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# Italian Music in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century in the Regions of Spiš and Šariš in the Evangelical Churches of the Augsburg Confession

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## Abstract

In the 17th century, the regions of Spiš and Šariš (Zips, Scharosch in German, Szepes, Sáros in Hungarian), which formed part of Upper Hungary, represented an intersection of diverse European cultural influences. In the economic and cultural sphere, the population maintained intense contacts with German-speaking regions in Central Europe: besides Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Thuringia and Prussia, primarily with Silesia and Transylvania. In the field of religion, they joined Luther's Reformation of the Augsburg Confession. From German printing houses, not only German Baroque music made its way to the region of Spiš and Šariš but also Italian music, primarily as part of the repertoire of musical anthologies. Ongoing research, which focuses not only on the compositions that were available in a printed form but also on pieces that were circulated in the form of manuscripts, brings a new look at the question of the distribution of the Italian musical repertoire in Central Europe during the 17th century. It enables us to get a more reliable picture about the ways in which contemporaneous musical repertoire was spread and, at the same time, reveals information about the migration of musicians in Central Europe.

## Keywords

Italian music, 17th century, Spiš/Zips/Szepes, Šariš/Scharosch/Sáros, musical anthologies, Levoča Music Collection, Bardejov Music Collection

## Introduction

The distribution of the musical repertoire in Europe in the Baroque period continues to attract the attention of music historians, and has become the object of several scientific research projects and conferences. Nevertheless, in spite of the long-time interest of musicologists, this area of research has not been mastered and explained to a satisfactory extent yet. The distribution of Italian music in the Baroque period played a key role in the development of national musical cultures in the field of church music as well as secular music and, therefore, it is important to trace the possible forms of its penetration into Spiš and Šariš, two significant regions of historical Hungary.

## The Contemporaneous Political and Confessional Situation in Spiš and Šariš

From the 16th century onwards, sociopolitical developments in Europe were negatively influenced by the Ottoman expansion, which resulted in a long-term loss of the regional integrity of historical Hungary.<sup>1</sup> The regions of Spiš and Šariš, which lie in the territory of Slovakia today, were not directly threatened by the Ottomans. This ensured a relatively more relaxed everyday life and economic prosperity for these regions. However, even the inhabitants of Spiš and Šariš could not completely avoid the misery of war, especially during the anti-Habsburg uprisings of the Hungarian aristocracy between the years 1604 and 1711.<sup>2</sup> The long-term forfeiture of thirteen towns to Poland was a blow to the integrity of the Spiš region.<sup>3</sup> In the 16th and the 17th century, the ideas of Protestantism, especially of Luther's Reformation, dominated the church (Christian) environment in the royal and mining towns of Spiš and Šariš, where a German population prevailed.<sup>4</sup> Their power was enhanced by the arrival of exiles, persecuted Protestant men of letters, from the regions of Europe where the Catholic Revival was victorious already in the first half of the 17th century.<sup>5</sup> In Upper Hungary, in the centuries mentioned, Protestant religious branches turned to other ethnicities too, namely to the Slovak and to the Hungarian population. From among the Protestant denominations, the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession had a very positive attitude to music. Martin Luther himself assigned a significant role to music in the education of youth. In this spirit, music

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1 KÓNYA, Peter et al. *Dejiny Uhorska* [History of Hungary]. Bratislava: Citadella, 2014, pp. 189–203.

2 Ibid., pp. 244–302.

3 It took place in 1412, under the rule of King Sigismund of Luxembourg, and lasted over 350 years. See CHALUPECKÝ, Ivan. *Snahy Uhorska o vykúpenie spišských miest z poľského zálohu v 15.–17. storočí* [Hungary's Efforts to Redeem the Spiš Towns from Polish Forfeiture in the 15th to 17th Centuries]. *Historické štúdie*, 2000, vol. 41, pp. 115–120.

4 KÓNYA, 2014, op. cit., pp. 226–231.

5 Exiles came e.g. after the Battle of White Mountain from Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, where the Thirty Years' War took place in 1618 to 1648.

education played an important role in the contemporaneous school system of the urban schools also in Spiš and Šariš.<sup>6</sup>

## Italian Music in Musical Prints in Spiš and Šariš

Historical sources of music from the 17th century were preserved from these regions in the largest number in the environment of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession. Musical prints and manuscripts form part of the so-called *Levoča Music Collection*,<sup>7</sup> deposited in the historical library of the Evangelical church in Levoča (Leutschau, Lőcse), and in the so-called *Bardejov Music Collection*<sup>8</sup> from St. Giles' Church in Bardejov (Bartfeld, Bártfa), at present deposited in the *National Széchényi Library* in Budapest. An **inventory catalogue of sheet music** from 1661 from another town in Šariš, from **Prešov** (Eperies, Eperjes), also bears witness to the presence of music.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, hymn books in the form of handwritten so-called *chorbuchs* (ms. *Hymnal of Hôrka*, ms. *Prešov Gradual* 1635, ms. *Lubica Hymnal*, etc.) may also be added to these sources.<sup>10</sup> The musical repertoire in the preserved and registered pieces of sheet music is very rich, and points to a highly developed musical life drawing primarily from the achievements of contemporaneous European music (Franco-Flemish, German, Italian), and only to a smaller extent from local music. The preserved sheet music (prints of the music of a single author, or anthologies, handwritten collections in the form of tablature scores, and part books) contains thousands of compositions which have drawn the attention of several generations of local and foreign musicologists.

Earlier Slovak music-historical literature assumed direct musical contacts of Spiš and Šariš in a southern direction, with Italian cultural centres.<sup>11</sup> It was due to this fact that the preserved hand-copied musical repertoire had not undergone comparative research till then. Mostly, they referred to the situation back in the 15th century, at the time of King

6 HULKOVÁ, Marta. Beitrag zur Problematik der Musikerziehung in der Stadtschulen auf dem Gebiet der Slowakei im 16. Jahrhundert. *Musicologica Istropolitana*, 2005, vol. 4, pp. 41–59.

7 HULKOVÁ, Marta. *Levočská zbierka hudobnín* [The Levoča Music Collection]. [Diss.], 2 vols., Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského, Filozofická fakulta, 1985.

8 MURÁNYI, Róbert Árpád. *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Musiksammlung von Bartfeld (Bártfa)*. (= Deutsche Musik im Osten 2), Bonn: Gudrun Schröder Verlag, 1991.

9 PETŐCZOVÁ, Janka. Katalog der Musikalien der Pfarrkirche in Prešov aus dem Jahre 1661. In KALINAYOVÁ, Jana und Autorenkollektiv. *Musikinventare und das Repertoire der mehrstimmigen Musik in der Slowakei im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*. Bratislava: SNM-Hudobné múzeum, 1995, pp. 74–78.

10 HULKOVÁ, Marta. *Lubický spevník* [Lubica/Leibitz Hymnal]. *Musicologica Slovaca*, 1988, vol. 12, pp. 11–134; *Graduale Ecclesiae Hungaricae Epperiensis 1635*. Ilona Ferenczi (ed.), (= *Musicalia Danubiana* 9), Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi intézet 1988, 2. vols.; HULKOVÁ, Marta. *Spevník z Hôrky a spišské rukopisné spevníky zo 17. a 18. storočia* [The Hymnal of Hôrka and Handwritten Hymnals from Spiš from the 17th and the 18th Century]. In *Ad honorem Richard Rybarič*. Janka Petőczová (ed.), Bratislava: Ústav hudobnej vedy Slovenskej akadémie vied, 2011, pp. 87–102.

11 HUDEC, Konštantín. *Vývin hudobnej kultúry na Slovensku* [The Development of Musical Culture in Slovakia]. Bratislava: Slovenská akadémia vied a umení, 1949, p. 36.

Matthias Corvinus, whose wife (Beatrice of Naples) brought Italian artists to the Hungarian royal court.<sup>12</sup>

In the 16th and the 17th centuries, Italian music spread to Europe by several channels. The simplest way that it could reach even the remote geographical regions of Europe was by contemporaneous prints of the works of a single author, and by printed musical anthologies, where the compilers preferred compositions by Italian musicians. These pieces of sheet music were produced not only in printing houses in Italy but also in other European cities. In the 16th and the 17th centuries, the activities of Italian musicians at several European aristocratic and royal courts, especially at the Habsburg courts including the imperial court, had a great impact on the contemporaneous musical repertoire.<sup>13</sup> We have no information about any activities of Italian musicians in Spiš and Šariš. Here, musical culture was maintained primarily by the church, with the support of wealthy townsmen.

As for Italian musicians in the *Bardejov* and the *Levoča Music Collections*, which were created in a German community of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, there is only one musical print, of a single author.

In Bardejov, incomplete vocal parts (A, T, 5, 8) were preserved within the print shelfmarked *Mus. pr. Bártfa 11* from the print of the works of **Liberale Zanchi** (1570–1621): *Quinque psalmorum in vesperis...* (Prag: Georgius Nigrini, 1604),<sup>14</sup> who was active at the court of Rudolf II at the time (Fig. 1).

P. Daněk did research on the musical prints produced by printer Georgius Nigrini, and no copy of this print is registered in the Czech Republic.<sup>15</sup> Besides the copy found within the *Bardejov Music Collection*, the RISM database lists only one other occurrence of this print, in Germany.<sup>16</sup> This print of Zanchi's works is the fourth part of the convolute shelfmarked *Mus. pr. Bártfa 11*, besides two prints of the works of German musicians, **Hieronymus Praetorius** (*Magnificat octo vocum...* Hamburg: Philipp de Ohr, 1602; *Cantiones sacrae...* Hamburg: Philipp de Ohr, 1607)<sup>17</sup> and **Hans Leo Hassler** (*Missae quaternis...* Nürnberg: Paul Kaufmann, 1599)<sup>18</sup>. Hand-copied versions of these musical prints were present in Spiš and Šariš, e.g. of the compositions of H. Praetorius and H. L. Hassler, but

12 *Magyarország zenetörténete I. Középkor* [The Music History of Hungary I. The Middle Ages]. Benjamin Rajeczky (ed.), Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988, pp. 106–109.

13 A selection from the oeuvre of Italian musicians active at Habsburg courts can be found in the five-volume anthology *Novi Thesauri Musicici* (Venetia: Antonio Gardano, 1568), compiled by Pietro Ioannelli (RISM B/I 1568<sup>2-6</sup>). It was also in the possession of the Franciscans and of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Bratislava (Pressburg, Pozsony), as well as of the Latin School in Kremnica (Kremnitz, Kőrmöcbánya). See KALINAYOVÁ, op. cit., pp. 23, 65.

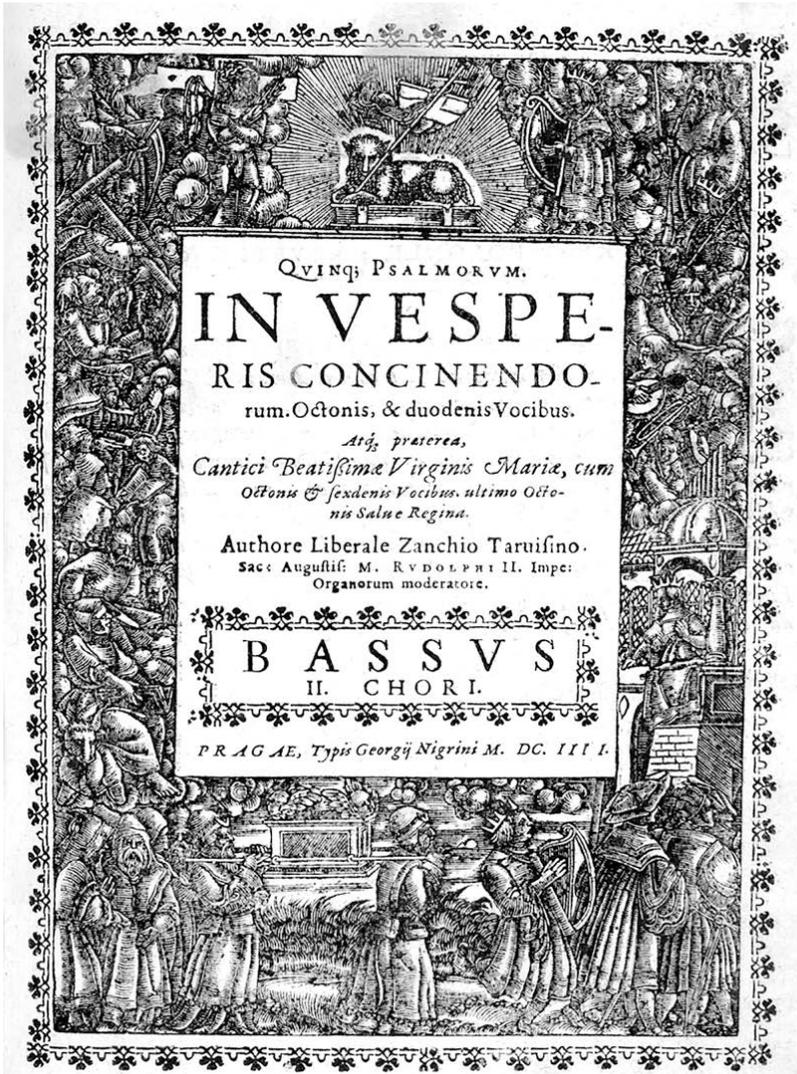
14 RISM A/I Z 28.

15 See DANĚK, Petr. *Nototiskařská činnost Jiřího Nigrina* [The Printing Activities of Jiří Nigrin]. *Hudební věda*, 1987, vol. 24, pp. 121–136; see also DANĚK, Petr. *Historické tisky vokální polyfonie, rané monodie, hudební teorie a instrumentální hudby v českých zemích do roku 1630* [Historical Prints of Vocal Polyphony, Early Monody, Music Theory, and Instrumental Music in the Bohemian Lands before 1630]. Prague: KLP, 2015, pp. 39–40.

16 RISM A/I Z 28 – D-Rp.

17 RISM A/I P 5333; P 5337.

18 RISM A/I H 2327.



**Fig. 1** Title folio: Liberale Zanchi *Quinque psalmorum in vesperis...* Prag: Georgius Nigrini, 1604. Bardejov Music Collection, shelfmark Mus. pr. Bártfa 11, National Széchényi Library, Budapest.

no hand-copied versions of the above-mentioned print of Zanchi's works can be found here. However, the repertoire of the **fifth manuscript part** of this convolute is noteworthy, since it contains works by Andreas Neoman, organist in Bardejov by the year 1608.<sup>19</sup> At the time of Neoman, the musical repertoire of this convolute may have been performed in St. Giles' Church in Bardejov. Among the 24 pieces recorded by hand in this

<sup>19</sup> RYBARIČ, Richard. *Dejiny hudobnej kultúry na Slovensku* [The History of Music Culture in Slovakia]. Bratislava: OPUS, 1984, p. 83.

source, there are compositions also by Italian musicians: **Orazio Vecchi's** (1550–1605) *Confitemini Deo* (à 8), (Fig. 2) **Giovanni Croce's** (1557–1609) *Veni in hortum meum* (à 8), **Gabriele Fattorini's** (1570–1615) *Repleatur os meum* (à 8).<sup>20</sup>

The works of these musicians were often included in contemporaneous musical anthologies. We do not know of any prints or manuscripts in Šariš or Spiš which would have served as the model for copying these works. According to Emil Bohn, the geographically closest printed copy was preserved in the Silesian town of Breslau (today's Wrocław in Poland).<sup>21</sup> A. Neoman's life before he became organist in Bardejov is shrouded in mys-



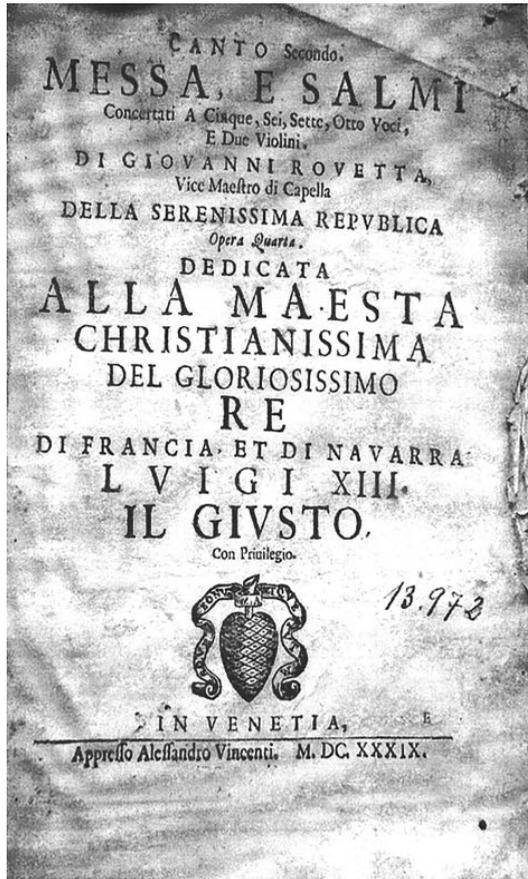
**Fig. 2** Copy of Orazio Vecchi's *Confitemini Deo* (à 8). Bardejov Music Collection, shelfmark Mus. pr. Bártfa 11, Koll. 5, f. 1v. National Széchényi Library, Budapest.

<sup>20</sup> Murányi identified a composition of G. Croce (RISM B/I 1601<sup>2</sup>/58) and G. Fattorini (RISM B/I 1618<sup>1</sup>/51). MURÁNYI, op. cit., pp. 171–172.

<sup>21</sup> BOHN, Emil. *Bibliographie der Musik-Druckwerke bis 1700 welche in der Stadtbibliothek, der Bibliothek des Akademischen Instituts für Kirchenmusik und der Königlichen und Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Breslau aufbewahrt werden*. Berlin: Commissions-Verlag von Albert Cohn, 1883, pp. 107, 365, 418–419.

tery. Unfortunately, we are unable to confirm whether the above-mentioned convolute got to Bardejov thanks to him. Probably he was one of the copyists of the handwritten appendix, since the convolute remained in Bardejov in spite of the fact that, after the year 1608, Neoman found employment in Bytča (Bittsa, Nagybicse), in the services of the aristocratic Thurzo family.<sup>22</sup>

Three vocal parts (S2, T2, B2) from the print of the works of **Giovanni Rovetta** (1596–1668) – *Messa e Salmi Concertati...* (Venetia: Alessandro Vincenti, 1639), were preserved within the *Levoča Music Collection* as part of the source shelfmarked 13972 /30 A/ (Fig. 3).<sup>23</sup>



**Fig. 3** Title folio: Giovanni Rovetta *Messa e Salmi Concertati...* Venetia: Alessandro Vincenti, 1639. *Levoča Music Collection*, shelfmark 13972 /30 A/, Library of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Levoča.

<sup>22</sup> *Magyarország zenetörténete II.* [The Music History of Hungary II.] 1541–1686. Kornél Bárdos (ed.), Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990, p. 68.

<sup>23</sup> RISM A/I R 2966.

Rovetta lived and worked near Claudio Monteverdi, and became his successor as *maestro di capella* in St Mark's Cathedral in Venice. Hand-copied compositions from this print cannot be found in the *Levoča* or the *Bardejov Music Collection*, therefore the question arises as to whether this source was in the possession of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Levoča in the 17th century. With certainty, we can establish only the fact that this musical print received shelfmark 13972 in 1927 during the last cataloguing of the Library of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Levoča.<sup>24</sup> G. Rovetta's compositions in a hand-copied form can be found in the *Bardejov Music Collection* in the source shelfmarked *Ms. mus. Bártfa 19*<sup>25</sup>, but these are not copied from his *Messa e Salmi Concertati*. They were selected from another print of his works, from *Motetti concertati...* (Venetia: Alessandro Vincenti, 1635),<sup>26</sup> and from the anthology compiled by Ambrosius Profius: *Erster Theil geistlicher Concerten und Harmonien...* (Leipzig: Henning Köler, /Breslau: Christoph Jacob/ 1641); *Vierdter und letzter Theil geistlicher Concerten...* (Leipzig: Timotheus Ritzsch, 1646).<sup>27</sup> In Šariš, in an inventory catalogue of sheet music from 1661 from Prešov, there is an entry on several psalms by Rovetta in a hand-copied form in the possession of local organist Georg Plotz.<sup>28</sup> These may have come from his print *Salmi...* (Venetia: Alessandro Vincenti, 1642), or *Salmi...* (Venetia: Alessandro Vincenti, 1644).<sup>29</sup> According to E. Bohn's catalogue, geographically, these prints could be found closest also in the town of Breslau.<sup>30</sup>

From the contemporaneous printed anthologies containing also a selection of Italian music, the following were preserved in Spiš during the 17th century: *Promptuarium musicum* compiled by Abraham Schadaeus (Argentinae: Carl Kieffer, 1611, 1612, 1613) and Caspar Vincentio (Argentinae: Anton Bertram, 1617)<sup>31</sup>, and also *Vierdter und letzter Theil Geilichen Concerten...* compiled by Abraham Profius (1646). These anthologies may have served as the model for copying numerous compositions of Italian musicians into several manuscript sources of the *Levoča* and the *Bardejov Music Collections*, but we cannot say with certainty whether this happened from the prints they had in Spiš. This uncertainty arises from the fact that, in the majority of the cases, the place of origin of the pieces of manuscript sheet music from Spiš and Šariš is still an open question and, as the RISM database reveals, the above-mentioned contemporaneous printed anthologies were widespread all over Central Europe.<sup>32</sup>

24 HULKOVÁ, Marta. Hudobniny zo 16. a 17. storočia na pôde knižníc Evanjelického a. v. cirkevného zboru v Levoči a v Kežmarku [Sheet Music from the 16th and the 17th Century in the Libraries of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Levoča and Kežmarok]. In *Kniha 2013 – dejiny knižnej kultúry Spiša*. Martin: Slovenská národná knižnica, 2013, pp. 148.

25 MURÁNYI, op. cit., no. 1361–1365.

26 RISM A/I R 2964.

27 RISM B/I 1641<sup>2</sup>, 1646<sup>4</sup>.

28 PETŐCZOVÁ, op. cit., p. 77.

29 RISM A/I R 2971 a 2972.

30 BOHN, 1883, op. cit., p. 343.

31 RISM B/I 1611<sup>1</sup>, 1612<sup>3</sup>, 1613<sup>2</sup>, 1617<sup>1</sup>.

32 RISM = *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*. B/I: François Lesure. *Recueils imprimés, XVIe–XVIIe siècles*. München – Duisburg: G. Henle Verlag, 1960, pp. pp. 431, 436, 440, 457, 519.

## Italian Music in Musical Manuscripts in Spiš and Šariš

In the 17th century, Italian music made its way to the music collections preserved in Spiš and Šariš mainly in the form of hand-copied sources. If no musical prints were preserved which might have served as a model for hand-copying compositions in the Spiš and the Šariš region, it is the presence of the works of local composers which can give some clue about the direction in which to set off when searching for the place of origin of the sources. Thanks to the migration of the musicians, compositions in a printed or hand-copied form could reach the nearby as well as the more remote regions of Europe where the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession prevailed. Music-historical research has repeatedly pointed out the migration routes between the localities in Central Europe inhabited by Germans, namely between towns in Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Thuringia, Prussia and those in Silesia, Spiš, Šariš, or even Transylvania.

There are three possible occurrences of Italian music, or its influence, in the form of hand-copied sources in Spiš and Šariš:

**Direct**, in the form of the compositions of Italian composers hand-copied from contemporaneous musical prints of a single author, or from printed anthologies.

**Concealed**, in the manner of contrafactures and parodies.

**Indirect**, when Italian compositional techniques became the basis for the compositional methods of German musicians (e.g. H. Praetorius, H. Schütz, S. Scheidt, T. Michael, A. Hammerschmidt, etc.) and also influenced local composition (e.g. Andreas Neoman, Zacharias Zarewutius, Ján Šimbracký /Johann Schimbrack, Schimrag/, Samuel Marckfelner, etc.).

A noteworthy example of the compositions of an Italian composer copied here is the oeuvre of **Giovanni Gabrieli**, who had a significant impact on 17th-century Baroque concertante style in Europe. His pieces are found in manuscript form in both the *Levoča* and the *Bardejov Music Collections*. In the *Tablature Book of Caspar Plotz*, which forms part of the *Levoča Music Collection*, there are 28 compositions copied<sup>33</sup> from his print *Sacrae Symphoniae...* (Venetia: Angelo Gardano, 1597) (Fig. 4).<sup>34</sup>

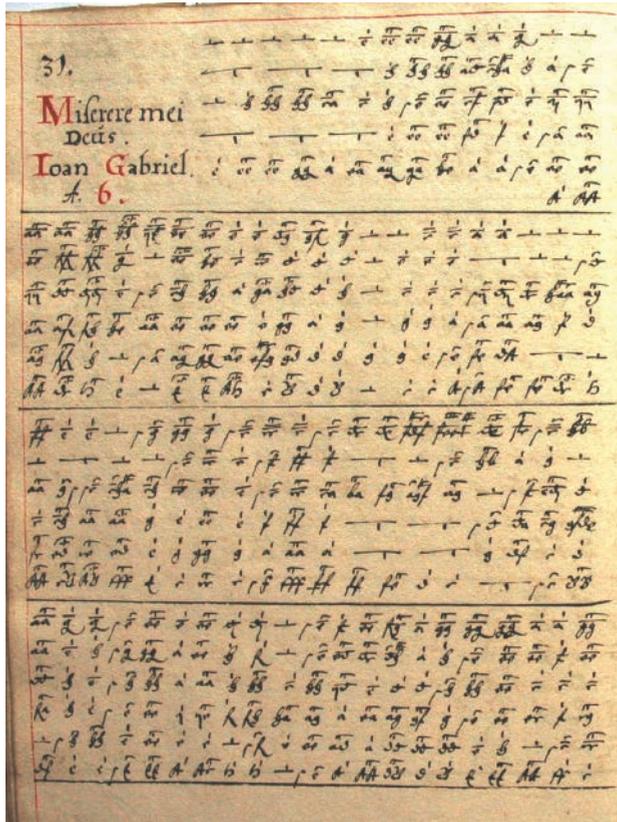
However, we do not know of the presence of this print of Gabrieli in Spiš or Šariš. According to the current state of research, this manuscript tablature book originated in Silesia.<sup>35</sup> According to a note in another contemporaneous book deposited originally in Berlin,<sup>36</sup> Caspar Plotz, the presumed owner of the book, was an organist in the town of Brieg. In the catalogue of contemporaneous musical prints from the town of Brieg, produced by Friedrich Kuhn, no prints containing only the works of Gabrieli can be

33 HULKOVÁ, op. cit., 1985, vol. 1, p. 57–59.

34 RISM A/I G 86.

35 HULKOVÁ, Marta. Central European Connections of Six Manuscript Organ Tablature Books of the Reformation Era from the Region of Zips (Spiš, Szepes). *Studia Musicologica*, 2015, vol. 56, no. 1, pp. 9–14.

36 Mus. Ms. 40 056, currently available in Krakow. See JOHNSON, Cleveland. In the Trenches with Johann and Caspar Plotz: a rediscovered Gebrauchstabulatur from the Scheidt circle. DePauw University 2001. [= online, cit. 2017-10-15] <<http://acad.depauw.edu/~cjohnson/PLOTZ/INDEX.HTML>>



**Fig. 4** Copy of Giovanni Gabrieli's *Miserere mei Deus* (à 6). Levoča Music Collection, shelf-mark 13990a, no. 31 (*Tablature Book of Caspar Plotz*), Library of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Levoča.

found.<sup>37</sup> The earliest available print of G. Gabrieli's *Sacrae Symphoniae...* was in the town of Breslau. In his catalogue of musical prints from the town of Breslau, Emil Bohn did not list the copy from the year 1597 but the *Liber Secundus* of this print, from the year 1615. Hand-copied pieces from G. Gabrieli's above-mentioned print of 1597 can be found also in the *Bardejov Music Collection*, in source shelfmarked *Ms. mus. Bártfa 21* – e.g. *Exultate justi in Domino, Sancte et immaculata, Jubilate Deo omnis terra*.<sup>38</sup> When, and by whom, these compositions made their way into the part books, still cannot be established with certainty. In his catalogue of the *Bardejov Music Collection*, R. Á. Murányi calls attention to the collaboration of several copyists in making these part books.<sup>39</sup> They contain even the autographs of the compositions of Z. Zarewutius (ca. 1605–1667), or-

37 Pozri KUHN, Friedrich. *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der alten Musikalien – Handschriften und Druckwerke – des Königlichen Gymnasiums zu Brieg*. Leipzig: Breitkopf et Härtel, 1897.

38 MURÁNYI, op. cit., pp. 111–113.

39 *Ibid.*, p. XXVI.

ganist in Bardejov,<sup>40</sup> as well as several compositions copied in his handwriting, therefore it is certain that these part books were in Bardejov in the 17th century. If we look at the contents of the source shelfmarked *Ms. mus. Bártfa 21* more closely, we may divide its repertoire into two parts. Murányi identified the numbered compositions, from 1 to 41, which had been originally copied without stating their author, as ones mostly by Italian composers, 9 pieces by **Giovanni Croce**,<sup>41</sup> 3 pieces by **Ruggiero Giovannelli**<sup>42</sup> (based on their single-author prints published in Antwerp and Frankfurt). The compositions of the following authors may have come from a musical anthology published in Nuremberg, from *Sacrarum Symphoniarum continuatio...* (Nuremberg: Paul Kauffman, 1600)<sup>43</sup>: **Francesco Bianciardi**, **Geminiano Capi Lupi**, **Luca Marenzio**. Furthermore, Murányi identified compositions by Asprilio Pacelli, Gabriele Fattorini, Tiburtio Massaino, etc. In the second part of the repertoire of the source shelfmarked *Ms. mus. Bártfa 21*, without the pieces numbered, compositions by German musicians prevail, and there are 4 autograph pieces by the above-mentioned organist of Bardejov, Z. Zarewutius. We assume that the second part of the source shelfmarked *Ms. mus. Bártfa 21* was copied directly in Bardejov, and the first part was created probably outside the region of Šariš. At the time of Z. Zarewutius, the compositions of Italian musicians from the first part of the manuscript may have been performed in Bardejov as well.

If we return to the question of G. Gabrieli's compositions found in Spiš and Šariš, we also have to consider the fact that his works were included, in large numbers, even in contemporaneous musical anthologies. From his above-mentioned pieces which were hand-copied into manuscripts in Bardejov and Levoča, several compositions had appeared in *Sacrae Symphoniae...* compiled by Caspar Hassler and published in Nuremberg, e.g. his *Jubilate Deo omnis terra* (8 v.),<sup>44</sup> or *Exultate justi in Domino* (8 v.)<sup>45</sup>. The editors of contemporaneous musical anthologies printed in Germany in the 16th century and all through the 17th century played a major role in the rapid spread of Italian music in Central Europe.<sup>46</sup>

40 MIČKIOVÁ, Erika. *Zacharias Zarewutius a Bardejovská zbierka hudobní. [Thesis]*, Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského, Filozofická fakulta, 2003, pp. 29–43; MATUŠ, František. *Zachariáš Zarevúcky – životné osudy [Zachariáš Zarevúcky: His Life]*. In *Zborník z muzikologickej konferencie Zachariáš Zarevúcky (Zarewutius)*. František Matuš, Janka Petőczová (eds.), Prešov: Súzvuk, 2005, pp. 67–84.

41 Selection from his print RISM A/I C 4435.

42 Selection from his print RISM A/I G 2450.

43 RISM B/I 1600<sup>2</sup>.

44 RISM B/I 1598<sup>2</sup>/60; 1601<sup>2</sup>/60; 1613<sup>1</sup>/61.

45 RISM B/I 1600<sup>2</sup>/61, 1613<sup>1</sup>/68.

46 List of the most widespread contemporaneous musical anthologies, with the name of their compiler and with their RISM number, according to vol. B/I: **Friderici Lindneri** 1588<sup>2</sup> *Continuatio cantionum sacrarum...* Nuremberg: K. Gerlach; **Caspar Hassler** 1598<sup>2</sup>, 1601<sup>2</sup>, 1613<sup>1</sup> *Sacrae Symphoniae...*, Nuremberg: Paul Kauffman; 1600<sup>2</sup> *Sacrarum symphoniarum continuatio...*, Nuremberg: Paul Kauffman; **Erhard Bodenschatz** 1603<sup>1</sup> *Florilegium selectissimarum...*, Leipzig: Abraham Lamberg; **Abraham Schadaeus** 1611<sup>1</sup>, 1612<sup>3</sup>, 1613<sup>2</sup> *Promptuarii musici...*, Argentinae: Carl Kieffer; **Caspar Vincentius** 1617<sup>1</sup> *Promptuarii musici...*, Argentinae: Anton Bertram; **Erhard Bodenschatz** 1618<sup>1</sup> *Florilegium Portense...* Leipzig: Abraham Lamberg et Caspar Closemann; **Ambrosius Profius** 1641<sup>2</sup>, 1641<sup>3</sup>, 1642<sup>4</sup>, 1646<sup>1</sup> *Erster (ander, dritter) Viertler und letzter Theil Geillicher Concerten...* Leipzig: Henning Köler / Breslau: Christoph Jacob/, Timotheus Ritzsch, etc.

With respect to the given topic, the *Geistliche Concerten und Harmonien...* volumes, compiled between 1641 and 1646 by Ambrosius Profius, cantor in St. Elisabeth's Church in Breslau, deserve special attention. Profius was attracted by madrigals composed by Italian musicians, which he published in the form of contrafactures with sacred German lyrics. These volumes became a preferred model for copying Italian music, and made their way to Spiš and Šariš as well (Fig. 5).



**Fig. 5** Title folio: *Vierdter und letzter Theil Geistlicher Concerten...* Leipzig: Timotheus Ritzsch, 1646, compiled by Abraham Profius. *Levoča Music Collection*, shelfmark 13974 (31–32 A), Library of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Levoča.

In spite of the availability of these volumes, the organist of Levoča, Samuel Marckfelner (1621–1674)<sup>47</sup>, copied a piece into his tablature book by **Marco Scacchi**, although

<sup>47</sup> MATUŠ, František. Samuel Marckfelner – príspevok k poznaniu života a diela levočského organistu, skladateľa a senátora [Samuel Marckfelner. A Contribution to the Knowledge on the Life and Oeuvre of the

with different German lyrics (*Herr, höre meine Stimme*) than the one given by A. Profius (*Herr, für dein Angesichte*).<sup>48</sup> With respect to the spread of Italian music, the case here is of a precedent confirming the presumption that Italian music may have reached Spiš primarily by manuscript sources from Breslau, since Scacchi's piece with this text is listed by Emil Bohn in his catalogue of musical manuscripts under serial number 197/4.<sup>49</sup> Italian musician Marco Scacchi (1605–1662) worked at the Polish royal court.<sup>50</sup>

An example of a concealed occurrence of a secular polyphonic composition of an Italian musician in the Spiš-Šariš region is **Orazio Vecchi's** (1550–1605) four-part canzonetta *Il cor che mi rubasti*. In the *Lubica Hymnal* manuscript used by the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession at the end of the 17th century, an unknown copyist assigned German lyrics to it based on Psalm 117 *Lobet den Herren alle Heiden* (Fig. 6).<sup>51</sup>



**Fig. 6** The *Lobet den Herren alle Heiden* (à 4) composition, *Lubica Hymnal*, f. 202v–203, SNM-Music Museum, Bratislava, without shelfmark. Contrafacture of Orazio Vecchi's canzonetta *Il cor che mi rubasti*.

The soprano melody of this piece of Vecchi was known also to Benedikt Szöllösi (1609–1656), compiler of the printed Catholic hymnal *Cantus Catholici* (Levoča 1655). He

Organist, Composer and Senator in Levoča]. In *Z minulosti Spiša*, 2002, vols. 9–10, pp. 137–152.

48 The composition can be found in the *Tablature Book of Samuel Marchfelner* (shelfmark 13991 /6 A/), f. 171v–172r. It is a contrafacture of Scacchi's madrigal *O come sei gentile*, and figures in the musical anthology compiled by A. Profius in 1646 under number 60.

49 BOHN, Emil. *Die musikalischen Handschriften des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau*. Breslau: Commissions-Verlag von Julius Hainauer, 1890, p. 169.

50 See the monography of PATALAS, Aleksandra. *W kościele, w komnacie i w teatrze. Marco Scacchi. Życie, muzyka, teoria*. Kraków: Musica Iagiellonica, 2010.

51 *Lubica Hymnal* (ms.), f. 202v–203r. See HULKOVA, op. cit., p. 94.

used it for the Christmas season, giving it the lyrics *Powezte Pastýrowé, Což gste wideli* (Fig. 7), and also *Bud Bože můg sám sudce* written by Evangelical poet Eliáš Lányi (1570–1618).<sup>52</sup>



**Fig. 7** The *Powezte Pastýrowé, Což gste wideli* composition in the *Cantus Catholici* hymnal (Levoča: Vavrinec Brewer, 1655).

We do not know with certainty where Szöllösi might have become familiar with this melody. It is a generally known fact that Vecchi's canzonettas were very popular and widespread all over Europe thanks to contemporaneous musical prints published in Venice in several reeditions between the years 1580 and 1620. So far, we only know of a single copy of his canzonettas from 1580 in the inventory catalogue of the sheet music of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Bratislava compiled in 1657.<sup>53</sup> However, we have to emphasize that it is a rare example when the soprano melody of a composition (canzonetta) of an Italian composer is used in a printed hymnal for a Slovak church community. The musical repertoire of the German churches may have served as an inspiration even for the Slovak church communities which had their own churches, mostly of the so-called hospital church type. The preserved musical sources from the 17th century, printed hymnals as well as handwritten, so-called *chorbuchs*, contain hymns in which contrafactures of the compositions of Italian musicians may be discovered only in very rare cases. Similarly to the Hungarian population which joined the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, e.g. in Prešov (ms. *Graduale Ecclesiae Hungaricae Epperiensis*, 1635), they mostly used German models, and translated the lyrics of the sacred songs to Hungarian. However, the majority of Hungarian believers joined Calvinism,

52 E. Lányi's lyrics were published in the *Katechismus D. M. Lutheri* (Levoča: Vavrinec Brewer, 1634, f. R 6v), *Pjsné Duchownij* (compiled by Daniel Pribisch).

53 KORBAČKOVÁ, Ivana. Inventarverzeichnis der Musikalien und der Musikinstrumente der Evangelischen Kirche in Bratislava aus dem Jahre 1657. In KALINAYOVÁ, op. cit., p. 61.

which resulted in the music being reduced only to singing psalms over French melodies during the divine services.

Besides contrafactures, the occurrence of parody masses of Italian models is also interesting. As an example, we may mention Philippe de Monte's (1521–1603) mass *Nasce la pena mia...* (6 v.), which is a **parody** of a **madrigal** of **Alessandro Striggio** (ca. 1536/37–1592), a musician of aristocratic origin and in the services of the Medicis in Florence. Specialist literature lists six copies of this parody mass, circulated exclusively in hand-copied form, in Central Europe (Berlin, Brno, Brussels, Gdansk, Vienna, Wrocław),<sup>54</sup> to which we may add its further occurrences in Spiš within the *Tablature Book of Johann Plotz*, and in Šariš within several part books of the *Bardejov Music Collection*.<sup>55</sup> As for Monte's *Nasce la pena mia...* mass in the Spiš source, again a musical anthology from Breslau, namely the source shelfmarked 99A according to E. Bohn,<sup>56</sup> may be taken into account, from which even other compositions may have been copied into the *Tablature Book of Johann Plotz*.<sup>57</sup>

Italian music, which set the direction for the development of European Baroque music, made its way to Spiš and Šariš indirectly rather than directly. The influence of the Venetian polychoral style in the repertoire of the musical manuscripts of the *Levoča* and the *Bardejov Music Collections* is present especially thanks to the compositions of the German musicians of the Early Baroque period, who were inspired by Italian compositional techniques. They had the prints of the works of Hieronymus Praetorius, Heinrich Schütz, Samuel Scheidt,<sup>58</sup> and a large number of compositions from these can be found in these regions also in a hand-copied form.<sup>59</sup> The above-mentioned German musicians introduced the Venetian polychoral style into the German-speaking regions of Europe and, at the same time, influenced the compositional technique of local composers. E.g. a copy of H. Schütz's *Psalmen Davids* (Dresden: Gimel Bergen, 1619) preserved in the *Levoča Music Collection*, in which the influence of the Venetian polychoral style is present in a most prominent way, contains manuscript appendices with 26 compositions for 10 to 20 voices, including five pieces by Ján Šimbracký (?–1657), organist in Spišské Podhradie (Kirchdorf, Szepesváralja) (Fig. 8).<sup>60</sup>

54 LINDELL, Robert – MANN, Brian R. Monte, Philippe de [Entry]. In *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Stanley Sadie (ed.), London: Oxford University Press, 2001, vol. 17, p. 20.

55 In the territory of Hungary, or in the territory of today's Slovakia, we know of its further occurrences in Košice and in Bratislava. See HULKOVÁ, Marta. The Reception of the Oeuvre of Composers Active at the Court of Rudolf II in Prague in the Contemporaneous Musical Repertoire of Historical Upper Hungary. *Hudobní věda*, 2015, vol. 52, no. 2, p. 140–141.

56 BOHN, 1890, op. cit., p. 111.

57 Ibid. These were compositions that were available in a hand-copied form exclusively in manuscript 99A, e.g. J. Regnart's *Missa Quodlibetica* (6 v.).

58 See HULKOVÁ, Marta. Die Musikaliensammlung von Bardejov (Bartfeld) und Levoča (Leutschau) – Übereinstimmungen und Unterschiede (16.–17. Jh.). In *Musicologica Istropolitana II.*, Bratislava: Stimul, 2003, p. 64.

59 E.g. in the *Tablature Book of Ján Šimbracký II*; shelfmark 13 996 /55 A/; shelfmark 14 004 /66 A/, etc. See HULKOVÁ, 1985, op. cit., vol. 1.

60 It is the source shelfmarked 5161 /26 A/. See HULKOVÁ, 1985, op. cit., pp. 157–159; also PAŽITNÁ, Kristína. *Hlasové zošity sign. 5161 (26 A) Levočskej zbierky hudobníň* [Part Books in Levoča Music Collection – Shelfmark 5161 /26 A/]. [Thesis], Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského, Filozofická fakulta, 2002. See also the



**Fig. 8** Ján Šimbracký/Johann Schimbrack/Schimrag's composition  
*A Domino factum est...* (à 16) Levoča Music Collection, shelfmark 5161 /26 A/, č. 14,  
 Library of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Levoča.

The influence of the Venetian polychoral style lasted in the Protestant cultural centres until the mid-17th century. This is documented by the prevalence of the compositions using this technique, which were copied into the manuscript sources preserved in Spiš and Šariš, as well as by its popularity among local composers.<sup>61</sup>

Through the oeuvre of German musicians, the so-called “*sonderbare liebliche madrigalische Art*”, drawing upon the madrigal compositions of Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643), also made its way to Spiš and Šariš. In Levoča, they even had the theoretical work *Von den Madrigalen...* (Leipzig: Johann Wittigaun, 1653) of the German theologian and lawyer Caspar Ziegler (1621–1690), in which he discussed the need to solve the problem of madrigal lyrics in German language in the style of the Italian madrigals. In addition, Tobias Michael's musical print (*Musikalische Seelenlust...* Leipzig: Gregor Ritzsch, 1634)<sup>62</sup> and Andreas Hammerschmidt's print (*Chormusik auff Madrigal Manier...* vol. 5. *Musikalische Andachten...* Freiberg: 1652)<sup>63</sup> were also preserved here. The inventory catalogue

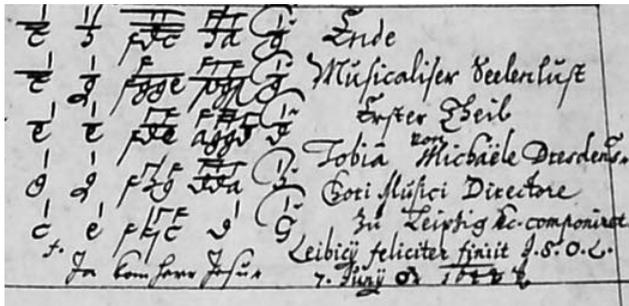
monography on the organist, which contains a thematic catalogue of his works: RYBARIČ, Richard. Ján Šimbracký – spišský polyfonik 17. storočia [Ján Šimbracký, a Seventeenth-Century Polyphonist from Spiš]. *Musicologica Slovaca*, 1973, vol. 4, pp. 7–83. As for the orthography of the surname of “Šimbracký”, Rybarič followed the instructions of Slovak linguists and transcribed the originally German orthography to a Slovak one. Janka Petőczová, who belongs to a younger generation of Slovak musicologists, created another Slovakized form of his surname, “Šimrák”, after the year 2004. In the tablature source (shelfmark 13992 /3 A/) in the Library of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Levoča, which contains up to 40 compositions of this musician, the most frequently used form is the German “Joh. Schimbrackii”.

61 Ján Šimbracký (Johann Schimbrack/Schimrag), Samuel Marckfelner in the region of Spiš; Andreas Neoman, Zacharias Zarewutius in the region of Šariš.

62 RISM A/I M 2633.

63 RISM A/I H 1934.

of sheet music from Prešov (1661) also documents the occurrence of these prints there. The active use of T. Michael's and A. Hammerschmidt's compositions, which made use of Italian madrigal techniques, in the contemporaneous musical repertoire is documented by numerous pieces copied from the above-mentioned prints (Fig. 9), namely in the *Tablature Book of Ján Šimbracký II.* by the organist of Lubicica, and to the *Tablature Book of Samuel Mackfelner I.* by the organist of Levoča, i.e. in manuscript sources which were definitely created in Spiš.<sup>64</sup>



**Fig. 9** The note on completing the copying of compositions from Tobias Michael's print *Musikalischer Seelenlust* (Leipzig, 1634) in the *Tablature Book of Ján Šimbracký II.* (shelfmark 13993 /4 A/, f. 167v) by an unknown organist of Lubicica.

## Conclusion

The greatest credit for spreading Italian music in Spiš and Šariš in the 17th century goes to the lively contacts and the migration of musicians between the regions inhabited by Germans in Europe. Thanks to the availability of the works of Italian musicians in the form of prints of a single author, and in the form of printed musical anthologies with the compositions of Italian musicians, published in German printing houses, the migrating musicians could bring the contemporaneous musical repertoire to the regions of Spiš and Šariš. Italian music reached these places primarily in the form of hand-copied versions of a relatively large number of the compositions of Francesco Bianciardi, G. Croce, G. Gabrieli, R. Giovannelli, L. Marenzio, A. Pacelli, O. Vecchi, etc. The copyists were local musicians (organists, cantors) who created the repertoire, or only added to it, of the preserved manuscript part books and organ tablatures of the *Levoča* and the *Bardejov Music Collection*.<sup>65</sup> As for their denomination, Italian musicians were Catholic. Nevertheless, their compositions made their way into the contemporaneous musical

64 HULKOVÁ, 2015, *Studia Musicologica*, op. cit., p. 28.

65 E.g. remarkably many copies of compositions were made into the *Bardejov Music Collection* by organist Z. Zarewutius. A so far unknown organist from the town of Lubicica, as well as the Levoča organist S. Marckfelner, significantly contributed to the *Levoča Music Collection* by their copying activities.

repertoire of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Spiš and Šariš as well. This documents a preference of artistic values in musical compositions over the denomination of their authors.

In the majority of the cases, the manuscript sources from the 17th century, which were preserved in the churches of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession within the *Levoča* and the *Bardejov Music Collections*, were created over a longer period of time. This follows from the presence of several ductus of handwriting and several watermarks in the sheet music, and also from the selection of compositions in several layers of the repertoire, containing also compositions by local musicians distributed exclusively in a hand-copied form. At times, we experience a contemptuous attitude from the side of some music historians towards the oeuvre of local composers. In our efforts to localize the place of origin of the musical manuscripts, and to trace their routes to the place where they are deposited at present, it is the copies of local musicians' compositions which are useful, rather than the presence of a musical repertoire which was available in a printed form. This is true also for the local hand-copied variants of the oeuvre of Italian composers, as was shown in the case of M. Scacchi's composition in the *Tablature Book of Samuel Marckfelner I*.

However, the proportion of preserved and registered contemporaneous musical prints directly from Italian printing houses in the region of Spiš and Šariš is negligible (L. Zanchi, G. Rovetta). In a few cases, Italian secular music in the form of contrafactures made its way also to the repertoire of the local cantionals meant for communities within the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, e.g. Orazio Vecchi's canzonetta in the *Eubica Hymnal*, or to the printed Catholic hymnal, *Cantus Catholici* (Levoča 1655), meant for the Slovak congregation. Parody masses based on secular compositions of Italian musicians (Ph. de Monte – A. Striggio) in the contemporaneous repertoire are also noteworthy. To a large extent, local musical production in Spiš and Šariš was influenced by the Venetian polychoral technique, mediated by the works of German composers of the Early Baroque (H. Praestorius, H. Schütz). In addition, T. Michael's and A. Hammer-schmidt's compositions were also widespread, thanks to which even the style of Italian madrigal reached the territory of today's Slovakia.

Changes in the confessional field after 1674 throughout historical Hungary, and also after the victory of the Catholic Revival, connected with the loss of churches by the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, made it impossible to cultivate music at the end of the 17th century in Spiš and Šariš on the level of European cultural centres. Performing music was reduced to singing hymns, while Italian music was used only in a few exceptional cases, in the form of contrafactures.

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