

GIOVANNI GABRIELI AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

Music, Sources and Collections

Richard Charteris

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Giovanni Gabrieli
and His Contemporaries

For Raymond Dittrich

Richard Charteris

Giovanni Gabrieli
and His Contemporaries

Music, Sources and Collections

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CONTENTS

Introduction	vii–x
Acknowledgements	xi
I Newly Discovered Manuscript Parts and Annotations in a Copy of Giovanni Gabrieli's <i>Symphoniae sacrae</i> (1615) <i>Early Music</i> 23. Oxford, 1995	487–496
II Giovanni Gabrieli's <i>Sacrae symphoniae</i> (Venice, 1597): Some Rediscovered Partbooks with New Evidence about Performance Practice <i>Im Dienst der Quellen zur Musik: Festschrift Gertraud Haberkamp zum 65. Geburtstag, ed. Paul Mai. Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2002</i>	195–228
III A New Keyboard Work by Giovanni Gabrieli and the Relevance of its Compositional Technique <i>Music & Letters</i> , 85. Oxford, 2004	1–21
IV Autographs of John Coprario <i>Music & Letters</i> , 56. Oxford, 1975	41–46
V 'Fuerunt mihi lacrymae': Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder or the Younger? <i>Altro Polo: Essays on Italian Music in the Cinquecento, ed. Richard Charteris. Sydney: Frederick May Foundation for Italian Studies, 1990</i>	113–130
VI A Rediscovered Manuscript Source with Some Previously Unknown Works by John Jenkins, William Lawes and Benjamin Rogers <i>Chelys</i> , 22. London, 1993	3–29

VII	New Motets by Hans Leo Hassler: Indications of Second Thoughts <i>Musica Franca: Essays in Honor of Frank A. D'Accone, ed. Irene Alm, Alyson McLamore and Colleen Reardon. Stuyvesant, New York: Pendragon Press, 1996</i>	511–540
VIII	A Newly Discovered Songbook in Poland with Works by Henry Lawes and his Contemporaries <i>English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700, 8. London, 2000</i>	225–279
IX	An Early-Seventeenth-Century Collection of Sacred Vocal Music and its Augsburg Connections <i>Notes, 58. Middleton, Wisconsin, 2002</i>	511–535
X	New Connections between Eastern Europe and Works by Philips, Dowland, Marais and Others <i>Chelys, 29. London, 2001 [2002]</i>	3–27
XI	A Neglected Anthology of Sacred Vocal Music Dating from the Sixteenth Century <i>Music & Letters, 90. Oxford, 2009</i>	1–34
	Addenda and Corrigenda	1–6
	Index	1–13
	Index of Compositions	1–9
	Index of Music Manuscripts	1–7
	Index of Music Editions	1–6

INTRODUCTION

The essays presented here draw on work spanning some decades and reflect an abiding interest in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century composers and their music, and particularly in source-critical studies, stylistic analysis and collections. While the period is the over-arching glue that binds the essays together, most cover quite disparate subjects, though some overlap. Many focus on ‘new’ materials that deepen the knowledge of individual musicians and institutions where they were employed. Collectively they illuminate facets of the source picture, music and accomplishments of particular composers and collectors.

The first three essays concern Giovanni Gabrieli (d. 1612). In the mid 1570s Giovanni followed in the footsteps of his uncle and teacher, Andrea Gabrieli, and became an employee of the Munich chapel of Albrecht V, Duke of Bavaria, and was there influenced by Lassus. Giovanni was in Venice in 1584 working as a temporary organist at St Mark’s Basilica. His abilities were quickly recognized, and on 1 January 1585 he was successful in St Mark’s *prova*, a competition to select the next organist, and his appointment became permanent. He also secured the post of organist at the Venetian confraternity of the Scuola Grande di San Rocco, holding both positions for the remainder of his life.

Giovanni Gabrieli composed a substantial body of works for the church. Among them are organ pieces that survive mostly in manuscript copies, some of which have only come to light in recent years, as illustrated in Essay III which deals with an impressive new keyboard *ricercar* uncovered in the binding of a book in Berlin. The bulk of his church compositions, however, including many of pivotal importance, comprise motets, mass movements and settings for ensembles of voices and instruments ranging from six to thirty-three parts, and instrumental ensemble canzonas and sonatas, a few small scale like his sonata for three violins and continuo but most for much greater forces, the largest scored for twenty-two parts. Gabrieli’s first single-composer collection was his *Sacrae symphoniae* (Venice, 1597), which proved extraordinarily influential north of the Italian Alps and contains a large number of polychoral motets and instrumental ensemble works; some rediscovered partbooks with manuscript music additions and annotations shed valuable light on early performance practice and are the subject of Essay II. The other major collections were published posthumously by his friends and admirers. One of them is the widely disseminated *Symphoniae sacrae* (Venice, 1615); a copy in Eastern Europe with crucial music manuscript additions and other information is the focus of Essay I. The latter edition includes his splendid multiple-choir settings *Quem vidistis pastores?* (a 14; C77) and *In ecclesiis* (a 14; C78), scored for voices, instruments and basso continuo, and demonstrate how far Gabrieli transformed the *cori spezzati* style by heralding the cantata that flourished later in the Baroque era.

John Coprario (d. 1626) is probably best known today to viola da gamba players. Early writers indicated that he was born in England and Italianized his surname, most likely after spending time in Italy. He played a leading role in the development of early English instrumental consort music, particularly at the Stuart court. For a long time scholars speculated that one source or another was autograph, even though there was no evidence to determine the matter. The situation changed dramatically with my discovery of autograph material in the archives of a prominent English aristocratic household, as Essay IV attests.

Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder (d. 1588) was born in Bologna and for an extended period served as a musician at the court of Queen Elizabeth I, as well as being one of her most colourful espionage agents, making frequent return trips to the Continent. He was a prolific composer of sacred and secular vocal works, influencing a generation of English composers through the gravitas of his music and by exposing them to Continental techniques. In the twentieth century, several scholars overturned centuries of accepted wisdom and assigned the four-part motet 'Fuerunt mihi lacrymae' (C36) to Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder's son, Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger. Using contemporary evidence and stylistic analysis, Essay V establishes which composer was the author.

Essay VI investigates some rediscovered manuscript partbooks that were long considered to be destroyed during World War II. Until this essay was published, little was known about the partbooks except that prior to the War they were located in the Stadtbibliothek Hamburg (which later became the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek); brief mention was made about them in the library's manuscript catalogue, compiled by Arrey von Dommer in the 1870s, and in Robert Eitner's *Quellen-Lexikon* in 1901 and 1903. The dislocation caused by the War was responsible for what proved to be their disappearance rather than destruction. During the War, the partbooks were placed in storage in an area that became part of East Germany, and after hostilities ceased they were transported to Leningrad (St Petersburg). There they sheltered in relative anonymity until they were returned to the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg in May 1991. Copied in 1683–1684 for the distinguished English merchant Sir Gabriel Roberts (d. 1715), the partbooks contain a sizeable quantity of works for stringed instruments and basso continuo, a good number of which were previously unknown.

Hans Leo Hassler (d. 1612), a close friend of Giovanni Gabrieli, received his early musical training in Nuremberg and studied with Andrea Gabrieli in Venice in 1584–1585. In 1586 Hassler was back in Germany, and during the remainder of his career, based variously in Augsburg, Nuremberg and Dresden, he had a profound impact in his native country as an organist and composer. His compositions were widely circulated and influential, and many years later one of his works was used by J. S. Bach in the *St Matthew Passion* (BWV244). A contemporary manuscript score-book includes six Hassler pieces that hitherto had escaped scholarly attention. Two of them, both for multiple choirs, illuminate a little known aspect of Hassler's compositional process, in particular that he had

second thoughts about some of his music. Essay VII studies the background and stylistic features of these works and places them in the context of revisions Hassler made to other motets, as well as examining reworkings by his contemporaries, including the Gabriellis.

Among the vast number of early printed music editions and manuscripts that migrated from Berlin to Kraków as a result of dislocation during the second World War, is a Restoration manuscript fascicle bound with three song books published by John Playford 1655–1659. For many years the whereabouts of the Berlin materials was unknown in the West, and the nature and extent of the holdings in Kraków has only gradually become apparent over recent decades. As Essay VIII shows, the manuscript fascicle mostly contains English, French and Italian secular vocal works and sheds important light on the musical and literary life of London during the 1660s. Its copyist proves to be the well-known London cleric John Patrick, and remarkably the manuscript contains the only known examples of his music hand.

As Essay IX reveals, a previously unexplored inventory compiled by Adam Gumpelzhaimer (d. 1625) permits insights into his collecting activities for the Church and School of St. Anna, Augsburg, where he was employed for 44 years as its *Kantor* and preceptor. The inventory records 17 early music editions, containing motets, masses and other liturgical works, many for multiple choirs, which Gumpelzhaimer acquired in 1608 and had bound in eight volumes. The identification of the editions and investigation of their provenance elucidate how the collection came to be fragmented and dispersed. They are now distributed between two European libraries. A study of the editions uncovers several items omitted from RISM, and enlarges the knowledge of Gumpelzhaimer's musical taste and the activities of Augsburg's most important Lutheran church.

The Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków, possesses around 2,500 pre-1700 music editions, and a significant quantity include manuscript music additions. Essay X contains a guide to the relevant sources, based on a survey that I undertook of the entire collection. The prime focus of the essay, however, is three editions that have contemporary manuscript music. Two of the manuscripts date from the 1590s: one includes a previously unknown four-part version of Peter Philips's *Dolorosa Pavan*, and the other contains instrumental and vocal works, including the earliest known consort version of John Dowland's *Lachrimae Pavan*. The third source, an edition of Marin Marais's first book of viol music, includes manuscript additions that throw light on the French master and the history of the volume.

A distinctive feature of printed anthologies of polyphonic vocal music published in the last four decades of the sixteenth century, was the proliferation of collections assembled and edited by individuals other than printers and publishers. This development was often marked by the appearance of the names of editors in the publications themselves. One such example is the subject of Essay XI, the collection *Suavissimorum modulorum selectissimae cantiones sacrae ex*

praestantissimis quibusdam musicis collectae (Munich, 1590). Edited by Stephan Schormann, who is named on the one of the title pages, all its pieces are anonymous. The copy in the British Library, which had been largely overlooked, differs significantly from other extant copies since it includes contemporary ascriptions added by Adam Gumpelzhaimer (mentioned previously). This essay identifies many of its works and concordances, and substantially augments the knowledge of its music and history.

RICHARD CHARTERIS

Sydney, 2011

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The essays in this volume, as in most others in the *Variorum Collected Studies Series*, have not been given a new, continuous pagination. In order to avoid confusion, and to facilitate their use where these same studies have been referred to elsewhere, the original pagination has been maintained wherever possible.

Each essay has been given a Roman number in order of appearance, as listed in the Contents. This number is repeated on each page and is quoted in the index entries.

Newly discovered manuscript parts and annotations in a copy of Giovanni Gabrieli's *Symphoniae sacrae* (1615)



¹ Giovanni Gabrieli, *Symphoniae sacrae* (Venice, 1615), 'Octavus' partbook, title-page (Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, St. dr. mus. 237 [1–14])

The copy of Giovanni Gabrieli's *Symphoniae sacrae* ... *liber secundus*. *Senis*, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, & 19. *Tam vocibus, Quam instrumentis*. *Editio Noua* ... (Venice, 1615) in the Biblioteka Uniwersytecka in Warsaw—bearing the pressmark St. dr. mus. 237 [1–14] and consisting of 14 partbooks—includes some contemporary manuscript parts that provide new information about Gabrieli's sacred vocal works *Sancta et immaculata* (a 7) (C55) and the Magnificat (a 17) (C83).¹ The Warsaw partbooks also include some early 17th-century annotations, a number of which contribute to our understanding of how certain works were treated by some of Gabrieli's contemporaries.

The musical additions to the Warsaw partbooks rectify misprints that must have occurred because Gabrieli was unable to supervise the relevant print through the press. When Giovanni Gabrieli died in Venice in early August 1612 a considerable amount of his music remained unpublished. During the 15 years that elapsed between the publication of his *Sacrae symphoniae* ... (Venice, 1597) and his death, only a handful of his works appeared in print, and all these in anthologies. The bulk of his manuscript works produced during this period, together with some earlier compositions, were posthumously collected and published by some of his friends—Giovanni himself performed the same service for his uncle, Andrea Gabrieli, in the years that followed the latter's death in 1585. In Giovanni's case it was three years before his music appeared in print, and this in three major collections, including: Giovanni Gabrieli's *Symphoniae sacrae* ... (Venice, 1615), edited by Alvise Grani, one of Gabrieli's colleagues at the musical establishment of St Mark's, Venice; Giovanni Gabrieli's *Canzoni et sonate* ... (Venice, 1615), edited by Gabrieli's executor, the Augustinian monk Father P. F. Taddeo; and the anthology *Reliquiae sacrorum concertuum* ... (Nuremberg, 1615), edited by Georg Gruber (*d* 1631), who published the collection as a tribute to his recently deceased friends Giovanni Gabrieli and Hans Leo Hassler.² Of the three posthumous publications, Gabrieli's *Symphoniae sacrae* is the most problematic in respect of its misprints.³

Together with many other early prints, the Warsaw partbooks were transferred in the early 1950s to the Biblioteka Uniwersytecka in Warsaw (the title-page of each partbook now bears the latter institution's pressmark, as seen, for example, in illus. 1). The relevant printed material was previously located in the Musikalisches Institut bei der

Universität Breslau, formerly known as the Akademisches Institut für Kirchenmusik; the printed music that was once there is revealed in a catalogue published in 1883 by Emil Bohn. Bohn's description of Gabrieli's *Symphoniae sacrae* leaves no doubt that he is referring to the copy now located in Warsaw, since he names one of the works that has a manuscript part in the Warsaw copy, and cites the relevant volume in which the additional part is found.⁴ Additional incontrovertible evidence that the Warsaw copy is the same as that in the Breslau institute is provided by the former pressmark, 'Ad 59', listed in a book on the Breslau institute's music collection published in 1922,⁵ for this pressmark appears on the outside of the modern paper covers of each of the Warsaw partbooks.

The Breslau institute began collecting music in 1810; thus it must have acquired the partbooks at some point between this year and 1883, when Bohn's catalogue appeared in print. However, an earlier reference to the partbooks, albeit indirect, appears in a book by Carl von Winterfeld (1784–1852) which was published in 1834.⁶ Winterfeld indicates that

Gabrieli's *Symphoniae sacrae* has misprints and that one source rectifies some of these by means of manuscript alterations; regrettably, Winterfeld does not reveal the location of the print concerned. In a footnote, Winterfeld names *Sancta et immaculata* (a 7) and the Magnificat (a 17)—which are the subject of the present study—as two works affected in this manner, though he offers no comment about their misprints and manuscript alterations. However, the relevant manuscript alterations with the 17-voice Magnificat are included in Winterfeld's transcription of this work in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Preussischer Kulturbesitz), Sammlung Winterfeld Mus. MS 26, pp.83–92. Although Winterfeld spent most of his life in Berlin, the city of his birth, he worked in Breslau between the years 1816 and 1832, and so must have consulted the partbooks during the latter period.⁷

Further information about the early history of these partbooks can be deduced from some of the handwritten comments that appear throughout the volumes. All these annotations, by an unknown early 17th-century writer, are in German (except for a few technical words in Italian or Latin). The relevant inscriptions relate to one of the printed pieces, and appear with its parts and in some indexes; they indicate that some manuscript music in the print was composed by 'Herr Staden'. (The use of the word 'written' rather than 'composed' in a few partbooks could possibly be taken to mean that he also copied the part—further details about the annotations and music are revealed later.) This is almost certainly a reference to Johann Staden (1581–1634), a member of a family of composers based in Nuremberg during the 16th and 17th centuries. The reason for attributing the music to Johann Staden rather than to his son, Sigmund Theophil Staden (1607–55), also a composer, is that Johann's dates fit better with the early 17th-century date of the print and its handwritten additions.⁸ Indeed, Winterfeld must have thought the same, since he, too, nominates Johann as the composer, though he gives no reasons for doing so, nor does he indicate the work to which the manuscript music relates.⁹ This evidence and the numerous contemporary German annotations reveal that the partbooks must have originally been used in a German-speaking area of Europe. The



St Mark's Basilica, Venice
(image replaces original advertisement)

Staden connection suggests that the most likely place was Nuremberg. If so, the partbooks are likely to have been used in one of its churches, probably St Sebald, where, between 1618 and 1634, Johann Staden held the city's most important musical position, that of organist. While it is true that Gabrieli's music was popular in other places in 17th-century Germany, Nuremberg seems to have had a special regard for it. Not only was it a city where two of Giovanni's closest friends were born and spent much of their lives (the composer Hans Leo Hassler and the merchant Georg Gruber; the latter's posthumous edition of the music of both Hassler and Gabrieli has already been mentioned), but it was also a city where Gabrieli's music continued to be performed long after his death—even as late as 1643.¹⁰

At this point it would be appropriate to comment on the extensive early 17th-century annotations in the Warsaw partbooks. Most of the parts are preceded by one or more of the following kinds of handwritten comments, indicating:

- 1 the presence or lack of multiple choirs in individual works—using 'Ohne Choros' for those performed by a single group of voices, and using either 'per 2 Choros', or 'per 3 Choros' for relevant multiple-choir works;
- 2 choir names in the handful of cases where these are implied in the print;
- 3 the number of parts in each choir—for example, most of the parts of the 'Primus Chorus' of *Vox Domini* (a 10) (C64) are labelled 'hat 6 Stimm', whereas most of the parts of the 'Secundus Chorus' are marked 'hat 4 Stimm';
- 4 the general scoring of those works with instruments—for the most part repeating printed specifications.

Some of the handwritten indications provide new information about how certain works were performed. As I have indicated elsewhere, the motet *Attendite popule meus* (a 8) (C60)—in which all eight parts are underlaid and each of the upper four parts is assigned to a vocal soloist using the printed label 'Voce'—should probably have its lower four parts performed by instruments.¹¹ This suggested scoring is confirmed by the annotator's comments at the

head of each part. The 'Sextus' part, for example, has the handwritten description 'Mitt 4 Stimm und 4 Geig odder gleich' [*sic*] ('With four voices and four violins [meaning bass string instruments] or similar [instruments]').

Another motet, *In ecclesiis* (a 14) (C78), has the handwritten description 'Voce. Capella' in the 'Tertiusdecimus' part, one sung by the 'capella' choir. As I have indicated elsewhere, this choir 'comprises four underlaid parts that are musically integrated and quite distinct from the other parts in the work. However, the original print omits the label "capella" in the top part [the "Tertiusdecimus"]', and—another apparent mistake—the third part [the "Undecimus"] is confusingly labelled "Voce. Capella". There is nothing distinctive about this last part to suggest that a vocal soloist is required, and the reference to "Voce" should probably be ignored'.¹² The previous comments about the label 'Voce. Capella' apply equally to the handwritten description in the 'Tertiusdecimus' part of the Warsaw print. Significantly, another copy of this print, the one in the Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel (4° Mus. 77a (1–14)), has a contemporary handwritten description in the 'Tertiusdecimus' part that is more accurate: 'Capella'. Modern editions of this work have traditionally divided the remaining parts into two choirs, even though there are no choir names printed with these parts. The Warsaw copy of this print has the relevant choir names added by hand, variously using 'Primus Chorus' and 'Tertius Chorus'.

Further evidence about performance practice is to be seen in one of the annotations that accompanies the 'Undecimus' part of Gabrieli's magnificent Christmas motet *Salvator noster* (a 15) (C80). In this case, the Warsaw copy of *Symphoniae sacrae* indicates that the particular choir to which the 'Undecimus' part belongs, the 'Primus Chorus', is the 'Geiger Chor' ('The violinist choir')—a single string instrument (or more) would fit quite easily with this choir. Even though the print has text underlay in all parts of the work and does not specify instruments, instrumental participation is essential because of the tessitura of some parts, and because of the use of a vocal soloist in each of Choirs I and III and of two vocal soloists in Choir II (each of the vocal soloists is

The image shows a page from a musical score, specifically a 'CANTUS' partbook by Giovanni Gabrieli. The page is filled with musical notation on staves, with Latin text underlaid. The text includes 'Surrexit Christus Simfonia', 'Alleluia', and 'in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis'. The notation is complex, with many notes and rests, and some text is written in a smaller, cursive hand.

2 Giovanni Gabrieli, *Symphoniae sacrae* (Venice, 1615), 'Cantus' partbook, p.21 (Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, St. dr. mus. 237 [1–14])

specified by the printed label 'Voce'.¹³ In the case of Gabrieli's fully texted multiple-choir works, the indication of vocal soloists in this manner usually signifies that instruments are needed to perform the unspecified parts;¹⁴ the underlaying of the other parts in such cases was partly to allow for flexibility in performance, and partly to show the players the phrasing of the music by providing the text.

Throughout the 1615 print the same unknown annotator has also made corrections and additions to the music and text underlay. These include: *ficta* alterations; pencilled barlines; corrections to some of the mistaken (or omitted) notes, rests and text; substitution of occasional words in the text underlay of *Salvator noster* (a 15) and *O quam gloriosa* (a 16) (C81);¹⁵ and the addition of text underlay to some instrumental parts. In the latter case, text underlay has been added to (1) all eight of the instrumental parts of *Surrexit Christus* (a 11) (C66)¹⁶—the underlay corresponds to the text in the three vocal parts and

begins with the first 'alleluia' that follows the opening sinfonia (for example, see illus.2); and (2), one of the trombone parts (the 'Quartusdecimus') in *Quem vidistis pastores* (a 14) (C77)¹⁷—the underlay matches the text in the other vocal parts and begins with the *tutti* section 'O magnum mysterium'. Since the underlaid portions of each of these instrumental parts are suitable for singing, it is reasonable to assume that the 17th-century musicians who used these partbooks performed them with voices. Although it is not specified one way or the other, it seems likely that the instruments would have continued to play these parts once the voices were involved.

Consideration can now be given to the most significant of the manuscript additions to the Warsaw partbooks; namely, those that throw new light on Gabrieli's sacred vocal works *Sancta et immaculata* (a 7) and the Magnificat (a 17). I shall deal with these two pieces in turn.

Apart from its appearance in Gabrieli's *Symphoniae sacrae*, *Sancta et immaculata* is found only in one other early source: a manuscript volume of German organ tablature, Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Raccolta Renzo Giordano 4 (ff.91v–93r). In the Turin source, which dates from the late 1630s,¹⁸ the music of this work is basically similar to the printed copy except for some melodic elaboration at important cadences and some reductions in the texture.¹⁹ In view of later comments, it should be emphasized that both sources, the print and the manuscript, indicate unequivocally that *Sancta et immaculata* is scored for seven voices. In the case of the 1615 print, for example, the work is one of two seven-voice pieces that belong in a section entitled 'Septem Vocum' in the index; something that is also confirmed by the printed rubric 'A 7' at the head of each part.

Only two scholars have commented on the problematic nature of Gabrieli's seven-voice setting of *Sancta et immaculata*. The first, Winterfeld, indicates that the work is deficient but offers no details about the nature of its defects. The second, Wendelin Müller-Blattau (who was not aware of the material in the Warsaw partbooks), quotes Winterfeld's remarks and notes—in the context of a discussion about its relationship to another work by Gabrieli—a few of the piece's shortcomings.²⁰ Other writers,

such as two of this century's most outstanding Gabrieli scholars, Denis Arnold (who also published an edition) and Egon Kenton, do not seem to have realized that the work is imperfect.²¹ The nature of the work's imperfections becomes apparent when one examines the relevant material in the Warsaw partbooks.

The unknown annotator of the Warsaw copy of *Symphoniae sacrae* indicates that *Sancta et immaculata* has an eighth part composed by 'Herr Staden' (as indicated earlier, the person concerned is most probably Johann Staden). The annotator's remarks appear at the head of each of the printed parts and are repeated in all but one of the relevant indexes (the inscriptions in the indexes are cropped). The content of the handwritten comments is basically the same in each partbook. There are, however, some minor differences of terminology and some additional details in two partbooks—the 'Quintus' and 'Sextus' indicate that the eighth part is found in the 'Octavus' volume. Some examples of the inscriptions with the music will illustrate the above points.

- 1 The 'Cantus' part (where the annotator has also crossed out the printed indication '7') has 'Ohne Coros. A. 8 verg[leiche] [?] Noch 1. Stimm so Herr Stad[en] darzu Componirt hat.' ('Without chorus. A. 8 compare another voice which Mr Staden has composed for it.')
- 2 The 'Tenor' part has '[A 7] ohne Coros Noch. 1 Stimm geschrieben dess Herrn Staden.' ('[A 7] without chorus; [there is] another voice written by Mr Staden.')
- 3 The 'Quintus' part (where the annotator has again crossed out the printed indication '7') has '[A]. 8. ohne Choros. hat Herr Stad[en] Noch 1. Stimm (als 1. tenor) darzu Componirt hab Ich zu[m] [?] d[em] [?] Octava Voce binde[n] lasse.' ('[A] 8 without chorus. Mr Staden has composed another voice (as first Tenor) to it which I am having bound to the Octava voce.'; and see illus.3.)
- 4 The 'Sextus' part has 'A. 8 dan[n] zu[m] [?] d[em] [?] Octava voce Noch wie geschrieben Stimm dess Herrn Staden. [A 7]. ohne Coros.' ('A. 8. Then to the Octava voce [where there is] another voice as written by Mr Staden. [A 7] without chorus.')



3 Giovanni Gabrieli, *Symphoniae sacrae* (Venice, 1615), 'Quintus' partbook, p.5 (Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, St. dr. mus. 237 [1–14])

An examination of the 'Octavus' partbook confirms the information in these inscriptions. For Staden's eighth part for Gabrieli's *Sancta et immaculata* appears on the recto side—the verso side is blank—of a manuscript folio that is bound between the printed page with the coat of arms of the print's dedicatee and the next printed page with the first piece of music. The top of the manuscript folio is cropped, leaving the bottom of a few letters—which probably belong to a part name—and an indication of the overall number of parts in the work, 'a 8.' (see illus.4).

Why did Staden compose a further part for this work? On face value it might seem unusual that someone would bother to write an additional part when there are plenty of other suitable works in the 1615 print, some of them also scored for an eight-voice choir and written, like *Sancta et immaculata*, in a polyphonic style. Moreover, a casual observer



4 Giovanni Gabrieli, *Symphoniae sacrae* (Venice, 1615), manuscript leaf bound with the 'Octavus' partbook (Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, St. dr. mus. 237 [1-14])

might wonder why Staden did not use Gabrieli's eight-voice setting of this text published in 1597 in *Sacrae symphoniae* if all the Nuremberg composer wanted was an eight-voice composition employing the same words.²² Since Gabrieli's 1597 and 1615 settings share some of the same musical material—a similar reuse of material occurs in many of Gabrieli's other multiple settings of identical texts²³—a casual observer might conclude that Staden did not compose the additional part merely to preserve the music of the seven-voice work in an eight-voice context. Eventually it would become apparent that the most profitable place to search for clues is the music itself. In order to make sense of the discussion that follows, readers are advised to consult my edition of this work, together with its previously unpublished eighth part, which is available elsewhere.²⁴

The reason for the additional part becomes evident when one examines the untypical harmonic features of the seven-voice work. While Gabrieli's other polyphonic works sometimes employ chords that lack a 3rd, it is unusual for such omissions to be as frequent as they are in *Sancta et immaculata*. In this work, chords without a 3rd appear in the opening of bars 22, 27, 41, 46 and 51, and in the second half of bars 7, 8, 9, 15, 41, 50, 55 and 56. Some of the omissions are fleeting ones that prove to be quite unexceptional. Others, however, are quite uncharacteristic of his polyphonic works, such as: (1) the omission of a 3rd from sustained passages of a semibreve's duration as seen in bars 7, 8, 9 and 27; and (2) the lack of a 3rd in passages where one would normally be considered essential for cadential or harmonic reasons as seen in bars 22, 27, 41 and 51. The other untypical harmonic feature is the use of exposed 6-4 chords. Such chords are very uncharacteristic of Gabrieli's polyphonic works; yet in *Sancta et immaculata* there are no fewer than five examples (see bars 22 (two), 30, 31 and 36). One of the exposed 6-4 chords, the second one in bar 22, proves to be an extremely unorthodox final chord of an intermediary cadence. The untypical harmonic features indicated here must have been apparent to Staden, since his eighth part eliminates all the missing 3rds and 6-4 chords. Even though Gabrieli may not have eliminated all the missing 3rds if he had written the part himself, Staden's part fits very well with the rest of the composition, lending it greater substance and vitality.

Evidently, the editor of *Symphoniae sacrae*, Alvis Grani, had an incomplete copy of this work. Until further evidence is uncovered it cannot be determined whether it was a work Gabrieli planned to revise, but was prevented from doing so by his death, or whether he ever composed an eighth part.

The Warsaw copy of *Symphoniae sacrae* also provides new information about Gabrieli's Magnificat (*a* 17), scored for four choirs. The 1615 print is the sole early source of this work. The problematic passages in this piece were identified some time ago by the late Denis Arnold, whose edition of the work resolved the difficulties by making some sensible editorial changes.²⁵ The problem with this

composition is the four-part 'capella' choir, whose parts work perfectly well on their own but which do not always fit the music in the other three choirs. The four-part 'capella' choir most probably belonged to another, no longer extant, setting of the Magnificat by Gabrieli, one which was more extensive and the other choirs of which also used some of the same musical material as the present work; whether Grani or someone else is responsible for the confusion is impossible to determine. Since Gabrieli must have composed numerous settings of the Magnificat to meet the large demand for such music at his principal place of employment, St Mark's, Venice, he must have reworked the music in some of these, just as he sometimes did the music of other works. A more immediate precedent, however, is his incomplete 33-voice Magnificat (C151), which uses some of the same musical material seen in the 17-voice setting.²⁶ Unfortunately, the problematic four-part 'capella' choir of the 17-voice work does not fit the 33-voice setting.

Apart from some misprinted rests, the problematic sections in the 'capella' choir include the setting of the words 'dimisit inanes' and 'et nunc, et semper, et in saecula saeculorum'. Fortunately, the unknown annotator of the Warsaw partbooks has indicated a solution to the setting of these words. (For details of the music, see my editions published elsewhere.)²⁷ In the case of the 'capella' choir's setting of the words 'dimisit inanes', the annotator has made handwritten alterations to the printed music and text underlay, and supplied the correct number of rests both before and after the music; however, he forgot to cross out the incorrect printed rests that precede the music.

The other problematic section, which is more extensive than the previous one, is the setting of the words 'et nunc, et semper, et in saecula saeculorum'. Here the unknown annotator has copied substitute music and text on to manuscript paper and pasted it over the relevant material in each of the four parts (two each in the 'Tertiusdecimus' and 'Quartusdecimus' partbooks; for example, see *illus.5*). The alternative parts function coherently with the rest of the work, except for a problem in one bar and a printed rest that the annotator omitted to cross out in the top part.



5 Giovanni Gabrieli, *Symphoniae sacrae* (Venice, 1615), 'Tertiusdecimus' partbook, p.42 (Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, St. dr. mus. 237 [1-14])

The composer of the revisions for the Magnificat (*a 17*) is unknown; unlike *Sancta et immaculata*, it is not accompanied by any inscriptions that could enlighten us about the matter. While it is possible that the revisions might have been composed by Gabrieli and copied from a no longer extant source, it seems more likely that someone else supplied them once it was realized that the printed work was corrupt. Whatever the situation, we are fortunate to have the revisions, for they offer a contemporary solution to the major problems of this work.

One would like to know much more about the Warsaw copy of Gabrieli's *Symphoniae sacrae*, such as the history of its ownership before it became the property of the institute in Breslau, as well as the identity of the annotator. Nevertheless, the Warsaw print is important, because its manuscript additions afford new insight into how its contents as well as its misprints were treated by some early 17th-century musicians.

I should like to thank the staff of the Biblioteka Uniwersytecka in Warsaw (in particular Dr Maria Burchard) for their helpful assistance during my work in their library, and for providing photographic material. I am also grateful to Dr Michael Nelson for his kind assistance with the translations of some of the German annotations. In addition, I should like to thank the Australian Research Council for financial support.

1 Two of the abbreviations used in this article need explanation: (1) C numbers refer to R. Charteris, *Giovanni Gabrieli: a thematic catalogue of his music with a guide to the early prints, manuscript sources, modern editions, sound recordings and literature, and with descriptions and translations of his vocal texts*, Thematic Catalogue Series, xx (Stuyvesant, NY, 1996), forthcoming; (2) CMM xii refers to *Giovanni Gabrieli: Opera omnia*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, xii (American Institute of Musicology), vols. 1-12 (vols. 1-6, ed. D. Arnold, 1956-74; and vols. 7-12 and new editions of vols. 1-6, ed. R. Charteris, 1991-). *RISM* indicates that the Warsaw library has 14 of the 15 part-books that belong to the 1615 print, though it does not specify which part-book is missing. The missing partbook is the 'Bassus pro organo' volume; there are only two extant copies of the organ-book, one each with the copies of this print in Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska (Mus. ant. pract. G. 95) and Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek (Tonkunst Schletterer 201-14).

2 Both Gabrieli and Hassler composed an epithalamion for their friend Georg Gruber. Gabrieli's wedding composition, *Scherza Amarilli e Clori* (a 6) (C11), and that of Hans Leo Hassler, *Altera connubii meditatur festa GRUBERUS* (a 5), are found in *Honori et amoris Georgii Gruberi, civis Norimbergensis, secundum sponsi ornatissimi: et Helenae, Ioannis Kolmanni, concivis ibidem, filiae, virginis lectissimae, sponsae: socialia sacra peragentium V. id. mensis Iunonii, anno epochae Christinae MDC. Ioannes Gabrieli, ad D. Marci Venet. et Joan. Leo Hasler, illustriss. Dn. Fuggerorum &c. August. organistae, ... Hymeneos hosce modulabantur* (Nuremberg, 1600). This print, not cited in *RISM*, was lost during the Second World War, and its rediscovery in

Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska (Mus. ant. pract. G. 85), was first announced in R. Charteris, 'New sources of the works of Giovanni Gabrieli', *Musica disciplina*, xl (1986), pp.135-76, esp. p.173. Georg Gruber's wedding to Helen Joanna Kolmann took place in 1600. Gruber must have been proud of Gabrieli's wedding composition since it is one of the works included in his *Reliquiae sacrorum concentuum* (= *RISM* 1615²), though the version Gruber published was a contrafactum entitled *Alleluja quando jam emersit* (a 6) (C C1). For editions of the Gabrieli works, see (1) 'Scherza Amarilli e Clori' in CMM xii/6, both (ed. Arnold, 1974), pp.110-16, and (ed. Charteris, forthcoming), no.27; and (2), 'Alleluja quando jam emersit' in S. A. Hedges, *Georg Gruber's Reliquiae sacrorum concentuum* (1615): an edition with historical commentary, 2 vols. (PhD thesis, U. of Chicago, 1983), ii, pp.79-85, and CMM xii/9 (ed. Charteris, forthcoming), *Contrafacta*, no.1.

3 This point is well illustrated in *O gloriosa virgo* (a 12) (C68), one of the works in Gabrieli's *Symphoniae sacrae* (Venice, 1615). The misprints in this work remain uncorrected in all the extant copies of the 1615 print, and, until the recent appearance of my own edition, lacked an adequate solution for the bars in question. The relevant edition, to which the bar numbers indicated below refer, is *Giovanni Gabrieli: Motet 'O gloriosa virgo' for twelve voices or voices and instruments*, ed. R. Charteris, Baroque Music Series, x (Albany, CA, 1994). The misprints concern the material from bar 73 until halfway through bar 75. Unaccountably, the relevant bars in the 1615 print have rests in all parts, except for the 'bassus pro organo', which has music throughout, and except for bar 73 of Choir II, where each part has a semibreve note before the first rest. The late Denis Arnold edited this work and dealt with the misprints by realizing the organ bass, even though, as he acknowledged, it is basically a *basso seguente* (see CMM xii/4 (ed. Arnold, 1965), pp.24-49, for the music and the Preface for the comments). However, I have discovered that some of the material for the bars in question has survived in an incomplete copy of the

piece in the collection of manuscript parts of Gabrieli's works—copied in part by some of his pupils—in the Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel. In the Kassel source of this work, 2^o MS Mus. 51c, the top part of both Choirs I and II has music and text underlay for bars 73-5. The music copyist has added this material to the bottom of each page and cross-referenced it to the relevant place in the music—the underlay follows the words of the Kassel source's variant title, 'O gloriose Jesu'. The fact that this material was added as an afterthought is also confirmed by the faint impression of an erased two-bar rest in one part and the superimposition of a reference mark over the two-bar rest in the other. (If the Kassel source's sole missing part, the top part of Choir III, had survived, it is likely that this, too, would have had its rests in bars 73-5 replaced with appropriate music.) All the other extant parts—except for two continuo parts—in the Kassel source have rests in bars 73-5. Since all the Kassel parts (including the original version of each top part of Choirs I and II) follow the 1615 print closely, it is probable that these parts were copied either from the print or from a mutually related source. While it is possible that the additions to the top part of both Choirs I and II might have been composed by Gabrieli and taken from a source no longer extant, it seems more likely that someone else supplied them once the work was found to be corrupt. When one examines the surrounding music in both sources it becomes apparent that the Kassel source does not offer the complete solution to the problematic bars. The music of the keyboard part (in the print and manuscript) and of the two vocal parts (added to the Kassel source) in bars 73-5 is engaged in the first of two repeats: the music first appears in bars 66-8, then is reused once in bars 73-5 and again in bars 77-9. However, the music in bars 66-8 and 77-9 involves a repeat of all 12 parts, together with the organ, and it is very probable that another *tutti* repetition is what Gabrieli had in mind for bars 73-5 (as seen in my edition cited above). Whether the omission of this music was an oversight by Alvisse Grani, the editor of

Symphoniae sacrae, or whether Grani supplied the rests because in the original manuscript Gabrieli had left a blank space so he could later add the repeated music, can only be determined once further evidence is available. Music is also omitted from another work in *Symphoniae sacrae*, Gabrieli's *In ecclesiis* (a 14) (C78); for details about the omission, which occurs towards the end of the Septimus part, see the following edition:

Giovanni Gabrieli: *Motet 'In ecclesiis' for four solo voices, SATB choir, three cornetti, viola and two trombones*, ed. R. Charteris, Baroque Music Series, vi (Albany, CA, 1994).

4 See E. Bohn, *Bibliographie der Musik-Druckwerke bis 1700, welche in der Stadtbibliothek, der Bibliothek des Akademischen Instituts fuer Kirchenmusik und der Koeniglichen und Universitaets-Bibliothek zu Breslau aufbewahrt werden ...* (Berlin, 1883; R/Hildesheim, 1969), p.142.

5 See E. Kirsch, *Die Bibliothek des Musikalischen Instituts bei der Universitaet Breslau: Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss von dem Anteil Schlesiens an den musikalischen Stroemungen des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts* (Breslau, 1922), p.17.

6 See C. von Winterfeld, *Johannes Gabrieli und sein Zeitalter*, 3 vols. (Berlin 1834; R/Hildesheim, 1965), ii, p.124.

7 Winterfeld's interest in Gabrieli was aroused long before he published his book, and well before he moved to Breslau, for he transcribed a number of this composer's works during a visit to Italy in 1812, about which he kept a diary. Winterfeld's transcriptions—compiled during and after his visit to Italy—survive in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Preussischer Kulturbesitz), Winterfeld Sammlung, Mus. MSS 26, 27, 28, 33, 36, 59, 105, 106. For further details see B. Stockmann, *Carl von Winterfeld* (Doctoral diss., U. of Kiel, 1958), and B. Stockmann, 'Winterfeld, Carl Georg Vivigens von', *New Grove*.

8 For details about the composers in the Staden family see H. E. Samuel, 'Staden, Johann' and 'Staden, Sigmund Theophil [Gottlieb]', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* and *New Grove*. It is quite possible that the manuscript music referred to in the

text of the present article is also copied by Johann Staden; a determination is not possible because there are no music autographs of this composer. Unfortunately, a comparison of the handwriting both with the music and in his only autograph letter, dated 4 December 1626, is inconclusive; for Johann Staden's autograph letter see Nuremberg, Staatsarchiv, Rs. Nbg. Rechnungs-Belege no.702.

9 See Winterfeld, *Johannes Gabrieli und sein Zeitalter*, ii, p.124.

10 Giovanni Gabrieli's *Jubilate Deo* (a 8) was performed at a concert in Nuremberg in 1643 (though which of his three eight-voice settings—C16, C135, C136—was used is not known); for details of this concert see E. A. Krückeberg, 'Ein historisches Konzert zu Nuernberg im Jahre 1643', *Archiv fuer Musikwissenschaft*, i (1918–19), pp.590–93; W. Kahl, 'Das Nuernberger historische Konzert von 1643 und sein Geschichtsbild', *Archiv fuer Musikwissenschaft*, xiv (1957), pp.281–303; and E. Kenton, *Life and works of Giovanni Gabrieli*, Musicological Studies and Documents, xvi (American Institute of Musicology, 1967), pp.99–101.

The possibility must be entertained that Breslau rather than Nuremberg might have been the city in which the partbooks were originally used. This suggests itself because the volumes were once housed in Breslau, and Venetian-style polychoral music was popular in Breslau's churches during the 17th century—the latter point is made in A. Neuer, 'Wroclaw', *New Grove*. The popularity of such music is also confirmed by the 16th- and 17th-century music manuscripts that were once housed in the Stadtbibliothek in Breslau. These manuscripts include numerous polychoral works by Venetian and German composers; among the Venetian composers represented are Giovanni Bassano, Giovanni Croce, Andrea Gabrieli and Giovanni Gabrieli. For further details see E. Bohn, *Die musikalischen Handschriften des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau ...* (Breslau, 1890; R/Hildesheim, 1970).

11 See R. Charteris, 'The performance of Giovanni Gabrieli's vocal works: indications in the early sources', *Music and letters*, lxxi (1990), pp.336–51, esp.

p.337; and R. Charteris, 'The performance of Giovanni Gabrieli's vocal works', *Music and letters*, lxxii (1991), pp.170–71, esp. p.171.

12 Charteris, 'The performance of Giovanni Gabrieli's vocal works: indications in the early sources', p.337.

13 For a modern edition suitable for voices and instruments, with score and parts, see *Giovanni Gabrieli: Salvator noster*, a 15 (1615), ed. R. Charteris, King's Music, clxvii (Huntingdon, Cambs, 1991).

14 Charteris, 'The performance of Giovanni Gabrieli's vocal works: indications in the early sources', pp.336–51, *passim*.

15 For a modern edition of these works, see CMM xii/5, both (ed. Arnold, 1969), pp.84–111, 112–33, and (ed. Charteris, 1995), nos.4, 5. For an edition of *Salvator noster* with score and parts, see n.13 above.

16 For a modern edition of this work, with score and parts, see *Giovanni Gabrieli: Surrexit Christus*, a 11 (1615), ed. R. Charteris, King's Music, ccclxxxix (Huntingdon, Cambs, 1994).

17 For a modern edition of this work, with score and parts, see *Giovanni Gabrieli: Quem vidistis pastores* (1615), a 14, ed. R. Charteris, King's Music, cliv (Huntingdon, Cambs, 1993).

18 For further details about this source see O. Mischiati, 'L'intavolatura d'organo tedesca della Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino', *L'organo*, iv (1963), pp.1–154, *passim*; and *Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino I: Raccolta Mauro Foà; Raccolta Renzo Giordano*, ed. I. Fragalà Data and A. Colturato, *Cataloghi di fondi musicali italiani*, vii (Rome, 1987), *passim*.

19 An edition of the organ version appears in *G. Gabrieli: Composizioni per organo*, ed. S. Dalla Libera, 3 vols. (Milan, 1957–9; R/1981–2), iii, pp.36–8.

20 See W. Müller-Blattau, *Tonsatz und Klanggestaltung bei Giovanni Gabrieli*, Saarbrücker Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, iv (Kassel, 1975), pp.133–8.

21 Kenton, *Life and works of Giovanni Gabrieli*, p.325, writes of this motet: 'it shows the fine craftsmanship of a past master of the classical Renaissance style'. D. Arnold, *Giovanni Gabrieli and the music of the Venetian High*

Renaissance (London, 1979), p.264, states that it is 'richly scored in the way of several Marian motets published [earlier] in 1597, has the same kind of cross-rhythms, a similar repeated final section, and Gabrieli's favourite concluding drawn-out plagal cadence'. The edition mentioned in the text is CMM xii/3 (ed. Arnold, 1962), pp.22–9.

22 *Sancta et immaculata* (a 8) (C25) was first published in *RISM G* 86 (1597). It is edited in CMM xii/1, both (ed. Arnold, 1956), pp.175–81, and (ed. Charteris, forthcoming), no.25.

23 The practice of self-borrowing when resetting the same (or an almost identical) text is seen in some of Gabrieli's other works, including his settings of *Audite principes* (C123, a 16; C146, a 16), *Diligam te Domine* (C26, a 8; C126, a 7), *Ego rogabo patrem* (C129, a 6; C147, a 6), *Exultet jam angelica turba* (C130, a 14; C131, a 17), *Hodie completi sunt* (C134, a 7; C148, a 7), *Jubilate Deo* (C135, a 8; C136, a 8), *O Jesu mi dulcissime* (C24, a 8; C56, a 8; C140, a 8), *O quam suavis* (C10, a 7; C58, a 8), *Surrexit Christus* (C66, a 11;

C141, a 12) and *Timor et tremor* (C142, a 6; C143, a 6). For further comments about Gabrieli's self-borrowings, see R. Charteris, 'Newly discovered works by Giovanni Gabrieli', *Music and letters*, lxxviii (1987), pp.343–63, esp. pp.347–8, 350–52; R. Charteris, 'Another key-board canzona by Giovanni Gabrieli?', *Early music*, xv (1987), pp.480–86, esp. p.482; R. Charteris, 'Giovanni Gabrieli's three settings of *O Jesu mi dulcissime*, etc.', *Music and letters*, lxxix (1988), pp.317–18; R. Charteris, *Adam Gumpelzhaimer's little-known score-books in Berlin and Kraków*, Musicological Studies and Documents, xlviii (American Institute of Musicology, 1995, in the press); and R. Charteris, 'New motets by Hans Leo Hassler: indications of second thoughts', *Renaissance Music: text and context. Essays in honor of Frank A. D'Accone*, ed. J. Westby, Festschrift Series (Stuyvesant, NY, forthcoming).

24 See *Giovanni Gabrieli: Motet 'Sancta et immaculata virginitas' for Eight Voices*, ed. R. Charteris, Baroque Music Series, ix (Albany, CA, 1994). The two versions are differentiated in

Charteris, *Giovanni Gabrieli: a thematic catalogue*; C55 is the seven-voice version, and C153 is the eight-voice one. The first is included in CMM xii/3, both (ed. Arnold, 1962), pp.22–9, and (ed. Charteris, forthcoming), no.3; whereas the second is found in CMM xii/9 (ed. Charteris, forthcoming), *Miscellaneous Works*, no.2 and in the edition cited at the beginning of this note.

25 See CMM xii/5 (ed. Arnold, 1969), pp.158–87.

26 For editions of the Magnificat (a 17) (C83) see n.25 above and n.27 below. An edition of the incomplete Magnificat (a 33) (C151) appears in CMM xii/9 (ed. Charteris, forthcoming), *Incomplete Motets*, no.8; and *Giovanni Gabrieli: Magnificat a 33*, reconstructed and ed. A. Lawrence-King and C. Bartlett (Huntingdon, Cambs, 1987).

27 See *Giovanni Gabrieli: Magnificat a 17, 1615*, ed. R. Charteris, King's Music, dcvihi (Huntingdon, Cambs, 1995); and CMM xii/5 (ed. Charteris, 1995), no.7. The latter edition also includes the original music of the 'capella' choir in appendix I.

II

GIOVANNI GABRIELI'S *SACRAE SYMPHONIAE* (VENICE, 1597):

SOME REDISCOVERED PARTBOOKS

WITH NEW EVIDENCE ABOUT PERFORMANCE PRACTICE

By far the largest quantity of early music in the Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Regensburg,¹ derives from the bequest (to the local bishopric) of the musicologist, physician and priest, Karl Joseph Proske (1794–1861) – Proske spent most of his life in Regensburg and made a substantial contribution to the period through his teaching, publishing and membership of influential bodies.²

I should like to thank the staff of the Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Regensburg, for their kind assistance during my visits to their library, and especially Dr Raymond Dittrich, for generously providing information and photographic material. I am also grateful to the Australian Research Council for financial assistance without which my research would not have been possible.

¹ From its inception in 1862 until it was incorporated in 1972 into the then newly founded Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, the music library was known as the Proske-Musikbibliothek or Proske'sche Musikbibliothek, in recognition of its foundation bequest by Karl Joseph Proske. Today, the Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek's music is housed in the Proske'sche Musikabteilung. For further details about the history of the Regensburg library, see *Handbuch der katholisch-theologischen Bibliotheken*, ed. Franz Wenhardt (3rd edn, Munich, 1991), pp. 121–3.

² For further details about Proske, see: Karl Weinmann, *Karl Proske der Restaurator der klassischen Kirchenmusik*, Sammlung Kirchenmusik, i (Regensburg, 1909); *idem*, 'Die Proskesche Musikbibliothek in Regensburg', *Festschrift zum 90. Geburtstag Sr. Exzellenz des Wirklichen Geheimen Rates Rochus Freiherrn von Liliencron* (Leipzig, 1910; repr. 1970), pp. 387–403; August Scharnagl, 'Die Proskesche Musiksammlung in der Bischöflichen Zentralbibliothek zu Regensburg', *Oberpfälzer Dokumente der Musikgeschichte*, Regensburger Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft, i (Regensburg, 1976), pp. 11–30; *idem*, 'Die Proskesche Musiksammlung in der Bischöflichen Zentralbibliothek zu Regensburg', in *Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg. Thematischer Katalog der Musikhandschriften*, vol. i: Gertraut Haberkamp, *Sammlung Proske-Manuskripte des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts aus den Signaturen A.R., B, C, AN*, Kataloge Bayerischer Musiksammlungen, xiv (Munich, 1989), pp. xi–xxvi; *idem* and Raymond Dittrich, 'Proske, Carl [Karl]', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (2nd edn, London, 2000), online version.

In addition to his reputation as a collector, Proske is also known today for his multi-volume anthology of works by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century composers: *Musica divina sive thesaurus concentuum selectissimorum . . . compositorum*, annus i, vols. i–iii (Regensburg, 1853–1859), ed. Karl Proske, vol. iv (Regensburg, 1862), ed. Joseph Schrems, and annus ii, vols. i–iv (Regensburg, 1865–1869), ed. Joseph Schrems. The previous volumes were partially reprinted with revisions by Franz Xaver Haberl (Regensburg, 1881–1884). The original volumes were reprinted in New York in 1973. For details about their contents, see Anna Harriet Heyer, *Histo-*

Proske's collection has provided several generations of scholars with ample reason to be thankful for his discerning commitment to its preservation; and not least for the considerable number of unique manuscripts and prints he acquired. After the Regensburg bishopric took possession of Proske's library in 1862, Robert Eitner (1832–1905) was one of the first scholars to alert musicologists to some of its riches.³ Since then, knowledge of the Proske collection has become more widespread, especially in recent years with the publication by Gertraut Haberkamp and Jochen Reutter of a major three-volume catalogue of its music manuscripts.⁴

One composer whose music is strongly represented in the collection is the well-known Venetian figure Giovanni Gabrieli (c.1555–1612).⁵ In fact, the Regensburg Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek possesses the largest known group of partbooks from two of Gabrieli's prints: it owns no fewer than four sets of partbooks of the *Concerti di Andrea, et di Gio: Gabrieli* . . . (Venice, 1587),⁶ and a similar number of sets of Giovanni Gabrieli's *Sacrae symphoniae* . . . (Venice,

rical Sets, Collected Editions, and Monuments of Music: a Guide to their Contents, 2 vols. (3rd edn, Chicago, 1980), i, pp. 550–3. A discussion of Proske's editorial work appears in Bernhard Janz, 'Das editorische Werk Carl Proskes und die Anfänge der kirchenmusikalischen Reformbewegung', *Palestrina und die Idee der klassischen Vokalpolyphonie im 19. Jahrhundert: Zur Geschichte eines kirchenmusikalischen Stilideals*, (Regensburg, 1989), pp. 149–169.

³ See Robert Eitner (with F. X. Haberl, A. Lagerberg and C. F. Pohl), *Bibliographie der Musik-Sammelwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1877; repr. Hildesheim, 1977), passim; and idem, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, i–x (Leipzig, 1900–1904; repr. New York, 1947, and Graz, 1959), passim.

⁴ *Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg. Thematischer Katalog der Musikhandschriften*, Kataloge Bayerischer Musiksammlungen, xiv, vol. i: Gertraut Haberkamp, *Sammlung Proske-Manuskripte des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts aus den Signaturen A.R., B, C, AN* (Munich, 1989); vol. ii: Gertraut Haberkamp and Jochen Reutter, *Sammlung Proske—Manuskripte des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts aus den Signaturen A.R., C, AN* (Munich, 1989); and vol. iii: Gertraut Haberkamp and Jochen Reutter, *Sammlung Proske—Mappenbibliothek* (Munich, 1990).

⁵ For further information about this composer, see Richard Charteris, *Giovanni Gabrieli (ca. 1555–1612): A Thematic Catalogue of his Music with a Guide to the Source Materials and Translations of his Vocal Texts*, Thematic Catalogues Series, xx (Stuyvesant, New York, 1996); studies of Gabrieli's life and music are indicated in the preface and bibliography.

⁶ *RISM* refers to Gabrieli's 1587 print as *RISM* ser. A I, G 58 and G 85 and *RISM* ser. B I, 1587¹⁰. The abbreviation *RISM* used here and elsewhere in the present article refers to one of the following: *RISM* ser. A I: vols. i–ix: *Einzeldrucke vor 1800*, ed. Karlheinz Schlager et al. (Kassel, 1971–81), and vols. xi–xiv: *Addenda et corrigenda*, (xi–xiii:) ed. Ilse Kindermann and Jürgen Kindermann (Kassel, 1986, 1992, 1998), (xiv:) ed. Gertraut Haberkamp (Kassel, 1999); or (2), *RISM* ser. B I, vol. i: *Recueils imprimés, XVI^e–XVII^e siècles*, ed. François Lesure (Munich-Duisburg, 1960).

1597).⁷ However, previous publications misrepresent the extent of the library's holdings of the 1597 print, in part because six partbooks have hitherto escaped attention. The latter partbooks, which I uncovered after the publication of my catalogue of Giovanni Gabrieli's works,⁸ also include contemporary manuscript additions with new information about musicians and techniques used to perform the music. As such the partbooks add to recent revelations about the attitudes of contemporary German musicians towards the performance of Giovanni Gabrieli's music,⁹ and raise questions about the extent of certain practices elsewhere in Europe. Before examining this new evidence, I shall discuss the confusion about the Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek's holdings of Gabrieli's 1597 print and the circumstances surrounding the discovery of the extra partbooks.

Recent History of the Partbooks

The existence of Giovanni Gabrieli's *Sacrae symphoniae* . . . (Venice, 1597) in the Proske-Musikbibliothek – as it was known until 1972 when it was incorporated into the then newly founded Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek – was first revealed in print by the brilliant German lexicographer Robert Eitner. However, Eitner did not specify the number of copies and partbooks.¹⁰ In 1952

⁷ *RISM* refers to Gabrieli's 1597 print as *RISM* ser. A I, G 86. The four sets of the *Concerti di Andrea et Gio: Gabrieli* . . . (Venice, 1587) in the Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Regensburg, are indicated in Table I; the number of sets is consistent with the information in the library's card index of *Sammeldrucke*, compiled between 1958–1960. *RISM* mistakenly indicates that the Regensburg library owns only one set of partbooks from the 1587 print, and implies that it is complete; see *RISM* ser. A I: vols. i–ix: *Einzeldrucke vor 1800*, see esp. vol. iii (Kassel, 1972), p. 137, and *RISM* ser. B I, 1 (Munich-Duisburg, 1960), p. 337. Previously, the correct number of sets (though the list of partbooks is mistaken in two cases) were cited in Claudio Sartori, *Bibliografia della musica strumentale italiana stampata in Italia fino al 1700*, Biblioteca di Bibliografia Italiana, xxiii (Florence, 1952), p. 58. Sartori's details were duplicated in the 1960s in: Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600: a Bibliography* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965, repr. 1979), p. 347; and Egon Kenton, *Life and Works of Giovanni Gabrieli*, Musicological Studies and Documents, xvi (American Institute of Musicology, 1967), p. 131. The first correct listing in print appeared in Richard Charteris, *Giovanni Gabrieli (ca. 1555–1612): A Thematic Catalogue of his Music with a Guide to the Source Materials and Translations of his Vocal Texts*, p. 377.

⁸ See n. 5 above.

⁹ See Richard Charteris, 'The Performance of Giovanni Gabrieli's Vocal Works: Indications in the Early Sources', *Music and Letters*, 71(1990), pp. 336–51; idem, 'The Performance of Giovanni Gabrieli's Vocal Works', *Music and Letters*, 72 (1991), pp. 170–1; and idem, 'Newly Discovered Manuscript Parts and Annotations in a Copy of Giovanni Gabrieli's *Symphoniae sacrae* (1615)', *Early Music*, 23 (1995), pp. 487–96.

¹⁰ 'Gabrieli, Giovanni I', Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten*, iv (Leipzig, 1901), pp. 114–16, see esp. p. 115.

Claudio Sartori indicated that the Proske-Musikbibliothek possessed ten partbooks from Gabrieli's *Sacrae symphoniae*: C, T, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.¹¹ Sartori's publication is probably responsible for the reappearance of the same information in two books published in the 1960s, one each by Howard Mayer Brown and Egon Kenton.¹² Knowledge of the library's holdings was transformed in 1972 when *RISM* cited five examples in the Proske-Musikbibliothek, describing them as: example one, complete; example two, C, A, 5, 8, 11, 12; example three, B; example four, lacking T, B, 5, 8; and example five, lacking A, B.¹³ *RISM* is inaccurate in its descriptions, not least wrongly describing one set as complete as well as confusing volumes belonging to the 1587 print with those published in 1597.

Since the examples are indicated in one of the library's card indexes, compiled in the late 1950s and early 1960s by a representative from *RISM*, it is possible to be precise about the Regensburg library's knowledge of its partbooks from Gabrieli's *Sacrae symphoniae*. The first example – catalogued at Butsch 9–10 – is described as complete in both the library's card index and *RISM*. The latter set lacks the Tenor, though when it was purchased by Proske in 1846 (and catalogued by him and later cited in the card index and *RISM*) the partbook was present.¹⁴ *RISM* and the card index are also misleading in respect of the second example, catalogued at Butsch 75–76, because this set of partbooks – together with two more, the Tenor and Bassus, not mentioned in *RISM* or the card index – belong to the 1587 *Concerti*. Nonetheless, *RISM* and the card index are partly correct in respect of Butsch 75–76, since a second Cantus partbook at this location belongs to the 1597 *Sacrae symphoniae*. The third ex-

¹¹ Claudio Sartori, *Bibliografia della musica strumentale italiana stampata in Italia fino al 1700*, p. 97. In the relevant entry in Sartori's second volume, no reference is made to the Regensburg library; see Claudio Sartori, *Bibliografia della musica strumentale italiana stampata in Italia fino al 1700. Volume secondo di aggiunte e correzioni con nuovi indici*, Biblioteca di Bibliografia Italiana, xlv (Florence, 1968), p. 32.

¹² Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600: a Bibliography*, p. 414; and Egon Kenton, *Life and Works of Giovanni Gabrieli*, p. 142.

¹³ See *RISM* ser. A I: vols. i–ix: *Einzeldrucke vor 1800*, see esp. iii (Kassel, 1972), p. 137; vols. xi–xiv: *Addenda et corrigenda*, lack any comment about the relevant holdings.

¹⁴ See D Rp Kat. Abt. Butsch, p. 9. This set of partbooks is cited in the Butsch sale catalogue of 1846; see Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. th. 3902 (page 2, Lot 383a; this is the only known copy of this catalogue and it is now lost): *Catalog einer Sammlung seltener Notendrucke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, und einer Anzahl neuerer Musikwerke, zu haben in der Birret'schen Antiquariats-Buchhandlung F. Butsch in Augsburg. 1846*. Proske does not name the partbooks in this set, since he only indicates them when a set is incomplete. Moreover, the 1846 Butsch sale catalogue lists the set in its section dealing with complete works. Proske, however, specifically mentions the Tenor partbook as being unbound (correctly implying that the set's other partbooks are bound). I am grateful to Dr Gertraut Haberkamp for providing a copy of relevant pages from the Butsch sale catalogue before it was lost.

ample in *RISM* and the card index, catalogued at Butsch 77–78, is correctly shown as a lone Bassus partbook. Also correct are the descriptions of the fourth example catalogued at A.R. 563–564, though this set is bound with the corresponding partbooks from the 1587 print, details of which are not indicated in *RISM*. The status of the fifth example – catalogued at A.R. 538–539 – is identical: *RISM* and the card index correctly indicate the 1597 partbooks, though *RISM* fails to mention that matching partbooks from the 1587 print are also found here. The true status of the library's Gabrieli prints is outlined in the paragraphs below.

The Regensburg library owns a number of early handwritten catalogues that reveal more about its holdings of partbooks from Gabrieli's prints. These manuscript catalogues consist of: (1) Proske's four-volume catalogue of the *Antiquitates Musicae Ratisbonenses* series, covering printed and manuscript music he purchased in the early part of his career;¹⁵ (2) Proske's one-volume catalogue of the *Abteilung Butsch* series, covering printed and manuscript music he purchased in 1846 from the Augsburg antiquarian dealer Fidelis Butsch;¹⁶ and (3), a one-volume summary catalogue of the *Antiquitates Musicae Ratisbonenses*, *Antiquitates Novae*, *Abteilung Butsch* and *Continuatio* series compiled in 1935 by Monsignor Joseph Poll (1873–1955), who was in charge of the Proske-Musikbibliothek between 1929 and 1955.¹⁷

Although these catalogues have more information about the Gabrieli prints, their entries are sometimes incomplete or misleading. An examination of Proske's Butsch catalogue will illustrate these points. Proske's description of the contents of Butsch 9–10 is basically correct, though the Tenor partbook, as indicated above, is no longer there.¹⁸ The details Proske provides about the material at Butsch 75–76 partly correct the library's card index compiled more than four decades ago. Proske indicates that Butsch 75–76 consist of the following partbooks from the 1587 *Concerti*: C, A, T, B, 5, 8, 11 and 12. A later hand indicates that only the Bassus survives,¹⁹ even though all the aforementioned partbooks are present. The information Proske records about the part-

¹⁵ D Rp Kat. A.R. 1–4. Proske probably purchased the A.R. material between 1823 (or 1829) and 1834; see Gertraut Haberkamp, 'Zur Herkunft der Musikalien der Proske-Sammlung', in *Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg. Thematischer Katalog der Musikhandschriften*, ii: Gertraut Haberkamp and Jochen Reutter, *Sammlung Proske—Manuskripte des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts aus den Signaturen A.R., C, AN*, pp. xi–xxxviii, see esp. p. xxi.

¹⁶ D Rp Kat. Abt. Butsch. For further details about the catalogue and Proske's purchase of the Butsch material, see Gertraut Haberkamp, 'Zur Herkunft der Musikalien der Proske-Sammlung', pp. xxii–xxiii.

¹⁷ Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Joseph Poll, 'Katalog der Antiquitates Musicae Practicae der Proske-Sammlung Regensburg' (without shelfmark).

¹⁸ D Rp Kat. Abt. Butsch, p. 9.

¹⁹ D Rp Kat. Abt. Butsch, p. 75.

books at Butsch 77–78 differs from the description in the library's card index and from the contents of the box itself. In this case, Proske – like the Butsch sale catalogue of 1846²⁰ – reveals that Butsch 77–78 are devoted to seven partbooks from Gabrieli's 1597 print: C, A, B, 5, 8, 11 and 12. However, a later librarian indicated in Proske's catalogue that only one partbook – the Bassus – is extant; which is exactly consistent with the relevant entry in the card index and with the contents of the Butsch 77–78 box.²¹

Recently, while studying the Butsch collection, I discovered the missing partbooks from Butsch 77–78, and I also uncovered a Tenor partbook that belongs to the same set. For many years, six unbound partbooks – Altus, Tenor, Quintus, Octavus, Undecimus and Duodecimus – have sheltered without record of the fact in a box devoted to Butsch 11. Proske's catalogue reveals that the box at Butsch 11 once contained a copy of Luca Marenzio's *Madrigali a quattro voci* . . . (Nuremberg, 1603);²² this print was already missing when Poll prepared his summary catalogue in 1935.²³ Doubtless the description 'deest' (missing) on the outside of the Butsch 11 box and with the relevant entries in the manuscript catalogues has discouraged closer inspection. The other partbook missing from Butsch 77–78 proves to be the 1597 Cantus partbook shelved at Butsch 75–76, which is otherwise devoted to partbooks from the 1587 *Concerti*. In order to understand more about the history of these partbooks, it would be helpful to have some background details about the Proske collection.

At the time of Proske's death in 1861, his material was without shelfmarks. The task of assigning shelfmarks to Proske's collection was undertaken by two librarians, who for the most part preserved the order in which Proske listed the items (without numbers or shelfmarks) in his manuscript catalogues. The first

²⁰ See Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. th. 3902 (page 14, Lot 142): *Catalog einer Sammlung seltener Notendrucke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, und einer Anzahl neuerer Musikwerke, zu haben in der Birett'schen Antiquariats-Buchhandlung F. Butsch in Augsburg, 1846*.

²¹ Joseph Poll's 1935 summary catalogue supplies details about the number of pieces in each print and manuscript. In some cases, he also provides details about missing or extant partbooks. Poll reveals that the Tenor partbook of Gabrieli's 1597 print was extant at Butsch 9–10. However, Poll omits the number of extant partbooks from his description of Gabrieli's 1587 print at Butsch 75–76, and from his description of Gabrieli's 1597 print at Butsch 77–78. A later hand, however, specifies that only the 1597 Bassus partbook is found at Butsch 77–78. See Joseph Poll, 'Katalog der Antiquitates Musicae Practicae der Proske-Sammlung Regensburg', pp. 7 and 17.

²² D Rp Kat. Abt. Butsch, pp. 11–12. For further details about Marenzio's print, see *RISM* ser. A I, M 584 (1603). The Regensburg library owns a copy of a different edition of the same works – *RISM* ser. A I, M 579 (1587) – at A.R. 359–363.

²³ Joseph Poll, 'Katalog der Antiquitates Musicae Practicae der Proske-Sammlung Regensburg', p. 7.

librarian involved in this undertaking was Georg Jakob (1825–1903), the *Ordinariatsassessor*, who catalogued part of the so-called ‘Mappenbibliothek’, using the shelfmark ‘Pr–M’. Following Jakob’s death in 1903, Karl Weinmann (1873–1929), the *Stiftskapellmeister* at the Regensburg *Alte Kapelle* and later director of the *Kirchenmusikschule*, sought permission from Bishop Ignatius von Senestrey to continue the process. In 1906 Weinmann received permission to do so from the newly-installed Bishop Antonius von Henle, and was officially appointed librarian of the Proske-Musikbibliothek in 1908. The process of arranging the material and assigning it shelfmarks occupied Weinmann from 1906 until 22 November 1917, when he wrote to Bishop Henle: ‘Die Proskesche Musikbibliothek ist nunmehr geordnet und katalogisiert . . . Die Scheidung in eine theoretische und praktische Abteilung ist nach Proskes Anlage im Prinzip beibehalten, jedoch im einzelnen eine teilweise schärfere Sichtung vollzogen. Um die beiden Abteilungen schon äusserlich als solche zu kennzeichnen sind die Theoretica mit roten, die Practica mit gelben Nummern versehen; die Signaturen wurden zugleich in jedes einzelne Stimmheft bzw. -buch eingetragen (leider wurden mit der Anbringung des Bibliotheksstempels auch viele schöne Titel verunstaltet) . . .’²⁴ As Weinmann indicates, each item was given a pencilled shelfmark and the title-pages of prints were identified with the library’s stamp; not revealed here, though, is the fact that loose items (mostly partbooks) were often placed in boxes to which the shelfmark and an occasional brief description were added. (The shelfmarks do not represent the number of partbooks or volumes in each box.)

When Proske prepared his catalogue of the Butsch collection in 1846, one of the partbooks – the Tenor recently uncovered in the Butsch 11 box – was already located with other partbooks from the same print at Butsch 9–10 (as a result, when Weinmann catalogued the set in the early twentieth century, the Tenor partbook was duly labelled with the same shelfmark as the other partbooks here). However, Proske must have realized that the Tenor partbook was not from the same set as the other partbooks at Butsch 9–10, for he singles it out for special mention in his catalogue, and reveals that it is unbound.²⁵ Closer inspection of the partbooks found today at Butsch 9–10 reveals that all have plain paper covers bearing the initials of a former owner, ‘P E F’, presumably Philipp Eduard Fugger (1546–1618), a member of the prominent Augsburg family of bankers, and a cousin of the four Fugger brothers to whom Gabrieli dedicated his 1597 *Sacrae symphoniae* – although Gabrieli may have

²⁴ Cited in August Scharnagl, ‘Die Proskesche Musiksammlung in der Bischöflichen Zentralbibliothek zu Regensburg’, in *Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg. Thematischer Katalog der Musikhandschriften*, i, p. xxiv.

²⁵ D Rp Kat. Abt. Butsch, p. 9.

known Philipp Eduard Fugger, there is no documentary evidence of any direct connection.²⁶ In contrast, the Butsch 11 Tenor partbook is uncovered.

Before, or during, the time when Weinmann was allocating shelfmarks, the seven 1597 partbooks that Proske cited in his catalogue were separated; here I am referring to five of the six partbooks that I discovered in the Butsch 11 box, – A, 5, 8, 11 and 12 – and the matching Cantus and Bassus partbooks, until recently located respectively at Butsch 75–76 and Butsch 77–78. Instead of being kept together as they were at the time when Proske purchased and listed them, all partbooks – except for the Bassus – were relocated and labelled ‘B 9–10’. Since there was, as there is now, insufficient space in the Butsch 9–10 box (which then housed a complete set of partbooks from the same print), the partbooks in question – C, A, 5, 8, 11 and 12 – were moved yet again. The Cantus partbook was moved to the box devoted to Butsch 75–76 and an unidentifiable person added a second shelfmark to its title-page, ‘Sg 75’. At some stage, the five remaining partbooks – A, 5, 8, 11 and 12 – were placed in the Butsch 11 box. During the same time (or perhaps later), the Tenor partbook was taken from the Butsch 9–10 box and also placed in the box devoted to Butsch 11. All six of the aforementioned partbooks remained unnoticed at Butsch 11 until I discovered them recently. As a result of these discoveries, all the matching partbooks – C, A, T, B, 5, 8, 11 and 12 – are now located in the box devoted to Butsch 77–78, and the latter shelfmark has been added to the seven partbooks that were previously located elsewhere.

There is strong evidence that these seven partbooks are related to the Bassus book that in recent times was the sole occupant of the box devoted to Butsch 77–78. Unlike other *Sacrae symphoniae* partbooks in the Regensburg library, each of those now at Butsch 77–78 has the monogram of St Anna, Augsburg,

²⁶ It is unknown how Philipp Eduard Fugger acquired his copy of Gabrieli's 1597 *Sacrae symphoniae*, though the family's extensive contact with musicians of the period, including Gabrieli himself, must account for its acquisition. For information about the early musical life of Augsburg and the Fugger family, see: Adolf Layer, *Musik und Musiker der Fuggerzeit* (Augsburg, 1959); idem, 'Augsburger Musikkultur der Renaissance', *Musik in der Reichsstadt Augsburg*, ed. Ludwig Wegele (Augsburg, 1965), pp. 43–102; and William E. Hettrick, 'The Fugger Family and Music in Renaissance Augsburg: Printed Collections of Music dedicated to the Fuggers, 1546–1624, and Genealogical Tree of the Fuggers of Augsburg', unpublished typescript dated 1978 (revised 1997) and kindly supplied by the author. A reproduction of Gabrieli's dedication to Georg, Anton, Philipp and Albrecht Fugger, the sons of Marcus Fugger (1529–1597), appears in Richard Charteris, *Giovanni Gabrieli (ca. 1555–1612): A Thematic Catalogue of his Music with a Guide to the Source Materials and Translations of his Vocal Texts*, pp. 477–478. The covers of the Regensburg partbooks at Butsch 9–10 also have a former shelfmark, 'AN. 35. E. 86', from the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, which must have owned these partbooks before they became the property of Proske.

stamped on its title-page.²⁷ The only other Gabrieli partbooks in the library that once belonged to St Anna, again with the monogram on their title-pages, are those from the 1587 *Concerti* shelved at Butsch 75–76 (a set that also includes some manuscript additions).²⁸ The monogram was used throughout the

²⁷ The St Anna monogram consists of 'SANA' with an abbreviation sign, suggesting 'S[ANCTA] AN[N]A'. Dr Gertraut Haberkamp of the Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek agrees with this interpretation, though she has also suggested that the middle letters of the monogram could be 'AV', implying 'Augustae Vindelicorum', the Latin description of the city of Augsburg. Originally, Dr Haberkamp suggested that the monogram belonged to the Abbey of St Ulrich and St Afra in Augsburg (see *Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg. Thematischer Katalog der Musikhandschriften*, i, p. 223), but later identified it with St Anna (see *Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg. Thematischer Katalog der Musikhandschriften*, ii, p. xxiv). For details about this monogram, see Richard Charteris, 'A Rediscovered Collection of Music purchased for St Anna, Augsburg, in June 1618', *Music and Letters*, 78 (1997), pp. 487–501; and *idem*, *Early Music Prints Once Owned by Adam Gumpelzhaimer and St Anna, Augsburg*, Musicological Studies and Documents (American Institute of Musicology), in preparation—the latter book mentions the partbooks that are the subject of this article, but it does not include the extensive details found here about their history and contents, and nor does it discuss their evidence concerning early performance practice. The appearance of the monogram in sources that are known from other evidence to have belonged to St Anna, or that were used by Gumpelzhaimer while he was employed there, leaves no doubt that the monogram belongs to St Anna, Augsburg.

Further details about the St Anna monogram appear in Jane A. Bernstein, 'Buyers and Collectors of Music Publications: Two Sixteenth-Century Music Libraries Recovered', *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts. Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings, Detroit Monographs in Musicology/Studies in Music, xviii (Michigan, 1997), pp. 21–33, see esp. pp. 27–28, 31–33. Bernstein's article does not mention: the Butsch 75–76 and 77–78 prints discussed in the present article; the prints discussed in my article in the 1997 issue of *Music & Letters* (cited above); and the prints discussed in Richard Charteris, 'An Early Seventeenth-Century Collection of Music and its Augsburg Connections', forthcoming. A vast number of extra prints with the monogram are discussed in my book cited above.

²⁸ The incomplete copy of the 1587 *Concerti* at Butsch 75–76 includes manuscript additions by Adam Gumpelzhaimer (see n. 30). The relevant works include: Andrea Gabrieli's 'Egredimini, et videte' (a 8) with a revised choir description; Andrea Gabrieli's 'Deus Deus meus respice in me' (a 10) with 'S. Zindelin Corn ad dextram: Solus' in the Cantus and a number at the end of the work; Andrea Gabrieli's 'Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius' (a 10) with the total number of breve units indicated at the end of the work; Andrea Gabrieli's 'Exultate iusti in Domino' (a 10) with a reference to a performer and the total number of breve units indicated at the end of the work; Giovanni Gabrieli's 'Deus Deus meus ad te' (a 10) (C4) with additional text underlay and a number at the end of the work; and Andrea Gabrieli's 'Benedicam Dominum' (a 12) with revised choir descriptions.

Butsch 75–76 (1587 *Concerti*) and Butsch 77–78 (1597 *Sacrae symphoniae*) are not listed in Gumpelzhaimer's catalogue – which he commenced in 1620 – of the music that once belonged to St Anna, Augsburg. The catalogue is an incomplete record of the music at St Anna; see Richard Charteris, 'A Rediscovered Collection of Music purchased for St Anna, Augsburg,

late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and an example of it is seen in Plate I. This evidence reveals that the 1597 partbooks at Butsch 77–78 are distinct from those of the same print at A.R. 538–562, A.R. 563–564 and Butsch 9–10 (for a summary of the library's holdings of Gabrieli's 1587 and 1597 prints, see Table I).²⁹ The manuscript additions to Butsch 77–78, details of which appear in the next section, are further confirmation that the partbooks belong to a common set.

Performance Practice Indications

The Butsch 77–78 partbooks include manuscript music and annotations supplied by Adam Gumpelzhaimer (1559–1625),³⁰ a prominent composer and

in June 1618', *passim*. There are three copies of the catalogue and they are located as follows: two copies are in Augsburg, Evangelisch-lutherische Gesamtkirchenverwaltung, Scholarchatsarchiv 63a and 63b, and the third copy is in Augsburg, Stadtarchiv, Evangelisches Wesensarchiv 1065. A transcription appears in Richard Schaal, *Das Inventar der Kantorei St Anna in Augsburg. Ein Beitrag zur protestantischen Musikpflege im 16. und beginnenden 17. Jahrhundert*, *Catalogus musicus*, iii (Kassel, 1965). Adam Gumpelzhaimer's hand only appears in Scholarchatsarchiv 63a and 63b. In 63b, for example, Gumpelzhaimer's hand appears on ff. 1'-10', ff. 12'-35', the lower half of f. 37', and his signature appears at the foot of f. 39'. The version at Evangelisches Wesensarchiv 1065 is a later and incomplete copy.

²⁹ Jane A. Bernstein, 'Buyers and Collectors of Music Publications: Two Sixteenth-Century Music Libraries Recovered', p. 33, claims that all the partbooks at Butsch 9–10 feature the monogram. However, the claim needs to be revised: only the ones moved from Butsch 9–10 (and now at Butsch 77–78) have the monogram; the remaining ones at Butsch 9–10 have no connection to St Anna.

³⁰ Adam Gumpelzhaimer often styled himself 'Adamus Gumpelzhaimerus Trostbergensis [or 'Trosberga'] Boius [or 'Bavarus']' – or symbolically 'Altissimi Gratia Tantum Beat.', or simply 'A.G.T.B.' – in recognition of his birth in Trostberg in upper Bavaria. He received his musical instruction at the Benedictine cloister of St Ulrich and St Afra in Augsburg, where he was taught for a period by Jodocus Entzenmüller. Some years later, Gumpelzhaimer was engaged as the *Kantor* and preceptor at the Lutheran church and school of St Anna, Augsburg, an appointment he held from 1581 until his death in 1625. He was a keen collector of the music of his German and Italian contemporaries, and copied a considerable number of their works. An inventory of his music library has yet to be discovered, though in later years he sold some of his music manuscripts and prints to St Anna; regrettably only a small number of items from his library have survived. As one of the leading musicians of Augsburg, he was well respected by its citizens. His most important publication was his *Compendium musicae* (Augsburg, 1591; = *RISM* ser. A I, G 5116), a textbook dealing with the rudiments of music that encapsulates the techniques he used during the instruction of his students at St Anna. This publication, which underwent thirteen editions between 1591 and 1681, presents its text in both German and Latin together with numerous music examples by various composers, among them himself. He published a sizeable number of *geistliche Lieder* and Latin motets, demonstrating a fluent command of the major vocal forms of the day, together with an informative knowledge of the Venetian polychoral tradition, especially that of Giovanni Gabrieli, with

teacher who spent forty-four years as the *Kantor* and preceptor at the Lutheran church and school of St Anna, Augsburg (a city where Gabrieli's music was much admired judging by the number of its musicians and patrons with connections to the Venetian master).³¹ The manuscript additions provide insight into the manner in which Gumpelzhaimer and his colleagues at St Anna performed Gabrieli's works. As such they represent an invaluable resource for our appreciation of the church's early musical life,³² not least because detailed records about St Anna's early liturgy and musicians have yet to be uncovered. In the discussion that follows, references to part numbers are consistent with my twelve-volume edition of Giovanni Gabrieli's *opera omnia* (and with the part indications in my catalogue of the same composer's works).³³

Gumpelzhaimer's annotations in the partbooks at Butsch 77–78 include dynamic indications and names of musicians and instruments. In addition, Gum-

whom he was almost certainly acquainted. He made a major contribution to the musical life of St Anna, overseeing the musical activities of its church and school, instructing young musicians, and acquiring for it a large collection of music. (Gumpelzhaimer's contacts with the Fugger family of Augsburg are unknown, though he must have had dealings with some of them given their prominent position.)

For further details about Gumpelzhaimer, see: Otto Mayr, *Adam Gumpelzhaimer: ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte der Stadt Augsburg im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Augsburg, 1908), repr. and enlarged as the introduction to *Adam Gumpelzhaimer: Ausgewählte Werke*, ed. *idem*, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern*, xix, Jg. x/2 (Leipzig, 1909); Adam Adrio, 'Gumpelzhaimer, Adam', *MGG*, v, cols. 1112–19; Louise E. Cuyler, 'Musical Activity in Augsburg and its An-nakirche, ca. 1470–1630', *Cantors at the Crossroads: Essays on Church Music in Honor of Walter E. Buszjin*, ed. Johannes Riedel (St Louis, Missouri, 1967), pp. 33–43; Richard Charteris, 'Newly Discovered Works by Giovanni Gabrieli', *Music and Letters*, 68 (1987), pp. 343–63, see esp. pp. 344–52; *idem* and Gertraut Haberkamp, 'Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Butsch 205–210: A Little-Known Source of the Music of Giovanni Gabrieli and his Contemporaries', *Musica Disciplina*, 43 (1989), pp. 195–249, see esp. pp. 199, 207–9; Richard Charteris, *Adam Gumpelzhaimer's Little-Known Score-Books in Berlin and Kraków*, *Musicological Studies and Documents*, xlviii (American Institute of Musicology, 1996), *passim*; and William E. Hetttrick, 'Gumpelzhaimer [Gumpelthaimer], Adam', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (2nd edn, London, 2000), online version.

³¹ For details about the Augsburg musicians and patrons with whom Giovanni Gabrieli was connected, see Richard Charteris, 'Newly Discovered Works by Giovanni Gabrieli', pp. 348–9.

³² The manuscript annotations in the Cantus and Bassus partbooks—then thought to be the only extant ones of the set—are briefly mentioned in Richard Charteris, *Adam Gumpelzhaimer's Little-Known Score-Books in Berlin and Kraków*, p. 28 n. 2.

³³ See *Giovanni Gabrieli: Opera omnia*, ed. Richard Charteris, *Corpus mensurabilis musicae*, xii (American Institute of Musicology), vols. 1–12 (vols. 1–6, ed. D. Arnold, 1956–74; and vols. 7–12 and new editions of vols. 1–6, ed. Richard Charteris, 1991–); scoring details for all pieces appear in *idem*, *Giovanni Gabrieli (ca. 1555–1612): A Thematic Catalogue of his Music with a Guide to the Source Materials and Translations of his Vocal Texts*.