set is incomplete — the bass part is missing².

Individual partbooks differ in size: discant has 66 leaves (9 folds), alto — 80 leaves (11 folds), tenor — 63 leaves (8 folds). They were written on different kinds of paper, provided with at least nine types of watermarks³. Three of them can be identified with specific regions. Paper marked with an eagle and crossed keys in a cartouch (first fold in all books), probably comes from Legnica; the one with watermark representing wild boar might originate in Świdnica and paper with Gdańsk coat of arms (second fold in alto book) was made presumably in this city⁴. This could suggest Silesian-Pomeranian derivation of a copyist. Almost the whole manuscript is written by one person (A), except for two last compositions written by scribes B and C and a set of Mass responses from the first page⁵. These responses were probably written on a blank page left by a first copyist after completion of the whole manuscript — in the book of alto on the first page one can recognize a trace of writing by a copyist B. In two other partbooks these

additions were done by D. Because all responses originally would not fit in the remaining space, the inside cover in each book contains a glued strip of paper with music notation on the two staves completing the content of the first page.

Each book is parchment-bound with Latin text, written with gothic minuscule. The voice is inscribed with bold letters, in alto book with the adjective (“ALT officiorum (?)”). This concise title describes content of the manuscript: *proprium and ordinarium missae*, total 82 anonymous compositions (see table on. pp. 72–75)⁶. Clearly, the manuscript was prepared for performers who were able to correlate specific texts with corresponding feasts of the liturgical year, because the liturgical purpose of the compositions was marked in only few instances.

Predominant in the manuscript are variable movements of the Mass: twenty-three verses of Alleluia, twenty Sequences, nineteen Introits, four Communions and two Graduals. Set of *proprium* corresponding to specific feast consists mostly of Introit, Alleluia and Sequence. Graduals and Communions appear only sporadically; there is not even one Offertory. In arrangements of *ordinarium*, there is a full Mass *Quem dicunt* and individual movements: five Kyrie, three *Gloria*, and one *Credo*, *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei*. In three arrangements of *Kyrie*, tropes were used: *Fons bonitatis*, *Surrexit Christus* and *Magne Deus potencie liberator*. The Braniewo manuscript contains also set of Mass responses and the hymn *Gloria laus et honor*. Presence of variety of Sequences and troped *Kyrie* might suggest that the manuscript was prepared before Council of Trent. It is, however, possible that it was written later and its content reflects local traditions, still ignoring recommendations of Council of Trent.

The author of the manuscript did not include full liturgical calendar. In general, he omitted ordinary Sundays. From *proprium de tempore* only important feasts are included, such as Revelation (annex no. 20), Palm Sunday (no. 59), Easter (two sets for Easter Sunday, no. 21-23, 50-55, and one for Easter Monday, no. 56-57), octave of Easter (no. 36-37), Pentecost (two sets no. 24-28, 38-41), Sunday of Holy Trinity (no. 47-49) and Ascension (no. 60-63). Surprisingly, there is no Christmas Officium here — perhaps it

exists in the separate manuscript. Among text arrangements from *proprium sanctorum* distinct are compositions ascribed to Marian feasts: Annunciation (no. 5-12), Birth of Mary (no. 42-43), Assumption (no. 44-46 and 80). Furthermore, there are Officia or its parts dedicated to the following saints: Philip and Jacob (no. 58), John the Baptist (no. 68-70), Margaret (no. 64-67), Mary Magdalene (no. 71-72), Anne (no. 76), Lawrence (no. 44-46, 77-79), Archangel Michael (no. 73-75), Martin and Andrew (no. 18, two texts), All Saints Day (no. 82) and also *propria* on martyrs' days (no. 29-31, 35) and the feast of the Dedication of a Church (no. 32-34). Two sets of *proprium* arrangements for St. Lawrence day presumably reflects special adoration of this saint. His birthday of August 10, according to folk tradition, was turning point for agricultural activities, starting fall season. Moreover, the so called "St. Lawrence blessing" supposedly protected against fire and sickness⁷.

Assuming, that individual compositions were incorporated into partbooks as needed, based on sequence of feasts in liturgical year, the manuscript was written possibly in at least seven years, because that many yearly cycles, however incomplete, are visible: I — no. 2-19, II — no. 20-35, III — no. 36-42, IV — no. 44-46, V — no. 47-49, VI — no. 50-75, VII — no. 76-82.

The Braniewo manuscript follows European tradition of preparing polyphonic arrangements *proprium missae*. Majority of these collections is characterized by clear and logical system corresponding to liturgical year. In comparison, the manuscript UppsU 76f seems chaotic, with blurred division between *proprium de tempore* and *proprium sanctorum*. Some important feasts were not included, for others musical arrangement was made twice. Also, the number of items within individual Officia ranges from one to eight, and movements of *ordinarium missae* appear irregularly. However, several features link Braniewo source with other collections containing variable portions of the Mass.

Manuscripts with *propria* were first written in the fifteenth century, but appeared more frequently after *Choralis Constantinus* by Heinrich Isaac⁸. This three-volume work, composed in 1508-1509, partly commissioned by the cathedral chapter in Constance, was printed in Nuremberg (1550-1555)⁹. Other early sixteenth century German sources containing arrangements of

proprium missae come from Annaberg (Ms. 1126, 1248), Jena (Ms. 30, 33, 35) and Weimar (Ms. A)¹⁰. A common feature of these manuscripts and Isaac's book and Braniewo source is lack of Offertories¹¹. This topic requires short commentary. Earliest polyphonic arrangements of this movement of the Mass are Offertories found in *Contrapunctus seu figurata musica super plano cantu missarum sollemnium totius anni* (Lyon 1528), at least some of these composed by Francesco de Layolle. In the mid-sixteenth century, Offertories become more common, as in the manuscript *Antiphonarium 4 vocum* from St. Gallen by Manfred Barbarini Lupus from Correggio¹², and then in the body of work by Orlando di Lasso (1582, 1585) and Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1593). According to Walter Lipphardt, the reason for reluctance which Renaissance composers exhibited towards polyphonic arrangements of Offertories, was that elaborate, melismatic choral singing did not fulfill the function of *cantus firmus*¹³. This hypothesis is not convincing, since for many composers it was not an obstacle. Rather, it seems that the presence or absence of such arrangements resulted from particular cultural tradition. This issue needs further studies, nevertheless preliminary analysis suggests that polyphonic Offertories were created mostly by French/Italian rather than German musicians. Undoubtedly, this was linked to domination of Lutheran liturgy, similar in many aspects to Catholic liturgy, but not containing Offertory¹⁴. Therefore, the Braniewo manuscript could have been created in protestant influenced region.

Most common for *Choralis Constantinus*, the set of Introit, Alleluia, Sequence and Communion appears only three times in the manuscript UppsU 76f — in Masses of Annunciation, Pentecost and St Margaret. The typical Braniewo Officium consists in general of only the first three elements, without Communion, but sometimes expanded by movements of *ordinarium*, not seen in Isaac's work.

In the Braniewo manuscript one can find analogies to many feasts from *Choralis Constantinus*. This refers especially to second volume by Isaac: fifteen out of twenty-five *Officia* correspond to items in Jesuit collection¹⁵. These similarities, however, derive mainly from universally celebrated holy days, although texts from both sources are not always identical for a particular

day. Notable exception is the Officium in honour of St. John the Baptist, for which both sources contain the same texts of Introit, Alleluia and Sequence. Saint Margaret's and Saint Anne's days are present in Braniewo partbooks, but are absent in *Choralis Constantinus*. *Proprium missae* in honour of St. Margaret is one of the three most complete sets in the Braniewo manuscript, since it includes Communion. This distinction might suggest special role of St. Margaret in environment where the manuscript was prepared. Perhaps she was the saint honoured by some important person? One Sequence refers to St. Anne. It is noteworthy, that already in the fourteenth century, the cult of the saint was popular in Poland, especially in the Silesian region¹⁶.

Some analogies to the Braniewo manuscript one can find also in the oldest polyphonic manuscript of Wawel chapel (Archives of Cracow Cathedral Chapter, Ms. 1.3)¹⁷, dated by Mirosław Perz and Elżbieta Zwolińska as mid sixteenth century¹⁸. Both collections start with sets of Mass responses, both contain parts of *proprium* and *ordinarium missae*, both have many Sequences. Wawel source contains mostly Marian holy days, also Easter and Pentecost. Some texts present in Wawel source appear also in UppsU 76f, e.g., in Officium framework for Annunciation, both sources used the same texts of Introit, Gradual, Alleluia, Sequence and Communion. In the Braniewo manuscript, this Mass belongs to the most complete ones, because it contains (besides movements mentioned above), also *Kyrie*, *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei*. However, in comparison with Wawel source (existing in three versions) it lacks *Gloria*, Offertory and *Deo gratias*. Presence of Offertories in Wawel manuscript is one of the clear differences between Wawel and the Braniewo manuscripts. Generally, however, one can point out common tradition pertinent to these sources: both collections are purely utilitarian, destined for the cultural environment in which they were created. Supposedly similar features displays the manuscript 92 from the former Municipal Library in Wrocław, containing Officia for the most important feasts of the year. In this source, as in the Braniewo manuscript, one can find Mass responses and troped movements of *ordinarium*, e.g. *Kyrie Fons bonitatis*¹⁹.

As stated earlier, none of the compositions in the Braniewo manuscript supply name of the composer. However, in some instances, searching for

concordance was successful. Authors of *Census Catalogue* demonstrated more than twenty years ago that the composer of the Mass *Quem dicunt homines* is Jean Mouton²⁰. This composition belongs to genre *missa parodia* and is based on the motet by Jean Richafort. The Mass has been published in the collection *Liber decem missarum* by Jacques Moderne in Lyon (1532, second edition 1540). It is also preserved in a few manuscript copies, basically matching the printed version²¹. Nobody knows, however, what was a basis for the Braniewo version. In comparison to earlier known sources there are small and also rather large changes, as quite different arrangement in three *tempora* of movement *Kyrie* I²². The Mass by Mouton consists of four items: *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Credo*, *Sanctus*, and then *Agnus Dei* is performed in musical arrangement identical to *Kyrie*. In almost all known sources after *Sanctus* appears the annotation: “Agnus dei ut supra Kyrie eleison”²³. The manuscript UppsU 76f does not have such annotation, however in each partbook a copyist left several blank staves, probably in order to complete last part of the Mass in the future. Perhaps in the source, from which a copy was made, lack of *Agnus Dei* did not have appropriate commentary, which could indicate incompleteness of writing. A segment *Pleni sunt coeli* of the Mass *Quem dicunt homines* is designed to be performed by three voices — alto, tenor and bass. In the Braniewo discant book, after *Sanctus* appears the remark: “Pleni obmutescit quia cantare nescit” (“Pleni becomes silent because does not know how to sing”). Humorous sentences of this kind one encounters in various utilitarian music manuscripts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, e.g., Netherlandish: they were helpful hints, but probably also aimed at entertaining choristers, tired from singing for a long time.

Recently I identified four other compositions from the Braniewo manuscript in *Officia paschalia de Resurrectione et Ascensione Domini* published by Georg Rhau (Wittenberg, 1539)²⁴. These are three pieces authored by Johannes Galliculus: *Gratias agimus tibi*, i.e. organ *Gloria* (UppsU 76f no. 22), *Pascha nostrum immolatus est* (no. 23) and *Resurrexi et adhuc tecum* (no. 50), all from the first *Officium de resurrectione* and also one movement *Alleluia Pascha nostrum* (no. 54) composed by Conrad Rein, from the third *Officium de resurrectione*. Compositions in Rhau’s book, especially items of *proprium*

composed by Johannes Galliculus, were very popular in the sixteenth century, which was evident from their presence in manuscripts of those times²⁵. It is also noteworthy, that in the manuscript belonging to Jesuit Collegium, which served the mission of recatholicizing in Warmia region, compositions of protestant derivation also existed. For average user though, its provenance was not clear due to anonymity of transmission. On the other hand, Braniewo Jesuits were able to cope with music materials from “heretical” printing houses, simply by crossing out names of protestant printers and composers or any text incompatible with Catholic doctrine²⁶.

It is worthwhile to point out certain musical characteristics of the Braniewo manuscript. There is no independent plainsong or monophonic intonations, while in many polyphonic arrangements of *proprium missae*, presence of longer or shorter chant fragments constituted the norm (e.g. intonations in *Choralis Constantinus* and plainsong in Wawel manuscript 1.3). Depending on the composition, *cantus firmus* appears in tenor or discant; usually its beginning is characterized by notes of long, equal values, the following part is free-flowing, although sometimes notes of long values return in the middle or in the end of the particular composition. A curiosity in this manuscript is Communion *Factus est repente de coelo sonus* (no. 28), first part of which was written as three-voice score only in discant book — the word “coro” was noted on the margin. Although second part (*Advenientis spiritus*), was inscribed to all partbooks, the composition as a whole was written for upper voices. Perhaps this was to create the effect *imitazione della natura* — voices from heaven imitated by means of register discant-alto.

Manuscript UppsU 76f probably was prepared for several years in the mid-sixteenth century. Dates of publications containing compositions of Mouton, Galliculus and Rein, identified in the Braniewo collection, as Lyon print (1532 or 1540) and Wittenberg print (1539) demarcate *terminus post quem*. Due to the presence of numerous Sequences and troped *Kyrie*, this manuscript was written presumably not later than the seventies of the sixteenth century, when gradually postulates of Council of Trent were followed. It is not known, whether the manuscript was written in Jesuit Collegium of Braniewo. Hypothetical dating of the collection as middle of the sixteenth century ex-

cludes this possibility, because Warmian institution was established in 1565. Braniewo library collections originated mostly from local post-Franciscan sources, then a variety of books were presented as gifts and some were bought from Collegium funds²⁷. The Braniewo Franciscan convent started to deteriorate and depopulate already in the twenties of the sixteenth century²⁸. Therefore, it is not likely, that somebody in this troubled environment prepared a manuscript designed for a group of well-trained musicians. Perhaps collection of polyphonic arrangements of *proprium* and *ordinarium missae* was a gift to Braniewo Collegium and previous owners possibly decided to get rid of the collection, because it became partially outdated after Council of Trent. It seems unlikely that the manuscript was made by Jesuits. Still the relatively young convent did not have composers or *maestri di capella*. Music for the services was the responsibility of secular musicians or other clergymen²⁹. Founder of the convent, Ignatius Loyola, was sceptical about too much music in liturgy, which is evident from the corresponding paragraph in Constitutions of Jesuit Society³⁰. His close collaborator, Hieronim Nadal, in the instruction given to Viennese Collegium in 1566, permitted polyphony only in *ordinarium missae* and *Magnificat*; Vesper psalms were allowed only in *falsobordone* style, in other cases singing was limited to plainchant. Exceptions to this rule were possible only during especially solemn feasts and after permission being granted from Collegium's rector or a provincial³¹. Obviously, these strict rules rather quickly became impractical. Nevertheless, the hypothetical Jesuit scribe would not have had a chance yet, in the middle of the sixteenth century, to prepare such a vast collection of polyphonic music. Therefore, the manuscript UppsU 76f was made probably not only outside Braniewo, but also not by Jesuits. As claimed earlier, some features of this source suggest its Silesian origins. Two, or maybe even three kinds of paper (out of nine) used in partbooks supposedly came from Silesian manufactures (Świdnica, Legnica, possibly Nysa). Also, the presence of a Sequence devoted to St. Anne could be associated to Silesian cult of this saint. One cannot forget though about paper from Gdańsk used in this manuscript. Other characteristics of UppsU 76f, such as presence of compositions from protestant

prints and consistent avoidance of Offertory arrangements, presumably indicates founding of this collection under strong influence of Lutheran culture.

Although establishing the exact origin of this manuscript is not yet possible, its very presence in the Braniewo Collegium makes it part of Polish culture. It is important for at least several reasons. Firstly, it represents unique evidence of reception in our country of masterpiece by Jean Mouton, one of the outstanding composers of Josquin's epoch. Secondly, the manuscript is the only known source functioning in the sixteenth century Poland, which contains so vast, regarding liturgical purpose, polyphonic arrangements of movements of *proprium missae*, including texts belonging to *sanctorale*, typical of European tradition. Finally, this manuscript is interesting evidence of assimilation of protestant repertoire by Catholics. In the majority of cases, as in Gdańsk manuscripts, adaptation occurred in the opposite direction: Catholic repertoire was seized by Lutherans.

Content of manuscript (vok. mus. i hs. 76f) from University Library in Uppsala

No.†	Title (incipit of the text)	Liturgical genre	Feast‡
1.	<i>Et cum Spiritu Sancto</i>	Mass Responses	
2.	<i>Kyrie Fons bonitatis</i>		
3.	<i>Gloria</i>		
4.	[Jean Mouton] Officium <i>Quem dicunt</i> (<i>Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus</i>)		
5.	<i>Rorate coeli</i>	Introit	Annuntiatio BMV
6.	<i>Kyrie</i>		
7.	<i>Tollite portas, 2 p. Quis ascendet</i>	Gradual	Annuntiatio BMV
8.	<i>Alleluia Prophetae sancti praedicaverunt</i>	Alleluia	Annuntiatio BMV
9.	<i>Mittit ad Virginem / Fortem expediat</i>	Sequence	Annuntiatio BMV
10.	<i>Sanctus</i>		
11.	<i>Agnus</i>		

† Compositions in the manuscript are not numbered.

‡ Texts occurring many times in the liturgical calendar were linked with the feast, with which texts of adjacent compositions were connected in the Braniewo manuscript. Cases for which corresponding feasts were not found in any source were provided with the most probable feast and are flagged with a question mark.

12.	<i>Ecce Virgo concipiet</i>	Communion	Annuntiatio BMV
13.	<i>Patrem</i>		
14.	<i>Confessio et pulchritudo</i>	Introit	S. Laurentii martyris
15.	<i>Alleluia Levita Laurencius bonum opus</i>	Alleluia	S. Laurentii martyris
16.	<i>Stola iocunditatis alleluia</i>	Sequence	S. Laurentii martyris
17.	<i>Statuit ei Dominus testamentum pacis</i>	Introit	Commune confessoris
18.	[1] <i>Alleluia Martinus episcopus</i> / [2] <i>Alleluia Dilexit Dominus Andream</i>	Alleluia	[1] S. Martini Episcopi [2] S. Andreae Apostoli
19.	<i>Sacerdotem Christi Martinum / Atque illius nomen omnis hereticus fugit</i>	Sequence	S. Martini Episcopi
20.	<i>Ecce advenit dominator dominus</i>	Introit	Epiphania Domini
21.	<i>Kyrie Surrexit Christus</i>		Dominica Resurrectionis
22.	[Johannes Galliculus] <i>Gratias agimus tibi [Gloria]</i>		Dominica Resurrectionis
23.	[Johannes Galliculus] <i>Pacha nostrum immolatus</i>	Communion	Dominica Resurrectionis
24.	<i>Spiritus Domini replevit orbem</i>	Introit	Pentecostes
25.	<i>Alleluia. Emitte Spiritum tuum</i>	Alleluia	Pentecostes
26.	<i>Alleluia. Veni Sancte Spiritus</i>	Alleluia	Pentecostes
27.	<i>Veni Sancte Spiritus</i>	Sequence	Pentecostes
28.	<i>Factus est repente de caelo, [2 pars] Advenientis spiritus neherentis</i>	Communion	Pentecostes
29.	<i>In virtute tua Domine laetabitur</i>	Introit	Commune martyrum
30.	<i>Alleluia. Laetabitur iustus in Domino</i>	Alleluia	Commune martyrum
31.	<i>Hic sanctus cuius hodie recensentus solemnia / Iam revelata facia regem</i>	Sequence	Commune confessoris (Commune martyrum?)
32.	<i>Terribilis est locus iste</i>	Introit	Dedicatio ecclesiae
33.	<i>Alleluia. Vox exultationis et salutatis</i>	Alleluia	Dedicatio ecclesiae
34.	<i>Psallat ecclesia mater illibata</i>	Sequence	Dedicatio ecclesiae
35.	<i>Protexisti me Deus</i>	Introit	Commune martyrum
36.	<i>Alleluia. Surrexit pastor bonus ... pro ovibus</i>	Alleluia	Dominica II post Pascha
37.	<i>Alleluia. In die resurrectionis</i>	Alleluia	Dominica II post Pascha
38.	<i>Spiritus Domini replevit orbem</i>	Introit	Pentecostes
39.	<i>Alleluia. Emitte spiritum tuum</i>	Alleluia	Pentecostes
40.	<i>Alleluia. Veni sancte Spiritus</i>	Alleluia	Pentecostes
41.	<i>Veni sancte Spiritus / Veni pater pauperum</i>	Sequence	Pentecostes
42.	<i>Alleluia. Nativitas gloriosae</i>	Alleluia	Nativitas BMV
43.	<i>Stirpe Maria regia procreata</i>	Sequence	Nativitas BMV

44.	<i>Gaudeamus omnes in Domino diem festum</i>	Introit	Assumptio BMV
45.	<i>Alleluia. Assumpta es Maria</i>	Alleluia	Assumptio BMV
46.	<i>Congaudent angelorum chori gloriosa</i>	Sequence	Assumptio BMV
47.	<i>Benedicta sit sancta Trinitas</i>	Introit	Ss. Trinitatis
48.	<i>Alleluia. Benedictus est Domine</i>	Alleluia	Ss. Trinitatis
49.	<i>Benedicta semper sancta sit Trinitas</i>	Sequence	Ss. Trinitatis
50.	[Johannes Galliculus] <i>Resurrexi et adhuc tecum sum. Alleluia posuisti super me manum</i>	Introit	Dominica Resurrectione
51.	<i>Kyrie</i>		
52.	<i>Gloria</i>		
53.	<i>Haec dies</i>	Gradual	Dominica Resurrectione
54.	[Conrad Rein] <i>Alleluia Pascha nostrum</i>	Alleluia	Dominica Resurrectione
55.	<i>Victimae paschali laudes</i>	Sequence	Dominica Resurrectione
56.	<i>Feria secunda Paschae Introduxit nos Dominus in terram florentem</i>	Introit	Feria II post Pascha
57.	<i>Alleluia. Nonne cor nostrum ardens erat</i>	Alleluia	Feria II post Pascha
58.	<i>Phil. et Iacobi Apostolorum Exclamaverunt ad te Domine in tempore afflictionis</i>	Introit	Ss. Philippi et Jacobi Apostolorum
59.	<i>Gloria laus et honor</i>	Hymn	Dominica in Palmis
60.	<i>Viri galilei quid admiramini</i>	Introit	Ascensio Domini
61.	<i>Alleluia. Ascendit Deus in iubilacione</i>	Alleluia	Ascensio Domini
62.	<i>Alleluia. Dominus in Sina sancto ascendens</i>	Alleluia	Ascensio Domini
63.	<i>Rex omnipotens die hodiernae</i>	Sequence	Ascensio Domini
64.	<i>Gaudeamus omnes in Domino diem festum</i>	Introit	Commune virginum (S. Margaritae?)
65.	<i>Alleluia. O Margaretha virtutum gramine freta</i>	Alleluia	(S. Margaritae?)
66.	<i>Margaretam preciosam sponsam / A gentili patre nata</i>	Sequence	S. Margaritae
67.	<i>Communio Quinque prudentes virgines</i>	Communion	Commune virginum (S. Margaritae?)
68.	<i>De ventre matris meae</i>	Introit	Nativitas Ioannis Baptistae
69.	<i>Alleluia. Erat Ioannes predicans in deserto</i>	Alleluia	Nativitas Ioannis Baptistae
70.	<i>Sequentia Sancti Baptistae Christi preconis</i>	Sequence	Nativitas Ioannis Baptistae
71.	<i>Mariae Magdalenaee Alleluia. Maria hac est illa cui dimissa sunt</i>	Alleluia	S. Mariae Magdalenaee
72.	<i>Laus tibi Christe qui es creator</i>	Sequence	S. Mariae Magdalenaee

73.	In die Michaelis <i>Benedicite Domino omnes angeli eius</i>	Introit	Dedicatio S. Michaelis Archangeli
74.	<i>Alleluia. Concussum est mare</i>	Alleluia	Dedicatio S. Michaelis Archangeli
75.	<i>Summi Regis archangele Michael / Intende</i>	Sequence	Dedicatio S. Michaelis Archangeli
76.	De Sancta Anna <i>Nardus spirat in odorem / Salus redit ex</i>	Sequence	S. Annae
77.	De S. Laurentio <i>Confessio et pulchritudo</i>	Introit	S. Laurentii martyr
78.	<i>Alleluia. Levita Laurentius bonum opus</i>	Alleluia	S. Laurentii martyr
79.	<i>Stola iucunditatis alleluia</i>	Sequence	S. Laurentii martyr
80.	De assumptione BMV <i>Congaudent angelorum chori</i>	Sequence	Assumptio BMV
81.	<i>Kyrie magne Deus potencie liberator</i>		In festis duplicibus
82.	<i>Omnes sancti Seraphin, cherubin</i>	Sequence	Omnium sanctorum

Notes

- 1 Józef Trypućko, 'Próba rekonstrukcji biblioteki Kollegium Jezuickiego w Braniewie wywiezionej w r. 1626 przez Szwedów', w: *Dawna książka i kultura. Materiały międzynarodowej sesji naukowej z okazji pięćsetlecia sztuki drukarskiej w Polsce*, ed. Stanisław Grzeszczuk, Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, Wrocław 1975, pp. 207, 210.
- 2 All identified compositions are four-voice, therefore the original manuscript presumably consisted of four partbooks.
- 3 Description of the manuscript UppsU 76f contained in *Census Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400–1550*, ed. Charles Hamm, Herbert Kellmann, vol. III, Stuttgart 1984, p. 263 includes only one mark similar to no. 1155 from: Charles M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier*, vol. I, Leipzig 1923. It is a filigran of paper used in the first fold of each partbook.
- 4 See Kazimiera Maleczyńska, *Dzieje starego papiernictwa śląskiego*, Wrocław 1961, pp. 163–164, Jadwiga Siniarska-Czaplicka, 'Papier druków oficyn gdańskich i toruńskich XVI i XVII w.', *Roczniki Biblioteczne* 18:1-2, (1974), p. 287. The second author lists also as typical for Nysa paper manufacture a filigran representing lily: such a mark appears in the eighth fold of the alto book. However, paper with a lily was produced in various European centres, so Silesian origin of these few pages in a discussed manuscript is questionable.
- 5 Mass responses are singing answers of the choir in the dialogue with a priest, e.g., "Et cum spiritu tuo", "Habemus ad Dominum", "Gloria tibi Domine".
- 6 With the exceptions of *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Credo* and *Sanctus* from the Mass *Quem dicunt* constituting an integral whole, every other movement of *ordinarium* or *proprium* was treated as a separate unit.

- 7 Vera Schauber, Hanns Michael Schinder, *Święci na każdy dzień. Patroni naszych imion*, transl. by Bogusław Widła, Warszawa 2000, p. 415.
- 8 Philip Cavanaugh, 'Early Sixteenth-Century Cycles of Polyphonic Mass Propers — An Evolutionary Process or the Result of Liturgical Reforms?', *Acta Musicologica* 48:2 (1976), p. 151.
- 9 Reinhard Strohm, 'Isaac, Heinrich', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, second edition, ed. Stanley Sadie, John Tyrell, vol. 12, London 2001, p. 579.
- 10 P. Cavanaugh, loco cit.
- 11 See P. Cavanaugh, pp. 162–165.
- 12 J. Georg Eisenring, *Zur Geschichte der mehrstimmigen proprium missae bis um 1560*, Düsseldorf 1913, pp. 75–78, 176; Arnold Geering, 'Barbarini Lupus, Manfred', in *The New Grove Dictionary...*, vol. 2, p. 685.
- 13 Cf. Joseph Dyer, 'Offertory', in *The New Grove Dictionary...*, vol. 18, p. 357.
- 14 Friedrich Blume, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchenmusik*, Kassel-Basel 1965, p. 33.
- 15 Cf. R. Strohm, op. cit., p. 585.
- 16 Wojciech Danielski, Stanisław Wojtowicz, 'Anna św.', in *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. I, ed. Feliks Gryglewicz, Roman Łukaszyk, Zygmunt Sułowski, Lublin 1973, p. 623.
- 17 Analysis of content on the basis: *Musicalia vetera. Thematic Catalogue of Early Manuscripts in Poland*, vol. 1: *Collections of Music Copied for Use at Wawel*, fasc. 3, ed. Zofia Surowiak-Chandra, Kraków 1976.
- 18 Mirosław Perz, Elżbieta Zwolińska, 'Do dziejów kapeli rorantystów w XVI stuleciu oraz biografii Krzysztofa Borka', *Muzyka* 16:2 (1971), p. 40.
- 19 Emil Bohn, *Die musikalische Handschriften des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau*, Breslau 1890, pp. 105–107.
- 20 *Census Catalogue...*, p. 263.
- 21 Ioannes Mouton, *Opera omnia*, ed. Andreas C. Minor, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 43, vol. III, American Institute of Musicology 1969, pp. XI–XII.
- 22 Three measures in contemporary transcription: I. Mouton, op. cit., p. XI.
- 23 I. Mouton, op. cit., p. XI.
- 24 Contemporary transcription in Georg Rhau, *Musikdrucke aus den Jahren 1538–1545 in Praktische Neuauflage*, vol. 8: *Officia paschalia de Resurrectione et Ascensione Domini, Wittenberg, 1539*, ed. Robert L. Parker, Kassel 1988, pp. 11–15, 22–27, 54–57, 100–103.
- 25 Victor H. Mattfeld, 'Galliculus, Johannes', in *The New Grove Dictionary...*, vol. 9, p. 473.
- 26 See Agnieszka Leszczyńska, 'Recepcja XVI-wiecznych protestanckich druków muzycznych w Braniewskim Kolegium Jezuickim', in *Muzyka wobec tradycji. Idee — dzieło — recepcja*, ed. Szymon Paczkowski, Warszawa 2004, pp. 191–197.
- 27 Jakub Lichański, 'Katalog der Bibliothek des Collegium Societatis Jesu in Braniewo (Braunsberg)', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok-och Biblioteksväsen* 76:1 (1989), p. 4.
- 28 Stanisław Achremczyk, Alojzy Szorc, *Braniewo*, Olsztyn 1995, p. 153.
- 29 T. Frank Kennedy, 'Jesuits', in *The New Grove Dictionary...*, vol. 13, p. 19.
- 30 John W. O'Malley, *Pierwsi jezuici*, translated by Piotr Samerek, Kraków 1993, p. 244.
- 31 T. F. Kennedy, op. cit.

6

The Compositions of Johann Anton Losy in Lute Tablatures from Krzeszów

Ewa Bielińska-Galas

National Library, Warsaw

The hand-copied set of lute tablatures from the Cistercian Abbey in Krzeszów (German: Grüssau), dating from the first half of the eighteenth century, provides one of the indications of a rich and varied musical life which was developing in Silesia at that time. It contains at least eleven books¹ which, in spite of currently being dispersed between the National Library in Warsaw, Warsaw University Library and Wrocław University Library, demonstrate their common origin in the abbey library through the owner's inscriptions present in the majority of the preserved volumes that testify to their provenance. Additional evidence for the existence of a link between the tablatures and the abbey is provided by the title, given in two of the volumes², which explains their content, and names a Cistercian monk, Hermann Kniebandl, a member of the Krzeszów convent, as the person instrumental in the creation of the manuscripts. The tablatures contain an enormous quantity of material which includes over 1500 compositions of various kinds. For the most part these are dances, sequenced freely or ordered into tonal groups or into suites and *parties*. A smaller part of the collection contains transcriptions of German and Latin religious chants. One might hypothesize that these were written down in about 1745, by a terminally ill monk towards the end of his life, as he reminisced about the past while thinking about his future salvation and life eternal to the accompaniment of his favorite instrument. The majority of the compositions is for solo lute, although there are some for lute accompanied

by other instruments and others adapted for two lutes. Compositions by two musicians from the German-speaking area stand out from among the rest. The first, whose identity is disguised by the anagram “Melante”, is Georg Philipp Telemann, who was musical director of the chapel at the court of Count Erdmann Promnitz in Żary (Sorau) in Silesia during the years 1704–1708. The manuscript containing compositions for two lutes includes two suites by this composer, *Partie Polonoise*³ being one of them. The second composer is Silvius Leopold Weiss from Wrocław, whose compositions, taken from the Krzeszów books, were used before the Second World War as a source for an edition of lute music from the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries⁴. Apart from German music, the set of tablatures from Krzeszów includes works attributed to other composers, mainly Austrian, Bohemian and Silesian. For the most part, however, this instrumental repertory, imported to cater for local needs and testifying to the indigenous creative activity and the musical interests of the community, does not give names of composers. The identification and investigation of particular parts of this historical resource (which has not been edited in detail so far, perhaps because its value has been underestimated) requires complex comparative research devoted to finding their counterparts in other sources⁵.

As an initial step towards discovering the links and convergences between the Krzeszów collection and other anthologies, and as a possible direction of research, the decision was taken to choose the anonymously transmitted compositions of the Bohemian lutenist, Johann Anton Losy, as the subject of investigation. This musician was born around 1650 into a rich family from Switzerland, at the family castle near Strakonice in southern Bohemia, and died in Prague in 1721. From his father, who distinguished himself in the 30-year war during the defence of Prague against the Swedes, he inherited the title of Count von Losinthal together with an enormous fortune⁶. Articles published in the *Journal of the Lute Society of America* attempted to create an index of the composer’s works, scattered throughout the early eighteenth-century sources of lute music⁷. The scholars emphasised the difficulties this project posed, since the lutenist’s music has not survived to our day “in his own hand”, but in the form of copies written by other musicians or collec-

tors. Manuscript sources, like the Krzeszów tablatures, often do not attribute authorship to him in the title of the composition. On the other hand, concordances at times relate to two authors, and thus provide conflicting information. Only one of Losy's works was published during his lifetime: *Courante extraordinaire*, included in the collection *Cabinet der Laute* by Philipp Franz Le Sage de Richée⁸, dating from 1695. The latter, a lutenist and composer of French extraction, working in Wrocław, included in his collection his own compositions as well as works of prominent French lutenists. The composition by Losy was included as an example and an ornament to the collection, as was emphasised in the introduction. The striking frontispiece of the printed volume showed angels lifting a curtain, behind which appeared books with the names Mouton, Dufaut, Gaultier; the Bohemian composer was particularly distinguished by having his name, Losy, appear on the volume placed at the top. The Wrocław edition of this printed volume and its contents also provide evidence that at the end of the seventeenth century playing artistic lute music began to be concentrated in Central Europe, and thus mainly in the German-speaking countries, in Austria, Bohemia and Silesia. The Krzeszów tablature currently held at Wrocław University Library also contains a copy of performance instructions from the printed collection of Ph. F. Le Sage de Richée⁹.

German theorists — contemporaries of the musician from Bohemia — attempted to evaluate his work. Ernst Gottlieb Baron, in a work published in Nuremberg six years after Losy's death, *Historisch-theoretische und praktische Untersuchung des Instruments der Lauten*, perceived in the works of the "famous maestro" — as he referred to Losy — a combination of Italian elements, such as the pleasant-sounding *cantabile*, and new French elements, full of depth and artistic qualities¹⁰. Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel, in his report published in 1749 in the work by Johann Mattheson *Grundlage zu einer Ehrenpforte*, described this style as full-sounded playing¹¹. The Bohemian composer thus modified the *brisé* style, characteristic of the structure of lute and French music, based on spaced chords and arpeggios, in favour of a clearer melody and bass line.

In addition to over 100 works by J. A. Losy identified by Emil Vogl¹² and

the 50 compositions added to this list by Tim Crawford¹³, the Krzeszów tablatures were found to contain 19 of his works. They are mainly contained in two manuscripts: National Library in Warsaw, ref. no. Mus. 396 Cim., and Warsaw University Library, ref. no. Ms. RM 4139 (*olim* Ms. Mf. 2006). Additionally, two other volumes of Krzeszów tablatures¹⁴, held at Warsaw University Library, repeat the minuet in C major from the manuscript held at the National Library. The compositions are notated using French tablature notation for the 11-course lute, tuned in a manner which took its shape in the middle of the seventeenth century: *f' d' a f d A*, extended by a further five courses descending diatonically to *C*, retuned in accordance with the tonality of the composition.

Compositions in the tablature held at the National Library

The greatest number of works by J. A. Losy were found in the tablature held at the National Library. It is not surprising that the most frequently represented composition among them is the minuet, which was regarded as the most tasteful, and therefore became the most often copied dance form at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Other compositions include: the air, the bourrée, the echo, the gavotte, the chaconne and the rondo. These are small compositions, from 12 to 86 bars. The dances usually have a two-part construction, where each part is included within a repetition sign and realizes the harmonic plan in which the first part finishes with a dominant and the second returns to the basic mode. The first parts are almost always constructed from two identical four-bar segments, differing only in the ending. The second parts are usually larger and at times contain segments of irregular, odd construction which results from stylization. The structure of the compositions is simple, usually two-voice, with the melodic line located in the higher plane and the accompanying bass line strengthened by chords at accented points and cadences. The chaconne is a theme with nine variations in the form of a characteristic constant melodic-harmonic formula. The differences between variations consist mainly in speeding up or slowing the movement and in transposing the octaves. The form closest to the pure Italian style seems to

be the rondo, with recurring sections of the composition in a flowing crotchet rhythm which seems to be an attempt to imitate on the lute the single voices of string instruments with irregularly spaced chords. The symmetrical refrain in the basic key is divided by two longer and tonally differentiated couplets. The Bohemian lutenist's enthusiasm for French music, and particularly for the art of J. B. Lully, is apparent in the three-part form of the echo, where the first part returns as the third. The work is characterised by motifs of various lengths, repeated by the lute and an undefined bass instrument, as indicated by the performance notes present in the manuscript.

These compositions, depending on their tonality, were placed in different parts of the tablature, where the division into tonal groups is strictly observed. This might be regarded as evidence of the practical character of the manuscript. Biographical facts from the life of Hermann Kniebandl¹⁵, for whom the tablature was probably written, testify to the interest in listening to and in performing music of such kind in this area. In 1729 he was designated abbot of the provostship of the Cistercian monastery in Cieplice Śląskie (Warmbrunn), not far from Krzeszów. His interest in lute music can be guessed at on the basis of events which took place in 1734, when he was publicly admonished for loose discipline, worldly intercourse with the visitors, unworthy of a monk, and holding holy day feasts in the monastery refectory with musical accompaniment. The aristocratic Schaffgotsch family, one of the most influential families in the principality of Świdnica-Jawor, with whom the Cistercian monk had contacts, may have provided another centre of interest in lute music in this area. Evidence for this is provided by his participation in the first Mass of Count Philipp Gotthard Schaffgotsch. Moreover, traces of lute tablature were found later in the library of the Schaffgotsch family who, after the dissolution of the monastery in Cieplice in 1810, moved to the premises vacated by the Cistercians.

During the baroque period, compositions for solo lute or for two lutes usually circulated as manuscripts. In order to confirm the authorship of the compositions of Count Losy, and at the same time to discover the possible sources of their reception, a search was carried out for analogous works in

music anthologies of similar type. I would like to draw attention to the most important collections of such kind:

	Number in index V (Vogel's) C (Crawford's)	Tablatures from Krzeszów	Title	Key	Number of bars	Concordances
1.	V 109	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PL-Wn 396, f. 18v-19 	<i>Aire</i>	C	19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • S-Klm 21.072, f. 73v-74 (<i>Gavott de comte Loge</i>) • S-K 4a, f. 8v-9 (<i>Gavotte de Mons^r CL</i>) • S-Sk S 174, f. 25-26 (<i>Aria</i>)
2.	C 21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PL-Wn 396, f. 89v-90 	<i>Bourrée</i>	d	16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • S-Klm 21.072, f. 79 (<i>Bourree de comte Loge</i>)
3.	V 45 V 103	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PL-Wn 396, f. 199-200 	<i>Echo</i>	g	48	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A-KR L 83, f. 48v-49 (<i>Echo de Monseur Comte Logi</i>) • A-KN 1255, f. 61-62 (<i>Echo</i>) • D-B 40077 • CZ-Bm A 3329, f. 30 (<i>Echau de M le Comte Logis</i>) [angelica]
4.	V 74	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PL-Wn 396, f. 122v-123 	<i>Gavotte</i>	F	12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CZ-Pu II.Kk.77, f. 102-103 [guitar] • CZ-Pnm X Lb 209, f. 12v [guitar]

5.	V 46	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PL-Wn 396, f. 123v-125 	<i>Chaconne</i>	F	41	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A-Wn 17706, f. 50-51 (<i>Chaconne du C. Logis</i>) • A-KR L 78, f. 7v (<i>Ciacona</i>) • D-B 40068, f. 29v-30v (<i>Chaconne</i>) • S-Klm 21.068, f. 9 (<i>chiaconne</i>) • S-Klm 21.072, f. 79v (<i>chiacone</i>) • S-L Wenster G 34, f. 10 (<i>chaccon</i>) • S-Sk S 174, f. 31
6.	C 6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PL-Wn 396, f. 32v-33 • PL-Wu RM 4140 (olim MF. 2008), f. 50 • PL-Wu RM 4141 (olim MF. 2009), f. 61 	<i>Menuete</i>	C	24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • D-Gs 84k, f. 41v-42 (<i>Menuet de Logy</i>) • S-Klm 21.072, f. 63 (<i>Menuett du Comte de Logij</i>) • S-K 4a, f. 6 • US-Nyp *MYO (Music Reserve), f. 6v
7.	V 32	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PL-Wn 396, f. 96v-97 	<i>Menuete</i>	d	22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • US-Nyp *MYO (Music Reserve), f. 78 (<i>Menue C. Logi</i>)
8.	V 31	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PL-Wn 396, f. 113v-114 	<i>Menuete</i>	F	16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A-Gö II, f. 52v (<i>Menuet du C. Logij</i>)
9.	C 44	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PL-Wn 396, f. 179v-180 	<i>Menuete</i>	G	20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A-Etgoëss V, f. 24v-25 (<i>Menuet C:L:</i>) • A-Wn 18761, f. 10v (<i>Menuette</i>)

10.	V 62	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PL-Wn 396, f. 258v-259 	<i>Menuete</i>	a	24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • D-B 40627, f. 3v-4 (<i>Menue</i>) • CZ-Pu II.Kk.77, f. 74-75 • PL-Kj 40633, f. 8 (<i>Menuet</i>) • A-GÖ II, f. 93v (<i>Menuet</i>)
11.	V 112	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PL-Wn 396, f. 15v-16 	<i>Rondeau</i>	C	86	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • F-B 279.152, f. 23 (<i>Rondeau du Comte de Logies</i>) • D-Gs 84k, f. 40 (<i>Rondeaux</i>) • GB-Hadolmetsch II.B2, f. 181 (<i>Rondeau par Weiss</i>) • S-Klm 21.072, f. 77v78 (<i>Rondeau du meme Losy</i>) • S-L Wenster G 37, f. 21 (<i>Rondeau</i>) • US-Wc M. 2 1.T2.18B, f. 36 • S-K 4a, f. 5v-7 (<i>Rondeaux d' Comte Logie</i>) • CZ-Bm D 189 [mandora]

Concordances of the Krzeszów compositions have mainly been found in manuscript tablatures of Austrian-Bohemian provenance. In the Bohemian manuscripts the works of Losy have been preserved mainly in the form of transcriptions for the guitar or other plucked instruments¹⁶. Musical counterparts of these compositions have also been found in guitar tablatures from the old collection of the Lobkowitz family. An important element in establishing the authorship of the dances turned out to be in this case the fact that the works were grouped under a common title: *Pièces composée par le Comte Logis*. Compositions from the Krzeszów manuscript correspond also to the equivalent transcriptions for the angelica and the mandora from the Moravian

Benedictine monastery in Rajhrad¹⁷. The contents of the Krzeszów book also show links with two lute manuscripts of Bohemian provenance, at present held outside the Czech boundary¹⁸. The earlier one of the two, held in Berlin, is a tablature written in the years 1694–1695 by a Cistercian monk, Bernhard Zwixtmeyer, who probably came from the monastery in Vyšší Brod (Alto vadus, Hohenfurth) in southern Bohemia. The monk, who lived in a Prague seminary close to the palace of Count Losy, might have been a member of a group of lute-playing friends centred around the Bohemian musician¹⁹. The second tablature, from the years ca. 1710–1735, purchased at an auction after the Second World War by the Public Library in New York, comes from the already mentioned Moravian monastery in Rajhrad. It contains single concordances of minuets with the composer's name in the title of the work. It should be emphasised that both the lute manuscripts and the Krzeszów book are linked by the person of the Prague composer and lutenist Anton Eckstein, a few of whose works are found precisely in these sources. He had connections with the house of Count Losy, not only family ones but also, perhaps like the Cistercian monk Zwixtmeyer, through participation in concerts given at the palace of the Bohemian composer²⁰.

Among Austrian manuscripts, repertory analogies with the Krzeszów book are mainly apparent in lute tablatures originating from local monasteries. Among them are compositions from the books of the Benedictine abbey at Kremsmünster²¹, from the Augustinian library in Klosterneuburg²² and the Benedictine monastery in Göttweig²³. The minuet recorded in the last mentioned tablature, like the one from the Moravian Benedictines, is the only source of this work attributed to the composer so far located. For this reason the compositions of Count Losy transmitted through the records of some of the dances in the tablature from Ebenthal, from the library of Count Goëss²⁴ and from the Austrian National Library²⁵, are of significance.

The best documented composition of Count Losy is the rondo, for which eight concordances have been found, among them three with composer attribution. The range within which we find the composition is not limited to the Austrian-Bohemian region, but spreads to the west to French sources, and to the north to British and Swedish collections. Among the French con-

cordances there is a manuscript dating to 1699, copied by a great enthusiast of the lute and the theorbo, Jean-Etienne Vaudry de Saizenay²⁶, a pupil of the French lutenist Robert de Visée, who had connections with the French court. The way in which the compositions of the Bohemian lutenist have been widely scattered might have been caused by the travelling he undertook after finishing his studies at the University of Prague when, as was the custom, he probably visited Italy, France, the Netherlands and in particular Germany, where he excelled at the art of lute improvisation. However, the dispersal of Count Losy's work throughout various parts of Europe seems more likely to be the result of his great popularity among his own social group, as well as among other aficionados or enthusiasts of the lute. Numerous preserved transcriptions of his work, not only for plucked instruments but for keyboard ones as well, testify to this fact. For this reason the compositions contained in the Swedish lute and keyboard tablatures²⁷ deserve particular attention. Among the lute sources, one should mention the tablature from 1715, bought by Otto Frederik Stålhammar from Stockholm, with the music already notated. It contains mainly Austrian-Bohemian repertory, in which concordances with composer attribution have been found for four compositions from the Krzeszów book. This manuscript, like the tablature from Wrocław University Library, contains a copy of performance instructions from the Wrocław printed volume of Ph. F. Le Sage de Richée. Keyboard transcriptions of Count Losy's lute compositions, intended for performance at home, probably on a harpsichord or a clavichord, were noted in Stockholm tablatures. Of particular interest is the manuscript of Matthias Silvius Svenonis from about 1721. Compositions of the Bohemian lutenist have been juxtaposed there with, among others, the works of Anders Düben the younger, from a well-known family of musicians who came from Bohemia to Germany, and then to Sweden. Düben, who during the years 1699–1726 directed the court chapel there, was instrumental in bringing the works of many foreign composers into the Swedish collections.

A decisive majority of the sources containing works by Count Losy which provide concordances for the compositions in the Krzeszów tablatures is older than the manuscripts from the Cistercian abbey in Silesia. The most recent

source where a concordance was found is a record of composition in a tablature from Haslemere dating from around 1750–1770, belonging to the private library of the Dolmetsch family (characteristically, with an attribution to Weiss)²⁸.

Compositions in the tablature from Warsaw University Library

Another important source from Krzeszów containing Losy's compositions is the tablature from Warsaw University Library, entitled: *Concertus diversi / Pro Testudine / cui accedunt varia instrumenta: chalameau / Viole a'Amour, Hautbois Viol: / et Basson / Authorum diversorum*. It contains cycles of chamber compositions for the lute with other instruments, such as viola d'amore, chalumeau, oboe and bassoon. The records of these compositions for ensembles are limited to notating the lute part and giving general information about the set of players needed for a performance. Making a record of the composition in such manner did not, however, make it impossible for the manuscript to function as an independent musical source. The lute part in these compositions was a complete musical source, from which it could be performed as a solo. The existence of a set of instrumental voices was not a condition of performance in this case, although one cannot exclude the possibility that records of such voices did exist but were lost long ago. In performance practice, depending on the make-up of the group of musicians in a given centre, such compositions were arranged through adding other instruments to the lute, e.g., doubling the part of the lute in the upper octave, which might have constituted a normal procedure in an ensemble of this kind.

The cycle without composer attribution which is ascribed to Count Losy, placed as the last part of the collection, has a note: *Z/Concertus 15/NB vio. dgab.*, and thus one may suppose it was intended for the lute and the viola da gamba. The parts are arranged in a suite in A major with the classical arrangement *allemande–courante–sarabande–gigue*, supplemented by *bourrée*, *echo*, *minuet* and *passepied ad libitum* as the trio for the minuet. Out of the two kinds of *courante* in the suite we have the Italian kind, which is testified

to by such features as: fast tempo, using chords above all in the cadences, and holding the longer parts of the composition in a uniform quaver movement.

In view of the lack of composer attribution, and the unusual grouping of these parts, a number of doubts arise as to the authenticity of authorship of particular sections. For the majority of lute manuscripts of that time it was characteristic to link into a cyclical composition those dances written in the same key. S. L. Weiss can serve as an example of a composer who organised works he wrote earlier in this manner. One cannot exclude the possibility that the same method was employed in arranging the suite by Count Losy, whom Weiss admired very much (N.B. he wrote a very expressive *tombeau* in Losy's honour). Compilers of anthologies often went so far as to juxtapose suites from the works of different composers. For this reason the minuet and the *passepied* from the Krzeszów suite, in view of the lack of concordances with other sources, may temporarily be ascribed to the composer until other transmissions have been found. We have greater certainty as to the authorship in the case of the *allemande*, the *courante* and the *echo*, which carry composer attributions in the Swedish keyboard tablature of M. S. Svenonis and in a later lute tablature of the Dolmetsch family from Haslemere. Concordances of the *allemande*, the *sarabande* and the *echo* from the Krzeszów suite are also to be found in manuscripts written on the initiative of members of aristocracy of that time²⁹. An example of this can be the tablature of Lord Danby, identified with William Henry Osborne, a young enthusiastic lutenist, who, with his brother, received music lessons and participated in chamber concerts in the intellectual circles of Hanover and Hamburg during the years 1706–1711. These parts appear in this tablature in juxtaposition with another *courante*, *minuet* and *bourrée*, following the practice of creating suites which has been discussed earlier. The last part of the cycle in this anthology is a *gigue* by Count Losy but, again, a different one from that in the Krzeszów tablature. Since the *bourrée*, the *sarabande* and the *gigue* have no composer attribution in any of the related sources, one has to rely mainly on the context for ascribing authorship in this case as well.

	Number in index V (Vogel's) C (Crawford's) (?) attribution dubious	Tablatures from Krzeszów	Title: Z/ <i>Concertus</i> 15/NB <i>vio. dgab</i>	Key	Number of bars	Concordances
12.	V 107	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> PL-Wu RM 4139 (<i>olim</i> Mf 2006), k. 24 	<i>Allemande</i>	A	18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> US-R Vault M2.1.D 172, f. 61 A-Harrach, f. 52 S-Sk 4a, f. 23v (<i>Suite de Mons Comte Logie, Allemande</i>) [G major]
13.	V 23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> PL-Wu RM 4139, k. 24v 	<i>Courante</i>	A	51	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A-Wn 18761, f. 14 (<i>Courrente</i>) GB-Hadolmetsch II.B2, f. 32 (<i>Courante Logi</i>)
14.	C 24 (?)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> PL-Wu RM 4139, k. 25 	<i>Bourrée</i>	A	24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> D-Gs 84k, f. 3v
15.	C 3 (?)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> PL-Wu RM 4139, k. 25 	<i>Sarabande</i>	A	24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> US-R Vault M2.1.D 172, f. 64 A-Harrach, f. 55
16.	V 113	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> PL-Wu RM 4139, k. 25v 	<i>Echo</i>	A	57	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> US-R Vault M2.1.D 172, f. 67 A-Harrach, f. 54 S-Sk 4a, f. 22v (<i>Echo de Mons. Comte Logie</i>) [G major]

17.	C 25 (?)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PL-Wu RM 4139, k. 26 	<i>Menuet</i>	A	21	-
18.	C 25a (?)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PL-Wu RM 4139, k. 26 	<i>Passepied ad libitum</i>	A	22	-
19.	C 26 (?)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PL-Wu RM 4139, k. 26v- 27 	<i>Gigue</i>	A	101	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A-Wn 18761, f. 16v

Work on identifying the repertory of the Krzeszów tablatures allows one to put forward the hypothesis that the group of Silesian manuscripts contained another book which has been preserved. Our attention was drawn to the lute tablature at present held in Stockholm in the collection of Stiftelsen Musikkulturens Främjande, described in the Swedish thematic catalogue by J. O. Rudén as the second manuscript (without shelf number) from the first half of the eighteenth century, probably of Austrian provenance³⁰. It contains repertory similar to that contained in the Krzeszów tablature, with compositions for two lutes³¹ among other suites bearing the names of the composers: Richter, Martin Prantl, Thielli and Melante. A number of dances common to both sources are recorded twice, in another place in the collection, as is the case with compositions from the tablature held at the National Library, in the two Krzeszów volumes already referred to³². Perhaps in both cases the repetition concerned the most popular compositions. The tablature held now in the Swedish collection also has the same manner of writing as the Krzeszów tablature. The manuscript, like the lute tablature of the monk Bernhard Zwixmeyer, was found before the Second World War in Berlin in the private collection of music documents collected and given a bibliographic

description by Werner Wolffheim³³. In June 1929 it was offered as lot No. 64 at an auction during which music libraries and owners of private collections could enrich their holdings with the music manuscripts and prints being sold off. From there the tablature made its way to Sweden, to Rudolf Nydahl's institute, which collected musical archive material. One cannot thus exclude the possibility that the manuscript containing the minuet by J. A. Losy is of Krzeszów provenance. Detailed source investigation may confirm this hypothesis.

	Number in index V (Vogel's) C (Crawford's)	Tablature from Krzeszów	Title	Key	Number of bars	Concordances
20.	V 34	S-Smf b.s., f. 58v	<i>Menuet</i>	c	23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A-KR L 78, f. 47 (<i>Menuet dal Loggi</i>) • A-Wn 18761, f. 27v (<i>Menuette</i>) • PL-Kj 40620, f. 129

This small part taken from the Krzeszów repertory, seen through the prism of the compositions of one musician from Bohemia, points to the presence of foreign music in Silesia, which was subject to a variety of influences. All it can provide is a point of departure for further work on the whole set of tablatures from Krzeszów in the context of other similar instrumental collections. Only such studies may reveal the criteria for selecting compositions for Cistercian lute manuscripts from the European music repertory at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Index of manuscripts:

A-KN 1225 – Klosterneuburg, Bibliothek des Augustiner Chorherrenstifts, Ms. 1225, ca. 1700-1710.

A-KR L 78 – Kremsmünster, Benediktinerstift, Ms. L 78, ca. 1700;

A-KR L 83 – Kremsmünster, Benediktinerstift, Ms. L 83, ca. 1700;

A-Wn 17706 – Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. Mus. 17706, 1690-1700;

- A-Wn 18761** – Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. Mus. 18761, 1720;
- A-GÖ II** – Göttweig, Benediktinerstiftsbibliothek, Musikarchiv, Ms. Lautentabulatur Nr. 2, 1715–1725;
- A-ETgoëss V** – Ebenthal, Grafen Goëss'sche Primogenitur – Fideikommiss – Bibliothek, Ms. V, 1675–1700;
- A-Harrach** – Vienna, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs, Archiv Graf Harrach, Nr 120, 1710–1737;
- CZ-Bm D 189** – Brno, Oddelení Hudebne Historické Moravského Muzea, Ms. D 189 (mandora), 18th-Century;
- CZ-Bm A 3329** – Brno, Oddelení Hudebne Historické Moravského Muzea, Ms. A 3329 (angelica), 18th-Century;
- CZ-Pu II.Kk.77** – Prague, Národní knihovna CRS - Universitní knihovna, Ms. II.Kk.77 (guitar), 18th-Century;
- CZ-Pnm X Lb 209** – Prague, Hudebni oddeleni Narodni Museum, Ms X Lb 209 (guitar), 18th-Century;
- D-B 40068** – Berlin, Preußische Staatsbibliothek Mus. Ms 40068, (Christoph Franz von Wolkenstein-Rodenegg), late 17th-Century;
- D-B 40077** – Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 40077 (missing);
- D-B 40627** – Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 40627, 1695;
- D-Gs 84k.** – Göttingen, Göttingen Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Philos. 84k, ca. 1710;
- F-B 279.152** – Besançon, Bibliotheque municipale, Ms. 279.152 (Saizenay I), 1699;
- GB-HAdolmetsch II.B2** – Haslemere, The Dolmetsch Library, Ms. II.B2, ca. 1750–1770;
- PL-Kj 40620** – Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Mus. Ms. 40620 (*olim* Berlin, Preußische Staatsbibliothek), 1702;
- PL-Kj 40633** – Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Mus. Ms. 40633 (*olim* Berlin, Preußische Staatsbibliothek), ca. 1750;
- S-Klm 21.068** – Kalmar, Kalmar läns museum, Ms. 21.068, ca. 1715;
- S-Klm 21.072** – Kalmar, Kalmar läns museum, Ms. 21.072, ca. 1715;

- S-L Wenster G 37** – Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket, Ms. Wenster G 37, 1712;
- S-K 4a** – Kalmar, Stangeliusskolan (Stangelius School), Musikhandskrift 4a, 1721;
- S-Sk S 174** – Stockholm, Kungl. biblioteket (Royal Library), ca. 1700 (keyboard instrument);
- S-Smf b.s.** – Stockholm, Stiftelsen Musikkulturens Främjande, first half of the 18th-Century;
- US-Wc M. 2 1. T2. 18B** – Washington, Library of Congress, , D.C., Music Division Ms. M. 2. 1. T2. 18B, ca. 1706–1711 (Lord Danby);
- US-R Vault M2.1.D 172.** – Rochester (N.Y.), Sibley Music Library Eastman School of Music Ms. Vault M 2.1 D 172, ca. 1706–1711 (Lord Danby);
- US-Nyp *MYO (Music Reserve)** – New York (N.Y.), New York Public Library at Lincoln Center, Music Division, Ms. US- Nyp *MYO (Music Reserve), 1710–1735;

Notes

- 1 PL-Wu: Ms. RM 4135 (*olim* Ms. Mf. 2001 a+b), Ms. RM 4136 (*olim* Ms. Mf. 2003), Ms. RM 4137 (*olim* Ms. Mf. 2004), Ms. RM 4138 (*olim* Ms. Mf. 2005), Ms. RM 4139 (*olim* Ms. Mf. 2006), Ms. RM 4140 (*olim* Ms. Mf. 2008), Ms. RM 4141 (*olim* Ms. Mf. 2009), Ms. RM 4142 (*olim* Ms. Mf. 2010), Ms. RM 4143 (*olim* Ms. Mf. 2011); PL-WRu 60019 Odds. Mus. (*olim* Ms. Mf. 2002); PL-Wn Mus. 396 Cim.
- 2 PL-WRu 60019 Odds. Mus. (*olim* Ms. Mf. 2002); PL-Wn Mus. 396 Cim.
- 3 Krystyna Wilkowska-Chomińska, 'Suita polska Telemanna', *Muzyka* 4:2 (1959), pp. 57–64.
- 4 'Lautenmusik des XVII/XVIII Jahrhunderts', in *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, Bd. 12, hrsg. von Hans Neemann, Braunschweig 1939.
- 5 The work will be made easier by the catalogues published in recent years by Ch. Meyer. These give the current location of the manuscripts, their external description, notation characteristics, comments on their origin and a content inventory, also taking into account sources from the territory of Poland: *Sources manuscrites en tablature. Luth et theorbe (c. 1500–c. 1800). Catalogue descriptif*. Publié par Christian Meyer, in *Collection d'Etudes Musicologiques*, Vol. 87 *Bundesrepublik Deutschland (D)*, Baden-Baden 1994, Vol. 90 *Österreich (A)*, Baden-Baden 1997, Vol. 93 *Republique Tchèque (CZ)*, *Hongrie (H)*, *Lituanie (LT)*, *Pologne (PL)*, *Federation de Russie (RF)*, *Slovaquie (SK)*, *Ukraine (UKR)*, Baden-Baden 1999.

- 6 Emil Vogl, 'Johann Anton Losy: Lutenist of Prague', *Journal of the Lute Society of America* XIII (1980) pp. 58–86.
- 7 Emil Vogl, 'The lute music of Johann Anton Losy', *Journal of the Lute Society of America* XIV (1981), pp. 5–58; Tim Crawford, 'New Sources of the Music of Count Losy', *Journal of the Lute Society of America* XV (1982), pp. 52–83.
- 8 Philipp Franz Le Sage de Richée, *Cabinet der Lauten*, [...], [Breslau] 1695 (2. ed. 1735).
- 9 PL-WRu 60019 Odds. Mus. (*olim* Ms. Mf. 2002).
- 10 Ernst Gottlieb Baron, *Study of the Lute (1729)*, transl. by D. A. Smith, Redondo Beach 1976, p. 68.
- 11 E. Vogl, 'The lute music...', op. cit., p. 15.
- 12 Ibidem, pp. 20–31.
- 13 T. Crawford, op. cit., pp. 58–62, 70–71.
- 14 Ms. RM 4140 (*olim* Ms. Mf. 2008); Ms. RM 4141 (*olim* Ms. Mf. 2009).
- 15 Ambrosius Rose, *Profeßbuch von Grüssau*, Köln 1990, p. 66; Rudolf Walter, 'Musikgeschichte des Zisterzienserklosters Grüssau', Kassel 1996, pp. 160–161 (*Musik des Ostens*, 15).
- 16 CZ-Pu II.Kk.77; CZ-Pnm MS X Lb 209; Jan Antonín Losy, *Pièces de guitarrre*, ed. Jaroslav Pohanka, Praha 1958, pp. 4, 10 (*Musica Antiqua Bohemica*, 38).
- 17 CZ-Bm 3329; CZ-Bm D 189.
- 18 D-B 40627; US-NYp *MYO (Music Reserve); Emil Vogl, 'Z loutnovych tabulatur ceskeho baroka', Prague 1977, p. 42 (*Musica Viva Historica*, 40).
- 19 E. Vogl, 'The lute music ...', op. cit., p. 11.
- 20 Emil Vogl, 'Aureus Dix und Antoni Eckstein, zwei Prager Lautenisten', *Die Musikforschung* XVII (1964), pp. 41–45.
- 21 A-KR L 78; A-KR L 83; Rudolf Flotzinger, *Die Lautentabulturen des Stiftes Kremsmünster. Thematischer Katalog*, Wien 1965, pp. 95, 104, 179 (*Tabulae Musicae Austriacae*, Bd. II).
- 22 A-KN ms. 1255; E. Vogl, 'Z loutnovych tabulatur...', op. cit., p. 53.
- 23 A-GÖ II; E. Vogl, 'Z loutnovych tabulatur...', op. cit., p. 40.
- 24 A-Etgoëss V; Douglas Alton Smith, 'The Ebenthal Lute and Viol Tablatures', *Early Music* 10:4 (1982), pp. 462–467.
- 25 A-Wn 17706; Elisabeth Meier, 'Die Lautentabulaturhandschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek 17. Und 18. Jahrhundert', Vienna 1974 (*Tabulae Musicae Austriacae*, Bd. VIII.); E. Vogl, 'Z loutnovych tabulatur...', op. cit., pp. 55–57; A. Koczirz, 'Wiener Lautenmusik im 18. Jahrhunderts, in *Das Erbe deutscher Musik* Bd. II/1, Wien-Leipzig 1942, pp. 4–5.
- 26 *Manuscrit Vaudry de Saizenay – Tablature de luth et de théorbe de divers auteus, 1699. Fac-similé des ms. 279.152-279.153 de Besançon*, Bibliothèque de la Ville, introduction de Claude Chauvel, Geneve 1980; E. Vogl, 'Z loutnovych tabulatur...', op. cit., pp. 50–51.
- 27 S-Klm 21.068; S-Klm 21.072; S-K 4a; S-L Wenster G 34; S-Sk S 174; Jan Olof Rudén, *Music in tablature. A thematic index with source descriptions of music in tablature notation in Sweden*, Stockholm 1981, pp. 109, 166, 123, 127, 130, 132, 142, 203 (*Musik i Sverige*, Vol. 5).
- 28 GB-Hadolmetsch II.B2.; T. Crawford, op. cit., p. 70.

- 29 A-Harrach; US-R Vault M2.1.D 172; Tim Crawford, ‘Lord Danby, Lautenist of “Quality”’, *Journal of the Lute Society* 25:2 (1985); also by the same author: *New sources...* p. 58ff.
- 30 J. O. Rudén, op. cit., pp. 39–41.
- 31 PL-Wu RM 4135.
- 32 Ms. RM 4140 (*olim* Ms. Mf. 2008); Ms. RM 4141 (*olim* Ms. Mf. 2009).
- 33 Werner Wolffheim, *Versteigerung der Musikbibliothek des Herrn Dr Werner Wolffheim*, vol. 2, Berlin 1929, p. 35.

7

Transformations of Multi-ethnic Musical Cultures of North-Eastern Poland

J. Katarzyna Dadak-Kozicka

Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University of Warsaw

The documentation of nineteenth-century Polish folklore, created by Oskar Kolberg¹, allows one to sketch a multidimensional picture of the culture of the countryside for almost all regions of Poland. The picture which emerges is characterized by two main features: the organic nature of that culture, and the fundamentality of the beliefs and the worldview shaped through contemplating the order of life. Life flows on a number of levels: the “cosmic” level (the journey of the sun and the moon across the sky, which determine the seasons and the times of day); the earthly level (the concrete, “regional” world of nature, i.e., the climate, the world of plants and animals, present in the symbolism of the rituals, and the world of man); and the supernatural, hidden level which is the source of all life. The two cycles of rituals which encompass the spiritual culture most fully, the yearly and the family cycles, complement each other very closely. They are mainly concerned with life, with what favours life and with what poses a threat to it. As a consequence of this multidimensional vision of life, involving rationality and intuition, senses and feelings, faith and will, art, and particularly ritual art (i.e., drama, which links poetry, music, dance and “stage-setting”), became the most natural way of expressing and transmitting culture. Folklore has been the deciding factor in ensuring the continuity and drawing power of traditional culture, which [now] seems inevitably doomed to extinction. The reason for this is that it no longer plays a part in learning the art of living, which demands effort, growth

and rebirth. Cutting off folklore from its religious-philosophical foundations brings about the extinction of many genres and functions of music, the social ties, a fellow feeling for people and for nature, while emphasizing music's function as a form of entertainment (such as recent dance repertory, which is often banal). In this way, folklore loses much of its artistic and educational (in the sense of encouraging wider development) value.

It is thus worthwhile to ask: is it the case that the traditional spiritual culture of the countryside, based on a synthesis of pagan and Christian beliefs and rituals, is inevitably undergoing gradual extinction under the influence of the fast-developing civilisation of the modern period? Does the impoverishment of rituality have to lead to the impoverishment of folklore? Does the uniqueness and value of regional folklore lie in its antiquity and conservatism, i.e., the archaism of music and rites, or in the truth and artistic originality, a richness of meanings and functions which play a decisive role in establishing the significance of art in the life of a community and each of its members? Can folklore today be a truly living art? If the regeneration of folklore is possible, must it have mainly local, regional character, or should it be national, or supranational? Or, perhaps, as some anthropologists of culture would have it², such questions do not make sense because every culture is equally interesting, valuable and original, in spite of constant change?

The significance of these questions was revealed during the writing of graduate diploma theses by three students from the Warsaw Academy of Music who came from north-eastern Poland: Ewa Laskowska, Dariusz Zimnicki and Anna Kozera³. They undertook research into the folklore of their region mainly because they wanted to get to know better the uniqueness and the value of the music and the culture with which they identify⁴. They also wanted to save their native folklore from oblivion and extinction; they all had in common the conviction that those aspects of it which are valuable and original are deeply rooted in history, and that the changes which have taken place in Europe since the Second World War, modern mass culture (and especially popular music) and market forces can constitute a threat to traditional art. Although all these students came from areas of cultural borderline, they had varying perspectives on the issues of the conservatism and distinctiveness of

their native folklore. This reflected the different character of the interaction [of their communities] with the neighbouring cultures and people of different religion, language or national tradition, and was also related to the perception of such interactions either as a threat or as a manifestation of a common tradition. All the students were aware of the multidimensionality of contemporary culture and the diversity of its socio-cultural basis. Each of them also categorized and explained this diversity in a slightly different way.

Ewa Laskowska⁵ researched the traditional music of Protestant inhabitants of Mazuria in the area of Szczytno (from the edge of Puszcza Kurpiowska, the Polish-German, Catholic-Protestant boundary). More specifically, she was researching what was preserved of that tradition by the few autochthonous inhabitants, who considered themselves its rightful heirs. Ewa Laskowska, being aware of the richness and complexity of the musical tradition of the Mazurian people, wanted to identify the Polish and German elements responsible for the uniqueness of this cultural tangle, created over centuries by Catholic and Protestant Mazurians living together. Under historical pressures they would at times change religion and language⁶; they would also undergo changes in their awareness of national identity. However, the dominant feature in their outlook was an attachment to their native land and, linked to it, the feeling of solidarity with its life, manifested, for instance, in the fact that the inhabitants of that area, even by the beginning of the twentieth century, regarded themselves first of all as Mazurians (“My great-grandparents and granny felt themselves in their hearts to be Mazurians — neither Germans nor Poles”)⁷. Defining the identity of Protestant Mazurians from the Szczytno area at the beginning of the twenty-first century (mainly through their statements and music-making) did not, however, succeed fully, as the community of people who used to live there had been broken up⁸ after the Second World War. Yet these people were heirs to a tradition centuries old, whose complex character is revealed in many ways, as for instance in the prayer written down [in a mixture of Polish and German] in the sixteenth century: “Ottsche nasch genze gyesz nanyebyesyech...”⁹.

Among the respondents (born just after the First World War) the majority regarded themselves as Germans, some as Mazurians; the cherished

songs had German texts. The respondents felt themselves to have been much wronged by recent history, deprived of a regional culture, rich at one time and practically nonexistent today. Decimated over a period of a quarter of a century (death of close relatives during the war and separation from neighbours and families who emigrated to Germany after 1945), they remembered with affection the days when their land was part of East Prussia. Some of them were aware of the fact that their ancestors once used to speak Polish. They were also aware that their tradition before the war was defined mainly through their Protestant religion and through living in a particular region (Mazuria). Clearly, Protestantism strengthened links with the German culture (as did the policy of Germanization by the conquerors; but the so-called “Polish Prussians” living in East Prussia would identify themselves as belonging to the Polish culture). The situation began to change when, in the 1930s, with Hitler’s victory, his movement began to “propagate the Pan-German heritage of these lands, and being Mazurian came to be regarded as a variety of Germanism. At that time multinationalism and multiculturalism in essence ceased to exist”¹⁰. It seems, however, that not everything had been lost at that time — there still existed a unity of spiritual culture and the folklore of the Mazurians. It was not until the advent of the horrors of the Second World War, which turned people against each other, and the post-war, spontaneous “meting out of justice” (i.e., persecution of those regarded as Germans), together with the anti-German policies of the authorities in the Polish People’s Republic, that the unity of the Mazurians and their traditions finally broke up. The majority identified themselves with Poland and Catholicism. The small number of German-speaking Protestants, treated with hostility, felt themselves alienated; trying to find a place for themselves in Germany, they were at times treated with equal hostility and some returned to Poland. Unfortunately, the sense of unity of the Mazurian people had been destroyed, and with it the previously shared culture and folklore.

The respondents of Ewa Laskowska, including her family, still at the turn of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, felt a strong bond with relatives and neighbours who had died during the Second World War. This solidarity with those who had been wronged (both the dead and those who emigrated

to Germany in the '50s and '70s in the twentieth century) was translated into a duty of keeping faith with the pre-war musical tradition. Regarding themselves as heirs of the culture of mainly German-speaking Protestant Mazurs, the respondents preserved mainly that which for them was associated with the pre-war, German lifestyle. (For example, the Protestants from the church in Pasy meet after services conducted in Polish in order to sing songs from their childhood in German; these are their "private meetings", from which strangers are excluded)¹¹. Thus a basically cohesive Mazurian tradition, combining a variety of elements (Polish and German, town and country, Catholicism and Lutheranism), had been broken up, and that which has been preserved does not present a pattern of life which appeals to all of the present-day inhabitants of this area. The divergence in perceiving tradition can be observed in young people, who are aware of bonds not only with the relatives who had been scarred by the war, but with their peers, for whom issues of nationality are not of such significance.

Characteristically, the respondents were particularly attached to those elements of the tradition which were associated with "the good old days". Above all, this involved the repertory belonging to the canon of Protestant songs with German texts. The cult of the "Holy Book", characteristic for the Protestant tradition, involved, among other things, preserving with great care the hymn-books and editions of the Bible — texts which the Protestant Mazurs kept by them from the cradle to the grave¹². Protected from destruction (and later confiscation), the hymn-books have been preserved to this day; in the Szczytno area these are mainly German ones¹³. The repertory they contain is somewhat different from the songs of the so-called "Polish Prussians" — the Polish-speaking Mazurs who preserved Protestant songs recorded in consecutive editions of the so-called "Mazurian Cantionale" or, more accurately, *Nowo wydany Kancyonał Pruski* from 1741, also called "Wasiański's Cantionale"¹⁴. It manifested features of the Mazurian folk tradition of Polish provenance¹⁵.

Excepting religious hymns, which at one time accompanied Mazurs throughout life, the respondents also cherished numerous secular songs, of a general nature, mainly on the theme of love. They used to belong to a popular repertory, more town than country. They displayed German features not only in

However, it is not the case that the respondents deliberately chose to condemn themselves to alienation from the Protestant Mazurian culture in all its richness, created over centuries. Of course, the respondents preserve a tradition which is cut down and, in a sense, “mummified”, disconnected from present-day life. But the reason for this is the desire to keep faith with those who were killed and disinherited, and the culture with which — in the opinion of the respondents — they identified most fully. Obviously, the musical tradition of Mazuria did not die out altogether; after the Second World War the region came to be populated by arrivals from various parts of Poland (often exiled from their own native lands) and with time, through combining the remnants of the earlier tradition and new elements, a new whole will be created. However, it is also true that the cohesion of Mazurian culture and traditional art, shaped by the flow of time, has been destroyed, and those elements of it which have been preserved no longer have the power to fully explicate and support life, build community and regenerate the Mazurian people. The flow of ancient tradition native to and created in Mazuria had been interrupted by the cataclysms of war and aggressive policies aimed at dividing the local population into friends and strangers — in other words, foes.

Dariusz Zimnicki¹⁹ investigated the folklore of Lithuanians from the Puński-Sejneński region in the Suwałki Lakes district, i.e., the Polish (Catholic)-Lithuanian boundary. In his work on the Lithuanian folklore in Poland he was searching in particular for original features in musical and textual material, for what has artistic value and at the same time is of interest from the cultural perspective; for what is linked to interesting customs, and for what is rich in meaning and symbolism. Comparing musical and textual analysis of songs with their role in the life of local communities turned out to be particularly significant. Zimnicki observed a distinction between the songs of the older and the younger Lithuanians, as well as between songs preserved spontaneously in families and those nurtured by schools and cultural institutions; this distinction reveals the dependence of repertory and style of performance on the circumstances and motivation of music-making and the functions of the songs.

In the living tradition of Lithuanian songs in the Puński-Sejneński region Zimnicki has distinguished a number of strands with a wide stylistic and functional range: 1 — national-patriotic (historical) songs; 2 — community singing, with emphasis on the joy of communal music-making (involving “active participation in the art without paying attention to its value; (...) “cheerful mood often dictates the choice of repertory”)²⁰; 3 — musical performance for the stage (which might be described as folklorism); and 4 — traditional Lithuanian music, sung both for every day and holy day purposes, which in the old days used to be sung during work and during rites. This last strand, nurtured by a small number of older people, expresses “a need, deeply rooted in the soul, foreexpressing their experience in song (...) Their repertory is abundantly rich, full of archaic features, and possesses great artistic value and depth of content”²¹. It is particularly worthy of preservation, not only because of its artistic, but also cultural and social value, fostering deeper knowledge of one’s roots and in this way shaping a deeper, richer consciousness of one’s identity and more permanent bonds between the music-makers (young and old) and their ancestors.

The folk-national strand cultivated by the older generation (e.g., the ensemble “Gimtaine” [Fatherland]) originates from the tradition of religious and patriotic songs, which was particularly strong during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This strand developed mainly in response to the need by the Lithuanians to express their attachment to national tradition when they lost their statehood. Religious and folk music of various regions of the country, having undergone unification and stylization, played a vital part in propagating this sentiment. Among the activists of this movement were two priests, Žemaitis (founder of the Lithuanian church choir in Puńsk in 1898) and Švedas. This strand is reflected in the work of Konstanty Sidor (“the artistic soul of the Gimtaine ensemble”), a singer and composer of songs in the folk style, and in the work of the choir “Dzukija” from Puńsk, which performs its songs in a four-voice harmonic arrangement with accordion accompaniment, with dynamic shading and articulation typical for non-folk, stage-performance singing. These forms of singing are characterised by predominant use of major keys, simplicity of rhythm and symmetry of form, polyphony which makes use

of basic harmonic functions, aided by the harmonic structure of the melody, which emphasizes in cadences the third step of the scale²². The texts of the songs at times combine folk motifs with national, religious and didactic ones, which deprives the folk element of its characteristic features (sentimentality and pathos are alien to the folk tradition, while its typical lyricism and humour, at times of the crude variety, are in turn alien to the aesthetics of the national movement). The national character of this form of singing resulted in abandoning the regional specificity of the songs, levelled out their originality and brought it closer to the style of popular songs. The old-fashioned aesthetic and stylistic attitudes, favouring singing in voices (fixed harmonic phrases, particularly dominant-tonic ones) seem to be the reason for the great popularity of this type of singing, particularly among older people.

There is a degree of distinctness in group singing performed on stage (with features of reconstructed folklore). This strand is made up of a repertory meant mainly for entertainment, performed by folk groups which appear on radio programmes, often singing in a number of voices, rarely in dialect. One could also include here the singing of school youth groups ("Salcinelis"), for one, two or three voices, which makes reference only to a certain segment of folk music tradition, mainly the dance rhythms. These songs, often performed a cappella or with the accompaniment of an accordion and sometimes a *kankles*²³, often served as dance music. Young Lithuanians are particularly fond of these forms of singing.

Of particular interest are the songs of those members of the younger generation who are taught the repertory, style of singing and situation (circumstances) by their parents or relations. Such groups as "Dusnycia" or "Alna" (singing accompanied by violin, drum and accordion, sometimes *kankles*) reach towards the deeper layers of musical tradition. Apart from the more modern, stylized folklore, these groups preserve also old folk monodic chants ("Alna"). They combine the beauty and originality of many modal melodies with naturalness and freedom of performance, which manifests itself in, among other things, a degree of improvisation (particular verses have interesting melodic variations).

The songs discussed so far were, in a sense, of an institutionalized charac-

ter, being performed by particular ensembles who have their own names and frequently appear before the public. The most interesting strand, however, might be described as “singing for oneself and one’s own people”. These are closest to the folk tradition, most clearly linked to the “private” life of people and local communities. The songs have a clear regional colouring, and the variety of music-making situations in which they were used means that they combine a multiplicity of functions, genres and musical styles (as well as variety of content). The most valuable features of this strand came together in the person of Jonas Jakubauskas — Jan Jakubowski (1908–1998). This exceptionally gifted folk singer “stored” in his memory the richness of the local folklore which seemed to have become extinct in that area. Jakubauskas’s recordings, produced in the final decades of the twentieth century, transmit to the younger generation a repertory (over 200 songs) and a style of singing which, through their archaic beauty, evoke admiration and the desire to imitate. The repertory consists above all of ritual songs (yearly and wedding ones), often a-metric, with the textual-melodic structure in sentence form, with melismatics and modalisms, with a number of verses, sung in dialect, in a beautiful pure voice, with simplicity and exceptional musicality. The admiration with which the younger generation responds to Jakubauskas’s singing testifies well to their musicality, and their desire to resurrect many singing customs. Thus, the pentatonic song for the bonfire night, “Svento Jono vakareli”, sounds best “in the open, in the silence of the night, as the crowning of a social occasion; the ideal would be to sing it just before dawn, in male company, accompanied by the echo”²⁴.



Jakubauskas’s rich repertory also contains Polish folk songs. This openness to selected musical traditions of the neighbouring communities, characteristic of traditional regional culture, which evolves slowly but continuously, is one of the signs of its vitality. The slow pace of these changes is related to the need for adapting new elements to a cohesive whole which traditional culture

represents; new elements, such as new songs, have to be incorporated into the organic pattern of local culture, tried and tested over the years.

Folk music-making has always been characterized by the variety of circumstances in which it took place. Unfortunately, in the area investigated by Zimnicki and inhabited mainly by the Lithuanian population, the post-war years saw the gradual extinction of songs other than those accompanying rituals and work²⁵. The custom of singing during dances has also disappeared. At one time there would have been singing and musical games — the “rateliai” — while the instrumentalists took their break. Now, more and more frequently, traditional instruments are replaced by electronic ones, and popular music takes the place of folk music. It seems, however, that the resurrection of many musical traditions is gaining ground quite rapidly. The younger generation is interested in getting to know their traditions (rites, customs, amusements) and their cultural significance. (Zimnicki’s reconstruction of Lithuanian wedding ceremonies reveals an uncommon richness of symbolism of their particular stages, from match-making to “poprawiny”[repetition]). This is aided by the fact that many young Lithuanians are sensitive to the originality and the beauty of the melodies and texts of the songs, particularly those deeply rooted in tradition, and the atmosphere of traditional social gatherings, with their truly communal spirit.

Anna Kozera²⁶, who investigated the Podlasie folklore on the edge of Puszcza Knyszyńska (Polish-Belarussian, Catholic-Orthodox neighbourhood) concentrated on sketching portraits of selected musicians. Her approach assumes that the best way towards understanding the reasons for the preservation of selected chants, and of the mechanisms governing changes in folklore, is through investigating the role of music in the life of a particular person. Finding the motivation behind music-making may explain not only changes in repertory, but also performance style, musical preferences and music-making situations. Anna Kozera chose two persons from among the folk musicians she got to know — Antoni Szałkowski and Danuta Woroszyło — both from the same region but representing two different attitudes to tradition, whose characteristics are not restricted to that area, i.e. Pogorzałki²⁷ and its neighbourhood.

Antoni Szałkowski (son of a blacksmith from Nowinka, he came to live in Pogorzalki in the 1950s) represents the type of enthusiast, social activist and manager of the folklore movement. Having been taught by the local organist, he obtained his secondary musical education at a music school in Białystok, and completed a course for leaders of cultural centres, graduating with a diploma as an instructor of amateur artistic groups for, as he described it “first category music”²⁸. Szałkowski is active in many areas (director of the Regional Cultural Centre in Pogorzalki, local councillor and leader of local Commission for Culture and Education), but his favourite and most fulfilling role is that of a manager of folk groups (such as “Narwianie”, “Podlasianki”, “Obróbki”, “Dobrzyńki” and instrumental bands such as “Ciołki” or “Siwe orły”) and a musician (accordion, trumpet, keyboard). He was particularly fond of the group “Narwianie”, which he established in 1957 with players from Pogorzalki and the neighbourhood, and in which he played the accordion²⁹. Szałkowski prepared his group for numerous appearances at various festivals and public events. He himself prepared the programmes and the repertory, which included his arrangements of folk songs which he had heard from older performers (among others from Danuta Woroszyło) and “ritual scenes”, such as “Wianek przedślubny” [“prenuptial wreath”] or “Kiszenie kapusty” [“pickling the cabbage”].

Szałkowski’s “creative” input into the arrangements of songs and ritual scenes (to which he willingly admitted) makes it very difficult to separate authentic folklore from his adaptations. The selection of programme items and their arrangement were clearly adapted to particular needs: when the requirement was for harvest celebrations, Antoni Szałkowski would prepare a local ritual scene “Królowna - obchodzenie pól” [“The Princess — making the round of the fields”]. And although, according to the Narrator (the main character of the script), “our tradition demands that in the autumn season the Princess must make the round of the fields, often linked to the tradition of the end of the harvest”, Szałkowski knew that in reality this rite took place “some time in May, before corn comes into ear”³⁰. The lack of understanding of the symbolism of the ritual and its connectedness to vegetation, of the meaning of customary behaviours and songs, results in a most amazing composition,

a mixture of tradition and the free run of Szałkowski's inventiveness. The fact that local productions often include programmes of this type makes it difficult to identify the folk version of the ritual, with its declamations and chants (the earlier folk version and the later stage version overlap). At the same time, the local people appreciate the efforts made to promote the group, such as arranging for "Narwianie" to appear at regional festivals (and also at the Polish Festival of Folk Ensembles and Singers in Kazimierz, where they received a distinction in 1984), or a trip to Vilnius, where their performance at the University Great Hall in 1985 was remembered for many years. It is probable that the performances of "Narwianie" introduced a degree of dissonance in the locals' perception of the truth and beauty of their own musical tradition and its use in a new form designed for the stage. It is the case that, for many folk musicians, their inner awareness of aesthetic norms has been destabilized, weakening their feeling for the quality and meaning of folklore, the recompense for which has been the applause of the public — the public thus becoming the main consumer, sponsor and verifier of the art being performed. However, some musicians, such as Danuta Woroszyło, a highly regarded folk singer who taught "Narwianie" many songs, had an unshakeable feeling for what is valuable and true; for what is "ours".

The style of arrangements of performances by "Narwianie" was influenced by Szałkowski's experience as trumpeter in the ensemble "Siwe orły" (apart from the trumpet the band included saxophone — Mikołaj Bigulak, accordion — Władysław Andruszkiewicz and percussion — Eugeniusz Popławski; at times they added guitar and keyboard, played by Szałkowski). The band was quite popular at weddings and dances, e.g. the traditional "Farmers' Ball" in Białystok. Unfortunately, since there are no recordings of these performances, it is impossible to get to know the style of this music; one can only roughly imagine it as a combination of folk and disco music. At the beginning of the new century Antoni Szałkowski withdrew from active musical life. It is significant that, when asked by Anna Kozera about his musical activities, he would first of all show his diplomas and prizes; asked about the music, he would reach for the scores and sit down at the keyboard, although the accordion was also to hand.

It probably will not be easy to characterize the work of Antoni Szałkowski as a musician and as an activist; it demands close investigation and separation of his input into “bringing folklore back to life” from the original folk basis of his art, regarded by the locals as their own. Szałkowski would record scores of melodies heard from older performers (it is not certain how faithfully). He would often choose songs of high value both musically and textually, as is evidenced by, for instance, the lyrical song in the rhythm of a mazurka “Idzie wieczór idzie” [“The evening is coming”]³¹, heard from Danuta Woroszyło (who taught Szałkowski the age of the songs), which oscillates between Aeolian and Dorian scales.

1.2.3.4.5. I - dziewie - czór i - dzie słońce nad za - cho - dem pie le Ma - nia, pie - le Ma - nia le - nek za o - gro - dem

2.3.4.5

Time will reveal the true value of Szałkowski’s work — after years have passed, will that which he considered important and beautiful still be alive? Probably not everything, although one should not disregard the importance of his activities for evaluating transformations in the folklore of those areas in the wider sense (town and country and, for instance, firemen’s bands). It has certainly been Szałkowski’s desire to preserve regional folklore. However, both the extent of his musical talent, and the absence of ethnographic education, compounded by the fact that he was not “a folk musician born and bred”, made it difficult for him at times to recognize the true beauty and wisdom of folklore. He believed that adapting it to the needs and tastes of average listeners would help folk music survive. The fact that his music pleased his listeners confirmed his belief. What is significant, however, is his lack of belief in the educational influence of true folk art, at times difficult and demanding effort in performance, which, at one time, was nurtured by the whole community in ritual situations.

Danuta Woroszyło (like sister Alfreda?*), described by Anna Kozera as representing the type of musician who sees herself as a continuator of tradition,

is a native of the area being investigated. Her farm is very traditional and not very prosperous (wooden buildings, a well with a shadoof, exceptionally well-kept garden full of flowers). The enormous repertory and love of singing passed to her from her grandmother and her mother, famous for her beautiful singing (a cousin used to play the pedal harmonium, and it was he who taught Danuta Woroszyło the original, long funeral songs). Danuta Woroszyło is a person who lives in the past; she lives in a world which she has preserved in her grateful memory, and which embodies everything which she regards as beautiful and precious: communal work, singing, respect for fellow men, admiration for nature, and belief in God and life everlasting with all those who lived, sang and worked her land before her. For her, singing is closely linked with the life of the earlier community. Above all, it used to accompany work (weaving, chopping cabbage, plucking feathers etc.), but also play (communal singing at evening gatherings and communal dances such as oberek, polka but also tango and “ślopoks” [slow-fox]). Singing also accompanied weddings and funerals (singing funeral songs remembered from youth for Anna Kozera, quietly so as not to “tempt death by singing”, she remarked that they warned against living sinfully and asked for God’s mercy)³². For Danuta Woroszyło, shared work and singing are inseparable, as is respect for them. An example of the educational role of songs is provided by the fact that the first song she learned from her mother was “Tam na polu sosna” [“There grows a pine in the field”] (about a girl who was seduced and murdered by foreigners she met at the inn)³³.

Danuta Woroszyło’s repertory is not only very rich, but varied in genre and style. It contains ballads full of instructions, love songs, songs for the bonfire night, wedding and funeral songs, as well as “bajtałachy”, i.e., frivolous songs demonstrating a humorous and detached attitude to life. The songs represent great musical variety; the majority seems to be cohesive musically and linguistically (with slight influence of Belarussian dialects). Sometimes, however, one encounters interesting adaptations: the frivolous “bajtałach”: “Raz szed sobie chłop drogą nios jajka i cebule” [“Along the road a peasant was walking, carrying onions and eggs”], was sung to the tune of the German carol “O Tannenbaum”³⁴; the repertory also contained Russian soldiers’ songs sung

in voices with her sister (Danuta Woroszyło's father used to like them). In this manner the songs of Danuta Woroszyło create an authentic, rich picture of life and culture of the countryside, with a truly communal character, anchored in a particular place and time. The pattern of life and the atmosphere are uniquely reflected in the songs, and the stories attached to them about natural and supernatural events (e.g., the appearance of devils — handsome dark lads - at country dances³⁵).

A small number of songs from the repertory of Danuta Woroszyło were used by Antoni Szałkowski. The opinions of Danuta and her sister about their participation in the group "Narwianie" is of interest (both were recruited to join the group by Szałkowski). Both ladies taught their songs to the group, since its members (from a variety of villages) did not know them. They found the "book" repertory taught by Szałkowski alien, and did not like it very much. However, they enjoyed the tours, because in that way they could "get to know the world"³⁶.

The statements of Danuta Woroszyło bring us closer to an idealized picture of the life of the people of the Białystok region prior to the Second World War (a time of childhood). In this apparently simple and ordinary life, singing was always present as a way of ordering, deepening and preserving experience, joyful or dramatic, everyday or metaphysical (yearly and funeral songs). Singing was a way of contemplating the mystery of life, the presence of God in nature and in people's life, an easy way of expressing one's feelings (courting, warnings), enhancing life and work, or overcoming difficulties. This picture fits well within the documentation of folklore provided by Kolberg, carried out from the perspective of the life of the countryside (particularly rites and customs) and the artistic and spiritual culture of the region.

Although each of the works presented here is of slightly different character, together they lead to a number of complementary conclusions. It seems that ethnomusicological research in the area of basic issues, such as questions of transformations, or dying out and rebirth of folk culture, and the manifestations and the circumstances of such processes, may well benefit from the concept of a "Golden Age" of folk culture, a period of its full maturity and glory. This would be particularly relevant if this concept is understood as

a model³⁷ of properly functioning folk culture, deduced from regional documentation (provided by Kolberg and other researchers). This model is characterized by a multidimensional picture of life, which flows on different levels. The picture is composed of an antropomorphic vision of the life of the cosmos, the elements, nature, humanity and the supernatural world, which together constitute a kind of unity, as all these “worlds” interpenetrate in a variety of ways. Hierarchy is important, i.e., the superiority of the religious-philosophical layer, basic to the rituals, to the educational, communal-cultural and social-entertainment layers. Each of these cultural areas has a different time perspective, and this seems to correspond to different social sanctions and the permanence of music. In this approach, the repertory which is the most stable and most resistant to change would be that relating to the rituals (the most unique and difficult), and the repertory most susceptible to change would be the dance, “entertainment” one (stylistically the most recent).

As for the question of the antiquity of true folk culture, and the significance of musical archaism, it seems that the answer is contained within the very concept of tradition. It includes the idea that what is important for tradition is not just directness of transmission and a kind of practicality (tradition concerns mainly customs and models of living³⁸), but also being deeply rooted in history. Thus, that which was regarded as one’s own tradition was a model for living which had been shaped and verified by the experience of centuries. It was characterized by being passed on in a manner which encouraged all-round development and maturation in the individual, and cohesion in the community. It was not an accident that ritual art (music, poetry, dance, dress, “stage-sets”) was the main means through which the younger generation assimilated culture from the traditional community. It would therefore be a mistake to separate folklore from the art of living (which seems obvious, as folklore by definition is the wisdom of the people expressed through art). The model of life revealed by Kolberg’s invaluable documentation clearly emphasizes the solidarity of life, the connection between human life and nature (an issue whose importance is underestimated by theorists of tradition) and with the “cosmos” (or a segment of it) and that which is “supranatural”, which is a manifestation of the presence of God (the Absolute) in the world. This

solidarity of life is the result of the ability to observe, contemplate the world and feel at one with it; this seems to be the basis of what might be termed the syncretism of folk cultures, which slowly absorb various elements in order to unite them. Thus everything which divides people, which separates them from nature, and which deprives their culture of the religious-philosophical dimension reaching beyond time and particular groups, favours neither people, nor folklore.

The conclusions sound banal. Such historical and political interventions as wars and driving people out from their communities, and setting people against each other, destroy traditional culture and folklore. Any instrumental use of folklore, even when meant well (such as the national-patriotic movements), is also not beneficial to it, apart from being short-lived. It transforms that which constitutes the religious-philosophical basis of folklore into an ideology which makes use of art. And ideologies tend to breed the opposition of “them” and “us”. The influence of market-forces is similarly short-lived: it turns authentic art created by the shared experience of the community into a product. Music for sale does not express wisdom, the latter often not being easily accessible; music-making for the stage does not translate into the ability to live in a community with all its richness, best reflected by folklore. However, there are many indications that the circumstances which gave birth to folklore (working together on land and celebrating it, ritual as an expression of common beliefs and art) no longer exist. Folklore may perhaps survive as a manifestation of ancient, communal model of life, transmitted through art. In reality it will live on as folklorism, an inspiration for classical music, for popular music (folk music), and for education. That’s no mean feat.

Notes

- 1 34 volumes of ‘Lud...’ published in Kolberg’s lifetime (during the years 1857–90) and the same number of volumes left in manuscript and being published presently as “Dzieła wszystkie Oskara Kolberga” [“Collected Works of Oskar Kolberg”] (the whole will exceed 80 volumes).
- 2 Sławomira Żerańska-Kominek expresses such views in her work *Muzyka w kulturze. Wprowadzenie do etnomuzykologii* [*Music in Culture. Introduction to Ethnomusicology*], Warszawa 1995, particularly in the chapters devoted to contemporary ethnomusicology.

- 3 All the theses were written under my supervision during 2001–2002; Anna Kozera, who had been living for a number of years in Białystok studied there at the Białystok branch of AMFC.
- 4 In their research the students made use of studies of the folklore of north-eastern Poland published in *Kultura muzyczna mniejszości narodowych w Polsce. Litwini, Białorusini, Ukraińcy* [Musical Culture of National Minorities in Poland. Lithuanians, Belarussians, Ukrainians], Warszawa 1990, edited by Sławomira Żerańska-Kominek.
- 5 *Folklor Mazurów ewangelickich okolic Szczytna. Tradycja i współczesność* [The Folklore of Protestant Inhabitants of Mazuria in the Szczytno Area. Tradition and the Present Day], Warszawa 2001.
- 6 With the coming of the Reformation, German language began to spread in this area; the period of partitions added strength to the Prussian element, so that in 1873 Polish language was removed from schools; under Hitler it was banned altogether.
- 7 E. Laskowska, op. cit., p. 114.
- 8 “The generation of Mazurians who could speak Mazurian dialect has, unfortunately, died out in the area which I investigated”; E. Laskowska, op. cit., p. 114.
- 9 S. Rospond, *Druki mazurskie XVI wieku* [Mazurian Prints from the Sixteenth Century], Olsztyn 1948, p. 19.
- 10 E. Laskowska, op. cit., p. 25.
- 11 E. Laskowska, op. cit., p. 72.
- 12 Authors writing about this subject include Ewa Laskowska and Arleta Nawrocka-Wysocka (*Śpiewy protestanckie na Mazurach*, [Protestant Songs in Mazuria, Warszawa 2002]).
- 13 Such as *Neue Sammlung Alter und Neuer Lieder*, published in Królewiec in 1776, or *Psalmen Davids... from 1647* (I edition).
- 14 Cf.: A. Nawrocka-Wysocka *Śpiewy protestanckie na Mazurach*, op. cit., p. 17.
- 15 In the area she investigated, Ewa Laskowska did not come across even one “Polish Mazur” — a Protestant who knew Polish before 1939.
- 16 ed. Jena 1987.
- 17 E. Laskowska, op. cit., p. 88.
- 18 She was one of Ewa Laskowska’s most important informants.
- 19 *Tradycyjne śpiewy Litwinów w Polsce* [Traditional Songs of Lithuanians in Poland], Warszawa 2002.
- 20 D. Zimnicki, op. cit., p. 57.
- 21 Ibidem, p. 57.
- 22 The favouring in melodies of the third, fifth and sixth steps of the major scale is also of significance.
- 23 A kind of zither, characteristically Lithuanian folk instrument.
- 24 D. Zimnicki, op. cit., p. 36.
- 25 According to Zimnicki, the custom of singing during various kinds of work has been preserved, although there no longer exists a specific repertory typical for “working songs”; this has been replaced by love songs.
- 26 *Portrety muzyków ludowych z Białostoczczyzny* [Portraits of Folk Musicians from the Białystok Area], Białystok 2002.
- 27 Antoni Szalkowski lived in Pogorzalki, and Danuta Woroszyło in the nearby Kobuzie.
- 28 Anna Kozera, op. cit., p. 38.

- 29 The make-up of the group: two accordion players, Szalkowski and Jan Bójko, violin — Antoni Adamski, double bass — Romuald Popławski, drum — Alicja Symbor and clarinet — Adam Kitlas; apart from the accordion players, all self-taught.
- 30 A. Kozera, op. cit., pp. 45, 46.
- 31 Ibidem, no. 6, p. 71.
- 32 Ibidem, p. 52.
- 33 Ibidem, p. 80.
- 34 Ibidem, p. 68.
- 35 Today — according to Ms Woroszyło — “people are not afraid of the devil but of other people” (A. Kozera, op. cit., p. 55)
- 36 Ibidem, p. 50.
- 37 Mircea Eliade, who investigated the beliefs and spiritual culture of traditional societies, introduced the concept of the “Golden Age” into his discussion of the religious basis of traditional cultures. This concept is a model of the ideal primeval time, when mythical ancestors (representing the supranatural world) created order out of chaos through carrying out model actions — this behaviour being the source of life for humans and for nature (*Traktat o historii religii*, Warszawa 1993, chapter XI).
- 38 Jerzy Szacki ‘Tradycja’ in *Encyklopedia Kultury Polskiej XX wieku*, ed. A. Kłoskowska, Wrocław 1991, pp. 205–218.

The Multicultural Nature of Mountain-Folk Music in Poland

Zbigniew Jerzy Przerembski

Institute of Art, Polish Academy of Sciences

“What’s New” was a compilation of Polish jokes and aphorisms published in 1650. Its author, most probably a courtier, took on the pen-name of Maurycyusz Trztyprztycki. The second impression of the book was slightly extended and undated. Aleksander Brückner, an expert in Polish culture and literature, theorised that the book might have been published during the reign of king John III Sobieski¹. The compilation included, among others, a text by an unknown student of Cracow University entitled *Visio macaronica eruditi di Polonia*. The narrative, abounding with Latin insertions, described a philosophers’ feast in which the names of gourmet courses were replaced with scholarly terms. It is in this narrative that we find the following passage:

*“Parva naturalia ludebant the multanki as if somebody was listening to the royal musical ensemble in Warsaw; they also played in mountain-folk fashion et libri de Anima skakaband”*².

According to Adolf Chybiński, the expression “in mountain-folk fashion” proves that already at that time some distinctive stylistic features of mountain-folk music, as well as its performance, were apparent, at least to listeners from the Małopolska region³. This prominent musicologist speculates that, as early as the 17th century, itinerant musicians from the mountain region contributed to the popularisation of its music in Poland.⁴ Moreover, evidence can be found in old Polish literature to show that the distinctive features of instruments from the mountain region were also widely recognized at the time. For

example in “Wesele” (The Wedding Party), a poem included in the compilation published in 1614 and entitled “Sielanki” (Pastorals), the poet Szymon Szymonowic distinguishes the mountain-folk fiddle from the Italian violin⁵.

It is impossible to say how the distinctiveness of mountain-folk music manifested itself in the 17th century. One might guess that it resulted from the fact that the Tatra and Beskidy regions belonged to the area of Carpathian culture. It is also difficult to establish the time span and the degree to which this distinctiveness was retained. The great Polish folklorist and ethnographer Oskar Kolberg, who spent some summer weeks of 1857 in the Podhale area, concluded that the indigenous inhabitants’ songs were just variations of songs from the lowland areas of Poland⁶.

However, one should not overlook the fact that, as late as the second half of the 19th century, mountain folk considered themselves ethnically distinct from the inhabitants of the lowlands. It seems that the natives of Podhale felt themselves at that time to be closer to their neighbours from over the Tatra Mountains than to their compatriots from the lowlands, both in terms of physical and cultural proximity. Stories about the traditional hostility towards the mountain folk from the Slovakian Liptov are probably exaggerated. Nineteenth-century travellers visiting near-border villages and mountain pastures would often come across Polish and Slovak mountain folk who lived and worked together in harmony. These came from the neighbouring regions of the Tatra Mountains: Podhale, Spisz (Spiš), Liptov and Orawa (Orava). When mountain folk from Podhale consciously chose to identify themselves as a distinct ethnic group, they would rather contrast themselves with Poles from the rest of the country; interestingly enough, they considered themselves to be the only true representatives of the Polish nation, labelling the lowland country inhabitants “Lachy”⁷.

Natives of the mountain region did not think highly of holiday makers coming to the Tatra Mountains from other parts of the country. At first they treated them with suspicion and even made fun of them. The locals could not understand why the holiday makers should go into raptures over everyday things, wander about the mountains, and pay good money for whatever they were offered. That meant they must be rich. The natives’ greed soon prevailed

over the initial distrust and holiday makers gradually became increasingly welcome in the Podhale region⁸. However, this did not affect the locals' low opinion of them. Even during the first years after the Second World War the mountain folk of Bukowina Tatrzańska still used the terms "masters" and "people" to refer to visitors and to themselves respectively. The difference between the two related, above all, to work. The "people" work, and work hard because, as everyone knows, the only real work is that which has to be done in the country. The "masters" in the cities do not work, because brain work is not work — it has no obvious, tangible outcome, and you can do it sitting down, and when you are sitting down, that's rest. Neither do the masters work when they come to Bukowina. They just stroll around, have a nap in their deck-chairs, go for sledge tours or go skiing down the mountain only to climb it again, just like children. Anyone can see that. The masters are simply parasites who would have died of starvation long ago if it hadn't been for the people who work to keep them. They do nothing and still they get lots of money for doing nobody knows what. So, it is only right that they should yield some of that money to the people, just as the forest yields mushrooms and blueberries. And another difference between the masters and the people is that the masters do not know what trouble is. They do not have any troubles. When a horse dies, the oats rot or the barn gets hit by lightning — that's real trouble, but the masters do not care about such things. Their worries are unreal, make-believe, not worth anything. This leads directly to another distinguishing feature of the masters, which is their boundless stupidity. The masters are not just plain stupid, they are utter fools⁹.

The initial clash between the different attitudes towards reality, which later turned into co-existence, exerted a profound influence on the shape of the culture of the mountain folk. No less influential were the abrupt cultural and economic changes resulting from a growing number of holiday makers, visitors to health resorts, tourists and, in time, from settlers (mostly in Zakopane) from other parts of the country. The cultural processes initiated by these changes were both negative and positive. On the one hand, they led to a quick degeneration of some folk traditions and the decomposition of the

social structure, as well as a sudden disruption of ethical norms and the strengthening of local antagonisms¹⁰. Yet the interest shown in the native folklore by the intellectuals arriving in the Tatra region made the locals value their traditions. This played a part in the traditions being preserved, and to some of their forms being developed further.

What drew the artists, men of letters and scholars to the mountain-folk culture was its distinctiveness. They equated “distinctive” with “ancient” and assumed that the archaic forms of the old Polish traditions, elsewhere extinct, had been preserved in Podhale. This applied to the architecture, beliefs, customs, language and art, including songs and music. And indeed, even as recently as the 19th century, the spiritual culture of the inhabitants of the mountain region still exhibited a relatively large number of ancient elements. As was noted by Ludwik Zejszner¹¹, this was true mainly of the mountain folk from the Beskidy area, but also applied to the inhabitants of Podhale. As recently as the first half of the 18th century, the natives of Zakopane were praying for good weather and harvest under “The Holy Spruce”. This practice was brought to an end by the missionary activities of the Jesuit priest Karol Fabiani, which resulted in the tree being ceremonially cut down on April 1, 1759¹². A hundred years later, when the first church was erected in Zakopane, the mountain folk treated it at first with mocking disrespect, using the altar candles to light their pipes. They regarded marmot’s fat as a much more powerful source of magic than the Catholic Masses and services. The local brigands even threatened the parish priest with one of their “pillaging visits”, but fortunately did not keep their word¹³.

Roman Zawliński, a well known ethnographer and linguist, discovered as early as the 1870’s the effectiveness of gathering information about folk culture with the help of local grammar-school pupils. Bartłomiej Świnka, one of the boys from the grammar-school at Nowy Sącz, told the ethnographer about a number of curious customs and superstitions which were still being practised, or at least were remembered, in his home village of Łąck. Apart from advice on how to spot a witch, find hidden treasure or make a stick with which one could make the sign of the cross and cause a woman to divorce her husband, the ethnographer also learned about a music-related superstition. A fiddler

who wants his fiddle to play well should catch a black hen which is about to lay its first egg. The fiddler should then hide the egg under his armpit and carry it as long as the hen sits on the eggs. During that time he should not wash himself or talk to anybody. When the time is up and the “*mętel*” (?) is hatched out of the egg, it should be placed inside the fiddle. Such an instrument has the power to play on its own, according to the fiddler’s liking¹⁴.

It is clear that the first parish priest of Zakopane (in the years 1848–1893), the Reverend Józef Stolarczyk, had a lot of missionary work to do. He rendered great services to the church in promoting religious zeal among the Podhale folk; however, his attitude towards folk culture seems to have been too strict. Although he was a graduate of the Podolínec Piarist College in Slovakia, a grammar-school which already in the 17th century was known for its great tolerance towards other nations, cultures and beliefs, he clearly opposed certain aspects of the mountain-folk tradition. One of them was pictures painted on glass, originally a Slovak tradition, but well settled in the Podhale region. The priest considered this practice to be an offence against God. He would take the pictures out of the cottages and smash them against the rocks in nearby streams¹⁵. He also hated the traditional custom of villagers walking the country roads and village streets singing and playing¹⁶. Instead, every Sunday, after the evening catechism, he would teach the locals ecclesiastical songs¹⁷. Even as recently as the 1960’s and 1970’s the inhabitants of Beskid Sądecki believed in supernatural powers and magic, especially in relation to animal breeding and the tending of flocks¹⁸. Elements of magical thinking could also be observed among mountain-folk musicians, especially those from the Beskid region.

However, it seems that the mountain-folk traditions were characterised not so much by the presence of an abundance of preserved ancient features, as by the assimilation of various ethnic influences which interacted in the near-border area. This had its source in the history of settlement in this region. Polish farmers from the Kraków and Sandomierz regions and Germans from Spisz (mainly during the 14th century) had already begun to settle there in the Middle Ages. Migrating shepherds who followed the route from Tran-

sylvania (or even from the Balkans) along the Carpathian Mountains were probably reaching the Podhale and Podbeskidzie regions between the 15th century (if not earlier) and the middle of the 17th century. People called them Wallachians, although they were ethnically differentiated, mostly of Romanian, Hungarian or Ruthenian origin. The Wallachians would give up their nomadic habits and settle down in pasture regions, such as the Żywiec area. At first they constituted a coherent social group, having their own self-government and making their living as shepherds. Gradually, they intermixed with the Polish farming community, switching to an agricultural way of life. They were also gradually deprived of their civic liberties, which manifested itself in the foundation of centralised self-government in the so-called “Sucha estate” towards the end of the 17th century. This was headed by the “wajda” — a Wallachian voyvod appointed by the owners of the lands¹⁹.

The Beskidy and Podhale cultural traditions, including musical folklore, were created by co-existing ethnic groups. These traditions were further enriched by influences from Slovakia, Moravia and Hungary, where mountain folk would often travel to attend fairs, to seek jobs or to join brigand bands. They would also serve in the army abroad. It must be remembered that already in 1773, a year after the first partition of Poland, men from the Austrian sector were conscripted to military service and sometimes sent to remote parts of the Austrian monarchy²⁰. Testimony to the musical unity of the region, as well as some local flavour, can be found in a description of a particular scene provided by Bronisław Rejchman. He often took part in mountain trips organised by Tytus Chałubiński, a well known medical doctor from Warsaw who greatly contributed to the popularisation of the Tatra mountains among Warsaw intellectuals in the 1870's. An indispensable participant of those trips was Jan Krzeptowski nicknamed Sabała, a famous mountain-folk story-teller and musician, who played an instrument called a “złóbcoki”, a folk variation of the fiddle characterised by a narrow resonance box, hollowed from a single piece of wood. During one of those trips in 1879, when the party was crossing the village of Jurgów in the Spisz region, on hearing Sabała play the villagers came out, boys and girls started dancing and the elders tapped out the rhythm with their feet. Everybody gave up their daily chores in order to

listen to the music. Even the carpenters who were assembling a scaffolding around the roof of one of the houses threw down their hatchets and began dancing on the roof²¹. On the other hand, *Sabała*'s virtuosity had a totally different effect on city intelligentsia. When *Rejchman* heard his music for the first time, he vividly described it as a steel curry-comb or a sharp rock being rubbed against one's ears²².

The Podhale region, northern Orawa and north-western Spisz constituted a cultural unity in terms of language, songs, folk music and literature, as well as in terms of beliefs, customs and dress. This fact was confirmed in the writings of *Józef Kantor*, a teacher, ethnographer and a native of the mountain region of *Czarny Dunajec*²³ himself. However, since he published his text soon after the Great War, when Poland and Czechoslovakia were entangled in border disputes, he yielded to the current needs of national propaganda and coloured his work with strong political undertones. He emphasised the leading role of Polish traits in the cultural traditions of the region which he labelled "The Great Podhale".

Another researcher convinced of the multicultural nature of mountain-folk music was *Adolf Chybiński*. This outstanding musicologist showed that the variant associations of the Podhale folk melodies stretched predominantly towards the south (Slovakia, Moravia, Lemkivshchyna, Huculshchyna, Romania, Valachia, Transylvania, Hungary, Yugoslavia) and only to a limited extent towards the north, into the lowland regions of the country²⁴. If one compares this claim to the observations made by *Kolberg*, it becomes clear that during the 80 years separating the two scholars' studies the Podhale music repertoire must have undergone some changes. It is possible that they were brought about by the activities of the "indigenous" and "foreign" lovers of the mountain-folk music, whose value judgements led to the elevation of the supposed "original" stylistic and repertoire elements, considered to be ancient and indigenous, although in fact they belonged to the Carpathian heritage. This was done at the expense of other songs, which were too close to the traditions of the Polish lowlands. As a result, songs and melodies deemed not to belong to the mountain-folk tradition became extinct. One cannot exclude the possibility that they contained the relics of older cult chants, brought

by the lowland settlers in the Middle Ages or later. When presenting the few Podhale variants of Polish wedding songs, Józef Kantor remarked that they are seldom to be heard²⁵. It seems therefore that the unnatural stylistic and formal unity of the Podhale mountain-folk music is a consequence of such artificial selecting and limiting of the repertoire. The pioneers of such activities might have been Tytus Chałubiński himself and the most famous mountain-folk musician Bartłomiej Obrochta “Bartuś”. According to Stanisław Mierczyński²⁶, when the weather was bad during their trips to the mountains, the two men would sit in a cabin or a cave and busy themselves with adapting selected mountain-folk melodies for fiddles and a bass-viol (the Podhale music band). They would also compile the choreography for the “brigand” (“zbójnicki”) dance.

The mountain-folk dance repertoire also underwent considerable limitations, modifications and transformations. Even as recently as the last quarter of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century it was much richer than today, especially in Podhale, where in fact only two dances have been retained: the “mountain folk” (“góralski”) and the “brigand” (“zbójnicki”), although they contain different dance figures. Stefania Ulanowska, who studied Rabka folklore in the 1880’s, testified to the then current knowledge of many local dances forgotten today²⁷, as did Józef Kantor for the Podhale traditions²⁸. At that time the “mountain folk” and “brigand” dances were also performed, but they were different in style. They were more spontaneous, the figures were largely improvised, and both dances shared some choreo-technical elements. The first attempts to codify the brigands’ dance were made, as mentioned before, by Tytus Chałubiński and Bartłomiej Obrochta. In the first years of the 20th century, members of the Polish Gymnastics Association “Falcon” (Polskie Towarzystwo Gimnastyczne “Sokół”) became interested in the dances. In the years 1907–1910, Wincenty Hałka and Szczęsny Połomski, leaders of the “Falcon” (“Sokół”) sections in Zakopane and Nowy Targ, codified various gymnastic and dance figures, drawing mainly upon the “brigand” dance elements²⁹. Similar attempts (which intensified after the Second World War) by regional social activists, mostly local themselves, and leaders of folklore groups, contributed largely to the fact that the Podhale dances

became standardized and lost their original character. Thus it can be said that the Podhale music and dance folklore developed not only by assimilating various features of different ethnic groups, but that its present shape has to a great extent been moulded by the intelligentsia.

Historical sources indicate that, in the 19th century, mountain folk from the Podhale and Beskidy regions used a wider range of instruments than one hundred years later. They knew the bagpipe, the fiddle (also their folk variations i.e. the “oktawka” and the “złóbcoki” — kinds of hollowed fiddles), the bass-viol and the double bass, the kobza, the dulcimer, many kinds of pipes, the ocarina, the shepherd’s horn, the wooden trumpet, the tromba marina, the devil’s violin, the Jew’s harp, the friction drum, the sheep- or cow-bells, the clapper, as well as the ratchet-rattles. Those who had served in the Austro-Hungarian army knew how to play the flute, the clarinet, the trumpet, the trombone, the saxhorn, the guitar, the chromatic accordion and the drums. Brass instruments were predominant in the Beskid Śląski and Beskid Żywiecki regions, although musicians from Podhale, such as Maciej Sieczka (flute) and Józef Froniek (clarinet), mentioned by Leopold Świerż³⁰, used to play them too. The standard instrumental framework of the Podhale music band, which included three fiddles and a bass-viol, was not formed until the 1930’s³¹.

The ancient “złóbcoki” or “oktawki” were already losing popularity in the second half of the 19th century, as they could hardly match the sound range of the fiddle. However, although one of the “złóbcoki” types bore a disturbing resemblance to the so-called dancing-master’s fiddle, it was precisely this instrument which came to be regarded as the symbol of the ancient music traditions of Podhale. After all, this was the attribute of Sabała, who carried it hidden in the sleeve of his traditional mountain-folk attire. The Sabała tradition was carried on by one of the most popular folk virtuosos, Andrzej Knapczyk Duch, who performed together with his family. Another musician who continued this tradition was Prokop Magdziarz from Ratułów. During the inter-war period attempts were made to reintroduce the “złóbcoki” into mountain-folk music. On October 15, 1927, “The Podhale Daily” (*Gazeta Podhalańska*) announced the inauguration of “a course in the manufacture of

wooden instruments” in Zakopane (no. 52, p. 9). The idea was initiated by the “Folk School Association of Zakopane” (Zakopiańskie Koło Towarzystwa Szkoły Ludowej) which emphasised the point that the “złóbcoki” manufacturing would be supervised by Andrzej Bednarz, the first professional manufacturer of string instruments in Podhale and a teacher at the “Wood Industry School” (Szkoła Przemysłu Drzewnego).

When politicians and local social activists artificially expanded Podhale, incorporating into the region the Beskidy and Nowy Sącz areas, the latter became the capital of the region. It was there that Józef Zbozień manufactured his richly ornamented “złóbcoki” (altogether he made about 150 instruments). These had a chin-rest and four strings — innovations ascribed to Zbozień³². Zbozień’s “złóbcoki” were used by members of the folk music band founded in the mid- 1930’s by Mieczysław Cholewa and Mieczysław Szurmiak, well-known social activists from Nowy Sącz. The band, which continued to perform after the Second World War, took the name of “Wandering Mountain Folk of the “Village of Creation”” (“Wędrowny Zespół Góralski “Wsi Tworzącej””). The group was made up of musicians and dancers of the Nowy Sącz, Nowy Targ, Żywiec and Limanowa districts. In the 1950’s the Styrzule-Maśniacy family music band of Kościelisko also began playing the “złóbcoki”.

And what about bagpipes? This remains a difficult issue to explain. It is not known whether the quotation from *Visio macaronica* — “they played in mountain-folk fashion” — refers to the “multanki” as well. It is also uncertain which instrument exactly was then called “multanki”. It may have been the bagpipes, although the name “multanki” was not applied to pipe instruments in Poland until the end of the 17th century. Before then the name referred mainly to a number of interconnected pipes of different length whose prototype was the antique syrinx also called the panpipes³³. Adolf Chybiński speculated that ancient mountain-folk music was pipe-based and that every larger village in Podhale and the surrounding area had its own bagpiper who regarded himself a professional³⁴. Stanisław Mierczyński held the same opinion³⁵. However, historical sources, mainly fiscal documents of all kinds (such as tax records), do not mention any pipers in the moun-

tain region, although at the same time they confirm a vivid pipe tradition in Małopolska. For example, the tax register for 1581 does not mention any pipers living in the Żywiec region, and only one living in Podhale, who, moreover, at that time had been absent for two years. One may speculate that the clerks responsible for completing the register were sympathetic towards musicians and protected them from paying taxes by omitting their names in the draft registers³⁶. But there is another hypothesis which cannot be ignored when discussing the virtual absence of pipers from the region. At least since the second half of the 16th century pipers had been professional musicians. They paid their taxes and made their living by playing in the inns located along popular trade routes.

These ancient routes connecting the Upper Vistula valley with the valley of the Danube stretched along the valley of the Dunajec, the lands of Brzesko, Nowy Sącz and Nowy Targ, and further on, along the valley of the Poprad and the Upper Wag or across Orawa, towards the valley of the Nitra³⁷. However, neither the main routes nor the minor roads leading to them were used often. The reasons for this were scarce population, lack of inns, dense afforestation, poor quality roads, and above all the plague of brigandage. Local tax offices rendered such low revenues that leasing them was totally unprofitable. It seems then that the low number of pipers in the southern border region of the first Republic of Poland was caused by very limited opportunities for making a living.

The type of bagpipes which have been used in the Tatra region at least since the second half of the 19th century is not shown in any illustrations of the time. The Podhale type of four-voice bagpipes (with four pipes), is considered to be of foreign origin, akin to the south-eastern Carpathians and Balkans bagpipes³⁸. This suggests that they came to the northern slopes of the Tatra Mountains along the Wallachian migration routes, although Włodzimierz Kotoński speculates that they were brought from the south as recently as the 19th century³⁹. Four-voice bagpipes, similar to the Podhale type yet much different in construction details, are to be found (although very rarely) in Hungary, Slavonia, Croatia and Romania. However, they do not occur on the southern side of the Tatra Mountains which is the region immediately neigh-

bouring Podhale. The studies of Bernard Garaj show that, both before 1945 and 1918, Slovak mountain musicians mainly played two-voice bagpipes, and three-voice bagpipes were used only to a limited extent⁴⁰. Four-voice bagpipes were to be found in south-western Slovakia before World War II and, to a more limited extent, before World War I. The three-channel melodic-bourdon pipe found in the “gajdy” manufactured by Ján Hud’an from Zvolenska Slatina was almost identical to the one used in the Podhale bagpipes. However it was only a single and experimental instrument. Huda’n also manufactured five-voice bagpipes⁴¹.

Those mountain-folk musicians who went beyond the agreed “canon” of the Podhale repertoire were not always welcome. Juliusz Zborowski, long-standing manager of the Tatra Museum (Muzeum Tatrzańskie) in Zakopane, reminisced in 1950 that in the Museum’s guest rooms, called jokingly “The Grand Hotel” there was a so-called “beast corner”. A musicologist put an impressive example of a folk beast-mask by one of the beds. Its furry head and dreadfully open jaws were to scare away the “evil spirits” of mountain-folk music⁴². One might guess that the musicologist in question was professor Chybiński, one the first guests of the “Grand Hotel” opened in 1921, and one of the “evil spirits” of mountain-folk music was Andrzej Knapczyk Duch (“duch” = “spirit”). However, the latter came from a family which boasted rich traditions in folk song and music. Already as a young boy, he played at wedding parties together with his father. He played a fiddle which, according to the family legend, had been owned by a music-loving brigand named Mateja and then by Sabała himself⁴³. Knapczyk Duch can be regarded a pioneer of what we call today “the new mountain-folk music”. His inventive approach to the tradition was apparent in the fact that he would play the “złóbcoki” in positions and perform both traditional, adapted and newly composed mountain-folk songs and melodies. It needs to be emphasised that the older repertoire of mountain-folk music performed by Knapczyk Duch was much broader. In his native village of Ciche Wielkie (presently Ciche), in Międzyrzeczerwienne (presently Czerwienne) and in Murzasichle where Knapczyk Duch lived and worked as a teacher, the attempts to unify the mountain-folk music traditions were not so obvious, because the villages were relatively distant from

Zakopane. Even today, musicians from Chochołów, Czarny Dunajec and the adjoining areas regard a greater number of songs as “truly mountain-folk” than do their counterparts from Zakopane. Among these songs are of course the “spiritual melodies” — as in the name “Duch” (Spirit).

In recent years, one can observe a kind of revival of the old multicultural tradition within mountain-folk music. This includes not only the attempts to combine the Podhale or Beskidy folklore with foreign folk traditions, even reaching beyond Europe, but also with other kinds of music like jazz or even rock. One of the groups which represents this style is the vocal-instrumental rock-mountain-folk band “Rzoz”. Its members, who come from Bukowina Tatrzańska, Gorlice and Biecz play the fiddle, both the classical and electric guitar, the drums and the so-called shepherds’ instruments. Their rock music accompanies the lyrics of Podhale poets, such as Stanisław Nędza-Kubieniec, Józef Pitorak or Jozef Koszarek.

The return to an ethnically varied repertoire is also important for practical reasons. Any mountain-folk musician who wants to be employed in a local, stylized or traditional restaurant has to know the Carpathian-Balkan “popular” folk music. As a rule, a genuine Podhale band, in traditional mountain-folk dress, begin with traditional mountain-folk music in their first “number”, and then switch to an entirely international repertoire. As a consequence, the bass-viol is being gradually replaced with the contrabass along with the return of the accordion, the introduction of the viola, the Hungarian table dulcimer and sometimes the guitar. When playing the contrabass, the musician uses the bow or the pizzicato technique (for example in polkas) while the accordionist enriches the fiddle part with a harmonic backup. Another “revival” of a tradition, though not necessarily a folk one, is the emerging hierarchy of local restaurants’ employees in which, according to some musicians, they come at the very bottom.

Notes

1 Aleksander Brückner, *Co nowego. Zbiór anegdot polskich z r. 1650*, Kraków 1903, p. 6

2 Ibidem, p. 106.

3 Adolf Chybiński, ‘Przegląd dotychczasowych badań nad muzyką ludową na Podhalu’,

- in *O polskiej muzyce ludowej. Wybór prac etnograficznych*, ed. Ludwik Bielawski, Kraków 1961, p. 166.
- 4 A. Chybiński, 'Z dawnej pasterskiej poezji i muzyki górali podhalańskich', *Wierchy* I, 1923, p. 111.
 - 5 Szymon Szymonowicz, *Sielanki i pozostałe wiersze polskie*, ed. Janusz Pelc, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 2000, p. 15.
 - 6 Oskar Kolberg, 'Korrespondencya', *Ruch Muzyczny* 26 (1857), p. 204.
 - 7 Stanisław Witkiewicz, *Na przełęczy. Wrażenia i obrazy z Tatr*, Warszawa 1891, p. 198.
 - 8 Kazimierz Sajsse-Tobiczyk, *Pod wierchami Tatr*, Warszawa 1977, p. 39.
 - 9 Antoni Kroh, *Sklep potrzeb kulturalnych*, Warszawa 1999, pp. 222–223.
 - 10 Jan Majda, *Góralczyzna w twórczości Stanisława Witkiewicza*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1979, pp. 27–28.
 - 11 'Podróże po Bieskidach, czyli opisanie części gór Karpackich zawartych pomiędzy źródłami Wisły i Sanu', *Biblioteka Warszawska* XXXIII (impression), p. 133.
 - 12 Lidia Długolecka; Maciej Pinkwart, *Zakopane. Przewodnik historyczny*, Warszawa 1988, p. 286.
 - 13 S. Witkiewicz, *Na przełęczy...*, op. cit., pp. 178–179; Ferdynand Hoesick, *Legendowe postacie zakopiańskie*, Warszawa 2001, p. 123.
 - 14 Roman Zawiliński, 'Z etnografji krajowej', *Przegląd Literacki i Artystyczny* 12 (1882), pp. 7–8.
 - 15 A. Kroh, *Tatry i Podhale*, Wrocław 2002, p. 98.
 - 16 Tytus Chałubiński, *Sześć dni w Tatrach. Wycieczka bez programu*, eds. Jacek Kolbuszewski, Roman Hennel and Wiesław A. Wójcik, Kraków 1988, p. 41.
 - 17 Maria Steczkowska, *Obrazki z podróży do Tatrów i Pienin*, Kraków 1858, p. 52.
 - 18 Anna Kowalska-Lewicka, *Hodowla i pasterstwo w Beskidzie Sądeckim*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1980, p. 126.
 - 19 Zdzisław Noga, 'W okresie przedrozbiorowym', in *Sucha Beskidzka*, eds. Józef Hampel and Feliks Kiryk, Kraków 1998, pp. 63–64.
 - 20 Józef Hampel, 'W okresie niewoli narodowej i dobie autonomicznej', in *Sucha Beskidzka*, eds. Józef Hampel and Feliks Kiryk, Kraków 1998, p. 98.
 - 21 Bronisław Rajchman [Rejchman], *Wycieczka na Łomnicę, odbyta pod wodzą prof. dra T. Chałubińskiego*, Warszawa 1879, p. 12.
 - 22 B. Rajchman, 'Wycieczka do Morskiego Oka, przez przełęcz Mięguszowiecką, odbyta w połowie Lipca r. 1877 pod kierunkiem D-ra Chałubińskiego', *Ateneum* IV (1877), p. 476.
 - 23 J. Kantor, 'Pieśń i muzyka ludowa Orawy...', op. cit., pp. 178–179, 204–205.
 - 24 A. Chybiński, 'O źródłach i rozpowszechnieniu dwudziestu melodii ludowych na Skalnym Podhalu', in *O polskiej muzyce ludowej. Wybór prac etnograficznych*, ed. Ludwik Bielawski, Kraków 1961, p. 141.
 - 25 J. Kantor, 'Pieśń i muzyka ludowa Orawy...', op. cit., pp. 183–184.
 - 26 Stanisław Mierczyński, 'Muzyka Podhalańska', *Wierchy* X (1932), p. 74.
 - 27 S. Ulanowska, 'Boże Narodzenie u Górali zwanych "Zagórczanami"', *Wiśła* II (1888), pp. 113–116.
 - 28 Józef Kantor, 'Czarny Dunajec. Monografia etnograficzna', *Materyały Antropologiczno-Archeologiczne i Etnograficzne* IX (1907), pp. 102–103.
 - 29 Zbigniew J. Przerembski, 'Do dziejów tańca zbójnickiego. Ćwiczenia toporkami

- realizacją postulatów unarodowienia gimnastyki w polskim ruchu sokolim na początku XX wieku', *Wychowanie Fizyczne i Sport* 3 (2002), pp. 437–465.
- 30 Leopold Świerż, 'Wycieczka na Wysoką (2555 m.) w Tatrach', *Pamiętnik Towarzystwa Tatrzańskiego* II (1877), p. 92.
- 31 Włodzimierz Kotoński, *Góralski i zbójnicki. Tańce górali podhalańskich*, Kraków 1956, p. 32.
- 32 Mieczysław Czcibor Cholewa, 'Geśliki Nowosądeckie', *Wierchy* XXIV (1955), pp. 177–178.
- 33 Barbara Szydłowska-Ceglowa, *Staropolskie nazewnictwo instrumentów muzycznych*, Warszawa-Wrocław 1977, pp. 140–146.
- 34 A. Chybiński, 'Instrumenty muzyczne ludu polskiego na Podhalu', in *O polskiej muzyce ludowej. Wybór prac etnograficznych*, ed. Ludwik Bielawski, Kraków 1961, p. 359.
- 35 Stanisław Mierczyński, 'Muzyka Podhalańska', *Wierchy* X (1932), p. 68.
- 36 Józef Putek, *O zbójnickich zamkach, heretyckich zborach i oświęcimskiej Jerozolimie. Szkice z dziejów pogranicza śląsko-polskiego*, Kraków 1938, pp. 207–208.
- 37 Kazimierz Majewski, 'Szlaki komunikacyjne w Karpatach w okresie rzymskim', *Acta Archeologica Carpathica* IV (1963), pp. 227–228; Gabriel Leńczyk, 'Zabytki archeologiczne', in *Monografia powiatu myślenickiego*, ed. Roman Reinfuss, I (1970) *Historia*, Kraków, pp. 9–10.
- 38 A. Chybiński, 'Instrumenty muzyczne ludu polskiego...', op. cit., p. 399; W. Kotoński, 'Uwagi o muzyce ludowej Podhala' part 4, *Muzyka* 1-2 (1954), pp. 16–17; Włodzimierz Kamiński, *Instrumenty muzyczne na ziemiach polskich, zarys problematyki rozwojowej*, Kraków 1971, p. 103.
- 39 W. Kotoński, 'Uwagi o muzyce ludowej Podhala', op. cit., p. 17.
- 40 Bernard Garaj, op. cit., p. 28, 37, 43.
- 41 Ibidem, pp. 40, 42, 44.
- 42 Juliusz Zborowski, *Pisma podhalańskie*, I (1972), Kraków, p. 243.
- 43 Wacław Sajdak, 'Na Duchową Nutę', *Tygodnik Podhalański* 5 (2003), p. 26.; Lidia Długolecka; Maciej Pinkwart, *Muzyka i Tatry*, Warszawa-Kraków 1992, p. 39.