Central European Connections of Six Manuscript Organ Tablature Books of the Reformation Era from the Region of Zips (Szepes, Spiš)*

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Abstract: Tablature notations that developed in the sixteenth century in the field of secular European instrumental music had an impact also on the dissemination of purely vocal and vocal-instrumental church music. In this function, the so-called new German organ tablature notation (also known as Ammerbach’s notation) became the most prominent, enabling organists to produce intabulations from the vocal and vocal-instrumental parts of sacred compositions. On the choir of the Lutheran church in Levoča, as parts of the Leutschau/Lőcse/Levoča Music Collection, six tablature books written in Ammerbach’s notation have been preserved. They are associated with Johann Plotz, Ján Šimbrický, and Samuel Marckfelner, local organists active in Zips during the seventeenth century. The tablature books contain a repertoire which shows that the scribes had a good knowledge of contemporaneous Protestant church music performed in Central Europe, as well as works by Renaissance masters active in Catholic environment during the second half of the sixteenth century. The books contain intabulations of the works by local seventeenth-century musicians, as well as several pieces by Jacob Regnart, Matthäus von Löwenstern, Fabianus Ripanus, etc. The tablatures are often the only usable source for the reconstruction of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century polyphonic compositions transmitted incompletely.

Keywords: organ tablature books, Leutschau/Lőcse/Levoča Music Collection, Plotz, Šimbrický, Marckfelner

Introduction

Tablature notations that developed in the sixteenth century in the field of secular European instrumental music had an impact also on the dissemination of purely...
vocal and vocal-instrumental church music. In this function, the so-called new German organ tablature notation (also known as Ammerbach’s notation) became the most prominent, enabling organists to produce intabulations from the vocal and vocal-instrumental parts of sacred compositions. By vertical coordination, the parts were placed right below one another, and their harmonic result enabled a quick orientation in the polyphonic texture for the organist. At present, these notations are often the only source for researchers in their efforts to reconstruct sixteenth- and seventeenth-century compositions in contemporaneous musical prints and manuscripts, of which not all the vocal parts are available. Dozens of tablature books using the new German organ notation have been preserved in Central Europe from the latter half of the sixteenth century and from the seventeenth century. Prominent among them are the tablature books of the Reformation Era from the region of Zips with their repertoire corresponding to contemporaneous production in the musical capitals of Europe. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the region of Zips was not only one of the economically most developed parts of historical Hungary, but also in the fields of education, architecture, fine arts, and music it was one of the most important centers of cultural life. The sphere of religion was dominated by the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession (A. C.).

The present paper attempts to retrace the routes of dissemination of contemporaneous musical production as they are mirrored in the tablature books preserved in the region of Zips, and investigates the extent of their connection with the general Central European musical repertoire that might have been circulated either in print or by the migrating organists who were also the scribes of the tablature books. The church music contained in the tablatures gives insight into the contemporaneous repertoire, i.e. Masses (most often Missae breves with the Kyrie and Gloria), Magnificats, Introits, motets, sacred concertos, etc., from which the cantors and organists of Zips could choose what to perform within the Evangelical service in the local churches.

* English version of a paper first published in Slovak in Musicologica Istropolitana 10–11 (2013), 187–225. In this study, towns and regions will be mentioned in historical context with their contemporaneous German names because the music sources come from the German Evangelical Church of the A. C. When referring to present-day institutions, Slovak geographical denominations will be used. The historical German and Hungarian town names and their currently valid Slovak and Polish equivalents are listed in Appendix I. The surnames of the musicians have been standardized according to the form given in the The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001). This study has been prepared as part of the project VEGA 1/0699/16.

1. Present state of research

The interest of music historians in the manuscript organ tablature books preserved from the Reformation Era in the library of the German Evangelical Church of the A. C. in Levoča has been continuous since the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Two of the tablature books (shelf mark 13992 /3 A/, 13993 /4 A/) were exhibited in Budapest during the millenary celebrations, as evidenced by the label bearing the text “Ezredévi / kiállítás / 1896” [Millenary / exhibition / 1896] attached to them. The notes, partly in German and partly in Slovak, written with a blue pencil on the first folios in five of the manuscript tablature books might bear witness to an examination carried out in the time of the first Czechoslovak Republic (1918–1938). Presumably they were written by Antonín Hořejš who at the time conducted extensive research on manuscript organ and lute tablatures from Leutschau dating back to the seventeenth century and to the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As early as in 1929, he defended his dissertation at the Faculty of Arts of Comenius University in Bratislava on tablature manuscripts, but published a detailed monography only in 1954 with the title Levočské tabulatúrne sborníky. Hořejš presented a register of the compositions in three organ tablature books, but did not attempt the identification of the compositions in them. In spite of this, Hořejš’ study represents a significant step forward in the research, since he published not only a basic description of the sources but also provided valuable insights and hypotheses into their origin, and this attracted the attention of a younger generation of Slovak music historians. After Hořejš, research on the manuscripts was continued by Ladislav Mokrý in the 1950s, and by Ladislav Burlas, Richard Rybarič, František Matúš, and others in the following

4. Besides the shelf marks of the Library of the Evangelical Church in Levoča, we also list the shelf marks added for the musical items by František Matúš in the 1970s.


6. The note in blue pencil can be found on the unnumbered first folio of the manuscript 13990b /2 A/ “II. sborník Casp. Plotz / I hälfte 17. Jhd.,” in manuscript 13992 /3 A/ “Sborník Johanna Schimbrackého / Jahr 1635,” and in manuscript 13991 /6 A/ “Anonym: Sammlung / 1640,” respectively. In the other two manuscripts, a note in blue pencil can be found on the first numbered folio: in 13993 /4 A/ “Sammlung / Colligat / II. Sborník / Johann Schimbracky / Jh. 1644” and 13994 /5 A/ “Anonym II. Sammlung / 1648,” respectively.

7. Antonín Hořejš, Taneční formy 17. a 18. věku v tabulatúrach ze Slovenska [Dance forms of the 17th and 18th centuries in tablatures from Slovakia], Diss. (Bratislava: Faculty of Arts, Comenius University, 1929). Unfortunately, the dissertation is lost. It is assumed that A. Hořejš focused in it on the repertoire of the late seventeenth-century tablature manuscript which he designated as the Pestrý zborník (Tabulatura Miscellanea). In Hungarian music-historical literature, the manuscript is known as the “Lőcei tabulatúrás könyv,” in the German as the “Leutschauer Tabulaturbuch.”


9. Manuscripts 13990b /2 A/, 13992 /3 A/, and 13993 /4 A/ in the library of the Evangelical Church in Levoča, which Hořejš named in his study as II. sborník Gašpara Plotza [Book II of Gašpar Plotz], I. sborník Játka Schimbrackého [Book I of Ján Schimbracký], and II. sborník Jána Schimbrackého [Book II of Ján Schimbracký], respectively.

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decades. The focus shifted from the description of the manuscripts to historical comparisons and analyses in monographs and studies as well as thematic catalogues and critical editions of the works of local composer-organists.\textsuperscript{10}

For the correct assessment of the significance of the six organ tablature books preserved in Levoča and their Central European connections, it was necessary to carry out the identification of the more than 1,100 compositions they contain, many of which are anonymous. The author of the present study undertook this task around 1980 as part of her research on the \textit{Leutschau Music Collection}.\textsuperscript{11} In the course of the work, the six organ tablature books of the \textit{Leutschau Collection} have been compared to all extant volumes of music from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that originated in the region of Zips and have been preserved in the library of the Evangelical Church in Levoča. These are mostly manuscript or printed partbooks whose contents partly correspond to that of the organ tablature books. However, the means for identifying the repertoire in the tablature books in Slovakia during the 1980s were limited. American musicologist Cleveland Johnson, who examined three of the tablature books in his dissertation published in 1989, had better conditions for research and could identify several compositions.\textsuperscript{12} Besides Johnson, the manuscripts aroused the interest mainly of German, Hungarian, Czech, and Polish scholars who primarily used the tablature books as comparative material and for the reconstruction of missing parts in polyphonic compositions.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{10} For a selection of the monographs, studies, and critical editions, see Appendix II.

\textsuperscript{11} Similarly to music (prints and manuscripts) preserved from the 16th and 17th centuries in St. Aegidius’ Church in Bartfeld/Bardejov which is referred to in the literature as the \textit{Bartfeld/Bardejov/Bártfa Music Collection}, the sources of music preserved in the historical library of the Evangelical Church in Levoča are collectively denominated as the \textit{Leutschau/Levoča/Lőcse Music Collection}. See Marta Hulková, \textit{Levočská zbierka hudobnín [The Levoča Music Collection], 2 vols.} (Candidatus scientiarum dissertation, Bratislava: Faculty of Arts, Comenius University, 1985). The dissertation includes a thematic catalogue of all manuscript tablature books and partbooks preserved from before the time of the Counter-Reformation. See also by the present author “Levočská zbierka hudobnín (16.–17. stor.) ako viacgeneračná bádateľská úloha” \textit{[The Levoča Music Collection (16th–17th centuries) as a multigeneration research task]}, in \textit{Hudobné pramene – kultúrne dedičstvo Slovenska …}, \textit{ed. Sylvia Urdová (Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum – Hudobné múzeum, 2011), 235–244. Also available under http://www.snm.sk/swift_data/source/hudobne_muzeum/pdf_dokumenty/Hudobne_pramene_2011_Komplet.pdf (last accessed 8 February 2014).}

\textsuperscript{12} The \textit{Tablature Books of Caspar and Johann Plotz} and the \textit{Tablature Book of Ján Šimbracký II}. See Johnson, \textit{Vocal Compositions in German Organ Tablatures}, Catalogue, 60–84.

At the Department of Musicology of the Faculty of Arts of Comenius University in Bratislava, several theses and PhD dissertations have been written since the 1980s which added to the knowledge about the repertoire in the six manuscript organ tablature books. Reconstructions of selected compositions were also made by transcribing them into modern notation with the aim of attracting the attention of performers of early music.14 During the last twenty-five years, conditions for conducting comparative research in libraries and archives in Western Europe have decisively improved also for music historians living in Eastern Europe. International databases of music, e.g. the Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM) with an on-line access, and digital versions of printed and manuscript sources published online by important national and university libraries present promising prospects for ongoing comparative research.

2. Manuscript organ tablature books in the Leutschau/Lőcse/Levoča Music Collection

The manuscript organ tablature books preserved in the Leutschau Music Collection can be divided into pairs according to their alleged scribe(s):

Tablature Books of Caspar and Johann Plotz
(shef mark 13990a /1 A/ and 13990b /2 A/)

Tablature Books of Samuel Marckfener I and II
(shef mark 13991 /6 A/ and 13994 /5 A/)

Tablature Books of Ján Šimbrický I and II
(shef mark 13992 /3 A/ and 13993 /4 A/)

The names for the manuscripts were suggested in the 1950s by A. Hořejš. In the case of 13990a /1 A/, he based his hypothesis on the note “Caspar Plotz / 1603,” appearing on an unnumbered folio of the manuscript, assuming that it referred to the name of its owner. As for the titles of the manuscripts 13992 /3 A/ and 13993 /4 A/, Hořejš assumed that their scribe was the local organist of Kirchdorf, Ján Šimbrický (Johann Schimbrack, Schimrack, Schimrag).15 Subsequent research modified Hořejš’ denomination of the tablature books by identifying the contribution of Johann Plotz to the notation of 13990b /2 A/ and of Samuel Marckfeler to

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15. Regarding the orthography of the surname of this organist from Kirchdorf, see Marta Hulková, “Poznámky na recenzii” [Notes on Review], Musicologica Slovaca 3 (29)/2 (2012), 307–310.
that of 13991 /6 A/ and 13994 /5 A/, both of whom were organists in Leutschau.\textsuperscript{16} It is not clear, where the organists active in Zips, i.e. Johann Plotz (?–1680), Samuel Marckfelner (1621–1674), and Ján Šimbracký (?–1657), received their education in music.\textsuperscript{17} With regard to J. Plotz, a hypothesis has been formed that he might have been a student of Samuel Scheidt.\textsuperscript{18} In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the standard of musical education in the towns of Zips, as well as in the town of Kaschau, where S. Marckfelner had come from, was high. This is evidenced by the firm position of music as a subject in school curricula preserved in Zips, as well as by extant compendia of music.\textsuperscript{19}

Since the territory of present-day Slovakia was part of the Kingdom of Hungary and, from 1526 on, also of the Habsburg Empire, one might expect that the tablature books reveal the traces of active musical contacts and show repertoire correspondences with this relatively extensive geographical area. At the time, the migration of musicians with the aim of attaining higher education as well as gaining employment in the services of a town or an aristocratic residence was a common phenomenon. After the Battle of White Mountain in 1620 and during the Thirty Years’ War, the migration of musicians might have been connected to political and denominational reasons, too. The musical repertoire of the six organ tablature books preserved in the historical library of the Evangelical Church in Levoča bears witness to a high-standard musical life that thrived primarily upon the achievements of contemporary European music but also, to a smaller extent, upon local sources. Conditions for performing new and demanding polyphonic vocal and vocal-instrumental pieces were favourable in the churches of Zips until the Counter-Reformation, which was a significant turning-point in the cultural life of historical Hungary, comprising the territory of present-day Slovakia, too.\textsuperscript{20}


\textsuperscript{17} They might have developed their basic musical skills in their hometown and later spent some time at other places for the sake of higher education. This was in Silesia and, in the case of Marckfelner, Transylvania. Marckfelner’s stay in Transylvania is evidenced by geographical notes in manuscript 13994 /5 A/.


\textsuperscript{20} See Marta Hulková, “Hudobný život v spišských mestách koncom 16. a v 17. storočí” [Musical life in the towns of Spiš at the end of the 16th century and in the 17th century], Hudební věda 26/1 (1989), 18–24.
2.1 The Tablature Books of Caspar and Johann Plotz

The earliest layer of the repertoire, dating back to the latter half of the sixteenth century and to the beginning of the seventeenth century, has been preserved in the Tablature Books of the Plotzes (shelf mark 13990a /1 A/ and 13990b /2 A/). The names of the musicians Caspar and Johann Plotz appeared in Friedrich Blume’s Die evangelische Kirchenmusik in 1931 in connection with manuscript Mus. Ms. 40056 of the Preußische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, which is currently deposited in Kraków. One can assume that the tablature books preserved in Levoča are connected to the same persons. Seeking answers to basic questions like when, where, by whom and for whom the Tablature Books of the Plotzes were written, one must confine oneself to educated guesses. One of the scribes or owners of the books might have been Caspar Plotz, whose name is written on a blank folio of the manuscript (Plate 1). No record has been preserved about his activities in Zips; it is known only from a contemporary note that he was an organist in the Silesian town of Brieg. This note has been preserved in the Berlin manuscript, along with a similar note with the name of Johann Plotz. It is conceivable that the Johann Plotz in the Berlin manuscript was identical to the organist of the same name, active in the 1640s in Leutschau. Zips might have been suggested to him as a lucrative working place by Georg Plotz, organist in Käsmark from 1639 on, who might have been a relative. Johann Plotz probably brought both tablature books (13990a /1 A/ and 13990b /2 A/) to Leutschau from the very town of Brieg and, thanks to him, the music they contained could have been performed in St. Jacob’s Church. This assumption can be supported by the occurrence of Jacobus Gallus’ composition Angeli laetantur de mirando, disseminated only in manuscript form, in the repertoire of the Tablature Book of Caspar Plotz, registered in the Bibliothek des königlichen Gymnasiums in the town of Brieg.


22. Friedrich Blume, Die evangelische Kirchenmusik (Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1931), 129, 168, Photodokumentation V.

23. The handwritten note is on f. 65v, which was presented by Cleveland Johnson as Slide 1 in his presentation “In the Trenches with Johann and Caspar Plotz: a rediscovered Gebrauchstabulatur from the Scheidt circle,” at DePauw University in 2001. Available on the internet: http://acad.depauw.edu/~cjohnson/PLOTZ/INDEX.HTML (last accessed 20 February 2014).


has been preserved in one of the printed volumes of the library of the Evangelical Church in Levoča (shelf mark 369, see Plate 2). Based on this contemporaneous note, it was possible to identify his musical notations in the book 13990a /2 A/ and thus to prove his ownership of the manuscript, which has been since denominated as the Tablature Book of Johann Plotz.\textsuperscript{27} For researchers in Slovakia, it was not possible to identify the compositions notated by J. Plotz. Cleveland Johnson assumed that they might have been compositions of the German musician Heinrich Grimm.\textsuperscript{28} The question was solved definitely by Thomas Synofzik, who identified them as copies of pieces in the contemporaneous print \textit{Seminarium modulatoriae vocalis} (1645) by the German musician Otto Gibelius\textsuperscript{29} (Plate 3).

So far, the anonymous scribes of the core repertoire of the Tablature Books of the Plotzes could not be identified (Plate 4), but it could be established that the Berlin manuscript now in Kraków and the tablature books in the Leutschau Music Collection have been written by different scribes. When comparing the repertoire of the Leutschau Tablature Books of Caspar Plotz with that of Johann it is evident that their repertoires complement each other, and that they must have originated in an environment where contemporaneous musical prints were readily available. It is highly unlikely that the works of several Italian musicians such as Francesco Bianciardi, Benedetto Pallavicino and Asprilio Pacelli were copied in Zips, for instance from the anthology \textit{Promptuarium musicum} compiled by Abraham Schadaeus (1611, 1612),\textsuperscript{30} or that the works by Hieronymus Praetorius were directly transcribed from his \textit{Magnificat octo vocum} and \textit{Cantiones sacrae} (1602, 1607),\textsuperscript{31} copies of which do form part of the Leutschau Music Collection. For, so far, it could not be determined exactly when these musical prints had become part of

\textsuperscript{27} This title for the manuscript was first used by the present author in her dissertation (1985), vol. I, 67.
\textsuperscript{28} Johnson, \textit{Vocal Compositions in German Organ Tablatures}, Catalogue, 71–72.
\textsuperscript{29} Synofzik, \textit{Heinrich Grimm}, 455.
\textsuperscript{30} RISM B/I/1 1611\textsuperscript{c}, 1612\textsuperscript{3} – shelf mark 13986, 13987 in the library of the Evangelical Church in Levoča.
\textsuperscript{31} RISM A/I/7 P 5333, 5337 – shelf mark 13999, 13998 in the library of the Evangelical Church in Levoča.

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the library of the Evangelical Church in Levoča. Only the voluminous authorial print of Orlando di Lasso’s *Magnum opus musicum* (1604) was in the possession of St. Jacob’s Church from 1614.32 The presence in the tablatures of compositions of important representatives of the High Renaissance from the latter half of the sixteenth century (e.g. Giovanni Gabrielli, Jacobus Gallus, etc.), whose works were available either in the form of authorial or collective musical prints, also serves as a stepping stone when seeking the answer to the question of the place of origin of the *Tablature Books of Caspar and Johann Plotz*. When tracing the origin and dating the manuscripts, besides the watermarks (1602 – E. Heawood; 1595 – V. Decker)33 and the years when the printed originals were published, a decisive role is played by that layer of the musical repertoire which contains the compositions of local composers. The presence of works by musicians like Thomas Fritschius, Georg Lange, and Johann Knöfel definitely points into the direction of Silesia.34 The mu-

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32. RISM A/I/5 L 1019 – shelf mark 5160 in the library of the Evangelical Church in Levoča. The date of the purchase is documented by a contemporaneous note on the inner page of the binding of the manuscript: *Ao 1614 die 23 martij / Hoc opus Musicum Orlandi aere publico [civitatis] Leushoviensis / in usum templi huius comparatum flor. 15*.


34. A Breslau copy was, in our case, decisive for the scribe for Th. Fritsch’s composition *Surgens Jesus Dominus noster* (6 v.) on f. 126v–127r in the *Tablature Book of Caspar Plotz*. See Emil Bohn, *Die musikalischen Handschriften des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau* (Breslau: Commissions-Verlag von Julius Hainauer, 1890), 21:122 and 134. In the case of this composition, Bohn makes reference to Th. Fritsch’s print *Novum et insigne Opus musicum* (Jena 1620, no. 30, RISM A/I/3 F 2009) where, however, the text is modified to *Surgens Jesus stans in medio.*
Plate 3 Copies of Otto Gibelius’ compositions from his *Seminarium modulatoriae vocalis* (1645) by Johann Plotz in the *Tablature Book of Johann Plotz* on f. 159v–160r. Library of the Evangelical Church, Levoča, 13990b /2 A/
Plate 4: Samples of the handwriting of two anonymous scribes in the Tablature Books of the Plotzes. The first hand completed composition no. 56, and the second copied composition no. 57. *Hodie completi sunt* (7 v.) by Giovanni Gabrieli on f. 72v–73r. Library of the Evangelical Church, Levoča, 1399.a.1 A.
sic-cultural environment of Silesia could have played a role in the transmission into the repertoire of the Tablature Books of the Plotzes also of the compositions of musicians active at the court of Emperor Rudolf II in Prague. The works of Jacob Regnart and Philippe de Monte, according to Bohn’s catalogue, were copied extensively in Breslau.\textsuperscript{35} As a putative source, the partbooks “99 A” may be taken into account, where Regnart’s Missa Quodlibetica (6 v.), as well as Ph. De Monte’s Nasce la pena mia (6 v.), circulated only in manuscript copies, can be found.\textsuperscript{36} Four further masses might have been copied into the Tablature Book of Johann Plotz from this source.\textsuperscript{37}

### 2.2 The Tablature Books of Samuel Marckfelner I and II

Samuel Marckfelner succeeded Johann Plotz at the post of organist in Leutschau in 1648. His name can be connected to two further tablature books in the collection in which his writing could be identified.\textsuperscript{38} The main part of the Tablature Books of Samuel Marckfelner I and II (shelf mark 139901 /6 A/, 13994 /5 A/),\textsuperscript{39} containing the older layer of the repertoire, was written by a so far unknown scribe, who also began writing tablature book 13994 /4 A/ which was then complemented by Samuel Marckfelner, who took over from him in another book, 13991 /6 A/ from f. 166v on as well\textsuperscript{40} (Plate 5). When and how these tablature books got into the possession of Marckfelner is so far unknown. One of the watermarks of the paper comes from the town of Urach,\textsuperscript{41} and the repertoire of the older layer of the books shows a prevalence of German sources – M. Vulpius (1602, 1603, 1610), H. Praetorius (1607) –, which

\textsuperscript{35} For the list of the compositions of Regnart and de Monte preserved in manuscripts in Breslau see ibid., 360 (J. Regnart), 353 (Ph. de Monte).

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., 99:11; 99:5.

\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., 111–112: masses of J. Gallus (99:2 and 3) and O. di Lasso (99B:5 and 7). The unique occurrence of J. Regnart’s Missa quodlibetica was discussed by Adrian Rajter, Missa Quodlibetica Jacobi Regnarti – prispevok k rekonštrukcii diela [Missa Quodlibetica Jacobi Regnarti – a contribution to the reconstruction of the composition], (Thesis, Bratislava: Faculty of Arts, Comenius University, 1994). For the presence of the Italian musical repertoire in manuscript 13990a /1 A/, see Marieta Fupšová, Talianska hudba v Tabulatúrnom zborníku Caspara Plotza a súvislosti s Promptuarium Musicum Abrahama Schadaea (1611, 1612, 1613) [Italian music in the Tablature Book of Caspar Plotz and connections with Abraham Schadaeus’s Promptuarium Musicum (1611, 1612, 1613)] (Thesis, Bratislava: Faculty of Arts, Comenius University, 2007).

\textsuperscript{38} S. Marckfelner’s handwriting in 13994 /5 A/ was identified by Matuš, Tabulatúrny zborník Samuela Marckfelnera.

\textsuperscript{39} For the list of the repertoire of the Tablature Books of Samuel Marckfelner I and II, see Huková, Levočská zbierka hudobnín, vol. I, 121–155.

\textsuperscript{40} The repertoire layer noted by S. Marckfelner was dealt with by Iveta Kalinayová, Analýza skladieb zapisaných S. Marckfelnnerom v dvoch Tabulatúrnych zbierkach Samuela Marckfelnera [Analysis of the compositions noted by S. Marckfelner in the two tablature books of Samuel Marckfelner (Thesis, Bratislava: Faculty of Arts, Comenius University, 1992).

\textsuperscript{41} The town of Urach and the year 1647 was specified as the probable place and time of the origin of the paper of f. 64 of the manuscript 13994 /5 A/ by Viliam Decker, a specialist on watermarks, who assumes that also the paper of the manuscript 13992 /3 A/ (f. before the numbered folios and f. 23) originated in Urach in 1640 and 1642. Our thanks to V. Decker for identifying the watermarks.
might have served as the basis for the first scribe when these manuscripts were begun. From the contemporaneous collective musical prints, this anonymous scribe preferred *Florilegium selectissimarum cantionum* (Leipzig 1603) compiled by Erhard Bodenschatz, from which he intabulated a larger selection of pieces (10). No copy of this collective musical print is registered in Zips. As far as one can tell, the scribe might have had the nearest access to it in Breslau. E. Bohn registered in his catalogue the presence of not only the *Florilegium selectissimarum cantionum*, but also the occurrence of concordances to the compositions of Valentin Judex and Salomon Klein, which circulated only in copies. These facts might evoke the idea that the older layer of the repertoire of the *Tablature Books of Samuel Marckfelner* has been recorded in Silesia. However, this theory is contradicted by the presence of the composition *Tulerunt Dominum meum* by the local composer Georg Wirsinger, rector in the town

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42. Melchior Vulpius, *Cantionum sacrarum...* Jena 1602 (RISM A/I/9 V 2569); Melchior Vulpius, *Selectissimarum cantionum sacrarum...* Jena 1603 (RISM A/I/9 V 2571); Melchior Vulpius, *Opusculum novum selectissimarum cantionum sacrarum...* Erfurt 1610 (RISM A/I/9 V 2577); Hieronymus Praetorius, *Cantiones sacrae...* Hamburg 1607 (RISM A/I/7 P 5337).
43. RISM B/I/1 1603.
44. Specifically V. Judex’s *Missa super Rectius vives* and S. Klein’s *Pater noster qui es in coelis.*
of Karpfen, in both of the tablature books, with no concordances found elsewhere. What is more, the pieces of V. Judex and S. Klein found in the Leutschau books also figure in the Bartfeld Music Collection. The situation is similar in the case of the compositions of the Silesian musician Matthäus Apelles von Löwenstern (1594–1648). In several cases, their concordances – if any – can be found exclusively in the Bartfeld Music Collection. The scribe of Löwenstern’s pieces in Bartfeld was, according to Róbert Á. Murányi, the local organist Zacharias Zarewutius (1605–1667). The scribe of the older layer of the Tablature Books of Samuel Marckfelner I and II is the third musician who had access also to those compositions of Löwenstern – besides Z. Zarewutius and besides the organist of Leibitz who notated the Tablature Books of Ján Šimbracký I and II – that were not in Breslau. The question, how and by whose agency the not widely known compositions of the Silesian musician found their way to the region of Zips, remains for the time being unsolved. A reconstruction of the distribution routes of Löwenstern’s compositions could help to find answers to several questions regarding the scribes of the tablature books. Besides the anonymous scribe of the Tablature Books of Samuel Marckfelner I and II, Marckfelner himself was also familiar with Löwenstern’s works, since he copied his composition Singet dem Herren ein neues Lied whose concordance can be found in the Bartfeld Music Collection. The popularity of the works of this composer in Zips and Scharosch is underlined not only by the occurrence of his compositions in tablature scores, but also by their presence in the partbooks of the Leutschau as well as the Bartfeld Music Collection.

45. On f. 147v in the Tablature Book of Samuel Marckfelner I, he is designated as Georgij Wirsingeri / Rect Carpon, that is rector in the town of Karpfen (in Latin: Carpona).
47. The composition Lobet den Herren alle Heyden (8 v.) in manuscript 13994 /5 A/ on f. 15v–17r and in 13991 /6 A/ on f. 3v–5r.
48. For example Dass ist der Tag der den Herr (13994 /5 A/, f. 5v); Wie der Hirsch schreit (13994 /5 A/, f. 16v). See the concordance table of the occurrences of M. A. von Löwenstern’s compositions within the Leutschau and the Bartfeld Music Collection and in Breslau (Bohn, Die musikalischen Handschriften), in the thesis of Peter Martinček, Rekonštrukcia vybraných skladieb M. A. von Löwensterna z domácich prameňov zo 17. storočia [Reconstruction of selected compositions of M. A. von Löwenstern from 17th-century local sources], (Thesis, Bratislava: Faculty of Arts, Comenius University, 2011), 19–23.
50. The question whether Matthäus Apelles von Löwenstern, active in Silesia, might have been a relation of Balthasar Apelles who, according to contemporaneous accounts, was cantor in the years 1634 to 1641 in Leutschau, remains unanswered. For billing information about the salary of B. Apelles as cantor, see Pavol Niederland, Záznamy o hudobnom živote v Levoči, 44–50.
51. M. A. von Löwenstern’s composition Singet dem Herren ein neuen Liedt can be found in manuscript 13994 /5 A/, f. 116v. A concordance is noted by Murányi, Thematisches Verzeichnis der Musiksammlung von Bartfeld, no. 283.
52. Copies of Löwenstern’s composition Man wirdt zu Zion sagen (8 v.) can be found in five different manuscripts of the Leutschau Music Collection: besides the Tablature Books of Samuel Marckfelner I and II, also in partbooks 13996 /55 A/, no. 3; 14001 /59–61 A/, no. 150; 14003 /64–65 A/, no. 127.
With regard to the first scribe, the question arises as to why he recorded as many as 54 pieces in both books, in duplication. In the case of the Tablature Book of Samuel Marckfelner I (13991 /6 A/), the items which also appear in Tablature Book of Samuel Marckfelner II (13994 /5 A/) represent more than a third of the whole content of altogether 151 pieces. One of the possible answers is that the anonymous scribe prepared the books for two different parishes. No more duplicate entries were made at the time when the books were owned by S. Marckfelner. According to the chronological and geographical data found in tablature book 13994 /5 A/, it had been in Marckfelner’s possession already before he became organist in Zips (Wallendorf, 1647–1648, then Leutschau from the end of 1648), and he had it with him in Transylvania, in the towns of Kronstadt (1643) and Schässburg (1648) (Plate 6). Within historical Hungary, Transylvanian towns were inhabited by a similarly economically developed German population (the Siebenbürger Sachsen) as in Zips. Mutual contacts between Zips and Transylvania in the sphere of music are documented by several contemporaneous sources of music. Maybe the credit for the occurrence of Šimbracký’s composition Magnificat 6 toni in the Transylvanian Codex Caioni, goes to Marckfelner himself.


54. References can be found in the Tablature Book of Samuel Marckfelner II (13994 /5 A/) on f. 27r, 77r and 142r. R. Rybarič assumed that the repertoire of this book was partly notated in Transylvania. See Richard Rybarič, Dejiny hudobnej kultúry na Slovensku [History of musical culture in Slovakia], vol. I (Bratislava: Opus, 1984), 83.
of the three compositions of Šimbracký that S. Markfelner copied into the tablature book 13994 /5 A/, it is the Magnificat 6. toni which has no concordances in other manuscripts of the Leutschau Music Collection. It is noteworthy that a rare composition by the Silesian musician M. A. von Löwenstern can also be found in the Codex Caioni recorded by an anonymous scribe; in Central Europe, Löwenstern’s polyphonic compositions were most wide-spread precisely in this Zips-Scharosch region.

Other possible directions of musical contacts of the scribes of the Tablature Books of Samuel Markfelner I and II are suggested by compositions of lesser known composers such as [C.] Cunradus, Christian Gulderman, Samuel Monach, Fabianus Ripanus, David Thusius, etc., whose works were disseminated mainly in manuscripts. It is difficult to trace their origin and distribution channels, but if successful, the research can bring valuable information that will help to specify the geographical area out of which the tablatures have drawn their repertoire. Often, the author is not indicated in the sources. It is questionable whether we are on the right track when in the case of the anonymous composition Jauchtzet Gott alle Lande (8 v.), copied by the scribe of the older layer of the repertoire into the Tablature Book of Samuel Markfelner I (f. 5v–6r), we designate its author as a certain Cunradus, whose surname is given at the identical composition in the partbook 14001 /59–61 A/ (f. 106v, 101v, 115v) in the Leutschau Music Collection. Manuscript copies of this composition have been anonymously preserved in Bartfeld and Breslau. One cannot say for sure whether the surname refers to Caspar Cunradus (1571–1633), in connection with whom Ján Kuzmík notes that he came from the town of Breslau and was the author of a panegyric on the assistant notary Oswald Plotz of Neusohl. The imaginary route of investigation seems to reach a dead-end at the discovery that some Latin poems by this assistant notary, published by printer Daniel Schulz in Leutschau, have been preserved from 1620 and 1622.

Comparative research often leads to situations when manuscript concordances can be detected relatively far away geographically. For instance, when trying to reconstruct Magnificat 8 toni by David Thusius (13994 /5 A/, f. 142v–143r) (Plate 7), we obtained the vocal part from Gdańsk. However, it is not a unique case when concordances for compositions preserved in manuscript form in the

56. J. Šimbracký’s compositions in manuscript 13994 /5 A/: Officium (f. 109v–111r); Du friedenfürst Herr Jesu Christ (111v–113r), Magnificat VI. toni (119v–120r).
57. M. A. von Löwenstern’s composition Jauchzet dem Herren, see Codex Caioni saeculi XVII., no. 269.
58. See Murányi, Thematisches Verzeichnis der Musiksammlung von Bartfeld, no. 18; Bohn, Die musikalischen Handschriften, 21:105. It is quite confusing that in the manuscript 14003 /64 A, 65 A/ (f. 70r, 71v) in the Leutschau Music Collection, Heinrich Hartmann is listed as the author of this piece.
Central European Connections of Six Manuscript Organ Tablature Books

Zips-Scharosch region are found in Gdańsk. This fact is pointed out also by Agnieszka Leszczynska with regard to the oeuvre of Fabianus Ripanus. Current information on the life of this musician reveals that he was born in Silesia (Plesnensis Silesius) and studied and worked in Bohemia. His compositions circulated exclusively in copies, and are found at present in five towns: Rokycany, Levoča, Bardejov, Gdańsk, and Berlin. An anonymous scribe copied Ripanus’ composition *Resurrexit triumphator Dominus* (8 v.) (Plate 8) into the *Tablature Book of Samuel Marckfelné I*, and his *Grates nunc omnes* (8 v.) into the *Tablature Book of Samuel Marckfelné II*. Despite a respectable amount of musical prints, authorial as well as collective, the old manner of copying, still played an important role in the collection of the Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Gdańsk, Katalog (Gdańsk: Akademia Muzyczna, 1990), 292.


63. Noteworthy information on the life of F. Ripanus was gathered by A. Leszczynska by studying Czech periodicals from the 19th century. Ibid.

64. For example *Resurrexit triumphator Dominus* (8 v.) in the *Leutschau Music Collection* figures in three manuscripts (13992/3 A/; no. 85; 13991/6 A/; f. 36v; and 14001/59–61 A/; no. 92). In the *Bartfeld Music Collection*, four times, see Muranyi, Thematisches Verzeichnis der Musiksammlung von Bartfeld, no. 3, 898, 1213, and 2497. In the *Rokycany Music Collection*, in manuscript shelfmarked ROK A V 20a–e, no. 38. I thank for this information to Dr. Kateřina Maýrová from Prague. In Gdańsk, only one composition by F. Ripanus, *Triumphum canite*, has been preserved, see Popiginis–Szlagowska, *Musicalia Gedanenses*, 262 (Ms. 4008/[2], Ms. 4012/64[1]). Eitner also reports the occurrence of one composition, *Triumphum sancte*, in the Königliche Bibliothek in Berlin. See Robert Eitner, Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1903), vol. VIII, 246.

65. The composition *Grates nunc omnes* in the *Tablature Book of Samuel Marckfelné II* (f. 125v) figures without an author; this is the case also in the partbook of the *Leutschau Music Collection* 13996/55 A/; no. 62. F. Ripanus is listed as the author of this composition only in manuscript 14002/62–62 A/; no. 32.

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role in the distribution of the musical repertoire around 1600. The migration of musicians in Central Europe might have ensured the circulation of even those compositions that had never appeared in print.

It is noteworthy that the composition *Angeli laetantur de mirando* by Jacobus Gallus, an important composer of Slovenian extraction who lived in a Catholic environment in Moravia and Bohemia, can be found both in the *Tablature Book of Caspar Plotz*, and in the *Tablature Book of Samuel Marckfelner I*. In both cases, this piece is copied by anonymous scribes within the older layer of the repertoire. The composition deserves our special attention because it did not figure in the great four-volume printed collection of Gallus, *Opus musicum* I–IV (Prague 1586–1590), and was circulated only in copies. It was very popular in the Zips-Scharosch region where, besides partbooks of the *Leutschau and Bartfeld Music Collection*, it appears also in the *Musical Convolute* from the Library of the Lyceum in Kežmarok. It is highly unlikely that the anonymous intabulators of J. Gallus’ *Angeli laetantur de mirando* could draw on the manuscript partbooks of the *Leutschau Music Collection* 13997 /56–58 A/ and 14001 /59–61 A/, since the question of their origin has not been solved yet. Further manuscript sources of this composition are registered in the towns of Brieg and Thorn. The fact that the compiler of the older layer of the repertoire in the *Tablature Books of Samuel Marckfelner* I and II was governed by artistic quality rather than denominational affiliation of the composer while selecting pieces from the musical repertoire is evidenced by the great amount of compositions copied from the printed volumes of Jacobus Gallus.

67. It figures in the *Tablature Book of Caspar Plotz* on f. 10v–11r; in the *Tablature Book of Samuel Marckfelner I* on f. 145v–146r; in partbooks of the *Leutschau Music Collection* in manuscripts 13997 /56–58 A/; no. 7; 14001 /59–61 A/, no. 5; and 14003 /64–65 A/, no. 96. Within the musical units of the *Bartfeld Music Collection*, the composition occurs five times, see Muráňy, *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Musiksammlung von Bartfeld*, no. 227, 1219, 1287, 2217, and 2514. For another local occurrence of this piece, see Marta Hulková, “Hudobný konvolút z Lyceálnej knižnice v Kežmaroku” [The musical convoy from the Lyceum Library in Kežmarok], *Slovenská hudba* 24/3 (1998), 272. The composition was reconstructed and prepared for publication by Elena Kmeťová as part of her thesis at the Department of Musicology, Faculty of Arts, Comenius University in Bratislava in 1999. See Jacobus Gallus, *Angeli laetantur de mirando*, ed. Elena Kmeťová (Bratislava: Hudobné centrum, 2006) (= *Monumenta Musicae Slovacae*).
68. So far we have been unable to definitely identify the place of origin of these partbooks. Based on the present state of research we may assume that they originated partly in Saxony, partly in Silesia, and might have been completed in the region of Zips. See Hulková, “Musikalische Handschriften aus der Wendezeit des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts,” 258–260.
70. In the tablature books of the *Leutschau Music Collection*, more than 30 compositions are found by Jacobus Gallus, some figuring several times also in partbooks. See Hulková, *Levočská zbierka hudobnín*, vol. II, 147–150.
Marco Scacchi, whose composition *Herr, für dein Angeseichte* was copied by S. Marckfelner at the end of the *Tablature Book of Samuel Marckfelner I* (Plate 9), also worked in Catholic environment, namely at the Polish royal court. The piece is a contrafactum of his madrigal *O come sei gentile*, which might have found its way here thanks to sources from Breslau. Although Scacchi’s composition was contained also in the collective print *Vierdtter und letzter Theil Geiststliche Concerten* (1646) compiled by Ambrosius Profius which forms part of the *Leutschau Music Collection*, Marckfelner obtained the manuscript version of this piece that is found in Breslau, a connection which is born out by the fact that in its printed version the text of the composition is *Herr, höre meine Stimme*. S. Marckfelner concludes the tablature book 13991/6A/ with seven pieces by Andreas Hammerschmidt from his printed collection *Chor Music mit V und VI Stimmen* (1652), which suggests that the currently registered copy of this print within the *Leuschau Music Collection* might come from the second half of the seventeenth century, from the time of Marckfelner’s activities in Leutschau, and was owned by the Evangelical parish there.

The *Tablature Book of Samuel Marckfelner II* also contains musical items for the organ, consisting of a few bars, from Samuel Marckfelner’s own workshop. They enable us to get a glimpse of the everyday musical practice in St. Jacob’s

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**Plate 8** The beginning of Fabianus Ripanus’ composition *Resurrexit triumphator Dominus* (8 v.) in the *Tablature Book of Samuel Marckfelner I*, f. 36v–37r. Library of the Evangelical Church, Levoča, 13991/6 A/

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72. RISM B/I/1 1646, 60. This fact is pointed out in Bohn, *Die musikalischen Handschriften*, 274. See also Alexandra Patalas, *W kościele, w komnacie i w teatrze Marco Scacchi. Życie, muzyka, teoria [Marco Scacchi in the church, in the chamber and in the theatre. Life, music, theory]* (Kraków: Musica iagellonica, 2010), 429.
73. RISM A/I/4 H 1934. Manuscript 13978/35 A/ in the library of the Evangelical Church of the A. C. in Levoča.
Plate 9 Marco Scacchi’s composition *Herr, für dein Angesichte* (5 v.) copied by S. Marckelner in the Tablature Book of Samuel Marckelner I. f. 171v–172r. Library of the Evangelical Church, Levoča, 1391 /6 A/
Church in Leutschau where Marckfelner was organist until the year 1674.\textsuperscript{74} Music within the Lutheran service and the duties of organists were regulated by the so-called Leutschau Convention established at the 1651 synod.\textsuperscript{75} As a professional musician, Marckfelner might have been involved in secular music-making as well, as suggested by his notating of a \textit{Chorea Poloni} on f. 141v–142r in the \textbf{Tablature Book of Samuel Marckfelner II} (Plate 10).

\textbf{Plate 10} The beginning of the composition \textit{Chorea Poloni} (2 v.) notated by S. Marckfelner in the \textbf{Tablature Book of Samuel Marckfelner II}, f. 141v. Library of the Evangelical Church, Levoča, 13994 /5 A/

\section*{2.3 The \textbf{Tablature Books of Ján Šimbrický I and II}}

The last pair of the six extant tablature books in the \textbf{Leutschau Music Collection} undoubtedly originated, for the most part, in the region of Zips. This is evidenced by several geographical notes by their scribe, corroborated by an exact chronological reference (\textit{Plate 11}), as well as the origin of the paper used.\textsuperscript{76} Apart from the scribe of the index in manuscript 13992 /3 A/, the musical contents of both tablature books were recorded by one and the same person. As to his identity, several conflicting views have been formed in Slovak music-historical literature. It is quite a serious question, since the book 13992 /3 A/ contains forty compositions of Ján Šimbrický (Johann Schimbrack, Schimrack, Schimrag), local organist in Kirchdorf, and it is important to clarify whether these are autographs or copies of his works. Richard Rybarič attempted to answer the question in his monograph on Šimbrický in 1973 and, based on his study of the sources, concluded that these are not autographs.\textsuperscript{77} He disconfirmed the opinion of A. Hořejš and Viera Šedivá, who regarded Šimbrický as the notator of these manuscripts.\textsuperscript{78} Slovak literature on the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{74} See the source edition of these compositions in Matúš, \textit{Tabulatúrnzborník Samuela Marckfelnera}.
\item \textsuperscript{75} Ibid., 6.
\item \textsuperscript{76} For a detailed account on the geographical and chronological data recorded by the notator in the \textbf{Tablature Books of Ján Šimbrický I and II}, see Hulíková, \textit{Levočská zbierka hudobín}, vol. I, 81–120.
\item \textsuperscript{77} See Richard Rybarič, “Ján Šimbrický – spišský polyfonik,” 17–18.
\item \textsuperscript{78} See Antonín Hořejš, “Levočské tabulatúrne zbierky,” 108–118. The opinion of Hořejš was taken over by V. Šedivá in 1957 in her chapter “Podmienky pestovania polyfónnej hudby v našich mestách” [Conditions for making polyphonic music in our towns], in \textit{Dejiny slovenskej hudby}, eds. Ladislav Burlas – Ladislav Mokrý – Zdenko Nováček (Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1957), 102.
\end{itemize}
Plate 11 Sample of the geographical and chronological note at the end of Benedetto Pallavicini’s composition *Canite tuba in Syon* (8 v.) in the Tablature Book of Ján Šimbracký I, f. 14v: *Leibicij / 197bris .. / A 1641 ..* Library of the Evangelical Church, Levoča, 13992/3 A/
sources has been influenced by the fact that the name of the organist appears on
the first folios of the manuscripts: *Sborník Johanna Schimbrackého / Jahr 1635*
[Collection of Johann Schimbracky / Year 1635] in 13992 /3 A/ and *Sammlung /
Colligat / II. Sborník / Johann Schimbracky / Jh. 1644* [Collection / Colligat /
Collection II / Johann Schimbracky / Yr. 1644] in 13993 /4 A/. However, since
these notes were probably written by A. Hořejš, they have no historical relevance.
In choosing the Slovak version of the orthography of the surname “Šimbracký” in
Slovak music-historical literature, the manuscript 13992 /3 A/ was not taken into
account, where the German version of the surname, “Schimbrack” figures at five
of the compositions79 (Plate 12). In 1995, Janka Petőczová assigned the role of the
scribe of the *Tablature Books of Ján Šimbracky* I and II to Thomas Gosler, a Ger-
man refugee working as a notary in Käsmark (1625–1646).80 However, compar-
ative research has not confirmed this hypothesis,81 since the handwriting of this
person is not identical to that of the scribe of the tablature books (Plate 13a–b–c).
On the strength of the study of the extant sources, the present author inclines to
accept Rybarič’s opinion who surmised that the scribe of the books might have been an as yet anonymous organist in the town Leibitz who, besides numerous
geographical notes, left a special written account of his copying activities in the
manuscript itself82 (Plate 14). Moreover, there is a tag worded *Noten / Leibi[c]*... stuck on the spine of the binding of the *Tablature Book of Ján Šimbracký II*.

The repertoire of the *Tablature Books of Ján Šimbracky* I and II does not
differ significantly from that of the other tablature books.83 They are dominated
by the works of German composers (Melchior Vulpius, Hieronymus Praetorius,
Bartholomeus Gesius, Heinrich Schütz, Samuel Scheidt, Johann Herman Schein,
Tobias Michael, Daniel Friderici, Melchior Franck, etc.) available for the scribe
in prints. They also contain a sample from the repertoire of the collective print
*Promptuarium musicum* (1611, 1612, 1613) compiled by Abraham Schadaeus. To
what extent authorial prints registered within the *Leutschau Music Collection*

79. See Richard Rybarič, “Ján Šimbracky – spišský polyfonik”; Janka Petőczová, “Musica Scepusii Vet-
eris – aktuálne problémy pri vydávaní spišských hudobnohistorických prameňov” [Musica Scepusii Veters –
current problems of publishing music-historical sources from Spiš], in *Hudobnohistorický výskum na Slo-
version of the surname of this organist from Kirchdorf (J. Šimrák) was introduced by Janka Petőczová in 2004.
The negative impact of frequent changes in the orthography of historical names is pointed out by Hulková,
“Poznámky na recenziu.”

80. See Janka Petőczová, “Tomáš Gosler – neznámy spišský skladateľ 17. storočia” [Tomáš Gosler – an
unknown 17th-century composer from Spiš], *Slovenská hudba* 21/2 (1995), 228–262.

81. For more on this, see Hulková, “Zhody a odlišnosti Bardejovskej a Levočskej zbierky hudobnín,”
179–182.

82. So far only his initials are known. The archive materials that could document and specify the identity
of the organist of Leibitz, active in the 1630s and 1640s, are not available.

83. For an updated list of the repertoire with the identifications of the compositions in the *Tablature Book
of Ján Simbracky* I, see Hulková, *Levočska zbierka hudobnín*, vol. I, 81–103; for the list of the repertoire of
the *Tablature Book of Ján Simbracky* II, see ibid., 103–120. See also Johnson, *Vocal Compositions in German
Organ Tablatures*, Catalogue, 75–84.
such as *Psalmen Davids* (1619) by H. Schütz, *Musikalischer Seelenlust* (1634) by T. Michael, *Cantiones sacrae* (1620) by S. Scheidt, and the collective print *Promptuarium musicum* (1611, 1612, 1613), etc., respectively contemporaneous manuscripts of music might have served as sources for the tablature books, cannot be claimed unequivocally. It is not exactly known where the musical prints were kept at the time when the tablature books were prepared, nor when they were placed in the Library of the Evangelical Church in Leutschau. When the information published by Gabriela Žibritová who, based on earlier Hungarian literature, 84.

Plate 13b Latin signature of Thomas Gosler, notary in Käsmark, from 1644 in Zienß Unndt Gehendt / Buch / daß / 1644 / Jahres... State District Archive in Poprad, fund of the Municipality of Kežmarok, shelf mark IB.43
states that 5419 books were registered on the northern choir of the new Evangelical Church in Leutschau in 1885 is taken into account, the question arises whether the currently registered sheet music was part of this library in the first half of the seventeenth century, and whether the organist from Leibitz had access to it. The majority of the music has a still valid shelf mark of the library of the Evangelical Church in Levoča above number 11141, which holds true in the case of the six tablature books. A larger quantity of music could have been acquired probably only at the end of the nineteenth century thanks to Lajos Weszter, a retired military doctor, who pursued collecting activities in Leutschau as well as in a wider area in Zips. It is thanks to his efforts that the number of books in the

library grew to 16,000 volumes, as reported by studies from the beginning of the twentieth century. Maybe it was because of Weszter that musical manuscripts and prints from Leibitz found their way to the collection of the library of the Evangelical Church in Leutschau. According to Jozef Repčák, at the end of 1916 this library contained as many as 17,685 volumes, 13,371 of which were kept on


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the choir of the Evangelical church at that time, while the rest were in the parish library room in Leutschau.87

For the music history of the region, it is significant that the Tablature Book of Ján Šimbrický I contains unique occurrences of compositions of local musicians like Ján Šimbrický, organist in Kirchdorf, Thomas Gosler, notary in Käsmark, Georg Wirsinger, rector in Karpfen and perhaps of others, too and that rare compositions of the Silesian musician, M. A. von Löwenstern, can be found in both Tablature Books of Ján Šimbrický. The analysis of the repertoire of the tablature books notated by the organist of Leibitz reveals that he adopted a different concept when compiling the two of them. In the Tablature Book of Ján Šimbrický I, he included a varied selection of pieces not only from the German early Baroque repertoire available in print but twenty-two pieces also from the collective print Promptuarium Musicum (1611, 1612, 1613), widespread all over Central Europe. Research on this repertoire will have to devote special attention also to those compositions that have no printed or manuscript original, and may be of local origin, like for example Gott es ist mein rechter Ernst by Georg Seidelius, recorded by the scribe in the town of Schemnitz in 1637. Also, a mass by Georg Majoris, which was added to the repertoire after completing the numbering of the pieces in tablature book 13992 /3 A/. Manuscript concordances have been found only in the Bartfeld Music Collection in the case of the compositions of Christian Guldenerman and D. Siegfriedt. Lesser-known composers also include Tobias Hertel, whose name is given at the mass Laudate Dominum de coelis in the Bartfeld Music Collection, while in the Tablature Book of Ján Šimbrický I, as well as in E. Bohn’s catalogue in Breslau, it occurs as an anonymous composition. The opposite is true for the mass Si qua rubent whose author is identified only in Breslau as Michael Engelsdörfer, whereas in the Tablature Book of Ján Šimbrický I, as well as in the Bartfeld Music Collection, it figures as an anonymous composition. The masses by T. Hertel and M. Engelsdörfer could be found, according to Bohn’s catalogue, in the same source in Breslau (96:10, 96:2) that contained twelve masses, and has been dated to the end of the sixteenth century.88 The presence of three compositions by F. Ripanus in this source is also noteworthy. Two of them are unique occurrences,89 whereas the third piece, Resurrexit triumphator Dominus (8 v.), present in the Bartfeld Music Collection, was the most popular one in the Zips-Scharosch region. There are as many as seven copies of this piece.

88. See Bohn, Die musikalischen Handschriften, 109.
89. Gaudete omnes et laetamini (8 v.) on f. 8v–9r recorded additionally after completing the numbering of the pieces in the manuscript; Vox clamantis in deserto (8 v.) on f. 13v–14r.
registered not only in tablature versions but also in partbooks. This fact supports A. Leszczyńska’s hypothesis that Ripanus, active mainly in Bohemia, might have spent some time also in that territory of historical Hungary that is now Slovakia.

The concept of the Tablature Book of Ján Šimbracký II is more homogeneous, mainly for the reason that it focuses primarily on the works of German composers whose compositions were intabulated by the organist of Leibitz almost completely, based on musical prints available at the time. From H. Schütz’s Psalmen Davids (1619), he did not duplicate the compositions which can be found in the Tablature Book of Ján Šimbracký I. The intabulation of Heinrich Schütz’s Concert in Form einer teuschen Begräbniss-Missa – Musikalische Exequien (1636) has special significance, since its printed version has not been preserved, and the modern edition of this work could be realized also thanks to the Tablature Book of Ján Šimbracký II where it figures on f. 108v–115r.

**Conclusion**

As it was to be expected, the musical repertoire of the six manuscript organ tablature books dating back to the Reformation Era and kept in the region of Zips in the historical library of the Evangelical Church of the A. C. in Levoča is adequate to a collection of music that has been preserved at a German Lutheran parish. Most of the inhabitants of the towns in the region were, at that time, descendants of German immigrants who had arrived here in several waves after the devastation of the Kingdom of Hungary by Mongolian invaders in the course of the thirteenth century. They came mainly from Saxony and, in a smaller number, from Thuringia. Continuous contacts between the immigrants and their homeland were in several aspects kept alive for centuries, and had a significant impact on their cultural life. During the first half of the seventeenth century, mainly in the time of the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648), their numbers were multiplied by German refugees, among them many scholars, who had been persecuted for their Protestant affiliation. That is why it is logical that the repertoire of the tablature books reveals the most immediate correspondences with the music of those regions where the Germans of Zips have come from, and also with other areas in Eastern-Central Europe (Silesia, Transylvania) where German urban populations prevailed at that time. The compositions of German musicians (of M. Vulpius, B. Gesius, H. Schütz, S. Scheidt, J. H. Schein, S. and T. Michael, etc.) whose musi-

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90. For the number of occurrences of this composition in the Leutschau and the Bartfeld Music Collection, see note 64.

91. For the list of the repertoire presenting the identification of the compositions in the Tablature Book of Ján Šimbracký II, see Hulková, Levočská zbierka hudobnín, vol. I, 103–120. See also Johnson, Vocal Compositions, Catalogue, 75–84.
cal prints were published in Wittenberg, Jena, Erfurt, Dresden, Leipzig, etc. could find their way to Zips quickly: they could be brought here either by students from the region studying at German universities or by the scholars among the refugees. On the other hand, the compositions of local musicians were circulated exclusively in copies. For instance, compositions of Z. Zarewutius, an important organist active for decades in the royal free town of Bartfeld in the region of Scharosch are absent from the repertoire of the six tablature books. It is all the more surprising since the royal free towns of the Zips-Scharosch region were connected also in the denominational aspect by the so-called Confessio Pentapolitana, developed for protecting the Evangelical Church of the A. C. in the sixteenth century by scholar Leonard Stöckel from Bartfeld. One would expect to see Zarewutius’ compositions especially in the Tablature Books of Ján Šimbracký I and II, since they definitely originated in a local environment. However, their scribe, an as yet anonymous organist of the town of Leibitz, was more familiar with the musical repertoire coming from Silesia in manuscripts. In the Šimbracký books he intabulated fifteen compositions of the Silesian musician M. A. von Löwenstern, several of which represent a unique occurrence. Possible connections of the repertoire with the Silesian musical environment are present to an even larger extent in the case of the Tablature Books of Caspar Plotz. Caspar Plotz was an organist in the Silesian town of Brieg, and this town is connected also to Johann Plotz who gained the post of organist in Leutschau in 1641 and might have brought along both tablature books 13990a/1 A/ and 13990b/2 A/ from Silesia. The Tablature Book of Caspar Plotz contains also compositions of musicians working in Breslau, for instance Th. Fritschius and G. Lange. At the time, the capital of Silesia, Breslau attracted the youth also from the territory of historical Hungary, and thus from the territory of present-day Slovakia as well. Education was at a high level in this town, and this provided an excellent opportunity to gain the necessary knowledge for entering university, for example in Wittenberg. Apparently, the musical repertoire of the libraries in Breslau might also have served as a possible source for the scribe of the older layer of the repertoire in the Tablature Books of Samuel Marckfelner I and II. He intabulated compositions of V. Judex and S. Klein which had been circulated only in copies, and their concordances can be found in Breslau and also in the Bartfeld Music Collection. Credit goes to this scribe also for the compositions of the Silesian musician M. A. von Löwenstern which are not registered by E. Bohn in Breslau and have concordances solely within the Bartfeld Music Collection, or their occurrence is unique. These facts reveal that the compositions of this musician, as well as of other Silesian composers, might have found their way to the Zips-Scharosch region also by other than Breslau contacts.

92. For instance, the following compositions in the Tablature Book of Ján Šimbracký I: Nu bitten wir den heiligen Geist (f. 120v–120r); Von Himmel hoch da komm ich her (f. 30v–32r); Was betrübst du dich meine Seele (f. 188v–189r); Zion spricht der Herr hat mich (f. 186v–189r).
Musical connections in the direction of Transylvania are documented by geographical notes in the Tablature Book of Samuel Marckfelner II, written by S. Marckfelner, organist in Leutschau. So far we have been unable to confirm whether some of the anonymous compositions in this manuscript notated by S. Marckfelner might have a Transylvanian origin.

Musical connections with Bohemia and Moravia in the tablature books were not established through compositions of Bohemian and Moravian musicians but through works of musicians of other nationalities who permanently stayed in that region like the Slovenian J. Gallus, the Silesian F. Ripanus, and musicians at the court of Emperor Rudolf II, Ph. de Monte and J. Regnart. It is noteworthy that the compositions of F. Ripanus which circulated only in copies, connect the organist of Leibitz, scribe of the Tablature Books of Ján Šimbracký, to the scribe of the older layer of the Tablature Books of Samuel Marckfelner, as well as to the Bartfeld organist Z. Zarewutius.93 The question as to which of them might have brought the compositions of F. Ripanus to the Zips-Scharosch region, or whether Ripanus himself spent some time there, remains unanswered in the present state of research.

The locality furthest away from Zips where manuscript concordances with compositions in the tablature books have been found is historical Danzig, the Gdańsk of today. At the time, similarly to Zips a German population prevailed in Danzig, which was dominated in the field of religion by Lutheranism. With regard to the migration of musicians in Central Europe, Baltic towns belonging to Prussia might have attracted in the course of the sixteenth and the seventeenth century people from Zips as well, who sought to obtain their education.94 The print of Crato Bütner, Te Deum laudamus (Danzig 1662)95 in the library of the Evangelical Church in Levoča points to the probability of such contacts.

Pieces composed in the sixteenth century in the style of Flemish Renaissance polyphony as well as in the Venetian polychoral style might have found their way to the repertoire of the organ tablature books of the Leutschau Music Collection via authorial and collective musical prints whose number was quite respectable thanks to the output of Italian and German printers. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, owning musical prints was not a rarity even in Zips.96

93. Z. Zarewutius copied two compositions by F. Ripanus into manuscript Ms. mus. Bärtfa 17 of the Bartfeld Music Collection: Triumphum canite Deo nostro (10 v.) and Resurrexit triumphator Dominus (8 v.), see Murányi, Thematisches Verzeichnis der Musiksammlung von Bartfeld, no. 2, 3.
94. The university in Königsberg (present-day Kaliningrad, Russia) was attended also by students from Zips, Johannes Celscher from Zipser Neudorf among them. See Agnieszka Leszczyńska, “From Spiš to Royal Prussia: the creative development of Johannes Celscher,” Musicology Today 2 (2005), 83–94.
95. RISM A/I/1 B 4915. At present, this print is lost; data pertaining to it can be found in the catalogue of the library of the Evangelical Church in Levoča, shelf mark 13988.
could be owned by scholars but, more often, were in the possession of church institutions for which the necessary funds for purchasing prints were provided by the municipal council. For instance, the town of Leutschau purchased O. di Lasso’s voluminous *Magnum opus musicum* (1604) for the needs of the church for 15 florins. The possible presence already in the first half of the seventeenth century in Zips of the collective print *Promptuarium musicum* (1611, 1612, 1613, 1617) compiled by A. Schadaeus is suggested by copies of pieces in the *Tablature Book of Ján Šimbracký* I by the organist of Leibitz. An anonymous scribe of the older layer of the *Tablature Books of Samuel Marckfelner* I and II, on the other hand, preferred pieces from the collective print *Florilegium selectissimarum cantionum* (1603) compiled by E. Bodenschatz, which has not been preserved in Zips.

The findings of research allow the conclusion that, besides Saxony and the territory of the present-day Saxony-Anhalt where the majority of the printed sources came from, the tablature books also reveal close connections and possible correspondences with the Silesian music-cultural environment. At the time, Silesia was a crossroads for the exchange of cultural values for the German-speaking population of Central Europe. Occasionally, contemporaneous musical repertoire handed down in manuscripts was supplemented thanks to the migration of organists in Central Europe, whether from Bohemia and Moravia, Transylvania, or from the Baltic towns belonging to Prussia. From other musical centres of Europe, for instance Italy, a rich digest of works was presented in the collective prints of the time. The scribes (organists) of the tablature books preserved in Zips were attracted in this regard mainly by anthologies compiled by A. Schadaeus (1611, 1612, 1613) and E. Bodenschatz (1603).
## Appendix I

### Historical names in German and Hungarian of the towns and regions and their currently used official names

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historical names in German</th>
<th>Historical names in Hungarian</th>
<th>Current official names of the towns and regions</th>
<th>Names of countries where they are currently found</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bartfeld</td>
<td>Bártfa</td>
<td>Bardejov</td>
<td>Slovakia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breslau</td>
<td>Boroszló</td>
<td>Wrocław</td>
<td>Poland</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brieg</td>
<td>Brzeg</td>
<td></td>
<td>Poland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danzig</td>
<td>Gdaňsk</td>
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<td>Poland</td>
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<td>Eperjes</td>
<td>Prešov</td>
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<td>Nagyszeben</td>
<td>Sibiu</td>
<td>Romania</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Kassa</td>
<td>Košice</td>
<td>Slovakia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Korpona</td>
<td>Krupina</td>
<td>Slovakia</td>
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<td>Kirchdorf (Kirchdrauf)</td>
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<td>Spišské Podhradie</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Kaliningrad</td>
<td>Russia</td>
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<td>Poland</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Brassó</td>
<td>Brașov</td>
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<td>Lubica</td>
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<td>Levoča</td>
<td>Slovakia</td>
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<td>Banská Bystrica</td>
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<td>Rokycany</td>
<td>Czech Republic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Siebenbürigen</td>
<td>Erdély</td>
<td>Transilvania</td>
<td>Romania</td>
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<td>Scharosch</td>
<td>Sáros</td>
<td>Šariš</td>
<td>Slovakia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Schässburg</td>
<td>Segesvár</td>
<td>Sighişoara</td>
<td>Romania</td>
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<td>Selmečbánya</td>
<td>Banská Štiavnica</td>
<td>Slovakia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Schlesien</td>
<td>Szilézia</td>
<td>Śląsk / Slezsko</td>
<td>Poland/Czech Republic</td>
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<td>Zipser Neudorf</td>
<td>Igló</td>
<td>Spišská Nová Ves</td>
<td>Slovakia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


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Appendix II

Selected studies and monographs on the manuscript tablature books:
